

New Forms of Social Insurance: The Case of the KAMBE Savings and Credit Cooperative in Uganda



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Key Points

- The experience of the KAMBE SACCO highlights the importance of savings as a safety net for workers in informal employment in times of emergency. During Uganda's COVID-19 lockdown, with no other support available, two-thirds of the KAMBE SACCO's members withdrew their savings from the Cooperative, averaging 600,000 Ugandan shillings per person, most of which was used to cover essential expenses like food to feed families. This was a lifesaver for many members through the pandemic, in a context where boda-boda riders were unable to go out and earn a living due to lockdown restrictions.
- Access to affordable credit as provided by the KAMBE SACCO can enhance
 the profit-earning and job security of boda-boda riders. About 60 per cent
 of KAMBE members rent rather than own their bikes, forfeiting up to a third
 of their total turnover in target fees to the bike owners. The KAMBE SACCO's
 low-interest motorbike loan service enables boda-boda riders to purchase
 their own motorbikes on loan from key partner Centenary Bank, with an
 initial amount of less than 10 per cent of the cost of the bike, and then pay
 the outstanding amount over 18–24 months. From the commencement of the
 scheme up to the time of this evaluation in 2021, a total of 12,000 members
 had benefitted from this service.
- While boda-boda riders are almost exclusively male, the vendor representation in the KAMBE Association means that approximately 10,000 of KAMBE Association and KAMBE SACCO members are women. By opening its membership base beyond its core constituency of male riders to those in surrounding sectors such as vendors, who sell goods and food to riders and passengers on the streets, the KAMBE SACCO has helped to build social solidarity across sectors in the informal economy and has expanded its membership base to enhance sustainability and reach.
- The appeal and versatility of the KAMBE SACCO lies in the multiple suites of loan services it provides; they cover both business/income-related services (motorbike loans) and personal household functions (land, school fees and home appliance loans). These could potentially be pivoted towards social protection, including health insurance.
- Building trust among members is crucial for safeguarding the long-term sustainability of savings and credit cooperative schemes geared towards informal workers. To this end, the KAMBE SACCO needs to work towards ensuring administration in line with statutory requirements – by putting formal systems and proper financial procedures in place, as well as by training executives at all levels on the fundamentals of SACCO administration. The SACCO could also leverage its grass-roots structure and geographical spread for more democratic and inclusive outcomes.

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Introduction

In Uganda, especially in its capital, Kampala, a key mode of transportation is provided by motorbike taxi operators, commonly known as boda-boda riders. The Kampala Metropolitan Boda-Boda Entrepreneurs (KAMBE) association is a transport membership-based service/ support organization for such riders. KAMBE aims to improve and transform the boda-boda business in Uganda and create employment for youth through: offering a decent, reliable and efficient transportation service; reducing boda-boda rider accidents and injuries; providing training in environment management, preservation and protection; encouraging savings; and providing loan facilities for property ownership among boda-boda riders through its financial wing, the KAMBE SACCO (Savings and Credit Cooperative Organization).

This report presents the findings of a case study of the KAMBE SACCO, with a specific focus on how a better understanding of the development and formalization of this Savings and Credit Cooperative Organization could offer lessons learned for strengthening and formalizing social protection for informal workers in Uganda and sub-Saharan Africa. Research was conducted through a desktop review of existing literature on transportation and the informal economy in Uganda, an analysis of available KAMBE and KAMBE SACCO records and documentation, key informant interviews with relevant stakeholders, and focus group discussions (FGDs) with boda-boda riders and their stage-level leadership.

Country context

Uganda's unemployment rate stood at about 20 per cent in 2016/2017.¹ Of those in employment, 70 per cent worked in the informal sector, with their collective output constituting 43 per cent of the country's gross domestic product.² These informal workers are mainly employed in the trade, manufacturing, services, construction and transportation sectors.³ As the largest and fastest-growing cohort of workers in the Ugandan economy, they form an integral part of the country's socioeconomic profile.⁴ Notwithstanding their importance, however, informal workers are not covered by the handful of social protection programmes that operate in the country.⁵ Notably, the National Social Security Fund (NSSF) administers a pension programme, but it only caters to workers in the public and formal private sectors.⁶ In the absence of substantive economic opportunities and robust social protection programmes for informal economy workers, rates of poverty and vulnerability keep increasing among them.

It is within this context that boda-boda riders operate. According to the Ugandan Ministry of Transport and Works, these motorbike operators are the fastest-growing category within

- ¹ National Population and Housing Census.
- ² Cities Alliance (no date).
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid.
- Overall government spending on social protection is low, so these programmes are very limited in their reach. According to the Uganda Bureau of Statistics, the per capita public health expenditure in 2017/2018 was 51,239 Ugandan shillings (approximately USD 15).
- 6 National Social Security Fund website: https://www.nssfug.org/.

a largely informal public transport sector,⁷,⁸ making them a very important group to engage on issues of employment and social protection.

The Boda-Boda Sector in Uganda

The spectacular growth of the boda-boda sector has been aided by both supply- and demand-side factors: the relatively low barrier to entry in the business makes it an appealing prospect for unemployed youth, especially men; and huge deficits in public transport infrastructure have rendered boda-boda the default transit mode for many commuters. The emergence of motorized boda-boda riders can be traced back to the period of a rapid increase in motorization and privatization of transport sector planning from the 1990s onward, which saw a massive increase in the number of informal transport workers in Uganda. In the 1990s, the buses were given a large area to service, but the inefficiencies increased, leading to gaps in supply. The operation of small vehicles/taxis for public transportation then commenced. Vehicle imports into the country also were liberalized in 1993 (Rhode 2006), contributing to the rapid increase in vehicle traffic. While 14-seat minibus taxis commonly known as matatus initially took the lead, the fastest-growing vehicle category now is the motorbikes, with boda-bodas constituting a central feature of the public transport landscape. Estimates of the number of boda-boda riders in Kampala (the capital city) given by the city authority and KAMBE executives range from 120,000 to 220,000.

The increased use of boda-bodas in Uganda supports passengers' movement from A to B and provides important employment opportunities for the youth, who are the majority of the population. Unfortunately, it is still a male-dominated sector, with less than 2 per cent of female actors, who are usually involved only in the auxiliary services within the transport and logistics systems. Furthermore, wages are low, expenses are high, and the work is precarious. As a result, riders are highly vulnerable to even small financial shocks, which is a key reason why KAMBE SACCO was established.

Background and Description of the Scheme

Formation and Structure of Kampala Metropolitan Boda-Boda Entrepreneurs (KAMBE)

The origins of the Kampala Metropolitan Boda-Boda Entrepreneurs association go back to the mid-2000s and emerged in a response to two sets of circumstances – both of which called for boda-boda riders to organize themselves collectively: firstly, to protect themselves from extortion by local traffic police, and by extension the Kampala traffic wardens, who were protected by their political patronage of the ruling party. Secondly, to maximize the benefits they could get from political patronage, especially during election season.

In 2006, the police commissioned hundreds of traffic wardens under the then-newly formed Kampala Union Boda-boda Cyclists Association (KUBOCA) to provide order and regulation within the boda-boda industry. These wardens were unpaid and, according to media reports, turned to soliciting bribes and making illegal arrests to earn a living, thus provoking major protests among boda-boda riders. KUBOCA was very close to the ruling National Resistance

More than 80 per cent of the actors in the country's public transport space are informal workers.

Estimates of the number of boda-boda riders in Kampala (the capital city) given by the city authority and KAMBE executives range from 120,000 to 220,000.

Movement (NRM) party, and its members were very visible in their NRM yellow T-shirts, while extorting money from fellow boda-boda riders.

After the 2011 General Election, the opposition leaders organized "Walk to Work" protests that paralyzed the city. Boda-boda riders escorted opposition leaders to the city center, attracting huge crowds. Following this heightened period of political tension, crime and a wave of killings in the city centre caused a major problem with regards to the security for boda-boda riders. In response, several new associations of riders were established, including the Kampala Metropolitan Boda-boda Association (KAMBA) in August 2013.

As a result of these developments, the boda-boda sector has become a political touchpoint in Uganda, having expanded well beyond its origins as a humble means of transporting people and goods across the Uganda-Kenya border to become an important voting bloc, courted by both governing and opposition parties – this has had an ongoing legacy – which will be discussed later in this report.

In 2015, KAMBA came under the wing of The Amalgamated Transport and General Workers' Union (ATGWU), which helped the association to register as a formal entity under a new name, Kampala Metropolitan Boda-Boda Entrepreneurs (KAMBE). While KAMBE is but one of a number of associations operating among boda-boda riders, KAMBE is the only association that has built a level of structural power and operates in all the five divisions in Kampala.

KAMBE is organized at various levels. While there is an apex of leadership at the top of this structure, on the ground, KAMBE operates as a highly decentralized structure, with members spread across multiple "stages" in all five divisions of the city.9

In the public transport sector in Uganda, all the trade actors, including boda-boda riders, are organized through an operational structure known as a stage. Stages are given particular locations and traffic/travel routes and, in the case of boda-bodas riders, a stage would be made up of typically 15–20 riders. Such stages then form the most localized or street-level operation blocs of KAMBE: a well-established governance structure is organized around the stage, which has its executive cadre comprising a chairperson, a secretary, a treasurer, a defence secretary and an organizer. From the stage level, KAMBE members are elected upward. Parish leaders are elected from among stage-level executives, and division leaders are, in turn, elected from among parish executives. An overarching KAMBE Executive Committee, complete with a Secretariat and five full-time staff, is formed by elected representatives from the division level.

Formation of the KAMBE SACCO

Following KAMBE's affiliation with ATGWU in 2015, the union began to look out for and take an interest in KAMBE members' concerns. In doing so, it came to realize the importance of finding ways to empower boda-bodas financially and the limits of the existing KAMBE structure

Boda-boda riders in the city are organized into stages, which correspond to specific locations and transport routes. A typical stage comprises 15 to 20 boda-boda riders. Many stages operate SACCOs and voluntary savings schemes that are more localized and smaller in scale than KAMBE SACCO. Beyond being a platform for coordinating savings, stages provide solidarity and safety for riders who would otherwise be highly vulnerable to external threats.

for doing so.¹⁰ At the same time, the government was pushing and encouraging people to start SACCOs with the incentive of receiving various kinds of financial support. It was on this basis that ATGWU decided to register KAMBE as a SACCO in 2016 – on the basis that support from the government would be forthcoming. This support, however, did not materialize.

SACCOS in the Ugandan Context

In the Ugandan context, a savings and credit cooperative society, or SACCO, is a voluntary organization with the objective of helping members accumulate savings and access credit at below-market interest rates. SACCOs are just one of a number of Voluntary Saving Schemes such as Village Savings and Loan Associations (VSLAs), Rotating Savings and Credit Associations (ROSCAs), community-based money lenders and burial societies, and family or friends. While the latter three are not regulated or supervised, in Uganda, SACCOs are formalized. Statutorily, KAMBE SACCO is governed by the Cooperative Societies Act (Chapter 112), which most recently was amended in 2020. The SACCO has adopted the standard constitution and by-laws issued by the Ugandan government, although compliance with these statutes is limited in practice, as described in more detail below.

In terms of structure, by law, each SACCO is required to have a general assembly, a Board of Directors (5–7 persons), although very few of them have secretariats/management teams. Such institutions are expected to be deposit-taking institutions, getting running funds, to support their members. Uganda's SACCO by-laws also require that each member saves something at least quarterly. The regulatory framework provides prudential standards against which the financial health of a SACCO is assessed continuously using periodical reports. Unfortunately, most of the SACCOs in the public transport sector are not compliant with the law/regulatory framework. The liquidity levels are not satisfactory, thus indicating that the majority of these SACCOs are financially unhealthy. There are a few, however, that have managed to address the needs of their members, especially in the COVID-19 pandemic.

KAMBE Association and KAMBE SACCO Membership

Membership Numbers and Sector Representation

The functions and members of the KAMBE association versus the KAMBE SACCO overlap, making it difficult at times to distinguish the two. Membership of the KAMBE association, like the KAMBE SACCO, is not restricted to boda-boda riders, but also open to workers in other sectors, including trading, agriculture and other support services related to public transport. To join the KAMBE association, members must pay a one-time registration fee of 20,000 Ugandan shillings (USD 5.46). In addition, registered members pay a yearly fee of 7,000 shillings to have their identification card renewed. There are not requirements beyond this.

Boda-boda riders and motorbike owners make up an estimated 76 per cent of the KAMBE association and SACCO total membership. The remaining membership consists of workers involved in the administrative running of the stage, bike mechanics, and vendors. Within the category of vendors, there are those who sell food to riders and passengers on the routes, and those not directly associated with the industry, but who sell fruits and vegetables, nonperishables items such as clothes and personal wear, and electronics.

Personal communication John Mark Mwanika, Programs Officer, Amalgamated Transport and General Workers Union, 24 September 2020.

While boda-boda riders are almost exclusively male, the vendor representation in the KAMBE association means that approximately 10,000 of association members – and by consequence KAMBE SACCO members – are women. The broadening of membership beyond KAMBE's core consistency of male boda-boda riders speaks to the importance of social solidarity across sectors in the informal economy.

You do not need to be a member of the KAMBE association to be a member of the KAMBE SACCO, although most KAMBE association members are. For example, the mechanics who service boda-boda bikes are part of the KAMBE SACCO – but they are not registered association members. Likewise, you do not need to participate in the savings component of the SACCO, or use the other financial services offered, if you are a KAMBE association member. This means that there is a majority overlap between KAMBE association membership and KAMBE SACCO membership; however, this membership does not align 100 per cent.

KAMBE association membership is given at approximately 60,000. At the start of this research, the KAMBE SACCO had 57,200 persons who had ever been registered since the formation and registration of the institution, for all the five divisions of Kampala City. Figures of KAMBE SACCO members actively saving at this date, are not, however, available. There is also serious attrition, with members joining, then lapsing on their savings, which has been exacerbated by the pandemic.

It is important to note that many KAMBE SACCO members are also members of other SACCOS. In Uganda, it is common practice to belong to four or five voluntary savings groups. This, in turn, is linked to the fact that many boda-bodas are also involved in other informal economic activities such as agriculture, and SACCOs tend to be sector based. This has implications for the way in which savings can be consolidated and used, as well as members' capacity to get into debt, which will be discussed in more detail later in this this report.

Membership Fees

If you are already a member of the KAMBE association, there are no additional costs associated with joining the KAMBE SACCO – no additional membership fee is required. If, however, you are not member of the KAMBE association, and you wish to join the KAMBE SACCO, one is required to pay a fee. This used to be UGX 100,000 but has now been reduced to UGX 50,000.

Gender

While the boda-boda industry is overwhelmingly dominated by men, the extension of KAMBE association and KAMBE SACCO membership beyond boda-boda riders means that the association has a female membership which is 10,000 strong, making up almost 17 per cent of the association. Exact figures of female KAMBE SACCO membership are not available; however, due to the large overlap between KAMBE association and SACCO members, it is possible that women could represent a similar percentage of total membership within the KAMBE SACCO. It should be noted, however, that almost no boda-boda riders are women. While conducting the fieldwork for this study, for example, the researcher was only made aware of two women riders.

It should also be noted that the research team that conducted this study only included boda-boda riders in their focus group discussions, hence no female opinions were gathered, despite the Terms of Reference of the study requiring a specific focus on female workers' engagements, perceptions, and experiences with the SACCO. This should be acknowledged as one of the shortcomings of this study.

Age Distribution

The large majority of boda-boda riders are between the ages of 25 and 39. The survey revealed that a larger number of riders were over 40 years old compared to those who were under 25. Overall, it suggests that the popular youthful image of boda-boda riders is misleading.

Education and Employment Profile

The majority of boda-boda riders had completed secondary education or more. Most boda-boda riders have received no further training since leaving school or college, although only a handful had specifically received training in riding as a boda-boda rider and in road safety.

In terms of employment profile of boda-boda riders interviewed:

- The majority of the boda-boda riders profiled in the focus groups had other jobs besides that of the boda-boda industry. These included working on own their farms, being involved in trading, or running other businesses.
- In addition to riding, KAMBE association members also worked in shop keeping, construction, estate agencies, spare parts dealerships, fishing, furniture-making, stage welfare and as mobile money agents, mechanics, butchers, carpenters, and taxi drivers.
- Only a minority of riders interviewed had written agreements with the person who
 paid them to do their job (the owner of the bike). This might include formal financial
 agreements covering loans to purchase a bike or formal contracts with ride-hailing
 companies, such as SafeBoda or Taxify.
- Most boda-boda rider participants of the focus groups rode motorbikes that were between 1 and 5 years old, with only a fraction having bikes that were more than 8 or 10 years in age.

Membership Benefits

KAMBE SACCO offers a diverse benefits package. This includes loans mainly in physical assets such as land and motorbikes, but sometimes also cash on an affordable loan basis for shorter-term needs such as children's school fees and household appliance purchases, as well as emergency loans for unexpected costs for accidents, marriage, or burials. Other financial services offered include cash withdrawals and cash deposits, collecting documents for account openings and loan documents, bill payments, balance inquiries, money transfers, school fees payments, and airtime top-up for mobile phones. All of these can be conducted at the offices of KAMBE SACCO, without getting to a physical bank or on a banking platform. Additional services offered by the SACCO include support with the recovery of stolen or impounded motorbikes, assistance with securing compensation if hit by another vehicle, and road safety education and awareness for members.

The KAMBE Association has developed an app to allow such services and functions to be conducted online, however this app is not operational as yet. Some technical issues still need to be resolved to get the app up and running and additional funding is required for this. In the meantime, some competitors have developed similar apps.

Savings

Savings complemented with low-interest loans form part of the package of financial services provided by the KAMBE SACCO. The savings component of the SACCO at UGX 5,000 (USD 1.40) weekly, and a share capital of UGX 10,000 (USD 2.73), is compulsory for members who want to make use of the loan facilities; however, beyond this, members choose how much they wish to save. Once members meet the six-month threshold for contributions, they are, in principle, eligible to subscribe to a range of services.

Members who are part of the savings scheme can only take out the total amount they have saved at the end of a minimum period of six months, and an interest rate of 1.5 per cent is charged upon withdrawal to cover administrative fees. Members who have contributed consistently for a minimum of six consecutive months can apply for up to twice the amount they have in savings, to be repaid with a 9 per cent interest over a 12-month period.

In pre-COVID times, members spent these savings on:

- domestic use, e.g. rent, food, heath bills
- motorbike parts and repairs
- agribusiness, agriculture and commodity trading, etc.

The savings component of the scheme is currently voluntary, but there is a proposal to make this aspect of the scheme compulsory following the pandemic.

KAMBE savings contributions are normally given in cash and collected by agents. Agents are individuals who facilitate mobile transactions for KAMBE SACCO members via financial institutions and a licensed Telekom service provider (KAMBE uses MTN mobile money and Airtel Uganda money mobile), using the agents' mobile phone. In addition to collecting KAMBE SACCO savings contributions, agents also sell airtime, allow for the payment of utilities, and facilitate money transfers. KAMBE SACCO members also can withdraw money from agents if members have positive balances in their accounts. These agents service the general public, not KAMBE members exclusively.

To be an agent, you must have a SIM card and UGX 3 million in your account – then you can start a trading business. The agents link cash savings to the bank account of KAMBE via Telekom code and work on commission. A KAMBE SACCO member will approach an agent in their vicinity, then hand over cash savings, which will be transferred/logged electronically into the KAMBE account via a mobile transaction code.

The amount of commission offered to agents is agreed upon with the Telekom company, depending on the volumes of money moved in and out, but is normally 1 per cent of the amount moved. Agents offer convenience. A KAMBE member will normally pick the agent nearest to them. Agents are located all over the city centre, with many small businesses and individual using agents.

Motorbike Loans

The majority of boda-boda riders do not own their own bikes but rent a bike from an owner and operate according to a target system. This requires the rider to pay a daily rental amount owed to the owner, ranging from UGX 8,000–11,000 per day. Only once riders have reached their daily target – the amount owed to the bike owner – do they begin to accrue profit for

that day. And because it is a very competitive sector, in many cases riders do not meet the owners' daily target.

In this respect, owning rather than renting a bike for boda-bodas can be a complete game changer, and this is partly why KAMBE's motorbike loan package has become one of the SACCO's flagship services. Centenary Bank, an indigenous microfinance bank with a history of funding rural development schemes, acts as a crucial partner here, financing low-interest motorbike loans for boda-boda riders, with KAMBE acting as guarantor. Other important partners in this scheme include the three big importers of motorbikes in Uganda, who supply the bikes. The Centenary Bank initiative allows boda-bodas to get the motorbikes on loan with an initial amount of less than 10 percent and then pay it back in 18–24 months. To be eligible for the scheme, borrowers have to open an account with Centenary Bank and deposit a minimum of UGX 1 million (USD 286). They then fill in a new bike form and present guarantors.

There are two levels of guaranteeing for this scheme – a stage level and an organizational (KAMBE) level. At the stage level, fellow riders within the same stage act as a guarantors for each other, acknowledging that they know the rider applying and that the rider will be able to make the repayments. KAMBE then comes in as organizational guarantor, based on that rider's savings patterns. The rider comes up with a comfortable payment plan, agreeing to pay a certain amount of money per month or on a weekly basis. The bank will calculate whether this application's proposal is viable, taking into consideration the applicant's ability to repay the full amount in the maximum period of two years.

The application is then processed through Centenary Bank, which pays the supplier for the cost of the new bike. This can take a maximum of 48 hours. The SACCO also provides a helmet and license plate to a boda-boda rider on an affordable loan basis.

Some riders repay the loan early. ¹² If the borrower pays the SACCO some UGX 66,000 per week over 13 months, they will pay back the loan, including between UGX 500,000 and 1.2 million of interest. The motorbike itself costs approximately UGX 3 million–4 million. The minimum amount that a rider would need to pay back per month (based on 24 months and a bike that costs UGX 3.4 million) would be UGX 175,000 per month. Average total income per day for boda-boda riders is about UGX 30,000. Expenses such as fuel, repairs, food and utilities amount to around to UGX 11,000, leaving approximately UGX 19,000 profit per day. With average profits of about UGX 19,000 per day, UGX 66,000 per week is a manageable repayment rate.

Being able to purchase their own motorbikes increases riders' earning and profit capacity. KAMBE's motorbike loan scheme enables members to become owner-drivers, but it also enables a minority of members to become owners of small fleets and employers of other KAMBE members, making relatively substantial profits.

The scheme started with 200 motorbikes per month, but by 2019 it was regarded as the bank's key microfinance initiative and a major strategy to grow its microfinance business (Kisambira

The KAMBE Association has developed an app to allow such services and functions to be conducted online, however this app is not operational as yet. Some technical issues still need to be resolved to get the app up and running and additional funding is required for this. In the meantime, some competitors have developed similar apps.

2020). In 2019, the bank required all branches to disburse a minimum of 10 motorbike loans per month (Centenary Bank 2019). By early 2020, before the pandemic, it was providing 670 such loans each month through the scheme.

By January 2020, the scheme had been expanded beyond KAMBE to other boda-boda associations and SACCOs, with a demand of 10 participants per month (Kisambira 2020), with such associations or SACCOs to be selected based on a due diligence process.

Since the scheme started, 12,000 members have benefitted from this loan scheme service. Default rates remain exceptionally low, with 97 per cent of beneficiaries able to make the repayments in full, due to the fact that KAMBE monitors and follows up on repayments, identifies when riders are falling behind, and offers assistance where required. KAMBE is able to keep track of repayments through its mobile money app. The bank also supplies KAMBE with this information, and the SACCO will then offer support to members, who, for example, for three consecutive months have struggled to make their repayments. If a member is defaulting, KAMBE can help get the loan rescheduled to allow for more time for payment, or the SACCO might look around for another member to take over the loan, after negotiations. The cumulative total of defaulters is just over 200, mainly due to stolen bikes.

Land Acquisition

The KAMBE SACCO also offers loans for land acquisition for members, which is a relatively new product. The land sold to members has been purchased upfront in large chunks by the KAMBE association/SACCO and is then resold to members. This subdivided land is situated at Kitende on Entebbe Road, about 14 km from Kampala and Katende-Maya, in Mpigi District. The residential plots are 100 feet by 50 feet, a standard size as per the urban physical planning regulations. The cost of purchase is about UGX 10 million, (USD 2,725) and requires an upfront payment of 15 per cent, with the balance payable in 18–24 months. Sometimes plots are bought collectively, one plot among several SACCO members. There are also a few members who have accessed more than one plot and more than one loan cycle. Payments for land are normally done quarterly; however, they can also be monthly or even weekly. At the time this case study was being conducted, a total of 312 members had benefitted from this loan scheme service. No one had yet defaulted because it is a longer-term product; however, there had been cases of defaults in some monthly payments, especially during the pandemic.

Short-Term, Low-Interest Loans

In addition to motorbike and land acquisition loans, KAMBE also offers short-term loans to cover the costs of school fees for a range of public and private schools and for home appliances. With regards to school-fees loans, members borrow money for fees as per the child requirements. Payment can be made in two instalments over a period of three or four months, with 5 per cent interest in addition to the premium.

KAMBE App

By early 2018, KAMBE's leadership concluded that it needed to develop a KAMBE ride-hailing and courier services platform to compete with the new entrants. Leaders noted that some of

¹³ Statistics provided via word of mouth by Moses Musiitwa.

¹⁴ These figures were supplied to the research consultant by the KAMBE SACCO General Secretary.

the association's members had begun to join the new market entrants' digital platforms and that there was a growing interest among boda-boda riders to use such technology.

A survey undertaken by the International Transport Workers Federation in 2019 showed that four out of 10 respondents had joined Uber, SafeBoda, or Bolt at some point. This led to the emergence of a collective interest in the development of the KAMBE platform application. KAMBE used its partnership with the Centenary Bank to secure backing to develop an app for boda-boda riders that would include banking functionality. A technical consultant developed the back-office requirements that managed the financial records, member data, and related reports. Centenary Bank was approached to provide the hardware in the form of computers for KAMBE's branch offices, which had until then lacked adequate facilities. The training was arranged and provided by both the bank and an IT consultant on how to operate the back-office systems. The back office is operational and is used daily by KAMBE members. The app also has been developed, but at the time of this study was not finalized nor in use.

The idea behind the app was for boda-boda workers to be able to download the app onto their phones (Android only), pay membership fees, save and withdraw funds, track transactions and performance, manage passenger and courier requests, and use the chat room. A passenger version would in turn enable passengers to push out requests and track their payments in real time. While the app had undergone initial testing before the pandemic, its finalization and launch were stalled due to a need for more technical skills and more funding.

The digital divide has proved another barrier to the implementation of the app. Boda-boda riders' access to smartphones is an essential component to the app's success, and yet only 40 per cent of boda-bodas surveyed own a smartphone. (The researcher has heard, for example, about a possible partnership with the Chinese telecom company TECNO, to sell smartphones to its members on loan, after the KAMBE app is fully developed and rolled out; however, it is not clear whether this is merely a possibility or a confirmed agreement). Regardless, KAMBE is therefore assessing options to increase access to smartphones for its membership and will apply influence in its negotiations in this regard by using its SACCO status.

Governance and Administration

The governance framework for all SACCOs, which are legal bodies, falls under the Cooperative Societies (Amendment) Act, 2020 (Act 5 of 2020). According to this legislation, the minimum number of members required to register a SACCO under the current law is 30 people. They must have a constitution and by-laws that are standardized by the government of Uganda. They are owned, governed, and managed by members who have the same common bond. The KAMBE SACCO has adopted the standard constitution and by-laws issued by the Ugandan government, although compliance with these statutes is limited in practice.

The existence of KAMBE as an association predates its incorporation of SACCO functions, and the tacit arrangements that govern the former take precedence over the written code that established the latter. Early attempts to institute SACCO best practices sparked leadership tussles among association executives, stirring up tensions that remain into the present. Prior to the introduction of the SACCO, KAMBE had a well-established governance structure organized around the stage. The weakness of this structure – and the point at which it clashes with the democratic principles of SACCO administration – is the affinity that top-level executives have for political influence, which erodes members' trust in the ability of the leadership to represent their interests.

Financing

At the scheme's inception, there was the promise of state support in the form of access to government-subsidized loans for SACCO subscribers across the country.¹⁵ The government soon backed out of this initiative, however, leaving SACCOs with a financing gap that could not be filled by traditional market actors.

KAMBE SACCO's financing and financial situation are closely reliant upon its parent organization, the broader KAMBE association, which is financed through the initial registration and annual renewal fees paid by members. It generates additional income from interest on loans taken out by members; interest ranges from 5 to 10 per cent for a six-month tenor. Overall, the cash flows are inconsistent with demands of members. The SACCO's internally generated revenue regularly falls far short of the amounts required to run its operations. Funds to the SACCO remain highly inadequate. The SACCO has worked out a strategy to cut costs by keeping its overheads low: executives and staff mostly work on a voluntary basis, and agents are paid on a commission basis as opposed to having a fixed salary. However, these measures have been insufficient in keeping costs down sufficiently to allow the SACCO to balance income and expenditure.

The Impact of COVID-19 on the Cooperative and its Members

To curb the spread of the pandemic in Uganda, the government imposed stringent movement restrictions from March to July 2020. The impact of these restrictions on boda-boda riders — whose livelihoods depend on the availability of a steady flow of passengers – was severe. Barely a month into the restrictions, many KAMBE members had exhausted whatever reserves they had and turned to the SACCO for assistance.

During this period, KAMBE offered help to all members, even if they were not saving. Members who had savings in the SACCO were allowed to make withdrawals, an offer that was ultimately taken up by about two-thirds of eligible members. The payouts amounted to an average of UGX 600,000 (USD 115) per person, most of which went to basic upkeep rather than job-related expenses. In addition, the SACCO provided discretionary food aid to its members across the city and gave financial support to members who were critically ill. It is clear, therefore, that the SACCO was an important source of preservation for many members during the pandemic, though its resources ultimately fell short and did not reach a good number of those in need. Among those hardest hit were members who took out third-party loans before and during the pandemic and had no recourse to the SACCO as they struggled to make repayments.

KAMBE certainly showed itself able to respond flexibly and quickly to the critical needs of members in the COVID crisis, providing an important lifeline for members in the period following statewide lockdowns and curfews that took effect in Lagos and Kampala in 2020. The savings component of the scheme is currently voluntary, but there is a proposal to make this aspect of the scheme compulsory following the experience of the pandemic. A follow-up challenge is to ensure that savings funds are properly managed – that is why every stage is mandated to shares. It also has been discussed/agreed that every stage should own a motorbike, with profits from this stage motorbike pumped into stage savings.

¹⁵ As of 2019, the Ugandan government had set aside the equivalent of USD 133.7 million for a Microfinance Support Centre to facilitate the subsidized-loan scheme.

Putting aside these positive lessons learned, the unprecedented scale of emergency spending during the pandemic stretched the finances of the SACCO beyond limits. This, coupled with a significant slowing of member savings and loan repayments during the lockdown and afterward, ¹⁶ left the SACCO in bad shape financially. The pandemic also reduced the number of members able to make regular savings contributions.

Key Partnerships

Centenary Bank

As already discussed, KAMBE's most strategic partnership to date is with Centenary Bank. With the lack of materialization of support from the government following the establishment of the KAMBE SACCO, Centenary Bank stepped into the breach to offer of low-interest motorbike loans for members of KAMBE and other eligible SACCOs. To date, the bank remains KAMBE's most important strategic partner – not only facilitating motorbike acquisition, but also promoting financial inclusion for members through a combination of agent-based services and digital payment platforms. While the reach of the motorbike loan scheme is limited relative to demand, the bank's partnership with KAMBE has enabled many riders to purchase their own motorbikes and work independently, freeing them from obligations to rent-collecting motorbike owners under the typical arrangement.

Amalgamated Transport and General Workers' Union

The Amalgamated Transport and General Workers' Union organizes and represents companies operating in the trades and industries of road transport, civil aviation, the oil and chemical sector, private security and property maintenance and general workers in support services. It is the oldest union in Uganda, with its parent organization formed in 1938. Since about 2006, ATGWU – as the umbrella union for transport-sector workers in Uganda – had been thinking deeply how to build its membership among the massive and growing number of informal transport workers in the country. Their numbers had expanded with Uganda's adoption of a structural adjustment programme, leading to the abandoning of government transport and the mushrooming of the informal economy transport industry, including 14-seater minivans and boda-boda riders.

When KAMBE affiliated with the ATGWU, the union provided important support in promoting and representing boda-boda workers with the authorities, training for the leadership, and links with motorbike taxi unions, associations, and other informal transport worker organizations in other countries, through membership of the International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF).

As indicated earlier, KAMBE received technical and administrative support from ATGWU to formalize its status and register as a SACCO. A key component of the support ATGWU provided was getting KAMBE involved in important labour dialogues at the local, national, and international levels.

As of May 2021, nearly a year after the movement restrictions were lifted, some members were still struggling to re-establish their pre-pandemic saving routine.

Civil Society

In addition, KAMBE implements its occupational health and safety programme in partnership with civil society and private-sector organizations, the latter usually being bigger actors in the transport industry looking to demonstrate corporate social responsibility. The offerings include seminars on rider safety and access to free protective gear such as reflective jackets and helmets. These safety-enhancing measures are particularly important for riders who, despite the high risk of accidents on the job, neglect to use protective gear for a variety of reasons.¹⁷

Challenges and Needs

Financial Sustainability

As outlined above, the KAMBE SACCO is financed through the income generated by its parent Association in the form of the initial registration fees required to join the Association (the one-time joining fee of UGX 20,000 and the yearly fee of UGX 7,000 for members to have their identification card renewed). KAMBE generates additional income from interest on loans. Overall, however, the cash flows are inconsistent with demands of members. Some of the liquidity problems KAMBE is facing are related to its failure to comply with the regulations laid out in the existing national constitution and by-laws for SACCOs. These by-laws require that each member of the SACCO saves something at least quarterly, which would assist with issues around liquidity. However, the extent to which greater compliance with these regulations would be feasible or beneficial for SACCO members is unclear. This is because, as alluded to earlier, the boda-boda trade is largely low-paying and precarious. Even though riders typically earn money on a fairly steady basis, a plethora of job-related expenses – repayment of bank loans, remittances to motorbike owners, motorbike insurance premium, maintenance and repairs, fuel, parking, extra-legal bribes, and contributions to other savings schemes – leave them with significantly lower net incomes.¹⁸ This highlights the continuing relevance of partnerships for the viability of the SACCO.

Governance Structure, Representation and Trust

A major challenge faced by KAMBE relates to its governance structure. The existence of KAMBE as an association predates its adoption of SACCO functions, and the tacit arrangements that govern the former take precedence over the written code that established the latter. Early attempts to institute SACCO best practices sparked leadership tussles among association executives, and some of those tensions remain. These tensions are related to the politicization of the boda-boda sector, which has become a significant voting bloc in Uganda courted by political parties. As mentioned earlier, the origins of the association emerged when riders began to organize themselves to maximize the benefits they could get from this political patronage, especially during election season, with KAMBA starting out life as one of these before joining the AGTWU.

Prior to the introduction of the SACCO, KAMBE had a well-established governance structure organized around "the stage," but it has weaknesses, as reported above.

Many riders complain about helmets being too heavy or uncomfortable, of low quality, or otherwise too expensive.

¹⁸ In a sample of 30 riders interviewed for this study, the average gross income was reported to be 45,000 shillings; after expenses, the figure went down to 21,000 shillings.

KAMBE's leaders recognize that they face challenges in building the capacity of the organization. It's still a very young organization, and yet it has built a very significant membership, becoming by far the most representative organization in the boda-boda industry. Nevertheless, its procedures and administrative capacity are yet to meet the needs of such a large number of members.

Furthermore, there is confusion among boda-boda riders about the relationship between their democratically elected representative workplace organization and the authorities (government, Kampala Capital City Authority, police) with whom they negotiate calling for the government to intervene and assert authority.

These concerns around leadership were echoed in the responses of participants within the focus groups in terms of members' experiences of the scheme. Participants expressed concerns about the instances of inconsistent, divided, and unstable leadership that is unable to provide strong and democratic representation or ensure compliance with regulations designed to provide order to the boda-boda industry.

"There are power pockets within the boda-boda industry. People form groups and create small leaders at any time they want, so you end up not knowing who is right and who is wrong"

(Boda-boda stage leaders FGD-1 2021).

Opportunities

Health Insurance

Some of the key concerns raised by informants during the focus groups conducted as part of this study included injuries sustained in accidents and poor medical treatment. In 2010, an investigation by Kampala's Mulago hospital found that 40 per cent of its trauma cases involved a motorbike taxi (Nguku, Naddumba & Kigera 2010). One focus group participant, for example, complained that riders were hated by the medical staff in hospitals and were sometimes subject to severe mistreatment to the extent of doctors performing unnecessary amputations (Stephen 2020):

"The doctors in government hospitals, especially Mulago hospital, don't take precautions to save our injured body parts like the legs or the hands, but they just cut them off by malice the moment they get to know that you are a boda-boda rider

(KAMBE Member Kanyike K).

This sentiment was expressed repeatedly by all boda-boda focus groups and in many questionnaire responses.

Boda-boda riding is risky – being prone to accidents – and yet medical care for boda-boda riders is not guaranteed. While KAMBE has a drive to provide helmets as part of its motorbike loan scheme and offers training and education around road safety, authentic good-quality helmets remain expensive, which pushes many riders to use fake helmets, which are worse than wearing nothing (Stephen 2020). This combination of factors renders boda-boda riders particularly vulnerable to injury and disability and highlights the importance of health insurance for riders, even though this issue was not identified by boda-boda riders in the

focus groups as a particular concern. At present there is no medical insurance scheme in Uganda that covers workers in the Informal Economy.

A private health scheme for selected boda-boda riders has managed to link individual boda-boda riders to two insurance providers who offer coverage for riders' accidents, an ambulance company that responds in the case of crashes, and insurance in the instance of bike theft. To work towards more systematic health insurance for boda-boda riders, ATGWU is eager to link savings schemes such as the KAMBE SACCO to other governmental financial support. "We are working with NSSF to see a product for the Informal Economy in general starting to save for medical insurance. NSSF is right now working out that product and working our partners." (Moses Musiitwa, Case Study Research lead)

This comes in the wake of the National Health Insurance Scheme Bill, passed in March 2021 in Uganda, which requires workers to contribute 4 per cent of their salary towards health insurance, to be matched by 4 per cent provided by the employer, with this then remitted to an institution. Musiitwa emphasizes, however, that anything that taps into the incomes of boda-boda riders causes resistance. In the case of this new legislation "the employers have resisted it more" (Musiitwa). It is unclear at this stage how boda-boda riders would fit within the framework of this legislation, since they are self-employed.

KAMBE has investigated what a possible health insurance package for boda-boda riders could look like. To do so it turned to Uganda's "Catholic system," which operates a number of hospitals around the country and runs a good and reliable medical chain. In 2017, the research consultant who produced this case study modelled a localized scheme in a specific town council (being the Mukono Town Council with the Mukono Church of Uganda Hospital, a private religious hospital as the service provider), for boda-boda riders. It was based on 48 boda-boda riders and their families (four people per family and children under 5) paying at a rate of UGX 10,000 per month – for this basic health care service covering common diseases (malaria, diarrhoea, and accidents at work), basic and generic drugs, childbirth for mothers and, for children below 5, major diseases. Operations and drugs were not covered.

This modelling was commissioned by an NGO called Hope of Children and Women, with the aim of testing and showing that a community scheme like this could work. A total of 60 per cent of members were able to pay their contributions on time. The scheme operated for eight months, after which time it expired but remained optional. Problems identified with this model included the following: Firstly, the hospital complained that the premium was not covering their costs. They wanted boda-boda riders to pay a higher premium. The expectation was that NGOs would supplement funding. A second issue was that not everyone paid the premiums. Thirdly, these premiums were only able to cover basic needs and not more advanced or comprehensive health services.

The KAMBE SACCO has also initiated negotiations with three institutions around health insurance for boda-boda riders; however, these negotiations have stalled or failed. In the case of one of the institutions, UAP Old Mutual, this negotiation did not work out, as boda-boda riders wanted to bring their families onboard – e.g. spouse and two children – which led Old Mutual to demand higher premiums. In contrast to the UGX 10,000 per month premium paid in the localised scheme case study that KAMBE undertook, a realistic premium for boda-boda riders stands at about UGX 100,000 per year.

KAMBE Hailing App

The failure of the KAMBE app to launch and function successfully can be considered a lost opportunity for the KAMBE association. Main barriers identified, as outlined earlier on in this report, include a lack of the necessary technical skills, a funding shortage and the fact that many boda-boda riders do not own smartphones and lack digital skills. Not only would such an app provide convenient and valuable banking and financial services, it could attract new membership to the association, help sustain current membership and support the financial and leadership sustainability of the Association, as expressed in the words of one member of the Executive:

We talk about the app but failed to put it into practice, and other organizations took on our plan. Since we can't pay our executive members, some of them are leaving us for other organizations that have apps. SafeBoda took away some of our big leaders, offering them better pay. We used to have workshops on the idea, but even the things we talked about were not put in action. We need to be trained and supported. Some of our members don't know the app. If only we could call our members and sensitize them on how the app works, it will be better

(KAMBE Secretariat FGD-2 2021).

Identification and Visibility

From focus group discussion sessions, members expressed the need to find ways to establish the clear identification and visibility of KAMBE membership among the riders, similar to that of SafeBoda, Taxify, Uber, and other boda-boda platform companies. This, they believed, would have a major impact on some of the key issues, including the reduction of police harassment and bribery, attractiveness to potential passengers, and improved solidarity and identification among the riders, as expressed by the Secretariat:

"We have a problem with identification. If you go to another place like Kawempe, Lubaga or Mukono you can't be identified as someone from KAMBE. If we can get nice big jackets with some words on them, it would be better for easy identification"

(KAMBE Secretariat-FGD-2 2021).

KAMBE's branding could be achieved in a variety of ways, including hi-vis vests, protective motorbike jackets, helmets, or the bikes themselves. The TVS dealer, for example, will provide bespoke fuel tank branding for approximately UGX 150,000 per bike on top of the purchase price.

Training and Education

Focus group discussions with the KAMBE Executive Committee included numerous references to the need for the SACCO to provide training and education for members. Many of these were for vocational training, such as road safety and traffic regulation, or training in legal rights, how to deal with the police, etc., but there is also demand for training on personal financial management, savings, and social protection.

Lessons Learned and Recommendations

Savings as a Safety Net for Informal Economy Workers

The experience of the KAMBE SACCO highlights the importance of savings as a safety net for informal economy workers in times of emergency. During Uganda's COVID lockdown, with no other support on offer, two-thirds of the KAMBE SACCO's members withdrew their savings from the Cooperative, averaging UGX 600,000 per person, most of which was used to cover essential expenses like food to feed families. This was a lifesaver for many members through the pandemic, in a context where boda-boda riders were unable to go out and earn a living due to lockdown restrictions.

Access to Affordable Credit

Access to affordable credit, as provided by the KAMBE SACCO, can enhance the profit-earning and job security of boda-boda riders. About 60 per cent of KAMBE members rent rather than own their bikes – forfeiting up to a third of their total turnover in target fees to the bike owners. The KAMBE SACCO's low-interest motorbike loan service enables boda-boda riders to purchase their own motorbikes on loan from key partner Centenary Bank.

Building Social Solidarity across Sectors in the Informal Economy

While boda-boda riders are almost exclusively male, the vendor representation in the KAMBE association means that approximately 10,000 of KAMBE association and KAMBE SACCO members are women. By opening its membership base beyond its core constituency of male riders to those in surrounding sectors such as vendors – who sell goods and food to riders and passengers on the streets – the KAMBE SACCO has helped to build social solidarity across sectors in the informal economy and has expanded its membership base to enhance sustainability and reach.

Business and Personal Loan Services

The appeal and versatility of the KAMBE SACCO lie in the multiple suites of loan services it provides – which cover both business/income-related services (motorbike loans) and personal household functions (land, school fees, and home appliance loans). These could potentially be pivoted towards social protection, including health insurance.

Building Trust with Procedures and Processes

Building trust among members is crucial for safeguarding the long-term sustainability of savings and cooperative schemes geared towards informal workers. The KAMBE scheme highlights this challenge most emphatically. Its leadership has not succeeded in dispelling the cloud of distrust generated by its implication in local and national politics, despite the opportunity presented by the organization's strategic positioning at the grass roots. While members may start out willing to participate actively, their enthusiasm dwindles when they realize that the governance structure of the organization is compromised and they cannot be sure that any investments they make in the cooperative scheme will be protected.

As highlighted earlier, the pre-existing power dynamics within KAMBE, with their appeal to grass-roots constituencies, hold greater sway on internal governance than the SACCO precepts introduced down the line. This is one reason why it has proven difficult to administer the SACCO in line with statutory requirements. Related to this, the politicization of the bodaboda sector compromises the solidarity and self-determination objectives of the SACCO.

Clearly, merely putting a SACCO label on KAMBE has not been sufficient to transform the association's ethos and practices.

To this end, the KAMBE SACCO needs to work towards ensuring administration in line with statutory requirements – by putting formal systems and proper financial procedures in place, as well as by providing training to executives at all levels on the fundamentals of SACCO administration

There is also an opportunity here to leverage the grass-roots structure and geographical spread of the association for more democratic and inclusive outcomes. There is a degree of reflexivity among executives, an awareness that there are gaps in the way the SACCO is currently administered. Providing training to these executives at all levels – stage, parish, district and city – on the fundamentals of SACCO administration could help them appreciate the potential for the empowerment of members across the board. The numbers are favourable to growth: with over 60,000 members in the pool, it is possible to build a strong financial base from regular member contributions alone. The pandemic may have primed the executives for these changes: coming face-to-face with the heightened vulnerability of their members during the period made them realize the difference that a properly administered SACCO could have made for everyone. Supplementing leadership training with knowledge-sharing opportunities for members would help everyone understand how their contributions can enhance the prospects of the SACCO.

The Importance of Key Partnerships

As indicated earlier, KAMBE received technical and administrative support from ATGWU, the umbrella union for transport-sector workers in Uganda, to formalize its status and register as a SACCO. A key component of the support ATGWU provided was getting KAMBE involved in important labour dialogues at the local, national and international levels.

At the scheme's inception, there was the promise of state support in the form of access to government-subsidized loans for cooperative subscribers across the country.

The government soon backed out of this initiative, however, leaving SACCOs with a financing gap that could not be filled by traditional market actors. At this point, Centenary Bank, an indigenous microfinance bank with a history of funding rural development schemes, stepped in with an offer of low-interest motorbike loans for members of KAMBE and other eligible cooperatives.

In addition, KAMBE implements its occupational health and safety programme in partnership with civil society and private-sector organizations, the latter usually being bigger actors in the transport industry looking to demonstrate corporate social responsibility. The offerings include seminars on rider safety and access to free protective gear such as reflective jackets and helmets. These safety-enhancing measures are particularly important for riders who, despite the high risk of accidents on the job, often neglect to use protective gear for a variety of reasons.

The Importance of Health Partners and Schemes

Finally, in the wake of the passing of the National Health Insurance Scheme Bill and the need and demand for access to health care, including emergency assistance among boda-boda riders, KAMBE should work towards establishing discussions with the National Social Security Fund management to explore how public transport informal workers can register or contribute to NSSF and how NSSF processes can be adapted to suit the needs of the workforce.

Partnerships for Financial Viability

Apart from the registration and annual renewal fees paid by members, KAMBE generates additional income from interest on loans taken out by members. However, the revenue generated from these internal sources is insufficient to cover expenses, and the SACCO has had to supplement its resources with support from external sources. Some of the liquidity problems KAMBE is facing are related to its failure to comply with the regulations laid out in the extant national constitution and by-laws for SACCOs. However, the extent to which greater compliance with these regulations would be feasible or beneficial for cooperative members is unclear. This is because, as mentioned earlier, the boda-boda trade plied by most members is low-paying and precarious. Even though riders typically earn money on a steady basis, a plethora of job-related expenses – repayment of bank loans, remittances to motorbike owners, motorbike insurance premiums, maintenance and repairs, fuel, parking, extra-legal bribes, and contributions to other savings schemes – leaves them with significantly lower net incomes. This highlights the continuing relevance of partnerships for the viability of the SACCO.

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Interviews

Boda-boda stage leaders (2021)

Boda-boda riders (2021)

Boda-boda stage leaders (2020)

Robert (2021) Boda-boda fleet owner

Appendix 1 List of Participants

Key Informants – KII

John Mark Mwanika & ATWGU Musoke David ATWGU	05.Feb. 2021	Online Meeting
Biyinzika Agatha Register of Cooperatives —Kampala — Makindye Division	09.Feb. 2021	Online Meeting
KAMBE SACCO Account Manager -Post Bank — Ndebba	10.Feb. 2021	Online Meeting
Informant — Urban Transports Specialist	11.Feb. 2021	Office Premises/ Online Meeting
Janepher Nassali KOSTA	08.Feb. 2021	Office Premises/ Online Meeting

Focus Group Dissuasions – FGDs

Sta	Stage Workers / Coordinators – FGD-1		
1	Kawere J. Bosco	Jinja Road Zone	
2	Yiga Joseph	Kisenyi Road Zone	
3	Mukulu Edward	Mukwano Road Zone	
4	Wafulla Hassan	Wampewo Roundabout Zone	

KAMBE SACCO Secretariats – FGD-2		
1	Ajaga Siraje	Chairman
2	Kanyike Kiviri	Secretary
3	Muyimbwa Ratifu	Security Coordinator
4	Kamya Lawrence	Member
5	Sanyu Annet	Adm Secretary
6	Kategera Musa	Member

Во	Boda Boda riders < 5 years – FGD-3		
1	Kalulu Patrick	Zana Kutiske Stage	
2	Mugisha Moses	Kisenyi Stage	
3	Ssekandi Gerald	Universal Houses Stage	
4	Kalisa Salimu	Gogonya II Stage	
5	Mukibi Juma	Salaama Valley Stage	

Во	Boda Boda riders > 5 years – FGD-4		
1	Zikusokaaa Fred	Nankulabye I Stage	
2	Mukasa Luke	Naguru I Stage	
3	Kaddu Banedicto	Mengo Hill Stage	
4	Ssebaduka Ibra	Salaama Valley Stage	
4	Wasswa Vincent	Wakaliga B Stage	

No	Non- Riding Members – FGD 5		
1	Nabossa Tracy	Vendor- Drinks & Eats	
2	Alabama Hadijjah	Saloon & Boutiques	
3	Nkubuge Mike	General Trading	
4	Ssekandi Juma	Fruits Vending	
5	Mangali Samuel	General Trading	

Appendix 2 Data Collection tool

Key questions to *guide research* on ATGWU's formalization of the savings cooperatives of the boda-boda drivers in Uganda

I. Context (Desktop Review)

- Political and economic country context
- Labour market context: size and shape of the informal economy disaggregated by sex, residency, status in employment and, where possible, age
- Major risks to income security faced by informal workers disaggregated by sex, status in employment and, where possible, age
- Overview of the country's social protection system, formal and informal

II. Background & Description of the Original Informal Scheme (Desktop & KIIs)

- Establishment
 - Major actors, interests, drivers (including advocacy and strategy), and processes behind its emergence? Challenges faced
- Operations
 - National/local laws, policies, regulations that govern the scheme? Risks covered, how and why were these selected?
 - How is the scheme governed and managed? (management/leadership of the scheme: number of men, women, young persons; competence; comportment, etc.)
 - Major challenges faced
 - Role of technology in spread and administration of the scheme
- Financing and sustainability
 - How much must members contribute and what frequency of payments? Do penalties accrue if workers don't make these?
- Membership demographics and needs
 - What are the membership criteria? Are family members covered?
 - Scheme coverage, disaggregated by age, gender, income levels, geographic location [what per centage of organizational membership does this represent?]
 - Are there any sectors/groups that are underrepresented in the scheme, and why?
 - To what extent does the scheme meet the specific social protection needs of women and youth members?

- Adaptability, change over time, and comparison with other schemes
 - Major changes since inception? What has driven these? (Prompt: worker input, policy change, etc.)
 - How does the scheme compare with other forms of social insurance available to informal economy workers generally in this country?

III. Background and Description of the Restructuring Process

- Why and how was this process was initiated and implemented?
- What changes has it brought about to:
 - Structure of the scheme and the way it operates
 - The benefits it can offer
 - The extent to which the restructuring has allowed the scheme to respond to the social protection needs of the boda-boda drivers and other informal economy worker-members
 - If and how this restructuring has facilitated a change or broadening in the composition of scheme membership
 - Whether this has had any impact on the ability of the scheme to meet the social protection needs of youth and women members in particular
- What challenges have been encountered and what and lessons have been learned in this process
- Has technology facilitated this restructuring if so, how?

IV. How Can This Restructuring Process Be Taken Forward?

- How far has this process gotten to date, where is it going in the future, and how it is going to get there?
- How will the scheme be administered, managed, and financed in its restructured state?
- What infrastructure needs to be put in place for this to happen?
- What support and inputs from various sectors [Government, private sector, or other hybrid/worker lead schemes] will be required? And from where and whom specifically in each of these sectors?
- How can we ensure that this process occurs in such a way that the social protection needs of youth and women informal economy workers are taken into consideration?

V. Broader Support for the Scheme

- Linkages and support: Are there opportunities for the scheme to link up with, or receive any kind of support through:
 - The state
 - The private sector (including both for-profit/business-driven schemes as well as NGO/civil society non-profit initiatives)
 - Informal economy worker-led or hybrid social protection initiatives.

- Benefits offered through these: If so, with each of the above, how would such a linkage/relationship be of benefit to this scheme?
 - Think in terms of enhancing sustainability, access to resources and infrastructure, making the scheme more robust and responsive to informal economy workers' needs, and the needs of women and youth in particular
- Positioning: Where would these opportunities be located?
 - In the case of the state, which state programs could this link into? In the case of the private sector, which specific private schemes and at what level of these schemes?
- Inputs required: What relationships, processes, systems, infrastructure, and resources would be required to facilitate such a linkage?
- In general, what kinds of support could/should the government be providing to the scheme and informal economy workers' welfare?

VI. Informal Worker Experiences of the Scheme – Members (FGDs/Interviews and Mini-Survey)

- Demographics of respondents
 - Sector, status in employment, average earnings, age, and sex
- Access and expectations
 - Reasons for joining, not joining or dropping out and joining another [probe for dates – when they joined, length of membership and how workers found out about the scheme]
 - What were your expectations going into this scheme? Did your experiences as a member meet these?
 - If you joined another scheme after leaving this one, how would you compare your experiences with both, which is better and why? Would anything make you rejoin this scheme?
- Benefits and needs
 - Benefits offered, amount members pay [is this affordable], dependents covered?
 - How has the scheme benefited you/what aspects of the scheme have you found most useful? (Probe for financial, material, social or other)
 - Do you feel that the scheme addresses your social protection needs as a woman/ youth? (What would make this scheme more attractive to these categories and to the needs of others, i.e. workers more generally?)

VII.Impact of Covid (KIIs and FGDs/Interviews)

- How has COVID impacted the scheme in terms of both withdrawals, deposits, and general management?
- For Union members who have withdrawn funds what per centage of their total savings has been withdrawn and do you know what members have used these savings for?
- How do members feel about having had access to savings during this time of crisis?
 Has it made any kind of difference for them? Has having access to this savings scheme
 during the COVID crisis had any kind of impact on how members view social insurance
 and social protection more generally?

VIII. Lessons Learned (KIIs).

- What key lessons have been learned in terms of what works and what doesn't from the initial establishment and restructuring of this scheme in Uganda?
- What could have been done better? Is there still scope for improvement in this regard? What are the main enablers required?
- How can these lessons be incorporated as the restructuring process is taken forward?
- Can/should this scheme be used (more or less) as a template for organizing informal worker savings cooperatives in other contexts/countries, and/or as a way to use savings cooperatives as the entry point into other social insurance services and systems?

IX. Analysis of the Scheme Against Elemental Criteria (Based on All Data)

- To what extent does the scheme match the priority needs of informal workers?
- Do the experiences/impacts of the scheme vary for male versus female workers, and younger versus older people?
- Are the reasons for joining, not joining, or dropping out of the scheme different for men/women and older/younger workers?
- In what ways has the scheme managed to build ownership and trust from its membership?
- How is the financing of the scheme suited to the needs and capacities of informal workers more generally? How is financial sustainability balanced with this? What is the impact of this balance on scheme design and accessibility?
- How does the scheme deal with administrative barriers to access?
- To what extent are education, information, and awareness-raising built into the scheme? To what extent is the scheme integrated into a wider set of services offered by the organization or other stakeholders?
- To what extent is the scheme monitored and evaluated to detect changes in member priorities and needs



About WIEGO

Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO) is a global network focused on empowering the working poor, especially women, in the informal economy to secure their livelihoods. We believe all workers should have equal economic opportunities, rights, protection and voice. WIEGO promotes change by improving statistics and expanding knowledge on the informal economy, building networks and capacity among informal worker organizations and, jointly with the networks and organizations, influencing local, national and international policies. Visit www.wiego.org.



About StreetNet International

StreetNet International is an alliance of street vendors. It was launched in Durban, South Africa, in November 2002. Membership-based organizations (unions, cooperatives or associations) directly organizing street vendors, market vendors and/or hawkers among their members are entitled to affiliate to StreetNet International. The aim of StreetNet is to promote the exchange of information and ideas on critical issues facing street vendors, market vendors and hawkers (i.e., mobile vendors) and on practical organizing and advocacy strategies. Visit http://streetnet.org.za/