Informal Transportation in Uganda: A Case Study of the Boda Boda

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Informal Transportation in Uganda: A Case Study of the Boda Boda

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Kampala, Uganda

School for International Training, Fall 2014.
Glossary of Terms

*Boda Boda* – A term in East Africa which originally referred exclusively to bicycle taxis and has, in recent years, been expanded to refer to motorcycle taxis as well. For the purposes of this paper, the term will refer exclusively to motorcycle taxis. This term is interchangeable with the term, “*Boda.*”

*boda boda* – Use of this term in the lower case will refer to the motorcycle as an object separate of the rider. However, in most cases, the term “motorcycle” will be used synonymously. This term is interchangeable with the term, “*boda.*”

*Boda rider* – A term which, for the purposes of this paper, refers exclusively to the operator of the motorcycle. The word “passenger” will be used to describe those using the services of the *Boda* rider.

*Boda stage* – The smallest form of organization for *Boda Bodas* and typically comprised of 15 to 20 riders. The stage is also the location where *Boda* riders station themselves to pick up passengers and their effective base of operations.

*Flyover* – An elevated road, also known as an overpass.

*Matatu (Metatu)* – A small, 14-seater omnibus used in Kampala as a form of taxi.

*Muyayi* – A derogatory term used to describe *Boda Bodas* as thieves and brutes.
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Abstract

In Uganda’s capital city of Kampala, the closest mode of transport to mass transit that citizens have access to is the 14-seater taxis which fill the streets of Kampala, create traffic jams, and are unable to fulfill the transportation needs of the city’s growing population. In response, motorcycle taxis, called Boda Bodas, which are able to navigate traffic jams, access remote locations where taxis don’t go, and deliver passengers to their destinations in a timely manner, filled the gap in public transportation. Unfortunately, while many riders have organized themselves in associations, the industry remains largely unregulated by the Kampala Capital City Authority which has resulted in safety issues for riders and passengers.

It was the aim of this study to learn more about the informal transportation market of Boda Bodas and to examine the outcomes of the organizational structures that riders have created through a case study of Boda Boda Association 2010’s Central Division. In addition, the study sought to better understand the challenges associated with Kampala city officials’ efforts to regulate Boda Bodas and to explore the ways in which Boda Bodas can provide additional services and benefits to their communities. Data collection was accomplished through the use of survey questionnaires, focus group discussions, participant observation, and key informant interviews. Once collected, the data was analyzed using methods including transcription, coding, basic statistics, and thick description.

Following the data collection period, the study concluded that Boda Bodas are a sort of double-edge sword as they currently stand: they are a necessity as they currently fill a gap in public transport and fulfill an abundance of other roles within their communities, but they do so at a high risk to riders, passengers, and other road users. While their role in urban transport may become more peripheral with the introduction of mass transit systems, the riders will undoubtedly continue to be essential in more remote communities and their services will still be used. However, as that transition is being made, local government needs to ensure that they are providing necessary infrastructure, medical, and training services to the riders so that the Boda industry can operate in as safe a manner as possible and the potential benefits of the industry can be fully realized within Kampala’s transportation system.
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1.0 Introduction

The first sight a visitor to Uganda’s capital city of Kampala is likely to encounter is a high volume of vehicles that cause traffic jams throughout the city. This inefficiency in transportation is due in large part to the abundance of privately owned mini-bus taxis that operate throughout the narrow, poorly planned streets of the city. Before the current system, a more efficient bus system existed that was, unfortunately, privatized as a requirement of the Structural Adjustment Programs policy. The implementation of this policy was performed by the current ruling party and was implemented in a way to further the interests of individual party members who stood to gain from the replacement of the old system (Rwomushana, 2014). The privatization of the transportation system created the perfect conditions for Boda Bodas, or motorcycle taxis, which are able to easily navigate traffic and transport people directly where they want to go, to gain popularity.

While the services this informal transportation market provides have become increasingly essential, a lack of regulation of Boda Bodas poses problems for both passengers and riders. For example, thefts by Boda riders and passengers have been known to occur in certain cases. Additionally, because many of the Boda Boda riders are young and are not required to go through training, many lack basic knowledge of traffic laws or blatantly disregard them. Bodas weaving through traffic, driving on sidewalks, and going against the flow of traffic pose a danger to other drivers, pedestrians, the riders themselves, and their passengers.

While attempts by local government, particularly the Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA), to control the activities of Boda Boda riders have been frustrated in the past, the Boda Bodas have organized themselves into associations throughout Kampala and other districts in the country. As the KCCA continues to pursue regulation and organization of their
transportation sector, understanding the role and impact of Boda associations will become more vital.

The purpose of this study is to explore the role that Boda Bodas play in Uganda’s transportation market and the ways in which Boda Boda operators organizing into associations provides social capital and other benefits to members. It is also the goal of this study to identify other ways that Boda services are used apart from human transportation and explore other future services that Boda Bodas could provide.

1.1 Statement of Intent

Over the course of the research period it was the aim of this study to learn about the nature of the informal transportation industry of Boda Bodas and the impact that Boda Associations have had on the services the riders provide. While the term “Boda Boda” in Uganda can also refer to bicycle taxis, this study focused exclusively on motorcycle taxis which are more dominant in Kampala. The term “Boda Boda” will thus exclusively refer to motorcycle taxis in the context of this study.

1.2 Location of Study

The study was conducted in Kampala, Uganda’s capital city. Data collection was focused around a case study of the Central Division of the Kampala Boda Boda Association 2010, located in Old Kampala. Old Kampala is just west of Kampala’s City Center (see figure 1 on page 9).
1.3 Background of Boda Bodas in Uganda

The Origins of the Boda Boda

Boda Boda as a term originated in eastern Uganda, in towns near the Kenyan border: It referred to men on bicycles who offered to smuggle goods and individuals across the border. The term “Boda Boda” itself is the way Ugandans and Kenyans pronounce the phrase “border border” when offering their services (Howe & Davis, 2002, 235). While Boda Bodas initially existed solely in the form of bicycle transportation, the term soon grew to encompass those who offered motorcycle transportation as well. “The introduction of motorcycle-based services is reported to have resulted from the initiative of a local firm, BMK Ltd” (Howe & Davis, 236), following a visit to Cyprus in 1992 by the firm’s owner. While there, he witnessed the use of motorcycles by farmers: his visit coupled with the provision of a large
number of second-hand motorcycles from Japan resulted in the mass introduction of motorcycles in Uganda the same year (Howe & Davis, 236).

The Benefits of Boda Bodas as an Informal Transportation Industry

In rural settings, Bodas are able to provide their services to villages where taxis did not find it profitable or possible to go due to poor road conditions (Howe & Davis, 2002, 236). In cities, the Bodas are able to fill a transportation niche for those wishing to navigate traffic in a timely manner and to be delivered precisely where they needed to go at a lower cost than privately hired cars can offer. Although Boda Bodas are normally a low capacity form of transportation, they will often carry up to three individuals at a time. In addition to fulfilling a demand for their transportation services, the Boda Boda industry provides jobs for an ever-growing population of mostly unemployed youth. The income is often better than other alternatives and, as a result, the industry is estimated to financially support approximately 1.6 million people, or roughly 7% of the country’s population (Howe & Davis, 237).

1.4 Literature Review

Boda Bodas as Economic Gap-Fillers

An increasing body of literature on the topic of Boda Bodas has emerged as their services have become progressively more essential to Ugandan society. In their article, “Boda Boda – Uganda’s Rural and Urban Low-Capacity Transport Services,” Howe and Davis (2002) go into some detail regarding the services provided by Boda Bodas. This form of transportation is considered important because it fills a gap in service coverage in rural and urban settings that other modes of transportation cannot access. In addition, the authors consider the Boda Boda industry to be a major contributor to employment for the poor in the
country, but due to their high unit-travel cost the poor are often unable to use their services (Howe & Davis, 2002, 240). Other disadvantages of *Boda Bodas* include poor safety records and crimes committed by the operators, as well as the pollution that results from a high volume of motorcycles (Howe & Davis, 241). In the article, the topic of regulation and organization is briefly addressed. The authors state that, while the *Boda Bodas* have formed local associations, attempts to form a national association have failed due to instability within the organizations. In addition, attempts by local governments to regulate them have failed (Howe & Davis, 237).

*The Politicization of the Boda Boda Industry*

While the article by Howe & Davis (2002) provides a good background of the history of *Boda Bodas* and the nature of their services, they do not go in depth regarding the functions of *Boda* associations or why the government has failed to regulate them. The latter issue is somewhat addressed in an article by Goodfellow & Titeca (2012) entitled, “Presidential intervention and the changing ‘politics of survival’ in Kampala’s informal economy.” Goodfellow & Titeca assert that the reason *Boda Bodas* have been so hard to regulate is because they “possess a certain collective power related to their sheer number and the service they provide: when they go on strike, urban transport is thrown into chaos as much of the city population depends on them” (Goodfellow & Titeca, 2012, 14). In addition, when attempts were made in Kampala by the Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA) to regulate and tax them, the central government intervened and declared the tax illegal (Goodfellow & Titeca, 13). This suggests that, due to the potential political capital *Boda Boda* riders offer as voters and political activists, the President and other state officials are directly intervening to protect *Bodas* as an interest group.
The literature on Boda Bodas does provide information regarding their background, services, and their associations. But there is a gap in the literature regarding the precise functions of the associations, the social and political capital potentials Boda Bodas provide, and the other roles Boda Bodas can play beyond taxi transportation services. It was therefore the aim of this study to fill in the gaps identified in the literature.

1.5 Justification for Study

While literature on the subject of Boda Bodas in Uganda exists, there is a distinct lack of information regarding the impact of Boda Boda Associations on the riders’ welfare and the impact they have had on the services the riders provide. It is this gap in literature that justified the aims of this study: to explore the ways in which the organization of this informal transportation sector is providing benefits to both riders and passengers in terms of safety, accountability, and social capital building.

Beyond the safety, accountability, and social capital benefits of organization, the study also explored the ways in which the services of the Boda Bodas can be utilized beyond taxi roles. A sector employing such a large number of individuals capable of effectively navigating difficult terrain and traffic conditions, when organized, has the potential to provide additional services to local communities that could include ambulance services, transportation of goods, and political mobilization and advocacy.

1.6 Statement of Objectives

Over the course of the six-week research period, the study was guided by four objectives:

A. To learn about the informal transportation market of the Boda Boda industry and the riders operating within it.

B. To examine the ways in which the Boda Bodas organize themselves in Uganda and the outcomes which emerge from the creation of associations.
C. To better understand the challenges Kampala city officials face in regulating the *Boda Bodas*.

D. To explore the ways in which the role of the *Boda Bodas* can be expanded through the *Boda* associations to provide additional services and benefits to their local communities.

## 2.0 Methods

Over the course of this study, qualitative data was primarily collected along with a limited collection of quantitative data. Most of the research was focused in Kampala around a case study of the Central Division of the Kampala *Boda Boda Association 2010* located in Old Kampala. However, in the case of the surveys, some random samples were collected from other divisions in the city of Kampala. My primary methods of data collection were surveys, focus groups, participant observation, and formal interviews.

### 2.1 Data Collection Methods

**Surveys**

One key method of data collection in the study was surveying the *Boda Boda* riders. Surveys were the primary method of quantitative data collection and one of several methods of qualitative data collection. Initially, the survey questionnaires were to be distributed solely through the leadership of the Central Division of the *Boda Boda Association 2010*. This was to ensure that none of the questions would compromise the integrity of the riders and that the process would be facilitated efficiently. It was the aim of the study to obtain a sample of 100 *Boda* riders’ responses through the survey process.

A test batch of twenty survey questionnaires was given to the Traffic and Road Safety Officer of the Central Division. After a week, six of the twenty test survey questionnaires had been filled out and returned. The responses yielded interesting results and edits to the final
draft of the survey questionnaires. Once the questionnaires were finalized and ready for
distribution, sampling for the survey process was purposeful to the extent that they were
being distributed through the Central Division leadership. However, the individual riders
filling out the surveys were randomly sampled within the Central Division of Kampala by the
Central Division leadership. Of the 100 surveys distributed, 51 were filled out and returned
through the association leadership.

Focus Groups

Another key method of data collection was the use of focus groups. The aims of the
focus groups were to gain a better understanding of the questions asked through the survey
process and to inquire about issues that could not be covered in the survey questionnaires.
Three focus groups with five riders in each group were organized. Participants in the focus
groups were identified through the Central Division leadership with varying levels of
experience in the *Boda Boda* industry.

The first focus group was made up of riders with less than a year of experience
working in the *Boda Boda* industry. These riders were sampled so they could give a short-
term perspective on the industry and the role the association plays in their work. The second
group was made up of riders with 1-10 years of experience. This group range was sampled
because they presented a medium-term perspective and those riders experienced attempts by
KCCA to regulate them over the past 10 years. The third group was made up of riders with
over 10 years of experience in the industry. This group was selected to provide a long-term
perspective on the industry and how it has transformed over the years.

Each focus group was to last between 1-2 hours to ensure that the riders were not
inconvenienced. Some of the leadership of the *Boda Association* requested to be present
during the focus groups. They were allowed to observe but they were not treated as
participants and played a passive role in the process, often leaving the room to do other business. All participants in the focus groups were male due to the fact that the Boda industry, as it stood at the time of this study, is entirely male-dominated.

*Participant Observation*

Observation occurred throughout the data collection period in various capacities. Participant Observation was performed during road safety meetings held by the association and other companies. In addition, the activities and behavior of riders were observed during walks through the city. Informal conversations with riders, passengers, and other stakeholders in the industry were also used to better understand the stigma surrounding Boda Bodas and clarify observations made during the data collection period. A Boda Boda road safety seminar was also observed and translated through an interpreter on November 19, 2014.

*Formal Interviews*

It was also the intention of this study to utilize key informant interviews as a significant part of the data collection process. One interview was conducted on November 6, 2014, with a political official in the Central Division government in Kampala to gain the perspective of a political leader on the activities of the Boda Bodas in his division and to learn about future plans for public and private transportation in the city. Additionally, an interview was conducted with a different political leader in the government of Makindye Division in Kampala on November 6, 2014. This official had published an article regarding traffic jams in the city that year and so the purpose of the interview was to gain further insight into his views on how Bodas factor into the current and future transportation infrastructure of the city. A government official working in the Directorate of Engineering and Traffic Management at KCCA was also interviewed on November 21, 2014 as a key informant with
in-depth knowledge of the challenges associated with formalizing and organizing Boda Boda’s from a local government perspective.

Beyond government officials, some of the leadership of the Central Division of the Kampala Boda Boda Association 2010 was interviewed during the data collection process. These interviews allowed for the collection of data on the structure of the organization, the benefits associated with membership, and the association’s future plans. On October 26, 2014, a leader within the Central Division of Boda Boda Association 2010 was interviewed for some basic information about the structure and purpose of the Association.

2.2 Data Collection Tools

Questionnaire

The survey questionnaires (see Appendix 1) were used to learn more about the individual Boda Boda riders including: their backgrounds, the challenges they face, and the perceived benefits gained from the association. The first drafts of the questionnaires were peer-reviewed. After the initial drafts had been approved, a test batch of twenty was given to the Traffic and Road Safety Officer of the association. The purpose of the test batch was to ensure that all of the questions were understood by respondents, to discover if there were any additional follow-up questions that needed to be added to the survey, and to gauge the return rate of surveys. The final drafts of the questionnaire were made available in both English and Luganda.

The questionnaires were primarily used for quantitative data collection. This included, but was not limited to, information on the Boda riders’ dependents, the average number of people the riders transported per day, their average daily incomes, the number of riders able to save a portion of their income, and the average savings of the riders. In addition, the
questionnaires included qualitative questions regarding the challenges the Boda riders face, the full range of services provided by Boda riders, and the perceived benefits received from the association.

*Focus Group Discussion Template*

A focus group discussion template (see Appendix 2) was used for each of the three focus groups. The template featured questions about the economic, social, health, and political facets of the riders’ lives. The template allowed for questions from the survey to be discussed in further detail while also allowing questions that could not be included in the survey to be posed to the riders. All of the focus groups were recorded with an audio device, with the consent of the participants, and translated. The questions on the template were posed in turn to the riders in Luganda through the translator. For questions regarding their personal experiences, each rider was expected to provide an answer. For some of the more general questions, the translator facilitated the riders’ responses as they chose to give them.

*Field Notes*

During the data collection process, field notes were used as a tool for collecting observation data and conducting informal interviews at events such as road safety meetings, during walks through Kampala, and following conversations with Boda Boda riders and their passengers. Key observations regarding the behaviors and activities of the riders were then recorded along with informative statements from the riders and passengers.

*Interview Schedule*

An interview schedule with questions (see Appendix 3) was used for each key informant interview in order to ensure that all the questions were covered in an efficient and timely manner. The interview schedules varied by interviewee; however, each schedule
followed a basic outline. The interviews began with asking the interviewees about their occupation. Next, the interviewees were asked about their impressions of the *Boda* industry. Following that, the interviewees were asked a series of questions specific to them about their interactions with the *Boda* industry, the industry itself, and where they see it in the future. While the interview schedule featured multiple questions to be posed to the interviewees, follow-up questions were also used when needed in order to clarify points or ask questions that were not anticipated prior to the interview.

*Audio and Video Recording*

At times during the focus groups and interviews, audio and video recording devices were used. The audio recording device was primarily used to create transcripts of the interviews and focus group discussions. The video recording device was primarily used to create a mini-documentary that was to accompany the paper as a visual reference. Participants had the right to request not to be recorded, and verbal consent was acquired from every participant before recording began. In addition, in the case of video recording, release forms were signed by participants to provide written consent to being filmed. With this written consent came the understanding that this documentary would be used purely for education purposes and no profit would be derived from the project.

### 2.3 Data Analysis

Throughout the data collection period, the data was carefully analyzed through various means in an effort to answer the study’s four guiding objectives. Quantitative data from the surveys were inputted into Microsoft Excel to calculate basic statistics including averages and ranges. Graphs were generated in cases where the data yielded interesting results. Qualitative data from the surveys were coded using Microsoft Excel to determine the
frequency of certain responses to more open-ended questions on the questionnaire. Focus group discussions were transcribed and coded for relevant responses to the study.

Where instances of participant observation were relevant to the study’s aims, analysis was performed through a thick description. Thick description is defined as, “intensive, small-scale, dense descriptions of social life from observation, through which broader cultural interpretations and generalizations can be made” (Marshall, 1998, np). Formal interviews were transcribed and coded for relevant information. In certain cases, key quotes were extracted for use in the findings.

2.4 Challenges to Methodology

Several challenges to the methodology of the study were identified throughout the data collection period. One of the primary challenges faced was that of a low return rate of survey questionnaires from the Central Division Boda Association leadership. Of the 100 surveys created for distribution, only 51 were filled out and returned. In addition, not all of the questionnaires were filled out completely. This was likely due to a misunderstanding regarding expectations and a lack of incentive for the leadership to take time from their work to distribute the surveys. With regards to the misunderstanding of expectations, more clear instructions and deadlines were given to the leadership after the first 2 weeks of the data collection period which yielded limited success. The lack of incentive was ameliorated by compensating the time of the leaders for distributing the questionnaires and by asking that they give them to riders entering the association rather than seeking them outside of their place of work.

A second challenge to the methodology occurred during the focus group discussions. While operating through a translator, questions posed to the participants were occasionally misunderstood. This was expected to happen and could usually be corrected by asking the
same question in a different way. It also occurred less frequently as the translator became more familiar with the questions. However, the translator was unable to attend the final focus group discussion and a replacement had to be found on short notice. The individual who kindly volunteered was not as accustomed to translating as that was not her profession. As a result, more questions were lost in translation than in previous sessions. Fortunately, a member of the Boda leadership, who had been present at all the prior focus group discussions and knew what my expectations were for each question, was able to assist in the translating.

The third challenge encountered was related to the logistics of filming for a mini-documentary. Initially, coordination with the camera operator was possible as interviews and focus groups were able to be planned at least several days in advance. However, many of those interviewed later in the process had very tight schedules and had agreed to give up some of their time on short notice. The short notice nature of many of the interviews used in the study, coupled with a large scope of the project, made it quite difficult to coordinate with the camera operator. As such, it was not possible to create a documentary within the research period.

2.5 Ethics Statement

Throughout the data collection process, it was the responsibility of the researcher to ensure all ethical guidelines were followed. All participants in formal interviews and focus groups were asked to sign a consent form that informed them of their rights as a participant and was signed by the researcher as well (See Appendix 4). In the case of informal discussions, verbal consent was obtained. Because many of the participating Boda Boda riders needed to work to earn money on a daily basis, all necessary procedures were followed to ensure that their participation in the study did not impede their earning capacity. Surveys were therefore taken at the convenience of the riders, while those participating in focus
groups were given compensation for transportation and their time. When participants were filmed, a release form was provided for them to sign and verbal consent was obtained for audio recordings of focus groups and interviews. The topics and ethics of this study were reviewed and approved by a Local Review Board in Uganda.

3.0 Findings

Following the six-week research period, data from the case study of the Central Division of the Boda Boda Association 2010 was collected and analyzed. The findings are organized into four subsections. In the first subsection, a snapshot of Kampala’s Boda industry will is provided. This includes a profile of the Boda riders participating in the industry and the dynamics of the informal transportation market. In the second subsection, the ways in which the Boda Bodas have organized and the functions of their organizational structures are discussed. In the third subsection, the perspective of government officials is examined in their efforts to regulate the Boda industry. Finally, in the fourth subsection, future plans for the industry and its potential for expanded services are explored.

3.1 The Boda Boda Industry

The Nature and Services of the Industry

When asked to describe the Boda Boda industry, a KCCA official working with transport planning and traffic management explained that, in essence, Boda Bodas are a form of low-volume transportation operating within a public transport system with a high volume of low-capacity modes of transportation. They act as an informal transportation industry filling a gap in the public transportation system because the 14-seater taxis were not enough to fulfill the transport needs of the city. In certain ways, the Bodas are efficient: they move
quite fast, they navigate traffic jams, and they take passengers right to their destination rather than following prescribed routes.

Beyond helping to satisfy the transportation demands of the city, the *Boda Boda* industry provides jobs to people who might not otherwise have access to other forms of employment. One government official from Makindye Division describes *Boda Boda* riding as a form of underemployment: it’s something for people to do and provides rapid transit in the city. A trip from Kampala to Entebbe during the day via taxi was observed to take 90 minutes due to the stops. A *Boda* can reportedly make the same trip in 40 minutes. Because of this faster rate of travel combined with a higher financial cost to passengers than they would incur riding the taxis, most of the people taking advantage of the *Boda* riders’ services are in the middle class. When asked for the reasons they take *Boda Bodas*, almost all passengers replied that they use *Boda Bodas* whenever they are late to an appointment or if there is a lot of traffic in the city.

The prevalence of the *Boda Bodas* in the city is due largely to the demand for transportation in the city and the supply of labor to fulfill that demand. But another important factor in the industry is an available supply of capital: the motorcycles the riders use to transport their passengers, as well as financing mechanisms to make motorcycle ownership feasible for many riders. The most common brand of motorcycle in the country is Boxer which is supplied by an Indian company called Bajaj Auto Ltd. As of the time of this study, the motorcycles cost approximately 3 million Ugandan Shillings (USH), or about 1,100 USD (calculated in November, 2014 at an exchange rate of 1 USD to 2,775 USH). Many riders entering the industry cannot afford the high cost of the motorcycle: when 51 questionnaire respondents were asked if they owned their motorcycle, just over half owned the motorcycle. Of the 31 who also answered if they used a loan or not, 71% of those riders had (see figure 2 below).
While some riders were able to acquire loans from banks or other organizations for their motorcycles themselves, one of the most common ways for them to acquire motorcycles is through wealthy individuals. The wealthy individuals buy the motorcycles and get others to ride it for them. The riders will then usually pay 10,000 USH to the owner on a daily basis and can then keep the rest they earn for themselves. When the riders have paid off the full price of the motorcycles plus interest, usually within a year, they become the owners of the motorcycles. Unfortunately, in some instances motorcycle accidents and theft, which are quite common within the industry, impede riders’ ability to secure ownership of their motorcycles and prevent the owners from getting the returns on their investment.

Because the Boda industry is unregulated by a central body, riders have a fair bit of agency over the price they charge for their services: essentially they determine how much their time is worth and prices can be negotiated with the passenger from there. Questionnaire respondents were given a standard route of approximately 4km and asked to give the price they would charge for that ride. The answers ranged widely from the lowest price of 2,000 USH to the highest price of 10,000 USH. However, only two respondents exceeded a price of 5,000 USH, making the most common range between 2,000 USH and 5,000 USH. This demonstrates the extent to which prices vary from individual to individual, by different times of day, and based on weather conditions.
While transporting people is the primary role that riders fulfill in the Boda industry, there are a variety of additional services that riders provide to their customers. Riders responding to the questionnaire and participating in focus groups mentioned the following services: transporting passengers, delivering letters and messages, transporting luggage and groceries, taking children to school, providing directions, transporting people from accidents, furnishing roadside assistance, and providing security. The last two services mentioned are more ambiguous than the others and focus group discussion members were asked for more details. Roadside assistance usually occurs in the form of delivery of fuel to cars that run out of gas on the roadside. Security refers to those riders who participate in community policing. Boda riders form an information network capable of recovering stolen goods and even sometimes acting as police informants.

A Profile of the Riders

Through the questionnaire process, a basic profile of the Boda riders participating in the case study was formed. The Boda industry is primarily male-dominated and all survey respondents were male. However, it is important to note that one female Boda rider was observed operating in the city on November 26, 2014. The ages of participating riders ranged 20 years to 46 years with an average age of 33 years. This result was a little surprising: based on conversations with passengers, government leaders, and the Boda leadership, a younger average of age was initially expected.

The vast majority of riders were married (88%) and, while 7 riders did not have children, every other respondent had at least one child. The average number of children among the riders was 3 with data ranging between 0 and 7 children (see figure 3 below).
This data demonstrates that most riders have several dependents which create additional costs for them. One of these reported costs is school fees for their children. In the focus group discussions, riders were asked if their children were in school. All the riders who had children reported that their children were in school. One rider from the second focus group even had a son studying in University. While it is positive that the Boda riders both want and are able to educate their children, riders in the focus groups did mention that the money they make is not enough to send all of their children to what they considered to be good schools. Education levels attained of the riders themselves were quite low (see figure 4 below). Very few riders were able to attain an upper secondary education, and even fewer were able to complete some form of a tertiary, or university, education. Most riders attained only primary and lower secondary educations.
Most riders (75%) live in Kampala to be closer to their work; however 70% of those respondents were renting their places of residence with only 20% able to afford their own home (see figure 5 below).

![Location of Riders' Residences](image1)

![Number of Boda Riders Who Own vs. Rent their Home](image2)

Figure 5. Residences of riders

In terms of their work, respondents’ years of experience as Boda riders ranged from less than 1 year to 16 years with an average of approximately 7 years of experience (see figure 6 below). On average, riders reported working approximately 12.5 hours per day, 6 days per week.

![Experience Level of Riders](image3)

Figure 6. Level of experience of riders
They transported an average of approximately 19 people per day and earned an average of 24,935 USH, though some riders reported that incomes varied widely and that there could be days when no money is earned at all. These averages were extrapolated to come to an average yearly income of 7,779,720 USH, or about 2,804 USD (calculated in November, 2014 at an exchange rate of 1 USD to 2,775 USH). While this figure may seem small, the World Bank reports Uganda’s GDP per capita to be approximately 572 USD.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine where Boda riders fall in term of average incomes within Kampala, as the most recent data gathered by the Uganda Bureau of Statistics was in 2010. However, current 2014 incomes of Boda riders do far exceed average incomes in Kampala from 2010 (see figure 7 below).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>2005/06</th>
<th>2009/10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampala</td>
<td>347,900</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>320,200</td>
<td>192,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>261,700</td>
<td>144,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>209,000</td>
<td>76,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>313,100</td>
<td>144,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>306,200</td>
<td>142,700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7. Ugandan incomes by region. Uganda Bureau of Statistics

What is clear is that many riders are able to save part of their income at home, in banks, or by using mobile money. 82% of respondents were able to save at least some of their income while 18% spent all of their income and were unable to save. (see figure 8 below). Savings ranged from 2,000 USH to 15,000 USH per week but on average riders that saved were able to put away 7,355 USH per week.
It is interesting to note that many riders did other jobs prior to becoming *Boda Bodas*. Some of the former occupations mentioned included: businessman, security officer, teacher, barber, construction worker, artist, houseboy, butcher, blacksmith, pastor, and cobbler. The most common former occupations were farmers and hawkers. The most common reasons for leaving their jobs included: not being paid, low wages, bankruptcy, seeking self-employment, and – particularly in the case of the hawkers – being chased off the street.

This data further supports the idea that the *Boda Boda* industry provides a form of underemployment able to pay for rent, food, school fees, and other costs. But in the focus group discussions, when riders were asked if they intended to stay in the *Boda* industry, only 1 of the 15 participants was content with being a *Boda* rider. All of the other participants wanted to leave the industry as soon as they were able. Those wanting to leave sought to either return to their former jobs or to find better work away from the challenges of the *Boda* industry.
The Challenges of the Boda Industry

While the Boda industry is able to sustain the livelihoods of riders and their families, there are major challenges associated with the job. In the questionnaires and focus group discussions, riders were asked to list these challenges which included: police harassment, bad drivers, fuel prices, little money, poor infrastructure, and bad weather. But by far the most common challenges mentioned were stigma, accidents, and theft.

Riders report a lot of disrespect for their line of work from passengers, motorists, and the general public. In the focus group discussions, participants were asked how they viewed themselves as Boda riders. The riders said they were working individuals trying to earn an honest living and support their families. The participants were then asked how others viewed them. The riders explained that they were “treated as trash” by other people, that cars would sometimes try to knock them on purpose, and that they were treated with suspicion by many. The term Muyaayi is an extremely derogatory term often used to describe them as thieves and brutes.

One rider from the second focus group of riders with 1-10 years of experience offered an explanation for the stigma surrounding their work. He explained that in the beginning, so many riders joined the industry that it lost its value as a respectable job. It became a catch-all for those who could not do anything else. In addition, the job has been highly politicized in Uganda which has helped contribute to the negative views of those outside of the industry.

Accidents are another huge concern for riders and passengers alike. Apart from pedestrians, motorcyclists made up the largest road user category killed and injured in accidents in 2012 and 2013 (see figure 9 below). Even more distressing is that the number of motorcyclists killed between 2012 and 2013 increased by 12.3% while deaths among almost all other road user categories went down. (Uganda Police Force, 2013, 4-5). In each focus
group, participants were asked if they had been in an accident before. 3 of the 5 members of
the first group, 1 of the 5 members in the second group, and 5 out of the 5 members in the
third group had been in accidents. It was not surprising that so many from the third group
with over 10 years of riding experience had been in accidents due to the dangerous nature of
the job. What was more alarming was the 3 out of 5 members of the first group, who had
been riding for less than a year, had been in at least one accident: one rider had been in two.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Road User Category</th>
<th>No. of Persons Killed</th>
<th></th>
<th>Road User Category</th>
<th>No. of Persons Seriously Injured</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Driver</td>
<td>158</td>
<td></td>
<td>Driver</td>
<td>768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motorcyclist</td>
<td>371</td>
<td></td>
<td>Motorcyclist</td>
<td>3343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedestrian</td>
<td>217</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pedestrian</td>
<td>792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passenger on Motor cycle</td>
<td>288</td>
<td></td>
<td>Passenger on Motor cycle</td>
<td>1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passenger in Light Carabuse</td>
<td>136</td>
<td></td>
<td>Passenger in Light Carabuse</td>
<td>719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passenger in Medium Carabuse</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>Passenger in Medium Carabuse</td>
<td>638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passenger in Heavy Carabuse</td>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
<td>Passenger in Heavy Carabuse</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passenger in other vehicles</td>
<td>408</td>
<td></td>
<td>Passenger in other vehicles</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedestrians</td>
<td>1,243</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pedestrians</td>
<td>569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,124</td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Road User Category</th>
<th>No. of Persons Seriously Injured</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Driver</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motorcyclist</td>
<td>841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedestrian</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passenger on Motor cycle</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passenger in Light Carabuse</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passenger in Medium Carabuse</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passenger in Heavy Carabuse</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passenger in other vehicles</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedestrians</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,057</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9. Deaths and injuries by road user category

The high rate of accidents in the industry is largely due to a lack of road safety
instruction among *Boda* riders. Most riders never attend any form of driving school and go
out on the roads immediately upon obtaining their motorcycles. Passengers will also
sometimes pressure the rider into doing anything to get them where they are going on time.
As a result, riders break traffic rules and take risks which put them directly into harm’s way.
In addition, while helmet usage among riders has increased with awareness campaigns, most
riders don’t have helmets for passengers. Riders unanimously reported that this is largely
because passengers refuse to wear them due to a fear that the helmets would be unsanitary or
uncomfortable.

Theft was the final biggest challenge listed in the industry and the second most
mentioned in the questionnaires. The stigma surrounding *Boda Bodas* suggests that the riders
are thieves who steal from their customers. But riders also report that customers frequently
steal from them. In the best of circumstances, this theft takes the form of customers cheating the Bodas that transported them. Upon arriving at their destination, passengers will sometimes either pay less than the agreed-upon price or run away and hide in buildings to avoid paying entirely. In the worst of cases, passengers have reportedly assaulted Boda riders in order to steal their money or even their motorcycles.

In the first focus group, one rider pointed to a scar on his head and explained that he had been assaulted by a customer wielding an iron bar. Members of the third focus group were asked if they had ever had their motorcycles stolen. A member of the group had 1 motorcycle stolen and 2 of the members had lost 3 motorcycles. Theft is very prevalent across the informal transportation market of the Boda Boda industry and, along with all the other challenges riders face, can negatively impact the livelihoods of the riders operating in the industry.

### 3.2 The Nature of Organization

*The Structure of Boda Boda Association 2010*

Despite the Boda Bodas operating as an informal transportation market largely unregulated by the city, they have created their own organizational structures. The largest of these structures is the Boda Boda Association 2010 which acts as the central umbrella organizational structure for Boda Bodas operating in Kampala. While not all Boda Bodas are registered with Boda Boda Association 2010, it is the largest Boda association operating in Kampala with an estimated 100,000 members registered under it.

*Boda Boda Association 2010* is the central umbrella organization; however, the formation of the association was not centrally organized from the top-down. Instead, the Association was formed in a more grassroots, bottom-up manner. First and foremost, most
Boda Bodas are organized at a stage level typically in groups of 15 to 20 riders. The leadership for each stage is elected by the riders in that stage. These elected leaders form a committee with the stage manager acting as the leader of that committee.

From the stage level, leadership for the division level is elected. Kampala district itself is made up of 5 administrative divisions: Central Division, Kawempe Division, Nakawa Division, Makindye Division, and Rubaga Division. As such, the umbrella Boda association in Kampala is divided into those same five administrative divisions. Elected officials at the division level form an executive committee headed by a division chairman. A summary of the roles of each member of Central Division’s executive committee are described in Appendix 6.

From the division level, leadership for the umbrella Boda Association of Kampala district is elected, thereby forming the association for those riders. Efforts to create an umbrella association for the myriad Boda organizations had occurred prior to the formation of the current umbrella association, which was formed in 2010. However, those previous efforts had not amounted to a sustainable organized superstructure and internal politics had led to their collapse. While other smaller splinter associations in Kampala exist, Boda Boda Association 2010 has managed to maintain its position as the leading unification effort.

Just as the organization of the association is from the bottom-up, so too is the way in which a Boda rider joins the association. First, a Boda rider needs to be a member of a stage: the process for joining a stage is simple as a rider only needs to ask the stage leader to join. The rider then pays money to the committee: the money is kept by the committee in case any rider in the stage has an accident or other problem. Once they are a member of a stage, the rider can then register with their division’s office of the umbrella association. Registration with the Boda Boda Association 2010 costs 7,000 Ugandan shillings (USH) per year, and
with that registration fee the rider receives an identification card. The Central Division office in Old Kampala has an estimated 30,000 Boda riders registered within it.

*The Economic Functions of Boda Boda Association 2010*

Registered Boda riders have access to all of the services which the association provides to its members. Several of the association’s functions are economic in nature. When listing benefits received from being a member of the association on the survey questionnaire, 9 survey respondents who answered that question stated that they were able to obtain loans through the association. Some of these loans take the form of cash to the extent that the association has cash to lend. However, when asked about obtaining loans from the association, focus groups discussion participant from all three sessions made it clear that the loans were mostly in the form of motorcycles.

The association leadership is able to acquire motorcycles through motorcycle companies operating in the country. The association then provides the motorcycle, a helmet, and license plate to a Boda rider on an affordable loan basis. The motorcycle itself costs approximately 3 million USH; however, the borrower pays the association 66,000 USH per week over a 13 month period accruing between 500,000 and 1.2 million USH of interest. After that period of time, the Boda rider becomes the owner of the motorcycle and no longer needs to pay back the association. Of the total amount of money collected by the association, approximately 90% goes to the motorcycle company. The other 10% goes to the association; however, the way in which that money is used is contested.

Some government officials outside of the industry and even some riders in the association claim that the commission from the motorcycles goes directly to the Boda Boda Association 2010 leadership. Yet, when asked if the commission went to some form of leadership salary, the leadership states that the commission was used for rider welfare and
other operating costs of the association. What is a little more certain is that some association leaders are able to personally acquire a motorcycle for someone else to ride on loan. In one of the returned questionnaires, a Boda Boda Association 2010 leader was listed as the owner of the rider’s motorcycle. That rider makes daily payments to that leader until the motorcycle and interest are paid off.

Another economic function the association claims to offer is that of welfare. The form of welfare the association offers is primarily an emergency fund to the Boda riders. Should a rider have an accident, marriage, or burial – all of which cause individuals to incur high costs in a short period of time – the association tries to contribute money to the rider’s needs. However, the association leadership makes it clear that they “don’t have enough money which can facilitate all the problems for the riders, but what we have we can do for them.” Due to a lack of funds beyond the yearly registration fee of 7,000 USH, the association is unable to meet all of the needs of the riders.

Despite welfare being mentioned by 4 questionnaire respondents as a benefit to association membership, when focus group discussion participants were asked if they had received welfare benefits from the association, none of them had. The first focus group did express that it was possible to receive financial support from the association following an accident by telling their stage which, in turn, tells the association. However, one rider from the second focus group was more critical of the association claiming that it doesn’t help at all.

Of the 15 focus group members, 9 reported being in motorcycle-related accidents and receiving injuries. Of those riders, 5 received no help at all and personally incurred medical costs. The other 4 riders received help from the members of their stage. Because they had been in good standing with their stage members, their stages collected a small amount of money per day from each member, usually around 1,000 USH, and gave it to the injured rider.
to help pay for food and other necessities until the rider could return to work. The division offices of the association have the same capacity to request riders contribute to the financial needs to a rider in need. However, the process of requesting this help at a division level is reportedly complicated and therefore not taken advantage of nearly as frequently at the division level as it is at the stage level.

*The Social Functions of Boda Boda Association 2010*

In addition to its economic functions, *Boda Boda Association 2010* has functions which cater to the social needs of registered riders as well. On a basic level, the association creates a community of *Boda* riders. Riders report that making new friends in the industry is one of the benefits to joining the association. The association also has leadership in the Executive Committee exclusively responsible for the organization of sporting events. When asked about events organized through the association 2 riders in their respective focus groups mentioned football games. These games are usually free of charge and feature various football teams made up of *Boda* riders facing one another. To this effect, the association provides leisure activities to its members which help foster a sense of unity and community.

Security is another important service that the association tries to provide to its riders. Association leadership claims that, should a motorcycle be stolen or impounded by the police, the association has a better capacity to recover that motorcycle than individual riders would have. Members of the association or stages can also help keep other road users accountable for their recklessness. When a *Boda* rider is struck by another motor vehicle, other riders will often make sure the driver of that vehicle provides a form of compensation. A member of the first focus group reported being struck by a car on Entebbe road. Riders from a nearby stage collected money for the rider and the Association also provided money for his treatment. But beyond that, the chairman of the nearby stage also managed to get some
money from the driver who had knocked the Boda rider. In more extreme cases, mob justice can be used to extract that same compensation.

Furthermore, the association works to keep its leadership accountable to the members of Boda Boda Association 2010 and, in turn, works to keep the Boda riders responsible to their customers. Riders in the first focus group claimed that, should a rider misbehave, “they will cane you from there, like mob justice – other Boda Bodas beat you from there. So even [the] leadership.” However, the Boda leadership’s description of the role of Central Division’s Discipline Officer is a little tamer. In the case of leadership behavior, the Executive Committee can move for the suspension or removal of any officer abusing their office. As for riders, the Discipline Officer reserves the right to impound the motorcycle of a rider that has misbehaved for a period of time not to exceed a week. Ensuring that riders are held accountable for their actions and behave in a more disciplined manner makes the services they offer to their customers more secure.

The Political Functions of Boda Boda Association 2010

In many ways, Boda Boda Association 2010 satisfies the role of a worker’s union: it provides a unified force able to represent the interests of its membership. In one questionnaire, a rider describes the association as “our voice.” One of the biggest functions the association has is the capacity to mobilize its riders, and with this function comes a capacity to promote the association’s interests. Association-led political mobilizations primarily manifests in strikes and rallies and are largely held against KCCA.

During the focus group discussions when the participants were asked if they had participated in a strike, 11 of the 15 riders had. This high proportion demonstrates that the riders sampled in the focus groups, particularly those from the 1-10 years of experience and 10 or more years of experience groups, are quite active in strikes. However not all the strikes
they had participated in were sponsored by the association or related to the *Boda* industry. One rider had reportedly stumbled upon protestors marching and decided to join on his own accord. Another popular strike that many of the riders participated in occurred in 2008 and was related to government efforts to create farmland at the expense of Mabira Forest, a cultural landmark. Citizens across all sectors went on strike in an effort to protect the forest and, while *Boda* riders were among those on strike, the riders were not mobilized to directly defend their interests.

In fact, among those participating in the focus group discussions, the only riders who had participated in strikes mobilized through an association were those in the 10 or more years of experience group. In 2008, in an attempt at regulating an aspect of the Boda industry, KCCA cracked down on *Boda* riders who failed to wear helmets. Riders were arrested and had their motorcycles taken away and impounded. If a rider wanted to retrieve the motorcycle, it would have cost 250,000 USH. The result was a strike carried out by the *Boda* riders in an effort to stop the impounding.

Another strike the riders had participated in more recently occurred in October, 2014. Allegedly, KCCA workers, KCCA law enforcers, and the Taxi Parks/Stages Coordinating Committee (TAPSCOM) were harassing *Boda* riders and extorting them for money for unclear reasons. TAPSCOM is the current organization mandated by KCCA to collect revenue and manage the taxi parks in Kampala (Agaba, 2014, n.p.). It succeeded the Uganda Taxi Owners and Drivers Association (UTODA) and is opposed by a large number of taxis and *Bodas* alike. Those opposed to TAPSCOM are mostly from the National Union of Drivers, Cyclists, and Allied Workers (NUDCAW), an organization which unites taxis and *Bodas* politically to defend their interests. NUDCAW had organized strikes against TAPSCOM before and the strike in Wandegeya in October, 2014 was yet another manifestation of that enmity.
Strikes, particularly under the leadership of NUDCAW, are a common outcome of mobilization of Boda riders. However, Boda Boda Association 2010 also mobilizes riders in support of political figures. One government official in Central Division stated that, “the Boda riders are… critical people in our area because they are part of the people who support us to come to office…” But the political role of Boda Bodas goes beyond being voters: politicians will often use Bodas during campaigns and rallies to drum up support and make them appear popular.

![Boda riders in the parade wearing yellow, the ruling political party's color.](image)

The president of Uganda, Yoweri Museveni, uses their services frequently during his campaigns. Boda riders in the focus group with 10 or more years of experience had been operating as riders during a presidential campaign and participated in his rallies. They report being given fuel money, t-shirts, and a meal to ride in front of the president and foster support. Even when the president isn’t campaigning, he will still facilitate thousands of riders to travel with him. All of the riders in every focus group discussion had recently ridden with the president from Entebbe airport. The president’s office had contacted Boda Boda Association 2010 which in turn mobilized its membership to participate in the escort. Any time the president wishes to mobilize a large number of Boda riders, he does so through the Boda association.
Arguably one of the most important functions Boda Boda Association 2010 fulfills is promoting awareness of riders on issues of their health and safety. When asked about restrictions the association places on them, survey respondents and focus group discussion members alike spoke about the efforts of the association to get all the riders to wear helmets, to carry only one passenger, to not over-speed, and to drive defensively. Because most riders don’t go to driving school to learn how to drive safely and follow the rules of the road, the association tries to provide road safety seminars to riders. From the creation of the association in 2010 to 2013 the association boasts to have hosted five safety seminars, with hundreds of participants in attendance of each, and to have supplied over 650 reflective jackets and helmets through these functions.

The association itself lacks the funding to organize the seminars by itself and to compensate the riders for their time. To make up for this, the association seeks partnerships with other stakeholders in transport industry. One of these partnerships is with an oil company called Maestro Oil and Gas Solutions, or MOGAS. According to a road safety consultant, oil companies tend to be the most serious about road safety because of the importance of positive public relations with their clients and a fear of third party crashes which are often caused by Boda Bodas. MOGAS has coordinated with the association to provide two safety seminars thus far: one in 2011 and another in 2014. During the seminars, the company brings in a road safety consultant to provide the awareness presentation to the riders, compensates the riders for their time, provides a meal for them, and provides free safety equipment such as reflector jackets. The association is simply responsible for mobilizing the riders and getting them to attend.
On November 19, 2014 one of these seminars was held in the Royal Theater in Old Kampala and over 200 riders were in attendance. The session began with a multi-media presentation by the road safety consultant. The consultant started by telling stories about *Boda* riders getting into fatal accidents because of dangerous driving. He then used a variety of images, diagrams, and visual aids to introduce the concept of defensive driving to the riders. He warned the riders of the health and financial consequences of reckless driving and used more stories to illustrate his points. At the end of his presentation, the consultant held a brief question-and-answer session before concluding the safety seminar.

This collaboration with the association on issues of road safety is an example of corporate-social responsibility filling in a gap created by a lack of government action in this field. However, MOGAS also directly benefitted from holding the seminar in the form of advertising. Following the safety seminar, MOGAS representatives promoted their newest oil products to the riders and offered a special promotional price to them following the session. After MOGAS gave their presentation, representatives from the Uganda Co-operative Movement, another funding partner of the seminar, promoted affordable housing opportunities through their cooperative movement. After Uganda Co-operative Movement’s presentation, MOGAS brought Golola Moses, a famous Ugandan kick-boxer, on stage to further promote their products. The session then culminated in the Commander of Old Kampala’s Traffic Officers talking to the riders about the importance of road safety and thanking the association and MOGAS for their efforts. The riders then collected their reflective jackets with MOGAS branding on them and had their lunch.

Road safety seminars hosted by companies such as this, while valuable, are not held frequently and, relative to the thousands of *Bodas* operating in the city, only a few hundred are able to attend. In this regard, *Boda Boda* Association 2010 continues to seek partnerships with other organizations to train their riders. Another organization they’ve coordinated with
in the past, and are embarking upon a new partnership with currently, is the Global Helmet Vaccine Initiative, a part of the Asia Injury Prevention Program. In the past, this organization had provided helmets free of charge to riders who attended their road safety seminars. Currently, the Boda association is partnering with them on a 20-seminar series through which over 2,000 helmets will be provided to riders. Unlike previous road safety seminars, detailed monitoring and evaluation will be used during these seminars. Riders will be given questions of road safety before and after the seminars. They will then be observed at their stages to determine the impact that the seminars have on the riders’ driving behavior.

The association also helps educate Boda riders on the process of acquiring a driving permit and attempts to facilitate their acquisition of it. Very few Boda riders have driving permits in Uganda: many just start riding when they get their motorcycles. This is because in Uganda, the process for acquiring a driving permit is an exceedingly complicated process involving travel to four different locations multiple times and at least 286,600 USH, although some report even higher costs due to corruption in the system. Further compounding this problem is the fact that there are no driving schools dedicated to motorcycle riding approved by the Transport Licensing Board that could otherwise facilitate the permit process. To this end, the association tries to guide members through the process, and between 2010 and 2013 has managed to issue at least 450 driving permits and continues to encourage other riders to obtain them.

Beyond road safety, the Boda association has sought additional partnerships in the field of health. Riders participating in the focus group discussion for riders with 1-10 years of experience reported that they had just come from a seminar held at Mulago Hospital, the country’s national referral hospital, on the topic of first-aid. The association had partnered with medical officials to arrange for the training of a few members in accident-related first-aid: a very useful skill for Boda riders to have seeing as they are usually the first people at the
scene of an accident due to the sheer prevalence of both accidents and Bodas within the city. In addition, Central Division’s Traffic and Road Safety officer received training in HIV and sexually transmitted infection prevention, and collaborates with the Health officer to inform the riders on those issues. This is because, according to the Traffic and Road Safety officer, Boda riders are an at-risk population to those diseases due to their young age, the nature of the job, and the nature of the riders themselves.

### 3.3 The Challenges of Regulation

**The Political Obstacles of Regulation**

While Boda Boda Association 2010 tries to provide a wide variety of services to its members, the association is underfunded and unable to fulfill all of the needs of its riders. Many of the functions it serves should be the responsibility of local government bodies, and particularly the KCCA. But KCCA can only serve those functions if it is able to regulate the industry and receive revenue from it. Efforts by KCCA to regulate and tax the Boda riders have met several challenges which, thus far, have proven to be insurmountable.

The first of these challenges comes from the riders themselves. Recently, KCCA has made serious strides in clearing informal street vendors from parts of the city of Kampala. Many Boda riders are suspicious of the intentions of KCCA and believe they intend to chase the Bodas out of the city as well. As such, efforts to register the riders in the city were initially met with some resistance: however, through collaboration with the Boda association, many of the riders from Central Division and other divisions of the city were among the over 30,000 riders successfully registered by KCCA in 2013 (Waiswa, 2013, n.p.).

The registration exercise demonstrates the potential which exists for collaboration between the KCCA and Boda association. However, when a KCCA official who works with
transport planning and traffic management was asked if the associations have improved the behavior of the *Bodas*, he personally felt they had not, a view which was mirrored by other city government leaders that were asked the same question. He cited an incident earlier that week, on November 10, 2014, in which *Bodas* under NUDCAW defied KCCA by holding elections of taxi leadership positions without the presence of TAPSCOM (Muneza, 2014, n.p.). The KCCA official expressed concerns that through NUDCAW, which is a highly politicized organization, the *Bodas* were infiltrating other modes of transport and causing unrest them.

But the riders aren’t the only challenge KCCA faces in trying to organize and regulate the *Boda Boda* industry. Informal markets in Uganda are politicized in general due to the gaps they fill in employment and services, and *Boda Bodas* are no exception to that rule. In 2004, KCCA attempted to impose a tax in the form of a license fee on *Bodas* operating in the city, similar to what the taxis pay. The riders opposed the tax and President’s Museveni’s office intervened and declared the tax illegal. The reason for this intervention was entirely political: Museveni uses the riders as a populist political tool and, because of this role the *Bodas* play; he supported the riders against KCCA. The outcome of this event was that, while *Bodas* do pay standard taxes to the Uganda Revenue Authority (URA), they still don’t pay the license fee to operate in the city.

Fortunately, the issue of taxation has become less politicized in recent years. The *Boda Boda* Association 2010 and other stakeholders have engaged with KCCA and, for the most part, agree that a license fee should be paid. This view was mirrored in the focus group discussions where the riders agreed that paying taxes to KCCA would be a good thing provided they receive direct or indirect benefits from that tax money. KCCA and other local government officials seem confident that the riders will be taxed before the end of the year. The only concern expressed by the riders and the association is the amount to be paid. The
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initial offer by KCCA was too high for the riders to agree to and was rejected as a result. Until an amount is agreed upon, KCCA efforts to extract revenue from the industry and efforts to transform the city’s transportation system will continue to be stymied.

A New Vision of Transportation in Kampala

During 3 interviews conducted with city government leaders and a KCCA official, all of them made it clear that the current state of transportation in Kampala was unacceptable. According to the KCCA official, transportation in the city has not been made a priority. As a result, there is no master plan currently being implemented to transform the city’s transportation system. However, each official that was interviewed offered up their vision of a new transportation system in the city.

The first person interviewed was a government leader in Kampala’s Central Division. It is his view that before anything can be accomplished, a transportation master plan with short-term, mid-term, and long-term elements needs to be established. He stated that the policy would need to start from a grassroots perspective where the members of the industry helped create policy which could then be pushed through the local governing systems by government leaders like him. He did not provide any detail as to the form that the transportation master plan should take, but he did seem firmly convinced that Boda Bodos would inevitably be a part of that plan. As such, he felt that one of the biggest priorities was the regulation of the industry to ensure it works safely and efficiently and that it adds value to the city.

A second government leader in Kampala’s Makindye Division shared the opinion that a transportation master plan with short, mid, and long-term elements was a necessity and went into detail about his vision for transportation in the city. It is his view that KCCA is currently too focused on long-term planning and he gave the example of plans to create
flyovers and cable car systems. He believes the short-term projects are just as important and include elements such as: junctions that can be improved, roads that can be widened, one-ways systems, the removal of street parking, and the creation of bus lanes. Buses with sixty seats and standing room are a key tenet of his vision as they would provide an alternative to the current low-capacity public transport system of Matatu taxis and Boda Bodas. With the implementation of a bus system, the taxis and Bodas could begin to take on a more peripheral role in the city’s transport system.

After the short-term projects come the mid-term gains which he describes as bringing in foreign firms to do signalization at junctions and flyovers. Long-term projects would then be the loans to achieve the short and mid-term projects, trains, and Bus Rapid Transport which would create completely dedicated roadways for the bus system. In this vision of public transportation, the Bodas would not be abolished altogether. But they would need to be regulated and based in their stages. In addition, certain parts of the city could be made Boda-free zones to further promote the bus system. However, the government leader in Makindye Division seemed pessimistic about the capacity to KCCA to implement such policies.

Finally, a KCCA official responsible for transport planning and traffic management was interviewed to learn more about KCCA’s plans for Boda Bodas in the context of a transportation master plan. First, he said that Boda Boda regulations need to be authorized so that a policy is in place. Once the regulations are in place, KCCA can then begin to organize the Boda Bodas by basing them in stages organized through the Directorate of Physical Planning. After that, the number of Bodas entering the city can then be reduced through a licensing process. Riders will be required to pay a reasonable tax for operating in the city and to get a Public Service Vehicle (PSV) license from the Transport Licensing Board in order to carry passengers. In addition, certain parts of the city will be made Boda-free to reduce the
volume of vehicles, noise, and pollution in those areas. Finally, those without a license to operate will have to find work elsewhere.

It is the hope of the KCCA official that by the time the city’s transport system gets to that point, those Boda riders who would have otherwise become unemployed by the licensing process will be able to act as feeders in other transportation sectors. An example he gave was the creation of cooperatives through the Boda associations. Ideally, KCCA would be able to collaborate with Boda leaders to create large cooperatives among their members capable of purchasing small or large buses. Through these cooperatives, ex-Boda riders could remain in the transportation industry and favor the mass transit agenda as the city moves from low-volume carriers to mass transit. However, as current relations between the KCCA and Boda leadership stand, problems with implementation of such a program and regulation of the Bodas will continue as long the two sides remain suspicious of the others’ intentions.

3.4 The Potential of the Industry

Despite the future plans for Kampala’s public transport system to move towards mass transit with Bodas at the periphery, there are ways in which the Boda industry’s services can be expanded using Boda Boda Association 2010 and other organizations as a driving force. During the focus group discussions, the riders were posed a hypothetical question: “If the association was to require all members to perform public works on one day every month for the benefit of the community, would you be willing to do it?” The riders in each group unanimously responded that if the association were to ask them to perform community service, they would do it. One rider even went as far as to say that they would have no choice but to participate in such an activity.

Riders in the third focus group reported that they had already participated in association-organized community service programs. They listed brick-laying, road cleaning,
and clearing trenches as activities they’d done in the past. However, riders in the second focus group stated that the association did not organize community service activities and that the community service they performed was of their own accord. It is clear that community service in the Central Division of Boda Boda Association 2010 is not a consistently planned activity. The association has greater capacity to mobilize riders and the riders have untapped willingness to perform community services.

In addition, Boda riding in many cases is a form of underemployment. Survey respondents and focus group members reported doing a wide variety of jobs prior to becoming Boda riders. The skills they bring from their former jobs could be invaluable towards community service activities. If the association were to organize monthly community service programs by division, or even by stage, a variety of public works and services could be performed for the benefit of the community making the large number of Boda riders in a city a force for good. In addition, the contribution of the riders to the community would have an added benefit of reducing, over a period of time, the stigma against Boda Bodas.

Bodas have also begun to be used to fill another gap in the formal transportation market: emergency medical transportation. In a recent study by Cole Benz (2014, 25) it was determined that emergency medical transportation in Kampala is often limited to those who can afford it or transfers from one hospital to another. Because of this, many people who are in accidents or are otherwise in need of transportation to a hospital travel via private vehicles, taxis or, very commonly, on Boda Bodas. First-aid training for Boda riders was discussed earlier in the study, but in addition to that some Bodas are being used by medical centers for emergency medical transport.

One rider whose services are being used for emergency medical transport is Adnan Asumani. In an article in the Sunday Monitor, Asumani explained that he was hired by the
Infectious Diseases Institute (IDI) to work as an ambulance rider for his village (see appendix 5 for article). IDI trained him, gave him the motorcycle ambulance to ride, gives him an allowance for his services, and pays for his fuel. Because of this, Asumani is able to provide emergency medical transportation to those who might not otherwise have access to it (Katushabe, 2014, 8-9).

Because of the capacity for Boda Bodas to traverse rough terrain, navigate traffic jams, and access remote areas, they have the potential to help fill a gap in emergency medical transportation that currently exists in Uganda. If hospitals were to provide similar motorcycle ambulances to Boda Boda Association 2010, the association could mobilize riders to volunteer to operate the motorcycle ambulance on a rotating basis. Riders on duty could respond to accidents and other emergency medical scenarios in return for fair compensation of the time they are not riding their own bodas.

4.0 Conclusion

In conclusion, the Boda Boda industry operates as a gap-filler in Kampala’s public transportation system. It provides employment and a source of livelihood to those who might not otherwise have work and fulfills a demand among the citizens of Kampala for rapid transport. Unfortunately, their services come at a high cost both financially and in terms of safety. Motorcycles have among the greatest number of accident-related deaths and injuries due to a lack of road safety training and pressure from passengers to ride fast and break traffic rules.

However, despite these risks, Boda riders find themselves earning enough to pay for most their dependents’ needs, rent, food, and basic school fees. Some are even able to save part of their income. The riders themselves are quite young on average and have received
only a basic education. Fortunately, many of these same riders report that they are investing in the schooling of their children so that they can become better educated.

The *Boda Boda* industry is largely unregulated, but the riders have organized into associations which function as workers unions of sorts. The associations serve a variety or economic, social, political, and health and safety functions for the riders, none of which government is currently able to provide for them. However, the associations receive very little financing, which limits their capacity to deliver those services to the riders.

The Kampala Capital City Authority has struggled to regulate the city’s *Boda* riders in large part due to the politicization of the informal transportation market. However, recent collaborations with the *Boda Boda* Association 2010 and other stakeholders in a registration exercise bring hope that KCCA will be able to work with the *Bodas* as they move towards future plans for public transportation in the city. Future visions of Kampala’s transportation system see short, mid, and long-term changes to infrastructure and services as the city moves towards mass-transit. While fewer *Bodas* will likely be allowed to operate in the city and their role in the transportation system will become more peripheral, local government officials do not see any benefit in abolishing *Boda Bodas* from the city altogether. The hope is that *Boda* riders will be able to help contribute to the future of transportation needs of the city by feeding into the new mass transit system and forming cooperatives capable of buying buses. In fact, the surveyed riders themselves expressed hopes to move on from being *Boda Boda* operators which suggests they would not necessarily be opposed to seeing *Bodas* phased out to some degree over time so long as alternative employment opportunities have been made available to them.

However, while looking towards future plans for mass transit in the city is important, association and government leadership both need to examine the potential that *Bodas*
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currently have to improve the city and fill in more gaps in the transportation and broader
social systems. Reported rider willingness to perform regular community service activities, a
large number of Bodas registered with Boda Boda Association 2010, and the capacity of the
leadership to mobilize the riders could be a greater force for good. Additionally, medical
organizations have already begun to see the benefits of using carriages attached to
motorcycles as a form of emergency medical transportation in areas that otherwise don’t have
access to such a service. If more hospitals and organizations were able to coordinate with
Boda associations, Bodas could potentially fill a gap in emergency medical transportation
that exists in the city in a safer way.

Boda Bodas have been described as a double-edge sword: they are a necessity as they
currently fill a gap in public transport and fulfill an abundance of other roles within their
communities, but they do so at a high risk to riders, passengers, and other road users. While
their role in urban transport may become more peripheral over time with the eventual
introduction of mass transit systems, the riders will undoubtedly continue to be essential in
more remote communities and their services will still be used. However, as that transition is
being made, local government needs to ensure that they are providing necessary
infrastructure, medical, and training services to the riders so that the Boda industry can
operate in as safe a manner as possible and the potential benefits of the industry can be fully
realized within Kampala’s transportation system.

5.0 Recommendations

To Future Researchers

Data collected during the research period was collected from a single case study of
Boda Boda Association 2010’s Central Division offices. As such, this study only scratches
the surface of the dynamics and functions of the Boda Boda industry in Kampala. A
comparative study of the Divisions within Boda Boda Association 2010 would yield interesting data on the capacity of the various divisions within the city. It is also important to note that Boda Boda Association 2010 is just one of several active associations operating in Kampala: a comparative study of these different associations and the ways in which they interact would be highly beneficial to the study of the Boda industry within Kampala.

In addition, a comparative study of the Boda industry and levels of organization by district in the country would prove beneficial. Each district differs in geography, infrastructure, and culture which would likely result in variance in forms of Boda organization and the services provided to their communities. Once a country-wide comparative study has occurred, it would also be interesting to examine the motorcycle taxi industries of neighboring countries and compare the different levels of organization and the differences in services. It had initially been the intent of this study to examine the difference in levels of organization and regulation of Bodas in Rwanda and Uganda. However, the scope of such a study was too great for the data collection period.

To Government Officials

Regulation of the Boda industry is essential to ensure that the services which are provided by Boda riders are safe, efficient, and beneficial to the city. While it is important that only those riders registered with and known by KCCA be allowed to operate in the city, the recent registration exercise only managed to register just over 30,000 Boda riders in the given time frame. Boda Boda Association 2010 estimates their rider membership at 100,000 riders: if 70,000 riders were suddenly put out of work, the consequences could be catastrophic for the social fabric of the city.

It is therefore the recommendation of this study that a second registration exercise be held to give more riders the opportunity to register with KCCA and continue to operate
within the city. In the event that such a recommendation is infeasible, the least KCCA could do is ensure that the reduction of Boda riders be gradual and coupled with the creation of alternative avenues of employment for the riders to feed into. Boda riders may be gap-fillers in the public transportation system; but they are people first with financial needs that need to be met and families that need to be supported. It is the responsibility of KCCA, as it is the responsibility of any governing body, to ensure that its citizens are being guided towards effective sources of livelihood, especially when they are removing one source of livelihood in the process.

A plan to organize riders into large cooperatives capable of investing in high-capacity modes of transportation was mentioned during an interview with a KCCA official. Successful implementation of such a policy requires collaboration with organizations like Boda Boda Association 2010 which have the capacity to better mobilize riders into such a cooperative movement. Through cooperation with the association, KCCA could guide public transportation towards a system of mass transportation with Boda Bodas working as partners rather than acting in opposition of such efforts. Many riders see their time in the Boda industry as temporary until a better alternative comes along. KCCA needs to use this mindset to further its agenda by helping to create incentives for riders to seek alternatives outside of the Boda industry and in mass transportation.

KCCA’s intention to enforce a licensing tax on riders is an import step towards ensuring that the Boda industry in the city is financially benefitting the city. However, if such a tax is to succeed the amount of the tax needs to be reasonable and based on the means of the riders. Associations and other representative organizations of Boda riders need to be consulted not only on the amount of the tax but the ways in which it should be collected. It may be worthwhile to examine the possibility of using Boda associations like Boda Boda Association 2010 as implementing partners to license riders and collect the tax. In such a
scenario, a rider could work with an association’s financial services to pay the fee in a timeframe and way that if feasible based on their means. It would also take the burden of collection off of KCCA: if properly incentivized, the associations could be effective in this capacity.

However, it is essential that any revenue from the riders by KCCA be used to provide needed services and benefits to the Boda Bodas. Potential services that focus group participants stated they wanted to see included: improvements to infrastructure, better healthcare facilities and services, and driving schools for motorcycle operators. The latter would be particularly beneficial. Driving schools created and approved by the Transport Licensing Board for motorcycles could provide road safety sensitization and even potentially facilitate and centralize the absurdly complicated process of obtaining a driving permit. If KCCA is able to successfully collaborate with the organizational structures of the Boda industry to provide needed services to the riders and necessary guidelines for their operations, regulation of the industry and coordination towards a system of mass-transit will be more easily accomplished.

To Boda Boda Association 2010 and Other Similar Organizations

It is essential that Boda Boda Association 2010 continues to provide services to its membership. If riders see benefits accruing from being a part of the association, they will be far more willing to coordinate with its leadership. This includes a need for the association to expand its capacity to provide financial, health, and security services. If this is to be accomplished, the association needs to continue looking for public and private partnerships which can support those services in mutually beneficial ways. In certain cases, the roles currently being fulfilled by the association, such as the provision of road safety seminars, should be the responsibility of local government. By collaborating with KCCA and other
governing structures, the association can find ways to ensure that the burden of providing those needed services are taken up by government in a synergetic manner.

The Association also needs to recognize ways in which its role and the services that their members provide can be expanded to further benefit local communities and help remove the stigma that surrounds the industry. The study mentions on way in which this can be accomplished: The formal organization of association-wide community service projects. Focus group participants all expressed a willingness to give back to their communities through association-organized public works. The association needs to take advantage of this willingness and coordinate monthly public service projects which benefit not only community members but riders as well.

In addition, if a movement towards cooperatives capable of becoming stakeholders in a mass transit system is to be accomplished, the association needs to begin to create avenues and guide riders towards that end. A transparent association-based savings and credit cooperative (SAACO) with the express intent to invest in future modes of transportation and livelihoods would be an excellent way to accomplish this, especially with the large membership pool the associations have to coordinate with.

Finally, if the association is to succeed in acting as an intermediary between KCCA and the *Boda* riders as the city moves towards a better organized and regulated *Boda* industry, it needs to focus less on political agendas. *Boda Bodas* should prioritize their role in the transportation market and not act as though they are part of a political movement. While it is important to ensure that the rights of riders are protected, resisting the efforts of government to regulate the industry through strikes and riots is ultimately counter-productive: instead the associations should seek alternative solutions to disagreements with government and do everything in their power to find compromises. Both the associations and government need
transparency in their actions: open dialogue between the two parties is essential to creating both a functioning system now and effective and mutually-beneficial plans for the future of public transportation in the city.

To Boda Riders

As government begins to focus on future plans for mass transit, it is essential that Boda riders take their futures into their own hands and begin planning for a time where Boda Bodas take on a peripheral role in the public transportation system. The best way to do that is for the riders to save as much of their incomes as possible in order to invest in organizations or capital that can help accommodate their future plans.

If a rider intends to stay in the transportation industry, they may find putting money in a SAACO organized through a Boda association beneficial: such a SAACO would be investing in future opportunities in the transportation system. However, if a rider intends to leave the industry it is essential they set goals for themselves and use their savings towards those goals so they can move away from the Boda industry before KCCA begins efforts to reduce the number of Bodas operating in the city.

Finally, it is essential that riders actively cooperate with the leadership of the Boda associations they are registered with and hold their leaders accountable for their actions. The associations need members to participate in their mobilization efforts and to offer feedback on the services they provide. By working together under the direction of their association leaders, Boda riders can ensure they are getting the most out of their organization and working at their full potential.
Bibliography


**Bibliography of Images**

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*kampala map.jpg* [Digital Map of Uganda]. November 25, 2014.  
Appendix 1

Boda Boda Research Survey Questionnaire

My name is Bradley Raynor. I am a student of International Studies and Film at Kenyon College in Ohio in the United States. This semester, I am studying development studies with the School for International Training. Currently, I am performing a study to learn more about the effects that organization into associations has had on the welfare of Boda Boda riders. The purpose of this questionnaire is to learn more about the individual Boda Boda riders including: their backgrounds, the challenges they face, and the perceived benefits gained from the association. If there are any questions that don’t apply to you, simply write “NA” in the space provided.

Name (optional) ____________________________ Age _______ Sex (M or F) ______

What ethnic group do you identify as (optional)? __________________

Are you married? ________ Do you have children? If so, how many? ____________ ______

How many years of school have you completed (P1-P7, S1-S6, T1-T5)? ______________ ______

Do you live in Kampala (Yes or No)? __________

If no is selected for the question above, where do you live outside of Kampala and how long is your commute to work (optional): ____________________________

Do you rent or own your current home? ☐ Own ☐ Rent ☐ Other: ______________ ______

How many years have you worked as a Boda Boda rider? ______

What was your former job before becoming a Boda Boda rider? ______

Why did you leave your former job? __________________________

Are you the owner of your motorcycle? __________

A) If yes, did you use a loan or other form of credit? ________
a. Who gave the loan or credit (Association, bank, individual, etc)?

B) If no, who owns your motorcycle?

C) If no, do you have the opportunity to buy it in the future?

Around how many hours do you work in a day?

How many days per week do you work?

Around how many people do you transport in a day?

Around how much do you earn in a day?

Please list every job/service you do as a Boda rider:

Do you wear a helmet when you ride?

Do you provide a helmet for your passenger?

Do you ever carry more than one passenger?

If possible, please list some recent locations you have transported people to and the average rates you charge. Please use the table below.

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<th>Start Location</th>
<th>End Location</th>
<th>No. Passengers</th>
<th>Distance Travelled (km)</th>
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If you were to transport someone from the Central Division Boda Association near Club Ambiance to Bwaise, around how much would you charge?

Are you able to save money or is it all spent when earned (Save or Spend)?

A) If you spend it all, what do you spend it on?
B) If you save, how and where do you save it?

C) If you save, how much of your income do you save?

What are some of the challenges you face as a Boda Boda rider?

Do you feel as though you are respected by other cars as a vehicle on the road (Yes or No)?

____

Do you belong to a Boda Boda Association or similar organization?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If you are not in an association, why? ________________________________

______________________________

____

*If you are not in a Boda Boda Association or similar organization, please do not complete the rest of the questionnaire. If you are, please continue with the remaining questions.*

If you are in an association, which association/organization are you a member of? _______

_____

What division do you operate in? _______ What stage do you operate in? ______

_____

If you are in an association, how long have you been a member? _________________

If you are in an association, how much money do you contribute to the association? ______

_____

If you are in a Boda Boda Association, what are the benefits you receive from this association?
Does the Boda Boda Association impose any restrictions or guidelines on you? If so, what are they?

Thank you very much for taking the time to answer this survey. If you have any additional comments please write them on the provided lines on the back:

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Appendix 2  
*Boda Boda* Focus Group Discussion Template

**Translator Notes**

- Please translate everything said by the participants verbatim. I want to hear exactly what they say; even if you do not agree with it, please continue to say exactly what they say.
- I would like to hear from each participant. Please tell them that, while I will listen to those who are more eager to speak than others, it is important that I hear from everyone in the group.
- Please remain serious and neutral when translating; do not include personal views in the translations.
- If the question I am asking is in any way unclear, please ask for clarification right away. I want to ensure each question is posed to the participants in a way that is true its intent.

**Group Notes**

- Thank you very much for your participation in this study.
- The purpose of this study is to learn more about the impact that organization into associations has had on various aspects of your lives and to learn more about the potential that exists for services to be expanded beyond human transportation.
- I value each of your perspectives but respectfully request that you keep your answers as short and concise as possible. If I would like additional information, I will ask the translator to prompt you for more.
- I would like to hear from each participant and, as such, the same question will be posed to each member of the focus group. Your time and my time are important so please be patient and focused.
- Please do not feel offended if I redirect your answer, it is simply to keep the group focused on information that is significant for the study.
- If you feel uncomfortable at any point in time, please be aware that you can refuse to answer a question or withdraw from participation in the Focus Group Discussion. If at any point in time you feel uncomfortable, please let the translator and myself know immediately.

**Economic Issues**

- How did you get your motorcycle?
• What did you do prior to working as a Boda Boda rider?
• How much do you earn each day on average?
• How many hours per day do you work?
• How many days a week do you work?
• Are you able to support yourselves and any dependents?
• How much money, if any, do you contribute to the association?
• Do you save any of your income? If so, how much do you save and where do you save it?
• Are you responsible for buying your own safety materials (ie. helmets, gloves, etc.) or are some of them provided by the association?
• Does the association provide any form credit and insurance to members?
• Do you plan to continue working as a Boda Boda rider or do you have other future plans?

Social Issues

• How would you describe yourselves as Boda Boda riders?
• How do you think others view you?
• Do you feel disrespected by any members of organizations in society because you are a Boda Boda rider?
• Are your children in school?
• What is the full range of services you provide as Boda Boda riders?
• If the association was to require all members to perform public works on one day every month for the benefit of the community, would you be willing to do it?
  ○ Are there any public services/works you currently provide under the association (medical transportation, waste collection, etc.)?

Health/Safety Issues

• Does the association provide any training on road safety?
• Do you wear a helmet when you ride?
• Do you provide a helmet for your passenger?
• If not, would you carry a helmet for passengers if one was provided to you?
• Do you find that cars treat you with respect on the road?
• What are some of your biggest safety concerns?
• Have you ever sustained an injury while on the job?
  ○ How many times?
• Does the association provide any health services?
• Have you ever been a victim of crime perpetrated by a passenger? (ie. Assaulted, stolen from, etc.)
Political Issues

• What do you believe gives Boda Boda riders so much political influence?

• Are you opposed formal regulation/taxation by local authorities such as the Kampala Capital City Authority?
  o If so, why?
  o Would you be less opposed if taxes came back to you in the form of public services? What services would you want to be provided?
  o If not, why do you believe previous efforts have failed?

• Have you ever participated in a political rally?
  o Was it organized through the Boda association?

• Have you recently participated in a protest or strike?
  o What issues were you protesting or striking for?
Appendix 3
Interview Questions: Mayor of Makindye Division of Kampala and Interview Schedules

1. Could you please tell me about your role as Mayor of Makindye Division?
2. How would you describe Boda Bodas?
3. How are Bodas organized within your division?
   a. If not, why are they not organized?
4. What is the relationship between political leaders and Boda Boda riders in Kampala?
5. Where do you see Kampala in the future in terms of public and private transportation?
   a. What would you like improved?
   b. Challenges faced?
6. How do Boda Bodas factor into that vision?
   a. Are they seen as a hindrance, a solution, or something else?
7. In what ways do you work with or help Boda Bodas? (political arm)
8. Could you please tell me a little about the circumstances surrounding recent attempts to register Bodas in the city?
9. As a doctor and founder of International Hospital Kampala, do you often have cases involving Boda Bodas?
10. Why do you think Boda Boda riders have received so much support from government officials?
    a. Why are Boda Boda organizations so politically influential?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date:</th>
<th>Interviewee:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>October 26, 2014</td>
<td>Boda Boda Association 2010 Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 6, 2014 (morning)</td>
<td>Central Division Government Official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 6, 2014 (afternoon)</td>
<td>Makindye Division Government Official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 21, 2014</td>
<td>Kampala Capital City Authority Official</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date:</th>
<th>Focus Group:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>November 5, 2014</td>
<td>Riders with less than a year of experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 15, 2014</td>
<td>Riders with one to ten years of experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 24, 2014</td>
<td>Riders with over ten years of experience</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 4
Study of Uganda’s Boda Associations Consent Form

Researcher’s Email: raynorb@kenyon.edu  Researcher’s Phone: 0793938590

Brief Description of the Purpose of this Study

The purpose of this study is to gain information about Boda Bodas and the impact of organization on their activities, well-being, and the services they provide.

Rights Notice

In an endeavor to uphold the ethical standards of all SIT ISP proposals, this study has been reviewed and approved by a Local Review Board or SIT International Review Board. If at any time, you feel that you are at risk or exposed to unreasonable harm, you may terminate and stop the interview. Please take some time to carefully read the statements provided below.

Voluntary Participation

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. If you wish to withdraw from the study at any time you may do so with no withdrawal of rights or negative consequences.

Privacy

All information you present in this interview may be recorded, filmed, and safeguarded. If you do not want the information recorded, you need to let the interviewer know.

Anonymity

All names in this study will be kept anonymous unless the participant chooses otherwise.

Confidentiality

All names will remain completely confidential and fully protected by the interviewer as requested. By signing below, you give the interviewer full responsibility to uphold this contract and its contents. The interviewer will also sign a copy of this contract and give it to the participant.

__________________________________________________________________________
- Participant’s name printed  Participant’s signature

Date

__________________________________________________________________________
- Interviewer’s name printed  Interviewer’s signature

Date

Local Review Board Contact: Dr. Charlotte Mafumbo | Phone: +256 779 518549 | Email: charlotte.mafumbo@sit.edu
Appendix 5

Sunday Monitor Article, “Giving the ride of hope.”
### Appendix 6
Roles of Executive Committee Members in the Central Division office of *Boda Boda* Association 2010.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Executive Committee Position:</th>
<th>Position's Function:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chairman</td>
<td>Provides oversight, calls meetings, and in charge of overall decision making.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice-Chairman</td>
<td>Performs similar roles to the chairman when the chairman himself is not present. Also performs any roles appointed by the chairman or committee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasurer</td>
<td>Responsible for finances, signing money in and out, and providing funding for welfare.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defense</td>
<td>Responsible for protecting association members and securing the community which can include sensitization on self-defense.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>Collects data and is responsible for record keeping, recording meeting minutes, and registration of riders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning Development</td>
<td>In charge of social development and is responsible for ensuring the leadership is meeting the needs of the riders (ie. Loans, housing, finances).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic and Road Safety</td>
<td>Sensitizes riders on road safety through the organization of road safety seminars. Also helps to process permits, license plates, and other documents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchasing Officer</td>
<td>Responsible for bargaining for and purchasing necessary capital for the operation of the association. (ie. Computers, furniture, motorcycles).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advisor</td>
<td>Advises in all sectors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>Coordinates with riders and organizations to provide sensitization on health issues (ie. HIV and STD sensitization).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>Organizes football, boxing, and other sporting tournaments and chairs meetings related to those activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>Responsible for passing information via letters, phone calls, and other forms of media when, for example, a meeting needs to be called.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare</td>
<td>Responsible for organizing welfare for riders in case of problems, accidents, marriage ceremonies, and burials.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Relations Officer</td>
<td>Spokesperson for the association.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Mobilizer</td>
<td>Mobilizes riders for sensitizations, rallies, and other activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discipline</td>
<td>Responsible for leadership and rider discipline in cases of stealing, drug abuse, or abuse of passengers. Has the capacity to move toward suspension or dismissal of leadership or impounding of motorcycles for a period not to exceed 1 week.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>