

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF POLICE HARASSMENT OF INFORMAL PUBLIC TRANSPORT OPERATORS IN TWO AFRICAN CITIES

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study delved into the complex realities faced by informal transport operators in the metropolitan cities of Ibadan, Nigeria and Durban, South Africa, highlighting the crucial role they play in urban mobility. The research has investigated the impact of various forms of harassment on work wellbeing, psychological well-being, and road safety, as well as the implications for the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 8 and 16.

This study adopted an exploratory methodological approach which is based on a mixed-method research design. A sample of drivers was drawn from the transport operators' cities of Ibadan and Durban. Further, an in-depth analysis through interviews and focus group discussions was conducted for key informal transport stakeholders. The findings revealed that informal transport operators in both countries experience significant levels of verbal and physical harassment, which adversely affect their work and psychological well-being. Notably, the impact of harassment varied between the two countries, indicating the need for context-specific interventions. The study also found that physical harassment increased the likelihood of road traffic crashes, while verbal harassment decreased it, suggesting a nuanced relationship between harassment and road safety.

To address these challenges, the study recommends the extension of existing human rights laws to encompass the unique needs of informal transport operators, as well as the implementation of targeted policies and strategies. These efforts should focus on fostering transparency and accountability in law enforcement, promoting equal access to justice, and combating corruption and bribery.

In addition, education and awareness campaigns can help to raise public understanding of the rights and roles of informal transport operators and contribute to a culture of respect and mutual understanding. Collaboration between the government, the informal transport sector, and civil society organizations is essential in developing comprehensive strategies that ensure a safe working environment and promote sustainable urban transportation systems.

In essence, this research has illuminated the pressing challenges faced by informal transport operators and underscored the urgent need for targeted interventions. By adopting the recommended policies and strategies, we can strive towards protecting the rights of these operators and fostering a safe, secure, and inclusive work environment for all.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACOMORAN	Amalgamated Commercial Motorcycle Riders Association of Nigeria	ODK	Open Data Kit
AMORAN	Articulated Motorcycle Owners and Riders Association of Nigeria	PMS	Park Management System
BRT	Bus Rapid Transit	RSA	Republic of South Africa
BRTS	Bus Rapid Transit System	RTEAN	Road Transport Employers Association of Nigeria
COSATU	Congress of South Africa Trade Unions	SANTCO	South African Taxi Council
DOT	Department of Transport	SATAWU	South African Transport and Allied Workers Union
DRT	Demand Responsive Transport	SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
FGD	Focused Group Discussion	SSATP	Sub-Saharan Africa Transport Policy Programme
FRSC	The Federal Road Safety Commission	T.C.T.C.	Trans City Transport System
GIS	Geographical Information System	TORAN	Tricycle Owners and Riders Association of Nigeria
ILO	International Labour Organisation	UN HABITAT	United Nations Habitat for Humanity
IPS	Impact Protection System	UN	United Nations
IPT	Informal Public Transport	UNITP	International Association of Public Transport (English)
IPT	Intermediate Public Transport	UNITP	Union des Transports Publics (French)
IPTS	Informal Public Transport System	USA	United States of America
JCP	Jamaican Constabulary Force	VIO	The Vehicle Inspection Office
KZ-N	KwaZulu-Natal	VOC	Volatile Organic Compounds
LASTMA	Lagos State Traffic Management Agency	WB	World Bank
MOT	Ministry of Transportation		
MTS	Mass Transport System		
NADTO	National Taxi Drivers Organisation		
NARTO	National Association of Road Transport Owners		
NLC	Nigeria Labour Congress		
NNPC	Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation		
NURTW	National Union of Road Transport Workers		

1. INTRODUCTION

Workplace harassment (consistent exposure to workplace bullying and mistreatment from co-workers, supervisor, their subordinates) is a widespread problem in today's workplace, with disastrous consequences for both targets and organizations (Rayner & Keashly, 2005). Much effort has thus been expended in documenting this major problem by evaluating its frequency and risk groups in various occupational groups and organizations (Zapf, Einarsen, Hoel, & Vartia, 2003), and several studies addressing the issue of bullying prevalence within different countries and occupational groups have been published (e.g., Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001). The informal transport operators in African cities are examples of occupational groups that are constantly exposed to workplace harassment.

Informal transport or para transit such as traditional taxi, tricycle (*keke*)(NAPEP), mini vans (*danfo*) and motorcycles (Okada) are the preferred means of transportation for many people in cities of developing countries characterized by the informality of services (Kumar, Zimmerman, & Arroyo-Arroyo, 2021). Politicians, the police, bureaucrats, a large and diverse number of vehicle owners, insurance companies, industry associations, drivers and their unions, touts, route and terminal managers, mechanics, and, of course, users or commuter are some of the key players in the informal public transportation sector (Klopp & Mitullah, 2015). It is characterized by antagonistic relationships between the many stakeholders who vie for personal gain and make life unpleasant for commuters (Kumar, Zimmerman, & Arroyo-Arroyo, 2021). An example of such antagonistic relationship is that which exist between police and informal public transport operators in many African cities.

For example, Nigerians commuting on the country's roadways, engaging in some sort of commerce, running day-to-day errands, or working within their offices are habitually exposed to extortion by the men of the Nigeria Police Force (Human Right Report, 2010). Similarly, police extortion is endemic in the South African society (Faull, 2007). *'Arrive Alive' (2021) summarized studies of crime in South Africa and revealed that the most obvious case of corruption occurs with traffic officials, followed by police. Corroborating this, Saferspaces, (n.d.)* states that in South Africa, the police have also been known to put up illegal roadblocks to collect money from motorists. While, Nkosi (2021) reported cases of police harrasing a black motorist who drive through their roadblocks in Durban, South Africa. In Nigeria, men of the Nigeria Police Force are seen most times armed with pistols and/or automatic machine guns, stopping drivers, asking, and collecting bribes from passing commercial vehicles they encounter (Adebayo & Ojo, 2009). Several road users particularly drivers of informal public transport who refused to pay the bribe required by police officers at roadblocks and tollgates have met their tragic demise at the hands of these police officers or have been victims of police brutality (Iyang & Abraham, 2013). The continuous disregard to public outcry on police harassment by the political class and the police hierarchy brought about the #ENDSARS protest in the major cities of Nigeria such as Lagos, Abuja, and Ibadan in October 2020.

The harassment of the informal public transport operators by law enforcement agents is a form of workplace harassment. Consequently, the International Labour Organization (ILO) met in Geneva in June 2019 (ILO Convention No. 190) to discuss everyone's right to a world of work free of violence and harassment, which include gender-based violence, acknowledging that violence and harassment in the workplace can

represent a human rights violation or abuse, and that such act of violence and harassment is a barrier to equal opportunities, and thus expects governments across the globe to put in place necessary laws and policy measures to prevent and address violence and harassment in the world of work (International Labour Organisation) [ILO], 2019).

The ILO recognizes that violence and harassment in the world of work affects the worker psychologically, physically, socially, and their sexual health and family. The ILO also stressed that violence and harassment affects the quality of public and private services, and may hinder women from having access, staying, and advancing in what they do (in this situation informal public transport operator). According to International Transport Workers Federation (ITF) (2020), the C190 is important to transport operators because of the following;

- Violence and harassment are a key issue for all transport workers,
- Transport is recognized in C190 as a vulnerable sector that is more prone to violence and harassment,
- The ILO has unearthed several gaps in legal protections for workers most exposed to violence.

Corruption on the road is endemic, and it is one of the main reasons the police have lost public trust in some African cities (Adisa, Alabi, & Adejoh, 2018). Specifically, corruption leading to harassment and violence. A search of countries that has ratified the C190 showed that both Nigeria and South Africa are yet to ratify the C190. Furthermore, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 8 and 16 provides a justification as to why it is important to investigate the rising case, and the consequence of the various forms of police harassment of informal transport operators in Ibadan, Nigeria, and Durban South Africa:

- Target 8.8 – Protect labour rights and promote safe and secure working environment;
- Target 16.1 – Significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere;
- Target 16.3 – Promote the rule of law at national and international levels and ensure equal access to justice for all;
- Target 16.5 – Substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all forms; and,
- Target 16.6 – Develop effective, accountable, and transparent institutions at all levels.

To this end, the study aims to explore police harassment experiences among informal public transport operators in Durban, South Africa and Ibadan, Nigeria.

2. STUDY RATIONALE AND OBJECTIVES

Without underplaying the study aim, the rationale for this study is derived from the need to explore wellbeing and threat to wellbeing among informal operators in African cities. This is continuously forwarded in the global discussion along inclusive cities for informal operators, viz-a-vis the argument that informality remains key to African city's economic development and sustainability.

Informal transportation includes minibuses, vans, taxis, station wagons, three-wheelers, and motorcycles that are informally providing services in many third-world cities, though they provide an important service that benefit the needy (Cervero and Golub, 2007). This mode of transport connects commuters between their places of work, or destinations and their homes. Therefore, "informality has emerged as a coping mechanism for many urbanites in the Global South" (Azunre et al., 2021). Despite informal transportation been the popular means of transportation for urban poor in Africa, the operators' livelihood and wellbeing remains threatened by various external shock. The most common among such stress to efficient functioning of Intermediate Public Transport (IPT) in African cities are the police officer through harassment. Police harassment of public transport operators is not new and is a global issue which takes various dimensions.

Despite the documentaries in news article on the continued harassment of IPT by police officers in Nigeria and South Africa, there still exist limited knowledge of the extent and dimensions of this harassment. In fact, this study further queries that the impact of harassment can be multi-dimensional. Thus, the major goal of the research is to examine and compare the consequences of police harassment on the operations of informal public transport, and on the well-being of operators in Durban and Ibadan.

To achieve this, the following objectives were forwarded: -

- To examine the police harassment among informal public transport operators in the study area,
- To examine the relationship between workplace safety, harassment experience, driving behaviour and mobility,
- To understand drivers' wellbeing and coping strategies to harassment in the study area,
- To proposed pragmatic strategies to manage safe working environment among informal transport operators.

The research questions are:

- What are the major forms of police harassment experienced by informal public transport operators?
- How does police harassment influence mobility and access, the driving behaviour of informal transport operators in the cities? Conversely, does police harassment have any road safety implication?
- How does harassment affect the wellbeing of the operators and what are their coping strategies?
- How might existing human right laws be extended to ensure that the rights of informal transport operators are protected; and what are the policies and strategies to adopt to ensure that informal transport operators have a safe working environment?

3. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

This study adopts an exploratory methodological approach to the research. George (2021) argued that exploratory approach allows for the investigation of research questions and objectives which has not been initially investigated.

This is often common in an interpretative manner such that a large sample or an undefined sample population can be accommodated in the data analysis process. Methodologically, this study provides foundation and preliminary understanding of police harassment of informal public transport operators in both Durban and Ibadan and vis-à-vis across Africa. As observed exploratory research allows for an 'adventure' oriented research process unto understanding a study subject (Stebbins, 2001), especially within a social environment or a culture (Žukauskas et al., 2018). Within this research narrative, a humanistic approach is also taken into consideration. This is aimed at unearthing the experiences of informal transport operators with men of police force. Thus, the human narrative (as it aligns to humanistic approach) is accommodated and put into perspective in this study, most especially because the experience can be individual within a working environment (Gillespie, 2005).

To achieve the research objectives, this study adopts a Mixed Method Research design which involves the use of qualitative and quantitative datasets. The basic premise of this approach is that such integration allows for a more complete utilization of data (Wisdom and Creswell, 2013). This allows for a vivid understanding of human (informal transport operator - police) experience. Since the goal of this investigation is to capture both the objective and subjective lived experience of informal transport operators, the mixed methods provide a good fit to understand the workplace harassment of informal transport operators.

4. PRIMARY DATA SOURCE

The primary data for this study is sourced from: informal transport operators survey (through questionnaire administration), key direct Observation, Interview Guide, and Geospatial analysis.

4.1. Structure Questionnaire Administration

Questionnaire as a survey instrument containing series of well-structured questions designed specifically to gather primary data from the field in a brief and precise form (Yusuf, 2013). For this study, informal transport operators in Ibadan, Nigeria and Durban, South Africa were served with structured questionnaire. The questionnaire administered is based on the regulated scale questions on police harassment and transport experience (Fitzgerald, 1990; Karasek & Theorell, 1990; Rospenda & Richman, 2004; Zheng et al, 2015). The detail of the questionnaire captures questions that surround harassment experience, trip pattern, coping strategies, and workplace experience within the city dwellers in the selected settlements (see Table 1).

G*Power (Faul et al., 2007; Faul et al., 2009) was used to determine the sample size from each country based on the following criteria: effect size of 0.5, error of 0.05, and a power of 95%. Based on this, a total number of 210 informal transport operators were sampled in total i.e., 105 informal transport operators from each city and country. Table 1 shows the frequency of Motor Parks in Ibadan and Durban.

Table 1: Frequency of Motor Parks in Ibadan and Durban

Country	Total Number of Public Motor Parks	Sample Size of the Motor Parks	Sample Size of the Operators
Ibadan, Nigeria	13	8	105
Durban, South Africa	30	15	105
Total	43	23	210

Source: Akogun, (2021) and <https://vymaps.com/ZA/KwaZulu-Natal/taxi-service/>

4.2. Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

This study took into consideration the environment, field (work area or city), participants observation and experience. Due to this, the Focused Group Discussion (FGD) remains relevant to improved data capture and validated the hypothetical narratives by informal transport operators of police harassment in Ibadan and Durban. Mishra (2016:1) defined focus group as a type of in-depth interview accomplished in a group, whose meetings present characteristics defined with respect to the proposal, size, composition, and interview procedures. It a good way of gathering respondents (informal operator) of similar backgrounds or experiences to discuss police harassment. A Focus Group Discussion (FGD) is a qualitative research method and data collection technique in which a selected group of people discusses a given topic or issue in-depth, facilitated by a professional, external moderator (van Eeuwijk and Angehrn, 2017). This method serves to solicit participants' attitudes and perceptions, knowledge and experiences, and practices, shared during interaction with different people. Intrac (2017) suggested that FGDs are typically carried out with between 6-12 people.

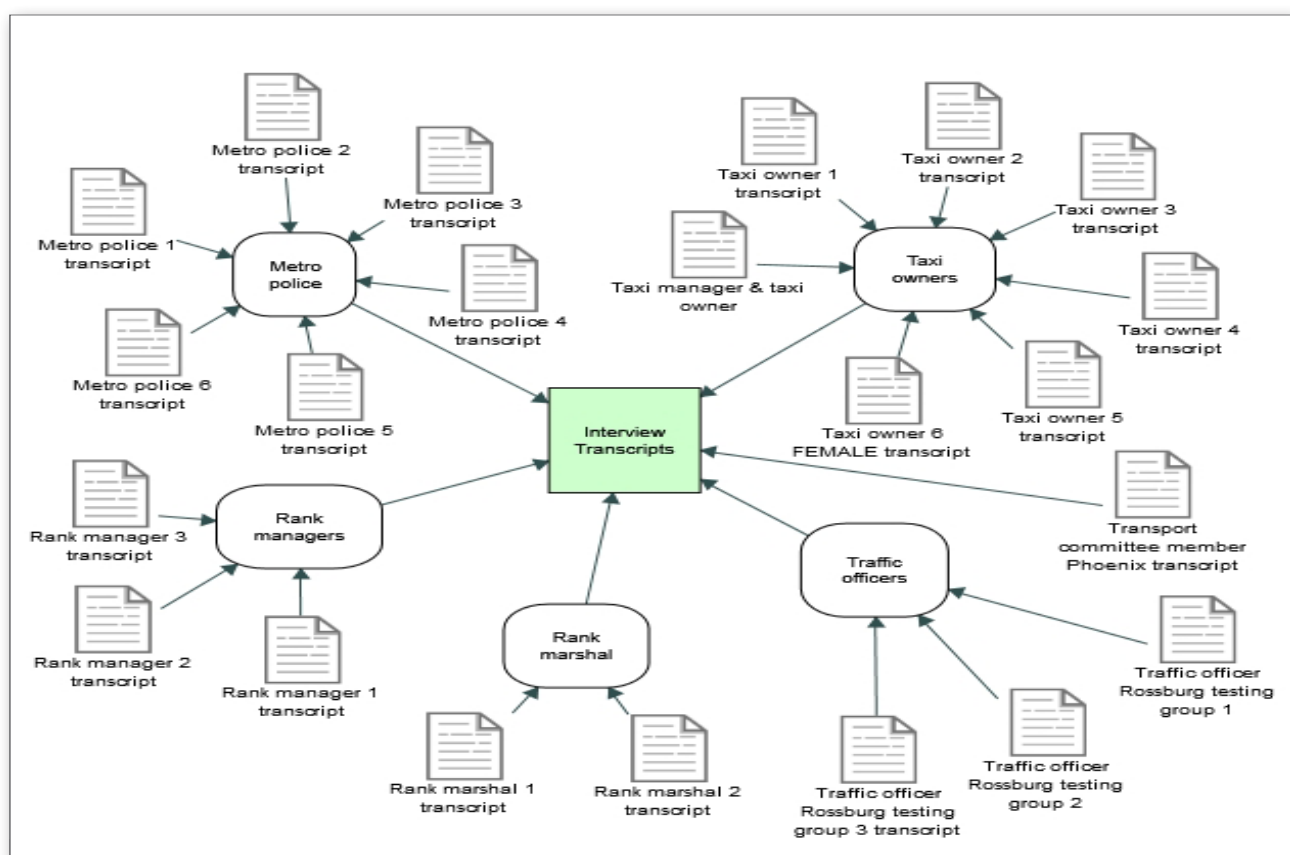
In this study, a FDG was conducted. This was done in Ibadan. Discussant in the study FGD were representatives from the Nigerian police, officer of the Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC), Vehicle Inspection Officers (VIO), and an academia involved in transportation studies. The objective of the discussion was towards arriving at improved collaboration between public transport actors.

4.3. Interviews

Semi-structured personal interviews were conducted across in the two African cities to obtain information on city transport system, traffic history, transport operator experience, transport policy implication on drivers, drivers' behaviour, trip and split pattern, history of harassment and the dimensions to improve mobility in the city. Interviewed people included transport operators, representatives of taxi associations, government officials, public transport commuters, and member of the police force. Interviews were also conducted with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and actors involved in transport system, mobility activism and police brutality and advocacy. The need for interview (structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews) in this study was targeted at decoding actions, thoughts and thinking of people (Fontana and Frey, 2005; Zhang and Wildemuth, 2009).

In this study, twenty-two respondents were interviewed (Figure 1) respectively across various transport stakeholders in Ibadan. The interview put into context the roles of the stakeholder agencies, institutions, or associations in public transport management.

Figure 1: A Diagrammatic Representation of Sampled Interviewee



Source: Authors' Analysis, (2023)

4.4. Field Observation

This study involved the use of field observation. According to Sarantakos (2005), ethnographic research (which involves the use of observation and interview) are used when critical and descriptive analysis is involved. Direct observation can be used to obtain information on important attributes, these being the physical conditions of motor vehicle (cars, buses, or tricycles), road network and police harassment location in this study. Participant observation was used to establish the road condition and traffic behaviour along the trip and study road corridors.

4.5. Geospatial Analysis

Geospatial mapping through the production of maps using ARCGIS was used to depict the motor park locations, map road network, roadblock points, location of harassment. The sampled transport operators' responses were likewise mapped through Open Data Kit (ODK) data capture process. ArcGIS was used in mapping facilities in relation to the surrounding environment.

The maps produced are: -

- Map of the study area;
- Map showing the motor parks location;
- Police roadblock;
- Harassment locations; and,
- Spatial autocorrelation maps of police roadblock.

The data collected were subjected to rigorous analysis to provide insights into the problem of police harassing informal transport operators in each city. Furthermore, contrasting and comparisons of the information were systematically done between the cities. The analysis of qualitative data was done using NVivo, while quantitative data were analysed using SPSS version 26. The spatial analysis was done using ArcGIS. The qualitative response was presented in themes and word clouds. Likewise, interview and FDG discussion pointers served as supportive data to quantitative analytical finding. The analysis was done in a way that results from each of the data type were complimentary of one another towards responding to the study aim.

5. PERSPECTIVES RELATED TO INFORMAL TRANSPORT OPERATORS AND TRANSPORT SYSTEMS IN NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

5.1. An Overview

Transport is an indispensable element of every society's socio-economic growth and development. In the words of Okolo (2006), transport infrastructure can be referred to as a pillar of development which accelerates socio-economic growth and reduces poverty. Interestingly, rapid urban growth in developing countries has led to an unprecedented increase in demand for mobility which as a result, has put enormous pressure on urban transportation infrastructure and services. The supply of public transport system had failed to meet the increase in mobility demands of urban population due to different constraints ranging from financial to institutional challenges. Consequently, other forms of transport operators penetrate the transport market space to fill these missing gaps which then led to the introduction of the Informal Public Transport System (IPTS) in many developing countries (Behal, Kumar and Tiwari, 2019). The Informal Public Transport System has also been referred to as Intermediate Public Transport or Para transit (Heinrichs, Goletz and Lenz, 2017) in many developing countries. In Developing Countries, the informal public transportation system become prominent with time, and this is evident in Thailand where there is presence of tuk-tuk, in Kenya there is Matatus (Behal, Kumar and Tiwari, 2019), while in Nigeria and South Africa there are *Danfos* (minibuses called *Taxis* in SA), *light ace buses*, and *micra cars*.

In Nigeria, according to the Nigerian Bureau of Statistics, Nigeria had about 11,547,236 vehicles plying Nigeria roads as at the third quarter of year 2017. Of these, 4,656,725 vehicles are privately owned, 6,749,461 are used for commercial purposes, 135,216 are government owned while 5,834 are registered for diplomats. From the above statistics, it can be inferred that commercial vehicles constitute about 58.4 percent of total vehicle population in Nigeria. In terms of vehicles per 1000 population, a total of about 34.9 vehicles are available per 1000 Nigerians. In a country with population of about 200 million, this percentage is extremely low to cater for the transportation need of Nigerians (Nairametrics, 2017). The informal taxi industry has sprawled into a vibrant industry (Booyesen and Akpa, 2014). Taxis account for 65% of all public transport in South Africa (14 million passengers annually) (TETA, n.d) while buses and trains account for 21 and 14 percent. There are an estimated 20,000 taxi owners in South Africa, with a total of more than 200,000 taxis (Mercatus, 2006; Arrive Alive campaign, undated). The taxi industry employs around 185,000 people, mostly drivers. A taxi driver spends on average 8.8 hours per day on the road and works an average of 6.33 days per week (Booyesen et al., 2013). According to Road Traffic Management Corporation [RTMC] (2011, 2017) in the Road Traffic Report, there are 310187 (an increase from 285,858 in 2011) registered Minibuses on the road. Why there are additional 61836 registered buses on the road (2017)?

6. UNDERSTANDING THE INFORMAL TRANSPORT SYSTEMS

In many developing countries, informal transportation system can also be referred to as paratransit, low-cost transport, or unconventional transportation system which in many cases, are always less regulated, chaotic, and terribly organised (UITP, 2010; UN-Habitat, 2012). This transportation system involves the use of private and different types of vehicles that are believed to be cost effective in meeting peoples mobility demand. The transport modes vary in size, type, and operations globally. In some Asian developing urban centres such as Madras, Caracas and Delhi, there are informal transportation modes such as Duto, pedicab, bicycle, rickshaw, and hand cast (Parker, 1979). In the United States of America (USA), their informal transportation modes include jitney, dial and ride, subscription bus, vanpool, shared taxi among others (Kirby et.al, 1975). While in South Africa and Nigeria, the popular informal transportation systems are small vehicle such as taxis, *Danfo* (minibus), *Molue/Bolekaja* (adapted vehicles which are built on truck chassis) among others (Aworemi, Salami, Adewoye, and Ilori, 2008; Booysen and Akpa, 2014). Many of such of these informal transportation systems can be found in many other cities in developing countries and to some degree, lack proper registration and official documentations (Heinrichs, Goletz and Lenz, 2016; Nairametrics, 2017). In Egypt, informal transportation system represents about 52% of all trips, while it is 95% in Dakar (Godard, 2006). In Nigeria, this transportation system predominantly constitutes about 98% of the trips which is largely regulated by the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) (Adetayo, 2020). This predominance is driven by increasing population, shortage and poor performance of government provided public transportation (Pucher and Korattyswaroopam, 2004; Schalekamp and Behrens 2010).

Unfortunately, there is dearth of statistics of the transportation system in almost all the states and urban centres in Nigeria including Ibadan, Oyo State. However, referring to the Nigeria's economy capital, which is in same region with Ibadan, it is estimated that there are 8 million people moving in over 5 million private cars and 200,000 commercial vehicles which includes minibuses and tricycles operating in the informal transportation system of Lagos State (Azuh, 2021). Though, this figure still seems ridiculous considering what is seen, but this is the official figure presented by the agency who presented the empirical data.

Generally, the informal transportation system is mostly occupied by operators that can be regarded as self-employed entrepreneurs who are not registered officially with state agencies. These operators work for long hours and very hard to earn satisfactorily because of the competitive nature of their market space. As highlighted by Cervero (2000), the informal transportation system has the following characteristics: entrepreneurialism, small and aging vehicle, low performance series and competitive, niche market. While in the works of Aworemi, Salami, Adewoye, and Ilori, (2008), the IPTS and their operations have common features and characteristics in most developing countries. They offer personalized services, particularly for passengers going to specific directions or places. Another common feature observed is that informal public transport vehicles offer more flexible services than formal mass transit. They offer more convenient door-to-door services or drop passengers on request at specific un-predetermined destinations. Inadequate vehicle maintenance, neglect, and desire to maximize profit as much as possible resulted to standard of services and over-use of vehicles. Consequently, many of the vehicles used as informal public transport are noisy, smoky, rickety, and jolty, which pose specific environmental problems to the road and the road users (Fadare and Hay, 1990).

Thus, the system works although at a considerable risk to the operators and high cost to the users. People patronize them because the household budget is too low to secure alternative modes and the available formal transport vehicles are too few to accommodate the moving masses. For instance, IPTS provided by *gbakas* in Cote d'Ivoire in 1983 had a daily traffic of 15,000 vehicle trips that carried about 200,000 passengers on two main routes adjacent to the city centre, while the public company carried 160,000 passengers on the same routes. Since 1980, the service provided by the informal sector on these routes has jumped by 75 percent in one and 21% on the other (Lehuen, 1983 cited in Aworemi, Salami, Adewoye, and Ilori, (2008). The costs of *gbakas* per seat – kilometre was roughly similar to the costs for the public standard buses. The public service operates with a heavy deficit, whereas the privately owned *gbakas* were making comfortably profits (Aworemi, Salami, Adewoye, and Ilori, 2008).

The difference in performance especially in terms of revenue generation could be attributed to more strenuous working conditions of the *gbaka* employees, who ran three times as many vehicle – kilometres more than the public bus employees, and to higher loading factors, which average 73 – 85% a day, compared with 45 percent for the public bus company. In Khartoum, there is non-availability of spare-parts for the locally assembled vehicles known as *bakassi* because of their box-like appearance. As a result, passengers must be on waiting line for hours and consequently there existed intolerably crowded conditions (Aworemi, Salami, Adewoye, and Ilori, 2008).

6.1. The Roles and Benefits of (IPTS)

The informal transport system provides real and meaningful benefits to significant segments of populations of developing countries' cities. The review below was extracted from Cervero (2000).

6.1.1. Mobility and Development

The primary advantage of informal transportation is that it provides much needed and appreciated mobility, particularly for the impoverished and the public. Many people in poor countries do not own or have access to private vehicles, relying solely on public transportation to get to work, markets, medical facilities, and other locations. Informal transportation companies provide essential services where bus and metro services are infrequent, unreliable, or non-existent. Many people go on roads that are highly pocked and rutted. During heavy rains, a tricycle or motorcycle can navigate roads and passageways that are impassable by motorized vehicles.

6.1.2. Employment

Informal public transport system provides urgently needed jobs for hundreds of thousands of unskilled young men and women around the world, many of whom have recently migrated from the countryside in the hopes of bettering their lives. Drawing from data from Sub-Saharan Africa Transport Policy Programme (SSATP), International Labour Organisation (ILO) and World Bank (WB), Baffi and Lannes (2021) exemplified that there are about 75,000 minibuses and 200,000 motorbike taxis in Lagos, 7500 minibuses in Tanzania, and over 250000 minibuses in South Africa, responsible for between 20000 to 500,000 direct and indirect jobs these nations. Informal transportation is frequently used to access urban employment. Most drivers aspire to improve their situation in the future by finding work that pays more, is safer, and is less physically demanding. Informal transportation can help them establish themselves until they can find a better career.

6.1.3. Complementarity

Official operators frequently rely on informal transportation to establish feeder links between neighbourhoods and main routes. Feeder services are more expensive per passenger journey than mainline services since they carry fewer passengers. As a result, informal services assist public transportation operators by increasing connectivity and offloading higher-cost services. Paratransit modes such as pedicabs, motor bikes, minibuses, and jitneys, improve mobility by compensating for the lack of functional, and dilapidated road networks in many developing countries (Cervero, 2000; Behrens et al., 2015; Falchetta et al., 2021; Randall et al., 2023). The wide range of paratransit services available in Southeast Asia creates a hierarchy of services in terms of seating capacity, operating speeds, and geographic coverage, which helps to compensate for the lack of adequate distributor roads and the discontinuity of local streets.

Considering dwindling public resources and institutional capacities, informal transportation has played a critical compensatory role. Cervero (2000) noted that between 1986 and 1989, for example, the supply of buses accessible to public transportation firms in Sub-Saharan African cities declined by 12%, despite population growth of 6 to 9%. Nairobi's matatus, Ghana's trotros, and Nigeria's okadas have stepped in to make up the gap. In the early 1990s, extreme overcrowding on public buses in Rio de Janeiro prompted the invasion of 600+ clandestine buses, or about 10% of the regional bus fleet. In Asia, where recent financial crises have impoverished public coffers and debilitated many public services, the informal transportation industry has been inadvertently enlisted to meet expanding mobility demands. Crossing the city in Phnom Penh, which lacks a public transportation system, leaves carless residents with few options other than riding a bicycle, hiring a cyclo (pedicab), or hopping on one of the city's thousands of motorcycle taxis, known as moto-dub (a Khmer version of the French moto-double two-seat motor-scooter).

Informal transportation services, in addition to providing complementarity, tend to expand service offerings by providing additional diversity and uniqueness. A "one-size-fits-all" public transportation system predominates in much of the developed world. Often, the only alternatives to driving one's own automobile are pricey cabs or traditional 55-passenger buses that run on set routes every thirty minutes. Travel preferences are extremely diverse; some people desire speedy, comfortable services and are willing to pay a premium charge for them, while others are content to travel more slowly and forego some comfort in exchange for a farebox break. Informal transportation adds to the diversity of urban transportation options.

6.1.4. Efficient Low-Cost Services

Informal transportation, as previously stated, is both resourceful and cost effective. Costs are kept low by hard labour and no-frills services. High patronage counts are the result of a desire to maximize profits and rapid passenger turnover. Independent operators are also extremely responsive to new and altering market trends because they are not bound by petty rules and bureaucracy. According to research, commercial jitneys and minibuses provide net economic gains. According to Waiters (1979), transport subsidy for minibuses in Kuala Lumpur costs about US\$ 26,000 annually. It was presented that minibuses in Hong Kong enjoy as high as 130 percent return on capital investments (Roth & Wynne, 1982; Lee, 1989). As passenger volumes exceed a particular threshold (typically 5,000 or more per direction per hour), paratransit's economic benefits begin to erode, reflecting tiny vehicles' difficulties in transporting big line haul loads.

As a result, paratransit is best used as a supplement rather than a replacement mode of transportation.

Informal services' efficiency benefits are anticipated to spread to the formal sector as well. Their presence alongside public bus and rail networks fosters market competition, putting competitive pressure on traditional operators.

6.1.5. Market Responsiveness

In reaction to changing market conditions, informal operators can simply change schedules, routes, and operating practices. In response to increases in suburb-to-suburb commutes, trip-chaining, and off-peak travel, private minibuses, and micro-vehicle operators are more likely than public authorities to create new, tailored services. Protected monopolies' rigidities and unresponsiveness to changing markets contrast sharply with their natural flexibility and sensitivity to changing markets.



7. CONCERNS AND CHALLENGES OF INFORMAL PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS

Many people are pressuring the government to regulate, if not outright ban, the informal transportation system. One major worry is that the sector causes enormous negative externalities, such as traffic congestion and accidents, which endanger public safety and welfare.

Critics argue that the industry encourages overzealous competition and predatory behaviour because it provides virtually unregulated services in poor cities with high unemployment rates. Overcrowding and accident risks result from too many operators fighting for a limited number of passengers. Other identified perennial risks associated with IPTS are health risk and trauma. Some of these issues are deduced from the works of Cervero (2000), Booysen et al. (2013), Badiora et al. (2015) and Afolabi and Akibo (2020) and summarised below.

7.1. Traffic Congestion

Critics argue that free market access leads to an oversupply of service providers and ruthless competition in the effort to survive in the marketplace. Informal transport operators and drivers drive recklessly by cut each other off, parking and stopping in undesignated stops or parks; thus, causing traffic congestion and sometimes threat to urban road safety and security through fighting and accidents (Ipingbemi, 2010; Wachira, 2014; Dumba, 2017; Wanjiru, 2018; Makokha, 2018; Chikengezha, 2020). The location of the marketplaces and bus terminals near major crossroads, and the swarm of private informal operators' forms bottlenecks, impeding traffic upstream.

Furthermore, many informal services are regarded as inefficient road users. While minibuses and three-wheelers utilize more road space per passenger than traditional buses, the advantages of smaller vehicles' manoeuvrability and higher speeds partially outweigh this. Pedicabs, or human-powered three-wheelers, have long been scolded for clogging up highways, and several towns in developing countries have prohibited them. According to Hanoi officials, a pedicab (locally known as *cyclo*) passenger requires a space 20 times greater than a bus passenger. Rather than outright prohibiting them, some towns, such as Yogyakarta, Indonesia, and Dhaka, Bangladesh, have set aside lanes for slower-moving vehicles such as pedicabs.

Without a doubt, unguided and uncontrolled urbanization has increased the strain on existing transportation infrastructure, resulting in a perpetual state of gridlock that occurs when an urban road network can no longer accommodate the volume of traffic that uses it, a situation in which roadway demand exceeds capacity. Furthermore, unplanned city growth and haphazard land use distribution are sometimes to blame for traffic congestion, which wastes time for city dwellers, reduces personnel output, and causes physical and psychological pain. Congestion has also contributed to an increase in the environmental burden of urban transportation.

Traffic congestion is a severe socioeconomic irritation generated by IPT providers; their flagrant disdain for the safety of its passengers, particularly at pick-up or drop-off sites, is concerning, impeding traffic flow, especially during peak hours.

7.2. Disorderly operations and unfair practices

Competition for clients is fierce, which leads to erratic and collectively harmful driving behaviour. Informal operators frequently run ahead of formal, scheduled services, arriving first at congested pick-up places. If demand falls below a certain threshold, drivers may decide to suspend service entirely. When there is more money to be made traveling the other way in Kingston, Jamaica, illegal operators known as “robots” *have been known to eject everyone out of their vehicles, turn around, and head the opposite route. Such unethical activity is motivated by a desire to maximize personal benefit regardless of the consequences on others. This is a classic case of the “collective action dilemma,” in which individual goals conflict with the wider public good.*

Poaching is another widespread behaviour among informal operators, in addition to head running. Illegal van owners in Rio de Janeiro engage touts to lurk outside bus terminals and persuade waiting consumers to join a nearby van instead. Another popular kind of poaching is for unlicensed vans, pickup trucks, and sedans to stop and solicit customers at bus stations, where even taxicabs are typically prohibited. The consequences of fierce competition have perhaps never been more severe than in South Africa. Private minibus operators’ fierce competition for territory has devolved into full-fledged gang warfare, with fatal repercussions in certain cases. In Johannesburg, pirates have gone to measures to eliminate competition, including boarding rear seats of genuine minibuses and murdering their competitors, in what has been described as a “death from the back seat” strategy.

7.3. Accidents/road crashes and public safety

Informal operators are infamous for driving aggressively and carelessly because to hyper competition. Cutting off automobiles to pick up fares, obstructing lanes to load and unload people, overloading, driving dangerous vehicles, disobeying red lights, and excessive cruising and hawking for clients are all common practices. Some jitney drivers flout traffic laws deliberately and openly, though, to be fair, severe violations of traffic laws are frequent in most of the developing world, not just among jitney drivers. Others are just uninformed of traffic laws due to a lack of driver education and illiteracy. Long, strenuous work hours can contribute to driver weariness, which is a major cause of accidents. When too many people are allowed on board, safety is jeopardized. When vehicles are abruptly stopped due to overcrowding, children, the elderly, and the frail are put in danger. Pickpocketing and bullying, which have become virtually epidemic problems in parts of Central America, are also encouraged. Accidents are only exacerbated by the widespread usage of improperly maintained vehicles with underinflated, bald tires. In addition, mixed traffic operations of highly susceptible modes such as motorcycle taxis and pedicabs (many of which operate in vehicle drivers’ blind areas) encourage significant injuries and fatalities.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, it was reported that despite the Imapct Protection System (IPS) being considered as a safe alternative in the developed world, public transport is a dangerous option in SSA. This fact is best illustrated by the numerous night vigils that are held by would-be passengers the night before a long-distance journey, but also substantiated by the high number of fatal taxi accidents. It was argued that the authorities also do not have the capacity to effectively police compliance to legislation relating to driving speed, occupancy (overloading), and responsible driving.

7.4. Air pollution and environmental problems

For a variety of reasons, minibuses, motorized pedicabs, and for-hire station wagons are major polluters of air and noise: diesel propulsion; the lack of catalytic converters; reliance on old, decrepit vehicles with under tuned engines; frequent acceleration and deceleration in congested traffic; and the prevalence of low stroke engines. Even fully loaded buses generate more hydrocarbons and carbon monoxide per kilometre than Delhi's enormous population of two-wheel motorcycles (1.8 million) and two stroke engine driven auto rickshaws (78,000). Auto rickshaws in Dhaka emit 30 times more pollution than a regular car. Volatile Organic Compounds (VOCs) concentrations (precursors to smog formation) were 400 percent to 745 percent over approved norms in 15 air samples collected near a Dhaka auto rickshaw stand; toluene (a recognized carcinogen) concentrations were also dangerously high. On a typical daily in Calcutta, where auto rickshaws and private buses of all sizes handle over 6 million journeys, an estimated 60% of residents suffer from respiratory ailments caused by airborne pollutants. Usually informal transport operators gather in the densest parts of cities, where pollutants and toxins are most easily retained and entrapped, air pollution concerns are worsened. Poor vehicle upkeep, which is typical among cash-strapped informal operators, exacerbates the problem, as does the use of poorly refined local gasoline. The prevalence of outdated, badly maintained two stroke motorcycles, auto rickshaws, and minibuses (auto tempos) in a city like Dhaka, where the number of motor vehicles is modest by global standards, results in air pollution being a severe concern.

When it comes to informal transportation services, there is a distinct lack of any kind of normative policy framework. This is mirrored in the disparities in how similar informal transportation services are regarded and treated in various parts of the developing globe. Jakarta's decision to phase out the pedicab industry by seizing cars and tossing them into the water contrasts with Manila's embrace of pedal-powered transportation as a viable feeder service in major commercial districts. Nairobi has openly embraced and pushed private minibus and pick-up truck services, these commercial services have all but disappeared in Abidjan.

7.5. Insecurity and Crime

Largely due to the risk that various modes of transportation face in Nigerian cities today, security in transportation modes has been a prominent topic of discussion among stakeholders in the transportation sectors. According to evidence, Nigeria faces major challenges due to a lack of a comprehensive transportation security policy, an insufficient legal and regulatory framework for transport security equipment, insufficient security financing, and ill-equipped training facilities.

Insecurity is one of the issues that the informal public transportation service faces. Daily, various types and types of crime are committed. According to Otunola et al. (2019), the IPTS lacks skilled employees and proper policing, making it a sanctuary for criminal actions such as pickpocketing, other sorts of harassment, robbery, and "one-chance" kidnapping. *Commuters who sleep or sit near the window side of the bus in Lagos, where crime is rampant, have heard their fair share of stories of goods being stolen by the unknown. Victims are flung out of moving buses, resulting in injuries and, in rare cases, death. In South Africa, dimensions of crime range from xenophobic activities, park gang and shooting, reckless driving, rape, passenger harassment and embarrassment* (Page and Moeketsi, 2000; Kruger & Landman, 2007; Booysen et al., 2013).

8. DEFINING 'POLICE HARASSMENT'

Specifically, police harassment is a form of police misconduct. Unfortunately, even though there are common occurrences of police harassment, many are not particularly aware of what constitutes the act. The abnormalities have been so enormous that the populace use to them and now see them as normality. The reason for this is not farfetched. In a normal and saner society, members of the society expect police officers to protect the citizens as sworn by them to their oath. Not is the case in Nigerian society. There are series of cases where police officers hide under their professional duties to abuse their power by harassing people they are constitutionally meant to protect.

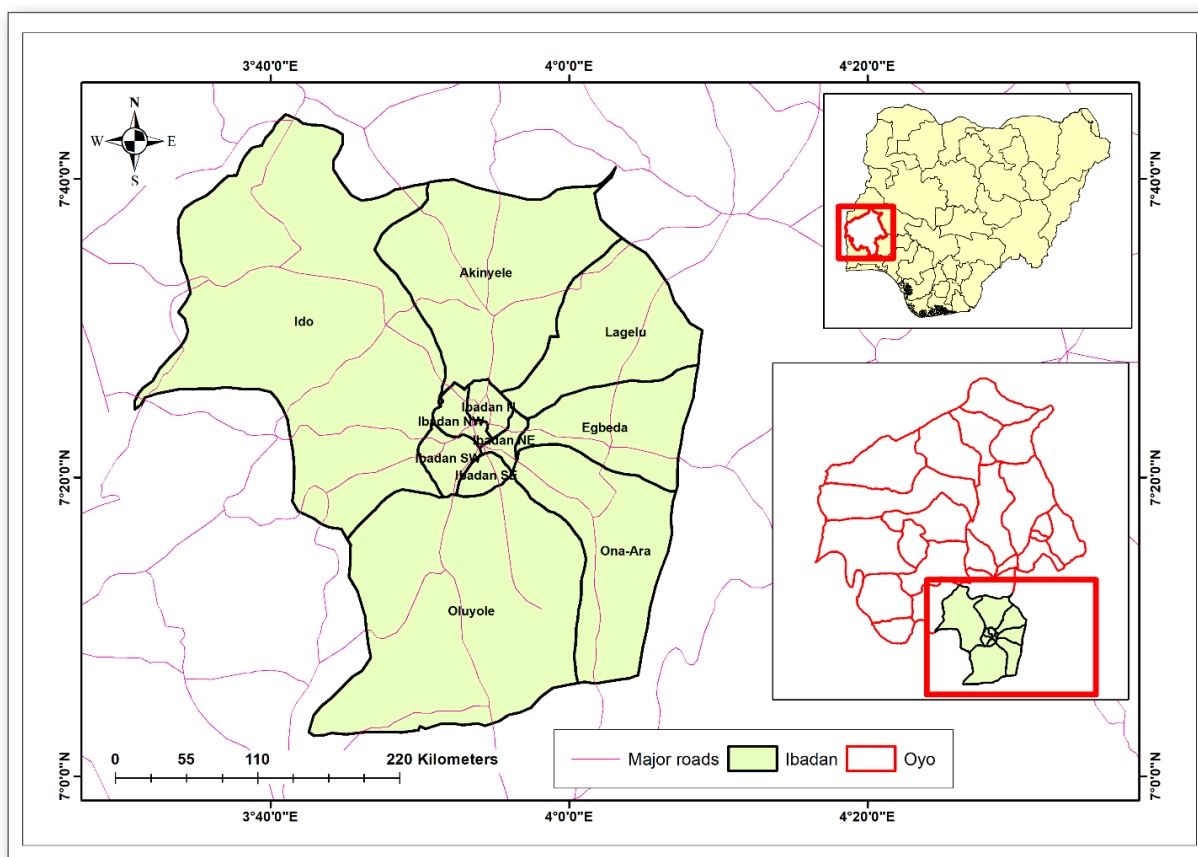
Police harassment starts from when an officer oversteps his professional boundaries and arbitrarily or continually stops one for no justified reason. This extends to aggressive questioning of an innocent person or conduct an illegal or unwarranted search and seizure without a justified legal basis (David Philips and Partners, 2017). In some cases, police officers who engage in harassment are merely abusing their authority because of the feeling of power it gives them. In other cases, police officers use their power to retaliate against others who have wronged them. Police officers may abuse their power by lashing out against groups of people they dislike or suspects with whom they have had previous negative encounters. Whatever the motivation, police harassment is illegal. Instances of police harassment are but not limited to illegal detention, financial begging and extortion, illegal search and seizure, use of excessive force, racial or ethnic profiling, illegal “stop and frisk” without *objectively reasonable suspicion*, making sexist, racist, or homophobic comments, sexual harassment, intimidation, surveillance abuse, political repression, off-duty harassment, false arrest, request for bribe among many others.



9. POLICE HARASSMENT AND INFORMAL PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS IN IBADAN, NIGERIA

9.1. The Geography of Ibadan

Ibadan, the capital of Oyo state derived its name from its location on the fringe of the forest zone near the savanna. Ibadan is located on latitude 7° 22' 39" N and 3° 54' 21" E. Ibadan city which first developed as a military camp is a dominant urban centre in Nigeria. Its sphere of influence extends to large cities in southwestern Nigeria such as Ile-Ife, Ogbomosho, Oshogbo, Oyo, Ondo, and Abeokuta. The local government areas in the city are namely, Akinyele, Egbeda, Ibadan North, Ibadan Northeast, Ibadan Northwest, Ibadan Southwest, Ibadan Southeast, Ido, Lagelu, Ona Ara and Oluyole (Map 1).



Map 1: Ibadan City Urban Area and its Peri-Urban Areas

Source: Authors' Mapping, (2022)

In terms of areal extent, Ibadan had an estimated area of about 130.5 sq. km in 1973. Since then, new developments including construction of the Ibadan-Lagos express way, establishment of the housing estate, the wire and cable factory and the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) oil storage depot at Owode on Abeokuta Road, building of new airport and Ajoda Town on Ife Road, building of the new army barracks near Ojoo has contributed to the expansion of the city. These developments generated urban sprawl in the southern and south-eastern sectors of the city. The increasing demand for land for residential purpose resulted in the spread of the city into the countryside, especially along Akanran/Ijebu-Igbo and old

life roads. Also, the Sango-Eleyele expressway engendered a rapid spate of construction of buildings to the south and east of the Eleyele reservoir and further to Ologuneru and Ido. Ibadan city has spread further into the neighbouring local government area of Akinyele and Egbeda. The expansion of the city has resulted in high dependence on private vehicle and informal transport modes such as motorcycle as taxis and buses are concentrated in the city centre.

The growth and pattern of land use in the city is associated with the provision of transport infrastructure. Although the city has road, rail and air transport, intercity and intra-city movements are dominated by road transport. The road network has an irregular pattern. Due to lack of planning, roads in the traditional areas with high population densities are narrow, winding and motorable roads are of low density. In the newer areas of the city especially at the periphery, government reservations and housing estates, there is a dense network of motorable roads.

9.2. Public Transport Outlook in Ibadan, Nigeria

Ibadan, the capital city of Oyo state, Southwest Nigeria (total land area of 3123 km²), is situated about 125 km inland from Lagos, and is a prominent transit point between the coastal region and the North. The population density of the metropolitan area is some 586 persons per km² (RUAFCFF 2007 cited in Moyo and Olowosegun, 2021). By the year 2006, Ibadan City had covered over 75,575.14 hectares, up from 101.23 hectares pre-1830. The spatial expansion naturally led to new roads and other transport facilities being constructed, but poor planning inhibited a commensurate increase in transport facilities. Based on the national population census, the population of Ibadan was 2,567,033 in 2006 but has grown to 3,756,445 in 2022 (World Population Review, 2022) while the growth of IPTS in Ibadan is a result of high population growth rate since 1960s.

Ibadan city has been experiencing rapid population growth and expansion of its environments in the past four decades because of rural migrants' influx into the city. The expansion was accompanied by a significant increase of the city's boundaries as well as a significantly higher level of industrial, economic, political, recreational, cultural, and social activity. This has resulted in the growth of low-income communities on the outskirts, and commuters from these places are putting strain on already inadequate public transit services (Ikporukpo, 1994; Egunjobi, 1999). The high cost of car maintenance in Nigeria because of the economic meltdown, the expansion of sub-urban areas, and the metamorphosis of villages into roadside settlements have also created a residential to work transportation problem in the Ibadan metropolis because of an ineffective and inefficient Mass Transit System (MTS). Consequent to these challenges in the city of Ibadan, government and the private sectors have come into partnership to provide intra-urban public passenger transport system to meet up with the increase in demand of mobility in the Ibadan city (Awoyemi, Ita, Lawal, Dienne and Onogbosele, 2013).

Over time, the governance of most countries' transportation systems (Europe, Asia, and Africa) has been distributed among several organizations, both public and private, leaving the transport organizational landscape fragmented (Paulsson et al. 2017). Due to the pressures of demand and supply, as well as the impact of new public management from structural reforms, informal public transportation systems are often administered by private people or groups (Cervero and Golub 2007; Van De Velde 2014). The increasing

division of responsibilities has sparked a theoretical discussion over the concept of governance (Paulsson et al. 2017). Governance theories are rethinking the relationships between public, private, and civil society organizations (Hajer and Wagenaar 2003 cited in Moyo and Olowosegun, 2021), calling for strategic governance of public transportation to respond to institutional reforms and accepting IPTS as an effective provision of services in developing countries. For example, in the 1970s, the Ibadan Municipal government created Ibadan City Transport services, which included the use of elegant buses capable of transporting people over large distances within the city (Awoyemi, Ita, Lawal, Dienne and Onogbosele, 2013). Additionally, the Trans City Transport Company (T.C.T.C) was established in 1980 under the administration of the military governor of Oyo-State.

The T.C.T.C. provides intra-city and inter-city transportation for Oyo-State residents. During the 1980s and 1990s, the majority of the major five local governments within Ibadan city were also involved in Mass Transit operations to alleviate transportation concerns within their respective jurisdictions. Unfortunately, by the mid-1990s, all the government-owned mass transit bus systems in Ibadan, particularly T.C.T.C, had withdrawn their intra-urban transport services and concentrated on inter-urban transport, leaving the provision of intra-urban bus services to private/commercial independent entrepreneurs and commercial motorcycles. Between 1999 and 2013, the successive government administrations have also established different Bus-Mass Transit scheme to improve urban mobility and enhance intra-urban transport services in the city. This includes Oyo-line between 1999-2003, Idera-De transport initiatives from 2003 to 2007, the commissioning of Oyato Transport Convenience from 2007-2011 and the establishment of Pacesetter bus and Keke Nappe (Ajose) transport scheme between 2011 till date (Awoyemi, Ita, Lawal, Dienne and Onogbosele, 2013).

In conclusion, because of the forgoing, the city of Ibadan has seen a rise in vehicular movement (both private and commercial) and known for its chaotic traffic, which was exacerbated by the presence of thousands of commercial motorcycle operators. As admirable as these efforts by governments and private entrepreneurs to provide Mass Transit for intra-urban movement in the city were, there were few successes due to the low-quality services provided by public transport operators (Mass Transit) and other constraining factors which will be reviewed in subsequent sections, is less satisfactory to urban commuters in Nigeria, particularly in Ibadan, where most urban dwellers are less accessible to these transport services.

9.3. Actors in the Nigerian Informal Transportation System

Based on several reports from the Nigerian national dailies and the few academic literature that are available, Nigeria's informal transportation sector is critical to the country's socioeconomic well-being. It's a Demand Responsive Transport (DRT) system that quickly adjusts services for the best pricing. The informal transportation sector of Nigeria's resilience and functionality are undeniable facts, which explains why over 75 percent of the people in Nigeria's cities rely on informal transportation for both work and non-work-related activities.

In a report by a Columnist of the Guardian Newspaper, Olaremi (2021) stated that the roles of actors in the Nigerian economy's service sector have shifted over the decades for a variety of reasons. A cursory summary, history, and anecdotal evidence suggest that the sector's very fluid adaptive capabilities determine the sector's realities to a great extent. Furthermore, it is well understood that the socioeconomic, political,

and regulatory environment in which an activity sector works has a significant impact on how that activity sector performs. These factors may have an impact on some aspects of the industry, with significant implications for performance, reputation, and functional perspective. So, it is important to track down the underlying explanations. This need is driven not only by the need to understand how the sector works and how government oversight of the sector can be improved, but also by the desire to figure out how the sector can better add value to the socio-economic fabric of cities where it has been serving as a proper advisory foundation for policy and regulations, as well as the identification of pockets of persistence.

He noted further that vehicle owners, drivers, conductors, terminal authorities, association officials, state actors and agencies and others who benefit from the sector are among the actors who collaborate to keep the sector thriving. Each actor delivers a distinct but complementary function that keeps the sector afloat. In certain circumstances, an individual actor may play many roles, such as *“owner-drivers,” who may be participating in various tasks at various times. Most car owners are business owners who may be active or passive participants in the industry. Regardless, they are responsible for most of the operation’s risks. Vehicle ownership is primarily private.*

To buy and maintain vehicles, private owners borrow money from family members and personal resources. About 15% of the lot is occupied by owner-drivers. In addition to the drivers, who are mostly young to middle-aged people. In most situations, drivers are younger than owners. Then there are the Conductors, who are mostly high school dropouts, part-time apprentices, full-time teenagers, or men in their 20s and 30s, and few who are occasionally older. Conductors are typically younger than drivers, yet they often aim to one day become drivers. Their main responsibilities include recruiting, arranging, and escorting passengers into the vehicles, as well as collecting fare and performing any additional jobs that the driver may assign. It is believed that nearly 50 % of actors in this sector derive income primarily from the informal transport sector, and approximately 40 % participate to supplement their earnings from other endeavours. Nearly half of the actors in this sector are thought to rely on the informal transportation sector for their primary source of income, with the remaining 40% participating to augment their earnings from other sources (Olaemi, 2021).

Terminal authorities, who are mostly local government representatives, are among the other players in the sector. This group is primarily responsible for collecting taxes and levying, as well as monitoring daily transportation activity in both designated and undesignated motor parks. According to some commentators, the transportation industry’s issues are rooted in the evolution of Nigeria’s socioeconomic environment, and that the steady growth in unemployment following the country’s gradual economic collapse in the 1980s gave birth to the agbero phenomenon which nosedives into the formalisation of transport unions such as the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) and Road Transport Employers Association of Nigeria (RTEAN).

With the founding and formalisation of the NURTW in 1978, union officials become part of the sector’s actors. From another perspective and as can be inferred from the work of Afolabi and Akibo, (2020), the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) and the Road Transport Employers Association of Nigeria (RTEAN) are the two most well-known road transport organizations today. Though, both unions were established in 1978 but the RTEAN predates the NURTW because it was registered as a trade union as an affiliate of the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) before the NURTW. However, RTEAN is less well-known and active than the

NURTW, which has grown to over 1.5 million members across the federation over time. The National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) in Nigeria coordinates the activities of private and informal transport operators. There is no legislation regulating operations of the public transport in Ibadan and most of the cities in Nigeria. The regulatory body for IPTS is majorly the NURTW because most government investment and collaboration priorities are placed on inter-state and inter-urban transport schemes, with little emphasis on intra-urban services. Informal public transportation system is generally fragmented and weakly regulated by the private sector, managed by NURTW (the major transport union), and its adoption into mainstream transport governance would establish synergy with the public sector-controlled transportation regulatory regimes (Moyo and Olowosegun, 2021). In some other cases, the RTEAN are seen as comprising the vehicle owners who hire NURTW members to operate their vehicles. Their Secretariats are established in states, zones, branches, and units in the unions' administrative structure. Each of these has elected officers, led by a chairman, who are responsible for coordinating the unions' operations and activities across the federation. Unfortunately, the two unions have a long history of squabbles about fees, the amount that NURTW members must remit, and control of transportation parks (Afolabi and Akibo, 2020).

In another vein, Adetayo (2020) reported that the union's problems have long been a topic of national debate. Consequence to this, Governor Seyi Makinde of Oyo State banned the NURTW to "maintain peace and tranquillity in the state in order to engender commercial and human development" following "alleged security breaches and factional clashes of the union member in many areas of Ibadan, the state capital." The state government has since assumed control of the bus parks in Oyo by establishing what they called Park Manager System (PMS).

For the other segment of the actors who can be regarded as the state actors, there are three tiers of government which are the Federal, State, and Local Governments, all of which have an impact on the governance of transportation in Ibadan. The Ministry of Transport (MOT), which is part of the Ministry of Public Works, Infrastructure, and Transportation at the three different levels of government, is empowered to act on behalf of the government. The Oyo State Ministry of Transport Law 2014 gives its legislative responsibility for transportation governance in the state. The Ministry of Transport oversees any agency or parastatal that the state government deems acceptable, and it may enter contracts with any organization for transportation-related matters. The MOT is divided into six directorates (Oyo state Government 2014 cited in Moyo and Olowosegun, 2021). At least two of these oversee developing road use policies and overseeing the efficient use of roads and road infrastructure. These include controlling the activities of bus stations, parks, and registrations, coupled with the power to enforce compliance, and formulating policies on and overseeing the transport unions' activities and automobile-related associations (Moyo and Olowosegun, 2021).

Furthermore, Moyo and Olowosegun, (2021), highlighted the responsibilities of one of the six directorates of MOT. They stated that the Directorate of Vehicle Inspection in collaboration with the non-state actors is saddled with the responsibility of the followings: -

- Sensitisation of drivers, road users, public transport users and the public on safety in road use;
- Enforcement of registrations and renewal of motor vehicles registration documents which includes permits for public vehicles (minibuses, motorcycles, and tricycles) and private vehicles;

- Enforcement of collection of statutory taxes, keeps the data on public vehicles and operators, and polices the roadworthiness of the vehicles; and,
- Investigates road traffic accident fatalities, and partners with other agencies in the prevention of road accidents.

As part of the lacunae in Ibadan transport system, it is stated that there is little evidence that the Directorate of Planning, Research and Statistics, which is responsible for the collection and analysis of transport data in Oyo State and the formulation of state transport policies and strategies, has progressed policies on IPTS in Ibadan. This could be as result of IPTS still not considered as a key and future player in the transport industry and perceived as troublesome (Moyo and Olowoseun, 2021).

The Vehicle Inspection Office is responsible for certifying roadworthiness of all vehicles plying the roads, including certification of vehicles, and ensuring that only licenced drivers can drive vehicles on the highways. The Office is geared towards ensuring the overall safety of the road transport system and carries out sensitisation awareness among the transport operators, auto mechanics and automobile spare parts dealers. It works with the Ministry of Environment to protect the environment from automotive pollutions, as part of the overall institutional measures to improve quality of the transport system (Oyo State Government 2014 cited in Moyo and Olowosegun, 2021).

The Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC) is another significant institution in Nigerian road traffic management and administration, responsible for minimizing road crashes and creating a safe driving environment through enforcement, enlightenment, engineering, and education (Omidiji 2010 cited in Moyo and Olowosegun, 2021). The FRSC utilizes enforcement as a punitive tactic against persons who breach the law and commit traffic violations. Through the Road Transport Safety Standardization Scheme (RTSSS), the Safety Engineering Department strives to regulate and standardize the actions of fleet operators (both formal and informal). Road Transport Safety Standardization Scheme establishes rules and guidelines for the operators' and users' activities. The FRSC also employs educational strategies such as public enlightenment rallies, TV and radio programs, radio jingles, newspaper articles, and discussion shows (Omidiji 2010 cited in Moyo and Olowosegun, 2021).

Thus, the following transport unions and state agents are saddled with and play an important role in the operation of the informal public transportation system in Ibadan, Nigeria:

- National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW);
- Road Transport Employers Association of Nigeria (RTEAN);
- National Association of Road Transport Owners (NARTO);
- Amalgamated Commercial Motorcycle Riders Association of Nigeria (ACOMORAN);
- Articulated Motorcycle Owners and Riders Association of Nigeria (AMORAN);
- Tricycle Owners and Riders Association of Nigeria (TORAN);
- The Ministry of Transportation (MOT);
- The Vehicle Inspection Office (VIO); and,
- The Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC).

The fundamental job of these unions and agencies is to safeguard the public's interests and coordinate informal public transportation operations in the vehicle parks and other outlying regions where they operate. Others, such as the *agberos*, a group of urban youth survive in Nigeria by relying on the largely informal spatial regulation of public transportation and exerting influence in the informal transport scene (Agbibo, 2016). In and around the vehicle parks and bus stops, intermediaries such as luggage carriers and cart pushers can be found. Public transportation has always been in the hands and control of private businesses, who dictate most the country's public transportation operations in Nigeria.

Understanding the above, it can be deduced that among all actors garnered from different literature sources, the Police force is not identified and listed as an actor in the operations of IPTS. The reason for this might not be farfetched. It could be because they are not enlisted as a major actor in the law and policies that established and guide the operation of the IPTS in Nigeria and Ibadan specifically. However, the police force, due to the roles of safety of life and property they are saddled with, are major actor who determines what happens in the IPTS operational corridor. Unfortunately, the roles they played have done Nigerian road users more harm than good for decades. This will be reviewed further in the next section.

9.4. Public Transport in Ibadan, Nigeria

The demand for transport in the city is far higher than the supply. This is reflected in the high number of people at bus stops and long waiting time commuters spend at bus stops. Due to high cost of vehicles, vehicle ownership is low. The ownership of cars is largely limited to the higher income groups. The downturn in the economy which hiked the prices of vehicles has resulted in the reduction of new vehicle purchases and increase in the purchase of 'fairly used' motor vehicles (commonly referred to as *tokunbo*) from European countries. As a result, over 75% of the residents depend on public transport services for their daily movements. In response to the urban transport crisis in 1980, through the Federal Urban Mass Transit Programme, the Oyo State Trans city Transport Corporation was established. Buses were used to provide intra-city and intercity services. In the past, rail transit services were provided within the city, but the services were terminated due to the inefficiency of the rail services in the country. The collapse of the state public transport services led to the emergence of informal transport services provided by private sector operators. Hence, the informal public transport filled the gap created by the absence of formal public transport services.

Like cities in other developing countries, public transport system in Ibadan is operated informally and lack official endorsement. Appropriate licenses are not obtained for vehicles and drivers, and vehicle registration documents are not obtained from government agencies. This lack of official endorsement has enhanced the use of vehicles for kidnapping and other illicit activities. The industry is labour intensive, involves the use of low tech, and structured horizontally among many independent operators (rather than vertically within a small number of large firms) (Cervero, 2000). The informal transport system involves the use of small-sized vehicles such as minibus, taxis, three-wheelers, and motorcycles. The minibus, taxis and three-wheelers seat a maximum of eighteen, six and five passengers respectively. The operators are not regulated in terms of quality of vehicles, age of drivers, driving skill, and possession of driving licenses (Adesanya, 2002). The vehicles are owned and operated or leased by a single individual. Drivers who lease vehicles pay a stipulated amount of money daily to the vehicle owner. The IPT is self-regulated in terms of market entrance (allocation of vehicles to new routes and territory), operation and organization of terminals, fares and levies paid to the

motor park and government agencies. The buses and taxis have high frequency of operation and flexibility. In terms of speed and regularity they are reasonably dependable, although they do not run-on schedule and are obliged to stop at bus stops. They are the guiltiest of all traffic offences within the Ibadan metropolitan area. They usually overload and are particularly quite popular among market women. Some of the buses and taxis are rickety due to poor maintenance.

Informal public transport provides mobility for the poor and middle-class workers. Large number of people depend on IPT to reach workplaces, markets, clinics, schools, and other destinations. However, because the fares are uncoordinated, it may be high and unaffordable to the poor living in the peripheries. Informal public transport provides employment for unskilled, young men. The poor economy and lack of formal jobs has forced many young men and women with formal education to operate IPT services as a means of livelihood. Operators compete fiercely for passengers and do not adhere to traffic regulations. The operators stop anywhere to board passengers, overload their vehicles, and drive aggressively. Operators provide door-to-door services and deviate from standard routes. Informal operators especially motorcycle and three-wheelers drivers are concentrated in neighbourhoods with bad roads and absence of minibus. Operators are organized into groups based on routes and type of vehicle used. Along each route, minibus, motorcycle, taxi, and three-wheeler operators have different associations. The high level of congestion on the roads and lack of public transport services in the periphery make the use of motorcycle attractive despite the low safety levels associated with it. However, aggressive driving, speeding, violation of traffic regulations, and driving under the influence of alcohol can make motorcycles more prone to crashes, putting both the riders and their passengers at risk.

The drivers of IPT pay daily to their patrol officers for the right to operate each route. The fares are unregulated as passengers negotiate the cost of transport services with drivers. However, the informal modes provided services on demand, door-to door services and provide accessibility to various land uses. The IPT operators pay a form of tax daily at designated parks to the officials of the Park Management System which was launched by the State government in 2021. Olowosegun et al. (2021) observed that the quality of service provided by informal public transport operators in Ibadan is low and characterized by low accessibility, poor service quality (expressed as poor seats, crowding at terminals and in bus, low safety levels due to use of road unworthy buses, long travel time due to delays at loading terminals, undesignated frequent passenger pick and drop points, aggressive and reckless driving. Internal organization is less structured and horizontally integrated.

9.5. The Police and Public Transport Operations: Based on Empirical Evidence from Nigeria

According to the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the police is responsible for the prevention and detection of crime, apprehension of offenders, preservation of law and order and protection of lives and property. However, police corrupt practices perpetuated against drivers and passengers have been reported in newspapers and other mass media outlets. Police officers forcefully extort money from drivers of IPT operators, private vehicle drivers and passengers through intimidation, brutality, and detention. Drivers who fail to pay are threatened with arrest and physical harm. Roadblocks are mounted along roads in the city to tackle insecurity but the police officers at these checkpoints stop vehicles and demand money ranging from ₦50 to ₦200 from drivers. Cases of drivers and passengers who were killed for not yielding to the demands of police officers are replete in the newspapers.

Vanguard newspaper of 25 January 2012 reported that a police corporal shot and killed a driver for his refusal to give ₦100. According to Sahara reporters, on 27 August 2020, a motorcycle rider, Mr Biola was killed by a police officer who beat him until he died because he did not give the officer ₦50 bribe. The Guardian, reported on 1 June 2018, in the Federal High Court in Ibadan ordered the Nigerian Police to pay the sum of ₦10 million to the family of a commercial bus driver, Alimi Hakeem who was shot dead by an Inspector for his refusal to pay N100 bribe at a checkpoint in Ibadan. A motorcycle rider was tortured until he died by police officers after he transferred the sum of ₦700,000 to the account of the policemen (Daily Post, 28 February 2022). A police officer destroyed the windscreen of a commercial taxi driver at a check point for refusing to pay N100 bribe. According to the Nation newspaper, a policeman killed a motorcycle rider over N50 bribe on 12 December 2016. As a result of police harassment on roads, IPT operators demand high fares along some routes as they must drive along a longer alternative route. Regrettably, when police officers are reported for harassing and extorting motorists, the management do not take any definite action against erring officers. For instance, Premium Times reported two police officers who were caught on camera extorting motorists on 13 May 2018 along Ijebu-Ode-Ibadan Road. The officers were observed collecting bribe from motorists whose vehicle license or insurance papers were outdated or missing. The multimedia evidence of the police officer's actions was reported to the head of police complaints unit in Abuja, but nothing was done after three months.

10. POLICE HARASSMENT AND THE INFORMAL TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM IN NIGERIA: -THE EXPERIENCES OF OPERATORS AND ROAD USERS

What about the physical presence of the Nigerian police on the roads is expected to usher in the feeling of relief and the assurance that one is surely safe and protected. But it is disheartening that contrary is the case with members of the Nigerian society calling for the cancellation of police checkpoints. The police are saddled with the responsibility of checking all forms of corrupt practices but unfortunately, they are found deep in those same practices. Reference has always been made to abuse of power which includes bribery, extortion of informal transportation operators, shooting of innocent people and the unprofessional approach to pulling vehicles over in a bid to arrest motorists at mounted roadblocks and checkpoints (Sunday, 2017).

According to Oyewale, (2005, cited in Inyang and Abraham, 2013), many motorists who have refused to comply with the ₦20-naira bribe demanded by the policemen on their roadblocks have met with their untimely death. Terms such as “roadyer”, “appreciation”, “support” “find something for us” among others are used by the police to perpetuate these illegal collections (Inyang and Abraham, 2013). In the words of Adediran, (2009, cited in Inyang and Abraham, 2013), the police force swashed slogan “the police is your friend” has been found wanting and become ridiculous before most Nigerians because of illegal collection of money and unwarranted harassments. In the next section, some cases of harassments and reactions of operators and road users is presented.

10.1. Case Studies and the Reactions of Operators and other Road Users in Nigeria

As can be inferred from Inyang and Abraham (2013), all forms of harassment and extortions by the police grew from a humble beginning when the force had little supplies of resources which contributed to posting of some officers to solicit for help from the populace. This was what gradually leads to the sustained behaviour of professional begging within the police force (Adediran, 2009, cited in Inyang and Abraham, 2013). *In recent times, it is another ball game. It is not just about lack of resources, but blame directed at the government. The force complained of neglect, bad welfare, poor condition of service, and one of the professions that is poorly paid in Nigeria (Oyewale and Charles et al., 2005, cited in Inyang and Abraham, 2013).*

This situation has consequently resulted in loses of lives with excuses of accidental discharge of bullet from the police. The police at roadblocks are so frustrated that motorists who refused to pay the requested “roadyer” or bribe were claimed to be accidentally shot dead. Before the evolvement of the social media cases of police harassment are not a common knowledge except those directly affected. Cases of extrajudicial killings are reported on national dailies which not everyone could afford to buy to know what is going on in the society and for easy identification of the culprits to be brought to book. Inyang and Abraham (2013) highlights some cases in their study which goes; thus, In October 2002, a Police Inspector shot and killed Lawan Kyari, a Shuwa businessman and his son over refusal to give bribe in Mabosha village in Mafia Local Government Area of Borno State. Another policeman manning roadblock on November 14, 2002, killed four and injured eight Christian worshippers returning from a vigil service at Enugu. They narrated that the incidence happened at

Ogbunike toll gate when the driver refused to hand over a N60.00 bribe but decided to give N20.00 instead. This infuriated the policemen who subsequently opened fire at close range, killing the driver and the three passengers instantly while the rest of the passengers on the vehicle scampered to safety (Oyewale, 2005, cited in Inyang and Abraham, 2013). Furthermore, Kehinde Adenij, a driver and Bolanle Banidele, a passenger was killed by a policeman at another roadblock allegedly mounted by policemen between Ita-Odo and Aramoko on June 3, 2004. They were travelling from Ikole-Ekiti to Ibadan when they were stopped and asked to pay N20.00, which the driver declined. Similarly, Corporal Adejare Apata shot and killed Saheed Aborishade in front of Nigeria Police post Orogun in Oyo State for refusing to pay a N100 bribe on Monday, July 12, 2004. Also, Blessing Ighinovia, a policeman, with service number 397213, along Acme Road, Ogba, Lagos murdered Fedelis Okoji, a father of five, on July 8, 2005 for interfering in a disagreement between a bus driver and the policeman and for refusing to give the N20.00 (Oyewale, 2005, cited in Inyang and Abraham, 2013).

However, since the advent of the social media, many cases of police harassment and extortion have become common knowledge to many with affected officers facing the music of disciplinary action by the police command. Though, this has not deterred the nuisance from going away. In fact, not just the police but other security agencies have devised new forms of strategies to extort money and publicly harass hapless transport operators. The security agencies would stop the transport operators at roadblocks demanding documents such as Driver's license, tinted glass permit, insurance papers, road worthiness among others. Roadblocks are mounted by policemen and found to be responsible for some accidents on the highways. In reaction to this, a Lagos State resident told The Guardian Newspaper that the sole aim of the policemen on the roadblock is not to protect the citizens but to extort the motorists. He said further that most Divisional Police Officers (DPOs) back these policemen who harassed freely on the roads (Sunday, 2017).

Reports on police harassments and extortions of informal transportation system operators have been a recurring headline in the social media blogs and online national dailies in Nigeria. In 2018, dozens of commercial bus drivers recently took to the streets, blocking the LASU-Iyana Ipaja road to protest alleged harassment and extortion by police officers and officials of the Lagos State task force. During the protest, commercial buses were forced to discharge their passengers and join the march, which left many stranded. In the same paper, it was reported that chairman of the National Union of Road Transport Worker (NURTW), Chief Unwobudu Edima Sydah, was allegedly murdered by some policemen in Rivers State. Sydah was reportedly shot to death for refusing to give some unidentified policemen ₦100 bribe.

Daniel, (2018) reported an interview with a Danfo driver who identified himself as Sir K narrated security officials' incessant harassment on them. He said: "The task force blocks our vehicles at both front and back with hired buses and their vehicles, which are usually loaded with touts or street urchins popularly referred to as Aja Olopa (police dogs). Some of these touts are as young as 17years old who also claimed to be members of the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW). This is done to commercial drivers, motorcyclists and tricyclists in Lagos and other part of the country. Once they just swoop on you while waiting at a bus-stop, all the yellow buses at that moment are in trouble. At some other points, the police with/or other traffic regulation officers mount roadblocks at some obscured and secluded roads, where road users are ambushed. Depending on situations at hand, they take between ₦100 and ₦200 from the informal transport operators and are mostly ferocious at night towards these operators".

In another report in Guardian Newspaper in October 2017, a woman narrated her ordeal which she stated as “they often ask for my Driver’s licence”. If you present the document, they will play another trick on you and in some cases stoop so low to ask you ‘anything for the boys?’ Another notable case is the killing of one Emmanuel Victor in 2011 for allegedly condemning the extortion and bribery at the checkpoint by the policemen on duty that day. In another story, a nine-year-old Timilehin Ebun was shot dead in 2013 by some policemen while trying to extort money from a commercial bus whom in a bid to evade gratifying the policemen had them opening fire on him. But sadly, the fire was a stray shot that pierced through the Ebun family’s SUV and killed the young Timilehin. The list is inexhaustible.

According to the Lagos State Police Public Relations Officer (PPRO), Chike Oti, the Commissioner of Police, CP Edgal Imohimi, has banned police operatives in the state from operating in mufti and commercial vehicles. But commercial bus operators insist they are daily harassed by policemen, many in mufti, who chase after them and overtake to stop them before ordering all passengers to alight, while the driver is taken off to a nearby spot for negotiations.

A driver who does not want his name in print told The Guardian that he was a victim of the police harassment recently when they jumped into his bus and made him their personal driver for a whole day to carry out their nefarious activity of hunting after other commercial buses. They only fuelled his bus for the operation, while he was made to go home empty without being given anything from their proceeds of extortion.

“I would have been in serious debt if I was not the owner of the bus. I can still explain to my wife why I came home empty, but which bus owner would accept such stories from me when he is already expecting his daily ‘deliver’”, he said.

In another report by Igbekoyi of the Independent Newspaper in April, 2019, the Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ) council, Delta State also described the Police roadblocks as instruments of extortion and harassment of road users. The report reiterates the Union’s stance that the roadblocks have subjected Deltans and other transport operators plying the roads in the state to untold hardship, intimidation and unwarranted delays and arrest. The Union narrated further on how it has become worrisome for the police in the state carrying lower denominations of Nigerian currency to make change available at roadblocks and checkpoints to facilitate their illegal acts of extortion. Any motorists who flout paying the stipulated charges at the checkpoints is grievously intimidated, harassed, delayed, or unduly arrested.

10.2. Key Stakeholders and their Roles in the Informal Transport System in Nigeria

Several actors comprising vehicle owners, drivers, conductors, terminal officials, and union/association officials are involved in the operations and management of IPT system in Ibadan. Each group of actors one or several roles, for instance, owner-drivers. Vehicle owners are entrepreneurs who participate actively or passively in the activities of the sector. The vehicle owners bear most of the operational risks including repair and maintenance of vehicles. Capital used to purchase the vehicle is obtained from family members, personal savings, and loan sharks. In some cases, the owner of the vehicle may also be the driver. Drivers are usually young and middle-aged men who obtain the vehicle on lease. Payments are made daily to the vehicle owner

or at the end of a stipulated period. The vehicle owner may also engage drivers who make run morning, afternoon, and evening shifts. A fixed amount is remitted by each driver after each shift. Conductors are usually young school dropouts, part-time/full-time apprentices. The conductors are usually younger than the driver of the vehicle. Their duties include ushering and organizing passengers into vehicles, collection of fares from passengers, and informing the driver when to stop so that a passenger could board or alight. Association officials are employees of the Nigerian Union of Road Transport Workers who collect levy at motor parks, organize operations at the motor parks and protect the interest of its members. The terminal officials are representatives of government agencies that collect tax and monitor operations and activities at the motor-parks.

10.3. Threats from other Law Enforcement Offices in Nigeria

Although most commercial drivers are expected to centralize at a prescribed or supposed motor parks but, there are some who choose not to, and instead, drive around the city looking for passengers. This could be for the purpose of evading the huge sum they are charged for loading from the park or no feasible existing park. For those that evades loading charges, it reduces their dues to the union for that day. However, that is not without its challenges. As reported by Adetayo of Aljazeera in October 2020, the drivers still pay the agberos (passenger vendors) who stop them along the way, and they are more at risk of getting unwanted attention and harassment from all forms of law enforcement officers.

As deduced from Adetayo's (2020) report, informal transport operators complained about problems with law enforcement agencies such as the Lagos State Traffic Management Agency (LASTMA), Vehicle Inspection Officers (VIO) the Police and the government's Task Force. The government's task force is originally created as "The Lagos State Environmental Sanitation and Special Offenses" in 1991 by military edict when Brigadier General Raji Rasaki was the military governor of Lagos state. Over time, the edict has been redesigned for various purposes which now includes arresting and prosecuting "violators of the provision of the Road Traffic Law 2012" (<https://taskforce.lagosstate.gov.ng/>). In recent times, this task force has become widely notorious for discretionary arrests and collection of huge bribes from the transport operators (Adetayo, 2020).

As reported further by Adetayo (2020), there are many things reports and instances to give about the government's task force who work in collaboration with the Police, other law informant agents and thugs which they use as decoy. He reported some experiences and narratives he gathered from transport operators in Lagos. One Afeez¹ was reported to have lose his former bus because of incessant arrests in the space of three weeks. Afeez was reported to be arrested multiple times by the task force and LASTMA officials and was forced to pay some huge some of amount (minimum of #8000) to get his bus back which eventually make him unable to pay the owner of the bus. As a result, the bus owner collected the bus from him.

The case of another Muyideen² was reported who dearly fears these law enforcement officials, even more than their union. When asked why, he said the fines they demand are far higher than what the union will collect if he is arrested. Several drivers from different routes have also alleged that Task Force officers use agberos they personally employ as decoys, to make arrests.

¹ Not real name but pseudonyms

² Not real name but pseudonyms

Reporting Muyideen's lament by Adetayo, Muyideen lamented that "the Task Force officials are government thugs."

Many of these operators were arrested because there are no designated bus stops along many routes in the state. They at many times usually pick up and drop passengers by the roadside which is considered as an offence. Instead of the officials enforcing the law, what they do is to aggressively extort money from them or beats them up and other kinds of harassments especially if they are challenged. This was emphasized by a Professor of Transport in Adetayo's (2020) report as thus:

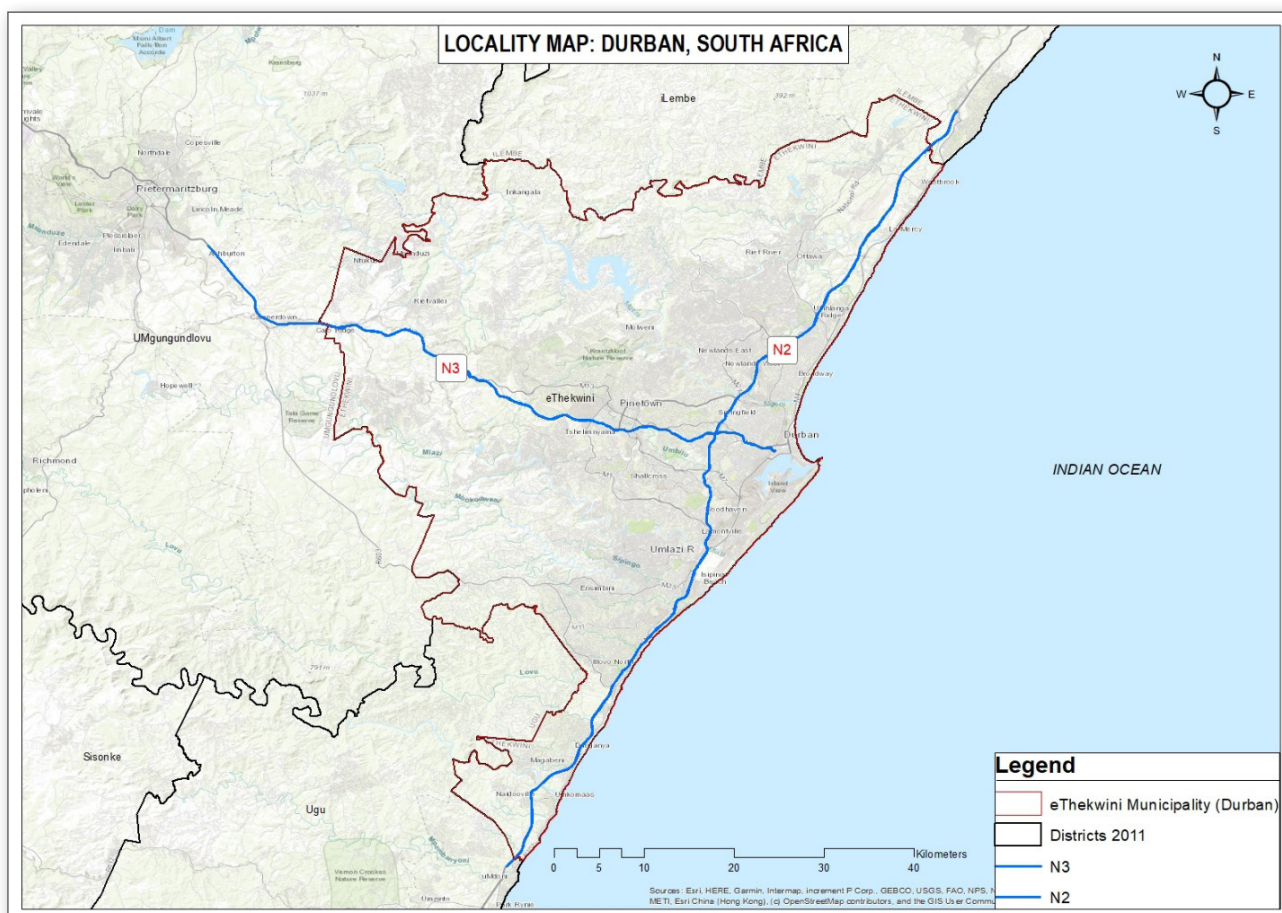
"The enforcement agency is a hopeless thing. Who will enforce the law?" "Any laws made, rather than the enforcers looking to enforce them, they are looking to exploit them. Anytime in the day, 70 to 80 per-cent [of the enforcers] are on the road not enforcing anything but collecting money."



11. POLICE HARASSMENT AND THE INFORMAL PUBLIC TRANSPORT SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA

11.1. The Geography of Durban

The study area is in the east coast of South Africa bordering the Indian Ocean. It is the third largest Metropolitan municipality in South Africa, and an economic powerhouse for the province of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) (see Map 2). The city has one of the busiest ports and is a favourable tourist's area due to its warm temperatures throughout the year, and the available beautiful beaches. Due to the city being a key economic centre in the region, people around the city and its environs shop in Durban. This makes demand for public transport to be more as people move in and out of the city.



Map 2: A Map of Durban

Source: Authors' Mapping, (2022)

11.2. Public Transport Outlook in Durban

Public transport plays a major role in supporting economic growth and society's commuting in Durban and its environs. Public transport is a critical sector required for the sustainability and liveability of the city. For many locals, the use of public transport is not optional. This is not only a local issue in Durban, but a national issue within the borders of South Africa. Before the dawn of democracy, and some years after 1994, trains

and subsidized busses and unsubsidized taxis were the main source of transport (Siyongwana & Binza, 2012). Post 1994, the emergence of the taxi industry grew throughout the whole country. Like in the other parts of the country, Durban also so the emergence and growth of the Taxi industry. As reported by Khan (2014), the history of public transport in Durban is characterized by various set of social and political forces that has transformed it to its current form. The current main forms of public transport in Durban and its environs are taxis, buses, maxi taxis, and the e-hailing transport (e.g., uber, bolt, etc.). The birth of Bus Rapid Transport System (BRTS) became very helpful as the high population growth was exerting pressure on the transport system, creating difficult conditions for operators, increased private vehicle ownership and worsening congestion (Gauthier & Weinstock, 2010).

11.3. Informal; (Paratransit) Transport System in South Africa

The United Nations (UN) defines informal transport, as privately operated, small-scale services that are variously referred to as “*paratransit*”, “*low-cost transport*”, “*intermediate technologies*”, and “*third-world transport*” (Cervero, 2000). *These informal transport services provide important benefits to the poor (Cervero & Golub, 2007) and service areas that are not reached by formal transport. Although they provide such important services, they appear to also contribute to most of the traffic congestion seen in our cities, which leads to more air pollution.*

Fobosi (2020) mentioned that there are about 200,000 minibus taxis in South Africa. The industry employs about 300,000 drivers and 100,000 taxi marshals. It also benefits 100,000 car washers and 150,000 vendors at taxi ranks. Booysen et al. (2013) wrote that the public informal transport industry of minibus transport in southern Africa can be divided into two functions, namely urban and long distance. The role that minibus taxis play in the urban transport network falls somewhere between that played by metered taxis (cabs) and urban buses in the developed world. Long-distance taxis perform a function akin to that of coaches in the developed world. Although there are informal transport services in the city of Durban, the major transport services are provided by buses and taxis. Taxis make it difficult for other informal transport providers who use their allocated routes as they pay to use such routes. Government is trying its best to regulate taxis. In some cases, traffic officers to check if they have right papers for the routes they are using, to check vehicle roadworthiness, and to ensure that they have right papers that allow them to transport the public, stop taxi drivers.

11.4. The Police and Public Transport Operation in South Africa

In the study conducted by Ivkovich and Sauerman (2013), it was found that police have a code of silence in cases where officers are found to be accepting bribes from motorists who are transgressing traffic laws. The issue of police harassment to transport operators is not only a South African or a Nigerian issue. Police harassment of transport operators is a global issue that is affecting almost all the countries. The Jamaica Observer (2021) reported that transport operators complain about police harassment. and how they feel targeted by the members of the Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF) and police are still abusing them. Constantly growing number of fines and penalties for traffic offences increase the attractiveness of paying bribes compared to protests by operators (Oleinik, 2016). In Kenya, it is reported that corruption is rampant in the transport industry and a devil haunting some traffic police officers within the police (Okebiro, 2016). Similarly in Zimbabwe, operators have highlighted that they prefer working on the streets when the law

enforcements officials have knocked off (Makunika, 2020).

11.5. Public Transport Operators Behaviour towards Police Harassment in Durban

Taxi operators in South Africa have had various reactions towards what they believe is police harassment and the most common being protests. In a two-day taxi stay away that was held in Durban in 2010, one of the taxi owners shared his frustrations. He said that if a taxi operates in Durban, it is guaranteed that it will be fined, at least two tickets in a day (IOL, 2010). He noted that he had been previously arrested because he owed the municipality money from the fines. At the time he was owing about R53000, and he accused the municipality of using the taxi fines to fund some of the municipal infrastructural developments.

11.6. Key Stakeholders and their Roles in the Informal Transport System in South Africa

The informal transport system is a very dynamic and multi-stakeholder organised sector of the economy which varies from one region to another. As argued by UITP (2021), the informal transport industry is characterised by a scattered production structure and differing operational mechanisms. According to Cervero & Golub (2007, pg. 449) *“the informal transport sector is often held together in a loose, horizontal fashion, dependent upon carefully cultivated linkages and nurtured relationships among stakeholders, including fellow operators, parts suppliers, mechanics, local police, creditors, and street hustlers, among others”*. The industry is most prominent in the developing countries. In various parts of the world the system is operated in a manner that favours the local conditions. According to UITP (2021), Freetown, Sierra Leone informal transport services are provided by individual entrepreneurs. Meanwhile in India, by small and medium-size companies or cooperatives. In all the different countries, drivers or operators work for different vehicle owners while in some instances they would drive vehicles they already own.

Government also becomes a crucial stakeholder in the informal public transport sector as vehicle owners and taxi associations would require operating licenses and permits which can be issued by government authorities only. In some parts of the global south, depending on the number of people involved in the sector, unions play an important role in the representation of workers' rights (Kumar, Zimmerman, & Arroyo-Arroyo, 2021).

Booyesen et al. (2013) provides an extensive discussion on nature of informal transport system in South Africa. It was mentioned that there are five distinct role players that make up the informal transport industry, namely the owners, the drivers, the passengers, the taxi associations, and the regulation authorities. The drivers lease the vehicles from the owners and must earn a certain sub-minimum to make the business viable. Taxi owners have very little control over the way their vehicles are used and has no control over the flow of cash. It is estimated that about 40% of South Africans make use of public transport. Meanwhile, 67% of the commuters use minibus taxis, which includes workers, learners, and general commuters (SA Taxi, 2018). These commuters become the largest stakeholder in the taxi industry, and they are the major financiers of the industry. On the other hand, the South Africa National Taxi Council (SANTACO) is an umbrella body which governs the taxi industry and further acts as the principal mouthpiece for the sector (Bhengu, 2011). It was established after intensive engagements between government and the taxi operators.

The aim for the establishment of this body was to restructure the taxi industry so it can be empowered to become a self-sustaining industry which provides affordable, safe, and reliable public transport to the South Africans (Bhengu, 2011).

The taxi industry in South Africa is growing to become a more organised sector with representative organisations developing from within and are important role players. These labour unions representing workers in the industry. The first one is South African Transport and Allied Workers' Union (SATAWU), which is an affiliate to the largest federation of trade unions in South Africa, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) (Barrett, 2003). The second union representing workers in the taxi industry is the National Taxi Drivers Organization (NADTO) (Barrett, 2003).

11.7. Case Study Examples of Road Use Transporter-Police Friction/Interactions in South Africa

In the City of Cape Town, Brackenfell, twelve taxi owners were arrested for allegedly assaulting city traffic officers. This happened after an operation conducted by traffic police and impounding 11 minibus taxis belonging to Bloekombos, Wallacedene and Kraaifontein Taxi Association (Bloewata). In the conflict, four traffic police were injured, and two patrol vehicles damaged (Mlamla, 2021).

Another incident took place in Cape Town, Brown's Farm, where traffic police pulled over a minibus taxi. The driver allegedly refused to open the doors but instead drove away and knocking down one of the police officers (IOL, Driver tries evading Cape traffic officers by ditching taxi and fleeing on foot, 2021). Along the chase, it is said that the driver tried many times to ram the police vehicle where several gun shots were fired by police to stop him. The driver headed towards the taxi rank and fled barefooted. The taxi was impounded, and later the driver was handed over to the police station by the taxi owner, where he was charged for attempted murder and reckless driving (IOL, Driver tries evading Cape traffic officers by ditching taxi and fleeing on foot, 2021).

On another case, three taxi drivers were arrested after an operation at the Paarl/Mbekweni route. The route had been closed by the Western Cape Transport Department after it was believed to be the root cause of violence between the Cata and Codeta taxi associations (Hayman, 2021). During the operation, some taxis were impounded, and some taxi operators responded by blocking the road to stop the operation. A taxi operator drove towards the traffic officer, with an attempt to knock him down. Gun shots were fired to the vehicle, and leading to the arrest of the taxi driver, who was then charged with attempted murder. The other driver was charged for assaulting a traffic police, and the other for interfering with the law-enforcement officer while exercising his duties (Hayman, 2021).

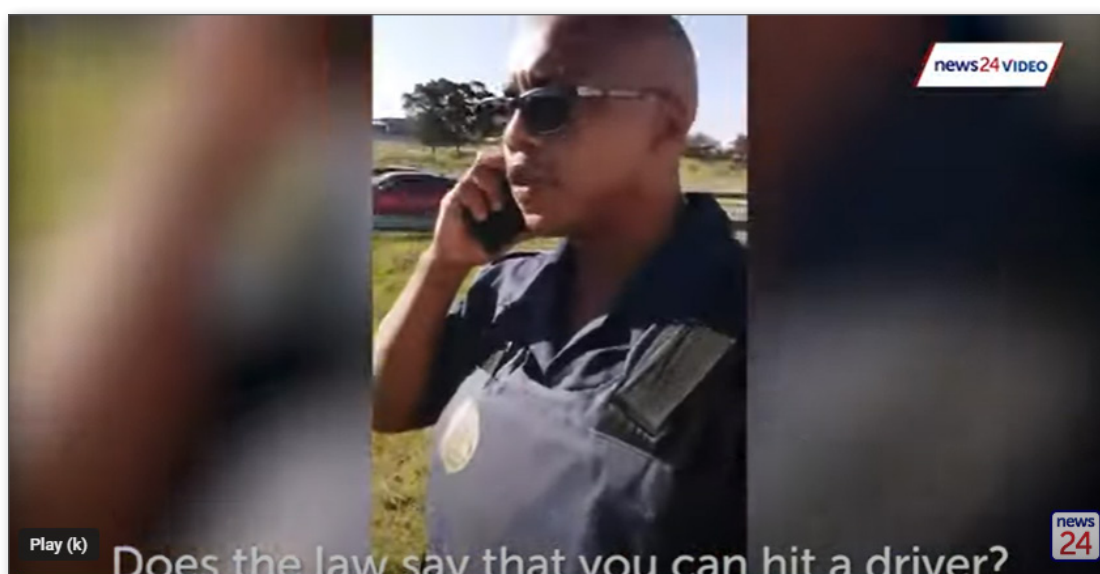
In the City of Johannesburg, two traffic officers were being investigated after they were seen on a video that went viral on social media manhandling a taxi driver after (Chalumbira, 2020). An altercation occurred after the driver was pulled over by the traffic police (Plate 1). Passengers could be heard in the background condemning the act of the police officers. As shown in Plate 1, one male passenger was heard saying *"does the law say hit the driver if he is wrong", directing to the traffic police* (Chalumbira, 2020).

Plate 1: Police officers manhandling the taxi driver



Source: Chalumbira, (2020)

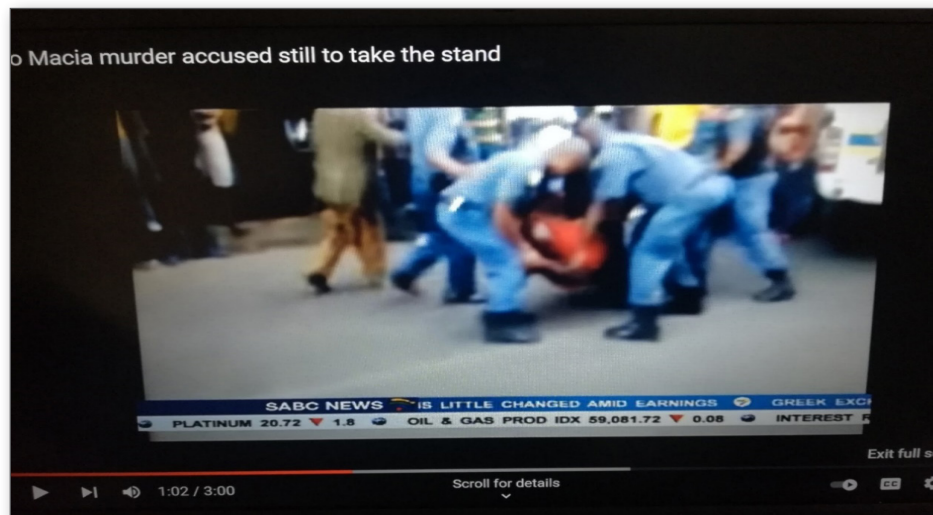
Plate 2: Traffic police officer challenged by a passenger after assaulting a taxi driver



Source: Chalumbira, (2020)

A horrific incident took place in 2013, in Dayveton, Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality, Gauteng, a 27-year-old Mozambican taxi driver was killed after police brutality. It is said that an altercation started when the driver refused to remove his taxi which was obstructing traffic. After the argument got heated, the police assaulted and handcuffed the driver (as illustrated in Plates 5 and 6) and tied him behind the police van and was dragged on the road for about 400m (Mail & Guardian, 2013). Further reports revealed that he was beaten at the police cells, where he later succumbed to injuries. The incident was described by the former president Jacob Zuma as horrific, disturbing, and unacceptable (Siddique, 2013). He added that, no human should be treated in such a manner. After the eight police were charged for murder, each were sentenced for 15 years behind bars (Siddique, 2013).

Plate 3: Taxi driver assaulted by police



Source: SABC News, (2013)

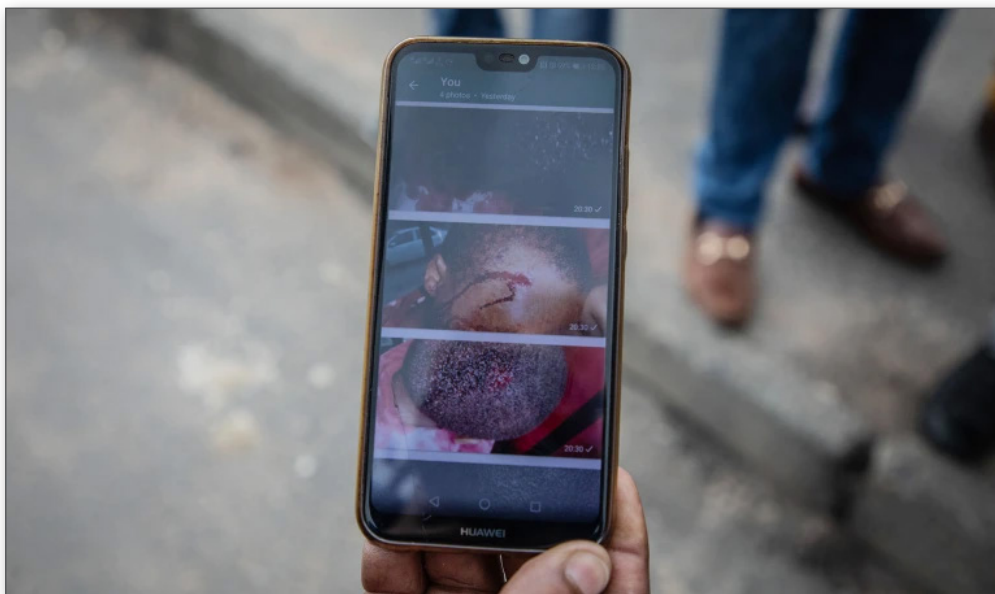
Plate 4: A Taxi driver tied behind a police officer van



Source: SABC News, (2013)

More other incidents of police harassment have been taking place in Cape Town. After the taxi violence between the Cata and Codeta taxi associations in Mbekweni area, more cases of police harassment were reported. Taxi operators claim that traffic police were confused on where exactly their taxis should operate (Payne, 2021). One driver claimed that police were beating many drivers, even hitting them with firearms. They shared that a driver was stopped by the police, and he ran away because he feared them. However, the police managed to catch him and was beaten with a firearm, causing bleeding in his head (Payne, 2021) (Plate 7).

Plate 5: A taxi driver showing his wounds after being beaten by the police with a gun



Source: O'Regan, (2021)

The Daily Maverick reporters visited one of the drivers who had been detained by the police for reckless and negligent driving. It is said that he was unable to talk to reports as he was unable to leave his bed (Payne, 2021). Reporters could see his letter of detention, which was spotted with dry blood stains. He was able to show journalists photos of his wounds where he was beaten by firearm in the head, as shown in Figure 7. One taxi driver claimed that police were swearing at them using the “K-word” (an insult used during apartheid by racist Whites to swear at Black people) (Payne, 2021). The other driver reported that the public order police were treating them like baboons because they know drivers could not talk back.

11.8. Public Transport Policies in Durban and South Africa

The rise of informal transport, especially mini-bus taxis in South Africa was motivated by the separate locations initiated by the apartheid laws. This form of transport was introduced as a solution to unaffordability of formal transportation, long distances to work and other factors in peri-urban communities. These were referred to as black taxis as they were dominant in Black locations/townships. A White Paper on National Transport Policy was promulgated by the government in 1986, which legalised for the first time, the entry of the 16-seat minibus taxi industry (Walters, 2014). There was a realisation of a need of new transport policy framework post-1994 which saw the adoption of the 1996 White on National Transport Policy. This was followed by enactment of National Land Transport Transition Act (No. 22 of 2000). This piece of legislation gave authority to the contracting of commuter bus services and acceptance of negotiated contracts under specific circumstances (Walters, 2014). It is for this reason that the most dominant types of public road transport in South Africa are mini-bus taxis, and the commuter bus services.

Through this policy and legislative framework, public transport in South Africa, inclusive of bus and taxi services is still administered at the provincial level of government, and not at the municipal level. The taxi industry in South Africa is regulated by labour laws such as the Sectoral Determination 11: Taxi Sector (Fobosi, 2013).

This law gives right to individuals working in the taxi industry such as taxi drivers, administrative staff, rank marshals and others. It seeks to protect the rights of workers which include working a maximum of 48 hours per week, entitlement to overtime, meal intervals and annual leave (Fobosi, 2013).

In conclusion, the literature review has elucidated the complexities surrounding the public transport sectors in Ibadan, Nigeria, and Durban, South Africa. The examination of these two cities has revealed the historical, social, and political factors that have shaped the evolution of public transportation, particularly the taxi industry, in both contexts.

In Ibadan, the informal transport sector has emerged as a vital component of the city's transportation landscape. The proliferation of commercial motorcycles, known as okada, and tricycles, known as keke, has been driven by the inadequacy of formal public transport services. However, these modes of transport face challenges related to safety, regulation, and environmental impact. Similarly, in Durban, the taxi industry's growth can be attributed to the apartheid-era spatial segregation that necessitated affordable and accessible transport services for marginalized communities. The post-apartheid government has made strides in developing policy frameworks to regulate and enhance the public transport sector, including the taxi industry. Yet, challenges remain, including safety and compliance issues, labour disputes, and instances of police brutality against taxi drivers.

This literature review has thus underscored the need for continued research and policy development to address the unique challenges faced by the public transport sectors in Ibadan and Durban. Future studies should focus on devising context-specific, sustainable solutions that prioritize safety, accessibility, and affordability while fostering a more equitable and inclusive transportation landscape for all urban dwellers.



12. A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF INFORMAL TRANSPORT OPERATOR HARASSMENT

12.1. Descriptive Statistics

This section presents results and the analysis of data on police harassment experiences among informal public transport operators in two cities Ibadan, Nigeria, and Durban, in the Republic of South Africa. A total of 263 respondents, with 122 from Nigeria and 141 from South Africa, participated in this project. The statistics of the administered questionnaires have been presented in tables as shown in the subsequent sections.

12.2. Characteristics of Sampled Informal Public Transport Operators

According to the analysis of the data obtained from the informal public transport operators shown in Table 2, 46% were surveyed in Nigeria while 53% of the results belonged to the Republic of South Africa. About 99% of the respondents were males while females accounted for 1%. This implies that the transport industry is male dominated. Speaking to the male dominance of taxi sector in Durban, commentators said:

"...The dominating gender is men; women are very few and those are just the ones who took over from husbands or from fathers in a family business..." **Female Taxi owner.**

"...Well, it is 50/50 now according to the democracy, there is one lady here and we treat her like other drivers. It would be better though if we get more women in the industry, because sometimes when she does wrong, and we must reprimand her it's like we are discriminating her because she is a woman unlike with men, we reprimand them and it's no problem. It would be better when they are many maybe it would be less difficult to put them in line without it seeming as if we are making them inferior. This is a rough industry and the language used here is rough, so if we have maybe about 4 or 6 of women it will be better and understandable, now since only one female driver it's having to even shout at her and say hurry up because women are sensitive..." **Rank Manager**

This result is confirmed by the result presented by Onawumi et al. (2016) in a study on ergonomic assessment and driving experience of informal transport operators in Nigeria. The study opined noted that majority of informal public transport operators were male in Nigeria. Even for those few females, evidence suggest that they depend on the masculinity of their household member for complete integration and 'voice' in the taxi industry. One of the interviewees had this to say:

"...I won't say I do because my late husband is the one that used to sit in meetings with associations where they discuss the challenges faced by taxi industry and the way things should be. Right now, since it is male dominated it is not easy for me as a woman to go sit in meetings with men, but luckily, I have an older son who attends the meetings on my behalf then come back with the solutions and resolutions taken at the meeting. He also helps when taxi owners must meet and go stand on the routes that drivers take to check how they work, in that case it is not easy for a woman to go stand there with men all day doing that..."
Female Taxi Owner

The educational levels attained by the respondents were also examined as depicted in Table 4.1. The table shows the highest educational qualification of the transport operators in the two countries, 4.9% informal public transport operators had no formal education while about 16.7% had primary education. About 69% of these operators had matric or secondary school education while 9.9% had tertiary education. These results suggest that most operators were poorly educated, with only about 9.9% of the total respondents sampled in possession of an undergraduate certificate and about 17% with no formal education. These low levels of education oftentimes affect their driving behaviour.

Furthermore, Table 2 also presents information on the type of vehicles used by the informal public transport operators. For example, the type of vehicle-driven analysis reveals that most of the operators drove minibuses (44.9%). Next to this group are operators that drove cars, which constituted about 27%, followed by 14% who drove tricycles (Keke/Matutu) and 14% who drove motorcycles (Okada). This meant that most of the operators drove minibuses and cars.

Table 2: Characteristics of Informal Public Transport Operators

Variable	N	%
Country		
Nigeria	122	46.39
Republic of South Africa	141	53.61
Gender		
Female	3	1.14
Male	260	98.86
Highest Educational Qualification		
No Formal Education	11	4.18
Primary School	44	16.73
Matric/Secondary School	182	69.20
Undergraduate Degree (NCE, OND, HND, B. Sc, B.A., B. Tech, B. Eng)	26	9.89
Type of Informal Public Transport		
Motorcycle (Okada)	37	14.07
Tricycle (Keke/Matatu)	36	13.69
Car	71	27.00
Minibus	118	44.87
No Response	1	0.38
Shift Worker		
Yes	131	49.81
No	131	49.81
No Response	1	0.38
Vehicle Ownership		
Yes	101	38.40
No	134	50.95
Hire Purchased	27	10.27
No Response	1	0.38
Other Jobs		
Yes	60	22.81
No	203	77.19

Source: Authors' Analysis, (2023)

Data obtained during the survey depict that, half of the informal public transport operators were shift workers while the other half were not shift workers. This is further corroborated by the analysis of the presence of other supplementary occupation by the operators. Over half (77%) of the operators were solely transport operators with no other jobs while 22% engaged in other occupation to supplement the transport job. In Nigeria, studies have shown that although the informal transport is male dominated, opined that over half of the transport operators were involved in the transport industry owing to unemployment and low income from their primary jobs. Hence, they shift jobs to make ends meet and gather quick savings (Ipingbemi and Adebayo, 2016).

With regards to the vehicle ownership status of these operators, analysis revealed that, 51% of the transport operators do not own the vehicles they drive while about 38% own the vehicles. Out of the number of operators who owned vehicles, 10% of them acquired the vehicle through hired purchase. These findings were also established by Ipingbemi and Adebayo (2016) that 50% of those who owned their vehicles purchased them through hire purchase business model. This result implies that majority of the informal public transport operators do not have ownership rights over the vehicles used in their daily operations. It means they hire vehicles and pay the owners returns on their daily or weekly activities. In addition, the driving experience, and the average trips per day of the informal public transport operators were examined. The operators had an average of 11 years driving experience with an average of 9 trips per day. See summary statistics on Table 3 below. Ipingbemi and Adebayo (2016) asserted that in Nigeria, the number of trips made by the operators is a function of distance covered and the peculiarity of each route.

The observations for years of driving experience showed that operators had an average of 11.23 (SD = 8.60). This implies that driving experience is spread around 11 years while the observations for average trips per day indicated that operators had an average of 9.38 (SD = 11.38). The results show that transport operators had quite a lot of experience in the industry, while some numbers of trips are more spread than the average.

Table 3: Summary Statistics of Years of Driving Experience

Variable	M	SD
Years of Driving Experience	11.23	8.60
Average Trips per Day	9.38	11.38

Source: Authors' Analysis, (2023)

13. POLICE HARASSMENT AMONG INFORMAL PUBLIC TRANSPORT OPERATORS

The issue of threats to life while using public transport have become a disturbing issue that has piqued the attention of transport researchers. Police harassment of informal transport operators is expressed in different forms, ranging from verbal assault to physical assault, and lastly to sexual harassment. Harassment includes a range of verbal, non-verbal or physical behaviour, whether intended or unintended, legal, or illegal, that is considered by the victim or a bystander to be undesirable or coerced (Adhikari et al., 2020). In recent times, harassment has been conceptualized as a type of behaviour whether verbal or physical that unreasonably interferes with work, creating intimidation, hostility, fear and so on. Many informal public transport operators face daily harassment, bribery and corruption from police, border controls, authorities, and politicians. Two forms of harassment were observed and examined during this study: verbal and physical harassment. Results concerning these forms of harassments are reported in the proceeding paragraphs.

13.1. Verbal Harassment

The data presented in Table 4 delves into the occurrence of various types of verbal harassment experienced by informal transport operators at the hands of law enforcement personnel. The table comprises six distinct categories of harassment, including: dehumanization, swearing, insults in the presence of passengers, shouting, boasting about harm, and insults in the absence passengers.

Result reveals that a considerable 66.54% of respondents (175 individuals) reported feeling dehumanized by police interactions. This highlights a concerning issue, as a large proportion of informal transport operators are subjected to treatment that undermines their dignity and humanity. An assessment of the prevalence of swearing revealed that about 45.3% of respondents (119 individuals) experienced such verbal abuse from the police. This finding illustrates that nearly half of the respondents have been exposed to inappropriate and offensive language in their interactions with law enforcement. Regarding insults in the presence of passengers, the data shows that 46.77% of respondents (123 individuals) were subjected to such public humiliation. This finding is noteworthy, as it indicates that informal transport operators not only face verbal harassment but also public ridicule that may damage their reputation and self-esteem. Furthermore, with regards to shouting, the data reveals that 56.27% of respondents (148 individuals) have been yelled at by the police. This result is significant, as it demonstrates that more than half of the respondents have been subjected to aggressive and hostile communication from law enforcement personnel.

The fifth category examines instances where police officers bragged about hurting the respondents, with 14.83% (39 individuals) reporting such experiences. Although this percentage is smaller compared to other categories, it still represents a troubling issue, as it suggests that some law enforcement officers exhibit a sense of pride in causing harm to informal transport operators. Finally, in the category of insults without the presence of passengers, the data indicates that 51.71% of respondents (136 individuals) were insulted in while passengers were not in the vehicle. This finding highlights the pervasive nature of verbal harassment, regardless of whether passengers are present or not.

The findings of this analysis on verbal harassment experienced by informal transport operators bear considerable implications in terms of psychological well-being, professional performance, and societal norms. Drawing from existing literature, the implications of these findings is discussed in relation to three central themes: mental health, workplace dynamics, and cultural change.

Firstly, the mental health implications of verbal harassment must be acknowledged. Alluding to the emotional and mental impact of the harassment, a taxi owner mentioned that: -

“...They cry a lot to us and complain to the association, but it ends there because they have to be strong and continue working because they have families that they need to feed....” Taxi Owner

Such experience and exposure from verbal abuse can result in increased stress, anxiety, and depression, as well as lower self-esteem and self-worth (Schat et al., 2006). The high prevalence of dehumanization, swearing, and insults reported by informal transport operators suggests that their psychological well-being is at risk. Furthermore, verbal harassment in the presence of passengers could amplify feelings of humiliation and embarrassment (Grandey et al., 2004). Addressing these issues is vital not only for the personal welfare of these workers but also for fostering a more compassionate and empathetic society.

Secondly, the implications of these findings on workplace dynamics are significant. Verbal harassment can negatively impact job satisfaction, motivation, and productivity (Bowling & Beehr, 2006). In addition, the public nature of some of these incidents may damage the reputation of informal transport operators and strain their relationships with passengers (Hershcovis & Reich, 2013). Ensuring a safe and respectful work environment is crucial for promoting the professional success of informal transport operators and for maintaining a functional transport system that serves the needs of the broader community.

Lastly, the results of this analysis call for a cultural shift in the way law enforcement interacts with informal transport operators. As Galtung (1969) posited in his theory of cultural violence, norms and attitudes that enable and legitimize aggressive behaviour can contribute to the perpetuation of structural inequalities. The high prevalence of verbal harassment in this context suggests that a change in societal values and expectations is necessary to foster a more equitable and respectful relationship between law enforcement and informal workers. Educational initiatives, awareness campaigns, and policy reform can play a crucial role in driving this cultural transformation (Fiske, 2004).

In summary, the data presented underscores the prevalence of various forms of verbal harassment experienced by informal transport operators in their encounters with law enforcement. In conclusion, the analysis of verbal harassment faced by informal transport operators carries profound implications for their mental health, workplace dynamics, and the need for cultural change.

Table 4: Frequency Table for Verbal Harassment

Variable	N	%
Made feel less of human		
No	87	33.08
Yes	175	66.54
No Response	1	0.38
Swore at you		
No	139	52.85
Yes	119	45.25
No Response	5	1.90
Insulted you in the presence of passengers		
No	139	52.85
Yes	123	46.77
No Response	1	0.38
Shouted at you		
No	115	43.73
Yes	148	56.27
Bragged about hurting you		
No	223	84.79
Yes	39	14.83
No Response	1	0.38
Insulted you without passengers		
No	126	47.91
Yes	136	51.71
No Response	1	0.38

Source: Authors' Analysis, (2023)

13.2. Physical Harassment

The data presented below in Table 5 sheds light on the prevalence of various types of physical harassment experienced by informal transport operators at the hands of law enforcement personnel. It consists of three distinct categories of harassment, namely: being prevented from working, vehicle hijacking, and physical assault.

From the data, it is evident that 52.09% of the respondents (137 individuals) reported having been impeded from performing their duties by the police. This indicates that a significant proportion of informal transport operators encounter obstructions to their work due to law enforcement intervention. The analysis reveals that 18.63% of the respondents (49 individuals) have experienced vehicle hijacking by the police. Although the percentage is smaller, it still represents a notable concern for informal transport operators. Lastly, regarding

physical assault, the data shows that 16.73% of the respondents (44 individuals) have been subjected to such aggression by the police. Despite being the least common form of harassment among the three, physical assault remains a serious issue that impacts the safety and well-being of informal transport operators.

The results of this analysis carry significant implications for both the informal transport sector and law enforcement practices. Drawing upon existing literature, the implications of these findings is discussed in the context of three key themes i.e., social justice, economic impact, and policy reform.

Firstly, the concept of social justice is at the forefront when examining the relationship between informal transport operators and law enforcement agents. As noted by Bayat (1997), informal laborers often operate at the fringes of the economy and are marginalized, with limited access to legal protection. The prevalence of harassment reported by these operators underscores the need for a more equitable system that safeguards their rights and dignity. Wacquant's (2009) work on the penal state further highlights the consequences of excessive police intervention, which may exacerbate existing social inequalities.

Secondly, the economic implications of these results cannot be overlooked. The informal transport sector plays a crucial role in the livelihoods of millions of people worldwide (Cervero & Golub, 2007). When operators are hindered from working, or have their vehicles hijacked, their income is directly affected. This, in turn, can have a ripple effect on local economies and contribute to cycles of poverty (Banerjee & Duflo, 2007). Moreover, as pointed out by Arias et al. (2014), the informal sector can serve as a buffer during economic downturns, providing employment opportunities and income for those who have lost formal jobs. Thus, protecting informal transport operators from harassment is vital for ensuring their economic stability.

Lastly, the results call for policy reform to address the issues faced by informal transport operators. Policymakers need to strike a balance between regulating the informal sector and safeguarding the rights of its workers (Porter et al., 2012). One potential approach is to enhance the legal recognition of informal workers as advocated by Chen (2007). This could help alleviate the vulnerability of these operators to harassment and provide them with a platform to voice their concerns. Additionally, police training and accountability measures should be implemented to reduce instances of abuse and promote a more just and equitable relationship between law enforcement and informal workers (Skogan & Frydl, 2004).

In summary, the information presented highlights the challenges faced by informal transport operators in their encounters with law enforcement. These interactions often result in disruption of work, vehicle hijacking, and physical assault. By drawing on existing literature, this discussion emphasizes the need for a more humane and equitable approach to addressing the challenges faced by this vulnerable population.

Table 5: Frequency Table for Physical Harassment

Variable	N	%
Stopped from working		
No	121	46.01
Yes	137	52.09
No Response	5	1.90
Hijacked vehicle		
No	213	80.99
Yes	49	18.63
No Response	1	0.38
Physically assaulted you		
No	219	83.27
Yes	44	16.73

Source: Authors' Analysis, (2023)

13.3. Sexual Harassment and History of Bribe Requests

Table 6 examined the prevalence of sexual harassment and the history of bribe requests encountered by informal transport operators at the hands of law enforcement personnel. The table comprises three distinct categories: sexual advances, sexual remarks or jokes, and requests for bribes.

An analysis of the data reveals that 1.90% of respondents (5 individuals) have experienced unwarranted sexual advances from the police. While the percentage is relatively low, the presence of sexual harassment in any form is a cause for concern, as it undermines the safety and dignity of informal transport operators. The second category examines the prevalence of sexual remarks or jokes, with 5.32% of respondents (14 individuals) reporting exposure to such inappropriate language. Although a smaller proportion of respondents experienced this form of harassment compared to other categories, the issue remains significant as it contributes to a hostile work environment and may have negative implications for the well-being of informal transport operators. Lastly, regarding bribe requests, the data indicates that a considerable 71.86% of respondents (189 individuals) have been solicited for bribes by the police. This finding is particularly worrisome, as it highlights a pervasive issue of corruption that affects most informal transport operators in their encounters with law enforcement.

The results of this analysis on sexual harassment and bribe requests experienced by informal transport operators have significant implications in terms of power dynamics, trust in institutions, and the need for gender-sensitive policies. Drawing from existing literature, these implications are discussed through three central themes: power imbalances, institutional trust, and gender considerations.

Firstly, the power imbalances between law enforcement and informal transport operators are a key factor that underlies these forms of harassment. Literature on power dynamics suggests that individuals in positions of authority may exploit their power to engage in inappropriate behaviour towards those in more vulnerable

positions (Keltner et al., 2003). This dynamic is evident in both the sexual harassment and bribe request data, highlighting the need for measures to mitigate the exploitation of power and protect the rights of informal transport operators.

Secondly, the high prevalence of bribe requests has considerable implications for trust in institutions. Research has shown that corruption, particularly within law enforcement, can erode public trust in institutions and undermine their legitimacy (Rothstein & Uslaner, 2005). In the context of informal transport operators, this erosion of trust could result in reduced cooperation with the police and increased reliance on informal channels of dispute resolution (Helmke & Levitsky, 2004). Addressing the issue of corruption and bribe requests is crucial for restoring trust in law enforcement and promoting a more effective and responsive system of governance. The dimension of bribe as experience by the drivers, taxi owners and rank manager emerge from illegal roadblocks, targeted harassment, and inflated fines. Interviewees states thus:

“...The police are doing their job which is to arrest a person if they are doing wrong. Even here in our industry, there are drivers that are hardheaded, and police need to do their job. On the other hand, police as well do opposite of what they should. For example, they would be having a roadblock and the only people they are stopping would be taxis only which is shocking, it is as if the small vehicles do not make mistakes...”

Taxi Owner

“...Like I said my child there are challenges, police just do a roadblock out of the blue, yes, it is their job, but I wish they can have a good working relationship with the drivers. They must give drivers tickets where necessary and us owners will pay for it, and not charge ridiculous amounts for personal use, that end up making drivers pay with the money they are supposed to cash up. I don't think the government would accept the doing of police wanting bribes” ... Female Taxi Owner

“...It is mostly emotional not physical, and you find maybe a police officer is supposed to give them a R300 ticket but then be like because this one was rude, I will sort them out and then give you R1000 instead of R300. Unfortunately, they can't do anything about that, because police are law officials, sometimes when they go report at Metro the police cover themselves up...” Taxi Manager and Owner

All these commentaries reflect perceived corrupt practices among police officers. Lastly, the presence of sexual harassment in this context highlights the need for gender-sensitive policies and interventions. While the percentage of respondents experiencing sexual harassment is relatively low, it is essential to recognize that any form of harassment can have detrimental effects on the well-being and safety of those affected (Willness et al., 2007). Implementing gender-sensitive policies and training programs for law enforcement personnel can help raise awareness about the issue, promote a more respectful and equitable work environment, and ultimately reduce the occurrence of sexual harassment (Berdahl & Aquino, 2009).

In summary, the data presented emphasizes the prevalence of various forms of harassment, including sexual harassment and bribe requests, experienced by informal transport operators in their interactions with law enforcement. In conclusion, the analysis of sexual harassment and bribe requests experienced by informal transport operators carries significant implications for power dynamics, trust in institutions, and the need for gender-sensitive policies.

Table 6: Frequency Table for Sexual Harassment and History of Bribe Request

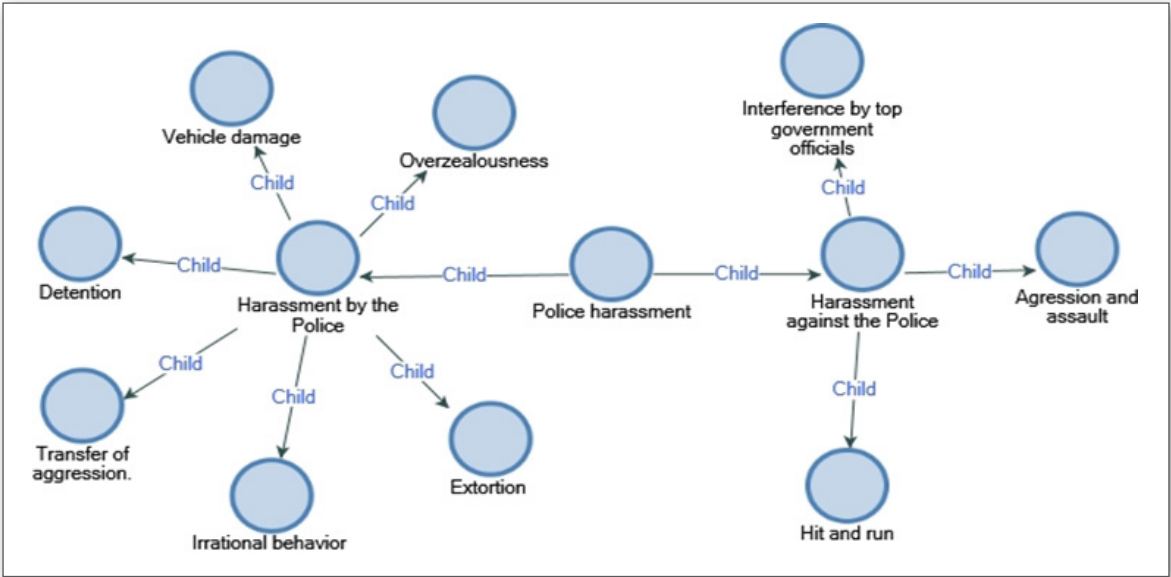
Variable	N	%
Made sexual advances		
No	255	96.96
Yes	5	1.90
No Response	3	1.14
Made Sexual remarks or jokes		
No	249	94.68
Yes	14	5.32
Requested bribe		
No	74	28.14
Yes	189	71.86

Source: Authors' Analysis, (2023)

Findings from the qualitative analysis showed that police harassment is bi-directional, i.e., harassment goes both ways (Figure 2). Harassment against the operators could involve illegal impoundment of their vehicles and detention by the police. Rather than the long court process which may eventually impose heavy fine on an erring driver, the police were found to resort to impounding operators' vehicles at their base. This is to waste their time to serve as a reprimand. "I even try to pity them because by the time I take them to court and they are paying fine, they will see it as a heavy punishment so I am trying to do my job with the human face so I just impound their vehicles so they feel the pain then tomorrow they will change..." a police officer said. In some cases, transport operators were found to be arrested during joint traffic enforcement and detained at the station without charging them to court.

Bribe taking is also another area of the police harassment against operators. A police officer stated that: "there is no system that is perfect and that is why we have IGP (Inspector General of Police) monitoring (team)..." there is always a black sheep... just like university environment where we have lecturers who will take money for marks ...So also, we have in the Police..." On the other hand, it was found that the police officers are also not safe from the operators' harassment. It was found that there were many occasions that the operators were aggressive and assaulted the law enforcement officers. A police officer said: "...it is the drivers that use to be violent...We are always at the receiving end... a driver has assaulted us; they sometime do not only threaten the law enforcement officials with their vehicles but actually hit them and run."

Figure 2: Harassment between police and informal transport operators



Source: Authors' Analysis, (2023)

14. A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF POLICE HARASSMENT IN THE CASE STUDY AREAS

In this section, a comparative analysis of the police harassment amongst informal transport operators in Durban and Ibadan shall be considered. This is done in alignment with the study aim to identifying and comparing the levels of physical, verbal, and sexual harassment experienced by informal transport operators in Nigeria and South Africa.

To achieve this, a total composite score was computed for items measuring each type of harassment, and a Mann-Whitney U test was employed to determine differences in the scores between the countries. Consequently, the Mann-Whitney U test results revealed significant differences between Nigeria and South Africa in terms of physical harassment ($U = 6410.5$, $z = -3.81$, $p < .001$) and verbal harassment ($U = 6942.5$, $z = -2.74$, $p = .006$). Specifically, informal transport operators in Nigeria reported higher levels of both physical and verbal harassment than their counterparts in South Africa. In contrast, there was no significant difference between the two countries concerning sexual harassment ($U = 8556.00$, $z = -0.19$, $p = .851$). Table 7 highlights the test results.

Table 7: Test of difference in Physical, Verbal and Sexual Harassment of informal transport operators

Variable	Mean Rank		U	z	p
	Nigeria	RSA			
Physical Harassment	149.95	116.46	6410.5	-3.81	< .001
Verbal Harassment	145.59	120.24	6942.5	-2.74	0.006
Sexual Harassment	131.63	132.32	8,556.00	-0.19	0.851

Source: Authors' Analysis, (2023)

These disparities in physical and verbal harassment may be attributed to differences in the regulatory environment, law enforcement practices, and cultural factors between Nigeria and South Africa. For example, Nigeria's informal transport sector has been characterized by a lack of adequate regulation and oversight (Ojekunle & Adebisi, 2017), which could potentially contribute to higher rates of harassment. Conversely, South Africa has implemented stricter regulations for its informal transport operators, which may have resulted in a reduction of such incidents (Khayesi & Amekudzi, 2011).

Additionally, the absence of a significant difference in sexual harassment between the two countries suggests that this form of harassment may be more universally prevalent in the informal transport sector, regardless of the specific country context. This finding resonates with studies highlighting the pervasiveness of sexual harassment in various public transportation settings worldwide (Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2018).

Regarding verbal harassment, specifically "made to feel less human", the calculated chi-square value $\chi^2(1) = 0.85$, $p = 0.356$, indicating that there is no statistically significant difference between Nigeria and South Africa concerning the prevalence of this form of harassment. Regarding swearing as a form of verbal harassment, the chi-square value, $\chi^2(1) = 8.61$, $p = 0.003$, which suggests that a significant distinction exists between the

two countries in the prevalence of swearing directed at informal transport operators by law enforcement personnel. The result implied that in both countries of studies (Republic of South Africa and Nigeria), police officers Swore at transport operators. This form of verbal abuse is common to both countries. This according to Couto et al., (2011) is because of disdain and disrespect from the police officials. Police officers often do not show any form of respect to transport operators as observed from their rudeness. Similarly, with respect to insults in the presence of passengers, the chi-square value: $\chi^2(1) = 6.41$, $p = 0.011$, which indicates that a notable disparity exists between Nigeria and South Africa. On the other hand, insults without passengers, and shouting, the respective chi-square values; $\chi^2(1) = 1.66$, $p = .198$ and $\chi^2(1) = 1.78$, $p = 0.183$ respectively, suggesting that difference exists between the nations concerning these types of harassment. Lastly, regarding the prevalence of bragging about hurting, the chi-square value: $\chi^2(1) = 9.46$, $p = 0.002$, was significant suggesting that a statistically there is noteworthy difference exists between the countries in the prevalence of this form of harassment.

In terms of physical harassment, the first category pertains to being stopped from working. Here, the chi-square value: $\chi^2(1) = 1.45$, $p = .229$ denoting that no statistically significant difference between Nigeria and South Africa. In contrast, for vehicle hijacking, the chi-square value: $\chi^2(1) = 37.13$, $p < .001$, demonstrating that a significant disparity exists between the two countries in the prevalence of this form of harassment perpetrated by law enforcement personnel against informal transport operators. Similarly, concerning physical assault, the chi-square value: $\chi^2(1) = 10.09$, $p = 0.001$, suggesting a notable difference between Nigeria and South Africa in the prevalence of this type of harassment.

With regard to sexual harassment, sexual advances were significant, $p = 0.021$, which implies that a statistically significant difference exists between Nigeria and South Africa with respect to the prevalence of this form of harassment. However, transport operators in Nigeria do experience one or two forms of sexual harassment while it was not experienced at all in the Republic of South Africa. Conversely, making sexual remarks or jokes were not significant, $\chi^2(1) = 0.07$, $p = 0.785$, which indicates that no significant difference exists between the countries. Lastly, regarding bribe requests, the chi-square value: $\chi^2(1) = 5.24$, $p = .022$, which signifies that a significant difference exists between Nigeria and South Africa in the prevalence of such requests made by law enforcement personnel toward informal transport operators. The issue of officials requesting bribe is confirmed and reported among the police, LASTMA officials and other transport stakeholders in Nigeria (Ogunyemi, 2014; Evans, 2015; Agbibo, 2016, 2022). Evidence of this is presented in the work of Iyang and Abraham (2013) that several road users particularly drivers of informal public transport who refused to pay the bribe required by police officers at roadblocks and tollgates have met their tragic demise at the hands of these police officers or has been victims of police brutality. In addition, Onawumi et al. (2016) also asserted that many drivers in Nigeria have developed the ways of escaping the hands of law by bribing the police officials. Table 8 displays the results of the Chi-square test concerning the various forms of verbal harassment and the countries in question.

Table 8: Chi Square

Categories	Variable	χ^2	p
Verbal Harassment	Made to feel less human	0.85	0.356
	Swore at you	8.61	0.003
	Insulted you in the presence of passengers	6.41	0.011
	Insulted you without passengers	1.66	0.198
	Shouted at you	1.78	0.183
	Bragged about hurting you	9.46	0.002
Physical Harassment	Stopped from working	1.45	0.229
	Hijacked vehicle	37.13	<0.001
	Physically assaulted you	10.09	<0.001
Sexual Harassment	Made sexual advances		0.021
	Made Sexual remarks or jokes	0.07	0.785
Bribe Request	Requested bribe	5.24	0.022

Source: Authors' Analysis, (2023)

The data presented in Table 8 offers a comprehensive analysis of the differences in harassment experiences faced by informal transport operators in Nigeria and the Republic of South Africa (RSA) at the hands of law enforcement personnel. This analysis includes verbal, physical, and sexual harassment, as well as bribe requests. By employing chi-square tests, the study examines the prevalence of various forms of harassment and bribe requests across the two countries, revealing noteworthy disparities. This discussion delves into the potential causes underlying these differences, referencing existing literature, and exploring the role of cultural factors, law enforcement practices, and policy interventions.

Focusing on verbal harassment, the chi-square test results indicate significant differences between Nigeria and South Africa in the prevalence of swearing, insults in the presence of passengers, and bragging about hurting. Cultural norms, values, and communication styles can partially account for these disparities, as they influence the interactions between law enforcement personnel and informal transport operators (Gudykunst & Kim, 2003). Additionally, law enforcement practices and training, as well as policy interventions, might contribute to the observed cross-country differences in verbal harassment prevalence (Brogden & Nijhar, 2005; Button et al., 2001).

With respect to physical harassment, the chi-square test results revealed significant differences between Nigeria and RSA in the prevalence of vehicle hijacking and physical assault. Socio-political contexts, such as political instability, crime rates, and social unrest, can impact law enforcement's behaviour toward informal transport operators (Hills, 2000). Furthermore, law enforcement practices, training, and policy interventions can also play a role in the disparities in physical harassment prevalence between Nigeria and RSA (Brogden & Nijhar, 2005; Button et al., 2001).

In terms of sexual harassment and bribe requests, the chi-square test results suggest significant differences between Nigeria and RSA in the prevalence of making sexual advances and requesting bribes from informal transport operators. Cultural factors, particularly societal norms, attitudes, and beliefs regarding gender, power dynamics, and the acceptability of certain behaviours, can shape the experiences of sexual harassment and bribe requests (Farley, 2005; Stanko, 1995). Moreover, law enforcement practices, including training and oversight, can influence the prevalence of these issues in Nigeria and RSA (Brogden & Nijhar, 2005; Connell & Galvin, 1998). Lastly, policy interventions aimed at mitigating sexual harassment and combating corruption can impact the prevalence of specific forms of sexual harassment and bribe requests (Spector, 2005; Transparency International, 2020).

In conclusion, the chi-square test results highlight significant cross-country differences in the prevalence of certain forms of verbal, physical, and sexual harassment experienced by informal transport operators, as well as bribe requests made by law enforcement personnel. By scrutinizing these disparities, this analysis contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of the factors influencing harassment and bribe requests and fosters the development of targeted, context-specific interventions and policies. In doing so, this discussion aims to promote a safer and more supportive environment for informal transport operators in both Nigeria and the Republic of South Africa.

15. PATTERNS OF BRIBERY AND THE COPING STRATEGIES DEVELOPED BY INFORMAL PUBLIC TRANSPORT OPERATORS

An examination of the frequency of bribes given to police officers by informal public transport operators reveals noteworthy trends. As displayed in Table 9, approximately 34% of these operators' pay bribes at their discretion. This finding suggests that a portion of operators refuse to acquiesce to police officers' demands for bribes.

About 12% of operators adhere to this stance. Nonetheless, 15% of operators pay bribes weekly, and 17% do so daily. In more extreme cases, 11% of operators offer bribes two to three times per day, and 5% pay bribes on every trip. Consequently, a significant proportion of informal public transport operators' resort to bribery to avoid harassment or to curry favour with police officers during their daily activities. Operators who frequently pay bribes are less likely to experience physical or verbal harassment. This pattern is supported by Ipingbemi & Adebayo's (2016) study, which identified bribery as a common method used by law enforcement to exploit transport operators in Ibadan, Nigeria. Similar findings have been documented in other developing countries (SSATP, 2014).

Since bribery is not willingly engaged in by informal public transport operators, 37% report such incidents to their superiors. In contrast, 63% refrain from doing so, potentially due to fear of being labelled antagonistic or targeted for additional fines. Owiti (2019) posited that when police officers fail to obtain bribes, they fabricate offenses punishable by fines to extract bribes and penalize transport operators. Consequently, many operators resort to carrying small amounts of money to offer as bribes on each trip, to avoid further complications. Of the 37% who report bribery incidents, merely 14% receive justice for being coerced to pay bribes, while around 63% continue to pay bribes to evade police harassment. Owiti (2019) argued that the only method to circumvent police harassment for bribes is to either carry money to offer or avoid contact with police officers on the road.

To eschew daily and weekly bribe payments, 61% of informal public transport operators occasionally circumvent certain routes to evade police presence. For drivers that cannot pay the bribe, and sometimes the 'illegally charged fines', they continually live and work at the mercy of a police officer and sometime continually on the run. A taxi owner mentioned that: -

"...I won't lie and say drivers are okay because they are not, it happens a driver gets 4 tickets a day and they cost a lot of money. These tickets they get are more than the money they get paid a week, for example one would get a more than a R1000 ticket which they earn a week, and these people have families and are breadwinners in their homes. So, as a result they can't afford to pay for these tickets because he can't take money for groceries and pay for tickets. Now if they don't pay these tickets, they end up having warrants, they now can't work well, always on the run, looking for alternative routes that won't have police and sometimes end up damaging cars..."

Taxi Owner

In some cases, transport operators often opt for alternative routes, regardless of distance, to sidestep bribery. This practice underscores the perception of police officers as exploiters of informal public transport operators.

Table 9: Frequency of bribe payment, harassment report, and coping strategies

Variable	N	%
Frequency of bribe payment		
Every Trip	14	5.32
2 or 3 times a day	28	10.65
Daily	45	17.11
Weekly	40	15.21
I am law abiding; I do not pay bribe	31	11.79
Whenever I wish to pay	89	33.84
No Response	16	6.08
Reported cases of harassment to superiors		
Yes	97	36.88
No	166	63.12
if yes, did you get justice		
Yes	36	13.69
No	166	63.12
No Response	61	23.19
Do you avoid certain routes due to police presence		
Yes	161	61.22
No	97	36.88
No Response	5	1.90

Source: Authors' Analysis, (2023)

Table 10 delineates a juxtaposition of the average sums (in local currency) disbursed as bribes by informal public transport operators within Nigeria and RSA. Evident from the observations, bribes paid in Nigerian Naira exhibit a higher mean value of 287.70 (\$0.62) (SD = 941.19) compared to those in South African Rand, which average at 71.56 (\$3.90) (SD = 64.29). This distinction underscores a heightened prevalence of bribe solicitation in Nigeria relative to South Africa. However, in actual sense, informal transport operators in RSA pay more bribes (in value) compared to their counterparts in Nigeria.

The elevated mean bribe amount in Nigeria, as opposed to South Africa, signifies a more frequent exposure to extortion faced by informal transport operators in the former. This disparity between the two nations may stem from divergent law enforcement practices, regulatory enforcement measures, and socio-economic factors. A more in-depth exploration of these variables is essential for devising targeted interventions and policies aimed at mitigating the incidence of bribery and its adverse ramifications on the transportation sector and the broader community.

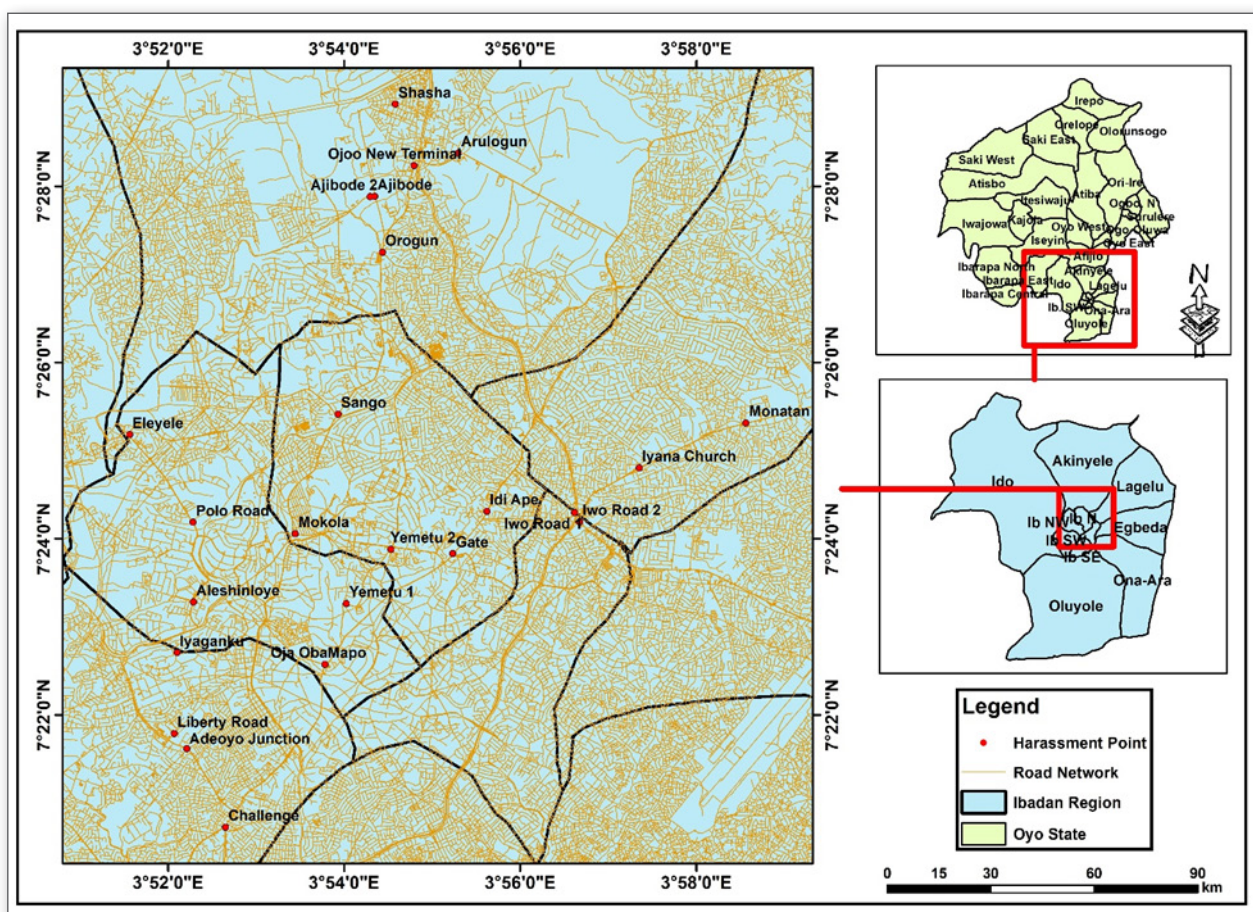
Table 10: Summary Statistics for Bribes Paid

Variable	M	SD
Bribe Naira	287.70	941.19
Bribe Rand	71.56	64.29

Source: Authors' Analysis, (2023)

16. A SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF POLICE HARASSMENT SPOTS

The nearest neighbour analysis of police harassment spots of informal transport operators in Ibadan (Map 3 and Figure 3) yielded an observed mean distance (D) of 1093.934284 units and an expected mean distance (E) of 5661.807634 units, resulting in a nearest neighbour ratio (R) of 0.193213. The z-score was -7.717201, which is significant at the $p < .001$ level (Figure 3). This suggests that the spatial pattern of the police harassment spots of informal transport operators is significantly more clustered than would be expected if the features were randomly distributed.

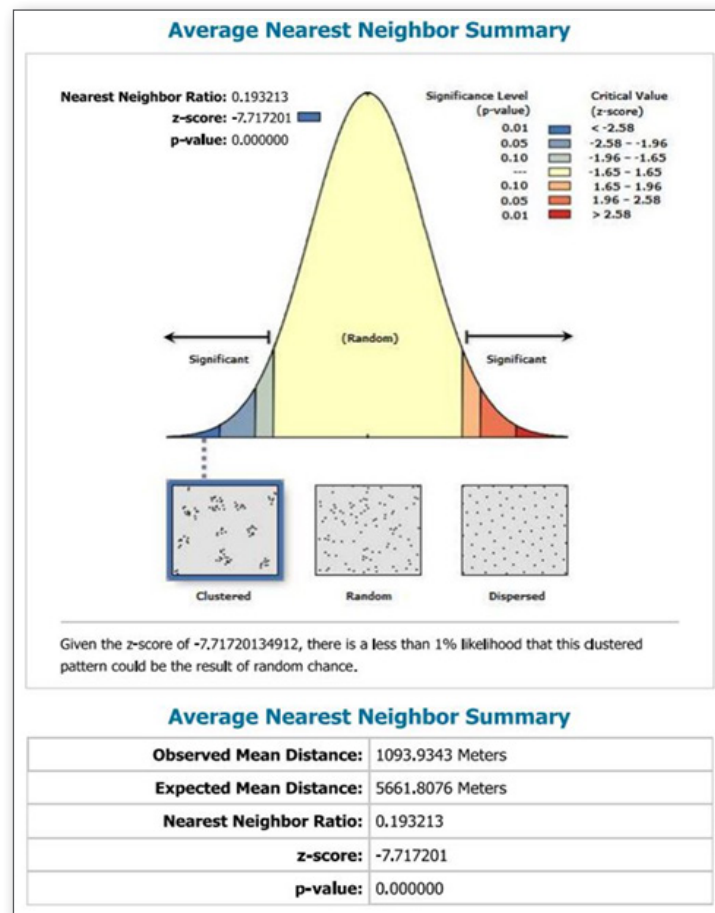


Map 3: Police harassment points across Ibadan region, Nigeria (Fieldwork, 2022)

Source: Authors' Analysis, (2022)

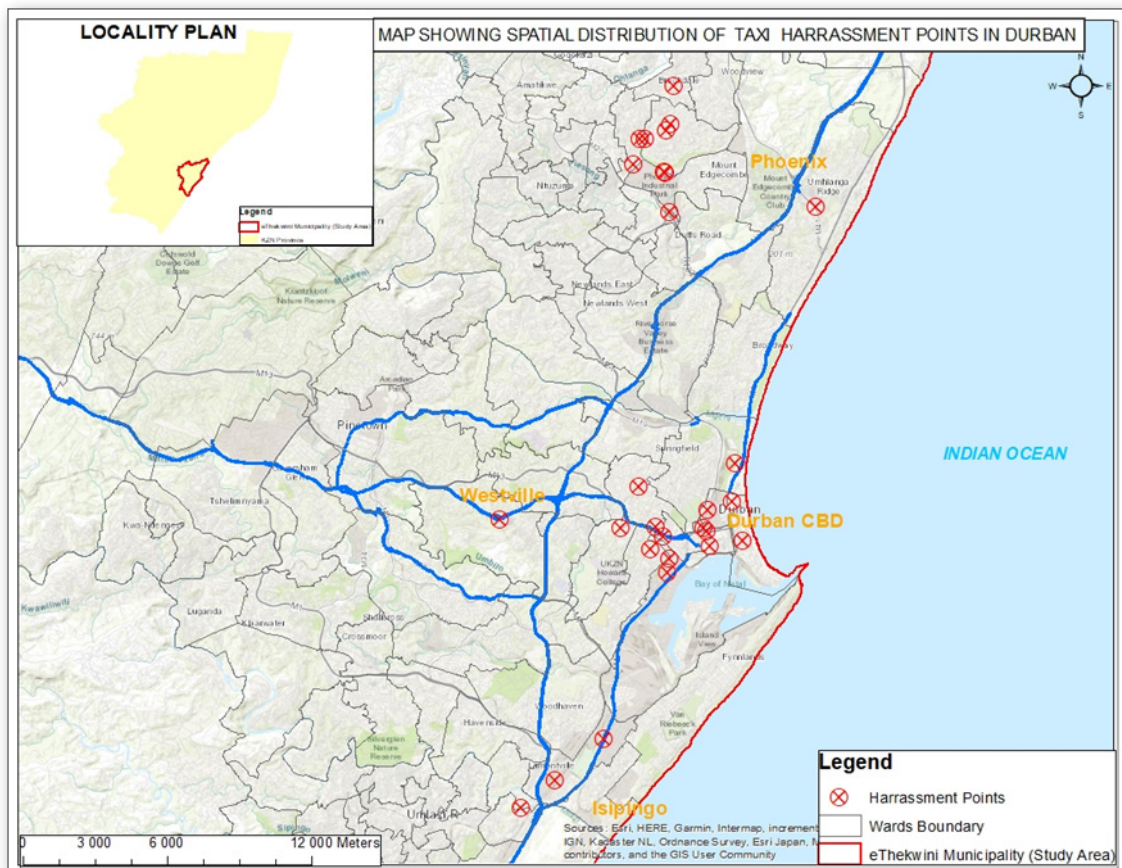
The results of this analysis, therefore, confirm a significantly clustered pattern of police harassment spots of informal transport operators in Ibadan. Studies have shown that informal transport operators often operate in specific areas due to local demand and route familiarity (Kerzhner, 2022; Toro Lopez & Van den Broeck, 2022). These areas often become hotspots for police harassment, as police tend to concentrate their efforts where they expect to find high concentrations of informal transport operators (Braga & Weisburd, 2010). Therefore, the clustered pattern identified in this analysis aligns with expectations from previous scholarly work.

Figure 3: Nearest Neighbour Analysis of Police Harassment Spots in Ibadan Metropolis



Source: Authors' Analysis, (2023)

Conversely, the nearest neighbour analysis of police harassment spots of informal transport operators in Durban (Map 4 and Figure 4) yielded an observed mean distance (D) of 4299.45385 units and an expected mean distance (E) of 4694.679124 units, resulting in a nearest neighbour ratio (R) of 0.915814. The Z-score was -0.867299. However, the p-value was 0.385778, which is not statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level (Figure 4). This suggests that while the spatial pattern of the features appears to be slightly more clustered than would be expected if the features were randomly distributed, the result is not statistically significant. Therefore, the null hypothesis that the features are randomly distributed cannot be reject. The observed pattern could very well be due to random chance.



Map 4: Police harassment points across Durban, RSA (Fieldwork, 2022)

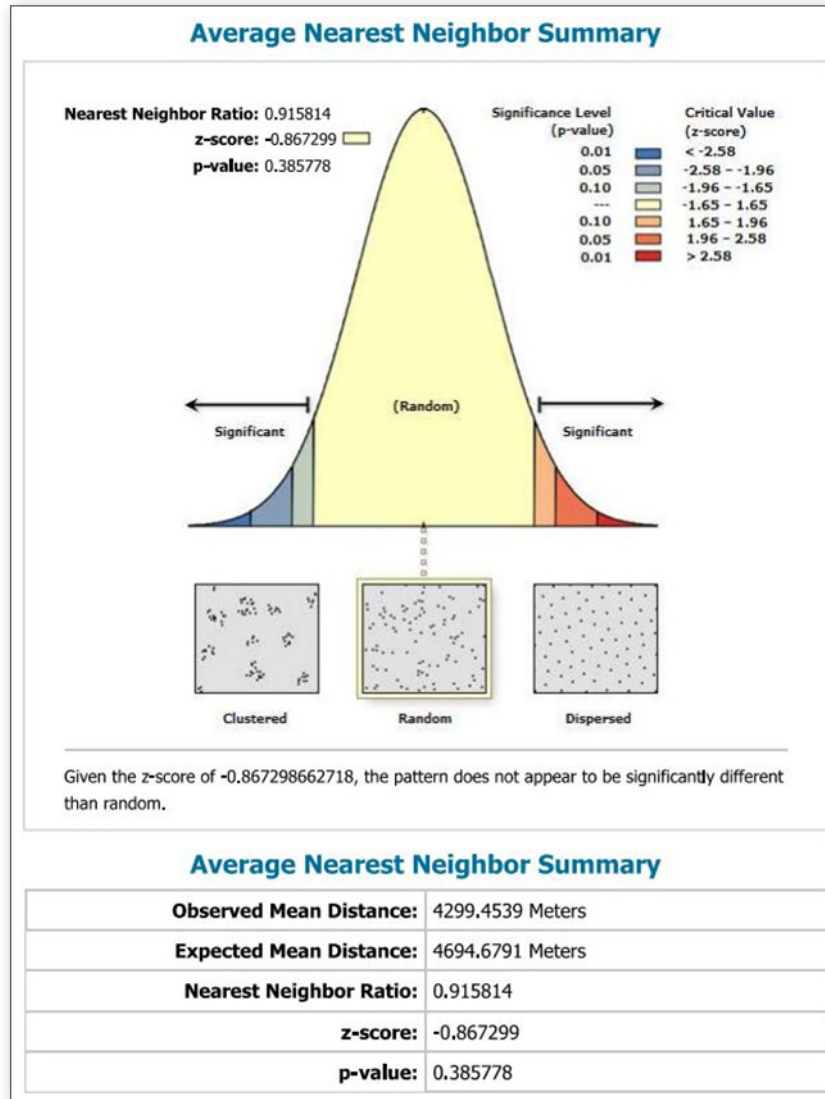
Source: Authors' Analysis, (2022)

According to Jacobs (1979), law enforcement often focuses on areas where the potential for infractions is high. This could create a clustered pattern in police harassment spots, but the clustering is not necessarily consistent across all regions due to variations in local conditions, law enforcement strategies, and the behaviour of transport operators.

In the case of Durban, these results could be due to a variety of factors. A study by Behrens, McCormick, and Mfinanga (2015) noted that informal transport in African cities like Durban tends to be organized around key transport nodes, rather than operating randomly across the city. Yet, the police enforcement could be spread out more evenly, resulting in a less pronounced clustering of police harassment spots.

Given the above analysis and supporting literature, it seems reasonable to agree with the presented findings. The spatial distribution of police harassment spots of informal transport operators in Durban appears to be slightly clustered but is not statistically significantly different from a random pattern. This may reflect varying law enforcement strategies, geographic layout, and operating patterns of informal transport in Durban, among other factors. It emphasizes the need for local-specific studies in understanding these phenomena.

Figure 4: Nearest Neighbour Analysis of Police Harassment Spots in Durban



Source: Authors' Analysis, (2022)

17. THE IMPACT OF HARASSMENT ON OPERATORS' WELLBEING AND THEIR COPING MECHANISMS

Wellbeing in the context of employees encompasses three distinct dimensions: life, work, and psychological wellbeing. Life and wellbeing refer to an individual's overall quality of life, encompassing various aspects of their personal and professional experiences. Work wellbeing, on the other hand, pertains to the physical and mental states experienced by individuals while engaged in their professional activities. Lastly, psychological wellbeing entails a sense of emotional satisfaction and achievement in one's life.

In the present investigation, multiple forms of harassment and bribe requests are examined as potential predictors of the wellbeing dimensions among informal transport operators in Ibadan and Durban. By exploring these relationships, the study seeks to provide a nuanced understanding of how external stressors, such as harassment and corruption, may impact the diverse facets of wellbeing experienced by individuals in this occupation.

17.1. Factors that Impact the Lives and Wellbeing of Operators

A linear regression analysis was conducted to assess factors that significantly predicted life wellbeing in Nigeria and RSA. The bidirectional stepwise variable selection method was used. The results of the linear regression model predicting life wellbeing in Nigeria were presented in table 10, were significant, $F(2, 118) = 6.13$, $p = .003$, $R^2 = .09$, indicating that approximately 9.41% of the variance in life wellbeing is explainable by physical harassment and requested bribes. Physical harassment significantly predicted life wellbeing, $B = 0.39$, $t(118) = 3.22$, $p = .002$. This indicates that on average, a one-unit increase of physical harassment will increase the value of life wellbeing by 0.39 units. The Yes category of requested bribe significantly predicted life wellbeing, $B = -0.64$, $t(118) = -2.05$, $p = .043$. Based on this sample, this suggests that moving from the No to Yes category of requested bribe will decrease the mean value of life wellbeing by 0.64 units on average. Table 11 summarizes the results of the regression model.

Table 11: Physical Harassment and Requested bribes predicting Life Wellbeing in Nigeria

Variable	B	SE	β	t	p
(Intercept)	4.33	0.28	0.00	15.39	< .001
Physical Harassment	0.39	0.12	0.29	3.22	.002
Requested bribe (Yes)	-0.64	0.31	-0.18	-2.05	.043

Note. Results: $F(2, 118) = 6.13$, $p = .003$, $R^2 = .09$

Unstandardized Regression Equation: $Life\ Wellbeing = 4.33 + 0.39 * Physical\ Harassment - 0.64 * Requested\ bribe$

Source: Authors' Analysis, (2023)

The linear regression analysis conducted in Nigeria offers insight into the relationship between physical harassment, bribe requests, and the life wellbeing of informal transport operators. The results align with existing literature, elucidating the negative consequences of harassment on individuals' wellbeing.

A notable finding is the positive relationship between physical harassment and life wellbeing, with a one-unit increase in physical harassment leading to a 0.39-unit increase in life wellbeing. This result contrasts with prior research, which generally posits that harassment negatively impacts individuals' wellbeing (e.g., Okechukwu et al., 2021). However, it is essential to consider contextual factors that might influence this relationship. For instance, informal transport operators could develop resilience over time, leading to a seemingly paradoxical positive association between harassment and wellbeing (Berger et al., 2021).

Moreover, the study found that bribe requests negatively predict life wellbeing, with a shift from the No to Yes category of requested bribe decreasing life wellbeing by 0.64 units on average. This finding is consistent with literature highlighting the detrimental effects of corruption on individuals' wellbeing and mental health (Kotzé, 2020). The adverse impact of bribe requests on wellbeing can be attributed to the financial strain and sense of powerlessness experienced by transport operators when faced with such demands (Owiti, 2019). The findings indicate a degree of adaptation to the challenges posed by harassment among Ibadan operators, which can be attributed to the prevailing "hustling" lifestyle common among informal workers. The term "hustling" embodies a way of life characterized by perseverance through adversity, uncertainty, and constant striving to make the best out of one's circumstances (Thieme, 2015; Thieme, 2018; Cieslik et al., 2022). By adopting such an approach, these operators display resilience in the face of the hardships and obstacles they encounter in their daily lives. An alternative perspective suggests that the physical harassment of one driver might inadvertently present a collective advantage for another driver, particularly when the latter has already fulfilled the implicit requirements (such as paying a bribe) to displace the former from their route. Research by George (2020), Uwazuruike (2020), and Ogunlade et al. (2021) has highlighted that the ENDSARS movement's emergence is emblematic of the long-standing endurance of physical harassment experienced by Nigerian residents, including informal operators. This phenomenon underscores the intricate interplay of power dynamics and survival strategies in the everyday lives of these individuals.

In Nigeria, both Human Rights Watch (2010) and Adebayo (2005) have provided insights into citizens' perceptions of the police force. They noted that the quality of service currently delivered by the Nigerian police falls short of public expectations. This shortfall is exemplified in interactions between police and citizens, which often entail alleged police brutality, improper arrests, rampant corruption, unwarranted use of firearms, threats of physical violence, hostility, intimidation, extortion, punitive actions, arbitrary vehicle stops, and monetary exactions from motorists in major urban areas and highways (Aborisade, 2021; Adebayo, 2005). The study also recognizes the lack of adequate policies and laws to serve as effective deterrents against physical harassment. This is because the police are often perceived as indifferent and imbued with a culture of impunity (Adebayo, 2005). Consequently, when informal transport operators experience physical harassment, it is perceived as a typical occupational hazard that they must inevitably endure.

In contrast to Nigeria, the South African context exhibits a different relationship between physical harassment and life wellbeing. The linear regression analysis conducted to assess whether physical harassment significantly predicted life wellbeing (see table 12) shows that the results of the linear regression model were significant, $F(1,138) = 15.82, p < .001, R^2 = .10$, indicating that approximately 10.3% of the variance in life wellbeing is explainable by physical harassment. Physical harassment significantly predicted life wellbeing, $B = -0.59, t(138) = -3.98, p < .001$. This statistic indicates that on average, a one-unit increase of physical harassment will decrease the value of life wellbeing by 0.59 units.

Table 12: Physical Harassment predicting Life Wellbeing in South Africa

Variable	B	SE	β	t	p
(Intercept)	4.53	0.14	0.00	32.26	<.001
Physical Harassment	-0.59	0.15	-0.32	-3.97	<.001

Note. Results: $F(1,138) = 15.82, p < .001, R^2 = .10$

*Unstandardized Regression Equation: Life Wellbeing = 4.53 - 0.59*Physical Harassment*

Source: Authors' Analysis, (2023)

The outcome aligns with the literature, which has documented the detrimental impact of physical harassment on individuals' wellbeing (Smith & Tang, 2021; van der Walt, 2019). In comparison to the Nigerian scenario, where the relationship between physical harassment and life wellbeing is more complex, the South African experience demonstrates a clearer negative association. This distinction may be attributed to variations in social, political, and cultural contexts between the two countries, which influence citizens' expectations of and interactions with law enforcement (Smit, 2020; Moyo, 2021). Further research is needed to better understand the mechanisms underlying the differential impacts of physical harassment on life wellbeing in Nigeria and South Africa, and to inform policy interventions aimed at improving the wellbeing of informal transport operators.

In summary, this study revealed that physical harassment is a significant predictor of life wellbeing in both Ibadan and Durban. However, the effects differ between the two cities. While physical harassment leads to a decline in life wellbeing in Durban, it surprisingly improves life wellbeing in Ibadan. A potential explanation for this observation is that bribe-giving is perceived as an adaptive mechanism against delays, brutal treatment, vehicle confiscation, and monopolization of bus stops among informal transport operators in Ibadan. Factors that may contribute to this phenomenon include the demographics of individuals working in the informal transport sector, political influences, and their relationship with law enforcement officers in Nigeria.

For example, if a driver provides a bribe, they may gain preferential treatment on the road and access to passengers even at unauthorized locations. However, this could result in the driver paying bribes multiple times a day or offering a substantial lump sum daily to the police. While the police may not interfere, other law enforcement agencies, such as the FRSC and VIO, could disrupt the driver's work if they engage in practices like overloading or over speeding to maximize their daily earnings. However, previous research has documented that bribe-giving serves as a preventive measure against delays and unlawful arrests by the police in Nigeria (Inyang & Abraham, 2013; BBC, 2017). Consequently, in Nigeria, drivers might prioritize preserving their lives by willingly offering bribes to maintain their wellbeing.

17.2. Factors that Influence the Work and Wellbeing of Informal Transport Operators

Linear regression analysis was conducted to assess factors that significantly predicts work wellbeing in Nigeria and RSA. The results of the linear regression model were significant, $F(1,119) = 4.60$, $p = .034$, $R^2 = .04$, indicating that approximately 3.7% of the variance in work wellbeing is explainable by sexual harassment (Table 13). Sexual harassment significantly predicted work wellbeing, $B = -0.66$, $t(119) = -2.15$, $p = .034$. This indicates that on average, a one-unit increase of sexual harassment will decrease the value of work wellbeing by 0.66 units.

Table 13: Results for Linear Regression with Sexual Harassment predicting Work Wellbeing in Nigeria

Variable	B	SE	β	t	p
(Intercept)	4.85	0.13	0.00	37.93	< .001
Sexual Harassment	-0.66	0.31	-0.19	-2.15	.034

Note. Results: $F(1,119) = 3.47$, $p = .034$, $R^2 = .04$

Unstandardized Regression Equation: Work Wellbeing = $4.85 - 0.66 \times \text{Sexual Harassment}$

Source: Authors' Analysis, (2023)

In relation to the existing literature, this finding aligns with prior research highlighting the negative effects of sexual harassment on work wellbeing (e.g., Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007; Okechukwu et al., 2014). These studies have consistently demonstrated that experiencing sexual harassment in the workplace can lead to a range of adverse outcomes, including reduced job satisfaction, lower organizational commitment, and increased turnover intentions. Nevertheless, the impact of sexual harassment on work wellbeing may vary depending on contextual factors, such as the specific workplace or the cultural context in which it takes place (Gutek et al., 2004; Rospenda et al., 2009). Therefore, it is essential to consider the distinctive circumstances in the Nigeria informal transport sector when interpreting these findings and comparing them with existing research. For example, cultural nuances and societal norms within Nigeria might influence the experience and perception of sexual harassment, leading to differences in the extent to which it affects work wellbeing (Adejumo, 2016; Oloni, 2021).

The results of the linear regression model predicting Work wellbeing in RSA were significant, $F(1,138) = 8.34$, $p = .005$, $R^2 = .06$, indicating that approximately 5.70% of the variance in work wellbeing is explainable by physical harassment. Physical harassment significantly predicted work wellbeing, $B = -0.46$, $t(138) = -2.89$, $p = .005$. This indicates that on average, a one-unit increase of physical harassment will decrease the value of work wellbeing by 0.46 units (see table 14). It therefore shows that sexual harassment is a significant predictor of work wellbeing, and thus it reduced work wellbeing, while physical harassment is a significant predictor of work wellbeing, and it reduces work wellbeing.

Table 14: Results for Linear Regression with Physical Harassment predicting Work Wellbeing in the Republic of South Africa

Variable	B	SE	β	t	p
(Intercept)	5.06	0.15	0.00	33.44	< .001
Physical Harassment	-0.46	0.16	-0.24	-2.89	.005

Note. Results: $F(1, 138) = 8.34$, $p = .005$, $R^2 = .06$

*Unstandardized Regression Equation: Work Wellbeing = 5.06 - 0.46*Physical Harassment*

Source: Authors' Analysis, (2023)

The negative impact of physical harassment on work wellbeing is consistent with existing literature (e.g., Hulin et al., 1996; Nielsen & Einarsen, 2012). Previous studies have demonstrated that experiencing physical harassment in the workplace can result in adverse outcomes, including decreased job satisfaction, lower organizational commitment, and increased turnover intentions. However, it is essential to consider the specific context of South Africa when interpreting these findings and comparing them to previous research. Factors such as cultural norms, social expectations, and the unique challenges faced by informal transport workers may influence the relationship between physical harassment and work wellbeing in this setting (Hart, 2015; Musarurwa & Fatoki, 2020).

For example, the informal transport sector in South Africa is known for its competitive nature, which could contribute to the prevalence and impact of physical harassment (Khayesi et al., 2010). Additionally, the effectiveness of laws and policies addressing harassment, as well as the availability of support systems for victims, may play a role in determining the extent to which physical harassment affects work wellbeing (Burnhams et al., 2018).

18. THE PSYCHOSOCIAL WELLBEING OF INFORMAL TRANSPORT OPERATORS

Despite the relevance of occupational health to work satisfaction, there exists a dearth of literature on psychological wellbeing of informal transport operators in Africa. Recognizing that informal transport operators (minibus, tricycle, motorcycle) are key to mobility, Tse et al. (2008) wrote that the physical and psychological health of the bus driver is a critical factor in driving performance. Any impairment can have undesirable consequences for passengers, operators, vehicle owners and fellow road users. This according to the Tse et al. (2008) is because operators' work lifestyle is inextricably linked to his/her physical and psycho-logical health. This aimed to evaluate the kinds of harassment that influence psychological wellbeing.

In Nigeria, the results of the linear regression model were significant, $F(1,119) = 7.05$, $p = .009$, $R^2 = .06$, indicating that approximately 5.59% of the variance in psychological wellbeing is explainable by physical harassment (see Table 15). Physical harassment significantly predicted psychological wellbeing, $B = 0.27$, $t(119) = 2.65$, $p = .009$. This indicates that on average, a one-unit increase of physical harassment will increase the value of psychological wellbeing by 0.27 units.

Table 15: Physical Harassment predicting Psychological Wellbeing in Nigeria

Variable	B	SE	β	t	p
(INTERCEPT)	5.21	0.16	0.00	32.46	< .001
Physical Harassment	0.27	0.10	0.24	2.65	.009

Note. Results: $F(1,119) = 7.05$, $p = .009$, $R^2 = .06$

*Unstandardized Regression Equation: Psychological Wellbeing = 5.21 + 0.27*Physical Harassment*

Source: Authors' Analysis, (2023)

The finding that physical harassment positively predicts psychological wellbeing in this context appears counterintuitive, as much of the existing literature reports a negative relationship between harassment and wellbeing (e.g., Bowling & Beehr, 2006; Chan et al., 2008). However, it is essential to consider the unique characteristics of the Nigerian informal transport sector and the cultural factors that may shape the experiences and perceptions of harassment among workers in this setting (Oguntayo et al., 2020). One possible explanation for the positive relationship between physical harassment and psychological wellbeing could be related to the concept of resilience, whereby individuals exposed to adverse experiences, such as harassment, may develop coping strategies to adapt and even thrive in challenging environments (Masten, 2001; Bonanno et al., 2015). In the context of informal transport operators in Nigeria, these coping mechanisms might include developing strong social support networks, embracing a sense of solidarity with fellow workers, or engaging in positive reappraisal of their situation (Onyishi et al., 2020).

In South Africa, the evidence as presented in Table 16, shows that approximately 6.87% of the variance in psychological wellbeing of informal transport operators in RSA is explainable by physical harassment. Based on a significant linear regression model, $F(1,138) = 10.17$, $p = .002$, $R^2 = .07$, physical harassment significantly predicted psychological wellbeing, $B = -0.43$, $t(138) = -3.19$, $p = .002$. This indicates that on average, a one-unit increase of physical harassment will decrease the value of psychological wellbeing by 0.43 units.

Table 16: Physical Harassment predicting Psychological Wellbeing of Informal Transport Operators in South Africa

Variable	B	SE	β	T	p
(Intercept)	5.59	0.13	0.00	44.39	< .001
Physical Harassment	-0.43	0.13	-0.26	-3.19	.002

Note. Results: $F(1, 138) = 10.17$, $p = .002$, $R^2 = .07$

Unstandardized Regression Equation: Psychological Wellbeing = $5.59 - 0.43 \times \text{Physical Harassment}$

Source: Authors' Analysis, (2023)

The negative relationship between physical harassment and psychological wellbeing in South Africa is consistent with much of the existing literature, which has demonstrated that harassment is generally linked to poorer psychological wellbeing (e.g., Bowling & Beehr, 2006; Chan et al., 2008). This finding contrasts with the results from Nigeria, where a positive relationship was observed between physical harassment and psychological wellbeing. The findings suggest that physical harassment accounts for a greater proportion of psychosocial wellbeing in South Africa compared to Nigeria. Glasø et al. (2011) explored the impact of workplace bullying (harassment) on the psychosocial wellbeing of drivers in South Africa. Drawing from Couto (2011), it is postulated that experiencing financial loss (due to bribery or unwarranted delays), emotional reactions (such as sexual excesses, anger, fear, helplessness, sadness, and frustration) resulting from workplace violence (in the form of physical harassment), could lead to reduced performance, decreased job satisfaction, work burnout, and sleeplessness. Glasø et al. (2011) reported that workplace bullying (harassment) among South African public drivers contributes to limited work satisfaction. Furthermore, they identified traffic officers as the primary perpetrators of harassment experienced by public transport operators in South Africa.

The seemingly counterintuitive positive association between physical harassment and life and psychological wellbeing in Ibadan may be ascribed to a phenomenon referred to as “see finish” – a familiarity or perceived camaraderie between informal transport operators and law enforcers – or possibly an instance of clout. Representatives from the police, VIO, and FRSC mentioned being attacked by transport operators in Ibadan, with some officers having lost their lives due to hit-and-run incidents or sustaining serious injuries while on duty. As a result, drivers might perceive their actions as accomplishments and a source of pride among their peers.

19. THE IMPACT OF POLICE HARASSMENT ON MOBILITY, ACCESS, AND THE DRIVING BEHAVIOUR OF INFORMAL TRANSPORT OPERATORS: - UNRAVELLING THE ROAD SAFETY IMPLICATIONS IN URBAN ENVIRONMENTS

The probability of road traffic crash poses a considerable social challenge, predominantly arising in urban and suburban environments. Such crashes are more prevalent in urban areas due to heightened driving activity (Bauer et al., 2016), to which Informal Public Transport (IPT) significantly contributes. For example, in South Africa, traffic accidents persist as a primary cause of injuries and fatalities, resulting in both health and social issues for the country, as well as leaving families in dire circumstances. The concentration of vehicles in urban settings increases the likelihood of accidents occurring in those areas. Consequently, it is crucial to examine the impact of police harassment on the propensity for traffic accidents in the studied locations.

Table 17 presents the linear regression analysis that assess whether verbal harassment and physical harassment significantly predicted crash likelihood. The results of the linear regression model were significant, $F(2,253) = 8.65, p < .001, R^2 = .06$, indicating that approximately 6.40% of the variance in crash likelihood is explainable by verbal harassment and physical harassment. Verbal harassment significantly predicted crash likelihood, $B = -0.13, t(253) = -4.15, p < .001$. This indicates that on average, a one-unit increase of verbal harassment will decrease the value of crash likelihood by 0.13 units. Physical harassment significantly predicted crash likelihood, $B = 0.19, t(253) = 2.59, p = .010$. This indicates that on average, a one-unit increase of physical harassment will increase the value of crash likelihood by 0.19 units.

Table 17: Verbal Harassment and Physical Harassment predicting Crash Likelihood

Variable	B	SE	β	t	p
(Intercept)	2.93	0.09	0.00	32.50	< .001
Verbal Harassment	-0.13	0.03	-0.31	-4.15	< .001
Physical Harassment	0.19	0.07	0.19	2.59	.010

Note. Results: $F(2,253) = 8.65, p < .001, R^2 = .06$

Unstandardized Regression Equation: Crash Likelihood = $2.93 - 0.13 \times \text{Verbal Harassment} + 0.19 \times \text{Physical Harassment}$

Source: Authors' Analysis, (2023)

This observation indicates that verbal harassment diminishes the likelihood of crashes. As a result, a fine distinction exists between caution and verbal harassment. Conversely, physical harassment contributes the probability of accidents. The study discerns that verbal harassment possesses a bi-dimensional nature, emanating either from passengers or police towards the driver. Wan et al. (2016) highlighted that verbal warning messages significantly influenced driver performance. This aspect is crucial since, in certain situations, passengers' or police's verbal prompting (harassment) plays a vital role in regulating driving behaviour. This is especially relevant when considering drivers' reactive and subjective responses, as well as their interpretation of the verbal harassment or the so-called "traffic communication or caution."



20. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

20.1. Summary of Findings

This study reveals crucial insights regarding harassment experienced by informal transport operators in Nigeria and South Africa. The key findings highlight the disparities between the two countries in terms of physical and verbal harassment, with Nigerian operators facing higher levels of both. Conversely, there were no significant differences in sexual harassment rates between the countries. Additionally, the study found that physical harassment had a negative impact on the psychological wellbeing of operators in both countries, with a more pronounced effect in South Africa. Verbal harassment also played a notable role in influencing driving behaviour, potentially serving as a form of traffic communication or caution, which could affect crash likelihood. However, it was recognized that harassment amongst informal transport operators takes two dimensions. One is harassment against the operator and harassment by the operator against key stakeholders and passengers.

20.2. The Implications of the Study in Achieving the Sustainable Development Goals

The findings of this study have significant implications for several Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly targets 8.8, 16.1, 16.3, 16.5, and 16.6. By examining the prevalence and impact of harassment within the informal transport sector, this research sheds light on critical issues related to labour rights, violence reduction, the rule of law, corruption, and institutional accountability.

- Target 8.8 focuses on protecting labour rights and promoting safe and secure working environments. The study's findings reveal that informal transport operators in Nigeria and South Africa experience varying levels of physical, verbal, and sexual harassment. These incidents not only jeopardize the operators' wellbeing but also undermine their labour rights. Addressing harassment within the informal transport sector is essential for achieving SDG 8.8 and ensuring that all workers have access to safe, secure, and dignified employment conditions.
- Target 16.1 aims to significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere. The study's findings, which demonstrate the impact of harassment on crash likelihood, indicate that addressing physical and verbal harassment could contribute to reducing road traffic accidents and, subsequently, fatalities. Achieving this target requires comprehensive strategies to mitigate workplace harassment and violence within the informal transport sector.
- Target 16.3 promotes the rule of law at national and international levels and ensures equal access to justice for all. The disparities in harassment rates between Nigeria and South Africa may be attributed to differences in regulatory enforcement and access to justice for informal transport operators. Ensuring that laws and regulations are consistently enforced, and that victims of harassment have access to appropriate legal recourse, is crucial for achieving SDG 16.3.
- Target 16.5 calls for the substantial reduction of corruption and bribery in all forms. The study's findings indirectly highlight the need to address corruption within the informal transport sector, particularly in Nigeria, where higher rates of harassment may be linked to inadequate regulation and oversight. Reducing corruption and bribery would likely lead to improvements in labour rights, as well as a reduction in harassment incidents.

- Target 16.6 is intended to develop effective, accountable, and transparent institutions at all levels. Addressing the harassment experienced by informal transport operators requires not only the development and enforcement of appropriate regulations but also the establishment of accountable and transparent institutions to oversee the sector. By promoting accountability and transparency, governments can help to ensure that workers in the informal transport sector are protected from harassment and violence.

The study's findings underscore the importance of addressing harassment within the informal transport sector to achieve SDGs 8.8, 16.1, 16.3, 16.5, and 16.6. By developing targeted interventions and fostering accountable, transparent institutions, governments from both Nigeria and RSA can make significant strides toward improving labour rights, reducing violence, and promoting the rule of law for all workers in this sector.

20.3. Promoting the Rights and Safety of Informal Transport Operators: - Policy Recommendations and Strategies

To protect the rights of informal transport operators and promote a safe working environment, it is crucial to extend existing human rights laws and implement targeted policies and strategies. Here are some recommendations: -

- Legal recognition and incorporation: Governments through the Department/Ministry of Justice should ensure that informal transport operators are recognized under national labour laws, providing them with legal protection and access to basic labour rights, such as fair wages, safe working conditions, and social security benefits.
- Education and awareness campaigns: The informal operator associations and Department of Transport should conduct public awareness campaigns to educate both operators and the public about the rights and responsibilities of informal transport workers. This can contribute to a better understanding of their role in society and help reduce the stigma associated with their occupation.
- Capacity building and training: Provide training programs to equip informal transport operators with knowledge of their rights, safe driving practices, and conflict resolution skills. This can empower them to handle harassment and other workplace challenges effectively. This can be achieved through collaboration between multiple stakeholders such as the police, the informal operator associations, Department of Transport, and the Department/Ministry of Justice.
- Enforcement and monitoring: Strengthen the enforcement of existing laws to address harassment and violence in the informal transport sector. Establish monitoring mechanisms to ensure compliance and hold perpetrators accountable for their actions.
- Collaborative approach: Encourage collaboration between informal transport operators, law enforcement agencies, and relevant government institutions to develop and implement tailored policies and strategies that address the unique challenges faced by the sector.
- Safe and secure infrastructure: Invest in the development of safe and accessible transportation infrastructure, such as designated bus stops, terminals, and resting areas for operators, which can help mitigate the risks associated with their work environment.
- Grievance redress mechanisms: Establish accessible and effective grievance redress mechanisms for informal transport operators, enabling them to report incidents of harassment, violence, or rights violations without fear of reprisal.

By adopting these policies and strategies, governments from both Nigeria and RSA can effectively safeguard the rights of informal transport operators, fostering a safe and secure working environment and contributing to the broader goals of social and economic development.

20.4. Conclusion

In conclusion, this study has illuminated the multifaceted challenges faced by informal transport operators in Nigeria and South Africa. By delving into the intricacies of workplace harassment, work wellbeing, and psychological wellbeing, the research has unveiled crucial findings that could inform policies and strategies to protect the rights and improve the working conditions of informal transport operators.

The analysis demonstrated that verbal and physical harassment significantly impact work wellbeing and psychological wellbeing, with varying effects across the two countries. In addition, the findings highlighted the importance of addressing the root causes of harassment, such as corruption, bribery, and unequal access to justice. By doing so, we can foster a safer and more secure work environment for informal transport operators, aligning with the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals.

To ensure the protection of informal transport operators' rights and the promotion of a safe working environment, it is essential to extend existing human rights laws and implement targeted policies. This includes establishing robust legal frameworks that acknowledge and address the unique challenges faced by informal transport operators, fostering transparency and accountability in law enforcement, and promoting equal access to justice for all. Furthermore, it is vital to invest in education and awareness campaigns to sensitize both the public and the relevant stakeholders about the rights and the indispensable role of informal transport operators in urban mobility. This could foster a culture of respect and mutual understanding, ultimately reducing the prevalence of harassment and violence in the sector.

Lastly, collaboration between the government, the informal transport sector, and civil society organizations is essential in developing and implementing comprehensive strategies that address the root causes of harassment and ensure a safe working environment. Such collaborative efforts could pave the way for sustainable and inclusive urban transportation systems, ultimately benefiting not only the informal transport operators but also the communities they serve.

In summary, this study has shed light on the pressing challenges faced by informal transport operators and underscored the urgent need for targeted interventions. By implementing the recommended policies and strategies, we can work together to protect the rights of informal transport operators and ensure a safe, secure, and inclusive work environment for all.

20.5. Further Research

Following the research report, the areas of further research identified and forwarded include: -

- Gender differences, gender issues and harassment in the informal transport sector
- Transport Unionism and harassment.
- Impact of harassment on government officials such as the police, traffic officer, federal road safety corps, and vehicle inspection officers involved in transport sector. This is essential due to evidence that harassment goes both ways, the transport operators are harassed, while the law enforcement agents are also harassed especially in Ibadan, Nigeria.
- A record of accidents and crash among informal transport operators in Africa. It will capture issues around informal transport operator traffic and mobility behaviours.



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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PUBLIC TRANSPORT OPERATORS TO EXPLORE POLICE HARASSMENT

Section A: Icebreaking questions:

1. Age:
2. Level of Education:
3. Years of driving history?
4. Year of work experience as a transport worker?
5. Do you own a bus, car, or tricycle?
6. Do you have dependents if (YES) how many?

Section B: General Research questions on public transport system

1. What is your general perception about public transport system of this city?
2. Can you state your role or level of involvement in the transport association?
3. Which best describes the presence or operations of informal public operators in the city?

Section C: General Research questions on City Police, Policing, and Police Harassment Experience

1. What is your general perception of the city police?
2. What is the nature of the unit interactions with the police department?
3. How would you describe the city police and their mode of policing?
4. Please describe the functions of your association.
5. What is the nature of your association relationship with the police?
6. How do you respond to reported cases of drivers' harassment in the city?
7. What is the most commonly reported harassment experience of drivers?
8. What is your take on the view that police harass informal public transporter?
9. Can you say police harassment is a seasonal event? How often does it occur?
10. Is it peculiar to a particular group or widespread?
11. Do passengers of informal transport modes face police harassment while commuting?

Section D: Questions on Police Harassment and Wellbeing

1. What are the implications of police harassment on mobility in the city? Implication can include accidents occurrence, transport hike, modal split scarcity, and changes in driver behaviour.
2. Can you identify areas and transport routes where the police harassments are very common?
3. How does the bribe seeking behaviour of the police influence the driving behaviour of informal public transport operators?
4. Does harassment affect the wellbeing of the operators? Wellbeing can be discussed as social, emotional, financial, and physical.

Section E: Adaptations and Mitigations against Police Harassment

1. How do your drivers adapt, cope, or mitigate the police harassment? What is the common coping mechanism often adopted by public transport operators against police harassments?
2. Do police corrupt activities on the road influence other law enforcement bodies that oversees, or supervises traffic, vehicle and drivers' license or vehicle inspection? And How?

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR POLICE AND THE PARAMILITARY ON PUBLIC OPERATORS HARASSMENT

Section A: Icebreaking questions

1. Where do you work/Occupation?
2. Length of work experience?
3. Agency and Unit:
4. What are your daily tasks as a public transport stakeholder?

Section B: Police Harassment and Public Transport Operators

1. How will you respond or comment on issues around police, public transport, and bribery?
2. Is police harassment, bribery and sorting embedded in officer posting?
3. Are there instances of punishment on harassment by police officer?
4. How can police and operator synergy be improved upon?

APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PUBLIC OFFICIALS ON PUBLIC TRANSPORT OPERATORS HARASSMENT

Section A: Icebreaking questions

1. Where do you work/Occupation?
2. Role and involvement with informal public operators?

Section B: Policy direction towards Harassment and Recommendations

1. How existing human right laws might be extended to ensure that the rights of informal transport operators are protected?
2. How can there be improved transport stakeholder cooperation in work environment?
3. What are the policies and strategies to adopt in order to ensure that informal transport operators have a safe working environment?

APPENDIX 4: STRUCTURED AND GENERALIZED WORKPLACE HARASSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE ROSPENDA & RICHMAN (2004)

(All items were scored on a 3-point scale from 1 = Never; 2 = Once; 3 = More than once)

During the last 12 months at your workplace, how often have you been in a situation where the police and or road safety personnel: -

1. Yelled or screamed at you?
2. Gossiped about you and/or spread rumours about you behind your back?
3. Made negative comments to you about your intelligence, competence, or productivity?
4. Pressured you to change your beliefs or opinions at work?
5. Made hostile or offensive gestures at you?
6. Labelled you a “troublemaker” if you expressed a difference of opinion?
7. Humiliated or belittled you in front of others (passengers or colleagues)?
8. Bragged about his/her authority/power.
9. Ignored you just to get back at you at a later time.
10. Prevented you from expressing yourself by interrupting you?
11. Swore at you?
12. Turned other transport operators against you?
13. Made negative comments to you about your personality?
14. Talked down to you (e.g., treated you like a child or as inferior to them)?
15. Treated you or evaluated you as though you were less good at your work than you really are?
16. Blamed you personally for things that other people did, or that weren't your fault?
17. Expected less of you than other transport operators?
18. Pushed you or grabbed you?
19. Requested bribe from you?
20. Told you insulting jokes?
21. Tried to control your nonwork related time or activities?
22. Made signs or gestures which were meant to embarrass you?
23. Treated you unfairly compared to other transport operators?
24. Made negative comments to you about your appearance?
25. Threw something at you?
26. Hijacked you and your vehicle and used it for their work?

APPENDIX 5: SEXUAL EXPERIENCES QUESTIONNAIRE (SEQ; FITZGERALD, 1990)

Strongly disagree, disagree, undecided, agree, strongly agree.

How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement as it pertains to you in the past 12 month based on your experience with any police or road safety official of the opposite gender?

1. Treated you “differently” because of your sex (for example, mistreated, slighted, or ignored you)?
2. Displayed, used, or distributed sexist or suggestive materials (for example, pictures, stories, or pornography which you found offensive)?
3. Made offensive sexist remarks (for example, suggesting that people of your sex are. not suited for the kind of work you do)?
4. Put you down or was condescending to you because of your sex?
5. Repeatedly told sexual stories or jokes that were offensive to you.
6. Whistled, called, or hooted at you in a sexual way?
7. Made unwelcome attempts to draw you into a discussion of sexual matters (for example, attempted to discuss or comment on your sex life)?
8. Made crude and offensive sexual remarks, either publicly (for example, in your workplace) or to you privately?
9. Made offensive remarks about your appearance, body, or sexual activities?
10. Made gestures or used body language of a sexual nature which embarrassed or offended you?
11. Stared, leered, or eyed you in a way that made you feel uncomfortable?
12. Exposed themselves physically (for example, “romanticized” you) in a way that embarrassed you or made you feel uncomfortable?
13. Displayed, used, or distributed sexist or suggestive materials (for example, pictures, stories, or pornography which you found offensive)?
14. Made unwanted attempts to establish a romantic sexual relationship with you despite your efforts to discourage it?
15. Continued to ask you for dates, drinks, dinner, etc., even though you said “No”?
16. Touched you in a way that made you feel uncomfortable?
17. Made unwanted attempts to stroke, fondle, or kiss you?
18. Attempted to have sex with you without your consent or against your will, but was unsuccessful?
19. Had sex with you without your consent or against your will?
20. Made you feel threatened with some sort of retaliation for not being sexually cooperative (for example, by issuing threats)?
21. Treated you badly for refusing to have sex?
22. Implied better treatment if you were sexually cooperative?
23. Made you afraid you would be treated poorly if you didn’t cooperate sexually?

APPENDIX 6: JOB CONTENT QUESTIONNAIRE (KARASEK & THEORELL, 1990)

Psychological demand: A lot, somewhat, a little, not at all

In the past 12 month, how does these statements describe your working condition?

1. Work fast
2. Work hard
3. Not excessive work
4. Sufficient time
5. No conflicting demand

APPENDIX 7: EMPLOYEE WELLBEING SCALE (ZHENG ET AL, 2015)

6-point Likert scale ranging from 1 “strongly disagree” to 7 “strongly agree”.

1. I feel satisfied with my work.
2. I am close to my dream in most aspects of my life.
3. Most of the time, I do feel real happiness.
4. I am in a good life situation.
5. My life is very fun.
6. I would hardly change my current way of life in the afterlife.
7. I am satisfied with my work responsibilities.
8. In general, I feel fairly satisfied with my present job.
9. I find real enjoyment in my work.
10. I can always find ways to enrich my work.
11. Work is a meaningful experience for me.
12. I feel basically satisfied with my work achievements in my current job.
13. I feel I have grown as a person.
14. I handle daily affairs well.
15. I generally feel good about myself, and I’m confident.
16. People think I am willing to give and to share my time with others.
17. I am good at making flexible work schedules/shifts.
18. I love having deep conversations with family and friends so that we can better understand each other.

APPENDIX 8: DRIVER AND DRIVING INFORMATION

1. Gender
2. City
3. Age
4. Highest educational level
5. Route
6. Were you ever stopped by police/ road safety in the past 12 months?
7. If yes, which location(s) did it happen?
8. who was their focus? Passenger, self

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