# A QUALITATIVE STUDY ON THE LIVED EXPERIENCES OF YOUNG ENTREPRENEURS PARTICIPATING IN THE FUTURISTIC UBER BUSINESS MODEL.

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# **DECLARATION**

"I hereby declare that this proposal submitted for the Master of Arts Degree in Sociology at the
University of Nairobi is my own original work and not a duplicate of any other scholar's work
However, I have acknowledged the contribution of other scholars in this paper and therefore
declare that all materials cited or quoted in this project proposal which are not mine have been
duly acknowledged by means of a comprehensive list of references."
Sign: Date:
Lenjo Anita S.
This research has been submitted with my approval as the university supervisor.
Warambo A. Kathleen, Ph.D.
Sign:
Data

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### **ABSTRACT**

Although youth unemployment remains a challenge globally, African countries are banking on business innovation to promote entrepreneurship. This means that governments are encouraging business innovation at the individual level through start - ups or by providing tax relief to innovative business ventures such as Uberx an international taxi company which is willing to support the Entrepreneurial aspirations of the youth by providing them a chance at employment using a public private partnership model (PPP). Recent research in developing countries reveals that through PPP, governments are providing possibilities to the large number of unemployed youth through diversified work opportunities enabling them reverse their situations. The expectation is that, for youth in developing countries engaging in business partnership reduces the risk of failure in business, mitigates youth vulnerability to social problems arising from unemployment and provides credible foundation to those seeking alternative avenues of employment as entrepreneurs. Among many existing innovations that are receiving support from national governments are the public private partnerships (PPPs) seeking to provide solutions to problems of infrastructure such as transport. This phenomenological study focuses on the lived experiences of previously unemployed entrepreneurs engaging in the Uberx taxi service. The purpose of this master's project is to explore; -Why youth entrepreneurs are attracted to the Uberx business model, How the young entrepreneurs perceive their role in the PPP, How the unmet expectations of the youth entrepreneur are rationalized by the Uberx business model, The challenges sustainability of the Uberx model and the existing semi structured business environment. The study examines the characteristics of the Kenyan entrepreneur, the opportunities offered to the entrepreneur as a partner in the PPP, employee satisfaction in the relationship with Uberx and the reality of the PPP as a possible solution to the unemployment problem. Using the qualitative research methodology, specifically the phenomenological approach which focuses on the individual "lived experience", the researcher interviewed 30 Uber taxi drivers in Nairobi county who had been previously unemployed and entered into the partnership for at least 3 months. An interview schedule guide based on Peter Drucker's (1985) opportunity based theory was used to frame this research underscoring the PPP relationship. Major themes indicated the reality of the partnership between the young entrepreneurs and Uberx specifically, a gender imbalance in entrepreneurs engagement with Uberx, pull factors and high confidence levels because of an elevation in basic livelihood impermanence of the engagement impacting the operations of Uberx drivers. The finding of the study suggests that, despite a narrow understanding of an entrepreneur's opportunities in a PPP, Uberx provides a working solution to young entrepreneurs in Kenya willing to reduce business risk by partnering with a PPP, it meets their basic socio-economic needs by providing adequate income to elevate their livelihood, it boosts "employee" confidence levels, it is supported by the government's business protection plans and is sustainable as an innovative venture because of its use of modern technology applications. This being an exploratory study, further research is recommended in this emerging area of employment models that are technology based in an African context where unemployment remains high and entrepreneurs are seeking opportunities to partner and innovate. Specifically research could include; a gender analysis to expose the gender specific needs of entrepreneurs, the link between employment opportunities available to entrepreneurs and sustainable incomes, reduced tolerance for entrepreneurs to vocalize dissatisfaction and the role of globalization in supporting youth entrepreneurs.

# CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

# 1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

This section introduces the background of this study as well as the statement of the research problem that will be addressed. In addition, it also discusses the research questions, objectives, justification, scope and limitations of the study. It concludes with a definition of the terms used in this research.

The Africa Development Bank's strategy to enable and support business in the continent and accelerate Africa's economic transformation categorically states that Africa's growth will be led by both the private and the public sector. These two sectors are more likely to create an enabling environment for local business that will deliver satisfactory services to the citizenry, reduce poverty and improve well-being (World Bank 2016). Similarly, the World Bank in multiple working papers in the last decade has conceded that Africa's human resource especially the youth must deliberately integrate in national development plans if the continent is to increase its per capita income. This means that the current "youth bulge" can provide long term dividends when combined with newly emerging proposals focused on entrepreneurship.

African countries will be able to surmount one of the persistent socio economic but only if the youth are provided with work thus the public sector in seeking to retain the confidence of the citizenry has decided to partner with private sector actors as a way of strengthening local capacities realizing inclusive growth of the economy as well as providing services to people (World Bank, 2017).

Generally governments are hoping that this development finance model in which the state is seeking to share risk and responsibility with private firms, yet ultimately retaining control of the assets will avoid some of the negative outcomes of privatization and mitigate unemployment problems (Farlarn, 2005). In the last ten years, Africa's unemployment problem has risen due to the increase in youth bulge whereby the population is comprised of children and young adults. Organizations such as the G2O young entrepreneurs' alliance have conducted research suggesting that business ventures arising from entrepreneurship interventions offer viable and sustainable solutions to unemployment among youth given the prevailing socio-economic conditions in the Sub Sahara region (YEA, 2016).

In Africa the youth are the backbone of the nation and current leadership has been used to give them attention by providing avenues for self-fulfillment once they have completed the requisite years of education. This important group in society continues to face social problems that are preventing them from being the driving force they need to be (OECD, 2011). This problem is Youth Unemployment. Youth unemployment is a global problem, with many countries reporting over half of their youth in this category (McNeilly, 2014; ILO, 2016). It was estimated that 35% of youths have been out of work for over six months in most advanced economies in 2007 (The Guardian, 2013). More recently, in one of the most advanced economies, i.e. the United States, statistics report that youth unemployment (persons aged between 16 and 24) is over ten percent (Trending Economics, 2016). Additionally, in other high profile economies, i.e. Canada and United Kingdom, the rates of youth unemployment are at over 13% (Trending Economies, 2016).

In the African continent, the situation is even worse. According to statistics reported in 2016 in South Africa, the unemployment rate was put at over 53% (Malik,

2016). In Nigeria, Algeria and Morocco, the rate of youth unemployment is rated at over 20% (Malik, 2016). In Sub Sahara Africa the problem of youth unemployment is related to concern on the general quality of employment, underemployment and vulnerable employment (ILO, 2016). In addition, the consequences of unemployment are considered a threat to national social development efforts (Kingdon and Knight, 2004). Seeing as the rates of youth unemployment are currently at an all-time high in the history of the world, there is an urgent need to provide solutions to this growing problem that is youth unemployment. In Africa, some of the long-term solutions that have been suggested include, fighting corruption, proper research work by the youth themselves, activation of skill acquisition programmes and proper funding of tertiary institutions. Corruption is a major contributor to youth unemployment especially in Africa since corrupt leaders usually use state assets and resources for personal gain instead of using these resources to solve state issues including youth unemployment. Research indicates that lasting measures need to be put in place as one of the long-term solutions to youth unemployment. Skill acquisition on the other hand is a long term solution since it would give the youth the skills that would help them to either be self-employed or publicly employed. When the government funds and invests in tertiary institutions, youth unemployment will start to reduce. Research by the youth on information necessary for generation of employment, the problem of youth unemployment will surely decline.

However, all these solutions are all long term and are currently doing nothing substantial to help the youth make it at in the short term. Thus, there needs to be practical short term solutions to enable the youth to provide for themselves and their families on a daily basis. Recent publications by global think tanks suggest that one of the ways in which

youth unemployment can be mitigated is through the encouragement of entrepreneurial enterprise hinged on public and private sector partnerships also known as PPPs (ACET, 2016). African governments are positively responding to the PPP strategy because of its ability to merge the ethics of the private sector ethos, public sector values and multidimensional outlooks (Estache, Guasch, Atsushilimi, and Trujillo, 2009; Smith, 2012). So far in parts of Africa where PPP is being applied, it is enhancing sustainable opportunities for young entrepreneurs through providing services to the public (Abramov, 2010).

According to African Leadership Forum (2016), Africa needs a strong, modern, competitive, innovative and dynamic private sector to drive economic growth and sustainable development. The success of the efforts to lift millions out of poverty and improve the lives of all Africans as envisioned depend largely on the sectors ability to strategically exploit the continents untapped natural resources and create jobs for Africa's young population.

A recent growing global business solution that has made its way into Kenya's business arena, and is modeled on a futuristic profile utilizing public private partnerships, is the Uberx Company. It is providing employment by harnessing the potential of young entrepreneurs, expanding Kenya's business profile and contributing to universal access to efficient, affordable and reliable transportation (Estache, Jose-Luis, and Atsush, Lourdes 2009; Siemiatycki, 2011). In Kenya, Uberx is an alternative to the existing overcrowded unregulated public service buses, mini – buses, "matatus" and motorbikes ("Boda Boda") (Uber, 2016). So far the Uberx taxi is attracting attention over its competitors because of its unique business model that is based on a partnership with individual drivers who are

expected to be at least 21yrs of age, well- groomed and keen observers of etiquette, the government and the business fraternity (Uber, 2016; Dough, 2016).

Due to its increasing success, Uberx is facing hostility from existing taxi businesses operating under formal business profiles which cite Uber's business model as a source of their frustration. Many formal taxis claim that Uberx's cheaper fares are driving them out of business (Hoilman, 2016). This hostility towards Uberx business model remains a major hindrance to its success in closing the unemployment gap. As a countermeasure, Uber is leveraging its formal partnership agreement with the government, its informal engagement with entrepreneurial drivers and its unique service model to survive in the marketplace.

#### 1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Despite modest economic growth, Kenya like other sub-Saharan countries is seeking to utilize business platforms linked to technology to solve existing infrastructural problems such as urban transportation, and as an avenue to support emerging entrepreneurship among unemployed youth. Roughly ten to twelve million sub-Saharan African youth enter the labor market every single year. While this growth provides the opportunity for a demographic dividend it also presents the risk for soaring rates of youth unemployment (Routman and McArthur, 2014). This attempt is hinged on the current wave of globalization and research outcomes showing that developing countries must leverage emerging technologies such as mobile telephony to mitigate existing social problems such as youth unemployment (Javed, 2016).

The UN sustainable development goal number eight outlines the goal that is directly related to this endeavor and is expected to address and mitigate underdevelopment. Only

recently multidisciplinary studies have suggested entrepreneurship as a micro level pathway to the informal sector for those unemployed youth seeking a livelihood. A study by the USAID stated that despite the Kenyan people's talent, drive and willingness to quickly adopt new innovations, significant difficulties remain for entrepreneurs. Thus the Government of Kenya has recently taken steps to eliminate obstacles by using technology to streamline and simplify bureaucratic procedures or reduce minimum capital requirements. According to the CIA World Fact book Kenya has a growing entrepreneurial middle class. Faster growth and poverty reduction have been hampered by corruption. Inadequate infrastructure threatens Kenya's long term position as the largest East African economy. Similarly these same studies have suggested macro level solutions by inviting the unemployed youth into partnerships with the government thereby providing opportunity and reducing the element of risk.

Youth unemployment remains an impediment to socio economic development in Africa, and is a specific determinant of a number of other social problems such as crime, poor mental health, domestic tension, low self-esteem and poverty (McClelland and Macdonald, 1998; Zenout and Calvo-Armengol, 2003; Malakwane, 2012; Les Roopanarine, 2013; United Nations, 2015). Moreover the future of Kenya's competitiveness in the global economy remains bleak as the country struggles to contain the heaviest youth unemployment burden in East Africa (James, 2017)

There is documented evidence that the outcomes of youth unemployment are affecting families and nations (Nichols et al., 2013). Specifically, unemployment impacts the society and the economy by withholding productive power (Malakwane, 2012). This means that unemployed youth who could be engaging productively and contributing to the growth and development of the economy and society as a whole are sidelined (Dejardin, 2000; Naude,

2010). Nairobi being an urbanizing city is attracting a large population of businesses, a younger demographic and an influx of migrants into the city. This being the case for local and international businesses to thrive, an efficient transport network is key. Additionally, young people are constantly on the move and they too require reliable transportation.

The entrance of Uberx taxis into the urban transport arena provides multiple advantages among them, the use of mobile telephone network to access services, efficiency and reliability in urban transportation, but more importantly a chance for the young entrepreneur to partner with a multinational company and create self-employment but with reduced risk. When combined all the aforementioned contribute positively accelerating social development. Existing research into business paradigms in countries experiencing high youth unemployment rates and infrastructural problems indicate that where the PPP strategy has been successfully applied in the last two decades it has provided solutions (ACET, 2016). As a strategy to bridging the gap in employment and requisite transport services recent business paradigms continue to predict that if the large numbers of entrepreneurs present among the unemployed youth are given a chance to make a contribution to the informal business sector, national growth will be achieved and a reduction in social problems witnessed (Dejardin, 2000; Naude 2010).

Thus by using previously unemployed entrepreneurs the Uberx business model engages the public sector as an entry point for participation in business, effectively penetrating Kenya's formal and private business sector and providing transport to citizens. While there is extant literature on both the positive and challenging outcomes of PPP globally, the unique nature of the public and private sector amalgamation needs to be examined further in the Kenyan context (Chollar, 1979; Smith, 2012). Therefore, the supply side perspective where the

entrepreneurs are direct respondents remains understudied. This study explores the prospects of young previously unemployed entrepreneurs who are active participants in the Uberx business venture, and their expectations as partners in the profitmaking PPP model.

# 1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This research was guided by the following research questions:

- i. Why are young previously unemployed youth in Kenya attracted to the Uberx model of business?
- ii. What do the young entrepreneurs perceive as their role in the Uberx model of employment?
- iii. How does the Uberx model meet the entrepreneurial expectations of these young Uber drivers?
- iv. How did these unemployed youth make a risk assessment of the Uberx business model?
- v. What are the unique challenges affecting the young entrepreneurs embracing the Uberx model in a semi structured business environment?

Existing research on the success of the PPP strategy in Africa shows mixed results (Yescombe, 2017). However, according to the Ministry of Finance, Kenya is keen on PPPs because of the increase in demand for quality and affordable services from citizens more so in the transport sector. In addition, it provides a new source of investment capital for required infrastructure projects expands the economy and stimulates job creation.

### 1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The objectives of this research are:

- To explore the young entrepreneur's perceptions of their role in the Uberx business model.
- II. To assess the willingness to take risks among young entrepreneurs.
- III. To determine the sustainability of engagement in the Uberx model in a competitive business market.
- IV. To find out whether Uberx has had a positive influence on their socio economic livelihoods.
- V. To explore the influence of the challenges faced by Uberx drivers on the sustainability of the Uberx model.

# 1.5 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

This study mapped the lived experiences of young entrepreneurs in Kenya in partnership with the Uberx enterprise. It used the perspectives of these entrepreneurs to do the following;

- 1. Explore the suitability of Uberx in meeting their socio economic needs.
- 2. Assess the role of the Uberx model as a Public Private Partnership providing a solution first, to the unemployment problem facing the country and second, easing the transport problem by augmenting the existing services to citizens.
- 3. Interpret the sustainability of Uberx's model in the Kenyan business context which is semi structured.

Using a qualitative phenomenological design, this study sought to fill gaps in literature by expanding the scope of ongoing studies in entrepreneurship and public private partnerships

specifically in the Kenyan context (Cooper, Hatem and Rosa, 2005). Secondly, to fill gaps in methodology by exploring the experiences of young Uberx drivers engaging in a partnership whose suitability and sustainability is a concern. Previously, most studies on entrepreneurial ventures focus on the demand side of business seeking customer satisfaction and opinion service.

# 1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This study explores the expectations of young entrepreneurs utilizing phenomenology to examine the lived experiences of previously unemployed youth who are presently in a partnership with Uberx. The taxi company is seen as providing a workable solution to the problem of youth unemployment in Kenya. The focus taken by this study illuminates Uberx drivers as young entrepreneurs in the business model. Therefore this study is carried out in the city of Nairobi among Uberx drivers operating the various routes within the county who have been in employment for at least three months.

### 1.7 ASSUMPTIONS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The assumptions of this study were:

- All respondents are current driver-partners working for Uberx, hold a contract and were unemployed prior to joining Uberx Company.
- All respondents operate on multiple routes of the county of Nairobi.
- The Uberx business model by extending its employment to entrepreneurs is participating in a Public Private Partnership (PPP).

Some of the limitations to this study include: It took more time to conduct interviews than what was estimated because drivers are mobile. This then extended the projected duration of the interview session and subsequent data analysis. Some respondents were unwilling to participate in the study because of heightened suspicion owing to the ensuing animosity between newcomers, Uberx taxis and the local taxi men.

## 1.8 OPERATIONALIZATION OF TERMS

The following terms are used in this study;

**Uberx** – a service that allows people to order livery cabs through a smartphone application. These taxis are now popular in major cities around the world and have been known to support city transport systems.

**Business Model-** it is the unique format used by a company to generate revenue and make profit from its operations. The Uberx business model focuses on an interface between the Uberx driver (entrepreneur) and the Uberx Company. The company provides anavenue for young entrepreneurs seeking gainful employment a chance to share in the profits. In this case an Uberx driver takes 75% of the total fare while Uberx Company takes 25% and that is how both of them make their profits.

**PPP** – stands for Public Private Partnership. It is a cooperative long term arrangement between one or more public and private sector entities. In this study, Uberx and the Kenya government combined to work towards solving the unemployment and transport issue by offering an avenue to entrepreneurs, giving rise to a PPP.

**Formal sector-** this is the part of an economy that is structured, monitored, regulated and taxed by the government.

**Informal sector-** it is the part of the economy that allows free engagement is not taxed or monitored by the government.

**Supply side-** this is when the value of a commodity or service is determined by its availability. In this case there is increase in demand for transportation services thus the increase in supply through Uberx.

**Unemployment-** A state of having no source <u>of</u> income.

**Entrepreneur** – An individual who takes a greater than normal risk to organize a venture so as to take benefit of an opportunity and become the decision maker of it. The Uberx driver is the entrepreneur who took the risk to join Uberx and make decisions concerning the services they provide. He/she organizes and runs the business however they want to as long as at the end of the day they send the 25% of the total fare to Uberx Company.

**MPESA** – The use of a mobile phone to make money transactions. In Kenya, the Uberx clients have an option of paying via Mpesa. In this case, the client sends the total fare to the Uberx driver's number. Once they both receive confirmation messages, then the transaction is done.

# 1.9. PROJECT OVERVIEW

Chapter one began with a brief overview on entrepreneurship, Uberx and unemployment. It has also provided a general explanation of this study, a statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, the theoretical framework for the study, the research questions driving this study, delimitations and limitations, and relevant definitions important to the study. The chapter has also suggested the possibility that Uberx business model is a solution to employment among the youth.

The remaining chapters of this dissertation provide the literature on various themes of this research. It includes information about the Uber business model, taxi based entrepreneurship as a response to unemployment, the PPP framework and the theoretical conception underpinning the study. Chapter three describes the methodology applied in this research. Chapter four analyses the findings collected from the field. Finally, Chapter Five summarizes the findings, discusses implications, provides limitations, and suggestions for future research.

# CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW

This section provides a review of the literature. It includes general information about Uberx as an enterprise taking on young entrepreneurs, the PPP model as applied in the Kenyan context and the entrepreneur's role in this unique business arrangement. The second part of this chapter discusses the theoretical framework of the study.

### 2.1 THE UBER BUSINESS MODEL

Uberx is a transportation network company that was founded in San Francisco (which was its first market) in 2009 (Bacon, 2012). However, it started operating in 2011 when its mobile application was officially launched (Lagoria-Chafkin, 2014). It operates as an application which is downloaded on a prospective client's mobile phone. It is compliant on both the IOS (a mobile operating system used by Apple phones) and Android market. Once the application is accessed, one registers and becomes a part of a global group using this application. Each single time one uses the application it sends back receipts payments with pick up and drop off addresses, amounts charged and the total length of the trip. This way, one is able to keep record. This is also evidence on the spot accountability. The customer has the power to rate a driver once the ride is complete. Therefore for the software to work, the driver and the client both need to possess smartphones. Due to previous protests from other taxis they also launched Uber TAXI which is a service allowing clients to hail any taxi using their software (Ferenstein, 2013).

Originally, one could only use a black luxury car which was far more expensive than a regular taxi. Seeing as this would not work out for the company they created a garage which was responsible for creating new ideas on how Uberx transportation services could be

improved (Leena, 212). In July 2012, the company launched Uberx which was a service allowing anyone with a car to be a part of the business after going through a background check and car inspection (Hahn, 2012). This launch was readily accepted by customers; however, other taxi drivers were displeased with this since they started losing business due to Uberx's low rates and increased competition. This was also the case when Uberx was launched in Nairobi in 2015 with Uberx driver being attacked by other taxi drivers. One Uberx taxi driver in Nairobi was attacked viciously by other taxi drivers and his car was torched (Malallo, 2016; Turkson, 2016). Since these protests pose a great threat to the business and its employees, Uberx countered them by launching Uber TAXI which is a service allowing clients to hail any taxi using their software (Ferenstein, 2013).

According to Uberx's policy of employment, a driver must be 21 years of age or older and must have at least three years driving experience. He must also have a smartphone. The driver must pass a background check which includes having a clean driving record with especially no Driving under the Influence (DUI) (Uber, 2016). One's vehicle must be inspected by Uberx management and must pass all requirements discussed earlier. All these tests are applied to any prospective Uberx Driver all over the world including Kenya.

The way Uberx's pricing and payment works is that, in most cities the client is given the price of the ride before being allowed to request the ride. However, in some cities, the prices are not offered upfront, but are calculated based on the time and distance one travels. At the end of a ride, the client remits according to their preference of payment. In Kenya, payments are made via MPESA or cash. However, these prices are not always fixed, they vary from time based on demand and state of traffic at the time the ride is being requested. This has been dubbed as Dynamic Pricing. Drivers in Kenya get to keep 75% what they make on a trip

depending on what the client is charged (Spokes, 2017). This type of pricing has sparked criticism from many clients in various cities (Bilton, 2012).

In Kenya recently, Uberx have reduced their prices by half in an attempt to create more demand. This is an aspect of dynamic pricing. However, drivers have not been too pleased with this move and as a result have gone on strike, going as far as vandalizing their colleagues cars (those who chose to continue working despite the strike) (Tubei, 2017). Recently, Uber Kenya has increased fare prices by raising the minimum fare to Sh300 from previous Sh200 in Nairobi and fare per kilometer from Sh35 to Sh42. This is the first time Uberx is increasing its price after a series of fare cuts in response to local and international (Margaret, 2017).

# 2.2 PUBLIC PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS (PPP)

Bringing the specific efficiencies, discipline, focus and mindset of for-profit businesses to bear on the public and non-profit sectors is an old idea but one that is aiming momentum with the success and proliferation of public private partnerships (PPPs) over the last decade. Despite this success a growing sense has emerged that PPPs could do even more (McKinsey, 2009). According to research, a key rationale for creating PPPs is the recognition that many challenges do not fall neatly into either the public, civil or private sectors; instead they require joint ventures from all sectors. Efforts to promote economic development are more likely to succeed, when they include both the public and private sectors since the latter is usually a major source of employment.

A successful PPP arrangement capitalizes on the strengths of both the private and the public sector to provide a better and more cost – effective public service and speed up the rate of its implementation or coverage (Yescombe, 2017). Uberx is a private company that joined

forces with the public sector to provide the most efficient, fast and affordable way of transportation to Kenyan citizens. Although there was a bit of hostility at the beginning, Uberx has worked tremendously since its launch in Kenya. It is currently operating with 1000 cars around Nairobi where there are over half a million vehicles, both public and private (Kamau, 2016). Based on these reports, Uberx is providing a practical solution to transport and current youth unemployment in Kenya.

According to the Ministry of Finance, Kenya is keen on PPP due to several reasons including; increase in demand for quality and affordable services from citizens, expands economy and stimulates job creation, utilizes the efficiency of private sector in running public services, provides a new source of investment capital for required infrastructure projects and increases quality of public services to the Kenyan citizen. Uberx has so far helped in providing transport services and most importantly created a great number of job opportunities to the unemployed youth which has expanded the economy and increase development in the country. Some of the major PPPs that have succeeded in Kenya include; Jomo Kenyatta International Airport cargo terminal, Kenya – Uganda Railway, Thika Super High way, Standard Gauge Railway and introducing Uberx among many others.

In developing economies such as Kenya where populations are still experiencing rapid growth and severe backlogs, PPPs result in further recruitment in the long term to keep up with the demand for services and the expansion infrastructure (International Labour, 1995). Since Uberx launch, the demand for it has increased which has led to an increase in supply meaning more cars have been added into the system thus creating more jobs. There is no doubt that PPPs are here to stay in the short and long term they have been around for hundreds of years already

albeit in other forms. The practice will morph and adjust to changing circumstances, but not disappear (Baxter, 2016).

### 2.3 RESPONSE TO UNEMPLOYMENT

It is globally accepted that there is a formal and informal sector of the economy in Kenya (Williams, 2009). Informal employment is considered to be outside the control of the government while formal employment is subject to monitoring and control by the government. Literature postulates that informal employment rises when formal employment is facing unrest like recession (Tokman, 1992; Portes and Shaunffler, 1993). Since Kenya is facing a shortage of jobs in the formal sector, informal employment is on the rise.

Although the world as a whole is facing a global employment crisis (ILO, 2012), Kenya's rates of unemployment and the share of unemployed youth population peeks in early adulthood (UNDP, 2013). In Kenya, young people account for a significant of the country's unemployed workforce (Wanzala, 2016). This is because of the inability of the formal sector to absorb the large population of job seekers entering the market every year (Irungu, 2015). For most Kenyans, education represents the only way out of a life of poverty since acquisition of a degree or a diploma has the ability to land one a well-paying blue collar job.

Awake (1983) stated that meaningful employment could bring happiness, makes one wanted and needed. He further argued that people acquire certain skills so that they could be employed and be able to provide for their needs and that of the family, but unemployment seems to step in and dash this hope. Some of the main effects of unemployment include; increase in the rate of crime and violence, low standards of living, stigmatization, increase in tension at home and loss of skill usage.

SDG Eight seeks to promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all. In order to achieve this, a number of other SDGs and factors need to be addressed, including improving health conditions and education, but one key focus is tackling unemployment, particularly youth unemployment. With a great youth population, it is essential that youth issues be addressed. The rhetoric is that the youth are the leaders of tomorrow. However, if their concerns are not tackled today then many of them will not make it to tomorrow (Farai, 2015).

In combating youth unemployment, it is therefore necessary that the school curriculum equips students with the necessary skills to suit, not only the current environment but also anticipate the future. In addition people worldwide are not only living longer but also working longer. Without subsequent job creation to accommodate the scores of young people entering the market they become those most affected. As a result most young people look for alternative means of employment. In developing countries, 89 percent of new work is in the informal sector (Farai, 2015).

Research states that to tackle Kenya's high youth unemployment, the private sector, academia and government should work together to develop innovative business models, industry relevant curricula and enable national policies (The Guardian, 2016). Uberx and Kenya's government have come together to work towards solving this issue of unemployment. The government considering the futuristic nature of Uberx and its use of technology decided to use the PPP model to attract entrepreneurs seeking an avenue to find employment, and by so doing, contribute to nation building and employment. PPP stands for Public Private Partnership which is a long term contract between a private party and a government entity, or

providing a public asset or service, in which the private party bears significant risk and management responsibility and remuneration is linked to performance (Rosca, 2015).

A study carried out some years ago indicates that Kenya has the highest informal employment in Africa, because of the inability of the formal sector to absorb the large population of job seekers entering the market every year (Irungu, 2015). In the last decade alone, Kenya has focused on engaging jobs for the ever increasing number of youth seeking self- employment instead of formal employment as an alternative to remaining without work. In this case, Uberx, a private company, has an arrangement with the Kenyan Government to provide a public function, transportation and increase employment to its citizens.

To any government, Uberx remains attractive because it creates jobs wherever it goes. Since its inception Uberx has created over 50,000 jobs per month for drivers around the world (Fingerman, 2014). Since its inception in Kenya, Uberx has had more than a thousand car owners who have signed up as part time or full time drivers (Ken, 2016). Uberx's business model hinges upon recruiting drivers who use their cars as taxis where a commission is charged in exchange for using the Uberx platform. Uberx is currently operating with 1000 cars around Nairobi where there are over 800,000 vehicles, both public and private (Kamau, 2016). Based on these reports, Uberx is providing a practical solution to the current youth unemployment in Kenya.

# 2.4 TAXI BASED ENTREPRENEURSHIP

An entrepreneur is someone who organizes and assumes the risk of a business in return for the profits (Cantillon, 1734). The capabilities of innovating, introducing new technologies, increasing efficiency and productivity or generating new products or services are characteristic qualities of entrepreneurs. They tend to have the ability to see unmet market needs and

underserved markets (Schumpeter, 1950). Nairobi has around 550,000 vehicles of which almost 15,000 are public transport vehicles. As a result of an inefficient and unreliable public transport regime the number of private vehicles has continued to increase at the expense of public vehicles (KNBS, 2010). Laws of demand and supply have led to high transport cost for passengers and goods that use public means. An adequate public transport system requires heavy infrastructure investments and this is where a partnership of the government with private enterprises such as Uberx is expected to provide efficient, safe and reliable transport.

Recent research on the transport sector in Kenya indicates that the Matatus (14 seater-mini-buses) which provide the backbone of the transportation system in Kenya have continued to maintain their dominance despite their inefficiencies (Andae, 2013). They have tried to fill in the gap within the Urban transport sector. In many cases on some routes matatus are the only means of transport since the county government has been unable to develop a high capacity bus system in the city. Taxis are a recent option and as a result lack of ample public transport, many Kenyans have turned to taxis as a means of transport. Taxi drivers noticed this need and sought to provide a solution by using their cars to provide transport means to people at a cost. Uberx therefore is one such entity providing entrepreneurial opportunities to its drivers in Kenya.

Kenya has been witnessing major growth in entrepreneurship and innovation led by rising interest towards new technologies and mobile connectivity (Wangalwa, 2014). The success of Uberx is based on its use of technology to connect the supply and demand side. This company uses an Uberx application where clients use to order a cab to their destinations and in the littlest amount of time possible, the application alerts the closest driver to the

customer's location (Petropaulos, 2016). As entrepreneurs, taxi drivers have constant money coming in and out as they conduct numerous cab rides a day and can use this money to cater for their daily needs.

### 2.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The general view of entrepreneurs has evolved from being specifically about traits and characteristics to one where they are expected to create organizations or revitalize mature ones (Gartner, 1989; Eroglu and Picak, 2011). This research embraces the definition of an entrepreneur in this evolved sense reflecting the Schumpeterian model in which risk taking characteristics find expression. Interestingly all models indicate that the identification of an opportunity either perceived or real is an underlying driver (Bolton and Thompson, 2000; Onuoha, 2007).

Using the opportunity based theory of Peter Drucker (1985) this study frames the outcomes of the nexus between young entrepreneurs who are previously unemployed and a technology based market opportunity. Drucker's theory states that entrepreneurs do not by themselves cause change but exploit the opportunities that present in their environments. In Drucker's explanation, an entrepreneur is defined as one who is seeking to leverage the opportunities created by social change, responding to them and exploiting them as business ventures. In this study, young previously unemployed individuals have recognized that opportunities arising from rapid social change and based on the user of technology represent the next frontier in business models. In addition, the government's involvement via the PPPs strategy as a solution to its infrastructural needs provides the much needed safety net to the risks an entrepreneur seeks to exercise.

In Drucker's theoretical construct, entrepreneurs have an eye for possibilities created by social change offering a sense of belonging which generally explains why young entrepreneurs are willing to take the risk with a business engagement that assures the young entrepreneur an investor status (Bolton and Thompson, 2000) Furthermore, Drucker's theoretical model puts emphasis on two factors namely, innovation and resource. Indeed the increased satisfaction from the resource cascades to the customer, as entrepreneurs find new value in employment and security while participating in PPPs.

Economics plays a huge role in human behavior. That is, people are often motivated by money and the possibility of making a profit, calculating the likely costs and benefits of any action before deciding what to do, this way of thinking is represented in the tenets of the rational choice theory (Crossman, 2017). This theory in addition to Drucker's opportunity based theory, also frames my research by explaining the actions of the entrepreneur derived from the motive. Rational Choice is thoroughly influenced by economic theory. Rational choice inspired theorizing has a long tradition within sociology, Max Weber, one of the founders of sociology, argued for the importance of basing sociological explanation on clearly articulated ideas about rational action. For him it is not only the behavior of individuals can be explained by rational choice theory but also the development and characteristics of modern capitalist society (Weber, 1922).

Rational choice theory has developed as a model of human behavior that assumes people are motivated by money and the possibility of making a profit (Scott, 2000). The young entrepreneurs in this case were motivated to join the futuristic Uberx business model since it's a source of income. Sociology recognizes first that other kinds of rewards may motivate people and the rational calculations are made through social interaction. Though decisions and actions

may be rationally calculated to maximize benefits, such decisions and actions require a degree of reciprocity or social exchange. Resources such as time, prestige and approval are social rewards that motivate people to act in particular ways. The young previously unemployed entrepreneurs are attracted to this business model because of the prestige and approval they get from the society.

George Homans (1958 – 1964) developed a sociological model of rational choice theory. Homans' framework privileged social interaction as the framework through which choices are made and emphasized the importance of the mutually interactive performances of individuals. This means that when an individual acts their performance will be directly rewarded or punished by another. The young entrepreneurs took a risk to join the business model because it rewards them an opportunity to work and get income. For Homans, winning social approval was critical to understanding why people made certain decisions. In this case the Uberx drivers were previously unemployed thus were facing problems such as stigmatization and low costs of living among many others that come with unemployment. They therefore had to make a decision to join Uberx as drivers which will earn them a source of income and change their standards of living and in result acceptance from the society.

In addition he argued that social interaction produces benefits and costs like goods, money, praise, approval and esteem and people will act rationally to obtain them. When individuals make choices they calculate the cost to them in material and emotional terms of providing benefits for others. They also calculate the profits from the benefits they receive. In making choices, people don't want to feel they are disadvantaged or their actions will incur disapproval. They look for an element of distributive justice as an outcome of their rational choice (Waters, 1994). In conclusion the benefits received by an individual depend on the

benefits the individual provides to others. There is a process of exchange between individuals in which benefits are traded on the basis of the information that people have.

# **CHAPTER THREE**

# RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This section discusses the methodology employed in collecting data, and the techniques to be used in the analysis of this data. Given the exploratory nature of this research, the methodology focuses on the supply side of businesses using a qualitative research design. In addition, the location of study, the population targeted methods and instruments of data collection and analysis is presented.

# 3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The study used the qualitative phenomenological approach. This approach allowed for an in-depth exploration of phenomenon and includes respondents' perspectives as well as their lived experiences (Dworkin, 2012). Within this qualitative approach, the phenomenon of interest was addressed through the lens of individual experience in a natural setting (Nachmias and Frankfort-Nachmias, 2007; Bluhm, Harman, Lee, and Mitchell, 2011). A major advantage of this approach was that the interviews, observations, and written materials were used to respond to the research questions.

Departing from scientific tradition, Hurssel believed that subjectivity of the immediate experience to be the source of knowing (Koch, 1995). Things are to return things to themselves" through description (Smith and Fowler, 2006). These are several schools of phenomenology; Cohen and Ornery (1994) have identified three; Eidetic or descriptive, guided by the work of Husserl, Hermeneutics, also referred to as interpretive or existential phenomenology, guided by the work of Heidegger and the Dutch (Utrecht) school of phenomenology, which combines descriptive and interpretive phenomenology and draws on the work of vanManen and others (Dowling and Cooney, 2012).

As a research method, phenomenology is an approach that attempts to understand the hidden meanings and the essence of an experience as well as how participants make sense of an experience. Further, qualitative research values local, idiosyncratic findings without any claim of statistical generalizability (Paul, Kleinhammer-Trammill and Fowler, 2006). Phenomenology is a philosophy as well as a methodology for understanding lived experience.

For this research study, I have chosen a descriptive phenomenological methodology as defined by Giorgi (1989). In descriptive phenomenology, Giorgi combines the philosophy of Husserl with the methodical, systematic and critical criteria of science to produce a methodology that assist the researcher in identifying and understanding the psychological essence patterns and structure of an experience. Giorgi (1997) concisely states "Phenomenology thermalizes the phenomenon of consciousness and in its most comprehensive sense, it refers to the totality of lived experiences that belong to a single person" (p. 2). Part of phenomenological method consists of distinguishing any method and it involves deconstructing the various theoretical perspectives, assumptions and conceptualizations that prevent us from interpreting experience as we live it, pre-reflectively (van Manen, 2002). This phenomenological research considers the following principles;

The nature of conscious experience, intentionality of directed action, person in context and situated human experience (Smith and Fowler, 2006).

#### 3.2 INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The research instrument used to collect information during the interview comprised a semi structured questionnaire comprising four parts (see Appendix A). Each part addresses the various questions that are guiding this research. There were 36 questions, all of which were open-ended to facilitate probing.

In addition, the interview guide was reviewed to remove ambiguous questions. The instrument was piloted once the proposal was approved so that answers to these preliminary questions were used to finalize the instrument. It was estimated that it will take one hour to administer the questionnaire

### 3.3 RESEARCH AREA

The area of study was the capital city Nairobi in Kenya since this is the city where Uberx services are most used and where its head office is located. Nairobi is a city with an area of 696km<sup>2</sup> and a population of 3,138,369 according to the last census carried out in 2009 (Republic of Kenya – Kenya Bureau of Statistics). Nairobi is home to thousands of major businesses and most international companies have set up their branches here due to high skilled manpower (Omondi, 2016). Similarly, Uberx launching in Kenya in July, 2015, located itself in Nairobi and is now expanding to other towns (Malallo, 2016). Having such a large population of working class people, it was the best place to set up a taxi business since there is a guaranteed a readily available market. Appendix D and E shows the map of Nairobi and locations in which Uberx most regularly operates within Nairobi.

### 3.4 TARGET POPULATION

The sampling strategy employed was snowball sampling. This is a non-probability sampling technique where current respondents in a research recruit future respondents who could be their acquaintances or friends (Heckathorn 2015). Some of the advantages of nonprobability sampling include; possibility to reflect the descriptive comments about the sample, cost effectiveness and the time effectiveness compared to probability sampling and it is very effective when it is unfeasible or impractical; to conduct probability sampling (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2012). The technique is most suitable since I am interested in the intricacies of the sample. This technique was used to recruit 30 respondents who, at the time of the study, were employed as drivers of Uberx operating in Nairobi. Ideally, they should have been in Uberx's employment for at least three months. The drivers were all aged above 21 years of age and must have all carried a valid driver's license. Since I am using snowball sampling, I got the first source one in Parklands Shell Petrol station in Nairobi since many of them wait for their next client there. I was then referred to a small local restaurant along Ojijo Road where they have their tea and lunch breaks. This is where I spent the rest of the days conducting interviews.

# 3.5 SAMPLE AND SAMPLING TECHNIQUES

# 3.5.1 DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

The study made use of both primary and secondary data sources. Interviews were conducted using an unstructured interview schedule, and the responses were voice recorded for accuracy. The secondary sources comprised of textbooks, journals, newspapers, magazines, online publications and relevant books.

The unstructured interviews were conducted on a face to face basis and respondents were interviewed individually. The qualitative interview was adequate because it required the ability to hold a conversation within a relevant context. The open ended questions prompted the respondents and allowed them to give even more information. The snowball sampling method was relied on to achieve the required sample size. It was estimated that an initial sample size of 30 drivers would suffice, as a saturation of the respondents was met by this number.

Interviews were done at the respondent's convenience. All interviews were done in person to accommodate the respondents' schedules even though a preference for the lunch break was made. The researcher introduced herself to the respondents and briefly explained the study background and its aim. Additionally, the respondents were asked to sign a consent form after this introduction. This form reviewed confidentiality clauses, and the purpose of the study before any data was collected. Immediately after signing the form, the respondents were asked if they had any questions before the interview begins. Interviews were held in their cars when they were resting and others while they were working.

Basic demographic questions were asked to determine the respondents' gender; age; highest level of education; years of employment at Uberx. Follow up questions were used to prompt respondents to discuss their experience with Uberx. Respondents were asked about their view of the job so far, their employment status before working for Uberx and their view of the company's management.

Respondents were asked to give consent to audio record the interview which was transcribed later. They were informed that the study had gained approval from the University

of Nairobi. Each respondent was informed that they were free to ask questions at any point. Interviews took an average of three hours although this amount of time varied. Interviews were expected to take a month between April and May 2017. There were no exclusions based on gender, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, sexuality, sexual orientation or religious affiliation.

This study commenced once the proposal was approved by the supervisor and met the requirements of the department of Sociology. It was shared to the Uberx company management to make them aware of their drivers' participation. There was no Institutional Review Board approval required.

## 3.6 DATA ANALYSIS

All interviews were audio recorded and the researcher took extensive field notes while performing the interviews. All audio recordings were transcribed within a week of the interview. Following the week, transcripts were verified for complete text. Interviews were transcribed and checked against the field notes for coding as well. Once done, all audio recordings were deleted. All respondents interviewed were given a narrative memo. The coding process begun once the raw data was assigned a code for the purpose of analysis. The axial coding technique was used to assign categories, which were gathered from the narrative. After the codes were pinpointed and identified, they were categorized based on themes (Charmaz 2010; Creswell 2013). The coding process helped the researcher to answer the research questions using specific key words related to each research question. Themes were raised from the transcription and coding and reported in the data reporting and presentation section.

#### 3.7 TRIANGULATION OF DATA

Using the qualitative technique, this study was relevant based on the research questions posed. The researcher used data triangulation which Denzin and Lincoln (1998) explain is the practice providing rigor, depth, and breadth to a study. Data was triangulated using the respondents' interview response to the researcher. While doing the interview I was audio recording and later transcribed the data. Through axial coding the data was categorized into themes. The participant's contract, job description/length of stay on the job (whether it is a full time job or an in between job while they look for another job) were some of the questions that were asked. These three sources of information were compared for validity and reliability of data reported for the study.

## 3.8 ETHICAL CONCERNS

Ethical standards for research protocols were strictly defined within the bounds of consent and privacy laws. Ethical concerns are important since they promote authentic, original and true knowledge by avoiding error, it promotes values of collaborative work, public accountability whereby one needs to maintain governmental and university policies on human subject protection and maintenance of quality and integrity among with moral and social values like social responsibility (Resnik, 2011; Smith, 2003). Respondents were informed of their rights to participate in the study. They had a right to anonymity and were allowed to drop out of the study at any time. Informed consent spelt out the intent of this study for academic purposes and for the final product of a master's project. It remained clear, that their participation and answers to the questions was completely confidential. Moreover, it was important that ethical standards remain in place throughout

the course of the study and any participant was free to voice his or her concerns about their participation and possible outcomes of the study to the researcher.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

## DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The purpose of this research was to examine Uberx drivers as entrepreneurs in the Uberx business model which is providing a workable solution to the problem of youth unemployment in Kenya. Research questions that guided this study were: a) Why are young previously unemployed youth in Kenya attracted to the Uberx model of business? b) What do the young entrepreneurs perceive as their role in Uberx as a PPP? c) How does the Uberx model meet the entrepreneurial expectations of the young Uber driver? d) How did the unemployed youth make a risk assessment of the Uberx business model? e) What are the unique challenges affecting the young entrepreneurs embracing the Uberx model in a semi structured business environment?

Additionally, the theoretical framework that guided this research was opportunity based theory which states that entrepreneurs do not cause change but exploit the opportunities that change in technology and consumer preferences thereby creating new ways to solve an existing problem. This theoretical framework framed this research and supported its articulation, however, it is important to note that it was not the driving force of this study, nor was the study built off it.

During the interviews, study participants described their experience with working for Uberx. Furthermore, they discussed their thoughts on the Uberx business model and their entrepreneurial role in the unemployment problem in Kenya. This Chapter describes and presents the data collected from these interviews as well as information collected from secondary sources.

#### 4.1 DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Participants of this study comprised of thirty Uberx drivers. They were mostly male ranging from after teen age – approximately 22 onwards with only two females. During the data analysis it was found out that their education levels varied greatly with some only managing to reach form four, while others managed to attain a university degree. This kind of educational diversity was good for the study as it showed that anyone, regardless of their level of education can be able to work successfully for Uberx. Working experience with Uberx was also discovered to be varying with some only having worked for Uberx a few months, while others have worked with the organization for up to two years. At the time of the study, some of the participants reported three months' work experience with Uberx, which was lowest amount of experience that the study participants had while the highest amount of experience was two years. For this study, it is good to have different level of experiences since it would give a true and fair value of how it really is to work for Uberx. Before working for Uberx, all the participants had prior jobs in diverse industries such as other cab industries, advertising agencies and FMCG companies and all had various reasons for leaving their previous occupations such as work harassment, low income in the previous job and the need to be in control of your own job.

During the data analysis, most of the participants were male. A reason for this is that, in Kenya, there are few female drivers as confirmed by one such female Uberx driver (Anyuolo, 2017). This situation extends worldwide, with the United States displaying a conspicuous disparity in the ratio of female to male drivers. It is reported that in the US, only fourteen percent of Uberx drivers are women (Anyuolo, 2017). From this data, it can be deduced that Kenya's percentage of female Uberx drivers is even smaller. Some of the reasons as to why drivers were attracted to Uberx were because of flexibility, reliability, technology and risk taking.

Taxi drivers face many challenges, one female driver recounted to the media that aside from looking out for carjackers and thieves on the road, one has to deal with inappropriate sexual advances from male passengers while picking them up and dropping them off at their specified destinations (Anyuolo, 2017). She said,

"Some men will try to hit on me – especially since they have my number. Once in a while I will get the occasional 'hey', 'hope you got home safe', 'I really enjoyed the ride' – nothing troublesome so far. But I have since separated my personal and work number."

Additionally, she adds, when she refuses their advances, they hurl abuses at her and threaten to give her low ratings. Moreover, many women are discouraged from joining Uberx as drivers due to the many sexual harassments of female drivers by male passengers going unpunished or not being taken seriously by Uberx management. However, despite all these challenges, some of the few female drivers cannot fathom the idea of dissolving their partnership with Uberx since they make great profits and never go home empty handed (Anyuolo, 2017). The two female participants recounted facing the same problem everyday as drivers; however they also revealed that they cannot leave their jobs since they make good money every day.

After the data was collected, the axial coding technique was implemented to simplify the information collected. At first, the data was transcribed from audio format to written format. Secondly the data was simplified using this technique and the various answers arranged in an excel spreadsheet. Finally, there was a theme extract from each of the driver's answers. At the end and to make the analysis of the data collected simpler, all these themes were further simplified to answer the research questions that were presented in this study. From using this technique, four themes emerged which comprise the narrative that follows below. The participants all had different amounts of information to the various themes that emerged and therefore, all the participants' views and voices were well represented in this study.

## 4.2 STUDY FINDINGS

Four themes emerged from the data analysis:

- The role of-Uberx Drivers
- Entrepreneurship and risk
- Challenges
- Sustainability

## **4.2.1** THEME 1: ROLE OF UBERX DRIVERS

When asked about the company's business model the participants all described how they viewed the company' business model and strategy. To begin with, the participants all agreed that in order to join the company one's proper documents had to be fully updated. These documents are the PSV license, certificate of good conduct, driving license and national ID. Participant 12 explained,

"A certificate of good conduct is necessary. Uberx does not hire anyone with criminal records."

Participant 20 added that,

"A background check is mandatory before the company decides to hire you. Once the background check is done you are called for training."

Although most of the participants had to pay for the training from..... ten of the participants attended their training free of charge. Participant 3 said,

"Yes, I had to undergo training before I joined Uberx and I did it for free."

On the contrary participant 7 said,

"I went for training which I was charged Kshs 2,500."

Charges for the training ranged from ksh.1500 to ksh.2500. Despite paying for this training, the respondents agreed that it was a productive exercise as they gained sufficient knowledge on customer relations and how to effectively use the Uberx application. After going through this training, the drivers officially become Uberx employees.

## Participant 11 mentioned,

"One cannot start operating Uberx without the training. It is a very useful resource since it helps you know how to use the application perfectly well and they also train you on customer service."

When it comes to the car, the driver can either own the car or not. If one has no car and cannot get a partner who would agree to let them use their car, Uberx helps the driver find a suitable partner. For drivers who own the cars, their employment with Uberx gives rise to a sharing type of situation where they share a percentage of their earnings with the company. According to the respondents of the study, Uberx deducts 25% of the driver's daily earnings. Participants agreed that there is a better chance of earning more money if one owns the car. If one does not own the car, it is harder to make a substantial amount of revenue since, according to participant 22,

"At the end of the day, I have to deduct Uberx's 25%, the owner of the car's daily target and I keep the remainder after again deducing payment of the car services like car wash."

If one has no car and cannot get a partner who would agree to let them use their car, Uberx helps the driver find a suitable partner. Participant 8 affirmed that,

"I own a car and its way much better than using someone's car. This is because you earn twice much more since you don't have targets to meet from the owner of the car."

Respondents all reported different hours of working every day. The least amount of hours worked a day was 8 hours, participant 5 reported,

"I work up to 20 hours a day."

Despite these varying working hours, the drivers give themselves off days. However, some of them chose to only have a few hours off once a week. Participant 16,

"I usually give myself an off day. I cannot really call it an off day though probably just a few hours off work which I use to sleep then I go back to work in the evening."

From the data collected, the researcher concludes that a reason for this is because Uberx always has customers and if one takes a full day off, they may feel like they are losing money and so choose to work almost all the time.

Due to working various hours per day, the participants reported earning different amounts of money per day. However, participant 24 reported,

"I earn kshs 8000 a day on weekdays and more on the weekends when the demand for taxis is high. Demand is highest on weekends i.e. from Friday night all through to Sunday." "Nairobi residents really love to party and have fun on these days."

He added laughing. Other participants reported earning between Ksh.2000 and Ksh.5000 per day. When it comes to bonuses, participants reported that bonuses are only available to account holders, i.e. drivers who own the cars. Despite the different amounts of revenue participants earn every day, they all agree that working for Uberx always guarantee clients every day and one cannot go empty handed home. Therefore, they always have some revenue to support their families and pay their bills.

From the above discussion, it is clear that Uberx in Kenya works under the PPP business model. This means that Uberx has given rise to a Public Private Partnership

which in turn has brought forth a sharing economy situation. It is a PPP since the Kenyan Government (a public entity) has given Uberx (a private company), permission to provide a public service (transportation) to its citizens. A sharing economy is achieved when underused or unused assets owned by individuals are turned into productive resources for a percentage of the profits (Wallsten, 2015). A Sharing economy generates value by matching these unused assets with ready consumers who are willing to pay for this service. The Uberx application provides a link between consumers who are in need of transportation and willing to pay for it with drivers who are willing to provide this service. Both the consumer and the driver have the Uberx application installed in their smartphones. The customer uses the smartphone to indicate that they need a ride and the nearest driver is alerted to the customer's location. Having payment information and distance information of the ride, the application calculates fare based on distance traveled and time spent and charges the customer for the ride via the application and deducts a certain percentage of the fare. In Kenya, a kilometer is charged Ksh.30 while a minute is ksh.4 (Agutu, 2017). Since Uberx makes productive use of unused or underused driver's cars and keeps 25% of the profits made, it gives rise to a Ride sharing service which in turn leads to a sharing economy.

The genius of Uberx and the reason for its success in Kenya is the fact that it has harnessed new technology, in a world where almost everyone constantly uses a smartphone every single day, it is only logical that using the same device to provide a much needed service would only be successful. Participants reported that anyone with a smartphone can easily access the Uberx application and ask for a pick up from anywhere in Nairobi.

## 4.2.2 THEME 2: ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND RISK

Participants all reported that they were aware of the persistent problem of youth unemployment in Kenya. On this account, most of the participants agreed that they were entrepreneurs since they use their own cars to work for Uberx. Participant 10 explained,

"I have my own car and since I started working for Uberx I am my own boss because I get to control my business from what time I start and end work."

Participants who did not own their cars reported that they also choose their own working hours and once they reach their daily target, they can choose whether to continue working or take a break. Participant 23 added,

"I am definitely an entrepreneur because I run and manage my own business which is driving clients in this car. As much as I am not the owner of the car, I still get to decide what time to start and end work and when to give myself a break."

Traditionally entrepreneurship is defined as the capacity and willingness to develop and manage a business venture along with any risks in order to make a profit (Business Dictionary). From this traditional definition, it is clear that an entrepreneur is one who starts his own unique business and turns it into a profit. This definition is confined to the ability to launch a new unique business and running it. This is similar to Joseph Schumpter's Innovation theory which holds that in order for one to be an entrepreneur, they must be innovative, create a new product and discover a new market for the product (Shane, 2003). Problem with this definition is that, most of these unique types of businesses end up collapsing due to lack of funding or poor management decisions. For these reasons, there was a need to reinvent the definition and form a Conventional definition of entrepreneurship which is that an entrepreneur is an individual

who identifies business opportunities, carefully evaluates them and finally decides to use the assets at their disposal to exploit these opportunities to create profits. From this definition, Uberx drivers have identified the need for efficient transport systems and use their cars which are the assets at their disposals to offer these services at a fee that allows them to pay for their car services and still realize a profit.

A key aspect of entrepreneurship according to Frank Knight's bearing theory is taking on risk (Knight, 2005). Entrepreneurship is always associated with a certain level of uncertainty. An entrepreneur is willing to put his own financial security at risk in order to venture into an uncertain business. From the interviews conducted, it is clear that the participants are never sure if they will get clients when they wake up in the morning. Therefore, they always take a risk each and every day in the hopes that their effort and patience will pay off. From this, they fulfill Knight's key aspect that an individual needs in order to qualify as an entrepreneur.

Another key aspect of entrepreneurship is the ability to recognize existing opportunities and gaining conscious knowledge to exploit these opportunities. This aspect was developed by Israel Kirtzner who considered readiness to recognize opportunities more important than innovation or development of a new product (Shane, 2003). For him, the entrepreneur does the following things: subconsciously discovers an opportunity to make money; finances this venture by borrowing money from a capitalist; he uses these acquired funds for his entrepreneurial venture; and finally pays back the capitalist for his help and keeps his entrepreneurial profit (Shane, 2003). From this definition, even the Uberx drivers who do not own their own vehicles are entrepreneurs. This is because, they have identified the need for better and faster means of transport for Kenyans; Uberx (the

capitalist), offers them a loan to buy cars or connects them with owners of cars who can lend their cars for this service; they then use these cars to earn income; and at the end pay the capitalist a cut of their income for his help and keeps the profit from his entrepreneurship.

Entrepreneurs use certain strategies including making use of available technology to their advantage. Uberx is the one that harnessed available technology to link up the market and the supply of transport services and that can be considered as the first entrepreneur in this chain. To further explain this, one of the earliest theories was developed by Richard Cantillon who identified an entrepreneur as an agent who buys means of production and makes them into a new product. In summary, his theory concluded that an entrepreneur connects producers with the customers (Shane, 2003). From this definition Uberx is the entrepreneur. However, drivers use this technology and the connection to customers created by Uberx every day to get clients from all over. In a world where almost everyone owns a smartphone, it is entrepreneurial to use this device to one's advantage to make profit. According to the participants of the study, the first thing most of them do when they wake up is log onto the Uberx application and as soon as they do, business starts coming in with requests from customers nearby.

From the above discussion, Uberx drivers can be regarded as entrepreneurs since they invest in their own assets, manage all the aspects of their business, take on the risk of their investment, make their own hours for working and can control how much revenue they earn based on the number of hours they decide to work each day.

## 4.2.3 THEME 3: CHALLENGES

As a taxi driver, there are very many challenges that one faces including accidents, rude customers and unsafe working conditions. As an Uberx driver the challenges only increase instead of decreasing. When Uberx was first introduced in Kenya, Uberx drivers still faced a lot of rejection from other taxi drivers and these rejections have even gone as far as being attacked violently because of their association with Uberx. 'Traditional' taxi drivers orchestrated a wave of attacks on Uberx drivers in 2015 and 2016 going as far burning some of their cars because, as they stated, Uberx was stealing their business (Warner, 2016). As one Uberx driver reported, one night as he was driving to pick up a client, he got stuck in traffic and four men carrying bats materialized out of nowhere and attacked his car (Warner, 2016).

Recently, however, Uberx drivers have faced attack and rejection from their colleagues. Following a disagreement between Uberx and its drivers about the pricing of ride fares since they reduced the amount of fare charged in an attempt to encourage more riders, a group of them went on strike and went on an attack spree of their fellow drivers who did not participate in the strike and chose to keep on working (Karanja, 2017). This group on disgruntled drivers has resorted to pouring oil on the seats of cars of drivers who refused to go on strike and soiling their clothes (Agutu, 2017). In Kilimani area, Uberx drivers were stopped and their passengers ejected from their cars.

Additionally, Uberx drivers face a major challenge from customers. Participant 15 stated in a worried voice,

"Sometimes I get drunk clients who end up giving me hard time on the ride, they either not pay, don't know where they are going or even black out immediately they get into the car and waking them up is a struggle."

Participant 28 pointed out.

"I have ever carried a client before and this lady blacked out on me. Once I reached her destination the watchman and I had to carry her to her house."

One participant reported that some clients do not pay the full fare or pay the wrong amount. Participant 6 stated,

"I hate the fact that I have to listen to people's problems throughout the ride and I cannot do anything about it since if I become rude to customers they will give me a poor rating. Perhaps the biggest challenge from customers is poor ratings."

Since clients are given the option of rating their driver, they have the power to affect the driver's ratings. Participant 4 reported,

"Clients are never happy no matter what you do, even if you are sweet as candy and offer them really good services like open the door, offer water and mints they will still give you poor ratings."

All the participants agreed that this was their biggest problem with clients.

Another major challenge facing Uberx drivers is the fact that the job is an unsafe one. Drivers have to look out for carjackers and thieves who target their cars. Additionally, participant 18 sadly explained, "Some of clients live in unsafe neighborhoods and driving them there puts me at risk as well. Moreover, participant 17 added,

"Since driving a cab literally means that I have to pick strangers, I can never know who I am driving, and some clients could only want a ride to cause trouble or steal from us."

On the road, accidents are a constant possibility and can occur at any time and even though one can be a very careful driver, other drivers may not be the same and may end up hitting their car.

Uberx drivers face the same problem that all other drivers face and that is regular breakdowns of cars, traffic problems, bad weather and other driving related problems including fines and harassment from traffic police. Participant 9 sadly mentioned,

"I get a lot of harassment from police officers and the traffic is one main challenge that we face. It is not easy staying in traffic for two hours."

However, these problems are amplified since Uberx drivers are in their cars and on the road for many hours every day. Perhaps another problem not readily recognizable by the drivers themselves that is caused by driving around in a car for many hours is health problems caused by lack of movement. Limited movement resulting from maintaining a sitting position for hours and a diet of fatty foods on the go leads to a very unhealthy lifestyle which makes these drivers prone to some health problems.

Another problem facing Uberx drivers is competition from other taxi services. Participant 12 stated, "Uberx is facing a lot of competition from Taxify and Little Cab but thee competitors will never get to where Uberx is." In Kenya particularly, Uberx is currently facing stiff competition from Little Cab which is a result of a partnership between Safaricom (Kenya's leading telecommunications operator and Craft software which is a local software firm (The Conversation, 2017; Kimiko, 2017). This ride sharing

application is proving to be a worthy competitor since it has access to M-Pesa which is Kenya's leading mobile money platform and the fact that the company offers free Wi-Fi to its passengers. Its access to M-Pesa is perhaps its most competing aspect since most Kenyans use the service to send and receive money all over the country. Uberx having no access or plans to integrate M-Pesa into their system could end up costing them their popularity with customers.

A problem facing the driver that comes from the company itself is the amount of money Uberx deducts from each fare. According to participants, Currently, Uberx deducts 25% of each fare and after this deduction and payment of car services, some drivers take home very little money which rarely gets them by. Participant 25 complained,

"Uberx has a very high deduction rate of 25%. They should reduce it so that we can get something extra from our earnings. 25% is just too much they should reduce it to 15%."

The participants all agreed that this was a high percentage especially in light of the recent fare reductions. Additionally there is a potential major problem that could affect Uberx drivers which also comes from the company itself. As a way of dealing with competition, Uberx is looking to reduce their fare prices to encourage more riders (Kimiko, 2017). They plan to do this by introducing a new service which they have termed UberGo. This is a service where the fare will be reduced by half and drivers will be allowed to use cars that are much older and of a lower quality (Kimiko, 2017). If this becomes a reality, it would put the drivers at real risk since they will earn less revenue and Kenyans will always go for the cheaper option regardless of the quality of the car.

Despite all these problems, the participants and many other Uberx drivers remain working for the company. This could mainly be because, according to the participants, the company's management tries their best to resolve the issues. Respondents reported that Uberx's management is very responsive to the issues they raise and try and resolve them as fast as they can. Participant 21 reported,

"When customers fail to show up for the ride they requested, the company allows us to cancel the ride from our end which earns us Ksh.200 and if the customer fails to pay the fare, the company reimburses the fare to the driver."

Participant 25 added,

"If a car breaks down while transporting a client, the driver is allowed to order another Uberx ride for the client."

When it comes to accidents where the car incurs some damages, all respondents reported that the insurance company takes care of these payments and so the challenge of accidents and damages is minimized. According to the participant 13,

"Uberx does not handle anything to do with car damages or accidents since these have nothing to do with them."

## **4.2.4 THEME 4: SUSTAINABILITY**

Most participants of the study voiced their satisfaction with working for Uberx since it pays them well and they control the hours they work. Participant 30 happily reported,

"I am almost 100% satisfied with Uberx, it is giving me good earnings and I am my own boss."

They also voiced their views on Uberx management. Some Participants reported that the management favored them; other participants reported that the management is supportive; some of them reported that the management listens more to customers than they do to drivers; participant 22 happily reported,

"The management is perfect."

This was certainly an unexpected answer. He is actually the only participant who stated this; participant 10 reported,

"The management is very okay as long as one adheres to the rules."

On the contrary participant 28 said,

"We usually raise our problems but hey management take forever to respond to them. We have to go on strike for them to take action. They should work on that."

Most of them viewed the management as being good and that it worked really well; a substantial amount of participants claimed that the management tends to look the other way when it comes to their problems and that they give more attention to what clients say than they do to what the drivers say.

However, despite the various views that the drivers have about the management, they agreed that they have a good relationship with the management and that they respond to issues within reasonable time. Participant 19 told me,

"It is very hard for one to cross paths with the management. One must have done something really major for that to happen."

Participants, who did not own the cars they drive for Uberx, reported that they would like to purchase their own vehicle and put them in Uberx so they can continue to earn them more profits.

"This is not my car but I am working very hard to get my own since that way I will earn more." Participant 29 said.

Participant 14 who has his own car said satisfied,

"I am looking to have a fleet of cars working for Uberx, the more the cars the more the profit."

Additionally, people will always need to move around from place to place and for that they need vehicles to do so. Therefore, Uberx is offering a service that will be needed for many years to come. Moreover, the participants of the study all had confidence that Uberx has a bright future in Kenya and that it will last for very many years to come. With this said, it is right to say that the future of Uberx in Kenya is bright.

# CHAPTER FIVE CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presents the general and final conclusions of the study and the various recommendations the researcher has seen fit to the different stakeholders of Uberx.

## **5.1 General Conclusions**

This study set out to find out if the drivers working for Uberx in Kenya are entrepreneurs and whether their entrepreneurial ways are providing a workable solution to the ever growing problem of youth unemployment. To investigate this phenomenon, the researcher set out research objectives that guided the research and helped it form its conclusions. The objectives of this research were: To explore Uberx drivers perceptions of their role in the Uberx business model; To contextualize the success of the Uberx business model as a PPP in Kenya; To illustrate the implications of the Uberx model on Uberx drivers as entrepreneurs; and To analyze the influence of the challenges faced by Uberx drivers on the sustainability of the Uberx model.

The research method used was interview method of research and the area of research chosen was Nairobi City in Kenya. The researcher set out to interview 30 drivers and managed to conduct all interviews as per the plan of work set out. There was a lot of data collected and therefore there was a need to sort it out in order to present it as findings. Since all data was important, the researcher was careful on the method to use in order to minimize the volume of data presented but still managing to capture all important aspects investigated. For this purpose, the axial technique was employed which helped the researcher reduce the data collected to four themes that answered the

objectives set out in the study. These themes were: Sustainability, challenges, entrepreneurship and risk and role of Uberx drivers.

## **5.2.1** Recommendation 1: To Uberx

Participants of this research raised a number of issues that hinders them as drivers of Uberx which can easily be solved by the company itself. To begin with, there is the issue of an unstable pricing system which puts the drivers' earnings a risk. A part of the Uberx drivers have even gone on strike to protest this which has soured relations between them and the company. Therefore, the company needs to resolve this issue swiftly.

Additionally, there is the issue of the rating system. Participants brought to light that some clients raise issues where there are none and give out ratings when higher ones are required. Women especially are at a higher risk of receiving poor ratings when they turn down client advances. For this reason, the company needs to look into this matter to ensure that driver's receive a true rating from the clients. As a way to motivate the drivers, Uberx needs to introduce a system whereby the best rated every quarter of the year is given a great bonus. This could be a voucher, gate away or even a reduced deduction rate from your total earnings for a month.

Furthermore, the company should pay more attention to their drivers' grievances and make sure that they meet their needs and attend to their queries. They should also be aware that the clients are not always right and that some of them may only launch complaints against drivers due to malicious reasons. Therefore they should introduce a rating system for the drivers where they can comment about the rider immediately the ride has ended. Moreover, they should try and put in place measures that protect female

drivers from assault by clients and ways to bring justice to the victim if such an assault was to happen. For any sexual harassments reported they should immediately take action without fail.

Finally, participants voiced concern with the high rate of Uberx deductions of their fares. With the decreased prices of fare, the 25% that Uberx deducts from each ride has become more of a burden on drivers such that others realize very little profit. The company should introduce the 15% deduction policy where the drivers will be deducted a total of 15% out of their total earnings instead of 25%.

## **5.2.2** Recommendation 2: To drivers

Since Uberx drivers work in the service industry, there is a level of decorum required of people providing such service. Politeness to customers before, during and after the ride is essential since one can make more profit from customer tips. Uberx should have frequent customer care trainings. This could be done quarterly. To make sure every driver attends them, they should group them and have a roster for attendees.

Those drivers who do not own their own cars should try and get a loan to buy their own cars so they can make more profits without having to pay someone else a part of their earnings. Uberx can partner with a Sacco or any financial institution to give subsidized loans to their workers. To those who are the owners of their cars, they would do well to put up capital for the purchase of more vehicles that they can put to work at Uberx since demand is always there for transport and by doing so, they would be maximizing their revenue.

## **5.2.3** Recommendation 3: For Future Research

This research study made an attempt to increase understanding of Uberx drivers as entrepreneurs providing a practical solution to youth unemployment in Kenya. It was a qualitative study which made use of the interview method of collection of data and used Axial coding method of data analysis. After careful research of secondary sources, the researcher found no other similar research that has been conducted in Kenya. Therefore, this paper represents a start for development of a larger body of research into the subject and the company as well so that the conclusions of this paper can be valid and reliable.

A key area that could be best for future would be the client's view of the company. Since this study focused mainly on the supply side of Uberx, research should be conducted focusing on the demand side of the company. This type of research would be helpful and enlightening to scholars as they will be able to find out what the customers views are of the company and the drivers themselves.

It would also be prudent for future research to venture into the management of the company to find out the views of the company on the business itself. This type of research would be helpful to scholars as it would shed light on how the company perceives the customers as well as the drivers associated with the company.

## **5.3 Final Conclusion**

Results of this study suggest that Uberx has brought with it substantial job creation which is working as a part of the solution to the persistent problem of youth unemployment in Kenya. It provides the drivers with enough revenue to feed their families and since there are always clients at Uberx, it gives them a sense of job security. Participants concluded that they

were satisfied with Uberx as it is reliable, earn them good revenue and provides a constant supply of customers.

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#### **APPENDICES**

## APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE GUIDE

My name is Anita Samba Lenjo. I am a student at University of Nairobi. I would be very grateful if you would take some time to answer some questions about your work experience as an Uberx Taxi driver. I am collecting this data as part of my master's thesis which aims to find out how the partnership between Uberx and its entrepreneurial drivers like yourself are providing a practical solution to the problem of Youth unemployment that is plaguing Kenya at the moment. Your participation will be highly beneficial since it will enable organizations with such partnerships to know the quality of it and its benefits. The results of this project will be made available to you.

All answers will be treated anonymously and confidentially, and will only be used for research purposes. Be assured that your identity will remain anonymous and your responses will be treated with strict confidentiality. Your response will be given a pseudonym, and the transcripts will be kept under lock and key for the duration of this research. The responses will then be destroyed as soon as the work is

## **PART A**

## **DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS**

- 1. With which gender do you self identify?
- 2. How old are you?
- 3. What is the highest level of education?

## PART B

## CONCERNING WORK AND WORKING FOR UBERX

- 1. Prior to working for Uberx, where else did you work?
- 2. How did you know about the company?
- 3. Why did you come to work for Uberx?
- 4. Can you describe the hiring process to me?
- 5. Did you receive any training prior to being confirmed in Uberx? If so, describe this training to me.
- 6. Did the Uberx Company pay for this training if you were trained?
- 7. If you were not trained, do you think this component might benefit other interested entrepreneurs, how?
- 8. Now that you are an employee of Uberx, How long have you been working for this company?
- 9. How many hours a week do you work
- 10. Tell me, how working for Uberx has made a difference in your life.
- 11. Tell me, are you satisfied with working for Uberx? if so, why?, if not why?
- 12. Tell me, approximately how much do you earn?
- 13. Is this earning according to your expectations?
- 14. What would you suggest instead if you are not satisfied with the earnings?
- 15. Tell me, how do you feel about tips?
- 16. Tell me about the working conditions under which you work.
- 17. Tell me, how would you describe this relationship you as an Uberx driver have with the company?

## **PART C**

Now that you have enlightened me about yourself, I would like to move on to specific questions related to your current occupation.

## **ENTREPRENEURSHIP**

- 1. Tell me, are you aware of the high rate of youth unemployment in Kenya?
- 2. Describe to me your experience as an Uberx driver-partner?
- 3. Would you describe yourself an entrepreneur?
- 4. Tell me about your perception of the management of this company.
- 5. How does management respond to issues presented by drivers?
- 6. What are some of these issues for example?
- 7. Do you get bonuses? If so, under what conditions are they awarded?
- 8. Tell me what happens in case you do not get any customers?
- 9. Do you get days off?
- 10. Tell me, what happens if a driver's car is damaged?
- 11. What do you consider the best and worst thing about this job?
- 12. Does Uberx treat you fairly or are you considering finding another job?
- 13. What are some of the problems you face as a young entrepreneur in this partnership?
- 14. What is your take on the future of the Uberx Company?
- 15. Do you have confidence in its sustainability and longevity?

# PART D

# **CONCLUDING QUESTIONS**

1. Are there any questions you would like clarified or any of your answers that you would like to expand on or say more about? If so, which ones?

# APPENDIX B: TABLE SHOWING PLAN OF WORK

March	April & May	June	August &	October
			September	
Submission	Collection of	Analysis	Write Up	Defense
of Proposal	Data			
	Submission	Submission Collection of	Submission Collection of Analysis	Submission Collection of Analysis Write Up

# APPENDIX C: TABLE SHOWING PARTICIPANTS INFORMATION.

PARTICIPANT	GENDER	AGE	LEVEL OF	PRIOR	
			EDUCATION	OCCUPATION	
1	Male	36	Diploma	Garage Mechanic	
2	Male	37	Diploma	English Teacher	
3	Male	40	Form 4	Self-Employed	
4	Male	37	Form 4	Self employed	
5	Male	28	Form 4	Driver-Happy cabs	
6	Male	37	Form 4	Civil Engineer	
7	Male	35	University	Magnet Ventures	
				and Personal	
				Businesses	
8	Male	28	College	Distributor in	
				Westlands	
9	Male	35	Form 2	Wings Cab	
10	Female	30	College	Teacher	
11	Male	24	College	Teacher	
12	Male	37	Form 4	Taxi Driver	
13	Male	35	College	Self Employed	
14	Female	34	Diploma	Secretary	
15	Male	29	Certificate	Taxi Driver	
16	Male	30	Form 4	Clothes Seller	
17	Male	35	Form 4	Matatu Driver	
18	Male	40	Form 4	Taxi Driver	
19	Male	26	University	Unemployed	
20	Male	33	Diploma	Fruit Vendor	
21	Male	35	Form 4	Taxi Driver	
22	Male	28	University	Teacher	
23	Male	26	University	Online Marketer	
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24	Male	37	Certificate	Electrician
25	Male	25	College	Shop Attendant
26	Male	33	College	Clerk
27	Male	26	University	Account assistant
28	Male	29	College	Taxi Driver
29	Male	34	Form 4	Mason
30	Male	37	Form 4	Taxi Driver

## APPENDIX D: MAP OF NAIROBI



# APPENDIX E: UBERX LOCATIONS IN NAIROBI

