



# Masculinity and bodaboda driving in Tanzania

A study of rural young men engaging in motorcycle  
taxi in Kilosa and Mvomero districts

---

*Baraka Gaba*



Independent project • 30 credits

Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, SLU

Faculty of Natural Resources and Agricultural Sciences

Rural Development and Natural Resource Management - Master's Programme

Uppsala 2022

# **Masculinities and bodaboda driving in Tanzania.** A study of rural young men engaging in motorcycle taxi in Kilosa and Mvomero districts

Baraka S. Gaba

<b>Supervisor:</b>	Johanna Bergman Lodin, PhD, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Department of Urban and Rural development
<b>Examiner:</b>	Örjan Bartholdson, PhD, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Department of Urban and Rural Development
<b>Credits:</b>	30 credits
<b>Level:</b>	Second cycle, A2E
<b>Course title:</b>	Master thesis in Rural Development
<b>Course code:</b>	EX0889
<b>Programme/education:</b>	Rural Development and Natural Resource Management - Master's Programme
<b>Course coordinating dept:</b>	Department of Urban and Rural Development
<b>Place of publication:</b>	Uppsala
<b>Year of publication:</b>	2022
<b>Copyright:</b>	All features images are by the author.
<b>Online publication:</b>	<a href="https://stud.epsilon.slu.se">https://stud.epsilon.slu.se</a>
<b>Keywords:</b>	Bodaboda, Agriculture, Masculinity, Young men

**Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences**  
Faculty of Natural Resources and Agricultural Sciences  
Department of Urban and Rural Development  
Division of Rural Development

## Abstract

In ensuring that people fight poverty they have been advised to adopt a variety of ways and strategies for boosting their economy to sustain their daily lives. In rural areas the main reliance has been agriculture for all people but due to the challenges facing agriculture, people had to look at other activities apart from agriculture in order to survive. The significant increase in motorcycle taxis has created a new chapter in life especially for rural and urban youth by being seen as an attractive option to rural young men. Studies have shown that there are limitations to finding individual perspectives on the reasons why rural people are considering that agriculture is unsuitable for them by looking at the overall challenges facing agriculture. This study has focused on gender perceptions of bodaboda activity against agriculture in rural areas of Tanzania where the targeted group was young men. By selecting two districts, namely Kilosa and Mvomero it was sufficient to complete this study due to the presence of many young people engaged in bodaboda and agriculture in different ways. The hegemonic masculinity theory has been used effectively to guide this study by analysing the social norms and socioeconomic dimensions to complete the findings in this study. The study involved the collection of empirical data from 4 focus group interviews, 11 one-to-one interviews and observation to get individual perspectives and to find out what made young men so fascinated with bodaboda driving activity. The results showed that many young men are attracted to this occupation due to its ability to provide them with daily income as part of a man's dignity in society, to show to the community that they have found a job that is understandable and visible to the public and adds prominence in society and more to make them less dependent on their parents as well as reducing the number of rural young men migrating to cities to find paying jobs and other opportunities. This thesis report concludes by suggesting that if drudgery could be addressed, creating more opportunities in rural areas, income streams become more diversified and less seasonal somehow this could re-attract youth into agriculture again as well as retaining rural young men in the villages whereby the out-migration will be reduced.

Keywords: Bodaboda, Agriculture, Masculinity, Young men

# Table of contents

<b>List of tables</b> .....	<b>6</b>
<b>List of figures</b> .....	<b>7</b>
<b>Abbreviations</b> .....	<b>8</b>
<b>1. Introduction</b> .....	<b>9</b>
1.1 Problem statement .....	9
1.2 The purpose of the study .....	10
1.3 Objectives of the study .....	11
1.4 Research questions .....	11
1.5 Thesis structure .....	11
<b>2. Background</b> .....	<b>13</b>
2.1 Background of the study sites .....	13
2.1.1 Mvomero district .....	13
2.1.2 Kilosa district .....	14
2.2 Bodaboda transport business as a game changer of rural livelihoods .....	14
2.3 Youths demographic change in Agriculture .....	15
<b>3. Concepts and Theories</b> .....	<b>17</b>
3.1 Social norms, gender relations and the concept of hegemonic masculinity .....	17
<b>4. Methodology</b> .....	<b>20</b>
4.1 Approaches and research design .....	20
4.2 Data collection methods .....	21
4.3 Study sites and sample selection .....	23
4.4 Data analysis .....	25
4.5 Reflexivity .....	26
<b>5. Empirical findings: Masculinities and bodaboda driving in Tanzania. A study of rural young men engaging in motorcycle taxi in Kilosa and Mvomero districts</b> .....	<b>28</b>
5.1 Demographic characteristics of respondents .....	28
5.1.1 Age .....	28
5.1.2 Education .....	29
5.1.3 Gender .....	29

5.2 Push and pull factors based on rural young men’s perceptions and experience of being bodaboda drivers compared to agriculture.....	30
5.2.1 Quick Income .....	30
5.2.2 Drudgery and working environments .....	31
5.2.3 Risks in bodaboda and farming activities .....	32
5.2.4 Social interaction and socialization .....	33
5.2.5 Peer pressure/Influence .....	33
5.3 Masculine social values and norms articulated by being bodaboda driver among rural young men in the communities .....	34
5.3.1 Men as providers in the family .....	34
5.3.2 Young men leave parents early and self-reliant .....	35
5.3.3 Gender division of labour/ domination .....	36
5.4 Other findings .....	36
<b>6. Discussion .....</b>	<b>38</b>
6.1 Different attitudes and experiences of rural young men bodaboda drivers and farmers.....	38
6.2 Incorporation of emerged themes .....	40
6.3 Reasons for bodaboda driving being most attractive occupation to rural young men and discard agriculture .....	42
<b>7. Conclusion, suggestions and recommendations .....</b>	<b>45</b>
7.1 Synopsis of main findings .....	45
7.2 Policy recommendations .....	47
7.3 Challenges encountered during the study .....	47
7.4 Suggestions to further research .....	48
<b>References .....</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>Acknowledgement .....</b>	<b>52</b>

## List of tables

Table 1 : The summary of overall number of respondents participated in the interviews .....	27
---	----

## List of figures

Figure 1 : Map showing study sites .....	25
Figure 2 : Integration of themes for rural young men to opt for bodaboda .....	41

## Abbreviations

DTO – District Trade Officer

FAO – Food and Agriculture Organization

FGD – Focus Group Discussion

TRA – Tanzania Revenue Authority

URT – United Republic of Tanzania

VEO – Village Executive Officer



# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Problem statement

Despite the fact that agriculture acts as the engine of the global rural economy, various statistics show that the number of people engaged in agricultural activities is declining (Collier and Dercon, 2014). The agricultural sector in Africa is facing many challenges including climate change and population increase, causing lack of access to land where people are affected by poor food production and access to food (Sumberg et al., 2014). In sub-Saharan Africa agriculture contributes about 25 to 40 percent of gross domestic product in which the division has been declining over time due to livelihood diversification trends and younger generations' decreasing engagement in it (Kimaro and Towo, 2015 (Refer to boneza)). Swarts and Aliber, (2013) pointed out that there has been a dramatic increase in young Africans being reluctant to engage in agriculture and not considering it as activity-based livelihood.

Traditionally in Tanzania, agriculture has been acting as a source of food and employment to many people in rural areas and as a means of living. To ensure food production and access to food locally, regionally and even globally is highly dependent on the presence of a youth workforce. Young people are important and expected to be the liberators of the agricultural sector because of their ability to be creative, assertive, have a lot of physical strength, are not afraid to fail and have a great ability to think that gives them great ability to fight agricultural challenges (Umeh et.al, 2011). In Tanzania the agricultural sector is dominated by smallholder farmers engaging in the production of both food and cash crops (Ochieng, 2021: FAO, 2014). Furthermore, Kimaro and Towo, 2015 found that

agricultural activities in rural areas in Tanzania are predominantly carried out by elderly people rather than the youths and also women are more likely to be involved in agriculture than men.

In striving to boost their incomes and reduce poverty a large number of young people decide to engage in non-agricultural activities. However, for various reasons it has led many rural youth to seek other sources of income other than agriculture. Out of the other non-agricultural activities that young people have been engaging in, motorcycle taxis nowadays have become an increasingly attractive option to rural youths in Tanzania (Ngemera, 2017).

For Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya these motorcycle taxis are popularly known as Bodaboda. The occupation of bodaboda riding is now providing employment for many young people in urban, semi-urban and rural areas. The business of motorcycle taxis, since it has emerged, plays a big role in facilitating and smoothing the challenges of travel caused by traffic jams and poor rural roads (Turyahikayo & Ayesigye, 2017). However, this activity seems to be very attractive to many rural youth especially young men and makes them decide to completely stop farming activities and engage in bodaboda riding as their primary activity.

This study will be focusing on gender perspectives employing social norms and structures which determine roles, action and sexual behavior especially for young men and their domination in bodaboda occupation for their economic and social status in the society. This has a direct implication in the presence of many bodaboda riders being men rather than women in rural areas.

In light of this, I decided to focus this thesis on exploring individual perspectives and reasons on why young men abandon farming and decide to engage in bodaboda driving occupation in rural areas in Tanzania.

## 1.2 The purpose of the study

The overall purpose of this study was to explore how and why rural young men decide to get involved in bodaboda riding business instead of agriculture in Kilosa and Mvomero districts, Tanzania.

### 1.3 Objectives of the study

- i. To examine how rural young men perceive and experience the occupation of being bodaboda drivers compared to practicing agriculture
- ii. To find out why rural young men to such a high extent engage in bodaboda driving and discard agriculture
- iii. To identify forms of masculine values and norms that are articulated by being a bodaboda driver in the communities

### 1.4 Research questions

- i. How do rural young men perceive and experience the occupation of being bodaboda drivers compared to practicing agriculture?
- ii. Why do rural young men to such a high extent engage in bodaboda driving and discard agriculture?
- iii. What forms of masculine values and norms are articulated by being a bodaboda driver in these communities?

### 1.5 Thesis structure

In order to have a good layout of this thesis I have decided to arrange it as follows; The next chapter will explain the historical background for the increase in the number of young people leaving agriculture and engaging in non-agricultural activities as well as changing attitudes to agriculture since the emergence of bodaboda business in both urban and rural areas particularly in Tanzania. Chapter three describes the theoretical concepts that have been used to guide this research and analyze the empirical data for achieving the purpose of this study. The fourth chapter discusses methodologies and outlines the various methods used to ensure that the required data is collected accurately and on time as well as how the data was analyzed. Chapter five elaborates on the empirical findings based on the data analysis conducted and shows how the research came up with the expected answers as the research questions asked. Chapter six discusses the major findings

and how they are linked to theoretical concepts that focus on young men's decision to abandon agriculture and to engage in bodaboda as part of their rural life in the fight against poverty. Finally in the conclusion chapter I have summarized and provided suggestions and reflections on the major findings of this study for the benefit of further research in the future.

## 2. Background

### 2.1 Background of the study sites

#### 2.1.1 Mvomero district

According to the district strategic plan it has analyzed in detail the background information of the district. Mvomero district is located at latitude 06.26 'south and longitude 37.32' east. The district is bordered by Handeni district in the south, Bagamoyo district in the east, and Kilosa district in the west. The size of the district square area is 7325. According to the last census from 2012, the district of Mvomero had a population of 312,109 where 154,843 were men and 157,266 were women, by population density which is 42.6 per square kilometer. Population distribution depends on economic activity, geography and land and soil quality. However, the district has three agro-ecological zones which are Highlands's mountain zones, Miyombo woodland zones and savannah river basin zones. The main activities in all zones are irrigated agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, forestry and food crops.

It is also reported that in Mvomero district the most reliable means of transport is the popular motorbike, also known as bodaboda. These motorcycles are said to be of great importance in the field of transportation due to poor road infrastructure as well as geographical, as the geography indicates the presence of many rural areas found in the mountains. Despite this area having a huge popularity of horticulture where many young people are self-employed in this activity, bodaboda activity has been seen to provide employment to many young people in Mvomero district.

### 2.1.2 Kilosa district

Kilosa District is located 270 km west of Dar es Salaam as one of the seven districts that make up the Morogoro region. The district has 12,393.7 square kilometers with an altitude between 300 to 600 meters from sea level. Kilosa is divided into three agro-ecological zones which are flood plain, plateau, mountainous or uplands zones. The 2012 housing and population census showed Kilosa district has a population of about 430,215 of which 214,027 are men and 216,188 are women with a population increase of 1.4 percent. The main economic activities are agriculture and pastoralism where 80% is subsistence farming.

In the transportation sector, there has been a huge increase in the business of motorcycle taxis in Kilosa district because many areas have been affected by frequent floods so the only transport that can be used to a large extent is bodaboda. Motorcycles have proved to be very important because many Kilosa farmers cultivate far from their lands, a situation that forces them to travel by motorbike to the field. After the harvest the motorcycles are used as a source of income through bodaboda where young people are hired for special cash contracts.

## 2.2 Bodaboda transport business as a game changer of rural livelihoods

Motorcycle taxi business has now become a common income-generating activity and has been given local names based on the languages in the countries where it is practiced. In Nigeria it is popularly known as Okada, in Benin known as Zemidjan, in Cameroon known as bendskin while in East African countries it is referred as Bodaboda (Opondo and Kiprop, 2018). Bodabodas are considered a means of transport which is flexible and affordable to everyone (Ebonogwo, 2009). Due to traffic congestion in African cities as well as deteriorated rural roads, bodaboda transport has also provided a solution to these problems (Malmberg, 1994). The motorcycle transport business is a new phenomenon in both urban and rural areas especially in underdeveloped countries where many young people have decided to get involved in it, as it is becoming an important source of income and a means of livelihood for youth (Ngemera, 2017).

In East Africa bodaboda as a means of transport began in the late 1960s on the Kenya-Uganda border at a place called Busia where the name was derived from the English word border to border as used by people traveling and transporting their goods to and from Kenya or Uganda across the borders (Turyahikayo & Ayesigye, 2017). In the early 1990s the motorcycle transport business emerged rapidly in Uganda and seemed to be a good source of income from non-agricultural activities. Today it is estimated that about 2.9 percent of the total population in Uganda runs their livelihood through the bodaboda business (Turyahikayo & Ayesigye, 2017).

In Tanzania a dramatic and sudden increase in the number of bodaboda motorcycles began in early 2009 when the government issued a formal permit to run this business in both urban and rural areas (Ngemera, 2017). Between 2008 and 2014 more than 700,000 new motorcycles were registered in Tanzania with registration numbers provided by the TRA where it has also been reported an increase in motorcycles from 45,000 motorcycles in 2008 to 148,000 in 2014 (Bishop and Amos, 2015). Currently this type of transportation is used everywhere in the country. Bodaboda transport is widely used for low-income people due to its low cost of fare hence meeting the needs of poor people (Ngemera, 2017). Thanks to these challenges entrepreneurs tend to use this opportunity to bring more motorcycles as part of transportation which also facilitates faster employment for young people. As a result, a large number of rural youth have shifted their livelihoods especially agriculture and decided to get involved in this activity. Various studies have shown that bodaboda as a sub-sector is heavily dominated by a large group of young men who have family obligations and responsibilities (Howe, 2002: Opondo and Kiprop, 2018).

### 2.3 Youths demographic change in Agriculture

Since the 1960s the Tanzanian government has tried to come up with various efforts to ensure that young people are attracted to and get involved in agriculture, and agriculture lessons were also introduced in schools. This was seen as the right way to implant positive attitudes in young people about agriculture and to prepare

them for rural life (Kimaro and Towo, 2015). But youth participation in agriculture has been declining since the 1980s, when structural adjustment programs were introduced (Ruta, 2012).

Lack of incentives, limited economic opportunities and difficult livelihoods in rural areas are some of the factors that push young people to move to urban areas. Poor agricultural sector policies, credit crunch, unemployment and rural poverty are reasons why many young people that do remain in the rural areas show little interest in agricultural activities and decide to engage in non-agricultural activities instead (Akpan, 2010). Over time, young people have become less interested in agriculture due to lower returns than their expectations. As a result, agriculture in rural areas is increasingly performed by the elderly and women who traditionally are less in power and mobilization of resources (Ochieng, 2021).



### 3. Concepts and Theories

This chapter describes the concepts and theories used to explain ideas and perspectives from empirical data collected from the participants of this study on the main reasons young men seem so attracted to and engage in bodaboda riding and abandon agriculture. It is an indisputable fact that the motorcycle taxi business (bodaboda) is more dominated by young men than women (Turyahikayo & Ayesigye, 2017). Considering this, I will explore rural young men's involvement in the bodaboda riding occupation by departing from the concept of hegemonic masculinity. By further using the concepts of social norms and gender relations I can create a framework for analysis.

#### 3.1 Social norms, gender relations and the concept of hegemonic masculinity

In this study I have used the concepts of social norms, gender relations and hegemonic masculinity as these strongly influence practices and behaviors of men and women to find the answer to why so many young men in rural areas have decided to work as bodaboda drivers and not in agriculture.

Hegemonic masculinity as a concept was initially proposed by Australian sociologist Raewyn Connell and has become prominent in men and masculinities research as well as other disciplines (Wedgwood, 2009). The concept of hegemonic masculinity has been contested (Connell, 2005) where more contestation in regards to hegemonic femininity, since some researchers claim that hegemonic femininity cannot exist due to that women are always subordinated men in the patriarchy, while others define hegemonic femininity as the ideal form of femininity in a certain place at a certain point in time, which also supports the

maintenance of hegemonic masculinity. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) conclude that the concept has provided a solid foundation for increasing research on men and masculinities. It describes men's attitudes and practices that focus on gender inequality involving both men's general domination over women and the power of some men over other men.

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) debunk the idea that hegemonic masculinity excludes "positive" behavior of men by stating that "positive" actions are included such as being a breadwinner, being a father etc. For something to be constituted as hegemony it would require some level of consent and participation by subordinated groups where the concept of hegemonic masculinity is not intended as a catchall or as a prime cause but a means of grasping a certain dynamic within the social process.

Social norms are rules that perceived as informal, some are unwritten or unspoken that describe acceptable and appropriate actions in a given group or a society in which they are used to influence a person's behavior by considering what we do, what we believe others do and what others agree and accept what we do (Cialdini et.al, 1990: Cislighi, B., & Heise, L. 2017). However, Gender relations define how people should interact with others and how they relate to them based on gender attributes being analyzed from a cultural context since they established and developed (Sánchez-López, M., & Limiñana-Gras, R., 2017).

Among the major structures of all established societies are social norms and gender relations that produce very specific values and relations among groups of men and women. Gender is social practice that constantly refers to bodies and what bodies do (Connell, 2005). The practices relating to these structures do not rely upon isolated acts but rather when speaking of masculinity and femininity which are shaped by the process of gender practices (Connell, 2005). Furthermore, Connell explained that, when we act, we change initial situations into new situations, "practice constitutes and re-constitutes structures" (p.71). Bodaboda riding as a male dominated activity can thereby be understood as an expression of such practice contributing to the reproduction or reconfiguration of specific social structures. In other words bodaboda riding business as an attractive option for rural young men shapes their behaviors and constructing their masculinity. In

hegemonic masculinity perspectives there is an assumption that societies encourage their men to reproduce a very specific and idealized form of masculinity to be considered manly, or good or real men (Connell, 2005).

The concept of hegemonic masculinity is made clear by considering the re-modeling of thinking specifically about men, gender and social hierarchy (Izugbara, 2015). Simpson (2004), explained that men have adopted various strategies in order to advance their masculinity from the work they do with the aim of increasing status in society, giving themselves prominent roles as well as distancing themselves from femininity. Hegemonic masculinity involves men's behaviors in carrying out work or performing certain activities (Mehta and Dementieva 2017). In Tanzania there is a clear division of labor between women and men depending on the type of economic activity and local cultural norms and values (Martin and Shayo, 2019).

Social norms such as a real man is a leader, self-sufficient and independent may make men change their way of life to find a means to maintain their masculinity in line with these expectations (Berdahl et al., 2018). In that context rural young men in societies tend to look for other income-generating opportunities to maintain their social status, identity masculinity as well as self esteem. In this thesis I explore the role of bodaboda driving among young rural men in Tanzania in relation to this.

## 4. Methodology

In this section my research report describes and discusses in detail the approaches and methods used in data collection to ensure the study meets the planned objectives. However, it shows how I was able to select the respondents in the field area and explains why I have selected mentioned study sites as well.

### 4.1 Approaches and research design

A qualitative research approach is employed in this study where words from transcribed texts make up the empirical data and evidence. The Qualitative research approach enables the researcher to understand and analyze the natural setting and present the ideas of the participants. As such, it has greatly helped me to gain an insight into experience and attitudes of rural young men who have left agriculture and engaged in bodaboda riding occupation, those who continue farming as well as those who perform both activities at the same time (Creswell, 2014). To get individual perspectives, especially from young men bodaboda riders and farmers in Kilosa and Mvomero districts, study has departed from a constructivist worldview approach. Researchers who use this approach have focused on specific contexts where people live and work with the goal of learning their background and cultural settings (Creswell and Creswell, 2018).

Furthermore, an ethnographic study approach has been used to design this study where it has helped me to establish the meaning of phenomenon from the perspectives and ideas of rural young men (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). Furthermore, this study clearly demonstrated the analysis of data collected by identifying a culture-sharing group and patterns of behavior of individuals based on rituals, customs and norms. So through this approach I have been able to

observe the behaviors of the participants in engaging in bodaboda and agricultural activities (p.54). Robson and McCartan, (2016), elaborated about the ethnographic study approach that it helps the researcher to capture and explain how groups, institutions or communities live and what sense it makes in their world where this research is directed directly at rural young men. In that sense, I had gender perspectives where the theory of masculinity has been widely used to guide the study supported by the concepts of social norms and gender relations in which rural young men were the main actors in this study.

Ethically, I obtained a research permit from both Kilosa and Mvomero districts headquarters for the village authorities to recognize my presence. Moreover, I asked for permission to record the voices of participants where the majority agreed although there were a few respondents who expressed concern about it. To make sure they were free to contribute their views I explained to them that the use of these sounds is for educational purposes only and will not be used elsewhere.

However, I explained to them that mentioning the name is optional so whoever says it is okay will mention his name and he will find it inappropriate not to mention which has resulted in a good participation of the respondents.

## 4.2 Data collection methods

I spent four weeks within January and February 2022 to successfully complete the data collection process. In-depth one-on-one interviews, focus group discussions and observations were the methods for data collection. Data collected used to generate detailed descriptions based on research questions, objectives and to provide key themes as I have identified and analyzed in chapter 5 of this study report.

It was a good day for me in Mangomboli village in Kilosa district when I met my longtime friend. He shouted at me asking the question (Ulipotelea wapi kaka? “Which means where have you been?”) It had been a long time since we had seen each other. I replied that I am currently studying in Sweden. He helped me to recruit respondents for the interviews by calling one by one and explaining to them my goal for being there. This was very helpful to me even though few

participants knew me. All the participants gave me a very good collaboration and the opportunity to explore many things by expressing their perspectives and experiences within the particular context.

I decided to start collecting data using a group interview involving young bodaboda men, crop traders and mama ntilie (A woman who engaged in the business of cooking and selling food in small stalls). I also did group interviews with young rural men bodaboda and young men engaged in the horticulture activities at different times in both districts. I used FGD as an initial activity to help me prepare the main data collection phase as I decided to involve participants from different activities (Robson and McCartan, 2016). I played the role of facilitator for the whole time I did the group interviews. Group dynamics provided each respondent with the freedom to express his or her understanding of agriculture and their perception of the bodaboda business in the village based on individual understanding and shared views and thoughts (Robson and McCartan, 2016).

I decided to use semi-structured in my data collection hence semi-structured interview guides are the dominant form in qualitative methods, even though some use unstructured interviews. I have used semi-structured because unstructured gives the respondent greater freedom of expression to the extent that it may cause him to stray from the topic and lose the meaning of the study and even waste a lot of time during the discussion. According to Creswell, (2014) even if unstructured interview questions have been found to provide a broad room for participants to express their views and ideas they make it difficult for the researcher to focus on the main purpose of the research and fail to integrate more than one interview. Therefore, by using semi-structured interviews I could prepare a list of indicative questions. These directly focused on their rural life experiences, especially their attitudes about decisions to abandon farming and why the majority of them decide to engage in bodaboda riding business.

Also I started collecting data from individuals through an in-depth one-on-one interview where most were farmers and key informants. This method enabled me to obtain in-depth data through individual thoughts, attitudes and experiences as well as to reach out to respondents who are busy with their daily activities,

especially employees of public institutions and farmers (Morgan, 1998). Many bodaboda youths had a habit of sitting in groups so much so that even when I tried to do one-on-one interviews suddenly others joined in and shared ideas and made it a group interview.

I was also able to do one-on-one interviews with key informants including teachers, VEO and DTO to find out what their views are and how they understand the problem of young people quitting farming and seeing bodaboda work as very important to them. Interviews involving experts or key informants have more direct questions to obtain information based on their expertise but it is also good to have a lot of open-ended questions to give them a chance to explore in depth their views and experience (Flick, 2006).

Furthermore, due to my target of finding out what exactly attracts most young men to bodaboda work I was able to give myself enough time to make evening walks through the vijiweni areas to see for myself the real life of these young men. So I took the time to use the observation approach of data collection where I also managed to see how young people enjoy being in those bodaboda areas popularly known as vijiweni. I was able to observe their behavior and activities at research sites by looking at and taking notes on some cultural and social practices by young men in the village (Creswell and Creswell, 2018).

To enhance validity and accuracy of my data I collected I did a triangulation involving FGD, one-on-one interview and observation methods for authenticity and credibility of my research (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). I was able to put together printed transcripts from group and one-on-one interview voice recordings and notes taken during observation so that I could update my data and successfully identify and create themes.

### 4.3 Study sites and sample selection

I conducted this research in Kilosa and Mvomero districts which are two of the nine districts within the Morogoro region in Tanzania. These districts are neighboring districts that have similar backgrounds although they differ in terms of ethnicity in the cultural perspectives and customs of the people of the two areas.

The districts are similar in topographical and agro-ecological zones as well as the mode of operation of agricultural activities and other income generating activities. The reason for choosing these districts is the presence of many young people involved in agriculture. Also, youths of these villages are very busy with many non-agricultural activities along the highway. My interest started when I was visiting these places getting out of the car and there was a lot of tension between young bodaboda drivers, with everyone trying to persuade me to be his client. However, I chose Kilosa district due to the presence of many active youth and agriculture using income or capital from the bodaboda business while I decided to also choose Mvomero district due to the presence of many young men engaged in horticulture.

In Kilosa district I chose Mangomboli and Msola villages and in Mvomero district I chose Wadikei and Dumila villages. Due to the youths' involvement in earning a living in these areas it was a bit difficult to find them on time because some go to the field in the morning and evening and even bodaboda youths most of their clients call them by phone so they could leave at any time in the middle of the interview. On the other hand I did my best to reach out to the respondents where group interviews, one-on-one interviews and observation were used in all selected villages. Furthermore, for the credibility of my research I was able to be independent in these areas because I have lived for about 10 years therefore it was not very difficult for me to introduce myself to the respondents and participants because some of them know me.

I used a purposive sampling method in selecting respondents involving rural young men who ride bodaboda motorcycles, the ones engaging in agricultural activities and those who are engaged in other income-generating activities. I also include a woman respondent who participated in the group interview.

Given my interest in this study targeting young men who have left farming and engaged in bodaboda purposive sampling satisfied my specific need of my project on understanding their attitudes and social actions basing on social norms and structures pushing them to be attracted to bodaboda and not agriculture or other non-farm activities (Robson and McCartan, 2016).



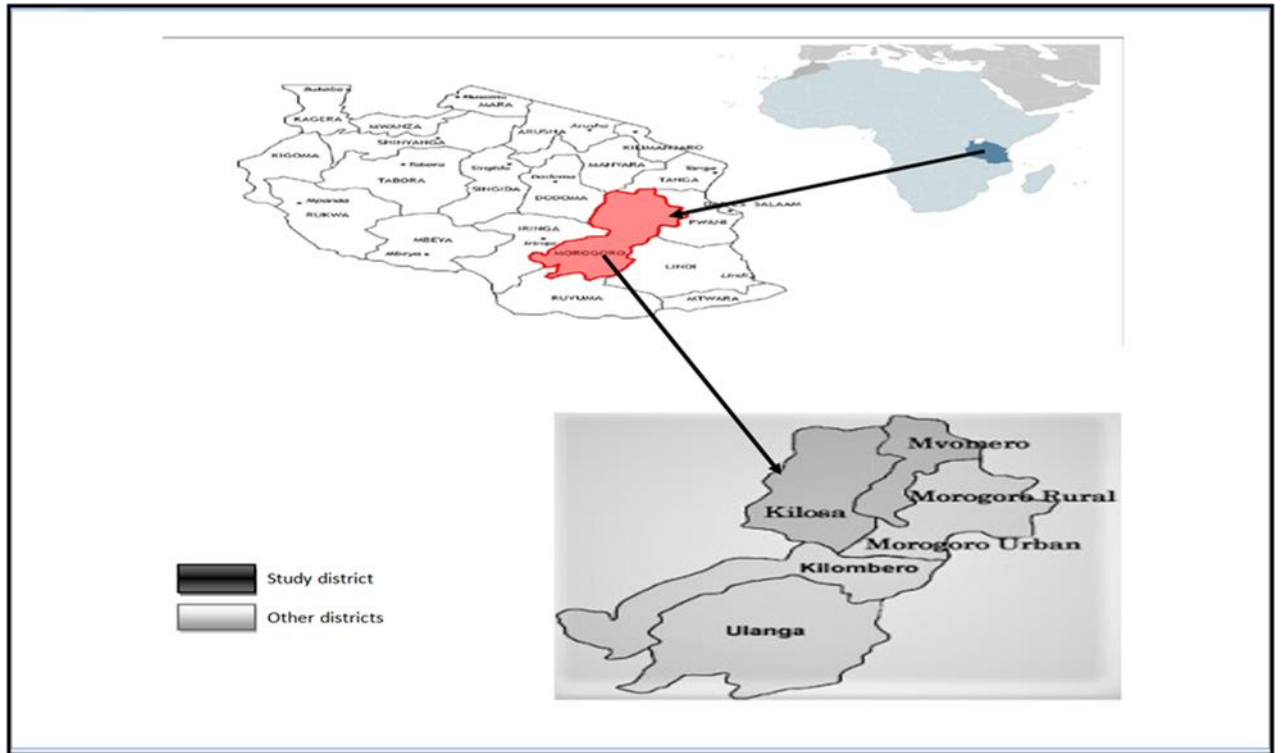


Figure 1: Map showing study sites

#### 4.4 Data analysis

Some of the data I analyzed since I started the data collection exercise, especially the ones I was writing during note taking via observation because it is too late to start thinking about analysis after completing the interviewing (Robson and McCartan, 2016). The more I did transcription and read my notebook after the data collection exercise the more I got themes and concepts based on the research context. I spent most of my time defining and reviewing themes and concepts as well as developing them in order to be effective in analysis. It was not a challenge for me because I did not need an interpreter because the language I used to communicate with the interviewees was Kiswahili which is my mother tongue.

I started analyzing my data from the notes I was writing all the time I was in the field. What I was doing was circling the statements and defining them as much as I understood them as themes. Later I started listening to my recordings and

transcribing. Due to the limited time frame I asked for the help from close friends and relatives to transcribe recordings because I was in a fortunate position and the best way was to ask someone else to make a transcription for me (Robson and McCartan, 2016). My challenge was to spend too much time translating transcripts from Swahili to English. Regardless of the time I spent I felt it was a great way to become familiarized with the information I had collected (Robson and McCartan, 2016).

Finally, I used Microsoft office word software to integrate all the transcripts and start doing color coding but I also wrote some sub-themes that I felt I could forget. After that I reviewed the sub-themes in relation to the major themes and also listened to the recordings to find out the accuracy of my transcripts which was a great success.

## 4.5 Reflexivity

Based on my experience in Kilosa and Mvomero districts I relied heavily on the possibility of getting good cooperation from the respondents although challenges are inevitable. Not only considering researcher's biases and study value also reflexivity shows how the background of the researcher can shape the direction of the study (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). In the process, many young men I met expressed interest in recognizing me as someone who knew their traditions, and customs and that I was a native and not a foreigner.

Although I used to be one of the community members, at that time I went with a role as a researcher so my status and personality was temporarily changed. When I told them that I was currently studying in Sweden their concern was in the language that would be used to ask questions but I told them we would use the Swahili language which we all know. For all these reasons it's visible that the respondents were free to participate in the interview and feel free to express their views and perspectives on agricultural activity and bodaboda work. Furthermore, it was beneficial for me because I could also understand even informal Swahili words or I could call street words such as mgaimgai, kijiweni, mkwanja, mbumba and many more.

<b>Place</b>	<b>Method</b>	<b>Number of Interviews</b>
<b>Mvomero district</b>	One-on-One interview	8
	Focus Group Discussions	2
<b>Kilosa district</b>	One-on-One interview	7
	Focus Group Discussions	3

*Table 1: The summary of overall number of respondents participated in the interviews*

## 5. Empirical findings: Masculinities and bodaboda driving in Tanzania. A study of rural young men engaging in motorcycle taxi in Kilosa and Mvomero districts

This section in the report describes in detail the data obtained from the field aimed at finding out what exactly causes rural young men to give up farming and decide to engage in bodaboda riding activity. However, through the various themes discovered during the data analysis from the in-depth interviews and observations by analyzing social norms and socioeconomic dimensions it was sufficient to achieve the purpose of this study.

### 5.1 Demographic characteristics of respondents

Age, marital status, gender and education were used to describe the demographic characteristics of respondents. According to Escobal (2001) among the factors that can influence people to engage in non-farm activities include education, marital status and age as the demographic characteristics of people.

#### 5.1.1 Age

When the participants were asked about their age the majority were between the ages of 15 to 35 in which this group included young people who were engaged in bodaboda and agriculture. Some participants such as key informants and crop traders were between the ages of 25 and 40. However the participants who were over the age of adolescence admitted to saying bodaboda work has employed too

many young people and they are too much attracted to it. Through observation I observed that bodaboda work is done by even young people under the age of 18.

#### 5.1.2 Marital status

After respondents were asked about their marital status, a majority of young men said they were not yet married but were in a relationship i.e. girlfriends. The married ones were few but confirmed by saying bodaboda work meets all of their families' basic needs and well-being. So bodaboda activity gives them enough income though not huge amounts of money but they seem to be the breadwinner in the family.

#### 5.1.2 Education

Through this research I found that the education level of the rural youth engaged in bodaboda and agriculture is low, with most of them having ended after secondary education at the ordinary level and not wanting to continue. There were some who were still students so after school hours they come to bodaboda centers and mix with their peers so much that they are obviously very interested in bodaboda work and see no need to continue their studies after secondary education due to getting a little money from bodaboda. One bodaboda youth in a group interview explained, "this bodaboda job does not require education or capital just knowing how to ride".

#### 5.1.3 Gender

Almost all participants were men, especially the young bodaboda riders. But in one of the group discussions one woman was able to share and contribute her thoughts and attitudes about agricultural activity and bodaboda activity in the village. Due to the large number of male participants, the situation that clearly showed bodaboda is male dominated activity and society considers it to be quite normal.

## 5.2 Push and pull factors based on rural young men's perceptions and experience of being bodaboda drivers compared to agriculture.

During the discussions about the bad and good things between bodaboda and farming, the discussions and interviews were very interesting because participants gave answers based on their understanding and perspectives. Various sub-themes emerged during the interviews. I analyzed them as the most important ones which were based on the focus of the study. Basically I found that there are some push and pull factors based on rural young men's perceptions and experience of being bodaboda drivers compared to agriculture including Income, Risks, Drudgery, Socialization and Peer pressure.

### 5.2.1 Quick Income

The respondents in the one-on-one and group interviews were able to position themselves in terms of income. The majority of young bodaboda riders have pointed out that when it comes to the point of having a daily income the farmer respects them because the farmer does not have such this is confusing? but has to wait for the harvesting season. Furthermore, these young bodaboda drivers were hopeful that they would be able to earn more money each day instead of waiting for the harvest.

It was also noted that even the farmers depend on them to transport the produce and even transport them to and from the farm. From an income perspective it is clear that the money a young man earns as a bodaboda gives him the strength to be confident and seen as a real man as women in this society put great value to a man with a daily income. This was highlighted by one of the bodabodas in a FGD in Magomenino village, Kilosa:

My brother even if you marry a woman she wants to see you have money all the time. But if you don't have money and you are waiting for the crops in the farm to grow, harvest and sell even the woman herself becomes disrespectful of the cause of poverty in the house. That is why bodaboda we are accused of taking people's wives because they know we are making money all the time..... (Young man bodaboda Msola village: Kilosa district).

On the other hand, Farmers explained the importance of farming as a way of income generation in rural life. That agriculture is good and earns a lot of money if farmers will be able to better manage their farms and use modern methods of farming. However, farmers have emphasized that agriculture needs to be committed wholeheartedly to, in the belief that success lies ahead so young people should not give up. Through data I gathered I discovered that farmers believe that agriculture can give you a lot of money at the same time and have development and even start income generating projects. One farmer said the situation of being patient and waiting until you get the money is what discourages young men who rather see agriculture as unsuitable and rushing to bodaboda for daily income.

The disadvantage of farming is that you can invest a lot of money in the field and get a good harvest believing that when you come to sell you will earn a lot of money. But at the end of the day you will find the produce has dropped in price and the profit is small. You find you just wasted your time. Maybe what you benefited from is just food and the kids all need basic needs. FGD (Mangomboli village: Kilosa district).

Furthermore, I found that farmers believe that the income they earn can buy a motorcycle and do bodaboda business and there are also some who have already bought a motorcycle and have hired young people to ride the motorcycle. This is contrary to bodaboda young men that do not believe they can buy a farm through the income they earn. Instead, they enjoy the quick and daily income earning and are satisfied with it because they believe it is enough to run their life and especially meet their and their families' basic needs.

A young man who is engaged in horticulture activities in Dumila village, Mvomero district, said:

I am here doing agribusiness which if you do it with targets it is easy to get rich but bodaboda work is good because it can give me farming capital. He concluded by saying that I made a profit a year ago after selling my crops. I bought a bodaboda and hired a young man who brought me money every weekend that I use to buy herbicides.

### 5.2.2 Drudgery and working environments

This was one of the themes which were described with tensions on both sides explaining about difficulty of agricultural work and the dangerous working

environment between bodaboda and agriculture. Farmers explained that it is true that farming is hard work but also today's young people are lazy themselves and do not want hard work. Nowadays young people in the village do not want to work hard especially if it causes them to look dirty, said the farmer when he was explaining about his working environment.

Drudgery in agriculture was among the themes that clearly demonstrated the diversity of these two occupations. Bodaboda young men spoke emphatically about the difficulty of agricultural work that the farmer is doing in a very merciless environment, a situation that was considered to cause them to look old even though they are still young due to prolonged sun exposure without any expected profit.

Farm work is not easy at all my friend. You will find a young man, we have all finished school. He has decided to enter the farm to cultivate but right now he looks older than me and he has no money ... hahaha .... FGD (Msola village: Kilosa district).

### 5.2.3 Risks in bodaboda and farming activities

Both rural farmers and bodaboda riders were commenting on the risks involved in these activities where farmers have confirmed that there are many unavoidable risks. They have pointed out the effects of climate change and disasters such as floods that make agriculture look like a hopeless activity. One farmer said “Kilimo ni kamari kaka” where he meant agriculture is like gamble game where there is gain or loss.

Agriculture is a commitment, farming is hard work that requires patience but also fear is brought by unexpected disasters. For example, this year the river is full and causing floods on the farms so, farmers should have a hard spirit to reach their successes. One-on-one interview (Horticulture Farmer in Dumila vilage: Mvomero).

Through these two perspectives this implies that it is true that these inevitable agricultural risks make the rural youth flee to bodaboda. Young men have faith in bodaboda that it is easy to get a job again even if you have a problem compared to a farm where if it is destroyed you might not have the means to start again.



#### 5.2.4 Social interaction and socialization

Through observation I saw some young men sitting at bodaboda centers popularly known as kijiweni and they do not have a motorcycle but have just come to sit and talk to their peers. They were between 14 and 25 years old and even when I asked them if they were studying they answered yes we are students. Through that situation I realized that the young people had come there just to talk and felt happy to be with their peers. Being in the farms with adults such as parents and siblings makes young people feel they need someone to talk to about youth matters and that's when they decide to go to the bodaboda station and socialize with their peers and learn to ride a motorcycle which at the end of the day may lead to that they also start doing that work.

In the farm you are really tired for many reasons including working long hours without talking but here in the village we meet, we tell a story and discuss about life while we earn the money as well. Brother, in the field you cannot put the plow down and start chatting because every time you look at the farm you see it does not reach the end. You see these younger boys they escaped from the farm left their parents and sisters and came here to talk and have fun moments. FGD (Wadikei, Mvomero).

Also through the comments and perspectives of young men I find that they see the bodaboda center as a safe place to gather and meet friends at any time. Before the business of bodaboda started, the word kijiweni means it is the place where young men meet to smoke marijuana. But currently kijiweni seems to be a place of work and that means young men do not roam in the streets without work.

I like to come here staying with my colleagues because it helps me to avoid the temptations of theft, so bodaboda has reduced even the number of thieves because if you sit alone without work you will think of stealing, one young man said (FGD: Msola Village).

#### 5.2.5 Peer pressure/Influence

Bodaboda young men and farmers in the interviews together made it clear that the situation of young people imitating the lives of their peers is what makes them do

things together. One farmer during a one-on-one interview told me that, “what impresses young men are only temporary cravings”. He added by explaining:

What makes young people stop farming is that they see their peers of the same age wearing nice clothes, owning good phones and being clean all the time where the situation makes them feel like they are late and impatient even though enduring farming pays off. One-on-one interview (Horticulture farmer: Dumila village, Mvomero).

Through observation I also saw how young bodaboda boys resemble each other in many ways such as the clothes they wear as well as the haircut style (See cover photo). This situation is implying that young people are entering the bodaboda by being attracted to the material things that their peers own and seeing them waste time on agriculture.

Personally I can say at first I did not know if bodaboda is useful but one day I went to visit my friend and saw he has arranged a room inside he has a bed, TV and subwoofer. That's when I became interested in bodaboda and I started learning and until now I do this work. FGD (Bodaboda young man: Mangomboli village, Kilosa).

### 5.3 Masculine social values and norms articulated by being bodaboda driver among rural young men in the communities

#### 5.3.1 Men as providers in the family

Many young men have shown how they wish to have a family and become the head of their families. A normal characteristic of being a family leader in this society is the ability to care for a wife and children to ensure they have specific needs met on time. It is therefore common for young people to change the status of being called a boy and to be called a man by being a provider in the family. In an interview between me and bodaboda the majority used to say that if you go to the field in the morning you come home empty handed but if you go to bodaboda even if you are a day worker you will not return empty handed you must have something to take to the children at home.

You will find a man working the farm from morning till evening while at home you are not sure what the children will eat and at the end of the day you come back sweating and dirty and you don't even have any money in your pocket it hurts so much, but this bodaboda driving job you will not miss at least a little amount of money to bring home for the wife and children to eat. (Face to face interview, Dumila village, Mvomero).

### 5.3.2 Young men leave parents early and self-reliant

Traditionally in Tanzania it is customary that when a young person reaches the age of 18 and is not a student any longer he should leave his parents and go on to live independently. However, the situation seems to be different for women because women can leave their parents through marriage and go on living depending on their husbands especially in rural areas. This situation is different for men where in order for a man to leave his parents he must be able to be independent and self-sufficient in life.

Bodaboda has become an activity that provides employment for young people as soon as they complete their studies and has become a popular attraction. It is a social norm that if you are a real man do not wait until you are old enough at home, but look for work early to ease the burden of your parents. If you work in agriculture it becomes difficult to earn money early and start to be self-sufficient. In the end you will find yourself until you become an adult still working on the parents' farm. The study found that young men like the bodaboda occupation because it has allowed them to leave their parents early and become self-sufficient. They are also proud that the job also helps them to care for their aging parents and even give parents money to farm. One bodaboda young man explained this during the FGD in Wadikei village.

Brother, let me tell you this, parents themselves do not want a boy to stay home without any income-generating activity. They are tolerant just because he is their child. There are only signs you will see that parents are tired of you even if you help them with farm work. That's why I think it is better to come here to the bodaboda station to exchange ideas with my colleagues. (FGD, Msola Village).

Women also perceive the best and real man as someone who does not live with his parents. In the discussion the young men explained that in the past before

bodaboda rural non-farm jobs required a lot of capital to be able to start. But in bodaboda your capital is just your knowledge of how to drive, then the boss trusts you and gives you a job. In the one-on-one interview in Dumila village one of bodaboda young men explained that: In fact we get respect now because even the concept of saying this guy is lazy or jobless that he will probably be a thief does not exist because most of us employed to bodaboda business.

### 5.3.3 Gender division of labour/ domination

In many societies it has been observed that men dominate more lucrative or better-paying activities than women. In Kilosa and Mvomero districts this has often been observed in many villages due to the presence of a large community of pastoralists and farmers. In the group interviews, many young people argued that the bodaboda work, although it facilitates quick income, is a task that women cannot do in terms of poor road infrastructure, heavy loads especially bags from the farms and even the problem of being abducted and robbed of a motorcycle.

Here in the village bodaboda you have to be strong enough because most of the places we go are bad. You see there is a lot of mud the motorcycle cannot go forward, there are parts of rocky mountains and also carry sacks of rice and maize and pass it on bad roads a woman cannot .Let the women go to the farm and we will do this work because we have shared responsibilities while she produces food and I am looking for money for other developmental needs. (One-on-one interview, bodaboda, Dumila village).

In the FGD at Mangomboli village in Kilosa district a woman participant who attended the discussion, explained that, "It's not that we can't but even the bosses who own those motorcycles distrust us and trust men, that's why so many young men drive bodabodas." Many who work with good plans and targets show great success compared to agriculture because there are some bodabodas who have a similar financial status to that of teachers and doctors in this village.

## 5.4 Other findings

After successfully obtaining data on socioeconomic dimensions and social norms, I was able to find and identify the basics as a bodaboda contribution in

society to be an attractive option for rural young men. In the interview I found out that these young men do not in fact like to flee to the cities but they are forced because of the limited opportunities in the villages and the difficulty of farming. I asked why they decided to do bodaboda work in rural and not urban areas whereby the majority of respondents said they felt comfortable doing activities around the home because it was a place they were used to. They also said that a real man who does not run away from home must stay and fight for life

I am grateful for this bodaboda job because it has made me work and earn a living here in the village instead if it was not for bodaboda I would have run to the city to find farming work is a very tedious activity (One-on-one interview: Wadikei village: Mvomero)

Thus this study has found that bodaboda activity has significantly reduced the problem of many rural young men fleeing to the cities. Although they are not interested in farming due to its challenges, they remain convinced that if one day they no longer can work as a bodaboda driver then they will return to the farm to cultivate. Bodaboda reduces outmigration in rural areas.

It is always hard to believe that a woman can be a thief of people's property. Instead this blame is usually on men, especially young men. During the focus group discussion and my interview with key informants the word for the shortage of thieves on the street was frequently mentioned. Research has found that many young men have resorted to bodaboda because it is their safest place to make them look like workers.

They further explained that in the past they were forced to go farming even if they did not want to in order to avoid being called thieves. since due to the lack of clear activity it is easy to be called a thief. In interviews with key informants who are teachers and VEO they made it clear that bodaboda work has improved in the community because it has reduced the number of juvenile offenders especially theft of furniture, farm products, shops and many more.

Bodaboda keeps us busy. We can't think of people's things or even be so greedy that it leads to stealing. FGD, (Msola village: Kilosa).

## 6. Discussion

This chapter provides an overview of the findings obtained by incorporating various themes found during the research study. The discussion focused directly on the conceptual framework from empirical materials analyzed to bring a better understanding of rural young men being more interested in bodaboda riding occupation compared to agriculture or other income-generating activities.

### 6.1 Different attitudes and experiences of rural young men bodaboda drivers and farmers.

The rural young men, bodaboda drivers and those who are engaged in agriculture during the interviews expressed tension when explaining which activity is best for the young man in the village. Throughout the course of the interviews and discussions the respondents seemed to give economic and social factors as well as social norms as drivers of making them choose particular income-generating activities especially bodaboda and agriculture.

Perspectives on income generation showed strong tension among respondents. While bodaboda youths believe their work helps them earn a living to the extent of seeing it reduce income poverty in contrast to agriculture, farmers believe bodaboda youths cannot earn money to make major improvements such as building a house or sending children to good schools so farming can give you a lot of money that bodaboda can't get. On the other hand, farmers believe that bodaboda can really help to solve a quick problem due to the possibility of making quick money and that is why some farmers want to harvest crops and earn more money to buy bodaboda motorcycles. This is supported by the findings provided by Akpan (2010) that young people are attracted to the high quick return

of non-farm activities as well as the lower risk compared to farming where the risk is higher. According to Izugbara (2015) in his study conducted in Kenya explained about a norm that a man should take care of a woman and many women look for men with an income also it is easier for a man to find a girlfriend and marry if he earns an income which I observed the same thing in my study in Tanzania. This is evident in the interviews I conducted where the majority of young bodaboda drivers believe in order to gain status in society and to be able to have a wife and live a happy life especially in marriage then he should be able to earn money every day.

In relation to the concept of hegemonic masculinity it is clear that these young men prefer to engage in this activity in order to be seen as real men. They feel proud because they earn money every day compared to farming where farmers have to wait until harvesting to earn their income. Furthermore, due to the man being the breadwinner he is expected to have money coming from a reliable source of income. Young men have seen this bodaboda activity as a reliable source of income and this is what has made them like and admire so much.

Despite believing that agriculture is good, farmers were complaining about the many frustrating challenges they face. The hardships of agricultural activities as well as the risks such as floods and droughts make them conclude that many young people are currently reluctant to engage in agriculture. Respondents explained that in the past although agriculture was not productive they were forced to cultivate in order to survive because other activities required capital and also the potential customers in the village were few. But respondents pointed out that there has been a dramatic change in young people's involvement in non-farm activities since the emergence of the motorcycle taxi business popularly known as bodaboda. Some went so far as to say that bodaboda has been instrumental in reducing the number of thieves in villages as well as reducing the out-migration of youths fleeing to cities. This is where the theme of drudgery came up when young people talked about the difficulty of agricultural work by saying agriculture makes you look old even if you are still young. So from these perspectives I can therefore support the study conducted by Patrick Boneza, (2018) on Rwandan

youth's aspirations on agriculture where he found that drudgery is one of the reasons young people leave agriculture and go to the cities in search of work.

## 6.2 Incorporation of emerged themes

The empirical findings of the study show a direct link between social norms and socioeconomic dimensions that influence rural young men's high engagement in bodaboda riding business and less engaged in agriculture. Respondents during the interviews provided information that showed the interaction of these two concepts. For example, the respondent explained that in order to raise a family and to be independent as a man in the community, one must have a well-paying job. These young people regard bodaboda as a business that is guaranteed to earn an income compared to other businesses as well as agriculture. Thus income and breadwinning as a common norm of real men create a direct relationship in identifying a man in this particular society.

It has become clear that bodaboda motorcycles give young people quick money and self-reliance as described above in the theme of self-reliance. Through their social interactions and peer pressure to see some of their fellow teenagers become independent and able to meet their basic needs they are attracted to the bodaboda activity. Many teens have expressed frustration with their peers' claims that living with their parents for so long as they have reached adulthood is negligence and such a person should not be called a real man. Thus empirical findings reveal the fact that social norms that identify a man in society are what make most young people attracted to bodaboda activity. In addition my research has found that out of the many rural non-agricultural activities bodaboda is seen as superior compared to other occupations and makes young men attracted to it.

Hegemonic masculinity in this society is associated with employment where the connection between employment and social construction gender identity is considered. Bodaboda riding business as the participation of rural young men in the labor market and their breadwinner role confirms how socioeconomic factors influence male domination in income generation activities. In the research I came



to realize that bodaboda activity in the community is an activity that is seen as a good job for young people that can help them run their daily lives and start a family as well. “Here I am at work, brother, even my wife knows my husband is at work, ” said one young bodaboda driver during a one-on-one interview. The study also found that most young people do not consider farming as a job because of the act of going to the farm and coming back without any money for a day, a week and even a month, instead one waits longer until harvest. This situation has led to the division of labor between men and women. Let me fight on bodaboda. My wife will go to the farm as long as she sees every day I come home with money.... FGD, (Young man bodaboda- Dumila). The situation clearly shows that a man returning home with money every day makes his wife feel okay for her to work on a farm and being satisfied with her husband to be engaged in the bodaboda business. The hegemonic masculinity norms that associate men with breadwinner translate into men opting for occupations that give them a daily income, dignity and an esteemed position in society so as to be considered real men and good husbands.

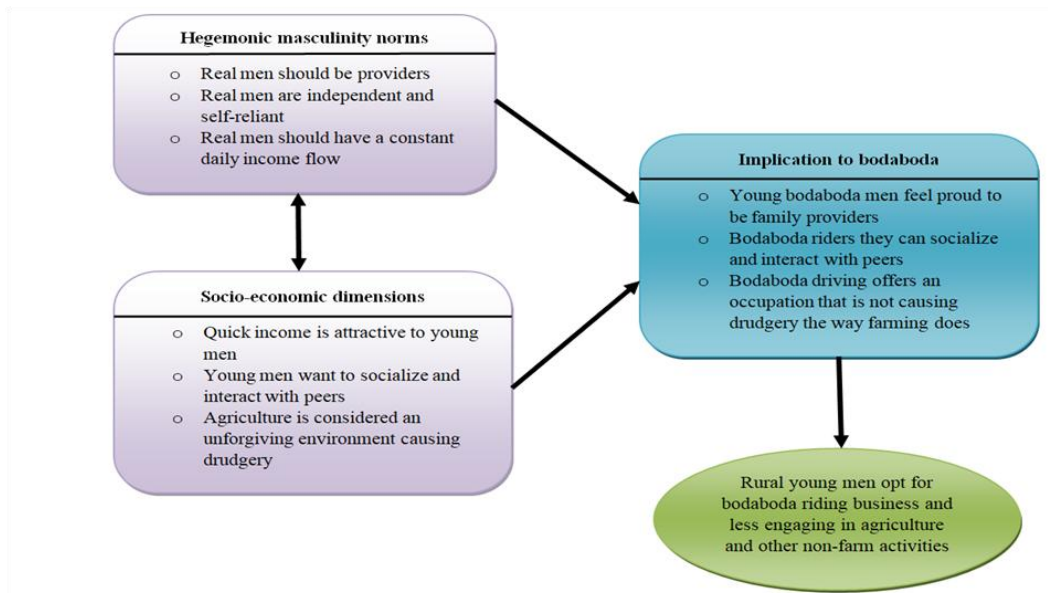


Figure 2: Integration of themes for rural young men to opt for bodaboda

### 6.3 Reasons for bodaboda driving being most attractive occupation to rural young men and discard agriculture

In the study it was found that gender relations were frequently expressed by respondents especially when they were explaining how bodaboda has an impact on economic and social status for rural young men. It was clear that these young bodabodas have a great opportunity to take care of the family and take on responsibilities as a father. They also described how bodaboda activity empowers them and makes them feel better in front of women by being able to earn a daily income.

In a statement issued by some young men in the interview they said "Mapenzi pesa" being a Swahili word meaning a woman cannot truly love a man if a man does not have money. Thus the work of bodaboda is considered to be a respected work in the village and also seen bodaboda have a great contribution in social development. When I interviewed the Village Executive Officer (VEO) he noted that the village government considers bodaboda work as a good source of employment for unskilled youth and also contributes to the country's GDP through business. There are bodabodas doing their job with purpose and making their development projects and being the best parents for their families also helping their parents in old age, VEO said. When they tried to discuss the issue of agriculture and the potential of their role in the family they showed that land ownership is also so challenging that they have to rent to cultivate or cultivate their partner's land but bodaboda does not need capital it is just employment and starting work.

While talking to me, the participants said that in the past when bodaboda motorcycles did not exist, young people without farms were considered insignificant in society. Through bodaboda they have gained the respect and appearance as people who are self-aware and able to bring about change in society and bring about development. Moreover, bodaboda has freed young people from the stage of income loss and makes them appear as people who are not poor. The work appeals to them because it helps them to express their masculinity and play the role of breadwinner at the family level. "Between the farmer and the bodaboda

the woman is very interested in the bodaboda because she knows first I own something valuable and also facilitates transportation to take her wherever she goes now the farmer will walk the with a woman in the sun and has no money to take care of her”, (one-on-one interview with a young man bodaboda: Dumila village).

One of the norms that exist in this particular society is a man's ability to have enough income to sustain his life; it is something that characterizes his manhood. Young people take advantage of this opportunity to distinguish themselves from the group of people who are poor and put themselves at the level of a group of people who have an income to meet their needs and thereby gain social and economic status. Through their differentiation from farmers through this income generating activity, this is what makes their class in the community stand out and appear to be in a good position in the community. Therefore, There is a strong possibility that the work of riding bodaboda attracts many rural youth due to its potential to bring in quick income to make young men feel proud in the community. In that sense, young men are attracted to certain economic activities in order to achieve social status and to place themselves in a better position when it comes to gender relations.

Finally, I can connect the concept of modernity and the findings of this study in relation to behavior of bodaboda young men and the values of modernity work in economic and social fields. It has clearly shown their behaviors and actions based on gender relations and social norms reflect that agriculture as traditional work and bodaboda as modern work. Contemporary young people anticipate changes in the possibility of employment in the labor market based on their perceptions, understanding and estimation of the meaning and value of work that affects their lifestyle (Pikuła, N. G. 2015).

Modern work influences cultural changes within a society in the sense that different economic dimensions are not only regulated by laws but also through people's actions, aspirations and choices which together form social norms and cultural guidelines (Andreeva, E.et.al 2017). So, the young people of this community believe that doing bodaboda work is one of personal development, including coming out of the traditional era and living modernly, believing that

modern jobs generate enough income without affecting their dignity and their manhood status.

## 7. Conclusion, suggestions and recommendations

This chapter started by highlighting the synopsis of the main findings derived from the analysis of the data collected based on the purpose of the study that was examining and understanding how rural young men viewing bodaboda riding business as an attractive option for their rural life and masculinity. However I have mentioned the challenges I faced in the whole process of doing research and preparing this thesis. Finally, I have provided my views and suggestions on future research on this important topic as well as what should be done to make sure this problem transforms to a more productive aspect for the community and the country as a whole.

### 7.1 Synopsis of main findings

Respondents were able to express their views, attitudes, thoughts and ideas on what exactly causes the rural youth to see bodaboda as the right choice for them and to turn their backs on agriculture. There was an intellectual tension that was interesting in the interviews and discussions with the study participants. But even greater bodaboda activity has shown how its emergence has brought about social change especially in the economic sphere. However, the youth of bodaboda have shown awareness of the importance of agriculture and aspire to the day when improvements are made in farming methods so that they can do everything together in the fight against poverty. But due to challenges faced by the farmers right now, in this study it has become clear how socioeconomic dimensions, social norms and gender relations have been major catalysts for attracting young

men in rural areas to the bodaboda activity instead. Hegemonic masculinity has been used to explain these findings.

It has also become clear how this bodaboda activity plays a major role in social settings from the family level to the governmental level. In realizing their role as men in society and show their masculinity young men have seen the bodaboda activity as an attractive option because they can live up to the hegemonic masculinity norms such as that a real men are breadwinner, self-reliant and independent through their engagement in the bodaboda riding business. Furthermore, it has been shown that some socioeconomic factors such as income generation, social interaction, drudgery in agriculture, and peer pressure are factors that make these young men dominate in bodaboda riding business in rural areas.

Apart from the fact that the proliferation of commercial motorcycles like bodaboda has been able to attract many young men that consider agriculture as unattractive, bodaboda also is a very important activity in the development of rural people and communities at large. Because these rural young men do not want to flee to the cities in search of an income but do so when there is nothing to earn a living from in the rural areas except agriculture. So with the emergence of the work of riding bodabodas in rural areas, these young men can remain, and this can reduce the number of young people migrating to the cities in search of work, leaving the elderly and women behind.

The presence of some masculine social norms in the rural communities seem to be more empowered by bodaboda work compared to agriculture is what makes them take bodaboda work as an attractive option for their livelihood. However, the reality is that masculine social norms shift over time by integrating modern socioeconomic changes and demands by developing patriarchal structures and gender relations (Pearce and Connell, 2016). The situation of Tanzanian rural young men attracted to bodaboda riding occupation and seeing agriculture as unsuitable is largely attributed to social norms and gender relations that construct masculinity values and identities.

## 7.2 Policy recommendations

It is a fact that a significant increase in bodaboda trade in many parts of the country is also leading to an increase in the number of young people being employed in this activity and leaving other non-agricultural activities. This business has also had a positive impact on the lives of rural youth and on the development of the country. In order to ensure that these things go hand in hand without affecting each other, I recommend the following:

Improving economic opportunities in rural areas will help keep young men from fleeing to cities as research has shown that bodaboda activity has reduced out-migration. When there are economic opportunities available to young people in rural areas, this makes them stay. Because sometimes there seems to be an assumption that young people want to migrate to the city since it has some type of magical lure on youth.. so that youth are pulled to the cities. But it seems that it might rather be a push factor behind this fled of youth from rural areas (they are pushed away from the rural when there are no economic opportunities there) rather than a pull factor (that the city attracts them) . So by creating more economic opportunities in the rural areas this may go a long way in addressing the problem with rural-urban migration.

There is also a need to reflect on and come up with a good strategy on how to get agriculture done in a light way to reduce drudgery. The teaching of modern methods will make young people see agriculture as better for their lives than rushing for low-income opportunities. This is due to the fact that the youth are pushed out of agriculture by drudgery and insecure incomes suggest that if drudgery could be addressed and income streams become more diversified and less seasonal somehow this could re-attract youth into agriculture again. But as long as these issues remain it may be difficult to get agriculture moving.

## 7.3 Challenges encountered during the study

There are various challenges that I have gone through in the field that to some extent affected the data collection process. The first challenge was money because

the bodaboda boys said staying in one place for more than 30 minutes was losing customers so they are ready if I pay them at least five passengers' worth which is the equivalent of 5000TZS. Since the project was not funded I had to spend my own money.

Another challenge was the noise because the activities that were going on along the road affected even the sounds I was recording, it was sometimes difficult to hear that everyone was saying and the interview were disrupted by jokes of peers who were passing by the area where we were having a discussion without caring how serious the matter was whereby the situation led to a loss of their focus in their participation.

Another challenge is the respondents' understanding of the questions that were being asked. Although the researcher is required to provide a broad field for the respondent to express and provide unlimited answers, there came a time when I had to interrupt someone to continue talking. In that case I had to repeat the question more than twice even using the informal Swahili language to make sure the participant understood what was being asked. Furthermore the respondents also did not talk about themselves instead they gave general information or talked to someone else when the goal was to provide a personal perspective.

Last but not least, the biggest challenge was the limited time I had to be able to complete the whole exercise according to the time frame of this thesis. I tried to make sure I spent at least 10 hours a day doing group interviews and one-on-one interviews. However, I had to wait until the evening when most of the farmers were returning from the farms.

#### 7.4 Suggestions to further research

This study has directly targeted men as well and lacked greater participation of women in discussing this issue. Thus, in order to increase broad knowledge there had to be the involvement of a large number of rural girls in contributing to their attitudes and ideas. By that logic I would suggest that a comprehensive study be conducted that will involve more women to get more information. So there is a reason to do more research on bodaboda activity by involving rural women.



## References

- Akpan, S.B., (2010). Encouraging youth's involvement in agricultural production and processing.
- Andersson, J.A., Giller, K.E., Sumberg, J. and Thompson, J., (2014). Comment on "Evaluating conservation agriculture for small-scale farmers in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia"[Agric. Ecosyst. Environ. 187 (2014) 1–10]. *Agriculture, Ecosystems and Environment*, 196, pp.21-23.
- Asogwa, B.C., Umeh, J.C. and Penda, S.T., (2011). Analysis of economic efficiency of Nigerian small scale farmers: A parametric frontier approach. *Journal of Economics*, 2(2), pp.89-98.
- Bishop, T. and Amos, P., (2015). Opportunities to improve road safety through 'boda-boda' associations in Tanzania. Final Report. Thame, UK: AFCAP/ASCAP Project Management Unit, Cardno Emerging Market (UK) Ltd, p.16.
- Cialdini, R. B., Reno, R. R., & Kallgren, C. A. (1990). A focus theory of normative conduct: Recycling the concept of norms to reduce littering in public places. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 58(6), 1015.
- Connell, R.W. and Connell, R., (2000). *The men and the boys*. Univ of California Press.
- Connell, R.W. and Messerschmidt, J.W., (2005). Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender & society*, 19(6), pp.829-859.
- Connell, R.W., (2005). Change among the gatekeepers: Men, masculinities, and gender equality in the global arena. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 30(3), pp.1801-1825.
- Creswell, J.W., (2014). *A concise introduction to mixed methods research*. SAGE publications.
- Creswell, John W., and J. David Creswell. (2018). 5th edition. *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Sage publications.
- Escobal, J., (2001). The determinants of nonfarm income diversification in rural Peru. *World development*, 29(3), pp.497-508.
- Flick, U., Kardorff, E.V. and Steinke, I., (2006). *Qualitative forschung*. Sage Publications.

- Howe, J., 2003. Filling the middle: Uganda's appropriate transport services. *Transport Reviews*, 2003, vol 23, 161-176:Oxford, UK
- Izugbara, C.O., (2015). 'Life is not designed to be easy for men': Masculinity and poverty among urban marginalized Kenyan men. *Gender Issues*, 32(2), pp.121-137.
- Jewkes, R., Morrell, R., Hearn, J., Lundqvist, E., Blackbeard, D., Lindegger, G., Quayle, M., Sikweyiya, Y. and Gottzén, L., (2015). Hegemonic masculinity: combining theory and practice in gender interventions. *Culture, health & sexuality*, 17(sup2), pp.112-127.
- Kimaro, P.J. and Towo, N.N., (2015). Determinants of rural youth's participation in agricultural activities: the case of Kahe East ward in Moshi rural district, Tanzania. *International Journal of Economics, Commerce and Management*, 3(2), p.33.
- Malmberg, c. (1996). Case study on intermeddiate means of transport: Bicycle and rural women in Uganda. SSATP Wrking paper No. 12. The world bank and economic commission for Africa mediation of sex in southwest Uganda. *Journal of AIDS care*, vol. 13, No.1.pp. 272-386
- Morgan, D., (2005). Class and masculinity. *Handbook of studies on men and masculinities*, pp.165-177.
- Morgan, D.L. and Krueger, R.A., (1998). *The focus group guidebook*. Sage.
- Morrell, R., Jewkes, R. and Lindegger, G., (2012). Hegemonic masculinity/masculinities in South Africa: Culture, power, and gender politics. *Men and masculinities*, 15(1), pp.11-30.
- Ngemera, H., (2017). *Motocycle taxi" boda boda" a new paradigm for livelihood diversification: a case of Chamwino district, Tanzania (Doctoral dissertation, The University of Dodoma)*.
- Ochieng J, Afari-Sefa V, Muthoni F, Kansime M, Hoeschle-Zeledon I, Bekunda M, Thomas D. Adoption of sustainable agricultural technologies for vegetable production in rural Tanzania: trade-offs, complementarities and diffusion. *International Journal of Agricultural Sustainability*. 2021 Jun 23:1-9.
- Opondo, V.O. and Kiprop, G., (2018). *Boda Boda Motorcycle Transport and Security Challenges in Kenya*. National Crime Research Centre.
- Patrick, B., (2018). *Striving for dignity*.
- Robson, C. and McCartan, K., (2016). *Real world research: a resource for users of social research methods in applied settings*. Wiley.

- Shayo, R. and Martin, A., (2019). Gender and diversity situational analysis: Tanzania country report. *Gates Open Res*, 3(403), p.403.
- Simpson, R., (2004). Masculinity at work: The experiences of men in female dominated occupations. *Work, employment and society*, 18(2), pp.349-368.
- Swarts, M.B. and Aliber, M., (2013). The 'youth and agriculture' problem: implications for rangeland development. *African journal of range & forage science*, 30(1-2), pp.23-27.
- Turyahikayo, W. and Ayesigye, J., (2017). Determinants of demand for none agricultural rural employment (NARE) in Uganda: The case of the influx of motor cyclists (bodaboda) in Ntungamo District. *African Journal of Agricultural Economics and Rural Development ISSN*, 5(4), pp.547-555.
- Wedgwood, N., (2009). Connell's theory of masculinity—its origins and influences on the study of gender. *Journal of gender studies*, 18(4), pp.329-339.

# Acknowledgement

Until the completion of this thesis important contributions from various people have been able to make this study a great success. I would like to acknowledge the contribution of each individual in any way he participated in the entire period of research and completion of writing this thesis report where the number is so large I cannot name one by one.

First of all with both hands and cheerfully I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Johanna Bergman Lodin, PhD. She has been a very important person and very supportive to me, not only as a supervisor but also as a friend and mentor of several academic matters by giving me inputs for the whole period of preparing this thesis. I take this opportunity to say THANK YOU very much Johanna because I have always felt very lucky and proud to be supervised by you.

Secondly, my thanks go to Professor Adam Pain as the first person to express my interests and be able to challenge my thoughts. The situation has given me the mental and emotional stability to know what I should do and when. So I say thank you very much and with all my heart I really appreciate your contribution.

Thirdly, I would like to thank all the officials from the human resources offices in Kilosa and Mvomero districts for ensuring that I obtain permission to conduct research in those districts without any inconvenience as I was always in need of office support from them.

I will also be greedy for favors if I do not recognize the contribution from my children David and Delicia, my young sister Elizabeth Gaba, my parents Mr. and Mrs Gaba, My best friends Kaundime Kayugwa, Baraka Lulandala and Clement Banda for their tirelessly giving me advice and ideas until I complete this thesis. I say thank you so much.

Lastly, I would like to give a very special thanks to the Swedish Institute for choosing me to be one of the beneficiaries of the 2020/2021 scholarships, I have been able to secure this wonderful opportunity and make good use of it without having to let go of my entire academic year in Sweden.

Thank you very much / Ahsante sana

## Publishing and archiving

Approved students' theses at SLU are published electronically. As a student, you have the copyright to your own work and need to approve the electronic publishing. If you check the box for **YES**, the full text (pdf file) and metadata will be visible and searchable online. If you check the box for **NO**, only the metadata and the abstract will be visible and searchable online. Nevertheless, when the document is uploaded it will still be archived as a digital file.

If you are more than one author you all need to agree on a decision. Read about SLU's publishing agreement here: <https://www.slu.se/en/subweb/library/publish-and-analyse/register-and-publish/agreement-for-publishing/>.

YES, I/we hereby give permission to publish the present thesis in accordance with the SLU agreement regarding the transfer of the right to publish a work.

NO, I/we do not give permission to publish the present work. The work will still be archived and its metadata and abstract will be visible and searchable.