

Opportunities to improve road safety through 'boda-boda' associations in Tanzania

Final Report



Tom Bishop and Peter Amos
Amend

TAN2015G / SC14069

May 2015

The views in this document are those of the authors and they do not necessarily reflect the views of the Africa Community Access Partnership (AFCAP) or Cardno Emerging Markets (UK) Ltd for whom the document was prepared

Cover Photo: Peter Amos interviewing a boda-boda driver in Mwanza

<i>Quality assurance and review table</i>			
Version	Author(s)	Reviewer(s)	Date
First Draft	Tom Bishop and Peter Amos		3 rd April 2015
		Annabel Bradbury	8 th April 2015
		Paul Starkey	13 th April 2015
Second Draft	Tom Bishop and Peter Amos		1 st May 2015
		Annabel Bradbury	8 th May 2015
Final	Tom Bishop and Peter Amos		14 th May 2015
		Paul Starkey	29 th May 2015

AFCAP/ASCAP Project Management Unit
Cardno Emerging Market (UK) Ltd
Oxford House, Oxford Road
Thame
OX9 2AH
United Kingdom



Abstract

This is the final report of the study into motorcycle taxi associations in Tanzania, identifying opportunities to improve safety and other areas of operation.

The numbers of motorcycles and motorised tricycles in Tanzania has increased rapidly in recent years, changing the face of accessibility and mobility. In urban areas, both motorcycles and motorised tricycles are used to avoid congestion, often as taxis, and in rural areas motorcycles are often the only form of motorised transport available. They provide employment and business opportunities for tens of thousands of people.

However, safety is a major concern: the numbers of motorcycle- and motorised tricycle-related deaths and injuries has increased as the number of motorcycles and motorised tricycles operating in the country has increased.

The Government has identified that opportunities exist to address safety concerns through regulation, including through encouraging the formation of associations of motorcycle and motorised tricycle taxi drivers, and empowering the associations to self-regulate and thus improve the safety-related behaviour of members.

Through investigations in Dar es Salaam, Kilimanjaro, Mwanza and Pwani, we have developed, and present in this report, a series of guidelines for motorcycle and motorised tricycle taxi associations and recommendations for Government and other stakeholders.

Key words

Association, bajaji, boda-boda, motorcycle, motorised tricycle, regulation, SUMATRA

AFRICA COMMUNITY ACCESS PARTNERSHIP (AFCAP) Providing solutions for safe and sustainable rural access across Africa

AFCAP is a research programme, funded by UK Aid, with the aim of promoting safe and sustainable rural access for all people in Africa. AFCAP supports knowledge sharing between participating countries in order to enhance the uptake of low cost, proven solutions for rural access that maximise the use of local resources. The AFCAP programme is managed by Cardno Emerging Markets (UK) Ltd.

See www.afcap.org

Acronyms, Units and Currencies

AFCAP	Africa Community Access Partnership
Cardno-ITT	Cardno IT Transport
CHAWAPILA	Chama cha Waendesha Piki-piki Wilaya ya Ilala
CHABBOWIKI	Chama cha Waendesha Bajaji na Boda-boda Wilaya ya Kinondoni
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CDO	Community Development Officer
CWBK	Chama cha Waendesha Boda-boda Mkoa wa Kilimanjaro
IRAT	Improving Rural Access in Tanzania
RTI	Road Traffic Injury
SACCOS	Savings and Credit Cooperative Society
SUMATRA	Surface and Maritime Transport Regulatory Authority
TRA	Tanzania Revenue Authority
Tsh	Tanzanian Shillings. (USD 1 = approx Tsh 1,800)
UKAid	United Kingdom Aid (Department for International Development, UK)
UWAPITE	Umoja wa Waendesha Piki-piki Temeke
UWP	Umoja wa Waendesha Piki-piki Mkoa wa Mwanza
VETA	Vocational Education and Training Authority
WHO	World Health Organization

Contents

Abstract	3
Key words	3
Acronyms, Units and Currencies	4
1 Executive summary	8
2 Background	9
2.1 Context	9
2.2 Research project background	9
2.3 Research objectives	10
3 Methodology and deliverables	11
3.1 Project activities	11
3.1.1 <i>Task 1: Preparation of data collection methodology</i>	11
3.1.2 <i>Task 2: Review of SUMATRA Regulations related to motorcycle taxis</i>	11
3.1.3 <i>Task 3: Investigations into best practice among boda-boda associations</i>	11
3.1.4 <i>Task 4: Investigations into boda-boda associations in rural areas</i>	12
3.1.5 <i>Task 5: Presentation of findings</i>	12
3.1.6 <i>Task 6: Dissemination of results</i>	12
3.2 Deliverables	12
4 Motorcycles and motorised tricycles in Tanzania.....	13
4.1 Types of motorcycles and motorised tricycles in Tanzania	13
4.1.1 <i>Piki-piki</i>	13
4.1.2 <i>Boda-boda</i>	13
4.1.3 <i>Bajaji</i>	14
4.1.4 <i>Toyo</i>	15
4.2 Growth in numbers	15
4.3 Key issues	16
4.3.1 <i>Increased accessibility and mobility</i>	17
4.3.2 <i>Employment and income opportunities</i>	17
4.3.3 <i>Road safety</i>	17
4.3.4 <i>Perceived involvement in criminal activity</i>	20
5 Regulation of motorcycles and motorised tricycles.....	22
5.1 Key clauses of the 2010 Regulations	22
5.2 Observations on the Regulations	24
5.3 Uptake of Road Service Licences since introduction of 2010 Regulations	24
5.4 Announcement of stricter enforcement in 2014	25
6 Investigations into best practice among boda-boda associations.....	26
6.1 Motorcycle-related deaths and injuries in Kilimanjaro, Dar es Salaam and Mwanza	26
6.2 Existence of associations	28
6.3 Membership conditions, fees and rules	28
6.4 Membership benefits	29
6.5 Issues faced by registered boda-boda associations	29
6.6 Awareness of SUMATRA and TRA Regulations	30
6.7 Opinions of association members	30
7 Investigations into boda-boda associations in rural areas.....	32
7.1 Existence of associations	32
7.2 Membership conditions, fees and rules	32
7.3 Membership benefits	33
7.4 Issues faced by rural boda-boda associations	34
7.5 Awareness of SUMATRA and TRA Regulations	34
7.6 Opinions of rural association members	34
8 Experience from elsewhere	36
8.1 Motorcycle taxis banned from entering Monrovia, Liberia	36
8.2 Riots over a helmet law in Chad	36

8.3	Research into the causes of motorcycle crashes	37
9	Guidelines and recommendations	38
9.1	Guidelines for boda-boda associations	38
9.1.1	<i>Appoint good leaders</i>	38
9.1.2	<i>Ensure finances are well-managed</i>	38
9.1.3	<i>Develop a strong relationship with Traffic Police and local officials</i>	39
9.1.4	<i>Align rules with SUMATRA regulations</i>	39
9.1.5	<i>Encourage ownership of boda-bodas and bajajis</i>	39
9.1.6	<i>Encourage drivers to undertake training and obtain licences</i>	39
9.1.7	<i>Encourage drivers to obtain third party insurance</i>	40
9.1.8	<i>Inform the general public of the benefits of using association drivers</i>	40
9.2	Recommendations for government and other stakeholders	40
9.2.1	<i>Review mechanism for implementing existing Regulations</i>	40
9.2.2	<i>Carefully consider potential negative impact of regulation</i>	41
9.2.3	<i>Encourage the development of rural boda-boda associations</i>	41
9.2.4	<i>Undertake full consultation and communication</i>	42
9.2.5	<i>Provide guidance for establishing and managing associations</i>	42
9.2.6	<i>Ensure Traffic Police cooperation with associations</i>	42
9.2.7	<i>Review systems for training, testing and licensing</i>	43
9.2.8	<i>Pilot and evaluate public awareness campaigns</i>	43
9.2.9	<i>Evaluate effectiveness of implementing regulations through associations</i>	43
9.2.10	<i>Pilot the guidelines for boda-boda associations</i>	43
9.2.11	<i>Apply the lessons learned in Tanzania to other countries</i>	44
10	References	45
Appendix A: Investigations in Kilimanjaro		47
	CWBK boda-boda association	47
	<i>CWBK Regional Association</i>	47
	<i>CWBK Branches</i>	47
	Membership conditions	47
	Benefits for members	48
	Association regulations and enforcement	48
	Issues faced by associations	48
	Awareness of SUMATRA and TRA regulations	49
Appendix B: Investigations in Dar es Salaam		50
	Boda-boda associations in Dar es Salaam	50
	<i>UWAPITE</i>	50
	<i>CHAWAPILA</i>	50
	<i>CHABBOWIKI</i>	50
	Membership conditions	51
	Benefits for members	51
	Association regulations and enforcement	51
	Issues faced by associations	52
	Awareness of SUMATRA and TRA regulations	52
Appendix C: Investigations in Mwanza		53
	Boda-boda associations in Mwanza Region	53
	<i>UWP boda-boda association</i>	53
	<i>Kabangaja boda-boda association</i>	53
	<i>Sangabuye boda-boda association</i>	53
	<i>Nyafula boda-boda association</i>	53
	<i>Kayenze boda-boda association</i>	54
	Membership conditions	54
	Benefits for members	54
	Association regulations, enforcement and punishments	54

Issues faced by associations	55
Awareness of SUMATRA and TRA regulations	56
Appendix D: Investigations in Pwani	57
Boda-boda associations in Pwani Region	57
<i>Talawanda boda-boda association</i>	57
<i>Msinune boda-boda association</i>	57
<i>Bago Power boda-boda association</i>	57
<i>Chotambala boda-boda association</i>	57
Membership conditions	57
Benefits for members	58
Association regulations, enforcement and punishments	58
Issues faced by associations	58
Awareness of SUMATRA and TRA regulations	59
Reasons for the disbanding of Chotambala	59

1 Executive summary

The recent influx of affordable motorcycles and motorised tricycles into Tanzania is creating a revolution in mobility and accessibility. Journeys that were previously made by foot or bicycle, or were simply not made, are now being made by motorcycle or motorised tricycle.

The number of motorcycles in Tanzania increased from just a few thousand in 2003 to over 800,000 in 2014. The number of motorised tricycles increased from just a few dozen in 2003 to over 50,000 in 2014. Many motorcycles and motorised tricycles are used as taxis, and are known as 'boda-bodas' and 'bajajis' respectively.

But this revolution has a cost – increased road traffic injury (RTI), and the burden that this puts on the country's economy and society.

In an attempt to regulate the use of boda-bodas and bajajis, in order to improve road safety (among other reasons), in 2014 the Tanzanian Government announced the introduction of a new registration system as well as the strengthening of enforcement of regulations requiring drivers to be members of associations. Associations are required to register officially, and members are required to comply with rules such as obtaining a driving licence, wearing a helmet, and carrying no more than one passenger.

The investigations detailed in this report have found that the formation of associations in some regions of Tanzania has coincided with a reduction in the numbers of motorcycle-related deaths and injuries. While many factors may have contributed to the reduction in deaths and injuries, and it is not possible to say with confidence that the presence of associations was one of those factors, it is possible that associations have the potential to play a positive role in improving safety.

However, experience in other African countries has shown that strong enforcement of motorcycle-related regulations can create inconvenience, economic difficulties and, at worst, riots and deaths.

This report presents the findings of investigations into the operations of associations in Kilimanjaro, Dar es Salaam, Mwanza and Pwani. Based on the lessons learned, it provides guidelines for associations on how to run their operations, and recommendations for Government and other stakeholders to support associations.

The investigations identified that associations need good leadership, including transparent financial management to give members confidence that money is being well used. They need a strong relationship with local officials, and in particular with the local Traffic Police as this will help them to enforce their own rules. If associations can encourage members to operate in line with national regulations, this will ultimately benefit all as the associations will be able to represent the needs of their members.

Government needs to provide greater assistance to associations, including by developing guidance on their set-up and management. National systems for training, testing and licensing need to be improved, and special consideration is needed for associations in rural areas, including how to facilitate rural members' access to such services.

The lessons learned from Tanzania may have applicability in other African countries, including in countries where motorcycle use is not yet widespread. Developing a model of regulation in Tanzania that improves safety and other areas of boda-boda operations has the potential to benefit millions of people across Africa.

2 Background

2.1 Context

Worldwide, over 1.2 million people are killed each year on the roads. Fifty million more are seriously injured. Road traffic injuries (RTIs) are the number one leading cause of death for people aged between 15 and 29. For all age groups, RTIs are forecast to jump from the ninth to the fifth leading cause of death by 2030, higher than HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis (World Health Organization, 2013a).

Over 90 percent of the world's traffic fatalities occur in low- and middle-income countries. Sub-Saharan Africa has some of the most dangerous roads in the world, with an average road fatality rate of 24.1 per 100,000 people, while the global average fatality rate is 18.0 per 100,000 people (World Health Organization, 2013b). It is estimated that the situation in sub-Saharan Africa will become worse in the upcoming years. By 2050, the population of Africa will grow by more than a billion people. Africa's rate of motorisation is one of the fastest in the world, with thousands of cars added to the roads every day. Globally, the number of private motor vehicles is forecast to triple by 2050. Two-thirds of this explosive growth will take place in non-OECD countries such as those in sub-Saharan Africa (International Energy Agency, 2008). With more vehicles, there will be a greater risk of injury and death, unless effective measures are taken to improve road safety.

In Tanzania, official figures show that in 2014, 3,760 people were killed on the roads and a further 14,530 were injured (Tanzania Traffic Police, 2015).

2.2 Research project background

The Africa Community Access Partnership (AFCAP) aims to promote safe and sustainable rural access for all people in Africa, sharing knowledge in order to enhance the uptake of low cost, proven solutions for rural access that maximise the use of local resources. This includes improving roads and transport services.

The recent influx of affordable Chinese and Indian motorcycles into Tanzania and other African countries is creating a revolution in mobility and accessibility. Journeys that were previously made by foot or bicycle, or were simply not made, are now being made by motorcycle. But this revolution has a cost – increased motorcycle-related RTI.

Between 2008 and 2014, over 700,000 new motorcycles were registered in Tanzania, with the number of registrations per year increasing from around 45,000 in 2008 to 148,000 in 2014. The number of motorised tricycles increased from just a few dozen in 2003 to over 50,000 in 2014 (Tanzania Revenue Authority (TRA), 2015). Motorcycles and motorised tricycles are commonly used as taxis, charging a fare to carry passengers and/or goods, and are known as 'boda-bodas' and 'bajajis'.

The increase in the number of motorcycles coincided with the number of officially reported motorcycle deaths increasing from 309 in 2008 to 1,098 in 2013 (then reducing to 928 in 2014) (Tanzanian Traffic Police, 2015).

Findings of previous AFCAP-funded research carried out by Amend (2013) concluded that in some areas of rural Tanzania:

- Almost 90% of motorised vehicles using the roads are motorcycles

- Injury rates among motorcycle drivers are as high as 63 per 100 drivers per year, compared to around 4 per 100 people per year among the general population

In 2010, the Surface and Maritime Transport Regulatory Authority (SUMATRA) introduced regulations to govern both boda-bodas and bajajis, including requiring them to form associations. Throughout this report, these associations will be referred to as 'boda-boda associations' as the majority of members are boda-boda drivers. Some associations, however, also have bajaji drivers as members.

Between 2010 and 2013, there was little focus on implementation and enforcement of the SUMATRA regulations. However, in September 2014, SUMATRA's Director General announced that increased efforts would be made to implement and enforce the regulations. This coincided with a new motorcycle licence plate registration system introduced by the Tanzania Revenue Authority (TRA).

Through regulation of boda-bodas and bajajis, opportunities may exist to improve safety, for example related to helmet-wearing and numbers of passengers carried. Regulations set at a national level have the potential to also encourage and enable associations, drivers and owners to self-regulate, for example through associations requiring all members to wear helmets and provide helmets for their passengers.

At the same time, however, regulations have the potential to constrain the benefits that boda-bodas and bajajis provide in terms of mobility and accessibility, including in rural areas where there are often few alternative modes of transport.

2.3 Research objectives

The objectives of the research were:

- To fully understand the SUMATRA regulations related to boda-boda associations, and their implications for boda-boda operations and wider issues of mobility and accessibility, including in rural areas, in Tanzania
- To identify and understand current best practice of boda-boda associations in Tanzania, in relation to road safety and other related aspects of mobility and accessibility
- To understand the current set-up of boda-boda associations in rural Tanzania
- To provide guidelines on how identified best practice can be applied more widely, including in rural areas, to improve safety and other aspects of motorcycle taxi operations, with the aim of influencing policy and practice

3 Methodology and deliverables

3.1 Project activities

In carrying out this study, the following tasks have been undertaken, in line with the proposal:

3.1.1 Task 1: Preparation of data collection methodology

The majority of information collected for this study was collected through interviews with key stakeholders – most of whom were leaders of boda-boda associations. The structure of interviews was intended to be informal, with a number of standard questions designed to prompt further open discussion. This ensured the collection of certain key pieces of information, without limiting the opportunity to learn as much as possible.

3.1.2 Task 2: Review of SUMATRA Regulations related to motorcycle taxis

Our initial interpretation of an announcement made by the SUMATRA Director General in September 2014, published in the Daily News and seen by Amend at www.allAfrica.com (Ngowi, 2014) was that SUMATRA had introduced *new* regulations. However, early on in this study, through meetings with staff at SUMATRA headquarters, we learned that there were no new regulations. Rather, there was a new system of motorcycle and motorised tricycle registration, combined with a plan to strengthen enforcement of SUMATRA's Transport Licensing (Motorcycles and Tricycles) Regulations, 2010 (SUMATRA, 2010).

Upon learning this, we realised that we needed to develop a full understanding not only of the regulations, but also of the wider issues and the history of motorcycles and motorised tricycles in Tanzania. We did this through further interviews and data requests from SUMATRA, TRA and the Traffic Police. The findings of this background research, and a review of the Transport Licensing (Motorcycles and Tricycles) Regulations, 2010, are included in Sections 4 and 5.

3.1.3 Task 3: Investigations into best practice among boda-boda associations

Through our study, we investigated boda-boda associations in Kilimanjaro, Dar es Salaam and Mwanza, aiming to identify best practice and consider how it could be applied more widely, including in rural areas.

In announcing the changes to the registration and regulation of boda-bodas, the SUMATRA Director General hailed Kilimanjaro Region as being 'the region with the least accidents'. He was quoted on allAfrica.com as saying:

"Kilimanjaro is unique. I call upon other leaders to come to Kilimanjaro and learn, because Mr Gama [Kilimanjaro Regional Commissioner] has the solution for the boda-boda problem. Accidents are causing terrible injuries and losses of lives. If they [owners and drivers of boda-bodas] do not take action, we are going to get rid of boda-boda transport." (Ngowi, 2014)

A 2013 investigation into the role of transport operator associations by the international development charity Transaid identified a boda-boda association with around 2,500 members operating in Dar es Salaam's Temeke District. This association – named UWAPITE – claimed to be the only registered association in the country (Turner et al, 2014).

During initial meetings with SUMATRA, we were also advised to investigate Mwanza as a region where best practice among boda-boda associations may exist.

Investigations were carried out through interviews with local officials, boda-boda associations' leaders and members, and non-members.

A summary of the findings of these investigations is included in Section 6 of this report.

3.1.4 Task 4: Investigations into boda-boda associations in rural areas

The main objective of this study is to provide guidelines on how identified best practice can be applied more widely, including in rural areas, to improve safety and other aspects of motorcycle taxi operations, with the aim of influencing policy and practice.

In order to understand how best practice can be applied in rural areas, it was necessary for us to understand the current situation of boda-boda associations in such areas.

From previous Amend work in rural Pwani Region (Bagamoyo District), we were aware that in 2013 a number of boda-boda associations were in the early stages of formation. We visited Bagamoyo District again, to understand the progress that these associations had made, and also visited rural areas of Mwanza Region, on the recommendation of SUMATRA officials, and of Kilimanjaro Region.

A summary of the findings of these investigations is included in Section 7 of this report.

3.1.5 Task 5: Presentation of findings

The findings of the investigations were presented at an AFCAP workshop in Bagamoyo in mid-April 2015. Feedback from the workshop participants has been incorporated into this report.

3.1.6 Task 6: Dissemination of results

The Final Report will be distributed to relevant Tanzanian stakeholders, including:

- SUMATRA
- Traffic Police
- Tanzania Revenue Authority
- The Prime Minister's Office for Regional Administration and Local Government
- Ministry of Transport
- Ministry of Works

3.2 Deliverables

There are two deliverables related to this assignment:

1. A Progress Report – following the review of SUMATRA regulations and investigations into best practice in Kilimanjaro and Dar es Salaam
2. This Final Report – outlining the findings of the investigation into the operations of boda-boda associations in Kilimanjaro, Dar es Salaam, Mwanza and Pwani and providing recommendations for boda-boda associations, government and other stakeholders to improve safety and operations

4 Motorcycles and motorised tricycles in Tanzania

In recent years, Tanzania has seen a huge increase in the number of motorcycles and motorised tricycles using its roads. This section describes these motorcycles and motorised tricycles, the reasons for and extent of their growth in use, and the key issues that surround their use (including road safety).

4.1 Types of motorcycles and motorised tricycles in Tanzania

There are a number of different types of motorcycles and motorised tricycles using Tanzania's roads, each being used in different ways. The most common types are:

- Motorcycles for private, non-profit-making use. These are known in Swahili as 'piki-pikis'
- Motorcycles used for profit-making through being rented to carry passengers or goods. These are known as 'boda-bodas'
- Motorised tricycles used for profit-making through being rented to carry passengers, and less often, goods. These are known as 'bajajis'
- Motorised tricycles used either privately or for profit-making through being rented to carry goods. These are known as 'toyos'

All types of motorcycle and motorised tricycle are most commonly used by males. As such, in this report, we have used the male form ('he', 'his', etc) when referring to drivers.

4.1.1 Piki-piki

The term 'piki-piki' refers to a motorcycle which is used only for private, non-profit-making use. The owner of a piki-piki does not rent it out to other people for a fee. The most common example of a piki-piki would be a motorcycle owned by an individual or family used for daily trip-making to work or other locations.

Piki-pikis are found in urban, peri-urban and rural areas. They are most commonly used by males.

4.1.2 Boda-boda

The term 'boda-boda' refers to a motorcycle which is rented out by its owner for profit. Either the owner of the motorcycle drives it himself, charging a fee to carry passengers and/or goods, or the owner rents it to a driver on a limited time basis, such as a day or a week, for a fixed amount, with the driver charging a fee to customers and keeping any profit for himself.

The vast majority of motorcycles (including both boda-bodas and piki-pikis) currently in use in Tanzania are made in China. Previous research (Amend, 2014) found that in two areas of rural Tanzania, the Chinese SANLG was the most common make of motorcycle, accounting for over 45% of all motorcycles. In all, twenty different makes of motorcycles were identified, the majority of which were Chinese manufactured, with others being manufactured in Japan and Pakistan.

Boda-bodas are found in urban and peri-urban areas, where they are used by males and females, young and old, commuters, business-people, students, school children, and so on, of all social classes. They are also found in rural areas, where they are often the most common form of motorised transport and are used by young and old, men, women and children, of all social classes.

Picture 1. Four men on a boda-boda



4.1.3 Bajaji

In Tanzania, the term 'bajaji' refers to a motorised tricycle which is rented out by its owner, for profit to be made through the charging a fee to carry passengers. The owner of the bajaji either drives it himself or rents it to a driver on a limited time basis, for a fixed amount, with the driver charging a fee to customers and keeping any profit for himself.

The majority of bajajis are manufactured by the Indian company Bajaj Auto, and the term has become the catch-all for all motorised tricycles used to carry passengers for profit. In other countries, such motorised tricycles are commonly known as 'tuk-tuks'.

Bajajis are commonly found in urban and peri-urban areas, where they are used by males and females, young and old, commuters, business-people, students, school children, and so on, of all social classes. There are currently few bajajis in rural areas.

Picture 2. A typical bajaji



4.1.4 Toyo

The term 'toyo' refers to a hybrid, with the front wheel and body of a motorcycle, and a trailer similar to that of a small pick-up truck. They are currently used almost exclusively to carry goods in urban areas. We have not identified any toyo drivers as members of boda-boda associations.

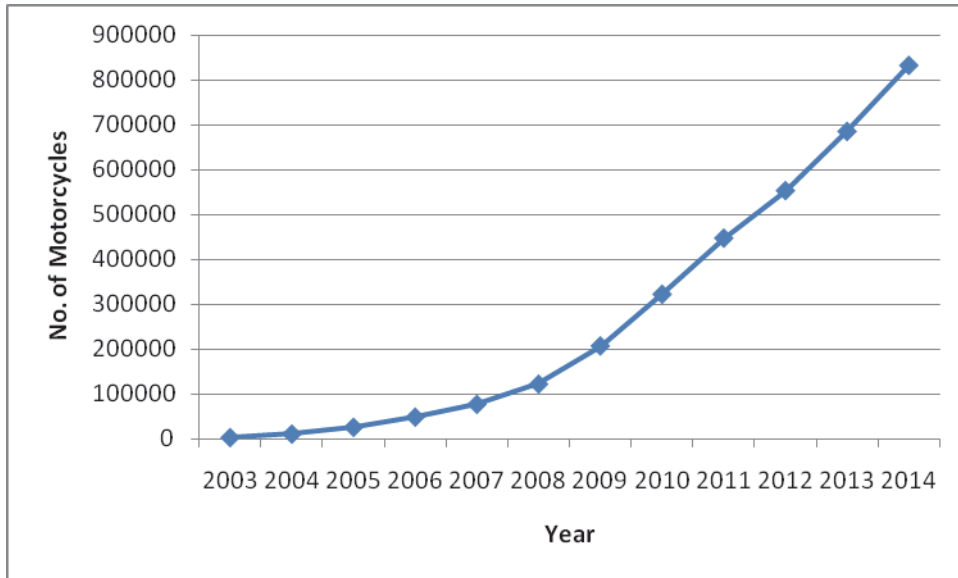
4.2 Growth in numbers

Increased congestion of urban roads, a poor standard of public transport, a high unemployment rate and government policies have all contributed to the rapid increase in the numbers of motorcycles and motorised tricycles.

In Tanzania, TRA keeps records of all motorcycles and motorised tricycles (and other vehicles) in Tanzania. The charts in Figures 1 and 2 below use this data, which was obtained from SUMATRA by Amend.

Figure 1 shows the number of motorcycles in Tanzania for each year from 2003 to 2014.

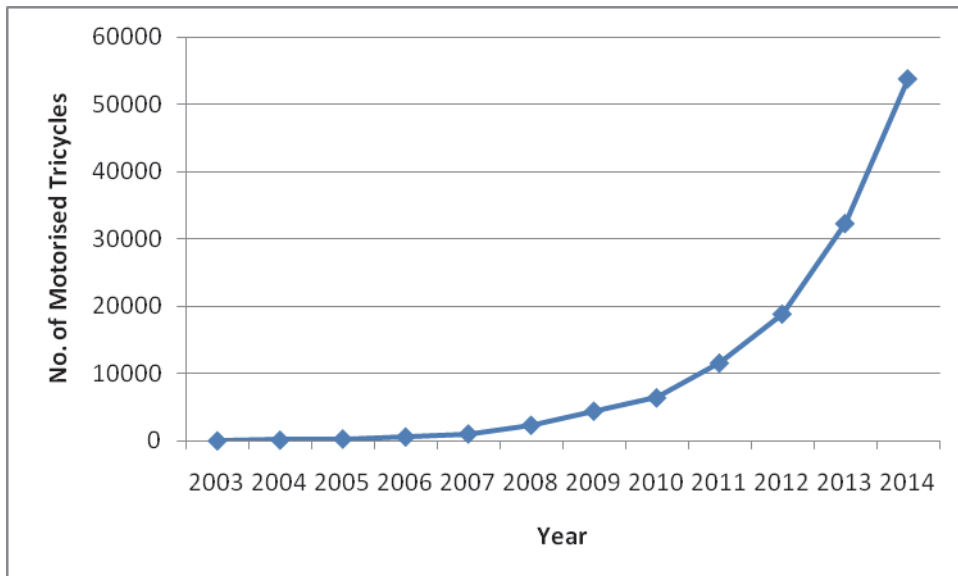
Figure 1. Number of motorcycles registered in Tanzania, 2003 to 2014



In 2003, there were just 1,884 motorcycles in Tanzania. This number has grown year on year, to a total of 832,149 at the end of 2014.

Figure 2 shows the number of motorised tricycles in Tanzania for each year from 2003 to 2014.

Figure 2. Number of motorised tricycles registered in Tanzania, 2003 to 2014



In 2003, there were just 59 motorised tricycles in Tanzania. This number has grown year on year, to a total of 53,874 at the end of 2014.

4.3 Key issues

Here we describe some of the issues related to motorcycles and motorised tricycles, including both positive and negative aspects of their increased use.

4.3.1 Increased accessibility and mobility

Undoubtedly, motorcycles and motorised tricycles have brought benefits to millions of Tanzanians through increased accessibility and mobility in both urban and rural areas.

Levels of congestion are rising in Tanzania's cities. In Dar es Salaam in particular, sitting in traffic jams is a daily reality for many people. By bus or car, commuters can spend between two and three hours in both the morning and evening to get from their homes to work in the city centre.

There are several government-led initiatives being developed to address congestion in Dar es Salaam, including urban road improvements, a bus rapid transit system, commuter trains and commuter ferries, but many people are yet to see the benefits. In the meantime, piki-pikis, boda-bodas and bajajis provide opportunities to weave between traffic, reducing the amount of time it takes to get from place to place.

In rural areas, motorcycles are often by far the most common form of motorised transport available. As such, they offer vastly reduced journey times for trips that would have previously been made by foot or perhaps by bicycle, or may not have been made at all. They transport agricultural produce which previously may have required a car or pick-up truck to be hired.

4.3.2 Employment and income opportunities

Boda-bodas and bajajis provide employment opportunities, in particular among a very important demographic: young men with low levels of education and skills. It is not only jobs as drivers that boda-bodas and bajajis create, but also related services such as mechanics and vendors of spare parts and accessories. In Dar es Salaam, it is not uncommon to see a person with a physical disability driving a bajaji.

According to anecdote, when bajajis first arrived in Tanzania, they were used almost exclusively as transport for people with physical disabilities. Currently, the police restrict bajajis from entering Dar es Salaam city centre; however the restrictions do not apply to disabled drivers, so disabled bajaji drivers have managed to establish themselves as operators in the city centre.

Boda-bodas and bajajis also provide income opportunities to the growing middle-class. It is common for people with sufficient capital to buy one or more motorcycles or bajajis and to rent them out to others on a short-term basis for a fee.

4.3.3 Road safety

There is no doubt that motorcycles and motorised tricycles are a dangerous means of transport in comparison with the alternatives. Their small size, lack of protection, and having only two or three wheels in contact with the ground, makes them more susceptible to loss of control and puts their drivers and passengers at greater risk of serious injury.

Their small size also allows them to pass between traffic. This is a reason for their popularity, but also encourages dangerous driving. Examples of dangerous behaviour related to motorcycles and motorised tricycles are commonplace in Tanzania. These include:

- Driving at speeds inappropriate for the surrounding conditions
- Dangerous overtaking and undertaking
- 'Jumping' red traffic lights
- Driving on pedestrian footpaths
- Driving on the wrong side of the road
- Carrying more than the recommended number of passengers
- Carrying dangerous and unsecured loads

- Failure to use safety equipment such as indicators, helmets and protective clothing
- Failure to use lights at night
- Turning off the engine and coasting downhill
- Using mobile phones while driving
- Drink- and drug-driving

Previous research by Amend has found that in some rural areas, injury rates average more than one injury per driver per year. Anecdotal observation suggests that the rates in urban areas may be even higher than that. Anecdotal evidence would suggest that the numbers are even higher in urban areas. Muhimbili Orthopaedic Institute in the centre of Dar es Salaam receives between 15 and 20 motorcycle-related injury victims per day, accounting for around 80% of all injury admissions. In other urban areas, that figure stands at 60% to 70%.

The Traffic Police records official data on the numbers of deaths and injuries on the country's roads. The charts below show the numbers of motorcycle-related deaths and injuries according to the Traffic Police data, plotted together with the numbers of motorcycles in Tanzania, as shown in Figures 1 and 2, from 2008 to 2014 (the years for which both sets of data are available).

In Figures 3 and 4 the number of motorcycles in Tanzania is plotted on the primary vertical axis and the numbers of motorcycle-related deaths and injuries is plotted on the secondary vertical axis.

Figure 3. Number of motorcycles and motorcycle-related deaths, 2008 to 2014

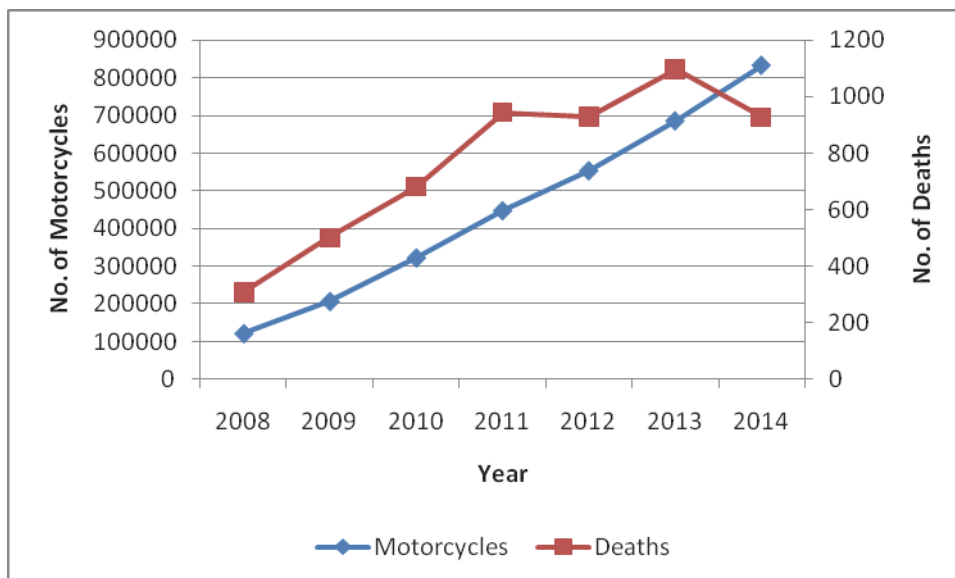
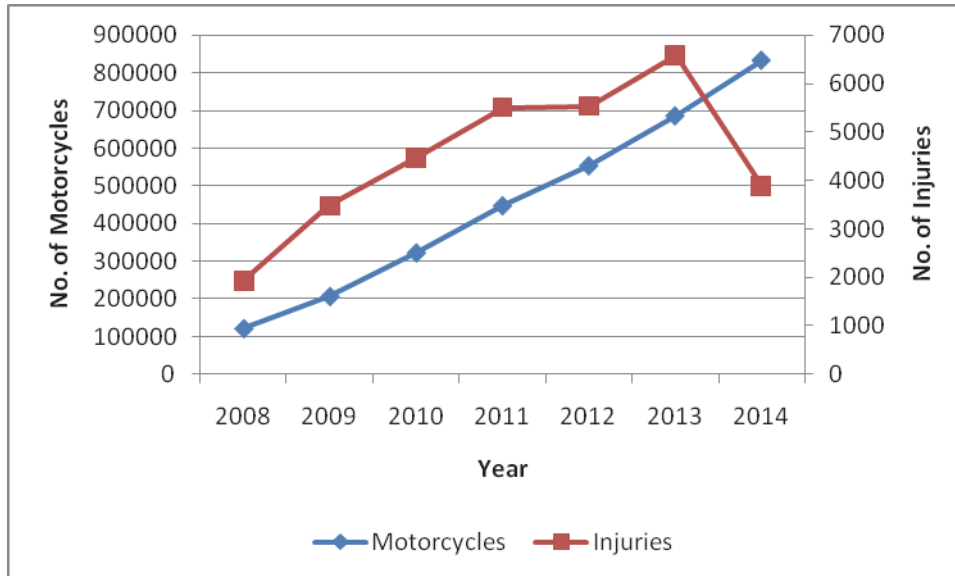


Figure 4. Number of motorcycles and motorcycle-related injuries, 2008 to 2014



The charts show a steady increase in the numbers of motorcycle-related deaths and injuries each year from 2008 to 2013, as the number of motorcycles in the country increased. In 2014 there was a fall in the numbers of both deaths and injuries, while the number of motorcycles continued to increase.

Data on the numbers of motorised tricycle-related deaths and injuries are not consistently recorded by the Traffic Police. In 2013, three deaths and 41 injuries were recorded, but the numbers are not clear from the 2014 data.

In general, when interpreting Tanzanian Traffic Police data, it should be noted that Tanzania, like many developing countries, does not have a reliable system for reporting and recording injuries.

The World Health Organization, in its Global Status Report for Road Safety (WHO, 2013a), classifies Tanzania as a 'country without eligible [RTI] death registration data'. 78 countries worldwide fall into this category. For these countries, the WHO uses a statistical model to calculate the global figures for road deaths.

Research shows that for every road traffic fatality, at least 20 people sustain non-fatal injuries (Peden et al, 2004). If this were to be true in Tanzania, the injury numbers in the Traffic Police data would be far higher.

Picture 3. A boda-boda passenger following a crash



4.3.4 Perceived involvement in criminal activity

Motorcycle drivers are perceived by some to be involved in criminal activity, from bag-snatching to bank robbery. In April 2014, alleged bank robbers stole three hundred million Tanzanian Shillings from a bank in Kinondoni, fleeing from the scene on motorcycles.

In March 2014, the Traffic Police Commander banned boda-bodas from entering and operating in Dar es Salaam city centre, citing the increase in motorcycle-related criminal activity as one of the reasons. Armed police set up check-points on the edge of the city centre, turning around any boda-bodas trying to enter. Those drivers who did enter had their motorcycles seized and taken to the nearest police station, where they had to pay a Tsh 30,000 fine before the motorcycle was released (Mugarula, 2014).

On the other hand, many boda-boda drivers consider themselves to be the victims of crime, and some have developed ways in which to protect themselves. An article published in *Mwananchi* newspaper (9th February 2015) claimed that at some boda-boda stands (the usually unofficial locations where groups of boda-boda drivers gather waiting for customers), drivers have appointed members as 'Boda-Boda Police', to protect themselves from theft and assault.

The article cites boda-boda drivers as saying that they need protection from drivers of other vehicles, including 'dala-dalas' (minibus taxis), who deliberately try to knock them down. It also cites cases of drivers being robbed and murdered by passengers. Claiming self-defence, if a boda-boda driver is hit by another vehicle, his fellow boda-boda drivers will be informed and will rush to the scene, where they have been seen to attack the driver of the other vehicle.

The article quotes senior government officials in response to attacks of other drivers by boda-boda drivers, including the Minister of Home Affairs and the Dar es Salaam Special Zone Police Commander:

"I will talk to the Inspector General of Police so he can see how he can find a solution to this – this is dangerous this time. It is not appropriate for people to take justice into their own hands and form institutions the way they [boda-boda drivers] do."

Minister of Home Affairs, Matthias Chikawe

"They [boda-boda drivers] did many crimes so many times, some of them even kill but they claim it is self defence but self defence is not taking justice into your own hands."

Dar es Salaam Special Zone Police Commander, Suleiman Kova

Mwananchi newspaper article, 'This is boda-boda government', 9th February 2015

2 **BODABODA** **MWANANCHI**
MWANANCHI.CO.TZ JUMATATU, FEBRUARI 9, 2015

Hii ndiyo 'serikali' ya Bodaboda

Wameunda 'polisii' wao ambao wana kazi ya kuamsha vipigo kwa madereva wanaowagonga

Florence Majani, Mwananchi

Waendesha bodaboda sasa wanaweza kufanishwa na 'serikali' inayojitegemea au taasisi ya kipekee kutokana na kuunda umma katika ulinzi na usalama, biashara, vifaa na hata katika vifo na magonjwa.

Uchunguzi wa gazeti hili simebaini kwamba hivi sasa waendesha bodaboda wana utawala wao, unawawongeza katika maeneo mbalimbali.

Inapotokea ajali kati ya dereva wa gari na mwendesha bodaboda baada ya dakika chache, kundi la

Hivi anabuzika na shughuli za ulinzi na usalama. Kwa mfano iki-tokea dereva mwenzeo kagongwa 'polisii' atakuwa walowanzo kuchukua hatua, kumkusanya wenzake kwa kuwagipia simu na kuandisha mashambulizi.

"Polisi kazi yake kuzungulia kuwa mwenzeo yupo salama, wakati mwingine mwenzako anakodiwa halafu hajarudi mpaka hizi lasima unagipia simu," alisema Mwezyekiti wa wendesha bodaboda wa Kimanga, Said Kulika.

Kulika alisema 'Polisi' katika vituo vya bodaboda husaidia pia kudhibiti wizi na masaji ya madereva hao.

Wendesha bodaboda hao wanasema wanategemea uongozi wao kwa kuwa Jesu la Polisi halina usimamizi zaidi ya kuwakamata ikiwa wanatofanya makosa

wanze kuchunguza matukio ya uhalifu na uvamizi yanayofanywa na kundi hilo.

"Sasa hivi nitazungumza na IGP ili ajue jinsi kikosi chake kinavyoweza kulfanyia kazi hili tatizo,

kata kaonera tunamuadhibu dereva wa gari sisi wenyewe," alisema Mushi.

Kisa cha Gwita

Wendesha bodaboda waliwa kwenye kichao wakibatia...

5 Regulation of motorcycles and motorised tricycles

The Transport Licensing Act of 1973 addresses vehicles with four or more wheels, and has little applicability to motorcycles and tricycles. However, as the numbers of motorcycles and motorised tricycles started to grow towards the end of the 2000s, the government recognised that regulation was needed. In 2010 the Transport Licensing (Motorcycles and Tricycles) Regulations were passed into law. The regulations came into operation in July 2011.

5.1 Key clauses of the 2010 Regulations

Information on the Transport Licensing Act was obtained through interviews with SUMATRA's Leo Ngowi, Director of Roads, and Filiph Sanga Pagalo from the Motorcycle Section, on 12th February.

Key clauses of the Regulations (SUMATRA, 2010) are:

- Clause 3 – “Registered association” means a voluntary grouping of licensees which is organised locally and registered by a local government authority for the purpose of operating motorcycle or motorised tricycle as a public transport
- Clause 4(1) – No person shall operate for hire or reward a motorcycle or tricycle without a valid road service licence
- Clause 4(2) – Any person who intends to operate for hire or reward a motorcycle or tricycle shall, prior to such operation make application for a road service licence to the local government authority
- Clause 4(3) – Any person who contravenes the provisions of sub-regulation (1) commits an offence and shall, on conviction, be liable to a fine of not less than fifty thousand shillings and not more than one thousand shillings (*sic*) or to imprisonment for not less than six months and not exceeding one year or to both
- Clause 5 – An application for a road service licence shall be made ... together with:
 - (a) original motorcycle or tricycle registration certificate
 - (b) original valid insurance policy with minimum requirements for third party liability
 - (c) original and certified copy of a Motor Vehicle Inspection Report
 - (d) a copy of membership card and an introduction letter from the registered association
 - (e) in the case of a company, association or cooperation, a copy of certificate of incorporation
 - (f) the proposed area in which the applicant seeks to operate
 - (g) a certified copy of the driver's licence and recent photograph
 - (h) a copy of the employment contract between the owner and the driver of the motorcycle or tricycle
- Clause 6(5) – The local government authority shall issue a road service licence to the owner of a passenger motorcycle or tricycle which is:
 - (a) new, or mechanically certified to be roadworthy; and
 - (b) meets the standards stipulated by Tanzania Bureau of Standards
- Clause 13 – The licensee shall comply with the following conditions:
 - (b) the motorcycle or tricycle shall be parked and operated in areas designated by the local government authority
 - (d) the driver of a motorcycle does not carry more than one passengers (*sic*)

- (e) tricycle does not carry more than three passengers and the driver
 - (f) the driver shall be in a clean and neat uniform with identity card visible to any person
 - (g) the driver shall when driving observe speed limits as prescribed by road signs and shall not exceed a speed of fifty kilometre per hour
 - (i) the driver while driving shall wear a crash helmet printed with an area identification mark
 - (j) a passenger carried on a motorcycle shall wear a crash helmet at all the time (*sic*)
 - (k) the driver while driving shall not use a hand-held mobile telephone or use any equipment with interactive communication features
 - (l) where the owner is not the driver, he shall enter into employment contract with a qualified driver to operate the passenger motorcycle or tricycle
 - (m) a licensed tricycle is fitted with safety belts for each passenger and door barrers (*sic*) on both sides of the passenger's compartment
- Clause 14(1) – A child of the apparent age of nine years of age or under shall not be carried on a motorcycle
 - Clause 14(2) – A child of the apparent age of nine years of age or under shall not be carried on a tricycle as a passenger unless he is accompanied by an adult
 - Clause 15(1) – A licensee or a driver, while on duty, shall not demonstrate the following behaviour:
 - (b) blocking or obstructing intentionally other service providers
 - (c) driving above the maximum speed limits in competition of passengers pick up
 - (e) driving under the influence of alcohol or any other narcotic drugs at any amount
 - (f) driving in a careless or reckless manner or in a manner contrary to the provisions of the Road Traffic Act and other laws
 - (g) mistreating or harassing passengers and other road users
 - Clause 15(2) – A licensee or a driver who fails to comply with the provisions of sub-regulation (1) commits an offence and shall, on conviction, be liable to a fine of not less than fifty thousand shillings and not more than one hundred thousand shillings or to imprisonment of not less than one year and not exceeding two years or to both fine and imprisonment
 - Clause 16(1) – The local government authority shall be responsible for:
 - (a) issuing of road service licence
 - (e) monitoring operation of motorcycle and tricycle in their respective areas
 - (f) keep and maintain a register of all licensees and their area of operation
 - (g) ensure each parking area maintains a register of licensees of their respective parking areas
 - Clause 19(1) – Where a licensee contravenes the terms and conditions of which a road service licence was issues, the Authority shall serve on the licensee a default notice in writing specifying the nature of the default
 - Clause 20 – Where the licensee fails of remedy or rectify the default within the time specified in the default notice or fails to make satisfactory representation, the Authority shall suspend or revoke the road service licence
 - Clause 23(1) – An officer of the Authority, local government authority, a police officer or agent may stop and search a motorcycle or tricycle with a view to ascertaining whether or

not these Regulations are being complied with and may demand for inspection, production of any road service licence or document of any description which may be required to be carried on such motorcycle or tricycle

5.2 Observations on the Regulations

During our investigations, we have identified that while Clause 3 says that associations should be registered by a local government authority, in practice associations are required to register with the Ministry of Home Affairs under the Societies Act, 1954.

It should be noted that some of the wording of the Regulations is poor and ambiguous. In the clauses above '(sic)' has been used to indicate an assumed error in the wording. It is possible that poor wording could lead to misinterpretation of the legislation. For example in Clause 4(1) where the fine is set at 'Not less than fifty thousand shillings but not more than one thousand shillings', it is assumed that the intention was for this to read '...not more than one hundred thousand shillings'. An example of ambiguity is Clause 14(1), which refers to a child 'of the apparent age' of nine years or under.

We understand from SUMATRA that they are currently reviewing both the Regulations and the Memorandum of Understanding between SUMATRA and PMORALG, which governs the responsibilities of local government authorities in implementing the Regulations. This may result in changes to both.

5.3 Uptake of Road Service Licences since introduction of 2010 Regulations

The Regulations requiring people operating motorcycles and tricycles for hire to apply for a road service licence came into force in July 2011, at the beginning of Tanzania's 2011/12 financial year (1st July to 30th June).

Table 1 below shows the number of road service licences issued for motorcycles and motorised tricycles during 2011/12, 2012/13 and 2013/14, and during the first half (1st July to 31st December) of 2014.

Table 1: Number of Road Service Licences issued

Year	Motorcycle licences	Motorised tricycle licences
2011/12	967	59
2012/13	1,772	2,206
2013/14	2,254	5,041
1 st July to 31 st December 2014	433	4,985
Total	5,426	12,291

Source: SUMATRA

The table shows that the number of road service licences issued to motorcycles and motorised tricycles has increased significantly each year since the introduction of licences.

However, comparing the numbers in Table 1 with the numbers in Figures 1 and 2, reveals that only a fraction of the total number of motorcycles and motorised tricycles registered in Tanzania has been issued with a licence. At the end of December 2014, Figure 1 shows that 832,149 motorcycles were registered in Tanzania, while Table 1 shows that only 5,426 (0.7%) had been issued with a licence. At the end of December 2014, Figure 2 shows that 52,874 motorised tricycles were registered in Tanzania, while Table 1 shows that only 12,291 (23.3%) had been issued with a licence.

5.4 Announcement of stricter enforcement in 2014

In early September 2014, the Director General of SUMATRA announced 'sweeping measures against boda-boda owners and riders throughout the country in a move to tackle the accidents that cause numerous losses of lives' (Tanzania Daily News, 3rd September 2014).

In announcing this, among other things, the Director General was referring to TRA's new system of registration of motorcycles and motorised tricycles. From 1st October 2014, all motorcycles and motorised tricycles are required to obtain a new design of registration plate, starting with the letters 'MC' rather than the single letter 'T'. Those motorcycles and motorised tricycles used for business (meaning boda-bodas and bajajis) are required to obtain a registration plate with a white background, while those for private use have a yellow background.

The new system of registration was announced in the media and on the TRA website (<http://www.tra.go.tz/index.php/motor-vehicles-registration/350-usajili-mpya-wa-pikipiki>). Owners of motorcycles and motorised tricycles were given an initial period of six months in which to upgrade from their current licence plate to the new licence plate (although this has now been extended to the end of 2015). Registering under the new system requires the owner of the vehicle to present the original registration card at a TRA office and to pay a Tsh 10,000 fee.

As well as the new system of registration with TRA, the Director General announced that SUMATRA, in partnership with municipal councils, would be strengthening the enforcement of the 2010 Regulations requirement for drivers of boda-bodas and bajajis to be members of registered associations.

SUMATRA works with local government authorities to implement and enforce the Regulations. There is a SUMATRA office in each region, which oversees the work of the district and municipal councils. SUMATRA also has one liaison person within each district and municipal council.

6 Investigations into best practice among boda-boda associations

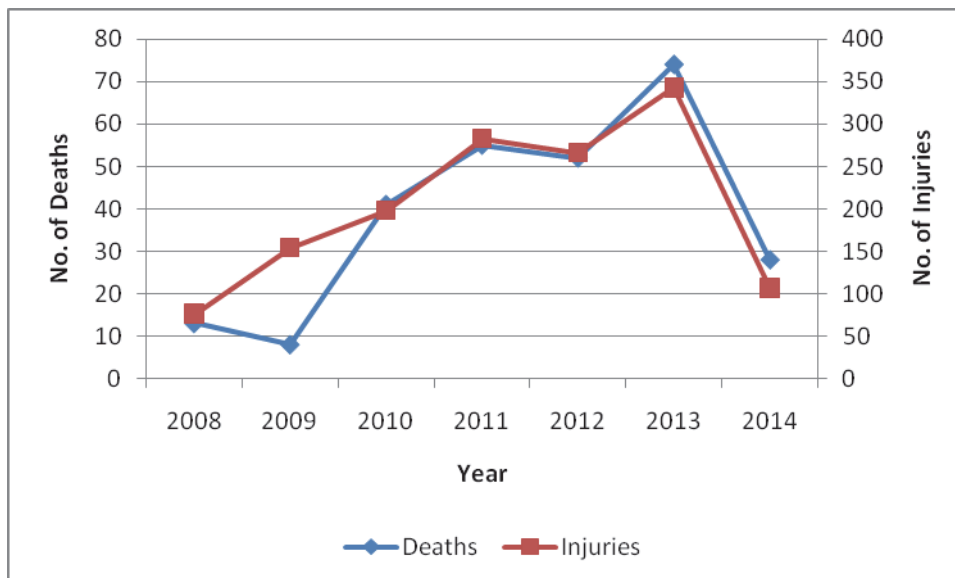
As explained in Section 3, Kilimanjaro, Dar es Salaam and Mwanza were identified as possibly providing examples of best practice related to the set-up and operation of boda-boda associations, and their ability to improve safety and other areas of operation.

Here, we present the key findings of the investigations in these regions. The full write-up of the investigations in each region is included in Appendices A to C.

6.1 Motorcycle-related deaths and injuries in Kilimanjaro, Dar es Salaam and Mwanza

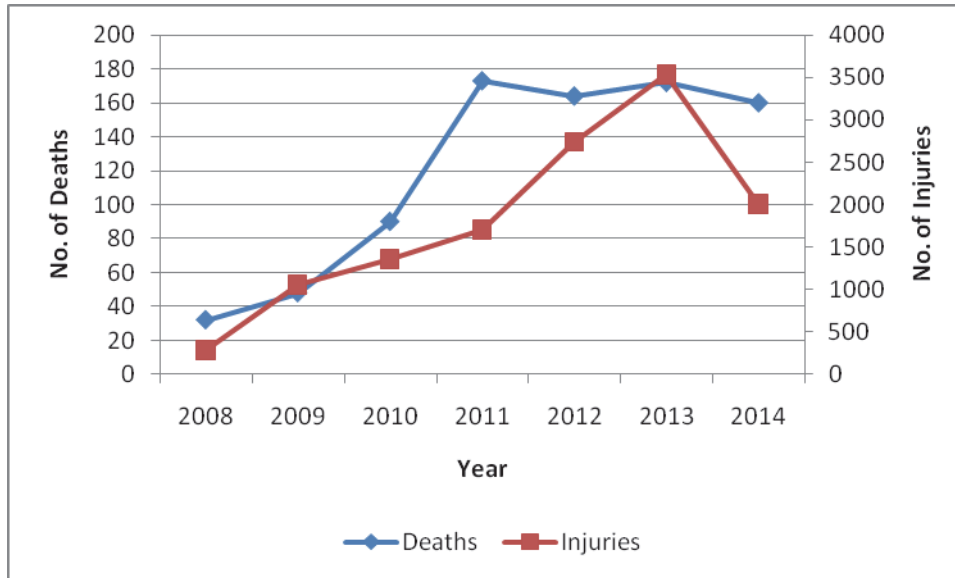
The charts in Figures 5, 6 and 7 below show the numbers of motorcycle-related deaths and injuries in Kilimanjaro Region, Dar es Salaam and Mwanza Region between 2008 and 2014, using Traffic Police statistics (Tanzanian Traffic Police, 2015).

Figure 5. Number of motorcycle-related deaths and injuries in Kilimanjaro Region, 2008 to 2014



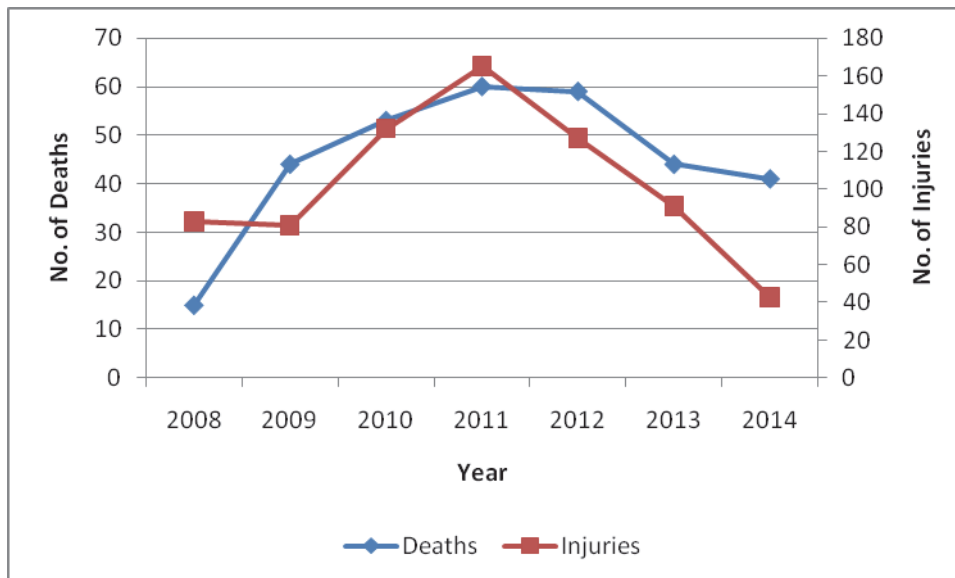
The chart in Figure 5 shows that in Kilimanjaro Region there was an increase in the numbers of deaths and injuries from 2008 to 2013, but then a large decrease from 2013 to 2014. In 2013, 74 deaths and 343 injuries were recorded, while in 2014, 28 deaths and 107 injuries were recorded. As a percentage of the 2013 figures, the numbers of deaths and injuries in Kilimanjaro in 2014 were 38% and 31% respectively.

Figure 6. Number of motorcycle-related deaths and injuries in Dar es Salaam, 2008 to 2014



The chart in Figure 6 shows that Dar es Salaam experienced a sharp increase in deaths from 2008 to 2011, but then a levelling off and slight reduction to 2014. Dar es Salaam also saw a steady increase in the numbers of injuries from 2008 to 2013, but then a large reduction in injuries from 2013 to 2014. In 2013, 172 deaths and 3,541 injuries were recorded in Dar es Salaam, while in 2014, 160 deaths and 2,016 injuries were recorded. As a percentage of the 2013 figures, the numbers of deaths and injuries in Kilimanjaro in 2014 were 93% and 57% respectively.

Figure 7. Number of motorcycle-related deaths and injuries in Mwanza Region, 2008 to 2014



The chart in Figure 7 shows that in Mwanza, the numbers of both deaths and injuries peaked in 2011 and have fallen steadily since. In 2011, 60 deaths and 165 injuries were recorded in Mwanza Region, while in 2014, 41 deaths and 43 injuries were recorded. As a percentage of the 2013 figures, the numbers of deaths and injuries in Kilimanjaro in 2014 were 68% and 26% respectively.

Figures 3 and 4, in Section 4 above, show that nationwide, the numbers of motorcycle-related deaths and injuries also fell from 2013 to 2014: deaths fell from 1,098 to 928, and injuries fell from 6,578 to 3,884. As a percentage of the 2013 figures, the numbers of deaths and injuries nationwide in 2014 were 85% and 59% respectively.

Comparing Kilimanjaro, Dar es Salaam and Mwanza to the rest of the country shows that both Kilimanjaro and Mwanza have experienced greater than average reductions in the numbers of both deaths and injuries. Dar es Salaam has experienced a slightly lower than average reduction in the number of deaths, but a slightly higher than average reduction in the numbers of injuries.

Whether or not the existence or operations of formal, registered boda-boda associations in these three areas made any contribution to the reductions in motorcycle-related deaths and injuries is impossible to say. But looking at the data¹, it appears that Kilimanjaro and Mwanza, and possibly also Dar es Salaam, may be examples of best practice in terms of reducing deaths and injuries.

6.2 Existence of associations

In Dar es Salaam, there are three registered boda-boda associations – one for each of the three municipal districts: CHAWAPILA in Ilala District, CHABBOWIKI in Kinondoni District and UWAPITE in Temeke District. Between the three associations, they have a total of approximately 8,000 members.

Kilimanjaro Region has one registered regional association: CWBK. CWBK has seven district-level branches, all of which are officially registered with the regional association. Of the total of around 2,000 members, 107 (around 5%) are registered in Moshi Urban – the only urban district of Kilimanjaro Region. The remaining 95% of members are registered in the other six districts, all of which are principally rural.

Mwanza Region has one registered regional association: UWP. It currently has around 4,700 members, the vast majority of whom are operating in the urban districts of Ilemela and Nyamagana.

6.3 Membership conditions, fees and rules

Each of the associations sets its own conditions, fees and rules for members. Common to all urban associations are the following:

- Members must be the driver of either a boda-boda or a bajaji
- Members must possess a driving licence
- Members must operate from a designated stand
- Members must pay a joining fee
- Members driving boda-bodas are not allowed to carry more than one passenger at a time
- Members driving boda-bodas must own two motorcycle helmets – one for themselves and one for their passenger

Membership fees vary from one association to another. The highest are set by UWP: Tsh 29,000 to join and Tsh 3,000 per month. UWAPITE charges a Tsh 15,000 joining fee together with a Tsh 2,000 monthly subscription, while CHAWAPILA charges only Tsh 2,000 to join and no monthly fee. In Kilimanjaro, the fee is greater for members of the Moshi Urban branch of CWBK (Tsh 6,500) than for members of the rural branches (Tsh 3,500).

Some associations also set other conditions and rules. For example

- All Dar es Salaam associations restrict their members from using bad language

¹ It must be noted that, as explained in Section 4, Traffic Police data is recognised by the WHO as not being reliable

- CHAWAPILA and CHABBOWIKI restrict members from using excessive speed
- CHAWAPILA restricts members from engaging in criminal activity and insists that members attend General Meetings
- UWP says that members must be of 'sound mind'

Associations have the power to issue punishments to members who fail to adhere to the rules. Such punishments include:

- Suspension of membership
- Fines, with members who refuse to pay being reported to the Traffic Police

6.4 Membership benefits

Common benefits that members of the associations receive include:

- Financial support in the case of injury or illness
- Driver training, including self-defence
- Assistance with Traffic Police or other regulatory issues
- Mediation of disputes between different drivers and different boda-boda stands

Other benefits offered by some of the associations include:

- Access to health insurance through the National Health Insurance Fund (UWAPITE)
- Assisting in obtaining bank loans, by the association acting as a guarantor (CHAWAPILA)
- If a member does not have access to his motorcycle or motorised tricycle, for example if it is being serviced, the association will try to find a replacement for him to use in the short term (CHAWAPILA)
- Financial support in case of injury, illness or theft. For example, in the case of theft, the motorcycle's details are circulated to all CWBK leaders to help to find it (UWP)
- Advice for members on joining social security schemes such as the National Social Security Fund (UWP)

The leaders of UWAPITE and CWBK are in the process of establishing a Savings and Credit Cooperative Society (SACCOS), which will provide small loans to members, including helping them to buy their own boda-boda or bajaji.

6.5 Issues faced by registered boda-boda associations

Common issues that the leaders of the associations complained about are:

- A lack of support from government, at both regional and district level. Association leaders feel that their views are not listened to by the authorities
- Lack of funding, including to pay administrative costs, to purchase equipment and to fund training for members

In Dar es Salaam, specific issues include:

- Increasing numbers of crashes. This trend is attributed to two main causes:
 - 1 The large numbers of boda-boda drivers who do not own their own motorcycle and so drive fast to earn enough to cover the amount they have to pay the owner, before starting to make profit for themselves
 - 2 The behaviour of other drivers, who knock boda-bodas either accidentally or intentionally
- Fear of theft and assault
- Poor reputation among the general public, who link boda-boda drivers to criminal activity

In Moshi Urban, issues faced by the CWBK association include:

- Lack of signage to identify registered boda-boda stands
- Lack of shelter from sun and rain at boda-boda stands, although SUMATRA have promised to provide at least one during 2015
- Some local leaders are trying to use the association for their own political gain, especially with the 2015 general election approaching. This is creating division among members who support different political parties
- The cost of obtaining the driving licence is too high (Tsh 40,000), and the time required to process the paperwork is too long. Some of the association's members complete training but do not process their licence

In Mwanza, issues faced by the UWP association include:

- Increasing number of crashes
- Theft of members' motorcycles

The vast majority of all of the associations' members are boda-boda drivers, although in urban areas – particularly in Dar es Salaam – members also include bajaji drivers. Sometimes disputes can arise between boda-boda drivers and bajaji drivers, for example when competing for passengers. Having both boda-boda and bajaji drivers together in the association means that leaders are more easily able to settle disputes.

CWBK is currently in discussions with boda-boda associations in Dar es Salaam to establish a nationwide boda-boda association. They are planning to arrange the first general meeting, inviting boda-boda association leaders from across Tanzania.

6.6 Awareness of SUMATRA and TRA Regulations

When asked if they were aware of TRA's new licence plate registration system and the strengthened enforcement of the Transport Licensing (Motorcycles and Tricycles) Regulations, leaders of all urban associations said that they are aware.

6.7 Opinions of association members

As well as interviewing the associations' leaders, we also spoke to boda-boda drivers, including those who are association members and others who are not. A selection of their opinions is shown in the text box below.

What do boda-boda drivers think?

Hassan, interviewed at Temeke Wailes, Dar es Salaam, 11th February 2015

"I am a member of UWAPITE. I joined because I would not have obtained my business licence without my membership card. I respect all of the association's regulations – I don't overload my Bajaj [tricycle] and I don't use bad language. I paid my membership joining fee – Tsh 15,000, and I pay my monthly fees – Tsh 2,000.

"I had never had an accident before joining, and I have not had one since. I see the main benefit of membership as the opportunity to receive training – especially in self-defence. My biggest fear as a Bajaj driver is that someone pretending to be a passenger will rob me and kill me. UWAPITE will help me to protect myself."

David, interviewed at Ubungo External, Dar es Salaam, 12th February 2015

"I have not joined CHABBOWIKI. I don't see any reason why I should give money that the leaders will use for their own personal benefit. I heard that there is a law requiring us to have licences, but I haven't looked into it. I've never had any trouble.

"I've never had an accident. I was once almost knocked by a negligent driver at Mabibo – many drivers are very rough and do not respect motorcycles. I always obey the law. If I ever get trouble, I will depend on my friends and family to help me."

Mohammed, interviewed at NSSF, Moshi Urban, 19th February 2015

"I am a member of CWBK. I joined because I would not have obtained my business licence without my membership card – I am currently in the process of obtaining my business licence.

"As a boda-boda driver, I face two dangers – robbery and accidents caused by drunk drivers. I joined CWBK to help protect me against both of these things. We receive training in safe driving and in self-defence. Also, as members, we help each other in times of difficulty such as accidents, theft or illness.

"I adhere to all traffic laws and to the association's regulations – I have a helmet for myself and my passenger, and I only carry one passenger at a time. I pay my membership fees."

Hamad, interviewed at Mbuyuni, Moshi Urban, 20th February 2015

"I used to be a member of CWBK, but I left when I realised that the leaders were using members' money for their own benefit.

"I was one of the temporary leaders responsible for forming CWBK. At that time, we agreed that once the association was established, we would run for election. But some of the leaders refused to step down. I stepped down and became a normal member, but after some time I realised there was a lack of transparency with the accounting.

"I am now working to register a separate association which will be fair and transparent. We currently have around 800 boda-boda drivers waiting to join the new association.

"It is important to be a member of an association, as I know that soon SUMATRA will start inspecting business licences.

"I am always very careful when driving as I am afraid of accidents, especially with drunk drivers."

7 Investigations into boda-boda associations in rural areas

Investigations into boda-boda associations operating in rural areas were carried out in Mwanza and Pwani regions, and a little information was gathered on associations operating in Kilimanjaro's rural districts. A summary of the most important findings is provided here. The full write-up of the investigations in each region is included in Appendices A, C and D.

7.1 Existence of associations

Mwanza has one regional boda-boda association: UWP. Local associations, operating at the district or village level, are supposed to register with UWP, with members of local associations paying their fees to the association's leaders, who then pay them to UWP. However, in the four villages where we carried out investigations, we found no associations formally registered with UWP. But we did find an informal boda-boda association operating in each of the villages. All of these informal, unregistered associations had been formed since mid-2014, and all had between 15 and 25 members.

In Pwani, our investigations focussed on the area around the Bago to Talawanda road, where previous Amend research in 2013 had identified a number of boda-boda associations were in the early stages of formation. We identified no formally-registered boda-boda associations. But we did identify three unregistered associations in Talawanda, Msinune and Bago villages, each of which had between 20 and 30 members. We also identified one further association, in Kiwangwa village, which had recently disbanded.

As explained above, Kilimanjaro has one registered regional association – CWBK – which has seven district-level branches. Of the total of around 2,000 members, almost 1,900 (around 95%) are registered in the six rural districts, with only 5% in the one urban district of the region.

All members of associations – both formal and informal – in rural areas in the three regions were boda-boda drivers. We did not identify any bajajis in rural areas.

7.2 Membership conditions, fees and rules

In Mwanza and Pwani, as the associations are unregistered, they set conditions, fees and rules as they see fit. Each of the local unregistered associations sets its own rules which members are expected to follow.

In Mwanza, the following rules are common to all of the unregistered associations:

- Members are not allowed to carry more than one passenger at a time
- Members should not use bad language in front of passengers
- Members should not run away without returning change to passengers

Other rules among the Mwanza rural associations include:

- Members should not drive while drunk
- Members should not use excessive speed
- Members must attend all association meetings

The associations' leaders remind members of the rules during association meetings, and ask members to remind each other on a regular basis. Kabangaja association has a system of fines, with the minimum fine (Tsh 2,000) issued for using bad language and the maximum fine (Tsh 5,000) issued for carrying two or more passengers or for running away with a passenger's change.

The Pwani associations have either no or very few rules for members, other than the requirement to make contributions when necessary.

Msinune association has a specific requirement that members must inform the leadership if they have a passenger after dark. Members who do not adhere to this requirement risk being removed from the association.

None of the Pwani associations have rules relating to driving licences, numbers of passengers carried or use of safety equipment. The leaders of the Msinune and Talawanda associations said that they often remind members to wear helmets and reflective jackets, if they are available. The leaders of Bago Power said that they remind members to be careful on the highway from Bagamoyo to Msata, especially to avoid excessive speed.

Membership fees vary from one association to another. For example, members of the Kayenze association must pay a one-off fee of Tsh 30,000, and members of the Msinune association must pay a one-off fee of Tsh 26,000 as well as a monthly subscription of Tsh 5,000. Membership of the Kabangaja and Bago Power associations, on the other hand, is free, with members only being expected to contribute when another member is in difficulty.

In Kilimanjaro, as the rural associations are branches of the regional CWBK association, they are supposed to follow the same general rules. However, they find enforcement of their rules to be more difficult than in the urban district, in particular because members know that they are unlikely to be reported to the police if they do not pay the association's fines.

The district-level branches in Kilimanjaro are given some flexibility. The CWBK branch at Hai, for example, charges slightly lower membership fees than the regional association.

7.3 Membership benefits

The key benefit of membership of rural boda-boda associations seems to be receiving assistance in times of difficulty. Examples of assistance provided to members include:

- Transportation to hospital or another medical facility in the event of suffering an injury
- Assistance with medical fees in the event of suffering an injury
- Assistance with recovering a stolen motorcycle in the event of theft
- Assistance with finding a replacement motorcycle if the member's regular motorcycle is temporarily unavailable

Where financial assistance is required by a member, depending on the financial set-up of the association, either the money comes from a central pot held by the leaders, or the leaders arrange contributions from other members.

Assistance in the case of injury

Fikiri, Chairperson of recently-disbanded Chotambala boda-boda association, Bagamoyo, 9th March 2015

"In early 2014, one of our members was knocked down by a motor vehicle when he was on his way back from dropping off a passenger. The accident happened in Masuguru village which is between Msata and Bago village. The driver sustained injuries. He called us and we went and take him to hospital. He was released the same day. We used members' weekly contributions to cover the medical costs."

The Nyafula association in Mwanza is in the process of establishing a credit facility, to help members to pay for training and to obtain their driving licences.

In Kilimanjaro, members of all district-level branches are eligible to receive the benefits provided by the regional association, which include assistance in obtaining a driving licence, driver training and advice on joining social security schemes such as the National Social Security Fund.

7.4 Issues faced by rural boda-boda associations

The one common issue mentioned by leaders of all rural associations in all regions was a lack of funding, including some members' inability or reluctance to pay fees or contribute in times of need.

Common issues that the leaders of the rural associations in Mwanza and Pwani complained about, but which were not mentioned in Kilimanjaro, were:

- Increasing number of crashes, including those caused by:
 - Drivers who members deliberately attempt to crash into boda-bodas
 - The condition of roads, such as dust obscuring vision during the dry season and wet, slippery roads during the rainy season
- Members being attacked and having their motorcycles stolen

Fear of attack

Daudi, Chairperson of Kabangaja boda-boda association, 2nd March 2015

“Last year a boda-boda driver who is one of our members was told by his passenger to stop by a soda shop so they can have soda before they continue with the trip. Without knowing that it was a trap the driver stopped and accepted a drink. It seems the drink was mixed with drugs, possibly cocaine. The driver was collapsed and was recovered by community members in the bush two days later. When he woke up he found his boda-boda had been stolen. The boda-boda was never recovered.”

Leaders of rural associations in Mwanza complained of their inability to help members with Traffic Police issues, as most members do not have licences and of the high cost of transportation to Mwanza city providing an obstacle to leaders to register with UWP and to members to obtain driving licences.

7.5 Awareness of SUMATRA and TRA Regulations

When asked if they were aware of TRA's new licence plate registration system and the strengthened enforcement of the Transport Licensing (Motorcycles and Tricycles) Regulations, the leaders of the Hai branch of the CWBK association in Kilimanjaro said that they had heard something but did not know the details.

The leaders of all of the unregistered associations in Pwani and Mwanza regions said they did not know anything about the Transport Licensing (Motorcycles and Tricycles) Regulations or about stricter enforcement.

7.6 Opinions of rural association members

As well as interviewing the associations' leaders, we also spoke to boda-boda drivers, including those who are association members and others who are not. A selection of the opinions of those in Mwanza is shown in the text box below.

What do rural boda-boda drivers think?

Mwangaza, interviewed at Kabangaja village, Mwanza, 2nd March 2015

"I am a member of Kabangaja boda-boda association. I joined because I know that the association will help me if I get sick or have any other problems. Knowing this eases some of the stress in my life.

"I have never had an accident. The roads around here are not too busy, so it is not too dangerous. But dust can be a problem. When another vehicle passes, the dust can blind you. Some boda-boda drivers have hit pedestrians, blaming the accident on being blinded by dust.

"As a member of the association, if I have a problem I know that the leaders will help me."

Jackson, interviewed at Kasenye village, Mwanza, 3rd March 2015

"I am a member of Kasenye boda-boda association. I joined because I saw how the other members helped each other in times of difficulty. I paid my Tsh 30,000 membership fee. I always adhere to the regulations, including only carrying one passenger at a time.

"I once seriously suffered from malaria. Other members came to visit me and they each contributed to give me some money. This money was for my daily use during my illness because I was not working at this time. They also brought me some fruits and they used to check on me from time to time. All this really helped me to get better quickly."

Joseph, interviewed at Sangabuye village, Mwanza, 3rd March 2015

"I am not a member of the association, although I am planning to join soon. Previously I did not think it was important to join – I thought 'I've never had any difficulties, and if I do I will ask my brother for help'.

"But now I am starting to see the benefits. My biggest fear is having my motorcycle and cash stolen. I know that if this happens and I am a member, the association will help me."

8 Experience from elsewhere

While we did not carry out a full literature review, during the course of this study we have learned of stories from elsewhere in Africa where governments have attempted to regulate the use of motorcycle taxis. Also, through previous research, we have an understanding of the causes of motorcycle crashes in rural Tanzania.

8.1 Motorcycle taxis banned from entering Monrovia, Liberia

On 28th November 2013, The Guardian (UK) website published a story entitled 'Liberia's motorbike taxi ban cuts accidents, but revs up other problems' (McDougall, 2013).

Key elements of the story were:

- Liberia's government banned motorcycle taxis from using the main roads of the capital, Monrovia
- The ban was introduced following an incident in which a motorcycle taxi driver was killed in a collision with a school bus, in response to which a mob set the bus on fire
- A Deputy Minister at the Ministry of Transport said that the city's motorcycle taxi unions had failed to enforce the government's safety policy, and as a result accident rates were going up
- The government's safety policy encouraged, although did not legally enforce, motorcycle taxi drivers to wear helmets, closed shoes and reflective jackets, and to carry only one passenger at a time
- The government claimed that the ban had significantly reduced accidents and the related costs to the health system
- The ban has also inconvenienced commuters, with congested roads and long queues for other forms of public transport
- The article quotes one Monrovia resident as saying that regular taxis had increased their prices since the motorcycle taxis were banned
- The Chairman of the Motorbike Riders Organisation of Liberia said that he supports increased regulation and safety measures, but not the ban
- The economic impact on motorcycle taxi drivers could be devastating. One driver, a former fighter in Liberia's civil war, is quoted as saying "We don't want to steal, we don't want to kill. Let the government give us a chance"

8.2 Riots over a helmet law in Chad

On 11th March 2015, the website foreignpolicy.com published a story entitled 'Why are Chadian Youth Rioting over a Motorcycle Helmet Law?' (O'Grady, 2015).

Key elements of the story were:

- The Chadian government introduced a law requiring motorcycle drivers and passengers to wear helmets
- The law was intended to reduce the severity of motorcycle accidents and relieve strain on the country's medical system
- Students started protests, claiming that they were disproportionately impacted. They claim that many students and other people cannot afford to buy helmets
- The price of helmets tripled within a week of the introduction of the new law
- The president of the organisation Human Rights Without Borders in Chad said that the lack of transparency over the decision process could cause issues of distrust in the already aggravated urban population. He said "Even if wearing a helmet is necessary, the government should have initiated conversation"

- At least three people were killed in riots that developed from the protests, and universities and schools were closed

A BBC website article on the same issue also cited the hot climate as a reason for public opposition to motorcycle helmets.

These two stories highlight the knock-on effects of a ban on motorcycle taxis, including a reduction in mobility of the population, an increase in the cost of alternative modes of transport, and the loss of employment opportunities. These effects may be unpopular with members of the public.

8.3 Research into the causes of motorcycle crashes

Previous AFCAP-funded research by Amend in two rural areas of Tanzania investigated the causes of motorcycle crashes (Amend, 2014).

This research found a statistically significant relationship between motorcycle drivers who had experienced a crash within the previous three months and the following behaviour-related variables:

- Gender: All motorcycle drivers were found to be male, and were therefore more likely to have crashed than females
- Age: Drivers under 25 years were more likely to have crashed
- Marital status: Those who were not married were more likely to have crashed
- Children: Those with no children were more likely to have crashed
- Motorcycle ownership: Those who owned the motorcycle they drive were more likely to have crashed
- Racing: Those who admitted to sometimes racing against friends were more likely to have crashed
- Mobile phone use: Those who admitted to using their phone while driving were more likely to have crashed

9 Guidelines and recommendations

A key objective of this study is to provide guidelines on how identified best practice can be applied more widely, including in rural areas, to improve safety and other aspects of motorcycle taxi operations, with the aim of influencing policy and practice.

The investigations described in this report have identified what appear to be some examples of good practice. Most notably, the formation of the CWBK boda-boda association in Kilimanjaro Region has coincided with a large reduction in the numbers of motorcycle-related deaths and injuries. Similarly, the formation of the Dar es Salaam associations has coincided with the levelling off of the number of deaths and a large reduction in the number of injuries.

It is not possible to directly attribute the reductions in deaths and injuries to the formation and activities of boda-boda associations, as other factors may also have had an influence, including, perhaps, increased Traffic Police presence and enforcement of laws in certain areas, and also the possible inaccuracy of the crash data.

However, while it is not possible to directly attribute reductions in deaths and injuries to boda-boda associations, it does appear that associations have potential for improving safety and other areas of operation.

Below, based on the lessons learned through these investigations, are guidelines for boda-boda associations, and recommendations for government and other stakeholders.

9.1 Guidelines for boda-boda associations

9.1.1 Appoint good leaders

Our investigations identified the importance of good leadership. We found examples where associations failed because the leaders did not have the respect of the members, and where members left to set up their own association because they did not trust their leaders.

Leaders are normally appointed through an election, so members need to be aware of the merits of the different candidates.

Leaders need to be accountable to their members. A system needs to be in place whereby if members are not happy with their leaders, they are able to address the problem.

Leaders should operate honestly and transparently. This may involve ensuring that policies and procedures are written down, notes of meetings are kept, records are kept of any disciplinary action against a member, etc. Most importantly, it will involve transparent accounting.

9.1.2 Ensure finances are well-managed

It seems that the most important aspect of leadership is financial management. An association's finances should be managed responsibly and transparently.

If an association forms without charging members registration fees or issuing fines from the start, leaders will find it very difficult to introduce these at a later date, and attempting to do so may cause the association to fail.

People will join the association when they recognise that its benefits to them personally outweigh its costs to them personally. When they join, they should fully understand both the costs and the benefits.

A minimum amount should be kept in the association's account at all times, to ensure that money is available in case of an emergency. An example of good financial management was identified at Msinune, where the association uses membership fees and fines to maintain a minimum balance in their account, to be used in the case of emergencies.

Associations that do not maintain a minimum balance were found to have experience difficulties when money was needed in an emergency, for example when an injured member needed to be transported to hospital. At such times, associations without a minimum balance have to contact members to ask for contributions, which they may or may not have.

9.1.3 Develop a strong relationship with Traffic Police and local officials

Associations should develop a strong relationship with local Traffic Police and other officials. This will help them to enforce their own rules, and will help leaders in negotiating with police officers to settle any dispute.

Our investigations showed that boda-boda associations that have a good relationship with Traffic Police and other officials are better able to enforce their own rules – the reason being that the threat of being taken to the Traffic Police makes members more likely to respect the association's rules and leaders.

In rural areas, this is a challenge, as the nearest police post or the district office may be far away.

9.1.4 Align rules with SUMATRA regulations

Associations' rules should be aligned with SUMATRA regulations, to ensure ease of cooperation with Traffic Police and officials from SUMATRA and local government authorities. It may be beneficial for leaders to liaise with Traffic Police or other officials in developing their rules.

9.1.5 Encourage ownership of boda-bodas and bajajis

Our investigations found that some associations encourage their members to own their own motorcycle or motorised tricycle, and even assist them through loans schemes. The belief is that drivers who own their own motorcycle are less likely to break the speed limit, and so are less likely to be involved in a crash.

Evidence from previous AFCAP-funded research by Amend has shown that a driver who owns his own motorcycle is statistically less likely to have experienced a crash.

Associations should encourage their members to purchase their own motorcycles or motorised tricycles. As well as giving members some financial security, this also has the potential to improve safety.

Associations should consider following the example of CWBK in Kilimanjaro, which assists members to achieve this by offering a loan scheme.

9.1.6 Encourage drivers to undertake training and obtain licences

Our investigations found low levels of possession of driving licences among drivers, especially in rural areas. Without members having licences, associations' leaders are unable to represent drivers

in disputes with the Traffic Police, and therefore members are susceptible to police harassment and the temptation of paying bribes to settle disputes.

Also, with licences, drivers will be able to drive longer distances, including to urban areas, without fear of encountering police. This will increase their opportunity to earn money.

Some association leaders complained of the poor driving ability of their members, creating risk for themselves, their passengers and other road users. Leaders understand the importance of training, but find that – in urban areas – drivers and associations struggle to raise the money to pay for training, and – in rural areas – training facilities are inaccessible due to distance.

Associations should encourage members to undertake training and obtain their driving licences. Associations should consider following the example of the Nyafula association, which is developing a credit facility to assist members in this.

If an effective way of funding this is found for rural associations, they could set requirements to undertake training and obtain their licence as a condition of membership.

However, the administrative centres for testing and licensing can be very far from the areas where some rural boda-boda drivers live and work, making accessing these services a significant challenge.

9.1.7 Encourage drivers to obtain third party insurance

Our investigations found that very few drivers have third party insurance which would, for example, cover the costs incurred by a passenger who is injured while an insured driver is driving. This is especially the case in rural areas, but also in urban areas.

In the case of a crash, if a passenger is injured, the matter is often settled through negotiation between driver and passenger. This can be expensive for the driver, or possibly for the association, and is rarely settled amicably.

Associations should encourage members to obtain, at a minimum, third party insurance. Doing so would not only assist drivers, and by extension associations, in the case of injuring a passenger or other road user, but would also increase the confidence of passengers in their driver.

9.1.8 Inform the general public of the benefits of using association drivers

Associations should inform the general public of the benefits of using drivers who are members of associations. Informing members of the public that association members are registered, trained, insured, etc. could encourage them to specifically select an association member as their boda-boda or bajaji driver. In turn, this may encourage non-members to join associations.

Local village-level or district-level associations could do this at relatively low cost by photocopying and distributing simple flyers. Larger, regional-level associations could develop a slightly more sophisticated campaign, for example by using SMS messaging or social media.

9.2 Recommendations for government and other stakeholders

9.2.1 Review mechanism for implementing existing Regulations

A review should be undertaken to understand the slow rate of implementation of the new TRA registration system and the strengthening of enforcement of the 2010 Regulations.

SUMATRA officials complain that the rate of implementation of the new TRA registration system and the strengthening of enforcement of the 2010 Regulations is slow. They attribute the slow rate to the local councils, with a lack of support political leaders connected to local councils. (Note – this was echoed in an interview with a senior police officer who suggested that politicians may not support activities that risk alienating boda-boda and bajaji drivers, as drivers make up an important part of the electorate.)

The local councils blame the slow rate of implementation, for example delays in carrying out inspections, on a shortage of staff and a lack of allowances for those staff.

The review should identify the causes of the delays to implementation, and develop ways to address them.

9.2.2 Carefully consider potential negative impact of regulation

The stories of protests, riots and inconvenience when governments in Chad and Liberia attempted to enforce motorcycle-related regulations, demonstrate the potential for negative consequences of regulation.

Consideration needs to be given to how such consequences can be avoided, before regulations are enforced. For example:

- If the regulation requiring motorcycle drivers and passengers to wear helmets were to be more strongly enforced, how could an increase in the price of helmets be avoided? How can fears of fungal infections be allayed?
- If the regulation requiring motorcycle taxis to carry no more than one passenger were to be enforced in rural areas, what alternatives would exist for elderly and sick people who are not strong enough to ride as a passenger alone? Could a system of motorcycle ambulances be developed?

Prior to the enforcement of any regulations, full consideration needs to be given to the potential negative consequences. Alternatives need to be provided, fears need to be allayed.

9.2.3 Encourage the development of rural boda-boda associations

Special consideration is needed related to the issues of rural boda-boda associations. Issues specific to rural associations include:

- The lack of understanding among rural communities of how to form an association
- The cost and time taken to travel from rural areas to district and regional centres to access services and information
- The lack of police presence in rural areas, and so the difficulty in enforcing rules and regulations
- The lack of resources of district councils and the difficulty accessing rural communities
- The scarcity of money in rural areas, and the related difficulties in adhering to regulations. For example, if one passenger alone cannot afford to pay for a trip, there is pressure on the boda-boda driver to accept to carry two passengers, who then split the fare

In order to promote rural boda-boda associations, these issues must be addressed. A possible option for addressing some of these issues is to increase the presence of government officials and services in rural areas. For example, district councils' community development officers could be given the training, materials and resources to go to rural areas to speak to members of boda-boda associations, and Traffic Police officers could be provided with their own motorcycles with which to patrol rural roads.

9.2.4 Undertake full consultation and communication

The examples of Chad and Liberia demonstrate the importance of consulting and communicating with stakeholders – including the general public – before imposing regulations.

The World Health Organization's helmet manual stresses that 'Efforts to get motorcyclists to wear helmets should be directed at both *voluntary* use as well as *compulsory* use' (World Health Organization, 2006). It highlights public education and commercial advertising as two key ways of encouraging voluntary helmet use.

Communication is also required to ensure that all boda-boda and bajaji drivers and owners are aware of the regulations that apply to them. As we found through our investigations, the leaders of rural boda-boda associations in Mwanza and Pwani are not aware of TRA's new motorcycle registration system and SUMATRA's plans to strengthen enforcement.

9.2.5 Provide guidance for establishing and managing associations

If the government is to rely on boda-boda associations to assist with the implementation of its road safety policies, it should provide support and guidance to the associations to assist them to operate in a professional manner.

Detailed guidance should be developed to assist the establishment and management of boda-boda associations. Such guidance could cover topics including:

- Election of leaders
- Setting and enforcing rules
- Financial management
- Transparency

Much of the information collected through the investigations of this study would contribute to the development of this guidance, although a deeper and broader understanding of the issues is required.

Separate guidance is required for urban associations and rural associations, as the challenges that each face are different.

To assist in the development of the guidance, a search for and review of existing guidance on the management of community-based organisations (CBOs) in Tanzania should be conducted. It is expected that boda-boda associations will have broad similarities to other CBOs, and so existing guidance could be applicable.

Guidance produced should be piloted and evaluated before being distributed nationwide.

9.2.6 Ensure Traffic Police cooperation with associations

The Traffic Police have a critical role to play in enforcing laws and regulations that apply to safety. Our investigations seem to show that in urban areas, the associations are reasonably successful in enforcing their own rules, and that the reason for this is the threat of a member being taken to the Traffic Police.

In areas where associations have a good relationship with Traffic Police, and where there is a Traffic Police post nearby, members know that if they refuse to accept a punishment imposed by the association's leaders, they will be reported to the Traffic Police, where they will face a tougher penalty than the penalty imposed by the association.

On the contrary, in areas where there is not a good relationship between an association and the Traffic Police, or in particular where there is no Traffic Police post nearby, associations find it more difficult to impose their own rules, as members can refuse to pay fines without fear of being taken to the Traffic Police.

For this to apply in rural areas, police presence would need to be increased. Increased police presence in rural areas will also assist with one of the key issues facing boda-boda associations – that of security against the threat of assault and robbery.

9.2.7 Review systems for training, testing and licensing

A full review is required of the systems for training, testing and licensing, including how to improve access to these services for people in rural communities.

As part of this study, we have not undertaken a full review of the systems for training, testing and licensing boda-boda and bajaji drivers. However, anecdotes and understanding gained through our experience in Tanzania include:

- There is no standardised curriculum for motorcycle training (although SUMATRA is working with Transaid to develop one)
- The quality of training and testing drivers varies greatly, and in some cases is very poor
- Corruption exists within the licensing system. One example that we are aware of is the issuing of a Category B and D licence (car and small van) upon payment of a bribe, when only a motorcycle test had been passed
- Access to training, testing and licensing systems for rural communities is extremely limited

Improved training, testing and licensing has the potential to produce better, safer drivers.

9.2.8 Pilot and evaluate public awareness campaigns

Public awareness campaigns should be used to teach the general public, including boda-boda and bajaji owners, drivers and passengers, of the importance and benefits of Regulations.

Guidance on such campaigns can be found in the WHO's manual 'Helmets: A road safety manual for decision-makers and practitioners'. The guidance available in this manual can be applied to public awareness campaigns related to other aspects of motorcycle and motorised tricycle safety and operations.

A small-scale campaign should be piloted and evaluated, and scaled up if proved effective.

9.2.9 Evaluate effectiveness of implementing regulations through associations

While this study has identified that the establishment of boda-boda associations coincided with a reduction in the numbers of motorcycle-related deaths and injuries, it is not possible to directly attribute the associations' activities to the reductions.

In order to evaluate the effectiveness of associations in reducing deaths and injuries, a detailed study would be required. The first step would be to review experience from elsewhere in Africa, to identify whether such a model has been successful. The second step would be to undertake an evaluation of pilot associations in Tanzania.

9.2.10 Pilot the guidelines for boda-boda associations

The guidelines for boda-boda associations provided above should be discussed with existing associations and revised based on their input. The guidelines should then be piloted with a number of recently-formed, unregistered associations, to understand how applicable they are in practice.

As the issues faced by urban and rural associations are different, pilots would need to be carried out with associations in urban and rural areas.

9.2.11 Apply the lessons learned in Tanzania to other countries

Tanzania is one of a few countries in Africa where motorcycle use has increased rapidly and is now widespread. Other such countries include Uganda, Kenya and Nigeria.

There are other African countries where motorcycle use remains uncommon, although it is anticipated that numbers could increase rapidly in the coming years. Such countries include Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique.

A study should be carried out to understand how the lessons learned in Tanzania and other countries where motorcycles are already widespread can benefit the countries where motorcycles are currently uncommon but are expected to increase in numbers rapidly. It may be that measures can be put in place to ensure that in the first few years of increase of motorcycle use in a country, the corresponding increase in motorcycle-related deaths and injuries can be avoided.

10 References

- Amend, 2013. Three studies into road traffic injury on rural roads in Tanzania. AFCAP, UK. 50p and 45p. Available at http://afcap.org/Document%20Library/AFCAP_GEN-060-G_AmendFinalReport%20v1.2_final_12%20Jun%202013.pdf
- Amend, 2014. A study to determine the causes and circumstances of motorcycle crashes on low-volume rural roads. AFCAP, UK. 71p. Available at http://www.amend.org/docs/AFCAP_AMEND_Causes%20of%20MC%20Crashes_Final%20Rpt_25Sep2014.pdf
- BBC, 2015. Chad shutdown over deadly helmet protests. Available at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-31815807>. Accessed 10th March 2015
- Economic Commission for Europe Intersecretariat Working Group on Transport Statistics, 2003. Glossary of Transport Statistics, New York, USA. 39p. Available at: <http://www.unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/trans/main/wp6/pdfdocs/glossen3.pdf>
- Government of Tanzania, Ministry of Infrastructure Development, 2010. The Transport Licensing (Motorcycles and Tricycles) Regulations. Available from <http://www.sumatra.or.tz/index.php/legislation/regulations/road-transport>
- International Energy Agency, 2008, Energy Technology Perspectives, quoted in United Nations Environment Programme, 2010, Share the Road: Investing in Walking and Cycling Road Infrastructure. Nairobi, Kenya. p10. Available at: <http://www.unep.org/transport/sharetheroad/PDF/SharetheRoadReportweb.pdf>
- McDougall C, 2013. Liberia's motorbike taxi ban cuts accidents, but revs up other problems. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2013/nov/28/liberia-ban-motorbike-taxis-cuts-accidents>. Accessed on 11th March 2015
- Mugarula F, 2014. Government moves to make bodabodas safer in Dar. Available at: <http://www.urbanafrica.net/news/government-moves-make-bodabodas-safer-dar/>. Accessed on 24th March 2015
- Mwananchi, 2015. 'Hii ndiyo serikali ya boda-boda', Mwananchi Communications Ltd, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 2p, 3p.
- Ngowi D, 2014. Boda-boda bikes to be licensed. Tanzania Daily News, Dar es Salaam. Available at: <http://allafrica.com/stories/201409030662.html>. Accessed on 8th September 2014
- O'Grady S, 2015. Why are Chadian youth rioting over a motorcycle helmet law? Available at: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/03/11/why-are-chadian-youth-rioting-over-a-motorcycle-helmet-law/>. Accessed on 12th March 2015
- Peden M, Scurfield R, Sleet D, Mohan D, Hyder A, Jarawan E, Mathers C, 2004. World report on road traffic injury prevention. World Health Organization, Geneva, Switzerland. Available at: www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/publications/road_traffic/world_report/en/index.html
- SUMATRA, 2010. Transport Licensing (Motorcycles and Tricycles) Regulations. Available at: http://www.sumatra.or.tz/index.php/component/docman/doc_download/26-bajaj-motor-cycle-and-tricycle-regulations-new?Itemid=234
- Tanzania Revenue Authority, 2015. Statistics available directly from TRA Headquarters, Samora Avenue, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania
- Tanzanian Traffic Police, 2013, quoted in Daily News, 30th July 2013. Retrieved from [http://www.dailynews.co.tz/index.php/local-news/20527-bodaboda-for-formal-registration-\(currently-inactive\)](http://www.dailynews.co.tz/index.php/local-news/20527-bodaboda-for-formal-registration-(currently-inactive))
- Tanzanian Traffic Police, 2015. Statistics available directly from Traffic Police Headquarters, Sokoine Drive, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania
- Turner J, Mgonja E, Barber C, Brader H, 2014. An investigation into the role of transport operator associations in shaping transport services in Africa's rural areas. Transaid, London, UK. 144p
- WHO, 2006. Helmets: A road safety manual for decision-makers and practitioners. Geneva, Switzerland. 93p. Available at: http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/publications/road_traffic/helmet_manual.pdf?ua=1. Accessed on 28th March 2015

WHO, 2013a. Global Status Report on Road Safety: Supporting a Decade of Action. Geneva, Switzerland. 1p and 50p. Available at:

http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/road_safety_status/2013/report/en/

WHO, 2013b. Road Safety in the WHO Africa Region, The Facts. Geneva, Switzerland. 3p. Available at:

http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/road_safety_status/2013/report/en/

Appendix A: Investigations in Kilimanjaro

This section summarises the information gathered from boda-boda associations in Kilimanjaro.

CWBK boda-boda association

Our investigations identified one formally-registered boda-boda association – CWBK – which covers the entire Kilimanjaro Region, which has seven district-level branches.

CWBK Regional Association

CWBK stands for 'Chama cha Waendesha Boda-Boda Kilimanjaro' in Swahili (meaning 'Association of Boda-Boda Drivers in Kilimanjaro' in English). The information on the CWBK regional boda-boda association was obtained through an interview with the chairperson and the secretary on 20th February 2015.

The association was first formed in January 2013 and was officially registered with the Ministry of Home Affairs in August 2013. The motivations behind forming the association was to stand up for the rights of motorcycle drivers and to establish a credit scheme to enable boda-boda and bajaji drivers to buy their own vehicle, as well as adhering to the SUMATRA regulations.

Overall, CWBK currently has over 2,000 members.

CWBK Branches

The seven district-level branches are officially registered with the regional association. The 2,000 members are divided between the branches, and are in all districts of Kilimanjaro Region:

- Hai = 128 members
- Moshi Rural = 502 members
- Moshi Urban = 107 members
- Mwanga = 238 members
- Rombo = 296 members
- Same = 420 members
- Siha = 310 members

Information on the CWBK Hai branch was obtained through an interview with the association's secretary on 19th February 2015.

Membership conditions

The CWBK regional association sets the following conditions for membership:

- Members must own or drive boda-boda or a bajaji
- Members must possess a driving licence
- Members must possess a business licence

The joining fee is comprised of Tsh 3,000 for the registration form, Tsh 3,500 for an identity card and a further Tsh 3,000 if the driver needs to be allocated to a specific boda-boda stand (which only applies in Moshi Urban).

The district-level branches are given some freedom to adapt these conditions if they deem fit. The Hai branch, for example, applies the same conditions, but charges a standard joining fee of Tsh 6,000.

Benefits for members

Benefits of CWBK membership include:

- Assistance in obtaining a driving licence
- Driver training, including self-defence
- Financial support in case of injury, illness or theft. For example, in the case of theft, the motorcycle's details are circulated to all CWBK leaders to help to find it
- Liaison with Traffic Police, SUMATRA and the Vocational Education and Training Authority (VETA), enabling drivers to express their opinions
- Advice for members on joining social security schemes such as the National Social Security Fund

Members of all district level branches are eligible to receive these benefits.

The regional association is in the process of establishing a Savings and Credit Cooperative Society (SACCOS) in order to provide loans to members to be able to buy their own boda-boda or bajaji.

Association regulations and enforcement

The regional association sets the regulations and these apply to the district-level branches. The regulations are:

- Members are not allowed to carry more than one passenger at a time
- Members must own two motorcycle helmets – one for themselves and one for their passenger
- Members are only allowed to operate from their designated boda-boda stand

The branches apply these same rules.

Means of enforcing regulations include fines of up to Tsh 5,000 or, if a member refuses to pay the fine, they will be reported to the police, whereupon they will face a larger fine.

Issues faced by associations

Issues faced by the association include:

- Lack of funding for day-to-day expenses such as materials, transport and allowances
- Lack of support from officials, including the Regional Traffic Officer (although they have good support from lower levels of the Traffic Police)
- Lack of signage to identify registered boda-boda stands
- Lack of shelter from sun and rain at boda-boda stands, although SUMATRA have promised to provide at least one by May 2015
- Some local leaders are trying to use the association for their own political gain, especially with the 2015 general election approaching. This is creating division among members who support different political parties
- The cost of obtaining the driving licence (Tsh 40,000) is too high, and the time required to process the paperwork is too long. Some of the association's members complete training but do not process their licence

CWBK is currently in discussions with boda-boda associations in Dar es Salaam to establish a nationwide boda-boda association. They are planning to arrange the first general meeting, inviting boda-boda association leaders from across Tanzania.

Awareness of SUMATRA and TRA regulations

Both the leaders of the regional association and the Hai branch said they are aware of TRA's new licence plate registration system and the strengthened enforcement of the Transport Licensing (Motorcycles and Tricycles) Regulations.

Appendix B: Investigations in Dar es Salaam

This section summarises the information gathered from boda-boda associations in Dar es Salaam.

Boda-boda associations in Dar es Salaam

Our investigations identified that there are three main boda-boda associations in Dar es Salaam, one in each of the city's three districts:

- UWAPITE in Temeke District
- CHAWAPILA in Ilala District
- CHABBOWIKI in Kinondoni District

UWAPITE

UWAPITE stands for 'Umoja wa Waendesha Pikipiki Temeke' in Kiswahili (meaning 'Association of Temeke Motorcycle Drivers' in English). Information on UWAPITE was obtained largely through an interview with the association's chairperson and secretary on 11th February 2015.

The association first formed in early 2012 in response to a government decision to ban motorcycles from entering the city centre. Drivers in Temeke were angry and wanted to demonstrate, but struggled to organise themselves due to a lack of centralised leadership. Hearing of their intention to demonstrate, Temeke's Municipal Director called the leaders of a small number of local boda-boda stands to attend a meeting with officials from SUMATRA and the Tanzania Revenue Authority (TRA).

The boda-boda drivers were encouraged to appoint leaders and form an association. The association – UWAPITE – was officially registered with Temeke Municipal Council in July 2012. It currently has approximately 2,600 members.

CHAWAPILA

CHAWAPILA stands for 'Chama cha Waendesha Piki-Piki Wilaya ya Ilala' in Kiswahili (meaning 'Association of Motorcycle Riders, Ilala District' in English). Information on CHAWAPILA was obtained largely through an interview with the association's secretary on 27th March 2015.

The association first formed in June 2012, when boda-boda drivers in Ilala recognised the benefits of being united, learning from the example of UWAPITE.

The association officially registered with Ilala Municipal Council in April 2013. It currently has around 3,600 members.

CHABBOWIKI

CHABBOWIKI stands for 'Chama cha Waendesha Bajaj na Boda-Boda Wilaya ya Kinondoni' in Kiswahili (meaning 'Association for Bajaj and Boda-boda Drivers in Kinondoni District'). Information on CHABBOWIKI was obtained largely through an interview with the association's chairperson on 12th February 2015.

The association first formed in January 2014, following the example that they saw of CHAWAPILA and UWAPITE. As in Temeke, boda-boda drivers in Kinondoni were also frustrated with being banned from entering the city centre. Also, they wanted one voice through which to confront drivers of other vehicles, who they accused of deliberately trying to run them off the road.

The association officially registered with Kinondoni Municipal Council in October 2014. It currently has over 1,800 members.

Note – some of the dates given for the initial formation of the associations may not be fully correct due to the lack of written records kept by the associations' leaders.

Membership conditions

Each of the associations sets its own conditions for membership. Not written down, these are communicated to members verbally.

The following conditions are common to all three associations:

- Members must be a driver of a boda-boda or a bajaji
- The boda-boda or bajaji must be operated from a recognised (although not necessarily officially registered) boda-boda stand in Kinondoni District
- The driver must possess a driving licence

The leaders of CHAWAPILA also said that members must be 18 years or older, and must be 'of sound mind'.

All associations also charge a fee:

- CHAWAPILA: One-off Tsh 2,000 membership fee only
- UWAPITE: One-off Tsh 15,000 membership fee and then a Tsh 2,000 monthly subscription
- CHABBOWIKI: One-off Tsh 10,000 membership fee and then a Tsh 1,000 monthly subscription

Benefits for members

Common benefits that members of the associations receive include:

- Financial support in case of injury or illness
- Driver training, including self-defence
- Assistance with Traffic Police issues
- Mediation of disputes between different drivers and different boda-boda stands

Other benefits offered by some of the associations include:

- Access to health insurance through the National Health Insurance Fund (UWAPITE)
- Assisting in obtaining bank loans, by the association acting as a guarantor (CHAWAPILA)
- If a member does not have access to his motorcycle or motorised tricycle, for example if it is being serviced, the association will try to find a replacement for him to use in the short term (CHAWAPILA)

The leaders of UWAPITE are in the final stages of establishing a Savings and Credit Cooperative Society (SACCOS), which will provide small loans to members.

Association regulations and enforcement

Each of the associations sets its own regulations which members are expected to follow. As with membership conditions, these tend not to be written down, but are communicated to members verbally.

The following regulations are common to all associations:

- Members are not allowed to carry more than one passenger at a time

- Members must own two motorcycle helmets – one for themselves and one for their passenger
- Members should not use bad language between themselves or in front of passengers

Other regulations include:

- Members should not use excessive speed (CHAWAPILA and CHABBOWIKI)
- Members are not allowed to engage in criminal activity of any kind (CHAWAPILA only)
- Members must attend General Meetings (CHAWAPILA only)

The associations' regulations are enforced by the leaders of individual boda-boda stands, or their appointed security officers. Sometimes the senior leadership of the associations also pay surprise visits to boda-boda stands to ensure that regulations are being adhered to.

Associations have the power to issue punishments to members who fail to adhere to the regulations.

Such punishments include:

- Suspension of membership for up to one week
- Fines
- Drivers who refuse to pay fines levied by the association are reported to the Traffic Police

Issues faced by associations

Common issues that the leaders of the associations complained about are:

- A lack of support from government, at both regional and district level. Association leaders feel that their views are not listened to by the authorities
- Lack of funding, including to pay administrative costs, to purchase equipment and to fund training for members
- Increasing numbers of crashes. This trend is attributed to two main causes:
 - 3 The large numbers of boda-boda drivers who do not own their own motorcycle and so drive fast to earn enough to cover the amount they have to pay the owner, before starting to make profit for themselves
 - 4 The behaviour of other drivers, who knock boda-bodas either accidentally or intentionally
- Fear of theft and assault
- Poor reputation among the general public, who link boda-boda drivers to criminal activity

In Transaid's 2014 report (Turner et al, 2014), the leaders of UWAPITE said how they hoped to obtain reflective jackets for members and radio-calls ('walkie-talkies') to be able to communicate with members and with Traffic Police during an emergency. During our investigations, UWAPITE's leaders said that they have been promised these things by the Embassy of Japan, but have not yet received them.

Awareness of SUMATRA and TRA regulations

When asked if they were aware of TRA's new licence plate registration system and the strengthened enforcement of the Transport Licensing (Motorcycles and Tricycles) Regulations, leaders of all associations said that they are aware.

Appendix C: Investigations in Mwanza

This section summarises the information gathered from boda-boda associations in Mwanza.

Boda-boda associations in Mwanza Region

Our investigations identified one formally-registered boda-boda association – UWP, which covers the entire Mwanza region. We also identified a further four unregistered associations in Kabangaja, Sangabuye, Nyafula and Kayenze villages.

UWP boda-boda association

UWP stands for 'Umoja wa Waendesha Piki-Piki Mkoa wa Mwanza' in Kiswahili (meaning 'Association of Mwanza Region Motorcycle Drivers'). Information on the UWP was obtained through an interview with the association's assistant chairperson and treasurer on 4th March 2015.

The process of forming the association started in 2008, with the aim of giving the growing number of boda-boda drivers in the region a common voice. On 23rd February 2011, UWP completed formal registration with the Registrar of Societies under the Ministry of Home Affairs. UWP currently has around 4,700 members.

Local associations, operating at the district or village level, are supposed to register with UWP. Members of local associations should pay their fees to the association's leaders, who then pay them to UWP.

Kabangaja boda-boda association

Information on the Kabangaja boda-boda association, which does not have a formal name, was obtained through an interview with the association's chairperson on 2nd March 2015.

The association first formed in October 2014. It was formed by boda-boda drivers who were previously members of the nearest existing association, in the neighbouring Igombe village. Unhappy with the daily fee of Tsh 3,000 to use the Igombe association's boda-boda stands, a number of members left and established their own association in Kabangaja village. The aim of the association is to help drivers in times of difficulty, such as being a victim of theft or a crash.

The Kabangaja association is not yet registered. It currently has 15 members.

Sangabuye boda-boda association

Information on the Sangabuye boda-boda association, which does not have a formal name, was obtained through an interview with the association's chairperson and the secretary on 3rd March 2015.

The association first formed in June 2014, with the aim of helping drivers in times of difficulty, such as being a victim of theft or a crash. It is not officially registered but currently has 20 members.

Nyafula boda-boda association

Information on the Nyafula boda-boda association, which does not have a formal name, was obtained through an interview with the association's chairperson and the secretary on 2nd March 2015.

The association formed at the beginning of December 2014, with the aim of helping drivers in times of difficulty, such as being a victim of theft or a crash, and with the intention of forming a credit facility for members to assist drivers to pay for training and to obtain driving licences. It is not officially registered but currently has 20 members.

Kayenze boda-boda association

Information on the Kayenze boda-boda association, which does not have a formal name, was obtained through an interview with the association's chairperson on 3rd March 2015.

The association formed in July 2014, with the aim of helping drivers in times of difficulty, such as being a victim of theft or a crash. It is not officially registered but currently has 24 members.

Membership conditions

UWP has the following conditions of membership:

- Members must be a driver or owner of a boda-boda or a bajaji, or a 'Member of Respect'
- A member who is a driver must possess a driving licence
- The boda-boda or bajaji must be operated from a registered boda-boda stand
- Members must be known by their local street leaders as being a good and trustworthy citizen
- Members must be 'of sound mind'

To be a member of UWP, a one-off fee of Tsh 29,000 must be paid. This is made up of Tsh 20,000 joining fee, Tsh 4,000 for an identity card, Tsh 2,000 for the registration form, and Tsh 3,000 for the first month's membership. Following that, a Tsh 3,000 membership fee must be paid each month.

None of the local associations set strict conditions of membership – members must simply be known locally as either owning or operating a boda-boda.

Membership of the Kabangaja and Nyafula associations is free, although members are expected to contribute money when another member is in difficulty. Members of the Sangabuye and Kayenze associations must pay a one-off fee of Tsh 30,000.

Benefits for members

UWP provides support to members in times of difficulty. As well as this, they collaborate with VETA to provide training for members, although members have to pay a small additional fee for this. Training covers traffic laws and regulations, self-defence and customer care.

Currently the only benefit of the local associations is that members receive assistance in times of difficulty. Specifically, if one member has a problem, be it related to the motorcycle (injury, damage or theft) or of a personal nature (sickness, bereavement, etc), other members will contribute money to help cover costs.

The Nyafula association is in the process of establishing a credit facility, to help members to pay for training and to obtain their driving licences.

Association regulations, enforcement and punishments

UWP has the following regulations which must be adhered to by all members who are drivers:

- Drivers are not allowed to carry more than one passenger at a time
- Drivers must own two motorcycle helmets – one for themselves and one for their passenger
- Drivers must only operate from their allocated boda-boda stand

- Members should not use bad language in front of passengers

Boda-boda stand leaders are tasked with enforcing the regulations. Offenders are first warned. If they continue to fail to adhere to the regulations, they are fined an amount consistent with the severity of the offence. Repeat offenders will be charged higher fines. Those who refuse to pay the fine have their motorcycle confiscated until they pay. If they continue to refuse to pay, they will be reported to the Traffic Police, where they will likely be required to pay the official government fine of Tsh 30,000.

The income from UWP-issued fines goes into the association's bank account.

Each of the local unregistered associations sets its own regulations which members are expected to follow.

The following regulations are common to all associations:

- Members are not allowed to carry more than one passenger at a time
- Members should not use bad language in front of passengers
- Members should not run away without returning change to passengers

Other regulations include:

- Members should not drive while drunk (Sangabuye association)
- Members should not use excessive speed (Kayenze association)
- Members must attend all association meetings (Nyafula association)

The associations' leaders remind members of the regulations during association meetings, and ask members to remind each other on a regular basis. Kabangaja association has a system of fines, with the minimum fine (Tsh 2,000) issued for using bad language and the maximum fine (Tsh 5,000) issued for carrying two or more passengers or for running away with a passenger's change. The other local associations do not currently issue fines, but all are planning to introduce them.

Issues faced by associations

Leaders of both UWP and the unregistered associations all mentioned two key issues that they face:

- Increasing number of crashes, including those caused by:
 - Drivers who deliberately attempt to crash into boda-bodas (Kabangaja association)
 - Dust obscuring vision during the dry season; and wet, slippery roads during the rainy season (Nyafula association)
- Theft of members' motorcycles

Other issues faced by associations include:

- Inability to help members with Traffic Police issues, as most members do not have licences (all unregistered associations)
- Lack of funding, including some members' inability or reluctance to pay fees required to join UWP or contribute in times of need (all unregistered associations)
- The high cost of transportation to Mwanza City, providing an obstacle to leaders to register with UWP and to members to obtain driving licences (Sangabuye association)
- Danger of a member being attacked, beaten and having motorcycle burned in the event of accidentally knocking a pedestrian (Nyafula association)

Awareness of SUMATRA and TRA regulations

When asked if they were aware of TRA's new licence plate registration system and the strengthened enforcement of the Transport Licensing (Motorcycles and Tricycles) Regulations, the leaders of UWP said that they had heard something about new regulations, but did not know the details. Leaders of all other associations said that they were not aware.

Appendix D: Investigations in Pwani

This section summarises the information gathered from boda-boda associations in Pwani.

Boda-boda associations in Pwani Region

Our investigations focussed on the area around the Bago to Talawanda road, where previous Amend research in 2013 had identified a number of boda-boda associations that were in the early stages of formation.

Our investigations identified no formally-registered boda-boda associations. However, we did identify three unregistered associations in Talawanda, Msinune and Bago villages, and one further association which had recently disbanded – Chotambala, in Kiwangwa village.

Talawanda boda-boda association

Information on the Talawanda boda-boda association, which does not have a formal name, was obtained through an interview with the association's chairperson on 9th March 2015.

The association first formed in 2013, with the aim of helping drivers in times of difficulty, such as being a victim of theft or a crash. It currently has 25 members.

Msinune boda-boda association

Information on the Msinune boda-boda association, which does not have a formal name, was obtained through an interview with the association's chairperson on 9th March 2015.

The association first formed in 2014, with the aim of helping drivers in times of difficulty, such as being a victim of theft or a crash. It currently has 28 members.

Bago Power boda-boda association

Information on the Bago Power boda-boda association was obtained through an interview with the association's chairperson on 10th March 2015.

The association first formed in 2014, with the aim of helping drivers in times of difficulty, such as being a victim of theft or a crash. It currently has 22 members.

Chotambala boda-boda association

Information on the Chotambala boda-boda association, which does not have a formal name, was obtained through an interview with the association's former chairperson on 9th March 2015.

'Chotambala' is a local word in the Kikwere language meaning 'We are still in poor condition'.

The association formed at the beginning of 2013, with the aim of helping drivers in times of difficulty, such as being a victim of theft or a crash. It disbanded in late 2014.

Membership conditions

None of the associations set strict conditions of membership – members must simply be known locally as operating a boda-boda.

Membership of the Talawanda association and Bago Power is free, although members are expected to contribute money when another member is in difficulty. Members of the Msinune association must pay a one-off fee of Tsh 26,000 as well as a monthly subscription of Tsh 5,000.

Benefits for members

Members benefit through receiving assistance in times of difficulty. Examples of assistance provided to members include:

- Transportation to hospital or another medical facility in the event of suffering an injury
- Assistance with medical fees in the event of suffering an injury
- Assistance with recovering a stolen motorcycle in the event of theft
- Assistance with finding a replacement motorcycle if the member's regular motorcycle is temporarily unavailable

In the case of the Talawanda and Bago Power associations, members will be asked to contribute at the time of a fellow member encountering difficulty. In the case of the Msinune association, leaders use the fees and subscriptions to cover costs.

Association regulations, enforcement and punishments

The associations have very few regulations for members, other than the requirement to make contributions when required.

Msinune association has a specific requirement that members must inform the leadership if they have a passenger after dark. Members who do not adhere to this requirement risk being removed from the association.

None of the associations have regulations relating to driving licences, numbers of passengers carried or use of safety equipment. The leaders of the Msinune and Talawanda associations said that they often remind members to wear helmets and reflective jackets, if they are available. The leaders of Bago Power said that they remind members to be careful on the highway from Bagamoyo to Msata, especially to avoid use of excessive speed.

Issues faced by associations

The leaders of all three active associations mentioned three key issues that they face:

- Increasing number of crashes. This was a particular concern for Bago Power, as many of its members use the recently upgraded highway between Bagamoyo and Msata. Leaders of all associations are concerned by the slipperiness of roads when wet:

"For instance last year one of our member crashed at the surface. He was riding on the surface when his tyre busted due to sharp stones. He fell down and got scratches on his face and thighs. We managed to take him to hospital and got some care. Until today the driver still has scars."

- Theft of members' motorcycles. Leaders – especially at Msinune – say that a lot of time and money is spent in tracking down stolen motorcycles
- Lack of funding, including some members' inability or reluctance to pay fees or contribute in times of need

Awareness of SUMATRA and TRA regulations

When asked if they were aware of TRA's new licence plate registration system and the strengthened enforcement of the Transport Licensing (Motorcycles and Tricycles) Regulations, leaders of all associations said that they were not aware.

Reasons for the disbanding of Chotambala

For the first few months of Chotambala's operation, members were not asked to pay any fees or subscriptions. Only in times of difficulty, when a member needed help, would other members be asked to contribute. However, over time, the leaders found that it was the same members who were left to contribute each time, while other members frequently claimed that they were unable to contribute.

In late 2013, the leaders decided to introduce a weekly membership fee of Tsh 2,000, to create a pool of money for use when a member needed assistance, rather than needing to request contributions. However, this led to arguments, and the leadership felt that they were not respected by the members. In late 2014, the association disbanded.

END