



ARTICLE

The fast and the victorious: Mobility, motorcyclists and political mobilisation in Uganda

Carsten Möller  | Martin Doevenspeck

Department of Geography, University of Bayreuth, Bayreuth, Germany

Correspondence

Carsten Möller, Department of Geography, University of Bayreuth, Universitaetsstrasse 30, 95447 Bayreuth, Germany.

Email: carsten.moeller@uni-bayreuth.de

Funding information

Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, Grant/Award Number: EXC 2052/1-390713894

Abstract

As in other African countries, activists in Uganda play an important role during political campaigns. Monetary handouts, called ‘transport refund’, often facilitate their participation. Although these handouts often cover more than just the costs of transportation, the label indicates that mobility is seen as an important financial item for campaign activists. Despite this, little has been published about the role that mobility plays in the processes of political mobilisation in Africa. This article therefore examines mobility as an important yet neglected aspect of political mobilisation by evaluating the role of motorcycle taxi riders during elections in Uganda. Usually referred to as Boda-Bodas, they are essential short-distance transport providers in the country. Beyond that, being Boda-Boda has become a way of survival, a form of social organisation, and a promise that every youth can make a living if he dares to face the dangers of the country’s accident-prone roads. Politicians have since discovered the potential of these bold young men and recruit them *en masse* ahead of elections. Based on fieldwork conducted between 2018 and 2022, this paper examines the unique mobilities inherent in Boda-Bodas. It finds that characteristic mobilities enable their movements as transport providers and argues that these mobilities also enhance political rallies. Boda-Boda motorcycle riders have therefore become a crucial activist group during political campaigns in Uganda.

KEYWORDS

Africa, mobility, political mobilisation, qualitative research, rallies

1 | INTRODUCTION

The city of Mbarara, home to Uganda’s long-time President Museveni, is a no-go area for opposition presidential candidates. Like others before him, presidential candidate Patrick Amuriat encountered a police roadblock during the 2020/21 campaigns as his convoy tried to enter the city. When attempts to circumvent it failed, he jumped on the back of a motorcycle taxi and disappeared. Using the motorcycle to break through another checkpoint, and knocking down the district police commander, he resurfaced in the city centre, where his supporters cheered him in surprise (CroozeFM, 2020).

This is an open access article under the terms of the [Creative Commons Attribution](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/) License, which permits use, distribution and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

The information, practices and views in this article are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the Royal Geographical Society (with IBG). © 2023 The Authors. *Area* published by John Wiley & Sons Ltd on behalf of Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers).

This incident drew media attention to the candidate but also highlights the political potential of motorcycle taxi riders colloquially known as Boda-Bodas.

As transport providers for millions of Ugandans within the public transport system of the country, Boda-Bodas are well studied (Gamberini, 2014; Goodfellow & Mukwaya, 2021; Wanume et al., 2019). Likewise, their participation in political campaigns has been mentioned repeatedly (Doherty, 2017; Raynor, 2014; Spooner et al., 2020). Mostly consisting of side notes, however, these mentions are generally not specific as to the reasons for their regular involvement, and only Titeca (2014) highlights the importance of their social networks for political participation. Furthermore, the role of mobility within political mobilisation in Africa has also only been hinted at so far (see Bowles et al., 2020, p. 953; Paget, 2022, p. 227). In this article, we therefore delve into how mobility is a major propellant for activist participation that enables Boda-Bodas to support campaigns and makes them an important political asset.

Focusing on ‘mobilities’, we analyse how and why Boda-Bodas are mobile and how this defines their role as a distinct group of campaign activists. This article is thereby contributing to an expanding set of literature that examines the relationship between mobility and political power (Bærenholdt, 2013; Paterson, 2014; Rau, 2011), as well as to the study of party mobilisation (Lockwood et al., 2022) and campaign activists in sub-Saharan Africa (Paget, 2019a). To do so, we analyse the involvement of Boda-Boda motorcyclists in the production of political rallies. By building on the work of Dan Paget (e.g. Paget, 2019b), we examine how Boda-Bodas make use of physical movements, mobile practice and representations of mobility to become ‘effective campaign activists’ (Bob-Milliar, 2012).

Our methodological approach consists of (semi-)structured and narrative interviews, informal conversations and observation. We draw on data gathered during several research periods in Uganda between March 2018 and September 2022. In total, we conducted 150 interviews with politicians, Boda-Boda riders, journalists and state officials in nine different districts in all four regions of the country and in the capital, Kampala. Additionally, we observed campaign practices during the 2021 general elections by following politicians from the sub-county level up to the presidential level during their campaign activities. The collected data was later coded and processed using MAXQDA software.

In what follows, the paper introduces Boda-Boda motorcycle taxi riders in Uganda before outlining the mobility lens used to develop a broader understanding of the group's mobility and the role of mobility within political mobilisation. Based on this, it describes and analyses Boda-Boda participation in political rallies in Uganda.

2 | BODA-BODA IN UGANDA: MOBILE AND MOBILISED

Boda-Boda is a very good business. And Boda-Boda has given us some pride. (Boda-Boda leader, eastern Uganda)

From 1991 to 2020, Uganda's population doubled to more than 40 million people (Osiebe, 2020, p. 90), with more than 2 million inhabitants in its capital, Kampala (UNBS, 2016). As public transport in the city is largely based on minibuses (Goodfellow & Mukwaya, 2021; Siya et al., 2019, p. S134), roads are frequently congested and fast motorcycle taxis, called Boda-Bodas, have become popular. Customers value them for their availability and ability to bypass the daily traffic, while in the rural areas they ensure access to villages that are not connected to bus services or to the road network at all (Divall et al., 2021). In some places, using a Boda-Boda is the only alternative to walking (Öbom, 2020, p. 13), making it the most widespread form of short-distance transport in Uganda, and an important economic sector, employing almost 3% of the county's population in 2014 (UNBS, 2016, p. 29). Recently, however, Boda-Bodas have been criticised for disobeying traffic rules, causing accidents (Siya et al., 2019; Tumwesigye et al., 2016) and are suspected of harbouring criminal elements (Wanume et al., 2019, p. 2).

Boda-Bodas possess a high level of internal organisation, with the so-called ‘stage’ as the smallest but most important entity, and umbrella associations uniting riders at local and regional levels (Goodfellow, 2015, p. 138). A stage consists of 15–200 riders who share a common parking space. It provides them with basic services such as savings and loans groups and with mediators in case of disputes (Raynor, 2014, p. 32). Associations or cooperatives function as umbrella groups for the Boda-Bodas of a specific area. They protect the interests of their members in relation to the authorities, as well as to other Boda-Boda groups, solve internal disputes and gazette stages (Spooner et al., 2020, p. 52f.).

Due to their organisation and common interests, Boda-Bodas show a strong cohesion (Kisaalita & Sentongo-Kibalama, 2007, p. 354). This sense of brotherhood is strongest amongst riders of one stage but even riders who do not know each other will help each other against police persecution, or in the case of accidents (Doherty, 2017, p. 205). Occasionally, Boda-Bodas can also unite to pursue common interests, such as the rejection of state regulation or taxation (Daily Monitor, 2020).

In 2001, Boda-Bodas made political headlines for the first time when a motorcyclist transported President Museveni to his election nomination ceremony (Goodfellow, 2015, p. 141). Five years later, after the reintroduction of multiparty elections, they became activists during the campaigns. The general elections in 2011 finally saw their breakthrough when convoys of several hundred Boda-Bodas became a common sight (Interview, Crispin Kaheru, civil rights activist). In the following elections, in 2016 and 2021, their role expanded, and Boda-Bodas were mobilised to carry out diverse tasks for candidates of all political parties.

3 | THE POLITICS OF BODA-BODA MOBILITY

Although primarily transport providers, Boda-Bodas also use their bikes for political participation. In what follows, we outline our approach to the politics of mobility, arguing that a mobility lens that aims to provide a deeper understanding of Boda-Boda mobilisation needs to look beyond the tempo-spatial relocation process of physical mobility and to inquire into the propelling factors that enable it (Sheller, 2011).

The mobility paradigm (Sheller & Urry, 2006) takes the multiple connections between physical movement, society and power into account (Hannam et al., 2006) and recognises mobility as a constituting element, as well as a result of social institutions and practices (Sheller & Urry, 2006). We follow Cresswell (2010) in understanding mobility as the interplay of physical movement, representations of mobility and mobile practice. Physical movement as the basic entity of mobility is the measurable and mappable act of relocating from one place to another through time and space and is described as the 'spatialization of time and temporalization of space' (Cresswell, 2006, p. 4). Mobility also has multiple meanings and reasons (Adey, 2017) and these representations include symbolic or ideological attributions attached to certain movements. So, the same movement can be experienced quite differently as either a recreational hike or a commute. Such discursive representations of mobility also affect policies and lay the foundation for the manifestation of the mobile in our landscapes (Jensen, 2014). As a result, they influence the way we look at a certain movement but also the way we move ourselves (Cresswell, 2010). Understanding how mobility is practised refers to the means used to conduct the physical movement but also the *modus operandi* (Adey, 2017, p. 3). Through physical mobility, representations and mobile practice, mobility ultimately becomes a physical but meaningful and experienceable entity (Cresswell, 2006).

Also Leese and Wittendorp (2017), for the security/mobility nexus, have explored the extent to which physical movement, practices of mobility and stasis, and the representation of im/mobilities are political. Access, reach and pace of mobility are already tied to questions of social inequality (Manderscheid, 2016). The different interests in representations of mobility and immobility need to be understood just as much as the social and economic conditions of different practices, motivations and routes of mobility.

In what follows, and by taking political rallies as a case, we empirically contextualise the nexus of mobility and political mobilisation by analysing the politics of Boda-Boda mobility. To exemplify how Boda-Boda mobility has become political, we analyse Boda-Bodas' participation in rallies, where they are a crucial canvassing instrument in many electoral systems in Africa (Paget, 2019b).

4 | MOVING RALLIES

They are very good. You know they have this feeling of motorcades for state visits. Then [also as] outriders, and therefore they are very good for politics. For political visibility. I have also used them for transportation, because they can navigate the badly done roads. (Salaamu Musumba, vice chairperson FDC)

Since 2006, the use of Boda-Bodas in Uganda has spread all over the country. Likewise, Boda-Boda mobilisation has diversified, and new techniques have emerged during each election cycle. Over the course of our research, politicians and riders mentioned multiple different uses for Boda-Bodas, ranging from gathering and distributing information, participation in rallies and transporting voters, to their use as a violent crowd against political opponents.

While all these tactics are applied separately, we found that political rallies contain several of them within a temporally and locally confined setting. Therefore, we use the political rally to show how their mobility provides Boda-Boda riders with a distinct set of capabilities that sets them apart as an important group of political activists in Uganda.

Despite the growing importance of social media, face-to-face campaigning remains the most common form of electoral canvassing in Africa (Paget, 2020). Politicians in Uganda usually conduct rallies in order to physically engage with

as many voters as possible within a short time. When asked why they were using rallies as a means of campaigning, politicians above the sub-county level repeatedly mentioned that the size of their constituency made door-to-door canvassing impossible. Although the intensity of the engagement remains comparatively weak, rallies allow for hundreds or thousands of participants at once, while the cost per engagement remains low (Paget, 2019b). According to Paget (2020, p. 14), almost 60% of Ugandans attended at least one political rally, which is the third highest percentage in sub-Saharan Africa (see also Conroy-Krutz, 2016, p. 522). The short period assigned to political campaigns ahead of elections in Uganda further contributes to the popularity of rallies. With only 2 months of campaigning time and a limited number of attendees in the 2020/2021 campaigns, candidates needed to maximise exposure by often holding several rallies a day. Despite strict COVID-19 regulations and widespread police harassment (Cheeseman, 2021), opposition candidates relied on rallies due to limited access to the state-controlled TV and radio landscape (Abrahamsen & Bareebe, 2016).

4.1 | The role of Boda-Bodas

Rallies in Uganda usually follow the same pattern. A few days before the event, candidates mobilise advertisers, activists and mobile PA systems to announce the rally within the vicinity of the town, village or neighbourhood (Krönke et al., 2022; Paget, 2020). On the day of the event, the politician then drives to the venue, accompanied by a motorcade of supporters. This aims at attracting the attention of the residents and acts as a show of force (Paget, 2020, p. 22). Upon arrival at the designated venue, musicians or comedians sometimes then set the mood for the political speeches (Paget, 2019b, p. 459). At rallies of presidential or parliamentary candidates, lower-level party candidates are often invited to give introductory speeches to profit from the public interest in national candidates while also acting as intermediaries between the local population and the party dignitaries. After the appearance of the main speaker, the rally regularly finishes with the distribution of gifts and further entertainment (Conroy-Krutz, 2016, p. 533). This cycle can be repeated several times a day, as politicians often conduct multiple rallies consecutively.

Boda-Boda riders play an important role in the 'production' (Paget, 2020, p. 1) of these rallies as Raynor (2014, p. 43) and Titeca (2014, p. 28) have indicated previously. During interviews and observations, we noticed four distinct tasks that Boda-Bodas perform over the different stages of a rally: advertising, participating in the motorcade, transportation and attending the speeches. Although Boda-Bodas are not the only activist group mobilised to support rallies, as Titeca (2014) has shown, we found that they are omnipresent at rallies of both the incumbent and opposition candidates.

Prior to the rally, Boda-Bodas are hired to advertise the event. This can take place in the form of talks to customers and bystanders, the exhibition of posters or by carrying small PA systems on their motorbikes.

I could mobilise them before I go for my rally. [...]. Go and inform people that now I'm coming to town. [...]. So, they would be in front of me. Going and mobilising people: My candidate is going to this place, he is coming to talk to us and to sell his manifesto to us. So, they would mobilise the parish. The Bodas [...] who are ahead of me with my photos, my portrait, with my manifesto, distributing it to people, so that when I now go, I get many people. (Politician, eastern Uganda)

As soon as the politician arrives in the area, Boda-Bodas are called to take part in the motorcade (Paget, 2020, p. 25). For this, they wear branded T-shirts and carry flags, posters and stickers of the respective candidate (see Figure 1). Additionally, they perform stunts on their motorbikes and honk to further draw attention to the motorcade. '[W]hen they are moving with their motorcycles and blowing those horns, tweet tweet, and call out his names and other things. They are very good at making mobilisation for people' (Boda-Boda leader, northern Uganda). After reaching the venue of the rally, Boda-Boda riders can be assigned two different roles. While some might take the role of claqueurs who cheer the speech of the politician, others can be tasked to roam the streets to conduct further advertising and carry spectators to the venue for free. 'We carry people to go and attend in the rallies. So, it's mainly attending the rallies and carrying people and mobilising to support' (Boda-Boda leader, Kampala). If the organising politicians holds further rallies in close proximity on the same day, the mobilised Boda-Boda riders might follow him to the next location and re-enact the same strategies. If the next rally is far away, however, Boda-Bodas from that area are usually mobilised to make use of their local embeddedness and to avoid conflict between Boda-Boda groups.

Rallies conducted by presidential and parliamentary candidates with larger financial resources usually entail all or most of the four Boda-Boda activities. Others, including lower-level candidates, often have to limit their participation to the motorcade, as the most frequent action.



FIGURE 1 Boda-Boda riders spearheading a rally in Soroti, 2020. *Source:* Inachu Sarah.

4.2 | Rallying Boda-Boda mobility

Advertising, participation in the motorcade and transportation are multilocal and on-the-move activities that depend on motorised physical mobility. For advertising a rally, Boda-Bodas have to rely on their motorcycle and on their experience as taxi drivers to distribute information. They know how to attract attention and use local knowledge on where to find and engage the people interested in attending the rally. Furthermore, Boda-Bodas carrying a PA system are cheaper than lorries and are able to reach neighbourhoods and villages inaccessible by car. Both factors are crucial as rally-intensive campaigns require large investments in both labour and mobility (see Bowles et al., 2020; Paget, 2020).

As the motorcade is naturally a mobile event, supporters taking part in it have to be able to keep up with the moving car of the politician. Especially when time constraints force politicians to conduct several rallies a day, motorcades move quickly and require a motorised entourage. Compared to supporters ferried by bus or lorry, Boda-Bodas can not only move at the necessary speed, but also honk, cheer and perform stunts individually, granting them a high visibility. In case of a police roadblock or confrontation with rival sides, Boda-Bodas can easily disperse and reassemble, using side roads and footpaths (see also Cheeseman, 2021).

After the motorcade has reached its destination, the rally turns into a stationary event, whereby spectators assemble to listen to the entertainment and political messages. To reduce transportation costs and increase participation, politicians make use of Boda-Bodas to transport people to the rally venue. Compared to buses, they move independently and can carry individuals or small groups immediately and spontaneously, while continuing to advertise the rally and the politician.

To improve rallies, politicians use not only the physical mobility of Boda-Bodas but also the distinct ways they practise movements. By cheering, performing stunts and engaging with the people they transport, Boda-Boda riders greatly contribute to the perceived impact of a rally. 'If I come with my thousand Boda-Bodas all people will come out [...] to see, what is going on and taking place. Another one [comes], because we carry passengers, we keep on communicating. [...] Then one can change his heart. [...] So it has a big influence' (Boda-Boda leader, Kampala).

Beyond that, representations of Boda-Boda mobility further encourage the use of Boda-Bodas at political rallies. Being fast and available for providing mass transport, Boda-Bodas possess characteristics that mobilisers require in their agents (Paget, 2022, p. 224). Additionally, the reputation of Boda-Bodas as daredevil riders draws spectators to the motorcade. Finally, politicians and the electorate associate Boda-Boda participation in rallies with political success. 'The more

Boda-Bodas you have rallying the idea, the higher chances of winning the election you have' (Politician, eastern Uganda). This is important because canvassing in clientelist systems often aims at influencing discourses in order to make the candidate appear powerful and likely to win (Paget, 2019b, p. 461).

Although Boda-Bodas are widely seen as an effective and relatively cheap asset, mobilising large numbers still comes with significant costs as Boda-Bodas have to be compensated for the income they would have generated during the time they spent at the rally (Golooba-Mutebi, 2017, p. 4f.). Rallies of presidential and parliamentary candidates can include up to several hundred Boda-Bodas and hiring one rider usually costs between 10,000 and 30,000 UGX (\$2.5–7.5) per event. These costs appear to favour wealthier and incumbent candidates (for Ghana, see Brierley & Nathan, 2022), who mostly belong to the ruling National Resistance Movement party. However, the fact that Boda-Bodas often demand less from opposition candidates ensures a more equal distribution of their mobilising potential.

To be mobilised for rallies, Boda-Bodas also need to be available and approachable. Their organisation is key to this. Therefore, it is not surprising that politicians stated that 'the Boda-Bodas are always more organised than these other market vendors and the like' (State official, northern Uganda). Such internal organisation mainly consists of stages and associations that act as moorings and organisational institutions but also act as contact points for mobilisers in search of activists. The Boda-Boda leadership thereby functions as an intermediary, similar to brokers in the works of Bowles et al. (2020) and Lockwood (2022). Being easily approachable, Boda-Boda leaders can quickly assemble the available riders of their stage or association. Although such structures can be reproduced by any other activist groups, the high 'mobility capital' (Kaufmann et al., 2004) remains as a distinct advantage of Boda-Boda riders.

5 | CONCLUSION

'Political mobilisation in sub-Saharan Africa is conducted with striking ingenuity' (Paget, 2019a, p. 16) and the incorporation of motorcycle taxis into rallies in Uganda is no exception. To understand the role of Boda-Bodas, we studied their participation through the lens of mobility. During rallies, Boda-Bodas perform various tasks that meet politicians' demand for visibility, transport and mobilisation. Thus, they effectively modernise the most important campaign activity in Uganda. In addition to physical mobility, representations of Boda-Boda mobility and specific mobile practices enable them to advertise, transport people and accompany motorcades. Our case study confirms that even a wider definition of mobility needs to be understood within the 'larger material and symbolic regimes' (D'Andrea et al., 2011, p. 158) that enable it. Such regimes include physical objectivities, subjective characteristics and related discourses. Objectivities can be infrastructures and vehicles but also institutions like traffic rules and unions, while subjectivities involve the characteristics, histories and positions of mobile individuals. We have shown that discourses are essential for creating representations of mobility and shaping mobile practice (Manderscheid, 2014, p. 192). Surrounding regimes therefore interact and decisively influence mobility, as they are major incubators for representations of mobility, mobile practice and thus physical movement.

Our research has further shown that the participation of large numbers of Boda-Boda riders impacts on how rallies are conducted in Uganda, transforming them from a stationary to a highly mobile event. However, their participation has also created a dependency on one group of activists. This has caused some lock-in effects for politicians to the point where it has become almost mandatory to hire Boda-Bodas for a successful rally. For the riders, being mobilised provides them with additional income but also leads to attempts to form party-affiliated Boda-Boda groups. Consequently, the political rally also serves as an example of how Boda-Boda mobility has effectively become politicised through a mobility/mobilisation nexus characterised by the increased mobility of campaign practices (Paget, 2020) and the large-scale mobilisation of mobile activists.

Thus, the mobility of a group contributes to their political versatility but also their likeliness to become mobilised. The existence of such a nexus within the Boda-Boda participation in rallies, however, hints at the need for further work on the impact of mobility on political processes in Africa. So far, mobility is rarely examined beyond its role in transportation in the context of political activism and campaigning. Hence, knowledge of its impacts on elections and patronage networks as well as public transport remains scarce.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work was supported by Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (grant number EXC 2052/1 –390713894). Open Access funding enabled and organized by Projekt DEAL.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

Data available on request due to privacy/ethical restrictions. The data that support the findings of this study are available on request from the corresponding author. The data are not publicly available due to privacy or ethical restrictions.

ORCID

Carsten Möller  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6714-9307>

REFERENCES

- Abrahamsen, R. & Bareebe, G. (2016) Uganda's 2016 elections: Not even faking it anymore. *African Affairs*, 115(461), 751–765. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adw056>
- Adey, P. (2017) *Mobility*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Bærenholdt, J.O. (2013) Governmobility: The powers of mobility. *Mobilities*, 8(1), 20–34. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2012.747754>
- Bob-Milliari, G.M. (2012) Political party activism in Ghana: Factors influencing the decision of the politically active to join a political party. *Democratization*, 19(4), 668–689. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2011.605998>
- Bowles, J., Larreguy, H. & Liu, S. (2020) How weakly institutionalized parties monitor brokers in developing democracies: Evidence from post-conflict Liberia. *American Journal of Political Science*, 64(4), 952–967. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12515>
- Brierley, S. & Nathan, N.L. (2022) Motivating the machine: Which brokers do parties pay? *The Journal of Politics*, 84(3), 1539–1555. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1086/717185>
- Cheeseman, N. (2021) *Managing elections under Covid-19 pandemic conditions: The case of Uganda*. Strömsborg, Sweden: International IDEA. Available from: <https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/managing-elections-under-covid-19-pandemic-conditions-the-case-of-uganda-en.pdf>
- Conroy-Krutz, J. (2016) Electoral campaigns as learning opportunities: Lessons from Uganda. *African Affairs*, 115(460), 516–540. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adw029>
- Cresswell, T. (2006) *On the move: Mobility in the modern Western world*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Cresswell, T. (2010) Towards a politics of mobility. In: Hvattum, M., Brenna, B. & Larsen, J. (Eds.) *Routes, roads and landscapes*. London, UK: Routledge.
- CroozeFM. (2020) *Presidential candidate Patrick Amurita Oboi and his 'boda guy' in trouble for knocking Mbarara DPC, 4 December*. Available from: <https://croozefm.com/presidential-candidate-patrick-amurita-oboi-and-his-boda-guy-in-trouble-for-knocking-mbarara-dpc/>
- Daily Monitor. (2020) Police foil boda boda protest. *Daily Monitor*, 26 June. Available from: <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/news/national/police-foil-boda-boda-protest-1896726>
- D'Andrea, A., Ciolfi, L. & Gray, B. (2011) Methodological challenges and innovations in mobilities research. *Mobilities*, 6(2), 149–160. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2011.552769>
- Divall, D., Kureya, T., Bishop, T., Barber, C., Green, C. & Clark, S. (2021) The potential role of mobile phone technology in rural motorcycle and three-wheeler taxi services in Africa. *Transportation Planning and Technology*, 44(1), 30–44. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03081060.2020.1851446>
- Doherty, J. (2017) Life (and limb) in the fast-lane: Disposable people as infrastructure in Kampala's Boda Boda industry. *Critical African Studies*, 9(2), 192–209. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21681392.2017.1317457>
- Gamberini, G.L. (2014) Boda Boda: The impact of motorbike taxi service in rural Uganda. *Inquiries Journal*, 6(11), 136–153. Available from: <http://www.inquiriesjournal.com/articles/942/5/boda-boda-the-impact-of-motorbike-taxi-service-in-rural-uganda>
- Golooba-Mutebi, F. (2017) *The cost of politics in Uganda: Background paper*. London, UK: Westminster Foundation for Democracy. Available from: <https://www.wfd.org/what-we-do/resources/cost-politics-uganda>
- Goodfellow, T. (2015) Taming the 'rogue' sector: Studying state effectiveness in Africa through informal transport politics. *Comparative Politics*, 47(2), 127–147. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.5129/001041515814224462>
- Goodfellow, T. & Mukwaya, P. (2021) *The political economy of public transport in greater Kampala: Movers, spoilers and prospects for reform*. Kampala, Uganda: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.
- Hannam, K., Sheller, M. & Urry, J. (2006) Editorial: Mobilities, immobilities and moorings. *Mobilities*, 1(1), 1–22. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450100500489189>
- Jensen, A. (2014) Power and representations of mobility: From the nexus between emotional and sensuous embodiment and discursive and ideational construction. In: Murray, L. & Upstone, S. (Eds.) *Researching and representing mobilities: Transdisciplinary encounters*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 21–38.
- Kaufmann, V., Bergman, M.M. & Joye, D. (2004) Motility: Mobility as capital. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 28(4), 745–756. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0309-1317.2004.00549.x>
- Kisaalita, W. & Sentongo-Kibalama, J. (2007) Delivery of urban transport in developing countries: The case for the motorcycle taxi service (Boda-Boda) operators of Kampala. *Development Southern Africa*, 24(2), 345–357. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03768350701327319>

- Krönke, M., Lockwood, S.J. & Mattes, R. (2022) Party footprints in Africa: Measuring local party presence across the continent. *Party Politics*, 28(2), 208–222. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1177/13540688211008352>
- Leese, M. & Wittendorp, S. (Eds.). (2017) *New approaches to conflict analysis. Security/mobility: Politics of movement*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.
- Lockwood, S.J. (2022) Protest brokers and the technology of mobilization: Evidence from South Africa. *Comparative Political Studies*, 55(4), 628–656. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1177/00104140211024285>
- Lockwood, S.J., Krönke, M. & Mattes, R. (2022) Party structures and organization building in Africa. *Party Politics*, 28(2), 203–207. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1177/13540688211041038>
- Manderscheid, K. (2014) Criticising the solitary mobile subject: Researching relational mobilities and reflecting on mobile methods. *Mobilities*, 9(2), 188–219. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2013.830406>
- Manderscheid, K. (2016) Mobile Ungleichheiten. Eine sozial- und infrastrukturelle Differenzierung des Mobilitätstheorems. *Österreichische Zeitschrift Für Soziologie*, 41(1), 71–96. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11614-016-0192-z>
- Öbom, A. (2020) Boda Bodas and painted exclusion in Western Uganda. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 29(4), 1–25. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.53228/njas.v29i4.564>
- Osiebe, G. (2020) The ghetto president and presidential challenger in Uganda. *Africa Spectrum*, 55(1), 86–99. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002039720916085>
- Paget, D. (2019a) Election campaigns and political mobilization in Africa. In: Thompson, W.R. (Ed.) *Oxford research encyclopedias*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Paget, D. (2019b) The rally-intensive campaign: A distinct form of electioneering in sub-Saharan Africa and beyond. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 24(4), 444–464. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161219847952>
- Paget, D. (2020) Campaign modernization without mediatization: Capitalizing rallies and parties. *Political Science Association (PSA) International Annual Conference, Edinburgh, April 2020, (Cancelled Due to COVID-19)*.
- Paget, D. (2022) Lone organizers: Opposition party-building in hostile places in Tanzania. *Party Politics*, 28(2), 223–235. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1177/13540688211041034>
- Paterson, M. (2014) Governing mobilities, mobilising carbon. *Mobilities*, 9(4), 570–584. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2014.961260>
- Rau, H. (2011) Das neue Mobilitätsparadigma als Regulierungsansatz für die Wechselbeziehungen von Umwelt, Politik und Gesellschaft [the new mobility paradigm as a regulatory approach to the interrelationships of environment, politics and society]. In: Kruse, S. & Baerlocher, B. (Eds.) *Natur und Gesellschaft: Sozialwissenschaftliche Perspektiven auf die Regulation und Gestaltung einer Wechselbeziehung*. Ed. Gesowip: Basel, Switzerland, pp. 93–128.
- Raynor, B. (2014) *Informal transportation in Uganda: A case study of the Boda Boda*. Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection.
- Sheller, M. (2011) Mobility. *Sociopedia.Isa*, 1–12. Available from: <https://www.isaportal.org/resources/resource/mobility/>
- Sheller, M. & Urry, J. (2006) The new mobilities paradigm. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 38(2), 207–226. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1068/a37268>
- Siya, A., Ssentongo, B., Abila, D.B., Kato, A.M., Onyuth, H., Mutekanga, D. et al. (2019) Perceived factors associated with Boda-Boda (motorcycle) accidents in Kampala, Uganda. *Traffic Injury Prevention*, 20(sup2), S133–S136. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/15389588.2019.1658084>
- Spooner, D., Mwanika, J. & Manga, E. (2020) *Kampala bus rapid transit: Understanding Kampala's paratransit market structure*. Manchester, UK: Global Labour Institute.
- Titeca, K. (2014) The commercialization of Uganda's 2011 election in the urban informal economy: Money, Boda-bodas and market vendors. In: Perrot, S., Makara, S., Lafargue, J. & Fouéré, M.-A. (Eds.) *Elections in a hybrid regime: Revisiting the 2011 Ugandan polls*. Kampala, Uganda: Fountain Publishers.
- Tumwesigye, N.M., Atuyambe, L.M. & Kobusingye, O.K. (2016) Factors associated with injuries among commercial motorcyclists: Evidence from a matched case control study in Kampala City, Uganda. *PLoS One*, 11(2), e0148511. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0148511>
- UNBS. (2016) *National population and housing census 2014*. Main report. Kampala.
- Wanume, P., Nduhura, A., Mugerwa, B., Bagambe, H. & Ninsiima, J. (2019) *The dangerous Boda Boda transport mode: Mitigating an impending war on the roads in a transforming city? Case of Kampala City*. Available from: <http://umispace.umi.ac.ug/handle/20.500.12305/401>

How to cite this article: Möller, C. & Doevenspeck, M. (2023) The fast and the victorious: Mobility, motorcyclists and political mobilisation in Uganda. *Area*, 55, 399–406. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12872>