



Motorcycle taxi riding and crimes in the urban settings of Dar es Salaam and Pwani Regions – Tanzania

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Abstract

Africa is urbanising at an extraordinary rate, a process that is accompanied by livelihood opportunities and threats. One of the livelihood opportunities resulting from urbanisation is the informal motorcycle taxi riding business, which employs millions in the East African Region and Tanzania in particular. However, the industry has been confronted with crime challenges, among others. While some people perceive riders as victims of crime in urban areas, on the other hand, they are agents of and participate in the crimes. Various stakeholders have made efforts to improve the motorcycle taxi riding business as a crucial livelihood strategy, particularly in curbing the business's crime situation, but in vain. This study intends to expose the crime situation among motorcycle taxi riders and other potential victims, determine the coping capacity and initiatives undertaken to counteract the crimes, and propose strategies for alleviating such crimes. The study employed a mixed methods approach in which quantitative and qualitative data had the same weight. Findings indicate that riders and their customers all experience theft, kidnapping and physical assault, among other things. The study reveals differences in crimes between regions. Findings further reveal that, while different initiatives are used to cope with crimes by both riders and their customers, sometimes motorcycle riders have brutally assaulted people they suspect to be criminals, even without any proof, which escalates the problem. As for customers in Dar es Salaam, the need for safety has given rise to privately owned systems that connect riders to customers and monitor their movements. While safety initiatives have been set up, they are reported to have been less effective for riders. The study recommends that security officers need to study crime patterns, set up security initiatives that will help identify the rider, passenger and motorcycle used at any time and regulate the used spare parts business. All these will help to minimise the crime rate.

1. Introduction and Background

Approximately 54 percent of the world's population lives in urban areas, and this is expected to increase to 66 percent by 2050, owing to the rapid urbanisation resulting from urban migration and natural growth (Tacoli, 2017; Avis, 2016). Africa, particularly the Sub-Saharan (SSA) region, is the fastest urbanising region, with an annual rate of around 3.6 percent and is hypothesised to double or triple in the next 40 years (Tacoli, 2017; Avis, 2016). The urbanisation process is said to be accompanied by livelihood opportunities and threats (Tacoli, 2017; Munishi, 2013). Most of the urbanisation opportunities relate to the proliferation of the informal sector, which engages most youth and women in daily livelihood activities. On the other hand, urbanisation contributes to population increase, resulting in inadequate social services, skyrocketing commodity prices, unemployment and crime (Munishi, 2013; URT, 2015).

Motorcycle taxi riding, popularly known as Boda-Boda in Tanzania, is a fast-growing informal livelihood that employs many urban youths (Mbegu & Mjema, 2019). Data shows that, as of May 2013, there were 10,036 registered Boda-Boda in Tanzania, and at least 4,432 were in Dar es Salaam alone. However, the actual figure is likely much higher (Caroline & Neil, 2015; Mugarula, 2014).

Like many other urban livelihood activities, the motorcycle taxi riding business is flawed with the threat of crime which is a negative consequence of rapid urbanisation (Tacoli, 2017; Munishi, 2016). This negatively impacts the livelihoods of various urban residents and the Boda-Boda operators. Such crimes sometimes claim lives and jeopardise the health and livelihoods of those who depend on this activity as their mainstay. The available data shows that Boda-Boda riders are involved in crime in various ways and for different reasons (Olvera, 2021). However, this phenomenon is ambivalent. Sometimes, Boda-Boda riders are the victims of crime, and at other times they are used as agents of crime.

Where Boda-Boda operators are the target of crime, they fall victim in various instances and different styles. For instance, robbers may pose as customers and hire Boda-Boda riders, only to rob the riders of their motorcycles or any valuables they possess. In other instances, motorcyclists are invaded by armed robbers and brutally robbed of their machines, beaten, and sometimes abducted (Citizen, 2013; Tarimo, 2013; URT, 2015). It has been reported that, in most cases, robbers target to steal motorcycles from riders (Opondo & Kiprop, 2019). The Citizen, 2013 reported that motorcycle theft is said to have been fuelled by the high demand for engines used in fishing boats in lakes Victoria, Nyasa, Tanganyika and the Indian Ocean in Tanzania.

On the other hand, Boda-Boda riders are perpetrators of crime. They participate or collude with the robbers to steal from residents, including their customers. In addition, robbers may hire a Boda-Boda and act as passengers to carry out petty and violent crimes such as snatching handbags from women and acid attacks or murder (Citizen, 2013; Tarimo, 2013; URT, 2015). Violent crimes facilitated by Boda-Boda have been widely reported in parts of the commercial capital of Dar es Salaam and elsewhere in Tanzania (Tarimo, 2013).

Although crime is prevalent, Boda-Boda riders continue to offer their services and attract customers as there are limited alternatives. The riders and customers have adapted coping mechanisms to sustain their businesses and provide the service. Accordingly, an NMB Bank and MasterCard Foundation initiative has supported around 4,855 motorcycle riders across Tanzania to actively use formal financial services that would allow them access to finance.

The bank set aside approximately TZS 5 billion to help the riders buy motorcycles and equipment to protect them which has enabled them to run their business successfully and contribute to the country's economic growth (Daily News, 2020; Malanga, 2021). Another initiative is the development of appropriate training curriculum for a capacity building programme for the motorcycle taxi riders in Tanzania undertaken by Transaid (Caroline & Neil, 2015). Furthermore, the police force has undertaken special interventions including arresting a reasonable number of victims involved in the crime to alleviate crime (The Citizen, 2013). Other implemented remedies to alleviate crime include the initiative of the Police Force working closely with the public to tame the wave of crime.

Despite the different initiatives, Boda-Boda businesses continue to be associated with crimes in different forms. The magnitude of the problem, as reported by different media in the country has not attracted many scholars to study the phenomenon. A few scholars (Mbegu & Mjema, 2019; Nguyen et al., 2018; Tarimo, 2013) have only paid attention to the negative side of the Boda-Boda motorcycle business focusing only on increased accidents, insecurity, pollution and traffic as well as the poverty cycle existing within the Boda-Boda operators, injury prevalence, safety habits of Boda-Boda riders in Moshi, Tanzania and general challenges faced by youth in conducting Boda-Boda business in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. This condition suggests that little is known about the drivers of crimes associated with the Boda-Boda business. Research to understand the crime scenarios will inform strategies of prevention and reduce the number of urban residents in Tanzania falling victim, and for riders having their motorcycles stolen and losing their livelihoods. Therefore, understanding urban motorcycle taxi riding is crucial to promoting urban livelihoods, inclusive cities and reducing urban poverty (Tacoli, 2017; Avis, 2016).

1.1 Research Problem

In Africa, urbanisation has been accompanied by both opportunities and threats. Motorcycle riding is among opportunities resulting from urbanisation and has employed millions of youths in the East African region, and Tanzania in particular. However, the opportunity has been confronted with crimes. It has been reported that the Boda-Boda riders who fall victim are abducted, beaten, and their motorcycles, phones and money is taken away. It has also been reported that Boda-Boda riders become agents of crimes and sometimes criminals themselves. They sometimes attack their passengers, provide information of potential victims to criminals or transport criminals who, in most cases, snatch phones, handbags and other valuable items from victims. Although several studies on the subject have been done (Rollason, 2019; Divall, 2019; Opondo & Kiprop, 2019; Olvera, 2021) their focus was on livelihood of taxi systems and were carried in Indonesia, Mali and Kenya respectively - making generalisation impossible due to political and economic differences. A study by Ngemera (2015) that was carried in Dodoma focused on revealing Boda-Boda as a means of economic diversification.

In this situation, the reality about the state of crime in this economic activity that employs many young men has not been well documented. The nature of crimes done by and unto riders, the mechanisms of coping with such crimes and how effective the mechanisms have been, is not known. This situation called for research to facilitate a better understanding of the crime situation in the context of motorcycle Taxi riding business with the view of maintaining and improving this livelihood activity which is relied upon by a number of urban residents. Former researchers seem to have inadequately addressed this theme.

1.2 Research Objectives

This study's overall aim was to provide better understanding of the crime situation in the context of motorcycle taxi riding to determine coping capacity and suggest strategies for alleviating the crime.

The specific objectives included:

- i. To characterise the nature and dynamics of crime in relation to motorcycle taxi operations in Dar es Salaam and Pwani.
- ii. To examine the crime victims' coping strategies and the capacity to cope with the crimes.
- iii. To assess initiatives undertaken by different stakeholders towards counteracting motorcycle riding-related crime in Dar es Salaam.

CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Theoretical Review

Theoretically there exists different approaches to crime and strategies of coping with them. In this section, we present a theoretical review from which important constructs used in the study were obtained. Theories presented here will also be used to explain and discuss findings of the study. Three theories and one framework are discussed in this section. The Routine Activity Theory, Crime Pattern Theory, Rational Choice Theory and Multi-layered Resilience Framework have been used as follows:

2.1.1 Routine Activity Theory

Routine activities theory is an environmental, place-based explanation of crime, where the behavioural patterns and intersections of people in time and space influence when and where crimes occur. Routine activity theory, from Cohen and Felson (1979), emphasizes that crime occurs when three elements converge: a motivated offender, a suitable target, and the absence of a capable guardian. This theory includes the routine activities of both offender and victim. An offender may routinely walk through specific neighbourhoods looking for homes that appear as easy targets for burglary or into buildings in a commercial area to seek opportunities for theft. The theory seeks to explain how societal changes can impact upon opportunities for crime (Sutton, Cherney & White 2008).

2.1.2 Crime Pattern Theory

Crime Pattern Theory is a way of explaining why crimes are committed in certain areas. Crime is not random: it is either planned or opportunistic. According to the theory, crime happens when the activity space of a victim or target intersects with the activity space of an offender. Crime pattern theory seeks to explain the influence of communities and neighbourhoods - and focuses on how offenders may come across opportunities for crime in the course of their everyday lives (Clarke, 2005).

2.1.3 Rational Choice Theory

Rational Choice theory states that “individuals rely on rational calculations to achieve outcomes that are in line with their personal objectives”. The theory attempts to explain all social phenomenon in terms of how self-interested individuals make choices under the influence of their preferences. Rational choice theory has a more individualistic focus and explores the decision-making processes that lead to an offender choosing to become involved in crime or specific criminal events, including weighing up the relative risks and rewards associated with offending (Clarke, 2005).

2.1.4 Multi-layered Social Resilience Framework

This research utilised the multi-layered social resilience framework in connection to the second objective that seeks to analyse the residents and riders’ strategies for coping with crime and the capacity to

cope with the crime. The multi-layered social resilience framework provided robust guidelines for understanding coping strategies and capacities for agents involved in threats or adversity. The multi-layered social resilience framework (Carpenter & Walker, 2001) includes the psychological (Luthar & Zelazo, 2003), socio-anthropological approaches (Bourdieu, 1984) and the sustainable livelihood framework of the UK Department for International Development (DfID, 2000). The framework maintains that resilience building must be examined with reference to a threat and to the competencies that should be developed to deal with the threat. Applying this framework in the context of this study, social resilience is regarded as crime victims' capacities to draw capitals from different social layers to cope with and adjust to crime threats' "reactive capacities" and to search for and create options as "proactive capacities" to develop competencies to cope with the threat of crime. This framework is useful in this context because it considers the role of capitals, threat, and strength aspect in analysing actors' capacity to cope with adverse situation.

Generally, the theoretical review has given the researchers three important constructs. These include intention, behaviour, time and environment (which are transformed into patterns and characterisation of crimes), resilience of the victims after being faced with crime which is translated into crime coping ability and capacity, the involvement of other actors and the effectiveness of such actors' strategies in coping with crimes.

2.2 Crimes associated with Motorcycle Riding Operations

Literature highlights several crimes faced by motorcycle taxi riders when undertaking their role in urban areas. These include but are not limited to motorcycle theft and stealing, kidnapping by criminals, organised crime (customers colluding with criminals), and robbery with violence.

Opondo and Kiprop (2018) identified a number of crimes that riders face, including theft of their motorcycles and spare parts, kidnapping, killings, and harassment from police officers in the absence of having committed any offences. Ngemera (2017) also reported that in some situations, some Boda-Boda riders were murdered, and unknown persons stole their motorcycles. In addition, it has been reported that most murderers pretend to be innocent passengers but turn out to be monsters and end up killing riders and taking their motorcycles.

A study by Olvera et al. (2020) about "earning a living but at what price" registered the crimes a motorcycle taxi driver in Sub-Saharan African cities encounters. Among the dreadful encounters include the theft of motorcycles and several attacks by passengers who sometimes fail to pay their fares. It is reported in the study that in most cases, because riders are searching for their livelihood, they do not have any other option but are normally feeling unsafe most of the time.

Adiambo (2020) used a mixed-method approach to study the crimes motorcycle riders encounter in Kenya, revealing similar findings to previous studies. For example, he found motorcycle taxi riders were attacked by merciless robbers who stole their motorcycles, killing them while on the job. The riders were also exposed to robbery and violence from their customers and were given fake paper notes.

2.3 The Nature of Crimes Committed by Motorcycle Taxi Riders Against Their Victims

Literature depicts the nature of crimes committed by motorcycle taxi riders against customers and other people in urban areas. The study by Opondo and Kiprop (2018) in Kenya highlighted various

crimes passengers and urban citizens receive from motorcycle riders. Among these include kidnapping by collusion with organised criminal riding gangs, murder, abduction, stealing, physical assault, rape and defilement, to mention but a few. Adding to this, Xu (2009) reports that thefts and snatching of properties emanate from overcharging clients along the journey in the city.

Complementing this, a study by Awuor (2020) on the contribution of the motorcycle business to the well-being of operators in Kisumu, the study used a mixed research approach and reports that, although Boda-Boda has been among the greatest push and shock absorber to unemployment, motorcycle operators are accused of having caused various crimes to the public. These include harbouring abductions, hitmen, and gangs for hire. Other crimes reported include rape, mob justice, such as the killing of innocent people who are suspected to be criminals without verification; the spread of HIV/AIDS and school dropouts among young girls - also reported to have been impregnated by Boda-Boda riders.

2.4 Coping with Crime Threat Among Motorcycle Taxi Operators and Customers

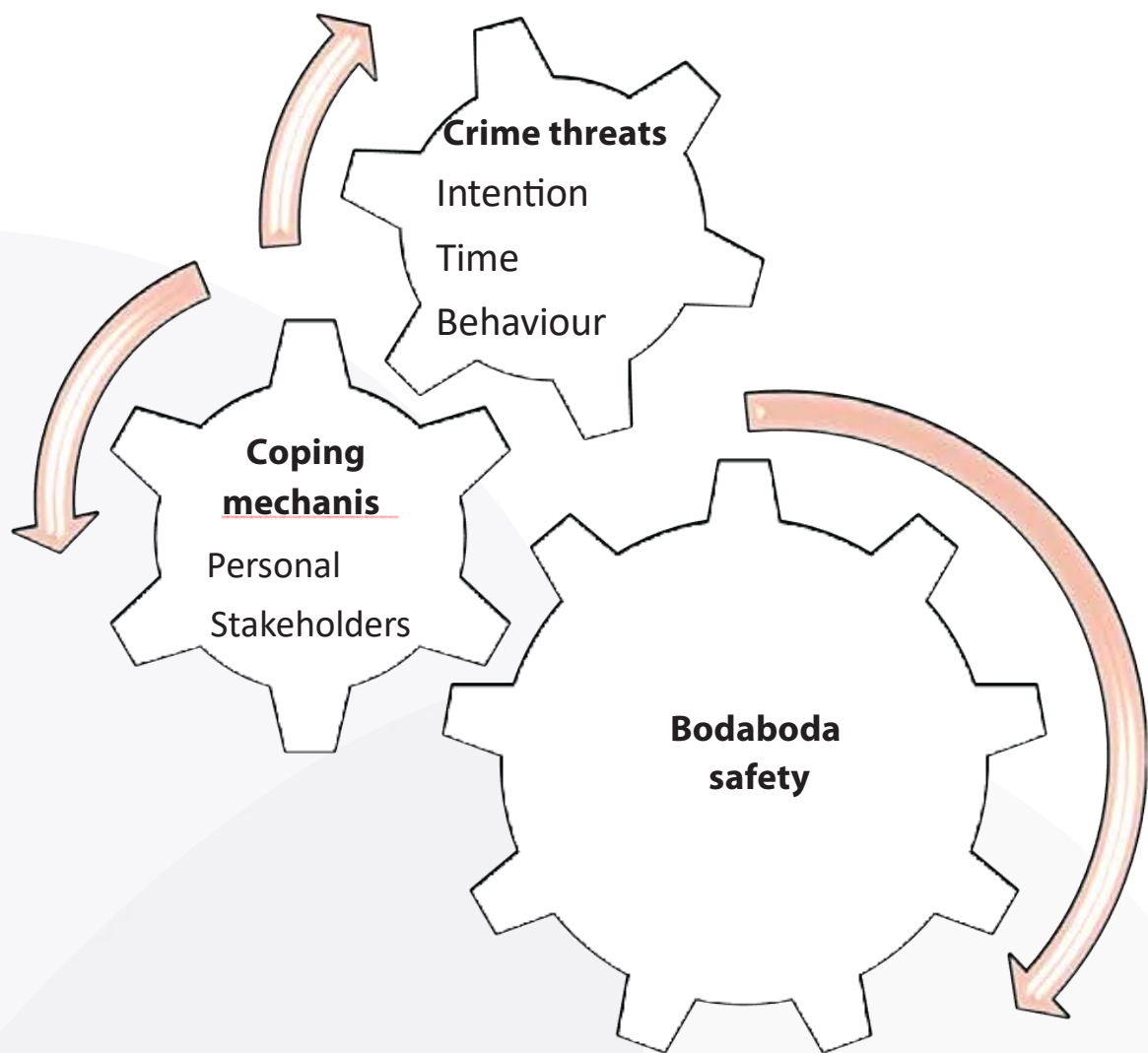
The existing literature highlights various coping strategies adopted by motorcycle taxi riders to prevent themselves from crime threats. Studies of different scholars (Tarimo, 2013; Opondo & Kiprop, 2018) identify the establishment of different Boda-Boda groups as the first strategy. It is reported that, through working as a group, these riders feel safe and safeguard the interests and safety of all members including their motorcycles. They also observed that, Boda-Boda operators normally limit their working hours to reduce exposure during nighttime when most crime happens. Reisman et al. (2013) adds that community policing has been a means through which riders prevent themselves from such crimes. It was reported that, through the coordination of 'balozzi/mjumbe' the entire community contributes some amount that is used to pay nightwatchmen. In the same phenomena, some motorcycle riders are part of the people who become nightwatchmen. All this is intended to ensure nothing bad happens to them. In the context of this aspect, collaboration with police officers is also a means of reducing crime and threats such as those associated with motorcycle taxi operations (REPOA, 2009; Divall et al., 2019). It was revealed further that they adopted self-regulation through being conscious with the working hours, the passengers they carry, locations to which they are taking passengers and installation of remote controlled ignition switches and device tracking systems to ensure that in case they fall victim, their motorcycles can be easily retrieved (Starkey, 2016; Qian, 2014; Opondo & Kiprop, 2018; Ehebrecht et al., 2018).

2.5 Research Gap

Literature reviewed reports several crimes encountered by Boda-Boda riders while undertaking their roles. Studies by scholars (Awuor, 2020; Olvera et al., 2020; Opondo & Kiprop, 2018) reveal both crimes encountered by riders and passengers. However, these studies were carried in Nairobi, Kenya and other sub-Saharan cities leaving Dar es Salaam out of the circle. Studies conducted in Tanzania on Boda-Boda focused on accidents and safety and causes of traffic accidents involving Boda-Boda (Urioh, 2020; Nguyen et al., 2018; Tarimo, 2015) making the phenomenon unveiled. Based on the above situation is the nature and levels of crime situation related to the motorcycle taxi operations in Dar es Salaam known? How do Boda-Boda riders and passenger cope with such situations? And what have different stakeholders done to alleviate the situation? All these being unknown, this study bridges the available knowledge gap by bringing to light answers to the above questions.

2.6 Conceptual Framework

Figure 1: Urban Crime and Coping Strategy Among Boda-Boda Riders



In Figure 1, it is indicated that, as a result of personal intention, behaviours and other potentials, people commit various crimes with and against boda-boda riders and their customers. In response, riders and other stakeholders take various initiatives to cope with such threats and crimes against them. These involve security personnel, civilians, politicians and other interested persons. All this is intended to ensure that boda-boda riders are free and operate in a safe and calm environment.

CHAPTER THREE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Approach

The mixed approach research design was used in this study. Researchers considered that, using a single means of approach would cost them by leaving a bunch of data unrevealed. Considering the fact that a number of researchers (Opondo & Kiprop, 2018; Ngemera, 2017; Nyachieo, 2015; Olvera, 2021; Awour 2020) on Boda-Boda have used the same approach. It was considered ideal for the study. In this approach, both qualitative and quantitative data were collected using a range of data collection techniques. It was noted that, the combination of both quantitative and qualitative techniques would allow both quantitative and qualitative data sets to complement, corroborate and strengthen one another and reduce the shortcomings of each individual approach while maximizing the benefits of combining both approaches (Creswell, 2017).

3.2 Description of the Study Context

This work was carried out in Dar es Salaam and Pwani Regions for comparative purposes. Dar es Salaam is the largest business hub in Tanzania and rests immediately at the east coast of the Indian ocean. It has attracted a number of young people from across the country most of whom have ended up becoming Boda-Boda riders. The city is divided into five administrative municipalities notably Ilala, Kinondoni, Temeke, Kigamboni and Ubungu. The city is currently estimated to be a home to more than six million residents.

Behind Kampala, Nairobi and Kigali, Dar es Salaam and Tanzania in general delayed to allow the use of motorcycles as a commercial means of transport up until 2010, when a few motorcycles started being used as means of transport. Currently, the city and its neighbouring urban centres have numerous motorcycle taxis at almost every station. Despite the city authorities' ban on Boda-Boda entering the city centre due to increased accidents and escalated Boda-Boda related crimes, they are currently active and carrying out their activities across all municipalities.

With regards to the nature of Boda-Boda operations, the city provides no limitations for the interaction of Boda-Boda riders from one municipality to the other. This means that, any Boda-Boda rider is free to take any passenger within or outside his/her municipal jurisdiction, accounting for a free interaction of riders (both with good and bad intentions). In both regions, there is no formalized union of Boda-Boda riders, nor is there any form of regulation governing the operations of the same group, but Boda-Boda riders gather around their stages [vijiwe] or cruise freely on a daily basis to wait or search for their customers (Olvera, 2021).

As for the Pwani Region, it is a gateway to the city of Dar es Salaam from all corners except by the sea. The region encloses the whole city of Dar es Salaam, and its urban centres are developed due to the interactions between people and business between the two regions. In this study, three closest peri urban centres were included in the study. These were Kibaha, Bagamoyo and Kisarawe townships.

Like in Dar es Salaam, the operation of Boda-Boda riders is composed of more youths as compared to the older generation. Moreover, due to being close to Dar es Salaam, the operations of these riders normally have no borders. While some riders working from Dar es Salaam might operate from either town, the situation might be similar to those working from Kibaha, Bagamoyo or Kisarawe.

The number of Boda-Boda riders has not been established because there is no official number given by the Government or any other authority. However, despite being unaware of the number of these operators, Boda-Boda are the most used means of transport due to their ability to travel fast and dodge traffic congestions as observed in Dar es Salaam and the neighbouring centres (Risdiyanto, 2020). Moreover, crimes by or against Boda-Boda riders have been reported in both regions with almost similar volume.

Due to the interaction observed and to obtain the required respondents, the two regions were clustered as urban (Dar es Salaam) and Peri Urban (Pwani). Borrowing from Olvera (2021), we clustered Dar es Salaam in five clusters (just according to its administrative municipalities) and the rest of townships were individually termed as a cluster on their own. We were forced to do so to ensure that every part of the city and part of the Pwani region has adequate and even representation of respondents. In this regard, we had a total of eight zones, five from the urban and three from the peri urban from which we sampled 288 respondents including riders and passengers. 36 respondents were obtained from each cluster.

3.3 Data Collection and Tools

By borrowing from a number of scholars (Olvera 2021; Awuor 2020; Nyachieo, 2015) we decided to use a questionnaire and structured interviews. In the questionnaire that was administered to Boda-Boda riders, we included both closed and open-ended questions. These were aimed at collecting both quantitative and qualitative data. Questionnaires were administered by researchers due to the fact that some Boda-Boda riders did not know how to read and write while some did not prefer filling the questionnaires themselves. But still, due to the nature of their operations, there were a number of breaks especially when a rider gets a customer. Thus, it was deemed important for the questionnaire to be administered by researchers to avoid unnecessary inconveniences.

Interviews were also carried out on police officers, local government officers and the customers from all clusters based on the multistate sampling. Interviews were held face to face following prior studies approaches (Rollason, 2020; Starkey, 2016), with the exception of a few police officers who preferred to be interviewed on telephone due to their tight schedule from which no time could be obtained to conduct the interview face to face. Moreover, review and analysis of documents, was done to ensure that data obtained from respondents is validated.

By using Opondo and Kiprop (2018) and Ngemera (2017) techniques, data sets were treated independently. As for qualitative data collected through interviews, open ended question in the questionnaire and documentary reviews were transcribed. The Swahili transcriptions were translated into English and handwritten transcripts were typed and saved as documents in rich text format. Qualitative data analysis was done through a thematic strategy as used by (Opondo and Kiprop, 2018). This was performed by using the MAXQDA 10 [VERBI Software, Marburg, Germany].

As for the quantitative dataset, data obtained through close ended questionnaires was fed in SPSS version 16 for analysis. In this, descriptive statistics were done, and these gave graphic representation of the situation in reality as was done by Awour (2020). We were interested in conducting a comparative analysis between what is happening in Dar es Salaam to what is happening in the Pwani region. We thus used comparative graphs to show differences and similarities between results obtained from each group as recommended by Lord (1947) and Livingstone (2004). Aspects like the nature of crimes, frequency and mechanisms of dealing with crimes were compared between the urban and peri-urban.

In the first objective of this study, researchers focused on different types of crimes faced by riders and passengers respectively and how each crime happened. While descriptive statistics were used for analysing quantitative data, content analysis was used to report how such crimes happened. In the second objective, researchers captured a number of coping strategies used by different riders. A number of strategies were identified by researchers and respondents were required to select the appropriate strategies they use (a list of such is available in the appended questionnaires) and how each of the selected strategy is applied. These were analysed by descriptive statistics and content analysis. In the third and last objective of the study, we intended to reveal stakeholders and measures they take in alleviating such crimes and the extent to which these measures are effective. Parameters measured in this objective are observed in the appended sets of questionnaires. These were analysed by descriptive statistics including graphs.

3.4 Validity and Reliability

3.4.1 Validity

In this study, we ensured that all tools used are a true representation by ensuring that tools are inspected by at least two experts to check if they are well-worded, organised and really captured what was intended. Furthermore, researchers ensured that the tools include all aspects that need to be used in measuring an item as recommended by Heale & Twycross (2015).

3.4.2 Reliability

In order to ensure that tools and findings are reliable, we ensured that the entire procedure of this study is well explained. This included giving clear explanation on setting of the study, the sample size used, how it was sampled, and methods involved in the data collection exercise. Furthermore, we subjected the questionnaire to Cronbach Alpha to determine the correlation among variables (Price, Jhangiani, & Chiang, 2015).

CHAPTER FOUR PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter reports findings obtained from the field based on the study objectives. In this case the findings focus on the nature of crime threats experienced by the urban motorcycle riders, the various strategies employed by the riders in coping with the crime threats as well as the initiatives undertaken by various actors to curb crime.

4.2 Demographic Representation of Respondents

This study demanded the collection of important demographic representation findings to understand the nature of respondents that participated in the study. It was through such demographics that the researcher understands if findings are sourced from the right people or not. In this study demographics are presents in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Demographic Representation of Participants

| Aspects | | Motor cycle riders | | Potential customers | |
|------------------|--------|--------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|
| | | Dar es Salaam | Pwani | Dar es Salaam | Pwani |
| Region of origin | | 107 | 82 | 67 | 31 |
| Gender | Male | 101 | 81 | 18 | 14 |
| | female | 06 | 01 | 41 | 25 |
| Education | | | | | |
| Primary | | 50 | 57 | 20 | 11 |
| Secondary | | 47 | 23 | 10 | 9 |
| Certificate | | 04 | 02 | 18 | 6 |
| VETA | | 04 | 0 | 6 | 1 |
| University | | 04 | 0 | 13 | 4 |
| Marital status | | | | | |
| Single | | 88 | 40 | 49 | 14 |
| Married | | 19 | 42 | 18 | 17 |

Findings as presented in Table 1 indicate a number of demographic characteristics of respondents involved in this study. With regards to the proportion as per region, Dar es Salaam had many respondents in comparison to the Pwani region. Riders were 107 and 82 in Dar es Salaam and Pwani Regions, respectively. As for customers there were 67 customers from Dar es Salaam as compared to 31 from the Pwani Region. With regards to gender, the entire work of motorcycle taxi riding was dominated by males, however, interesting realities show that there were a number of women involved in this business.

This shows that the perception of people is changing in the Tanzanian society and that currently some people perceive jobs in equal scales and do not brand them as feminine or masculine. Findings further indicate that either women use more of Boda-Boda as means of transport or are the major targets of crime among passengers.

With regards to education, many riders were primary and secondary school graduates in both regions of Dar es Salaam and Pwani. However, findings indicate that there were a number of university graduates among Boda-Boda riders. This could have been contributed to by the fact that due the ongoing wave of unemployment, some young graduates have opted to involve themselves in informal economic activities, Boda-Boda riding being a case in point. With regards to potential customers, the level of education was somewhat evenly distributed. Although primary and secondary education dominated, there were college and university graduates as well.

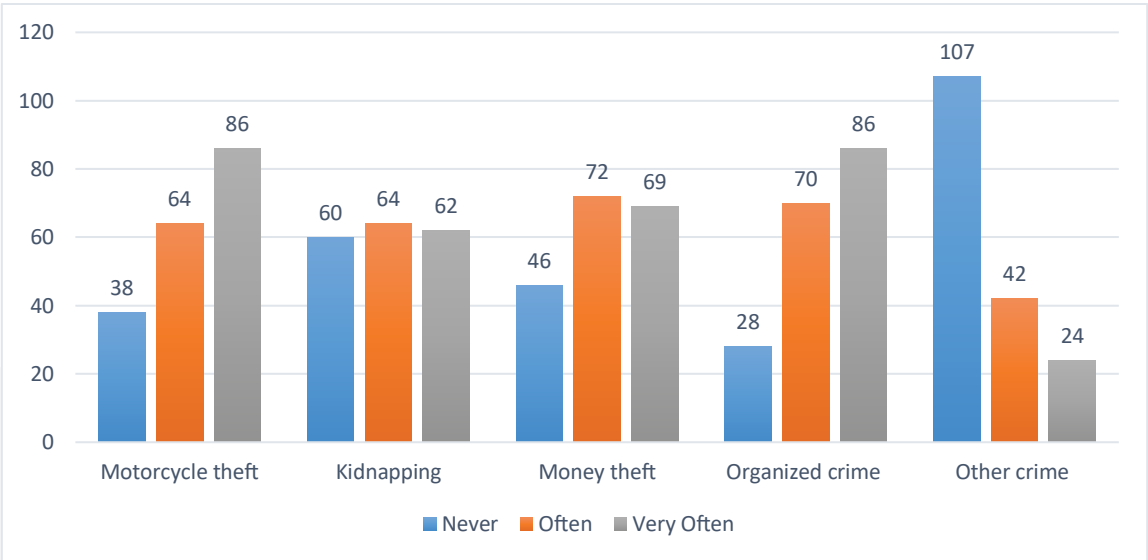
Findings also present the fact that the activity had a number of single riders especially in Dar es Salaam as compared to Pwani region by comparing the proportion of samples drawn from each region. There were 88 single riders in Dar es Salaam as compared to 40 in the Pwani region. It could be contributed to by the fact that young men in Pwani region get married as early as possible in comparison to those in Dar es Salaam. The situation could be attributed to the simplicity of acquiring basic needs for the family in Pwani region as compared to Dar es Salaam. With regards to customers, findings painted the same picture as it was shown among riders.

4.3 Characterising the Nature and Dynamics of Crime related to Motorcycle Taxi Operations in Dar es Salaam and Pwani Regions

4.3.1 Crime experienced by Motorcycle Riders (Boda-Boda) in Urban Settings

In order to obtain a number of these crimes, a list of predetermined crimes was provided to the respondent to identify the most common to him/her. The list was created from a review of different literatures. Respondents were given the chance to add more crimes not included in the list. Broadly speaking, research ascertained that, motorcycle riders experienced crime in different forms including, motorcycle theft, kidnapping, money theft (pick pocketing) as well as organised crime in different degrees and at different intervals as presented in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: Crimes Faced by Motorcycle Riders



Motorcycle Theft

Accordingly, majority of the vendors confirmed to have experienced or witnessed motorcycle theft in their day-to-day movements in different urban locations. Riders stated that this happened in forms of attacks by customers who turn out to be robbers. It happens when they were ferrying customers to various urban places, when parking in different stations as well as whenever they were involved in assisting people who had entered into various problems such as road accidents. It was further reported that, motorcycles were stolen by trusted friends, by their fellow riders who borrowed motorcycles, passengers who requested to be ferried to different urban settings and that robbers used different kinds of weapons ranging from knives, pieces of metals, and guns. The following quotes provide self-explanations:

I was trying to help a girl that I found lying down on the road, but I was immediately surrounded by five men whom I didn't know where they came from. They hit me severely and then disappeared with my motorcycle and left me laying on the ground. I then realized that this was a trick to attack any rider who would fall into such a trap. (Male Rider, Ubungu, Dar es Salaam)

Another rider added:

We were parking at our usual station. Suddenly a person who looked like a decent customer came straight to where I was parking and pointed a gun at me and instructed me to hand over to him the motorcycle keys, and he left with the motorcycle. (Male Rider, Temeke, Dar es Salaam)

I saw passengers attacking a motorcycle rider and they were having weapons, so I was scared to go and rescue him. What I did - I went straight to the police station to report the incidence. By the time the police officers arrived at the crime scene we only found the rider, but the thieves were already gone. (Male Cyclist, Kivukoni, Dar es Salaam)

Such kinds of testimonials paint a vivid picture that motorcyclists have lost a number of their motorcycles to thieves.

Kidnapping

The other kind of crime experienced by the riders was kidnapping. This would happen to riders either when carrying customers to various urban settings or when returning home after work, more especially at night. Kidnappers would threaten to kill the riders if they wouldn't cooperate, and they did this by showing the riders various dangerous weapons. Just like robbers, kidnappers would trick riders using scenarios like positioning a young girl who is stranded along the road and is in need of critical help. When a rider goes out to the rescue of the girl he gets kidnapped. The following quotes are self-evident:

I remember it was very late at night. I saw five men standing in the middle of the road, I had nowhere to pass. When I stopped, they tied me up and locked me inside a house. They told me if I want them not to harm me, I should call my family to send them money. For my safety. I did as they told me to do, and my mother sent five hundred thousand shillings to them. (Male Rider, Kibaha, Pwani Region).

Supplementing this, another respondent reported

I was hired by a passenger to take him to the Bagamoyo District Commissioners' office. We found a car (Toyota Noah) and some two men standing by. My passenger asked me to go to one of the cars to take my money. No sooner had I reached the car, when the two men standing outside pushed me into the car and drove off. I was tied in a sack and after a long drive they dumped me in a trench in Kimara. I was rescued the following day by pedestrians. I later came to realize that they had taken my money, the motorcycle, phone and my important identity cards (Male Rider, Bagamoyo, Pwani Region).

Although the vice is not very common, it has been reported to be happening. Findings indicate that in most cases they would not kidnap the rider but kill them and take their motorcycles.

Money Theft

Another form of crime experienced by the riders was, money theft. At different times, riders were robbed of their money in different ways when carrying out their responsibility of ferrying customers to various urban settings. This was manifested through being forced to surrender the money they had collected and sometimes the whole day's collection. This left the riders in serious financial crisis considering that the money stolen from them partly belongs to their employers or the motorcycle owners. The following quote provides a more detailed story:

One day a customer asked to be taken somewhere by one of us [riders], and when this guy arrived at the destination. A customer told him to wait for the fare right there. This customer opened the gate to collect the money. To the riders' big surprise, the customer did not come back to pay the money. When the rider inquired in the family the person was nowhere to be seen and the family said that they do not even know of a person like that in their family. (Male Rider, Ubungo, Dar es Salaam)

Organised Crime (Customers Colluding with Criminals)

Riders also experienced organised crime which manifested itself through various ways. One way was through collusion between customers and criminals to steal from the riders. Secondly riders would collude with their fellow riders to steal from customers or from their fellow riders. Thirdly,

some people [robbers] organised themselves in order implement crime against riders especially in areas that they knew it would be difficult for the riders to get help. Another way in which organised crime was implemented is that of robbers trying to befriend some riders for some time and get used to each other. Getting to know each other provides an opportune moment for the robbers to learn some soft and efficient ways of kidnapping and ultimately stealing from the rider. The above aspects are further testified by some of the respondents below:

You see, sometimes they invest a lot in gaining our trust, and once they win your trust, they will steal from you very easily - as they have already established your weaknesses. When this happens to us, we have to run away and if you are carrying a customer definitely you will not even remember to take money from him or her. (Male Rider, Ilala, Dar es Salaam).

Other respondents said that:

Some customers would come and request you to take them somewhere. On the way they will be communicating with their allies giving them directions on where you are heading. But before you arrive to the place that they have directed you they attack you and steal everything from you (Male Rider, Temeke, Dar es Salaam).

Complementing this, another rider reported:

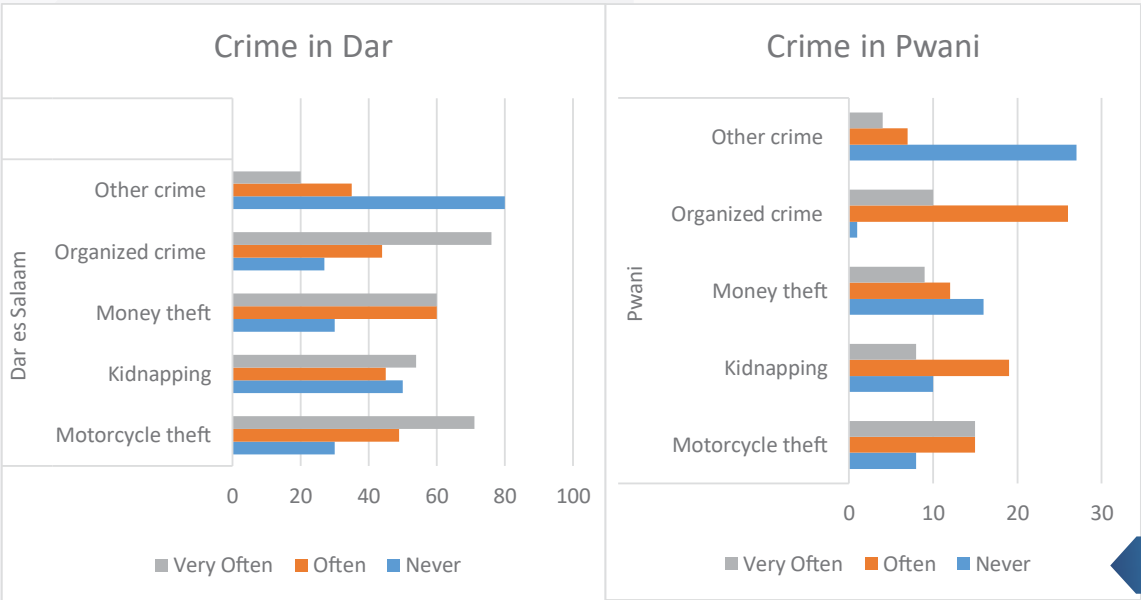
Sometimes we have experienced that customers pretend to know you very well, they start to talk with ridders along the way, however, at the destination point even an open place, you might be robbed by other 5, 6 to 8 unknown people (Male Rider, Temeke, Dar es Salaam).

Another rider added:

Sometimes this is organised by our fellow Boda-Boda. When we are not in good terms, they will organise a crime. They simply collude and come to you pretending to be a customer. Now this customer requests you to take him to a place that they have agreed with the Boda-Boda to meet as a way of revenging. (Male Rider, Ilala, Dar es Salaam)

4.3.2 Comparing Between Dar es Salaam and Pwani Regions and Discussion

Figure 4.2: Comparison of the Situation Between Dar es Salaam and Pwani Regions



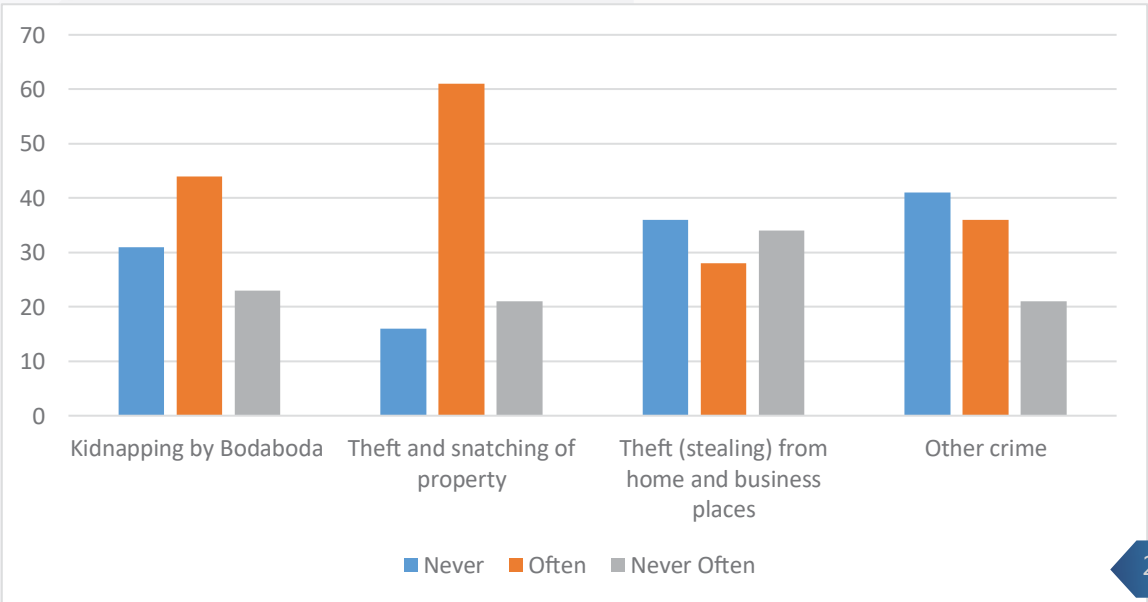
The findings reflect the reality that motorcyclists have been facing a number of crimes. While others get robbed of their motorcycles and other belongings, others get killed just because they have failed to cooperate with criminals. In the moment when they are fighting back to rescue their motorcycles, they get hit hard and end up dying. Several touching stories told by riders indicate how difficult their work has always been. Although the study has been carried out in two different locations, a city and neighbouring towns, findings indicate that whatever is happening in Dar es Salaam has been witnessed in Pwani Region, especially in townships of Kibaha, Kisarawe and Bagamoyo. The situation could be explained by the reality that because these townships are close to Dar es Salaam and are the gates to the city, it is easy for them to share the same experiences. In some instances, while people might be working in Dar es Salaam, they might be living in any of these towns due to their proximity.

The findings obtained in this study echo those of different scholars (Opondo & Kiprop, 2018; Xu, 2009; Awuor, 2020) who report that abduction and kidnapping done by collusion with organised criminal gangs, physical assault, killings, and theft of motorcycles have been the order of the day in different countries including Kenya. While reporting the experience from Mali, Oliveira (2020) writes that theft of motorcycles and several attacks by passengers who sometimes fail to pay their fares have been their normal experience. This was supported by Adhiambo (2020) whose findings report that merciless robbery and murder of motorcycle riders has been common in Kenya and other neighbouring countries. Contributing to this, Ngemera (2017) asserts that in situations some Boda-Boda riders are killed, and their motorcycles stolen by unknown persons who pretend to be innocent passengers. Such incidents tell that the situation is tense and needs immediate actions.

4.3.3 Crimes Faced by Passengers and Other Potential Customers

Researchers were interested to identify the nature of crimes that customers experience while using Boda-Boda or while doing other activities. Some of the crimes have been reported to be caused directly by Boda-Boda riders who turn out to be criminals (this is mostly reported by women) or those pretending to be Boda-Boda riders who normally pass around the city or other urban centres and committing a number of vices. A number of such crimes are presented in Figure 4.3

Figure 4.3: Crimes Faced by Potential Customers



Kidnapping by Boda-Boda

Findings indicate that one of the major common kinds of crime experienced by the motorbike taxi customer was kidnapping. Even though this form of crime was not mentioned to happen very frequently, it also affected the customers physically, psychologically and financially. Those who found themselves in the unfortunate situation explained that they were taken to some unknown and hidden places where they were beaten up and exposed to other sorts of sufferings and were required to pay certain amount of money or request some form of ransom from family members for the abductee to be released.

Theft and Snatching of Properties

Another form of crime frequently experienced by the customers was related to theft and snatching of customers' properties such handbags, mobile phones, necklace, watches and many other precious items. Apparently, this kind of crime was organised between some ill-intended motorbike riders and robbers who disguise themselves as passengers on the rear part of the motorbike. Again, customers lamented that this form of crime also affected them physically, psychologically and financially as one of them put it clear hereunder:

I was walking along the road and saw a motor bike with two people on it. Abruptly, the one seated at the rear of the motorbike snatched my brand-new mobile phone very quickly and the motorbike took off at a terrific speed. I just remained there screaming loudly but nothing else I could do. Some few people came to my rescue, but it was already too late. They just ended up consoling me with some mere words. I had not even enjoyed my new mobile phone. (Male Respondent, Ilala Municipality, Dar es Salaam)

Theft from Homes and Places of Business

Another form of crime practiced by the motorbike taxi operators against the customer was theft of various valuables at home and at business places. Respondents explain that some operators/riders, would disappear with the money given to them to buy certain goods and services for household or business purposes. Alternatively, some of them would also disappear with the various goods and services that they were supposed to deliver in households or at business places. Some customers explain hereunder:

The other day we sent him [rider] for some cooking gas and cooking oil because he is someone who was introduced to us by a well-known friend. However, to our surprise we waited for him for hours and hours to no avail. Then we called at the shop, and we were told that he had not been seen there. Then we realized that the young man had disappeared with the money. It was a huge loss to us (Male Respondent Mbezi, Dar es Salaam)

Physical Violence

Accordingly, one the major forms of crime experienced by the passengers was physical violence as evidenced by the majority of the customers. These customers explained that they got injured in the course of fighting for their lives as well as ransoming their property. This is because before stealing from the customers some motorbike taxi riders together with their allies would beat up the customers

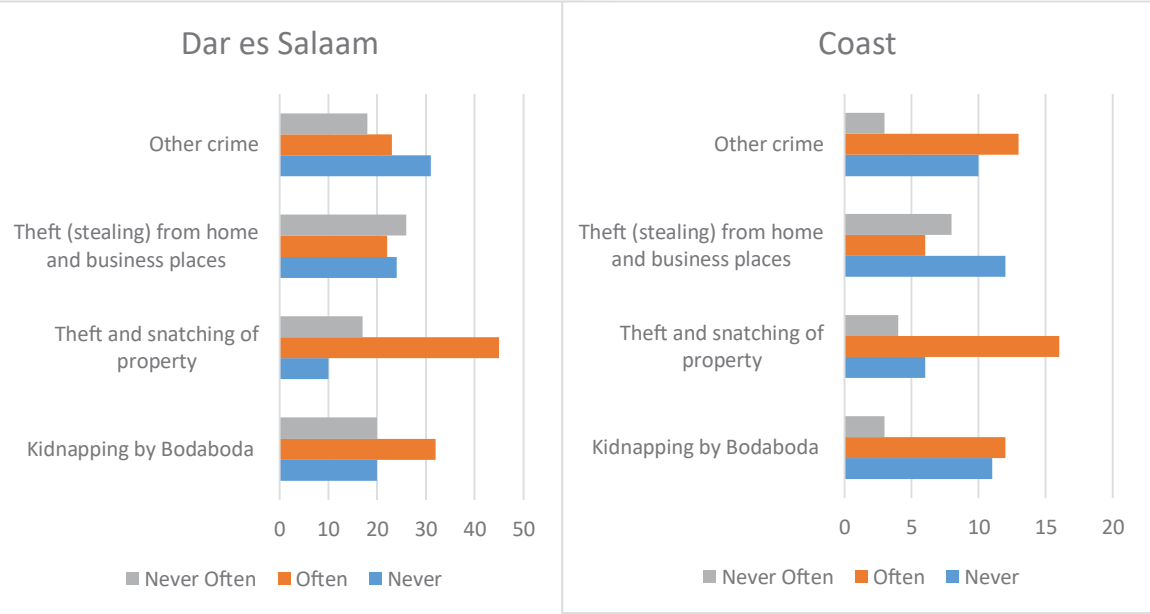
to the extent of causing them disabilities and sometimes death. One of the female respondents/victims explained:

You see as they were struggling to snatch the bag from me, I had to resist with a lot of force. However, they overpowered me, and I fell down. Consequently, they kept on pulling me up towards them as I was holding my handbag. So, they ended up causing a lot of wounds in different parts of my body. I lost a lot of blood. (Female Respondent [Customer], Kigamboni, Dar es Salaam).

Findings further present a number of other cases that include sexual harassment which is mostly suffered by women in comparison with men. It is reported that riders and other allies normally cast some words or take some actions most especially when women pass by. Most of these are regarded to be intentional sexual harassment. It is further reported that, some passengers including young schoolgirls are sexually assaulted and defiled by Boda-Boda riders. It is currently a common saying that Boda-Boda riders lure schoolgirls with just French fries and free rides to and from school.

Findings further provide that due to false accusations, Boda-Boda riders normally beat and assault people just because they accuse them of being thieves. This results from forces of mob psychology. It has been a common assumption that due to lawlessness among riders, they have run over a number of people most of them being school children.

4.3.4 Comparing the Situation Between Dar es Salaam and Pwani Regions
Figure 4.4: Comparison of the Situation Between Dar es Salaam and Pwani Regions



In this aspect, findings provide the reality that although Boda-Boda riders are of great importance to the wellbeing of a number of youths, they have been associated with a number of crimes they perform on their customers or other road users and the society in general. While findings indicate that theft in form of snatching is the widely experienced form of crime that was reported both in Dar es Salaam and Pwani Regions, other forms of crimes including abduction, sexual harassment, theft from homes and physical assault have been mainly reported in Dar es Salaam than in Pwani Region.

The greatest problem lies in how riders are associated with defilement, lawlessness and sexual harassment especially when these actions are done to young schoolgirls and boys. Such situations require immediate steps to eliminate them. If the younger generation is not well-nurtured, the entire society will be corrupt in the future.

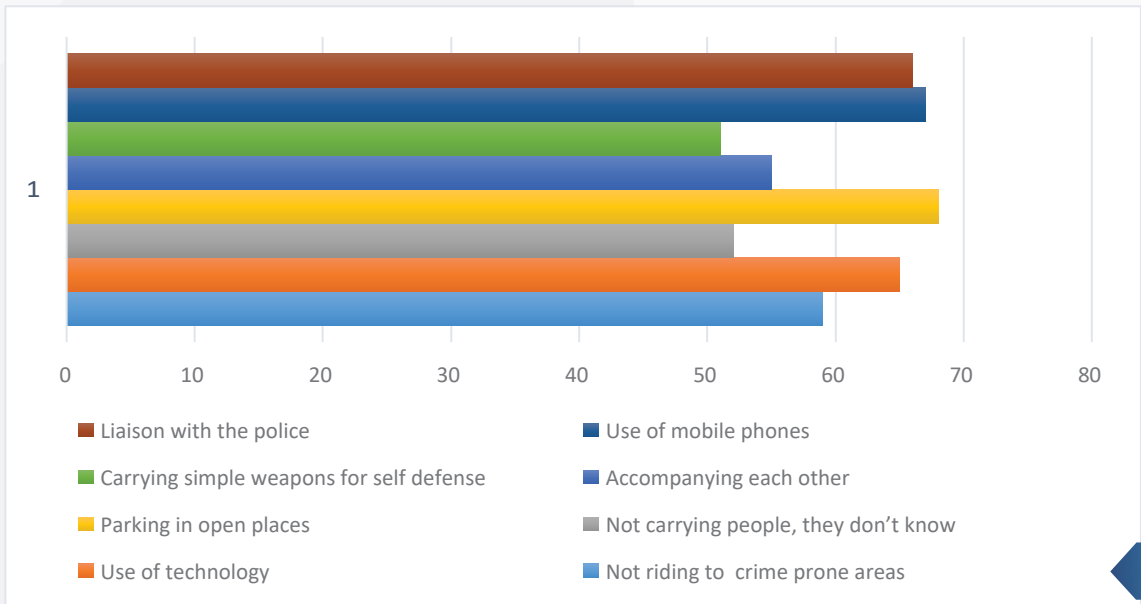
These findings correspond widely with a number of findings previously presented by different scholars in the same area of study. In the Kenyan context, Opondo and Kiprop (2018) report that, a sexual harassment, defilement of schoolgirls and false accusation, killings and physical assaults of different individuals have been associated with Boda-Boda riders. It has now come to Boda-Boda riders being associated with young girls dropping out of schools after being seduced by Boda-Boda riders into early marriage. Another study by Awuor (2020) provided that abductions, hit and run cases, hired gangs that bring about instabilities, rape, mob justice in which innocent people who are suspected to be criminals without verification and are killed have been among the crimes customers and other people face and are all caused by Boda-Boda riders. Worse still, the study presents that in Kisumu, the spread of HIV/AIDS and school dropouts among young girls are forms of crimes caused by riders. The study presents the situation in Kenya but reiterates what is currently reported in this study. Such findings are further in line with the routine activity and rational theories that, the behaviour, intention, environment and time determine the nature and pattern of the crime one is involved in.

4.4 Crime Victims' Coping Strategies and the Capacity to Cope with the Crime

4.4.1 Crime Coping Strategies by the Riders

In this objective, researchers intended to find out how victims of crimes have mainly tried to cope with crimes they encounter on a daily basis. The question 'How do you cope with the threat?' was asked. A set of identified strategies were presented to respondents/victims for them to choose the most appropriate to them. Such victims include riders and other potential victims including passengers and other road users in the urban settings. In this section, riders coping strategies are presented as in Figure 4.5

Figure 4.5: Motorcycle Riders' Crime Coping Strategies



Findings presented in Figure 4.5 indicate that a number of strategies have been adopted by motorcycle riders in coping with the crime situation they are facing. Such strategies include parking in open spaces, using mobile phones, the use of technology, liaison with the police, refraining from going to crime prone areas, being vigilant with new customers and carrying simple weapons.

Parking in open places perceived to be more secure especially during nights

This was the highly ranked strategy that riders use as a means of coping with crime. 68% of riders ranked it the first easy strategy they normally use. Here riders park at bus stops, junctions, in front of shops, in front of police stations and other areas which are open and easily seen. Although it is a means of targeting customers, it is also a means of coping with crimes. Most of them affirm that they are safe as long as they are in front of peoples' eyes. The emphasis is always given at night as this rider was quoted saying:

At night, I normally park at well-known places. Sometimes I would park near a petrol station but during the weekend I would park near night clubs because I know I can also get customers there. We mainly target open, fully lit spaces. I park in an area where the movement of people is high. At night I normally park at a place called "CCM" and some of the riders, park at the police station for security purposes (Male Rider, Temeke, Dar es Salaam).

Use of mobile phones technology

Another strategy for coping with crime increasingly mentioned by the riders relates to use of mobile phone technology (67%). Riders explained that they used mobile phones to share crime related information with various people and authorities that would come to their rescue as well as help alleviate crime both reactively and proactively. There were several ways in which they made use of the mobile phones. Firstly, whenever riders carried suspicious customers or when heading to less secure or suspicious destinations they would alert their fellow operators through phone calls, WhatsApp and SMS. Secondly, most riders had organised themselves into WhatsApp groups where they would always share security and crime related issues. Thirdly, most of the riders got hold of and saved important mobile phone numbers in their handsets that they would always call in case they fell victims to crime. These important numbers included responsible individuals from authorities such as the police, local government officials/offices, as well as friends and relatives. A rider was quoted saying:

Mobile phones are really of great help to us. One can imagine that without these mobile phones we would have been wiped out by crime as we wouldn't have any means of sharing and disseminating crime related information. I personally got into a problem [crime incidence] and used my phone to inform my friends, relatives, family for them just to know what happened to me and where possible to get their support. (Male Cyclist, Kibaha, Pwani Region)

To supplement the above, another rider said:

We use mobile phones to communicate with other riders' groups, police officers and some other relevant authorities whenever a problem occurs [crime incidence]. Boda-Boda [motorcycle] riders have a habit of using their mobile phones to communicate with their fellows whenever involved in crime related incidences. We thank God that, this has turned out to be very effective, because they always come to our rescue. (Male Rider, Ilala, Dar es Salaam).

Using GPRS Technology

Another popular strategy of coping with crime employed by the riders was the use of the GPRS technology popularly known as the General Packet Radio Service (GPRS) as evidenced by over 54% of the respondents. This is a web based wireless software that can detect the location of a motorcycle even after it has been stolen from the rider. The device is mounted on the motorcycle and helps to locate the motorcycle unless unplugged and thrown away. It is easy to use as it is connected to the motorcycle owners' mobile phone or computer. Those who did not use this technology attributed their failure to financial difficulties as well as lack of knowledge and awareness to use the technology. When confirming this, one rider assured:

Yes, I have personally installed it, and it is working pretty well. It helps to identify your stolen property very easily even though robbers and thieves sometime remove the GPRS as soon as they steal it. The problem is that not all of us have managed to install and use the technology because we lack sensitization, and the technology is very expensive. Some of our bosses are reluctant to acquire such devices **(Male Rider, Ubungo, Dar es Salaam).**

Liaison with the Police

Moreover, riders reported that working hand in hand with the police force was another strategy for coping with crime. Most of them stated that they were in constant communication with the police for the purpose of reporting crime related issues as well as identifying solutions to crime together. They did this through provision of early warning as well as providing information that would assist with identifying and dealing with crime. Accordingly, riders stated that, this strategy was effective in both preventing as well as dealing with crime incidence in the context of their work as quoted below:

We share information [crime related] with the police and inform them of what has happened. If the information offered to them is accurate, they will start looking for the stolen motorcycle. We [therefore] really appreciate the support that we get from the police officers anytime we report our matters to them they assist us to look for the stolen motorcycle and the criminals **(Male Rider, Kisarawe, Pwani Region).**

On the other hand, some riders informed that, they could not receive maximum and prompt support from the police even after reporting the incidences as required and expected.

Sometimes when we report crimes to the police, they don't show full support. This is the greatest challenge that we face from them. We can say that there is a little cooperation from them especially on making follow-up, educating and sensitizing us on different tricks used to steal Boda-Boda [motorcycle taxi] among others. Other collaborative technique is just by reporting crimes to them **(Male Rider, Bagamoyo, Pwani Region).**

Avoid riding to crime prone destinations

One of the strategies for coping with crime adopted by the riders was their ability to refrain from riding to some specific destinations which they perceived to be crime prone areas. This went hand in hand with refraining from serving suspicious customers at night. They would also try to take precaution in that even in situations where they had already taken a customer, they would drop him or her if they sensed any kind of danger or crime ahead. Some areas perceived to be problematic included near DUCE in Temeke, opposite the national stadium, along Kinyerezi Malamba Mawili road, areas of Goba, Mbezi, Bunju and other quiet places like Masaki and Mbezi Beach in Dar es Salaam. Other areas include the forests between Dar es Salaam and Kisarawe, along Maneromango and other villages in Kisarawe and along Ruangwa and shanty areas of Bagamoyo Mlingotini. On avoiding such areas, one rider reported:

During late hours, of the night I park at an open place like at petrol station, near night clubs or at police stations but still I don't ride to places that I perceive to be unsafe for me, even if the customer promises to offer me some good money. During those moments, we only pick the customers who are normally from this kijiwe [only people from around the vicinity]. (Male Rider, Kinondoni, Dar es Salaam).

Accompanying each other using more than one motorcycles at night or when working in some crime prone areas

Riders also cope with crime by accompanying each other using more than one motorcycles at night or when working in some crime prone areas. They explained that this practice would scare ill intended customers as well as potential robbers from committing crime against them. This was normally used in some areas of Dar es Salaam like in Mbezi Magufuli Stand and Bagamoyo. One rider was quoted as saying:

When a customer wants you to take him or her to a distant place, or a place that we don't know of, especially at night, we accompany one another and charge the customer high to compensate the other rider who accompanies you. This is because it is very dangerous if we don't do that [they might end up committing crime against the riders] (Male Rider, Mbezi, Dar es Salaam).

Not carrying some people, they don't know

Another strategy employed by the riders in coping with the crime was to refrain from carrying suspicious customers or those customers that they don't know, especially at night. This is because riders had discovered that nighttime is when most criminals take advantage and commit crimes including stealing from them, seriously wounding or killing them.

We have our unwritten rule here in our parking station that we don't carry people that we don't know at night. Due to that, during night hours I personally don't carry a customer that I don't know or go to potentially dangerous places. This practice is also accompanied by our decisions to park only in places that are well known to us and our security organs, such as the police (Male Rider, Kigamboni, Dar es Salaam).

Some of them reported that as a means of protecting themselves, when taking passengers to new places they would carry them up to certain destinations and would hand them to other riders who know such areas very well.

Although this was mentioned, it scored the least 52%. Some of the cyclists mentioned that it was very hard to implement that because if they only carried passengers they knew, it would be difficult to get the required amount, and they would end up starving. One of them said "...we normally take risks and carry those we don't know just because we need the money..."

Carrying simple weapons for self defence

This was the least used strategy by riders scoring 51% of all riders. Findings indicate that out of all respondents in Dar es Salaam, one was found with a machete however, the situation was common in Bagamoyo. In Bagamoyo, riders also mentioned that they carried with them some simple weapons for self-defence in case they would be attacked. One of them mentioned, "...it is a normal thing here". When asked if their passengers would not be scared, he said, "...if I do not tell you where we keep them, you will never see them at all". Upon discovering the secret, researchers found a reasonable number of riders with such weapons. Some riders were quoted as follows: "Self-defence is very important. I have a screwdriver that I carry everyday as a weapon for self-defence. If you don't defend yourself nobody will come to your rescue". Another one supplemented: ...I can testify that this strategy works. One day an ill-intended customer refused to pay, when I dragged out my dagger, the customer immediately paid the money.

However, some riders/operators, mostly those in Dar es Salaam were against this practice based on the point that customers would be scared on seeing such weapons. In this case they discouraged the practice. Some of them even mentioned that some ill-intended customers would use such weapons to harm them. One of them was reported as follows:

No. I am totally against the practice of carrying weapons because it will scare the passengers. They might also report you and end up opening a court case against you. We may consider opting for other precautions rather than carrying weapons. ... Boda-Boda [motorcycle] riders should not carry weapons for protection because with some customers, such weapons may be used against them. (Male Rider, Kinondoni, Dar es Salaam).

Findings as presented from riders indicate that technological advancement has aided them a lot in coping with crimes done unto them. Mobile phones have been used and have helped them to recover a number of motorcycles stolen. This has just been through calling to report the stolen motorcycles. In the same view, the use of phones has been a tool to report suspicious people, who at times when arrested turned out to be real criminals targeting riders. Such findings are in line with those by Opondo and Kiprop (2018) who mention the use of phones as an important strategy that has been helpful, however, they reported that in Kenya, some riders would beat up people suspecting them to be thieves something that has awakened community concerns.

Although phones have been used to share information among riders on different cases of crimes and suspected criminals, it is more common that riders instead of arresting the suspect and hand him/her over to the police for further investigations, they normally take the law into their own hands.

They end up physically assaulting innocent people and sometimes killing them even without any proof showing that they are criminals. This situation was also reported by Opondo and Kiprop (2018) in Kenya where a number of people are killed by Boda-Boda riders just because they are falsely accused of being criminals.

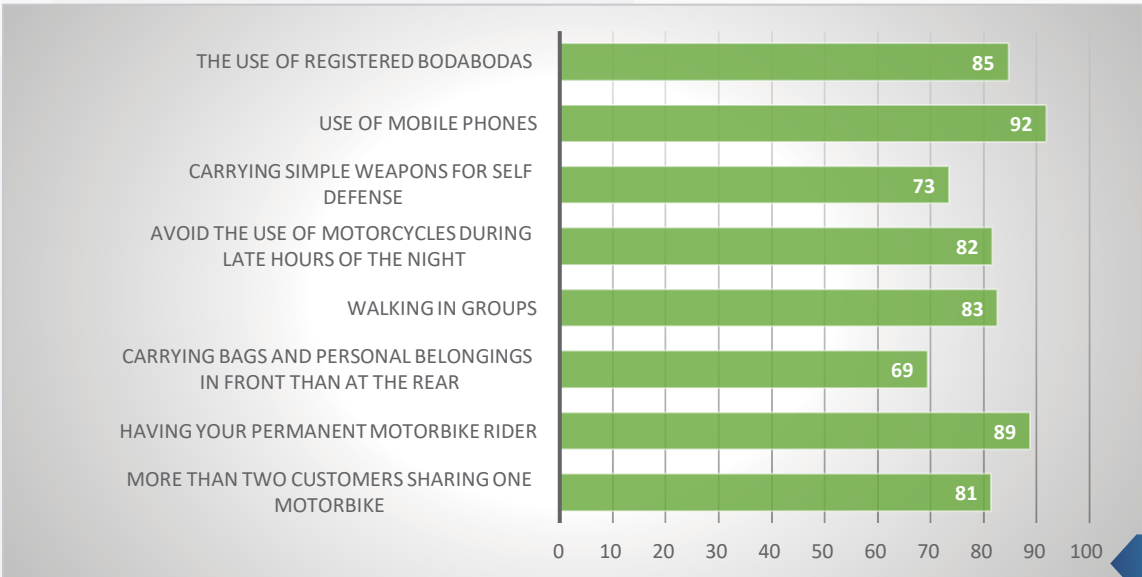
Findings moreover provide that liaison with police has been among the most used tactic; this is because no investigation can be carried without police involvement. But still, the law requires people to report to a nearby police station in case of any crime or suspicion of crime. Several studies report that seeking police support or participating in community policing (although this some of its own problems), has helped to recover lost property or even preventing some crimes from happening. Studies by Oliveira et al (2020) Divall et al (2019) Opondo and Kiprop (2018) Reisman et al. (2013) all support the reality that cooperation with police would help to ease the situation.

In a similar vein, studies by Tarimo (2013) Opondo and Kiprop (2018) further mention that limiting themselves to work at night, forming unions, limiting themselves to carry suspicious passengers and limiting riders to operate in open areas are among the best strategies of coping with crimes. Unions help them when hurt, help them in transferring information and the likes. In this study, findings reveal that victims of crimes just use a variety of strategies at different situations. Such a situation is similar to what is proposed by the multi-layered social resilience framework which clarifies that resilience, and coping strategies are chosen depending on the nature and type of threat encountered.

4.4.2 Crime Coping Strategies by Customers and Other Victims

On the other hand, passengers had their own experiences with regards to the way they cope with crimes. These include using of registered Boda-Boda, mobile phones, carrying simple weapons, avoiding the use of suspicious Boda-Boda, walking in groups among others. It has been observed that a number of victims are women in comparison to male counterparts. Figure 4.6 shows the passengers and potential customers responses on how they cope with such crimes.

Figure 4.6: Strategies used by passengers in coping with crimes



More than two in one motorbike/sharing of the motorbike

Customers also adopted a strategy of sharing one motorbike (double boarding/ “mshikaki”) as a way of coping with crime. This was supported by 81% of passengers and was used in late hours. The system was also common in Pwani region, this is because restrictions are loose there. They argued that, whenever, they were more than one, it was not easy for them to be attacked by robbers or experience any other kind of motorbike taxi related crime. One reported, “...If we’re going somewhere at night, I just ask my neighbour or relative to escort me. And we usually board one motorbike. Then we are sure that we are safe.”

Identifying a Permanent Motorbike Rider

Some customers are used to identifying a permanent motorbike rider who would be ferrying them to different places. This was mostly supported by women. They said that it gave them assurance of not being attacked or experience any kind of motorbike related crime. This was also convenient to them as one of them stated, “Having a permanent rider who takes me wherever I need to go makes me free and safe”. Therefore, this strategy can help to avoid any kind of crime likely to be caused by the motorbike riders.

Carrying Valuables in Front and not at the Rear

One of the strategies for coping with crime employed by the customers involves carrying valuables such as handbags and mobile phones in front and not at the rear. This was supported by 69% of passengers. The strategy was used so as they could be protected more effectively from those who snatch them. They adopted this strategy when they were walking along roads, streets and in some busy places such as downtown. One of the passengers reiterates:

I keep it [the handbag] in front of my chest. Obviously, this is the only strategy for protecting my valuables. You see busy places like Posta and Kariakoo [downtowns and shopping centres in Dar es Salaam Tanzania] are rife with petty crime. These are places where someone can be robbed by these motorbike people very easily. (Female Customer (32), Kinondoni Municipality, Dar es Salaam)

Walking in Groups

Another common strategy against crime adopted by different people was walking in groups especially at night and in some crime prone areas. This was practiced in such a manner that, those people who worked or resided in the same place or close to one another had a tendency of leaving for work together and returning home together at night or when crossing through some crime prone areas. One of them said, “... it keeps us safe, and no one could attack us...”

Avoiding the Use of Unfamiliar Motorcycles Riders During Late Hours of the Night

The strategy was most common among women. A number of them 82% were in support of the strategy. It was practiced during late hours of the night by urban residents to avoid crime especially from those disguised as motorcycle taxi riders. They maintained that whenever they could not trace their special motorbike, they would opt for a different kind of transport. One of them when asked if she could refrain from using such means she was recorded saying:

Yes, yes. My husband has identified special riders for me even when I am late at night. However, whenever, I am late, and I cannot find this rider, I will always opt for another kind of transport. In this way I will be safe. (Passenger, 02, Ilala).

Carrying Simple Weapons for Self-Defence

Extremely few respondents said that they would carry with them some sort of weapon as a way of protecting themselves from the crime. Some of the commonly mentioned weapons were knives, pieces of metals and some sharp objects.

Use of Mobile Phone Technology

Customers made use of mobile phones technology to call for support whenever they experienced any sort of crime. They used the phones to call the police, take a photo of the motorbikes involved in crime and shared them with authorities as well as social media groups in order to raise alarm.

Use of Registered Boda-Bodas

On the other hand, some customers especially those in Dar es Salaam resorted to using registered motorbike taxis such as those registered under UBER and BOLT. "...We use it even though it is a bit costly. However, for the sake of our security, we have nothing to lose. The most important thing is to be secure."

Findings indicate that a number of strategies have been used by various passengers and other potential customers in coping with crimes. The reality shows that while some strategies are common like the use of mobile phones and identifying a single rider for one's use, some of the strategies are area and region specific. For instance, it has been a common practice in Dar es Salaam to use motorcycles under UBER, BOLT and other companies. This has not been the case in Pwani Region. This is because the network of these companies is not accessible there. Moreover, the use of walking in groups is a Dar es Salaam typical strategy where the working population is high. The same strategy is not applicable in Pwani Region. Moreover, the practice of women carrying their valuables in front and not at their sides or back has been a common practice among most women in Dar es Salaam. This is because the rate of such crimes is higher in comparison to how it is in the neighbouring region.

On the other hand, findings indicate that some strategies are commonly used in Pwani Region but not in Dar es Salaam. The sharing of motorcycles by more than one passenger commonly known as 'mshikaki' and carrying of some weapons are common in the townships of Kibaha, Kisarawe and Bagamoyo. This could be due to the reality that police officers are not strict in those townships as they are in Dar es Salaam when one is seen carrying more than a passenger on a motorcycle. At the same time, while it is hard for customers to carry some weapons in Dar es Salaam, it is common among people in other towns.

4.5 Initiatives Undertaken by Various Actors to Curb Down Motorcycle Taxi Riding Related Crime

In this section, researchers wanted to identify a number of actors who have been drawn to the problem of crime and have taken a number of initiatives to eliminate the rate of crimes associated with motorcycle riders and potential customers. To obtain such data, researchers created a list of possible

stakeholders and respondents were asked to identify relevant stakeholders that have actively been involved in taking different initiatives to alleviate Boda-Boda related crimes from the list and what exactly have they done. Data on this section were obtained through open ended questionnaires administered to riders and customers. It was noted that various actors have been involved and have undertaken different initiatives towards alleviating motorcycle taxi riding crime in the urban setting though at different degrees. Some of the stakeholders discussed here include, the police force, politicians, the citizens, NGOs, motorcycle riders and the local government authorities.

4.5.1 The Police Force

The Police Force was the first actor drawn to the problem. This is because, the Police Force is directly concerned with security of citizens and their belongings. While they have been involved for quite a long time, findings concerning their involvement have been two sided. On one hand respondents confirmed that police officers normally support them enormously in coping with the crime; adding that the police would always cooperate with them whenever they informed them about crime. One cyclist remarked:

Police are of great help to us. They support us whenever we present our problems to them. They will not only file the case by they follow it up and investigate it. They provide RB and Police detectives for investigation to find your motorcycle. (Male Cyclist (77), Ubungu, Dar es Salaam).

On the other hand, some respondents believed that some police officers had little support to as far as dealing with the crime is concerned. They explained that the police did not show much concern whenever the riders were involved in crime unless something very critical had happened such as death.

Sometimes, the police are not all that cooperative unless someone has died. Moreover, when we go to report our matters to the police, they arrest us more especially if the stolen motorcycle is not yours. In this case, they will accuse you of colluding with criminals and because of such situations we are even reluctant to report such incidences to police. (Male Rider (23), Kibaha, Pwani Region).

A respondent in Bagamoyo reported that:

Some police officers are unethical; they collude with criminals. We reported a criminal whom we suspected of being involved in a crime scene. The police went to search his house, they found the stolen motorcycle with him, he was detained for a few hours and released, and nothing more happened. That is just a single case, but we have several cases (Male Rider (139), Bagamoyo, Pwani Region).

4.5.2 Politicians

This is another group that got attracted to the problem and have tried to put forward some initiatives to solve the problem at hand. Concerning this group, respondents reiterated that, politicians had done very little to curb the crime. Among a few initiatives undertaken by the politicians such as the local councillors, mayors and members of parliament was advocating for safe parking spaces for the motorcycle riders. Politicians also advocated for the riders' uniforms that would always identify them whenever they fell victims of crime. On the other hand, majority of the respondents felt that they did not access significant anti-crime related support from the politicians.

They don't support us [politicians]. They only use us during political elections campaigns and as soon as the elections are over, they forget about us completely. They don't show us any support. Only a few of them can show concern but majority of them don't support us. That is the most I can tell you (Male Rider (92), Ubungu, Dar es Salaam)

4.5.3 Citizens

The researchers assessed also the extent and ways in which citizens supported the cyclists whenever they fell victims to crimes. It was noted that, cyclists received significant support from the citizens. Respondents explained that citizens would always be the first to respond whenever we shouted for help. They added that various people from the surrounding communities would also make noise and cry for help whenever they would hear cyclists screaming for support when they were involved in crime. Moreover, apart from sympathising with riders, citizens would also contribute some money for the affected riders to cater for medical and food supplies for them. However, support in terms of finance for medical and food was only given depending on the extent to which the cyclists were familiar with members of the particular community. One of respondents affirmed that:

Of course, whenever they see us being attacked, they always come to rescue us. You see some of them will even scream for help if they happen to see something dangerous or suspicious. However, sometimes they will only support you if they know you but if they don't know you, they are scared because they think you are colluding with criminals. (Male Rider (84), Kigamboni, Dar es Salaam)

4.5.4 Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

Researchers also found out the extent to which Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) supported the riders in alleviating the crime. It was noted that, practically NGOs had not provided much support. One of them reported that:

No NGO has attempted to support us in any way. Of course, we very much expect non-profit organisations to support us in various ways, but we rarely see them doing that. We have only been hearing about NGOs, but they have not practically supported us here. (Male Rider (80), Kinondoni, Dar es Salaam)

4.5.5 Motorcycle Riders

It was noted that to a great extent, motorcycle riders tended to support each other in alleviating crime. Riders did not only hurry to the rescue of those who had fallen victims of crimes but also provided some material incentives to victims such as money to assist any of their members who had directly or indirectly fallen victim of the crime. They also participated in tracing the stolen motorcycles.

... we do support each other even if we break the rules to protect our fellow we will do so. We support one another. Sometimes we will go to look for the stolen motorcycle and contribute money to support the one who is in trouble. Because we have our small groups, we even contribute some cash to support the riders who get injured or fall a victim of such crime situations (Male Rider (73), Temeke, Dar es Salaam)

Findings report that there has been an active participation of different actors including the police, politicians, citizens and motorcycle riders. All these use various initiatives to either ensure they curb down the problem or aid the victims of crime. It was expected that due to the active participation of different NGO in various civil related matters, they would have been at the forefront in this aspect, however, findings indicate that there is no active participation of NGOs in assisting Boda-Boda riders to alleviate Boda-Boda related crimes.

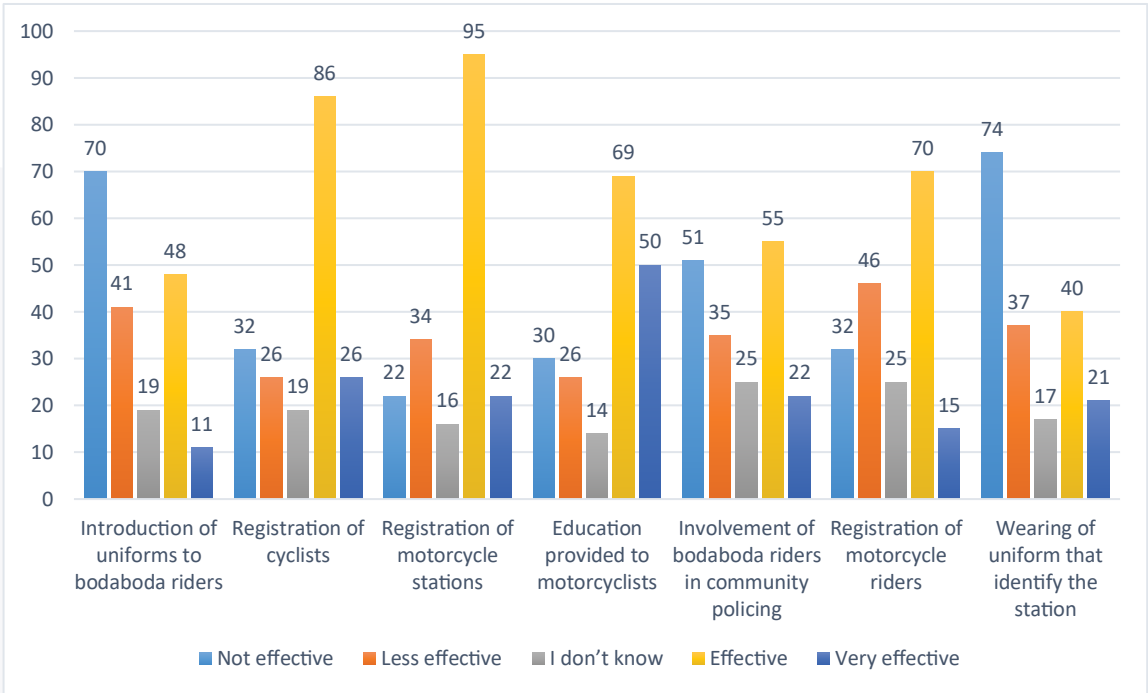
Moreover, although it's a double-sided coin with regards to the participation of different actors, their participation has been acknowledged. The surprising fact is that, although the police force is active in various security affairs, findings indicate that they have been reluctant and do not pay serious attention to Boda-Boda related crimes. It has also been mentioned that there is a feeling that some of the dishonest police officers could be colluding with criminals or would be falling in the traps of criminals through some monetary tokens they get from them. These findings are in line with Opondo and Kiprop (2018) who reiterate that the seriousness of the problem has been contributed to by corrupt police officers who take matters lightly and in favour of those who scratch their backs. Findings further indicate that, citizens and riders help themselves, as an initiative to eliminate the problem. These findings correspond well with those advanced by Walwa (2017) in Dar es Salaam who noted that community support crime alleviation strategies differ – by a combination of formal, informal organs and voluntary organisations.

4.6 Effectiveness of Various Initiatives Undertaken by the Government and Other Actors

It is well understood that crime has been a threat not only to Boda-Boda and passengers but also the entire community. As a result, a number of actors have come into play and have initiated various initiatives to curb down the problem. In this aspect, initiatives have been put in place to ensure that riders and other potential customers remain safe while using this mode of transport. While some of these initiatives identified include introduction of uniforms to Boda-Boda, registration of cyclists, registration of motorcycle stations, education, community policing and wearing uniforms that bear identifiable information, researchers were interested to tap into respondents' perceptions with regards to how effective these initiatives have been in eliminating the problem. In the subsequent

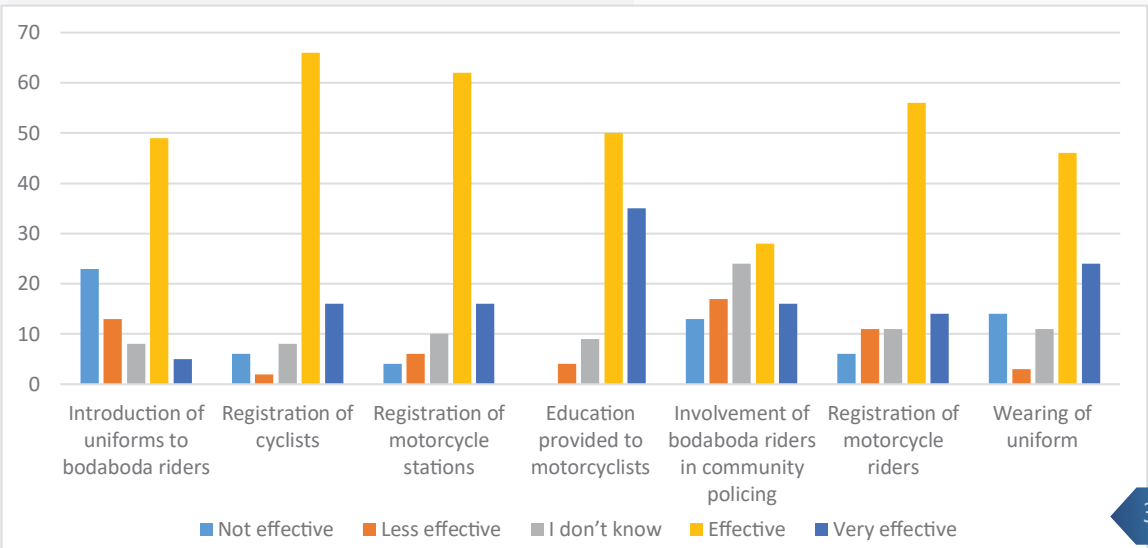
segment, we present such perceptions in two different figures. While figure 4.7 presents riders' perception (189 riders from both Dar es Salaam and Pwani Regions), Figure 4.8 depicts passengers' responses. This section identifies and analyses the effectiveness of various initiatives undertaken by the government and other actors. It simply looks at the effectiveness of each intervention and identify weaknesses or strength for the same.

Figure 4.7: Riders' Perception on the Effectiveness of Initiatives Taken to Curb crimes



From figure 4.7 findings simply indicate that, to riders, registering cyclists and registration of motorcycles have been effective than other initiatives. On the other hand, we present Figure 4.8 in which passengers' perceptions on the effectiveness of such initiatives taken is presented. A joint explanation of the two groups' is given thereafter.

Figure 4.8: Passengers' Perceptions on the Effectiveness of Initiatives to Curb crime



Introduction of Uniforms for Boda-Boda Riders

This aspect was two faced. While it was regarded as a less effective measure to many motorcycle riders, it was regarded effective for passengers and other potential customers who could fall victims of such crimes. To a few riders, it was ascertained that, the introduction of uniforms to boda-boda riders helped them to be identified easily and even when attacked they easily get support from nearby civilians. However, some respondents did not see the contribution of uniform towards alleviating crime adding that this strategy was subject to discussion. It was also noted that, the initiative of introducing uniforms was still a new development and it was something that had not been well adopted by many local governments. One of the riders presented that:

Basically, we don't have special uniforms here. But we need special uniforms specifically to identify us with our parking station. I hope our leaders are making follow ups to make sure that every member at the station has one. All in all, we need them so that we can be easily identified. (Male Rider (32), Temeke, Dar es Salaam)

Presenting an idea that was also put forward by customers, another cyclist simply reported that, uniforms help customers and not riders. Customers get to know the riders' details just by looking at the uniform, they can share the riders' information to anyone just for security purposes. He added, "...uniforms have very low effectiveness to riders' security". Such a situation shows the reality that while customers see the effectiveness of uniforms, riders consider the initiative less effective.

4.6.1 Registration of Riders

Registration of cyclists was also mentioned as one of the effective strategies to curb crime. In some wards, it was reported that special registration of cyclists was ongoing. In this exercise cyclists were supposed to submit details like passport size photos, place of origin, names of close relatives, mobile phone numbers, permanent residence and phone numbers of relatives or close friends. However, some cyclists were not registered and were not aware of this exercise, an aspect that would jeopardise effectiveness of this strategy. A young rider in Temeke clarified that:

To me registration of motorcycle riders is an effective strategy, this helps to limit the number of riders being used as crime agents, however the registration process has not been speedy enough. Honestly, I'm not registered. So, I don't know if my fellow members are registered or not. I don't know if we are required to register ourselves as motorcycle riders and operators. If this is the case then, I would say only few of us may have been registered and not all of us are. (Male Rider (26), Temeke, Dar es Salaam)

With regards to customers, they also mentioned that the initiative has been effective and that if motorcycles riders are registered it will be safe for them. In this regard, only registered riders will be used by passengers as their registration credentials may be placed where they are easily identified.

4.6.2 Registration of Motorcycle Stations

Another strategy for alleviating crime examined in this study relates to registration of motorcycle stations. Accordingly, both riders and customers reported that registration of motorcycle stations was among effective strategies for curbing crime considering that it has discouraged mushrooming of illegal motorcycle riders and operators who engage in criminal activities. Moreover, riders added that they were more comfortable working within the registered stations since this practically prevented them against any kind of crime related to their work. In the same line, customers added that, having registered stations, makes it easy for them to get safe transport services as they only ride on motorcycles from their nearby stations that are formally registered. One of the customers said, “I just feel safe, because I know everyone is registered, and their station is registered as well. This has minimised the crime rate.” This indicates that registration of stations has been effective in curbing down crime. On the other side, riders also praised the effectiveness of the initiative and that it has helped keep criminals disguised as riders, with the aim of targeting riders or customers. One of them was quoted saying:

I thank God that our station here at Kivukoni is registered and we have permission from the police officers to operate our business in the area that we are parking. Since we are now registered, we now have the power to chase away those who are not registered or don't belong to this group because they are likely to propagate crime here. (Male Rider (22), Kivukoni, Dar es Salaam)

4.6.3 Education Provided to Motorcyclists

On this aspect, two sides merged. While customers reported that the rate of crime has minimised due to education given to riders and customers, riders said the initiative was not that much effective. In presenting their perception, while some riders in some stations confirmed to have received knowledge and sensitisation of crime and strategies of coping with it from the police and local government leaders, some riders in Bagamoyo, Kibaha and Temeke among other areas, mentioned that no one has ever provided them with such useful information. They mentioned that neither the police nor any other public or private organisation has ever dared to educate them. Otherwise, they emphasised that they mostly shared relevant crime related knowledge among themselves as a strategy of coping with crime and to them this was effective. One of the riders, when asked about if they are provided with education on dealing with crimes, said:

Yes, sometimes but not often some local government officials and police officers may call us and provide us with some basic knowledge on safety issues. However, we find that this is not exhaustive enough. They focus on the importance of knowing and obeying traffic lights because this is a big problem that we riders have.

Cementing on this, another rider added:

Not really, here we only share knowledge among ourselves on what we know about crime and how to protect ourselves. However, we need experts like police officers to educate us on the safety issues detecting criminals and riding rules among others. (Male Rider (27), DUCE, Dar es Salaam).

4.6.4 Involvement of Boda-Boda Riders in Community Policing

Although the involvement of riders in community policing has been recorded to be effective, findings in both riders and customer have depicted that the score is almost similar to those opposing the initiative. This could render to the reality that, even if riders have been used by police as being community police members, they have not minimised the rate of crime on riders and customers. The situation could be attributed to the nature of people chosen to participate in community policing. Although researchers thought that this would be an effective mechanism than others, it was not at all. It was reported that the initiative was not effective because they have no required skills, are not involved in peace and security meetings but still, those involved in community policing, instead of preventing crimes, they collude with the police to arrest motorcycle riders for trivial issues. In this regard, they are regarded as enemies and fail to get support from their fellow riders who brand them 'snitches. One of the riders reported:

The involvement of some of our fellow riders has not been effective, instead of hunting criminals who kill riders, take their motorcycles, or any other disguising motorcycles riders, they collude with the police to arrest us just for not wearing closed shoes! We thus end up isolating them.
(Male Rider (84), Ubungo, Dar es Salaam)

4.6.5 Wearing of Uniforms that Identify the Station

It was stated that wearing of a uniform that identifies the station was only an effective initiative for customers. Customers reported that the tendency of the riders putting on uniforms that identify them, registration numbers and stations from where they park has minimized the rate of crimes. Passengers have thus been keen to obtain services from riders with full registration details. In such a situation, should anything happen to the customer, the rider is traced and will face consequences of dealing with criminals. Such uniforms naturally distinguish between legal and illegal operators. However, majority of the riders opined that the initiative has not been effective at all. One of them even asked in derision, "what will such a uniform help me with, after being attacked? May be if one dies it helps to identify from where he parks, but not minimizing the rate of crimes." Such quotes indicate a certain level of dissatisfaction presented by riders with regards to uniforms with riders' details.

Generalising these findings, it can be clarified that, there has been some commonalities with regards to the level of effectiveness of initiatives taken to curb down Boda-Boda related crimes in the urban settings of Dar es Salaam and Pwani Regions. Findings indicate that registration of motorcycle riders and registration of stations have been the most agreed effective initiatives. This indicates that when riders register themselves and register their stations it might easily reduce the rate of crimes as everyone working in the station is known. The findings are in line with those of Olvera (2020) who mention registration of motorcycles as an effective means of managing the business as well as minimizing the rate of crimes and other related vices. Moreover, surprising findings obtained are connected to provision of education to riders and involving riders in community policing. While researchers expected that the two initiatives minimized the rate of crimes, on the contrary, findings indicate that it only led to more other systematic crimes. For instance, poor delivery of education among riders has been a problem. It is worth mentioning that police officers provide education in the city centres or areas where they can easily be seen by their bosses and neglecting the rest. This makes the situation worse.

With regards to community policing, police officers have been using their community police agents to arrest riders on minor issues. All these cases have been reported by Oliveira et al (2020) and Opondo et al. (2018). To them, poor mode of education, corruption among the police and poor usage of community police have been a reason that perpetrates crime than minimizing it. Unless there is change, the situation will keep on getting worse.

It was also noted that there were two stances on the introduction of uniforms that bear the riders' full information, where riders reporting that the initiatives are less effective, but customers considered them effective. Moreover, available literature (AFCAP, 2019; Opondo et al., 2018) provide that wearing of uniform have greater importance in minimizing the rate of crime among motorcycle riders. Uniforms identify a rider and discloses him/her to the community.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Key Findings of the Study and Conclusions

5.1.1 Characterising the Nature and Dynamics of Crimes Related to Motorcycle Taxi Operations in Dar es Salaam and Pwani Regions

In this study it has been found out that, there are various cases of crimes associated to motorcycle riding in Dar es Salaam and Pwani Regions. While riders are normally faced by theft of their motorbikes, kidnapping, money theft and organised crimes, they have also been murdered by criminals while trying to fight back and secure their motorbikes. Findings display that, although the situation in Dar es Salaam and Pwani Regions is similar. Reports in Dar es Salaam supersede those incidents reported in Pwani Region. This could be due to the differences in the population and the number of Boda-Boda riders in Dar es Salaam. Regarding passengers and other persons, the situation shows that snatching has been so common in Dar es Salaam than it is in Pwani Region. Serious cases have been reported to be related to sexual harassment, defilement and physical assaults most of which are caused by motorcycle riders in both regions. It has been established that kidnapping is a shared vice that succumb both riders and customers in both regions where the study focused.

With regards to this objective, it can be concluded that, findings successfully answered the question and met the needs of the objective. It can thus be concluded that Boda-Boda related crimes are of different facets and styles. It is the researchers' belief that turning a blind eye and deaf ear on crimes associated with motorcycle taxi riding business has a great effect on the economy of individual people and stability of the country in general. Killings, abductions, beatings that lead to permanent disabilities kill the working force of the country and creates a pool of dependent individuals. These crimes not only affect the economy of riders alone, but they also lead to psychological and physical effects to those involved including riders and customers.

On an even more serious note, sexual harassment, defilement and early pregnancies are among serious cases that pose a challenge to most of the young girls in the studied regions. The situation seems to have no attention of any of the authorities unless when a schoolgirl is impregnated. This is likely to cause serious problems and build a negative precedence among young girls.

In general, it is possible to have riders and the operations of motorcycle taxis in the entire country because of their contribution to the livelihoods of riders and the country as well. However, the situation needs to be changed. This requires involving the government and other stakeholders from different parts of the country.

5.1.2 Crime Victims' Coping Strategies and the Capacity to Cope with the Crime

In this objective, it was revealed that crimes unto riders and customers and other people is a real thing. Thus, both riders and customers need to take precautions, and need to device means of living amid such crimes. It has been presented that among riders, avoiding riding to crime prone areas,

using tracking devices, avoiding carrying suspicious customers, parking in open spaces, accompanying one another, carrying simple weapons, the use of mobile phones and liaison with the police have been more of the common strategies. Findings indicate that, riders have been siding with police in case of such incidences. At different moments mobile phones have been used to share information regarding danger and suspected criminals to mention but a few. While riders in the studied regions share the same strategies, the intensity of their use is different. For instance, while in Dar es Salaam phones, GPRS and remote ignition and accompanying one another have widely been used in Pwani Region, simple weapons have been the most used technique in comparison to the rest. This tells that although riders are facing serious crime situations, they are prepared to continue working but using precautions and strategies on hand.

Although riders have been said to protect themselves by sharing information about dangerous environment and information on suspicious people, they have ended up murdering innocent civilians even without concrete proof that they are criminals. This raises a great alarm that this group of people work based on mob-psychology and if not stopped will end up creating a situation of lawlessness.

With regards to passengers, strategies used are region specific. For instance, while people in Pwani Region sometimes carry with them some simple weapons and share motorcycles just because of the leniency of traffic police in these areas, people in Dar es Salaam have resorted to using registered riders under BOLT and UBER, carry their bags in front because snatching has been very common, walk in groups to avoid attack and sometimes have their permanent riders.

Having such a condition where people are always worried, is dangerous to the economy of the country. Moreover, it depicts that security though declared to be high, has a number of shortfalls especially in the urban areas where these incidences are common. It tells the security organs that there is a lot to do with regards to protecting citizens and their belongings.

5.1.3 Initiatives Undertaken by Different Stakeholders Towards Counteracting Motorcycle Riding Related Crime in Dar es Salaam

Findings paint a picture that there are several stakeholders who have been active in fighting against crimes and have used various tactics to curb the situation down. The Police force has been the foremost to fight against such crimes. Although respondents indicate that their services are limited and sometimes not effective due to elements of corruption, they have done a lot in preventing and recovering stolen items. Politicians have been reported to be less active in the fight against such crimes both in Dar es Salaam and the Pwani region. They are reported to be in touch with riders only during elections. It was surprising that no NGO has been reported to work with motorcycle riders in the studied regions regarding their safety and fighting against crimes.

Findings in this objective provide a picture that citizens and fellow Boda-Boda riders have been at the forefront to assist and prevent Boda-Boda related crimes, they have rescued victims, arrested criminals, shared information to authorities and sometimes help victims. Although there has been active participation of actors in preventing such crimes, for a safe and a crime free society, every citizen is required to be a participant in preventing these cases of crime. Among the police, if dishonesty among some officers is not clipped, it will create a bubble that will explode sometime in the future and will result into serious security problems.

5.1.4 Effectiveness of Strategies Used to Curb Down Motorcycle Taxi Riding Related Crimes

In this section findings provided by respondents showed that although a number of initiatives have been in place to curb down the problem, these initiatives have been regarded effective or less effective by riders and customers. For instance, it was reported that most of riders thought that the initiatives are focusing on protecting customers and not riders. It was however reported by them that registering cyclists and their parking stations are of great importance. It was surprising that riders were isolating community police agents among them because the agents snitched on them and caused them to be arrested by the police on trivial matters. To customers, wearing uniforms that bear riders information, educating riders on issues of security and registering cyclists are very effective initiatives. Such findings had the same consistency in the two studied regions.

This implies that while to a great extent authority have focused on the safety of customers and other people, they have not come up with practical and cheap initiatives that focus on safeguarding riders who are also struggling to escape the wave of serious crimes they experience on a daily basis.

Generally, considering the targeted objectives pre-set at the begging of the study, findings obtained have provided answers to the study objectives. Findings have been presented in chapter four of this report and summarized in this chapter. Thus, to a greater extent, researchers have achieved their intended goal.

5.2 Study Recommendations

To help the riders to more effectively cope with crime and the country eliminating crimes relating to motorcycle taxi riding operations in general, the following suggestions should be taken into consideration.

- i. Authorities like police and other security agencies need to understand that crime within the Boda-Boda community is a serious and tricky problem and no single solution will be effective in all situations. This tells that by far and large, every region should study their situation and act accordingly to curb crime. This simply paint the picture that a solution in Dar es Salaam may not apply in any other region.
- ii. A nation-wide company should be established and should be operated just like UBER and BOLT. Through this company, all riders are required to be registered, and riders and customers are connected by the system. The system also monitors the movements of riders, and they are in a position of detecting incidences of crimes as easily as possible. The system will make it safe for both riders and customers.
- iii. It is recommended that while tracking devices are very useful, they should be mandatory to everyone who registers for riding as a taxi operator. However, the government through the Ministry of Investment Trade and Industry, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and other organs should make necessary efforts to ensure that prices of these devices are minimized/subsidized. This will enhance easy access to these tools by all riders. It is also recommended that the use of remote ignition and switching off should be enhanced. This may be done by using simple technology. Thus, on top of having tracking devices, remote keys maybe used. In situations when a motorcycle is stolen it can be stopped wherever it is.

- iv. Police officers are required to be quick in responding to crimes, carry out investigations independently and arrest criminals. This will minimize comments by people that sometimes police officers collude with criminals. In this same vein, police officers should restrain from arresting Boda-Boda riders just for trivial issues. This will create a free atmosphere among riders and police, increase the rate of trust among police and make riders free to report any suspicious situations. In this sense, crimes will easily be prevented before they happen.
- v. Riders should constantly be educated on how to handle cases of suspected criminals, refrain from sexual harassment and defilement. This should not only be carried in Dar es Salaam it should go across the country. If such education is not given, we should expect continuous killing, rape, school dropouts among young girls and serious sexual harassments among women all that are caused by riders.
- vi. The study also has recommendations to authorities on the mode of community policing. Current findings indicate that it has only been used to harass riders and not help them. Thus, police and local government authorities need to restructure the operations of community police, give them their areas of operations - what to do and what not to do - and how to deal with lawlessness.
- vii. It is recommended that to spot disguised Boda-Boda riders, the police, LATRA and any other related authority should carry a nation-wide registration of motorbikes and riders who use them. Should the rider stop using the bike he/she should report so that he gets deleted, and the new rider be replaced. In the same vein, every motorcycle operating as a taxi should have a visible sticker large enough to be identified by any person and its validity can easily be checked in the system. This will wipe away disguised riders who turn to be thieves.
- viii. The study recommends the government, through TRA and the Police, regulates the second-hand spares market. For instance, all spare parts imported should have a unique number. It is this number that will determine where the part was sourced. A spare part that lacks such number should be questioned. In this way, spare part dealers will refrain from buying parts that they know nothing of where they are coming from. This will minimize theft of motorbikes which in the end are just sold as second-hand spare parts.

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Appendix 1: Tools

Interview S/N _____

QUESTIONNAIRE TO BODA-BODA RIDERS

URBANISATION, CRIME THREAT AND COPING CAPACITY IN THE CONTEXT OF
MOTORCYCLE TAXI RIDING OPERATIONS (BODA-BODA) IN URBAN SETTINGS OF
TANZANIA: EVIDENCE FROM DAR ES SALAAM AND PWANI REGION;
A CASE OF KIBAHA, KISARAWA, BAGAMOYO & DAR ES SALAAM CITY

Time used _____

SECTION I: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------|-----|------------|---------|--|--|--|--|--|
| SEX | EDUCATION | AGE | EXPERIENCE | MARITAL | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |

SECTION II: THE NATURE AND DYNAMICS OF CRIME RELATED TO THE
MOTORCYCLE TAXI RIDING OPERATIONS IN URBAN SETTINGS

1. Crimes faced by Boda-boda operators

What kind of Boda-Boda related crime do you experience?

| Crime | Response |
|---|----------|
| 1. Motorcycle theft | |
| 2. Kidnapping | |
| 3. Money theft | |
| 4. Organised crime (customers colluding with criminals) | |
| 6. Other crimes please mention | |

In this section, respondents are required to provide information on how often do they faced the identified crimes by rating them from 1 to 3, where by 1= never, 2= Often and 3= very often.

| STATEMENT | Responses | | |
|-----------|---|----------|---------------|
| | Please provide information regarding to Crime associated with Boda-boda operators | | |
| | 1= never | 2= often | 3= very often |

| | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| 1. Motorcycle theft | | | |
| 2. Kidnapping | | | |
| 3. Money theft | | | |
| 4. Organised crime (customers colluding with criminals) | | | |
| 5. Other crime please mention | | | |

ii. Would you kindly explain how each of the mentioned crimes happen(ed)?

| | |
|--|--|
| | |
| 1. Motorcycle theft | |
| 2. Kidnapping | |
| 3. Money theft | |
| 4. Organised crime (customers colluding with criminals) | |
| 5. Other crimes please mention | |

SECTION III: HOW DO CRIME VICTIMS COPE WITH THE THREAT? AND THEIR CAPACITY OF COPING WITH THE THREAT OF CRIME?

1a) Coping strategies undertaken by motorcycle taxi riders (boda-boda)

Boda-Boda riders.

Which one(s) of these strategies do you normally use in coping with Boda-Boda related crimes (you can choose multiple entries from the list provided)

| S/N | STRATEGY | RESPONSE |
|-----|----------|----------|
|-----|----------|----------|

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| 1 | Not riding to some specific destinations that are perceived to be crime prone | |
| 2 | Use of technology e.g. GPRS car track | |
| 3 | Not carrying some people, they don't know | |
| 4 | Parking in open places perceived to be more secure more especially during nights e.g. near police stations | |
| 5 | Accompanying each other using more than one motorcycles during night or when working in some crime prone areas | |
| 6 | Carrying simple weapons for self defence | |
| 7 | Use of mobile phones | |
| 8 | Liaison with the police | |
| 9 | Others..... | |

In each one of the above, kindly provide extended explanation on how you have used it

1. Not riding to some specific destinations that are perceived to be crime prone (mention them)

.....

.....

2. Use of technology e.g. GPRS car track

.....

.....

3. Not carrying some people, they don't know

.....

.....

4. Parking in open places perceived to be more secure more especially during nights e.g. near police stations

.....

.....

5. Accompanying each other using more than one motorcycles during night or when working in some crime prone areas

.....

.....

6. Carrying simple weapons for self defence

.....

.....

7. Use of mobile phones

.....

.....

8. Liaison with the police

.....

.....

9. Others

.....

.....

Is there any mechanism used in your area of work/domicile to detect malicious Boda-Boda riders? Would you kindly explain how the mechanism is applied? (WhatsApp groups, taking and sharing photos)

.....

.....

SECTION IV: TO WHAT EXTENT ARE INITIATIVES UNDERTAKEN BY DIFFERENT STAKEHOLDERS TOWARDS COUNTERACTING MOTORCYCLE TAXI RIDING OPERATIONS RELATED CRIME EFFECTIVE IN URBAN SETTINGS?

KINDLY explain initiatives taken by different stakeholders to counteract motorcycle taxi riding operations related crime?

i. Police

.....

.....

ii. Politicians

.....

.....

iii. Citizens

.....

.....

iv. NGOs

.....

.....

v. Motorcycle riders

.....

.....

In this question, researchers are interested to find out the extent to which initiatives taken by different stakeholders towards counteracting motorcycle taxi riding operations related crime are effective. In this question, respondents are required to indicate the degree of effectiveness of these initiatives

| Initiatives | Not effective | Less effective | I don't know | Effective | Very effective |
|---|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| Introduction of uniforms to Boda-Boda riders | | | | | |
| Registration of cyclists | | | | | |
| Registration of motorcycle stations | | | | | |
| Education provided to motorcyclists | | | | | |
| Involvement of Boda-Boda riders in community policing | | | | | |
| Registration of motorcycle riders, that indicate also the motorcycle parking stations | | | | | |
| Wearing of uniform that identify the station | | | | | |

In your own views, please explain and evaluate the above-mentioned initiatives. (How effective are they? Any weaknesses)

1. Introduction of uniforms to Boda-Boda riders
2. Registration of cyclists
3. Registration of motorcycle stations
4. Education provided to motorcyclists
5. Involvement of Boda-Boda riders in community policing
6. Registration of motorcycle riders, that indicate also the motorcycle parking stations
7. Wearing of uniform that identify the station

Interview S/N _____

INTERVIEW GUIDE TO PASSENGERS/OTHER VICTIMS

URBANISATION, CRIME THREAT AND COPING CAPACITY IN THE CONTEXT OF MOTORCYCLE TAXI RIDING OPERATIONS (BODA-BODA) IN URBAN SETTINGS OF TANZANIA: EVIDENCE FROM DAR ES SALAAM AND PWANI REGION;

A CASE OF KIBAHA, KISARAWA, BAGAMOYO & DAR ES SALAAM CITY

Time used _____

SECTION I: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

| SEX | EDUCATION | AGE | EXPERIENCE | MARITAL | | | | | |
|-----|-----------|-----|------------|---------|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | | | | | | | | |

SECTION II: THE NATURE AND DYNAMICS OF CRIME RELATED TO THE MOTORCYCLE TAXI RIDING OPERATIONS IN URBAN SETTINGS

1. Crimes faced by customers and other victims

What kind of Boda-Boda related crime do you experience?

| Crime | Response |
|--|----------|
| 1. Physical violence | |
| 2. Kidnapping by Boda-boda | |
| 3. Theft and snatching of properties | |
| 4. Theft (stealing) from home and in business places | |
| 5. Other crime mentions please | |

In this section, respondents are required to provide information on how often do they faced the identified crimes by rating them from 1 to 3, whereby 1= never, 2= Often and 3= very often.

| STATEMENT | Responses | | |
|---|--|----------|---------------|
| | Please provide information regarding to Crime faced by customers and other victims | | |
| | 1= never | 2= often | 3= very often |
| 1. Kidnapping by Boda | | | |
| 2. Theft and snatching of property | | | |
| 3. Theft (stealing) from home and business places | | | |
| 4. Other crime please mention | | | |

Would you kindly explain how each of the mentioned crimes happen(ed)?

| | |
|---|--|
| | |
| 1. Physical violence | |
| 2. Kidnapping by Boda -boda | |
| 3. Theft and snatching of properties | |
| 4. Theft (stealing) from home and business places | |
| 5. Other crime mentions please | |

2a): Coping strategies undertaken by customers and other people

| STATEMENT | RESPONSES Please indicate the extent of Coping strategies undertakeCoping strategies undertake by customers & other people | |
|---|---|----|
| | YES | NO |
| 1. Carrying handbags in front and not at the rear | | |
| 2. More than two in one motorbike/ sharing of the motorbike | | |
| 3. Identifying a permanent motorbike driver | | |
| 4. | | |

I: Please explain and provide examples for each above strategy

| |
|----|
| 1. |
| 2. |
| 3. |
| 4. |
| 5. |

II: Please provide suggestions for each above strategy

| |
|----|
| 1. |
| 2. |
| 3. |
| 4. |
| 5. |

2b) what is the nature (origin) of these coping strategies? Under what context do you think that you can cope with strategies?

-
- ii.
- iii.
- iv.
- v.
- vi. Another example mentions please.....

How does the crime victims cope with threat? And what is their capacity of coping with the threat of crime?

In this question the researcher intends to determine coping strategies used by different groups of individuals in coping with Boda-Boda related crime.

Boda-Boda Customers and other potential victims
Which one(s) of these strategies do you normally use in coping with Boda-Boda related crimes (you can choose multiple entries from the list provided)

| S/NO | STRATEGY | RESPONSE |
|------|---|----------|
| 1 | More than two customers sharing one motorbike (mshikaki) | |
| 2 | Having your permanent motorbike rider | |
| 3 | Carrying bags and personal belongings in front than at the rear | |
| 4 | Walking in groups | |
| 5 | Avoid the use of motorcycles during late hours of the night | |
| 6 | Carrying simple weapons for self defense | |
| 7 | Use of mobile phones | |
| 8 | The use of registered Boda-Bodas (BOLT, UBER) | |
| 7 | Others | |

In each one of the above, kindly provide extended explanation on how you have used it
More than two customers sharing one motorbike (mshikaki)

.....
.....
.....

Having your permanent motorbike rider

.....
.....
.....

Carrying bags and personal belongings in front than at the rear

.....
.....
.....

Walking in groups

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.....
.....

Avoid the use of motorcycles during late hours of the night

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.....
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Carrying simple weapons for self defense

.....
.....
.....

Use of mobile phones

.....
.....
.....

The use of registered Boda-Bodas (BOLT, UBER)

.....
.....
.....

Others

.....
.....
.....

SECTION IV: TO WHAT EXTENT ARE INITIATIVES UNDERTAKEN BY DIFFERENT STAKEHOLDERS TOWARDS COUNTERACTING MOTORCYCLE TAXI RIDING OPERATIONS RELATED CRIME EFFECTIVE IN URBAN SETTINGS?

KINDLY explain initiatives taken by different stakeholders to counteract motorcycle taxi riding operations related crime?

- vi. Police
- vii. Politicians
- viii. Citizens
- ix. NGOs
- x. Motorcycle riders

In this question, researchers are interested to find out the extent to which initiatives taken by different stakeholders towards counteracting motorcycle taxi riding operations related crime are effective. In this question, respondents are required to indicate the degree of effectiveness of these initiatives

| Initiatives | Not effective | Less effective | I don't know | Effective | Very effective |
|---|---------------|----------------|--------------|-----------|----------------|
| Introduction of uniforms to Boda-Boda riders | | | | | |
| Registration of cyclists | | | | | |
| Registration of motorcycle stations | | | | | |
| Education provided to motorcyclists | | | | | |
| Involvement of Boda-Boda riders in community policing | | | | | |
| Registration of motorcycle riders, that indicate also the motorcycle parking stations | | | | | |
| Wearing of uniform that identify the station | | | | | |

In your own views, please explain and evaluate the above-mentioned initiatives. (How effective are they? Any weaknesses)

8. Introduction of uniforms to Boda-Boda riders
9. Registration of cyclists
10. Registration of motorcycle stations
11. Education provided to motorcyclists
12. Involvement of Boda-Boda riders in community policing
13. Registration of motorcycle riders, that indicate also the motorcycle parking stations

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