



Aggressive driving among commuter omnibus drivers in Zimbabwe: Attitudes, perceived norms and behavioural control factors

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Abstract

The study aimed to explore relevant beliefs affecting aggressive driving among commuter omnibus drivers in Harare, Zimbabwe. A qualitative research design was used to gain insight into the beliefs underlying aggressive driving behaviour among drivers at the Rezende bus terminus in Zimbabwe's capital city between February and June 2019. A convenient sample of 14 commuter omnibus drivers was used. All drivers were male with varying levels of driving experience ranging from less than a year to 15 years. Formative elicitation interviews were used to collect data. Through content analysis, themes and subthemes were derived from transcribed and translated interviews. Omnibus drivers' attitudes (affective and instrumental), normative influence and personal agency (perceived control and self-efficacy) were found to be associated with engaging in aggressive driving. The perceived outcomes of aggressive driving and the social environment in which the drivers operated including the different and changing roles played by important people are essential in understanding and curbing the scourge. Interventions aimed at reducing aggressive driving should recognise that aggressive driving is goal-directed.

Key words: Aggressive driving; commuter omnibus drivers; attitudes; normative influence; self-efficacy; Zimbabwe

Introduction

Road traffic accidents (RTAs) are a major cause of deaths in the world and an important public health concern that needs to be tackled (Agbonkhese, et al., 2013; Coleman, 2014; Gopalakrishnan, 2012; World Health organisation [WHO], 2015). Globally, about 1.35 million people per year succumb to road traffic injuries (RTIs) (WHO, 2018). In low-and middle-income countries (LMICs), deaths remain high (Bonnet, et al., 2018) and road traffic injuries are estimated to cost governments about 5% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Pan American Health organisation [PAHO], 2016). Despite efforts aimed at achieving road safety by 2020, deaths as a result of RTAs have continued to rise (Bonnet, et al., 2018).

At the rate of 26.6 deaths per 100 000 people (WHO, 2015), Africa has the highest rate of road traffic deaths (RTDs) in the world (Adeloye, et al., 2016). Road fatality rates are especially high for Sub-Saharan African countries when compared to the rest of the world ranging from 27 to 30 deaths per 100

000 people per year, with Zimbabwe standing at 28.2 deaths per 100000 people (Biemba, et al., 2016; Road Traffic Management Corporation [RTMC], 2011; Romão, et al., 2003).

In Zimbabwe, accidents, injuries and deaths involving public transport is a priority public health concern for the government. The minibus sector, infamous for bad driving (RTMC, 2011), is mostly blamed for the high number of RTAs, injuries and fatalities in the country. Efforts at addressing the problem of RTAs and RTDs have been haphazard and ineffective, often failing to recognise that driver's goals and motivations are important factors affecting driving behaviour (Gopalakrishnan, 2012). One of the major causes of accidents for omnibus drivers has been identified as aggressive and reckless driving (Booyesen, & Ebot Eno Akpa, 2014; Chinomona, et al., 2013; Mazarire, 2014). The current paper was aimed at identifying relevant beliefs underlying aggressive behaviour among omnibus (also referred to as kombi) drivers in Zimbabwe.

The Integrated Behaviour Model

The present study utilised the Integrated Behaviour Model (IBM) to explore relevant beliefs influencing aggressive driving among commuter omnibus drivers in Zimbabwe. The model has been widely used to understand and predict driving behaviour (Elliott, 2012; Elliott, et al., 2007). The IBM hypothesises that behavioural intention is a function of three types of global perceptions representing diverse but specific beliefs about behaviour. These are personal agency (self-efficacy / perceived power), attitude (experiential and instrumental) and perceived norms (injunctive and descriptive) (Montaño & Kasprzyk, 2008). In addition to these three global beliefs, knowledge and skill, environmental constraints, salience of the behaviour and habit are the other factors directly affecting behaviour.

The Model assumes driving behaviour to be goal-directed and that the driver is an active and goal-directed participant in the traffic environment. The driver's internal mental processes are the driving force behind all behaviour, and the overt behaviour is the result of a long process (Peräaho, et al., 2003). According to the IBM, the success and safety of driving are ultimately up to the driver's actions and decisions (Peräaho, et al., 2003).

Aggressive driving is therefore performed deliberately and, like other traffic violations, understood in terms of social and motivational factors, such as the person's attitudes and norms (Forward, 2008). The driver's motives, abilities, and the environment are the main determinants of driving behaviour during a trip. The social environment of driving is important in understanding driver behaviour as the omnibus driver is never alone on the road but in constant interaction with other persons; other omnibus drivers, private motorists, passengers, law enforcement agents and other road users. Thoughts, feelings or behaviour of drivers are influenced by the actual, imagined or implied presence of others. The driver's social context in the form of a peer group, such as other drivers, was found to affect the driving behaviour of young male drivers. Lastly, the model also recognizes the importance of habit in understanding behaviour. Literature shows that habit weakens goal intentions on behaviour (Elliott, et al., 2003).

Research objectives

The study aimed to explore relevant beliefs underlying aggressive driving among commuter omnibus drivers in Harare, Zimbabwe. The specific objectives were to;

- Determine kombi drivers' attitudes towards aggressive driving behaviours.
- Establish the role played by the social environment in encouraging or discouraging aggressive driving.
- Uncover the driver's perceived control over their aggressive driving behaviour.

Methodology

Research design

A qualitative research design was used to explore aggressive driving behaviour among commuter omnibus drivers. A convenient sample of 14 omnibus drivers was used for the study. The selection of 14 participants was consistent with literature recommending that 10 to 30 participants are sufficient for a pilot study (Hertzog, 2008; Julious, 2005; van Belle, 2002). To qualify for inclusion, an omnibus driver was required

to be a holder of a valid driver's license. Drivers who participated in the formative elicitation study were recruited from Rezende, a bus terminus in the Harare servicing Mount Pleasant, a northern low-density suburb bordered by Belgravia, Emerald Hill, Marlborough, Vainona and Borrowdale West.

Instrumentation

An elicitation interview guide was adopted for use in the current study (Glanz, et al., 2008). The items in the elicitation guide covered the following beliefs consistent with the IBM (Glanz, et al., 2008): experiential attitude or affect, behavioural beliefs/ instrumental attitude, normative referents and control beliefs and self-efficacy. Formative elicitation interviews were chosen because they allowed researchers to identify beliefs underlying aggressive driving among omnibus drivers (Kasprzyk & Montano, 2007). The interviews were audio recorded in Shona (a local vernacular language widely spoken in Harare), then transcribed verbatim. All transcriptions were translated into English for analysis. All translations for the study were reviewed by an independent coder, from the African languages at the University of Zimbabwe, for accuracy as per recommendations by Temple and Young (2004).

Data analysis

Data were content analysed to elicit themes consistent with each of the IBM constructs that determine behavioural intention. After an initial organisation of the data into themes consistent with the research questions, patterns in the data were identified, coded and extracted (Lacey & Luff, 2007). Basing on the extracted themes, relevant behavioural attributes or outcomes, normative referents, and facilitators and barriers of aggressive driving behaviour were identified.

Ethics approval for the research was obtained from the University of Zambia and the permission to access the bus terminus was obtained from the Harare City Council in Zimbabwe.

Results

As presented in Table 1, all of the 14 omnibus drivers who participated in the elicitation interviews were men and holders of a valid driver's license. Their ages ranged from 25 to 39 years, with an average mean age of 32 years. Driving experience varied greatly from one year to 15 years. Only one driver reported a driving experience of less than a year. In terms of their educational qualifications, 13 of them had secondary school while only one had a tertiary qualification. Participants were free to speak in a language of their choice (English or Shona) or a mixture of both. All participants spoke English, more than half of them were single and worked only as omnibus drivers. No real names were used in the presentation of results.

Table 1

Characteristics of participants

	Number of participants
Age	
25-30	6
31-35	4
36-40	4
Education level	
Post-secondary	1
Secondary complete	13
Marital status	
Single	6
Married	8
Valid driver's licence	
Yes	14
No	0
Driving experience	

Less than 1 year	1
1 – 5 years	5
5-10 years	5
11 – 15 years	3

Consistent with IBM, findings were categorised into three major themes; attitudes towards engaging in aggressive driving, normative influence, and personal agency (perceived control and self-efficacy). Table 2 shows a summary of the themes and subthemes that emerged from the analysis.

Table 2
Aggressive Driving Attitudes, perceived norms and behavioural control factors

Themes	Subthemes	Quotations
Attitude	Experiential	<i>“I don’t feel good about it; it is a bad thing to do.” (Dofa, 39-year-old driver)</i>
	Instrument	<i>“What I like is meeting targets, to be on time.” (Bee, 26-year old driver)</i>
Normative influence	People who encourage aggressive driving	<i>“The bosses – the vehicle owners- want their money all the time as per the agreement when you signed the contract.” (Tapiwa, 26-year-old driver)</i>
	People who discourage aggressive driving	<i>“The passengers, especially the elderly.” (Simba, 31-year old driver)</i>
Personal agency	Perceived control	<i>“I know my driving is bad when the passengers complain.” (Tapiwa, 26-year old driver)</i>
	Self-efficacy	<i>“I am certain to a great extent because that’s how we work and how we operate.” (Alpha, 30-year old driver)</i> <i>“It will be very difficult because I am forced to do aggressive driving because, at the end of the day, we all have targets to meet. So, you end up doing the same.” (Greg, 33-year old driver)</i>

Attitudes

According to IBM, attitudes can be divided into experiential and instrumental. Thus, omnibus drivers’ emotional responses to and beliefs about outcomes of engaging in aggressive driving were explored and the results are presented below.

Experiential attitude

Omnibus drivers’ emotional reactions towards engaging in aggressive driving behaviour were explored by asking them how they felt about driving aggressively; what they liked and disliked about the behaviour. Generally, the drivers reported negative feelings towards aggressive driving even though they continued to drive aggressively.

“I don’t feel good about it; it is a bad thing to do. When doing it I know I am wrong but I am forced to do so because that is my job.” (Dofa, 39-year-old driver)

“I don’t feel comfortable, but I will be under pressure.” (Tapiwa, 26-year old driver)

It seemed that experiencing aggressive driving as unfavourable was not sufficient to deter drivers from performing the behaviour. Work pressure and the need to meet daily cash targets played important role in determining driving behaviour.

A few omnibus drivers evaluated aggressive driving favourably. These drivers observed that driving aggressively exciting. They reported that they enjoyed most the feeling of being in control and the ‘adrenaline-pump’ accompanying aggressive and reckless driving.

"It excites me being a kombi driver and we have control over everything especially on the road."
(Bee, 26-year old driver)

"I enjoy the adrenaline pump." (Bug, 28-year old driver)

Omnibus drivers said what they hated most about aggressive driving was getting arrested for breaking traffic laws and regulations. Others, however, seemed to be more concerned about being responsible for RTAs, RTIs and RTDs. The drivers also seemed to hate losing one's driving licence (disk) and paying for any damages as a result of their driving.

"You get involved in an accident, and it's also breaking the law and when you get caught your disk (driver's licence) ends up being taken from you." (Eto, 35-year old driver)

"It results in road traffic deaths. You also end up paying for things you were not supposed to pay for, things such as tickets." (Manager, 34-year old driver)

Instrumental attitude

Drivers' beliefs about outcomes of aggressive driving behaviour were explored by asking drivers what they considered as advantages and disadvantages of engaging in aggressive driving. Generally, drivers considered aggressive driving as saving two important advantages; 1) protecting their reputation and 2) allowing them to meet goals.

"We are more concerned about meeting targets." (Bee, 26-year old driver)

"Mushika-shika (undesignated passenger pick-up points) help us to attain our targets and we will also be able to get --- money to buy food for our families." (Alpha, 30-year old driver)

Cash targets are two-folded; the target set by the employer and the target that the driver and his conductor set for themselves. The omnibus crew needed to meet the owner's target first to allow them to work for extra cash shared between the two of them at the end of the working day and without the knowledge of the employer.

Some drivers also argued that queuing at the bus terminus for their turn to carry passengers was sometimes unproductive and a waste of time. It meant that they were forced to pay bus terminus fees to the city council from the little money accrued from previous trips. These drivers considered it sometimes beneficial to pick passengers at undesignated points along busy roads in Harare. Playing cat-and-mouse with both the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) and municipal police were seen as a worthy enterprise when there were low volumes of passengers at the bus termini. According to the drivers, the recent introduction of large buses (ZUPCO) in cities throughout the country resulted in tough competition for passengers and an increase in aggressive driving among omnibus drivers.

Omnibus drivers also suggested that the more they were forced to pay spot fines to traffic police officers manning roadblocks, the more it became necessary and beneficial to engage in competitive and aggressive driving. According to them, aggressive driving allowed them to stay ahead of police fines ensuring daily cash targets remained within reach. Some omnibus drivers expressed the belief that aggressive driving gave them an unassailable advantage over private motorists whom they claimed did not match their experience and skill levels.

"I gain experience and skills in driving in a short time, which private motorists cannot acquire."
(Dofa, 39-year old driver)

The omnibus drivers seemed aware of the disadvantages associated with engaging in aggressive and reckless driving. They observed that it gave them a bad reputation, resulted in increased penalties and the risk of getting involved in road traffic crashes. The widespread view, however, was that one can easily get involved in road traffic crashes.

"You get involved in accidents. It also costs a lot in terms of time wasted at an accident scene. It is a major cause of death." (Manager, 34-year old driver)

"- sometimes you bump into someone's car and cause a dent. Once you do that you get arrested."
(Tapiwa, 26-year-old driver)

The costs emanating from road traffic crashes were considered a major downside by the drivers. For example, they did not like spending time at an accident scene and to be held accountable for road traffic accidents, injuries and deaths. Paying fines was a major drawback especially as this would negatively affect

their ability to meet daily cash targets. Penalties come in different forms such as having one's licence endorsed for as many as five years by order of the courts if convicted of a traffic offence.

The drivers reported that they were viewed as drug abusers. A few drivers stated that aggressive driving has earned them a bad name and that the conduct of their conductors has worsened this negative public perception of omnibus drivers.

*"Aggressive driving tarnishes my name and that of other kombi drivers (Dofa, 39-year-old driver)
When people hear about Mahwindi (touts) they start to think that all of us abuse drugs such as mbanje (Cannabis), which is not true." (Greg, 33-year driver)*

Normative influence

The IBM postulates that normative referents affect conformity. The results show that employers, passengers, fellow drivers and conductors played different and changing roles affecting aggressive driving behaviour among omnibus drivers.

Encouraging aggressive driving

The pressure to engage in aggressive driving seemed to come mainly from the employer, passengers and workmates (other drivers and conductors). Employers pressured drivers directly by demanding that they meet daily cash targets. One driver characterised the pressure to meet daily cash targets as contractual because it is agreed upon and signed between the two parties well before work begins.

"The bosses want their money all the time as per the agreement when you signed the contract. The fact that they keep pushing us; it encourages us to drive aggressively." (Tapiwa, 26-year-old driver)

According to some drivers, when passengers are running later, they urged drivers to speed so that they can reach their destination quickly.

"The passengers will tell you that they are behind time." (Tapiwa, 26-year old driver)

In contrast, there was a handful of drivers who argued that driving aggressively was part of their culture and did not need encouragement from anyone.

"Aggressive driving is part of kombi drivers' culture." (Greg, 33-year driver)

"I think that there is a common force that pushes us to behave in the same manner." (Simba, 31-year old driver)

Conductors directly encouraged drivers to demonstrate their driving skills by weaving in and out of other vehicles so that they maximised the number of trips per day.

"Conductors will be urging us to show my skills by weaving and pout of slow-moving vehicles." (Tapiwa, 26-year old driver)

Discouraging aggressive driving

People who discouraged aggressive driving constituted mainly the police and some passengers. According to the drivers, the age of passengers had a major bearing on aggressive driving. Drivers noted that the 'brave and the elderly' challenged them even in the presence of conductors whom other passengers feared.

"There are some passengers who also discourage us, who are certainly the brave ones because most passengers are afraid of Mahwindi (conductors)." (Tapiwa, 26-year-old driver)

"The passengers, especially the elderly." ((Simba, 31-year old driver)

The ZRP and the Traffic Safety Council of Zimbabwe (TSCZ) were mentioned as important players in this regard. While increased police visibility on the roads was viewed as a deterrent, some drivers felt that the police would be more effective if they did not take bribes at roadblocks.

"The police; their appearance on the road discourages you from driving aggressively because you will be afraid of getting your license confiscated." (Kedha, 27-year old driver)

"If the police were not corrupt, they would be the best people to discourage aggressive driving." (Alpha, 30-year-old driver)

Personal agency

According to IBM, personal agency is made up of two specific beliefs about behaviour namely perceived behavioural control and self-efficacy. The current findings show that the two beliefs played an important role in influencing aggressive driving among omnibus drivers.

Perceived control over aggressive driving

To determine drivers' perceived amount of control over their ability to drive aggressively whenever they wanted to and in the face of difficulties, the study looked at 1) circumstances in which drivers drove carefully, 2) factors which made it easy for them to engage in aggressive driving behaviours, 3) circumstances in which drivers believed their driving behaviour was bad, and 4) factors that made it hard for them to drive aggressively.

Circumstances drivers are careful

All drivers said that they were capable of driving carefully if they wanted to do so. However, they were quick to point out that careful driving depended on different occasions. For example, they would drive carefully during off-peak hours, which are characterised by decreased volumes of vehicles and passengers on the road. It seemed that the decrease in the volume of traffic gave the drivers no motivation to engage in driving behaviours that were aimed at saving time.

"Yes, during midday when there is no traffic jam my driving will be very good and I will be paying attention to traffic laws and regulation." (Farai, 39-year old driver)

"When it's off-peak when there is few traffic on the road and when there are less passengers on the road, you drive carefully because you won't be rushing." (Tapiwa, 28-year old driver)

Perceived presence of factors that facilitate aggressive driving behaviour

The drivers perceived the poor state of the road, presence of police roadblocks, and motivation to meet targets as facilitators of aggressive driving behaviour. The poor state of the road seemed to encourage aggressive driving in more than one way. Narrow roads into town resulted in congestion which in turn forced omnibus drivers to resort to time saving aggressive driving antics such as driving on the edge of the road, overtaking from any side, and so on. Unmarked roads and roads riddled with potholes seemed to have the same effect.

"You find that the roads are bad, there are too many potholes, the robots are not working. That is why we tend to change lanes as we try to avoid potholes." (Dofa, 39-year-old driver)

"The roads are not marked. So, I end up doing what I can, ignore the laws and going first when am supposed to give way." (Tapiwa, 26-year-old driver)

All drivers interviewed concurred that traffic congestion, especially during peak hours, provided an environment suitable for aggressive driving behaviours. According to them, the road network's lack of capacity to allow for quick movement of traffic during peak hours made aggressive manoeuvring an easy solution to the problem.

"I will be trying to rush and the traffic is slowing me down and that is when I drive, on the pavement to beat the slow-moving traffic sometimes." (Dofa, 39-year-old driver)

"As long we have narrow roads, driving aggressively will be very easy for us." (Ellar, 28-year old driver)

The presence of law enforcement agents on the road was perceived as a facilitator of aggressive driving behaviour. First, the drivers seemed to find it easy to drive aggressively when the police were chasing after them for different reasons. Second, the drivers knew that bribing the police officers manning roadblocks would make it easy for them to engage in aggressive and reckless driving with impunity.

"Too many police who are corrupt who take money from drivers who are driving under the influence of alcohol leave us to continue driving without respecting other motorists." (Alpha, 30-year old driver)

“We do that sometimes when we are running away from the police and the city council; there is no way you will drive nicely when the law is after you.” (Manager 34-year old driver)

Drivers intimated that it was easy for other drivers to drive aggressively when driving under the influence of alcohol and other drugs. One driver reported that when drivers are under the control of drugs, they do not think of how other road users feel.

Circumstances engaging in aggressive driving is hard

Environmental factors that make it hard for the omnibus to continue driving aggressively are important in efforts aimed at mitigating aggressive driving behaviour. Findings show that omnibus drivers shared the thinking that good road infrastructure would act as a major constraint to aggressive driving behaviour.

“If non-functioning traffic lights are fixed, this will stop me from engaging in aggressive driving.” (Farai, 39-year-old driver)

“If the roads were good, with no potholes and all were marked and the robots were working it will be hard for me to disregard the traffic rules and regulations.” (Tapiwa, 28-year old driver)

Omnibus drivers did not seem to think that they were required to stop at traffic-lights controlled intersections even when the traffic lights were not working.

Despite the presence of police on the roads being viewed by some drivers as a facilitator of aggressive driving, other drivers thought that increased police visibility on the roads would make it hard for them to drive aggressively. According to them, the fear of being arrested, going to jail and ultimately losing one’s job would make them think twice before engaging in aggressive driving manoeuvres.

“The presence of the police on the roads would make it hard for me to continue driving aggressively.” (Dofa, 39-year-old driver)

“The presence of the police on the road; getting arrested; fear of going to jail; being fired as a result.” (Kedha, 27-year old driver)

The presence of passengers who challenged aggressive driving was viewed by some drivers as a factor that made it difficult to drive aggressively.

“I would do my job the best way I learnt it if passengers stopped putting pressure on me.” (Tapiwa, 26-year old driver)

Circumstances where aggressive driving is perceived as bad

There were times when drivers seemed to realise that they were intentionally breaking the law. The realisation would come when the drivers were reprimanded by passengers, other motorists or got involved in an accident.

“I know my driving is bad when the passengers in the kombi complain of my driving.” (Tapiwa, 26-year-old driver)

“You think your driving is bad when other drivers insult you. That is how I know that I am wrong -.” (Simba, 31-year old driver)

“When someone has honked or flashed lights at me, I know my driving is bad.” (Eto, 35-year old driver)

Only one driver, aged 28 years, said that he came to realise that his driving was bad ‘when handling the car became difficult.’

Self-efficacy

To establish the drivers’ level of confidence in their ability to engage in aggressive driving despite difficulties or challenges they faced, we asked them three types of important information; how certain they were that they would drive aggressively whenever they wanted to; how difficult they perceived careful driving in the face of pressure to drive aggressively and the things that would help them overcome any barriers to do engage in aggressive driving behaviour. The results show that all the drivers interviewed

believed that engaging in aggressive driving manoeuvres was a sure way to meet their driving goals thus motivating them to persevere in the face of environmental constraints.

Drivers' Beliefs in their capacity to resist peer pressure

According to the drivers, it was pointless to resist peer pressure to conform to aggressive driving because conformity enhanced their chances of meeting their driving goals.

"It will be very difficult because I am forced to do aggressive driving because at the end of the day, we all have our targets to meet." (Greg, 33-year old driver)

"I am forced to do that because my other friends will be doing it and they will be meeting their targets. So, if I don't do that, I can lose my job because of failing to meet targets." (Tapiwa, 26-year old driver)

The data suggest that failure to conform did not result in peer censorship. Rather, conformity made them competitive.

Facilitators of and beliefs in their capacity to drive aggressively

The findings suggest that drivers' confidence was enhanced by many opportunities existing in their work environment. The presence of police on the roads enhanced drivers' beliefs that engaging in aggressive driving would lead to the attainment of driving goals.

"I am very certain that the police who are corrupt and want money will allow us to do anything as long we have given them money." (Alpha, 30-year old driver)

"There is no way I will drive carefully when the police are always chasing after me." (Manager, 34-year-old driver)

The dilapidated state of the road seemed to enhance driver's beliefs in their capacity to engage in aggressive driving behaviours. Thus, driving along roads with unmarked lanes, broken traffic-lights controlled intersections and give-way signs seemed to give the drivers the confidence to engage in aggressive driving because the environment made it easy to do so and the behaviour proved effective in meeting their targets.

"Bad road conditions, the absence of road markings and robots that are always out of power -." (Kedha, 27-year old driver)

"I won't wait and follow the rules and regulations on a robot that's not working. As long as the robot is not working, it's an opportunity for me to do what I can to make my job easier." (Mpostori, 39-year-old driver)

The presence of passengers who support aggressive driving behaviour seemed to enhance drivers' confidence to drive aggressively. Thus, some drivers found engaging in aggressive driving behaviours easy when passenger goals, such as getting to work on time, were not in conflict with the driver's motivation to meet targets.

"The passengers will tell you that they are behind time. They are the ones that are always complaining that they are in a rush and are behind time, -." (Manager, 34-year driver)

'Passengers encourage me - because they need to get to their destinations fast.' (Manager, 26-year old driver)

Out of the 14 drivers interviewed, two claimed that using drugs increased confidence to engage in aggressive driving behaviour.

"Some of the drivers use alcohol and other drugs and therefore it becomes easier for them to drive aggressively." (Simba, 31-year driver)

"Some of the drivers use drugs and alcohol. It is easy to drive aggressively because they will be very confident knowing they are doing something wrong." (Dee, 30-year old driver)

However, none of the interviewed drivers agreed to use drugs themselves.

Traffic jams seemed to make it easy for drivers to engage in risky driving behaviours such as driving in wrong lanes facing oncoming vehicles. All the drivers concurred that aggressive driving behaviour was a sure way to get out of traffic jams.

“We don’t have the time to be stuck in a traffic jam for hours, we drive opposite the oncoming cars.” (Eto, 35-year old driver)

Confidence to engage in risky driving behaviour seemed to be associated with the type of vehicle one was driving. Two of the drivers interviewed said they found it easy to drive aggressively when the omnibus was in very good working condition.

“If the kombi is in good condition, I find it easy to overtake dangerously and even drive against oncoming cars when there is a traffic jam.” (Bug, 29-year-old driver)

These drivers could overtake dangerously and confidently because they perceived their vehicles would pass fast and return to their lane in time to avoid head-on collisions.

Discussion of findings

The overarching finding that aggressive driving was a goal directed behaviour is well supported in the literature (Cnossen, et al., 2000; Mazarire, 2014; Peräaho, et al., 2003) and consistent with the prediction of the Integrated Behaviour Model. The study confirmed that driver goals change from time to time during a single driving experience (Masara, 2014). In a single trip, for example, drivers would drive to avoid or run away from law enforcement agents and deal with traffic jams and slow-moving vehicles. Being in a hurry to drop passengers and beat other omnibuses to the terminus or passenger pick-up points were some of the goals that influenced driving behaviour. The finding that aggressive driving helped omnibus drivers to deal with time pressure is consistent with studies that reported the role of time pressure as a situational influence of driver aggression (Harris, & Houston, 2010; O’Brien, 2011; Rendon-Velez, et al., 2016). The leading contributor to traffic accidents was found to be speeding because of time pressure (Rendon-Velez, et al., 2016). Literature shows that tailgating and horn-honking were more frequent among drivers when pressed for time compared to when under no time pressure (Harris & Houston, 2010). In all these cases, meeting daily cash targets was the most important goal and was at the forefront of the drivers’ thoughts (Masara, 2014).

Another interesting finding is that driver’s negative experiential attitudes towards aggressive driving was not sufficient to discourage aggressive driving behaviour for this group of drivers. This finding is not consistent with IBM which predicts that negative emotional reactions would likely inhibit the intention to drive aggressively suggesting that other variables were more influential than experiential attitudes. We found instrumental attitudes to be better predictors of aggressive driving intentions (Kraft, et al., 2005; Montaña & Kasprzyk, 2008; Wan, et al., 2017) than experiential attitudes. The drivers strongly believed that aggressive driving was the major means allowing them to meet daily cash targets.

Drivers who considered aggressive driving exciting seemed to enjoy most the feeling of being in control and the adrenaline pump associated with aggressive and reckless driving behaviour. This finding supports studies done on factors affecting risky driving behaviours (Dahlen, et al., 2012; Constantinou, et al., 2011). The existence of a relationship between aggressive driving and sensation seeking personality trait has been widely reported in the literature (Buller, 2017; Dahlen, et al., 2005; Schafer, 2015; Totkova, 2020).

The finding that aggressive driving is a factor of traffic congestion is well supported in the literature (Bitkina, et al., 2019; Hennessy, Wiesenthal & Kohn, 2000; Shinar, & Compton, 2004). Greater levels of aggressive driving were found during rush hour periods compared to non-peak periods (Shinar & Compton, 2004). Thus, drivers were most likely to behave aggressively during the weekday rush hours as compared to weekends. Earlier research found that aggressive behaviours such as deliberately tailgating and horn-honking were reported more often in high congestion than low congestion (Hennessy, & Wiesenthal, 1997). Recently, more aggressive driving behaviours in high congestion areas than lower ones have been reported (Bitkina, et al., 2019).

Consistent with the prediction of IBM, normative influence played a critical role in continued aggressive driving among omnibus drivers (Montano & Kasprzyk, 2008). The pressure to engage in aggressive driving came from three different sources of normative influence; employers, passengers and peers or workmates (Gheorghiu, et al., 2015; Mugovera, 2011; Muvuringi, 2012; Samukange, 2014). However, the most important pressure came from the employer whose insistence that drivers meet a daily

revenue target is well documented in the local media (Mugovera, 2011; Samukange, 2014) and literature (Muvuringi, 2012). The driver's salary depended on whether or not they met their daily cash targets (Muvuringi, 2012). The presence of older passengers was found to reduce aggressive driving (Fu & Wilmot, 2007). This finding supports earlier findings showing that the presence of an older adult reduces the risk of crashes among young drivers (Fu & Wilmot, 2007). Other researchers have demonstrated that speeding decreased in the presence of an older female passenger compared to driving alone or with younger passengers (Williams, 2003).

The finding that personal agency (perceived behavioural control and self-efficacy) played an important role in influencing aggressive driving among omnibus drivers is consistent with the IBM (Montano & Kasprzyk, 2007). Drivers believed that the decision to drive aggressively was well under their control and expressed confidence that they would engage in the behaviour whenever they wanted and to achieve their driving goals. High self-efficacy was found to be related to aggressive driving behaviour. Thus, the belief that engaging in aggressive driving manoeuvres was likely to produce positive results seemed to encourage aggressive driving even in the face of environmental constraints (Montano & Kasprzyk, 2007). The operating environment was conducive and supportive of the sustenance of aggressive driving. Alleged corrupt police officers manning roadblocks seemed to facilitate aggressive driving (Dube, 2013; Makochekeka, 2016; VoaZimbabwe, 2012). The local media reported the existence of a well-coordinated system where omnibus operators pool their money together and choose one trusted person to hand it over to the police (Dube, 2013). Drivers of commuter omnibuses and their employers find it cheaper to pay police bribes than to comply with traffic rules and regulations (Makochekeka, 2016).

Conclusion

The study has shown that omnibus drivers purposely engage in aggressive driving to meet different and changing driving goals. The major goal was the attainment of daily cash targets. For drivers, instrumental attitude is an important predictor of aggressive driving intentions. Thus, the driver's negative feelings toward aggressive driving was not sufficient to discourage aggressive driving. The study has also shown that omnibus drivers believed that they were in control of their driving behaviour and perceived themselves capable of engaging in aggressive driving behaviours whenever they wanted to and in the face of difficulties. Different factors found in the driving environment such as poor state of the road and presence of police on the roads seemed to enhance drivers' perceived behavioural control. Also, omnibus drivers were confident in their ability to drive aggressively in light of environmental and social factors that facilitate the behaviour and guaranteed that they met their driving goals.

Recommendations

The problem of aggressive and reckless driving requires that all interested stakeholders work together. To deter aggressive driving on the roads and make them safer for all to use, stakeholders need to come together to conduct vigorous and targeted law enforcement and education. Employers should move away from setting daily cash targets for their drivers and conductors and come up with a remuneration system that is not target-based. This may require working together with the Government. Vehicle owners or employers need to arrange driver on-job training and safety education aimed at improving their attitudes toward aggressive driving. The government should consider revision of the driver training course to emphasise safety education aimed at improving driver attitudes toward aggressive driving. There is a need to deal decisively with alleged corruption involving drivers and police officers manning the roads. If the decay continues unchecked, police presence on the roads will often have the undesired effect of increasing opportunities for bribery and worsen reckless and inconsiderate driving endangering road safety.

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Competing Interests

The authors do not have any competing interests to declare.

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