

Government Interventions towards Safety Challenges amongst Commuters' and the Operation of Commercial Motorcycles in Ibadan Metropolis

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Abstract: - Commercial motorcycling is a popular mode of public transportation in Ibadan metropolis. However, a number of social problems such as accidents, crimes and human insecurity have been associated with the operations of commercial motorcycling in Ibadan. And little attention paid to the linkages between commuters' safety, health and security issues. Therefore, this study explored government interventions in addressing problems associated with safety challenges with the commercial motorcycling operation in Ibadan metropolis, Oyo State. A case study design was adopted. A purposive sampling of 24 motorcycle units, 12 focus group discussions with the branch heads and union members of the motorcycle unions and the commuters across the city. Primary and secondary data were collected using qualitative techniques. Twenty-eight in-depth interviews and twelve focus group discussions were conducted. Data collected were content analysed. Findings revealed that the use of motorcycles for criminal activities by fake commercial motorcyclists, lack of protection and adequate vests for drivers, reckless driving, impatient, over speeding and non-compliance to traffic rules are the major commuter safety challenges in Ibadan. Thus, state government has implemented policies such as ban of commercial motorcycling and use of helmets which have not yielded the expected behavioural change. As recommended, the government both at the federal and state level should increase the level of security in Ibadan by posting more trained and experienced law enforcement agents in Ibadan metropolis.

Keywords: Government, Interventions, Safety Challenges, Commuters' Operation, Ibadan

I. INTRODUCTION

Transportation of man, his property, goods and services are essential economic and social factors in the development of any nation. The Federal Government of Nigeria's National Transport Policy states that a properly functioning and well planned transport structure can engender speedy development and sustainably augment citizenry standard of living (NTP, 2010). Without transportation systems, little opportunities will exist for job creation, health, education and other developmental services; while also alleviating regional inequality by fostering national integration.

Furthermore, it supports economic development facilitating access to labour and other resources for the realisation of national comparative advantages. Studies in the area of urban transportation confirmed that more than 75% of population in cities depended on public transport while about 25% depend

on private transport system" (Talla and Song, 2014). In the Nigerian historical page, the use of motorcycle was restricted to serving family transportation need, mostly associated with middle income earners. In the rural communities, possession of a motorcycle was a mark of class differential between the well-to-do and those not well-to-do. Use of motorcycles commercially for transportation and other related activities in Nigeria first appeared in Cross River State in the early 1970. Its popularity as a vocation was further strengthened as a result of mass retrenchment of workers nationwide in 1975/76 (Ola, 2012).

The governments' inability to provide adequate jobs for the unemployed has prompted many jobless people to take to commercial motorcycle operations as an alternative means of survival. Today, everyone from all walks of life even the retired are involved in commercial motorcycle business as a means of livelihood. The emergence of *Okada* as an alternative means of transport brought a relief of sorts to the inadequate transport system (Iginla, 2007).

The Amalgamated Commercial Motorcycle Riders Association of Nigeria (ACOMORAN) and the All Nigerian Auto Bike Commercial Owners and Workers Association (ANACOWA) are the existing active associations coordinating and protecting the interest of mercantile riders in Nigeria. The emergence of the commercial motorcycle is a good experience as it has proved to be a source of income for the army of hitherto idle persons; it has helped to cushion the influence of the ineffective transportation system in the county. The highest population of commercial motorcycles is found in cities like Lagos, Ibadan, Benin, Port-Harcourt, and Kano. Commenting on the phenomenon of *Okada* operators in Lagos State (Okunola, 2009) notes that:

.... the menace posed by *Okada* operators in the state is causing a whirling vortex of emotion in the citizens (sic). Even though the menace is causing disquiet all over the federation, it has provided jobs for the teeming populace; this advantage places the government in a dilemma as regards how to tackle the concomitant problems. It is definitely not an easy task to find an alternative source of employment that could

replace the Okada business in the country for now (*National Life*, December 17, 2011:36).

The inadequacy faced in both public and private transport system like the Trans City Transport Company, (TCTC) and *Ajumose* initiative coupled with the perennial traffic gridlock made commercial motorcycles widely accepted. Ibadan boasts of a population of about 2.8 million (National Census, 2006) is quite a number and requires an immense transport network for which commercial motorcycles attempt to solve part of. There is no reliable data regarding the precise number of commercial motorcyclists in Oyo State but a rough estimate puts the figure at between 75,000 and 100,000.

The proliferation of commercial motorcycles have yielded many unintended negative consequences which borders on the vulnerability of the persons involved as well as the larger society they are meant to serve, which defines the commuters' safety angle of their operation. This vulnerability include incessant and ubiquitous motorcycle accidents, facilitation of crime, perpetration of social conflicts, which constitute safety and health hazard both for the riders and their passengers (Momoh, 2000). Thus, the overriding aim of this study is to assess the government interventions towards safety challenges amongst commuters' and the operation of commercial motorcycles in Ibadan, Oyo State.

Problem Statement

Transport system is a basic and critical infrastructure supporting daily life and economic activities of most nations. In different climes, transportation is provided across range of networks. However, these networks or systems are often threatened and in turn threaten the security of different climes where they exist. In Nigeria, commercial motorcycling is an important component of the transport system which has challenged the security of the society over the years. This connection is premised on the line between the falling standard of living, social inequalities, urbanisation and urban transport system and crime.

Despite this very seeming positive contribution of this mode of transport to the transportation sub-sector, it nevertheless poses serious challenge to society. Accidents and fatalities associated with this mode of transport have been on the increase as evidence from many hospitals across urban centres in Nigeria reveal. According to studies, the motorcycle related accident prevalence rate range from between 12.8% and 60% (OgagaOghene, 2011). Earlier researches in Nigeria indicated that injuries to the head and other extremities leads to morbidity and death (Salvage,2009; Odufuwa, 2007). "Incidence of reported cases of road traffic accident at Igbobi Orthopaedic Hospital had a 3000% increase in number of patients with fractured limbs" (FRSC report, 2017, Vanguard).

In addition to the aforementioned challenges, many commercial motorcycle operators have also been implicated in

various nefarious and criminal activities in which motorcycles were used to carry out criminal operations (Ola, 2012). It is for these many negative unintended consequences of motorcycle business that governments across the country like especially Federal Capital Territory Abuja and Lagos have banned or sought to ban the commercial motorcycle business. The use of commercial motorcycles is quite popular around Oyo State particularly in Ibadan and its suburbs.

Therefore, several nuanced and scholarly writings have highlighted the relationships between rapid urbanisation and the transport system including *okada* business (Filani, 1998;Lakshmanan and Anderson,2009). Thus, despite the burgeoning literature on the subject matter as a mode of transport, little attention has been made to explore the connection between commercial motorcycling operation and commuters' security and safety in Ibadan Metropolis in Oyo State. The questioning aspect of all the arguments is that, how do the government's efforts structured in addressing commuters' security and safety challenges posed by commercial motorcycling in Ibadan?

Purpose of the study

The major purpose of the study is to identify government interventions towards safety challenges amongst commuters' and the operation of commercial motorcycles (CM) in Ibadan, Oyo State. Specific objectives include, to: examine governments' efforts in addressing the commuters' safety challenges posed by commercial motorcycling operation in Ibadan and also evaluate the database of motorcycles related accidents and crimes through the offices of the major stakeholders in Oyo State (University College Hosp, Nigerian Police and FRSN).

Justification of the study

The study advanced awareness among CM operators and users especially in relation to public-health and safety concerns. The study recommendations will be useful for policy making and regulation of urban transport system and added to the body of literature on urban planning and management. This study however extends the discourse by making a connection between the emergence of motorcycle as a form of business and the dimension embedded in this mode of transportation. Also, if these issues are not interrogated, the policy making community is unlikely to draw a connection between commercial motorcycle operations and commuters' security and safety in Ibadan.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

This study considered "Routine Activity Theory" developed by Cohen and Felson (1979) as suitable for the purpose of achieving the objective of the study as cited in Okunola (2009:105) assumes that the; "probability that a crime will take place at any precise time and place may possibly be taken as a function of the meeting or in other words convergence of the liable offenders and suitable target in the absence of capable guardians". The theory was proposed in 1947 as a

response to the crime rate of the United States (Okunola, 2009:105). Cohen and Felson anchored the theory on a model of rational choice. It posits that an individual tends to make decision that guarantees maximum advantage and minimum negative outcomes (Okunola, 2009). Hence this theory is used to elucidate the complicity of commercial motorcycle operators in criminal and other social vices in the face of growing urbanisation and threat to safety and security in Ibadan metropolis.

Related empirical studies

A number of well documented studies demonstrate the significant rise in the number of the unemployed, a bulge in the informal sector, deviant survival strategies, and the rate of urban insecurity in Nigeria. Obviously, detailed study of how Governments' (federal and state) actions and inactions have instigated the emergence of motorcycle (*okada*) transport and its attendant negative influence on commuters' security and safety is yet to be reviewed. For this reason therefore, this work shall review useful literature related to this study with a view to depicting how governments' weak control and oversight in the transport sector is responsible for how operation of motorcycles as taxis constituted threats to commuters' security and safety.

Transportation system networks are basic and crucial infrastructure that supports daily lives and economic activities of several nations. Transport itself is conveying, or being conveyed or a means of conveyance from one place to a different place (Talla and Song, 2014:1). It is commonly conceived as the movement of people, goods and other possessions that are movable in time and space for a particular motive. These movements could be by water, land or air.

The first type of transport utilised by man were his legs. This actually limited his area of authority. This however changed when the craving for essential needs took prominence. Thus, the multiple desires encouraged the need to exchange goods and services and the need for improvements in transport system. The point to underscore is that transport is a significant component of economic development and affords the socio-political interactions normally taken for granted by people (Button and Hensher, 2009:1).

As pointed out in the above paragraph,

Transport is provided across a range of networks. These have grown with time as technology improvements and innovation have allowed individuals to develop new networks and refine the systems that exist. Earlier transport by foot or pack animal involved lanes, tracks, and pathways, but the system was extended as boats became available for inland navigation and ships for maritime movement. The advent of the sail led to further developments on both water

and land (the "Chinese wheelbarrow...." (Kenneth, Button and Hensher, 2001).

However, the literature on transportation systems has provided readers with detailed information about the transport system functions as well as the various components that make up the transport systems interaction with each other. Yet, it is pertinent to understand these ranges of transport networks and the challenges it faces and what it constitutes in society. To this end, Banister (2009) focused on transport system planning and is of the opinion that the transport infrastructure has undergone tremendous change for the past forty to fifty years. He concentrated on the not too ancient land transportation systems, focusing heavily on strategic as well as urban planning matters. The work reviewed the latest developments in planning of transport systems (between 1990 and 2000) and also describes the new agenda of planning in transport system and the crucial function transport planners play to promote sustainable development.

Over this period, Banister (2009) identified three immense alterations in the standards put into transportation system planning as; "the huge growth in car ownership and congestion, the withdrawal of the state from the provision of transport services through regulatory reform and privatization, and the new environmental debates". Banister's study's strength is in the identification of the new agenda of transport planning. In doing this, he showed that transport planning is totally transformed from technical activity essentially rooted in a plain statement of predict and provide to a much more difficult approach which places checks on mobility via regulation, pricing, and other management strategies. Thus, beyond solving congestion challenges in the cities and adjoining suburbs, planning of transport systems must identify pollution hotspots to meet environmental standards, achieve reduced traffic gridlocks all at the same time among others. However, the rhetorical question is; should transport planning do more than react to the demand for new requirements? Or whether planning should lead in developing the new landmarks. Nevertheless, Banister's new agenda did not take into cognisance the issues of crime and security as germane to transport planning.

Other studies have focused on the themes of efficiency and impacts (Nash, 2009; Lawal, 2009); infrastructure capacity to sustain the transport systems (Lakshmanan and Anderson, 2009); Economics of transport networks (Button, 2009) and Transport safety (Savage, 2009). Savage's study is of great significance here as it outlines human safety as a critical issue in transportation systems.

Savage's study showed that transport is often connected with death risk, injury, and property destruction. The reason adduced for this is due to the fact that in the past, people have for instance been accidentally thrown off carriages; be it from horse back to canoes. The commencement of mass transportation only changed such mishaps from individualised grief to mass woes, such as shipwrecks, train derailments, bus

and car crashes, and aviation disasters. Savage (2009) argues that it is convenient to think that there is far more risks in our contemporary technological world. Nevertheless, over the years, advancement have been experienced and the improvements continue. To this end as argued by Savage (2009), the hazards in every means of transportation have dropped by at least a half since the 1950s. However, the total level of danger is still seen as extremely high. Even first world economy as the U.S.A., one in 6000 of the population dies each year due to transport crashes” (Savage 2009). It should be noted that professionals prefer using “crash” rather than “accident”; while the latter suggests that event is as a result of pure fate rather than human choices.

Commercial motorcycle (*Okada*) is adapted to modern Nigerian society, which has an inadequate supply of vehicular services contend with frequent traffic gridlocks, and badly constructed roads. Commercial motorcycles have become a permanent feature in the country due to low cost of purchase and fuel efficiency (Olaoba, 2002). Nonetheless, they are comparatively more expensive than vehicular transport for commuters. *Okadas* have better fuel economy compared to cars and have thrived at some stage in gasoline shortages in the country. A weak mass transit system has spawned the use of this alternate mode of transport. The *Okada* is also able to navigate and travel through roads where cars cannot go, especially in villages, and urban slums (Ola, 2012; Ekere and Ibeanusi, 2003). *Okada* riding is seen as “a unique experience” by regular passengers and tourists. The *Okada* is used in cities like Lagos and Ibadan by businessmen, government workers, and students to surmount traffic congestion (Arosayin et al, 2011).

Banister (2009) evaluated three African cities of Douala, (Cameroon) Lagos, (Nigeria) and Kampala (Uganda) commercial motorcycle usage based on their political and socio-economy context and drew wide-ranging conclusions in terms of value all across Africa and other developing world. The study underscored the association between poor governance and weak sectoral performance. The research further recommends the need to adopt policies based on local political and economic context. This is in agreement with the position of this study that the failure of government to regulate the operation of *okada* should be held accountable for the challenges of the *okada* operation.

Bryan (2004) attests to the fact that over the last decade, there has been a noticeable increase in countries in Latin America, Asia and sub-Saharan Africa adopting use of motorcycles for public commercial transport. The transport system offers certain transport advantages such as easy maneuverability, capability to travel at certain measure of speed on bad roads, and demand responsiveness.

Commercial motorcycle proliferation has also led to increased road mishaps, traffic management problems, increased persistent noise and air pollution, greenhouse gas emissions, among others. Government interventions in regulating the

market have compounded the problem by distorting market structures. Consequently, “current operators have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo and they use their considerable economic and political power to obtain political influence which, in turn, promotes policies to protect the interests of a select few” (Ekere and Ibeanusi, 2003).

In essence, the study of Arosanyin *et al.*, (2011) recognises the inadequate regulating the transports sector by the state especially the use of motorcycles as taxis. Furthermore, studies have continued to identify urban transportation as being in a terrible state in Nigeria (Filani, 1988; Ademiluyi and Gbadamosi, 2004; and Odufuwa, 2007). According to these scholars, over a third of Nigerian roads are unsatisfactory and badly constructed. A trip on the Nigerian roads is often arduous and mostly not pleasurable. The condition of the roads emanated from natural ageing of the infrastructure, inadequate maintenance, misuse by residents, poor enforcement of traffic rules and regulations.

Transportation services are becoming insufficient, as urban sprawl has created a situation whereby cities are reaching the point that distances between residential area and other essential institutions where people work, school and shopping centres are increasingly getting farther away beyond walking distance (Filani, 1988; Ademiluyi and Gbadamosi, 2004; and Odufuwa, 2007). Public transports that are available and private vehicles are frequently over-crowded, carrying more than the expected passengers.

Overloading, overspeeding and careless negotiation of bends are noticeable characteristic of urban transportation in the country. Due to deviant riding behaviours and the increasing number of road users and pedestrians competing for space on the roads that are available, traffic situation in most cities are frequently chaotic and annoying. A short distant journey times often become unreasonably prolonged, difficult and passengers are time and again trapped in badly ventilated and dilapidated cars for hours (Ademiluyi and Gbadamosi, 2004).

In Lagos, Ibadan and Ijebu-Ode, for instance, drivers pointlessly overtake and drive on edges of the road to gain space on the road ahead of other road users, particularly during traffic gridlock. Deviant driving behaviours on roads particularly in Nigeria include “changing route frequently without caution, honking indiscriminately, excessive speeding, overloading, turning at unauthorised locations”. In spite of the various law enforcement agents and transport management organisations available at the state and federal levels, there is continued occurrence of deviant driving practices (Odufuwa, 2007).

III. MATERIAL AND METHODS

Design

The study adopted a case study research design. The case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context. This approach is

suitable when a research seeks to answer the ‘what,’ ‘why,’ and ‘how’ question (Bryan, 2004: 46; Adeniji, 2004).

The study area was Ibadan, the Oyo State capital. Ibadan metropolis is inhabited predominantly by a Yoruba speaking community in the South-western region of Nigeria. The approximate population is 2.8 million (National Population Commission, 2006). Ibadan is inhabited by virtually all ethnic groups found in Nigeria. Ibadan has 11 local government areas, there are six local councils within the metropolis and five are located outside the city.

Study population

Study population comprises the total number of registered motorcycle riders in the six local governments within the Ibadan metropolis and the residents selected for this study. According to the 2006 Census, the total population of residents in the six Local Government Areas comprised; Akinyele, Ibadan North, Ibadan North East, Ibadan Northwest, Ibadan Southeast and Ibadan Southwest, estimated to be 1,554,958 (NPC, 2006). See Map of study areas in Figure 1 presented;

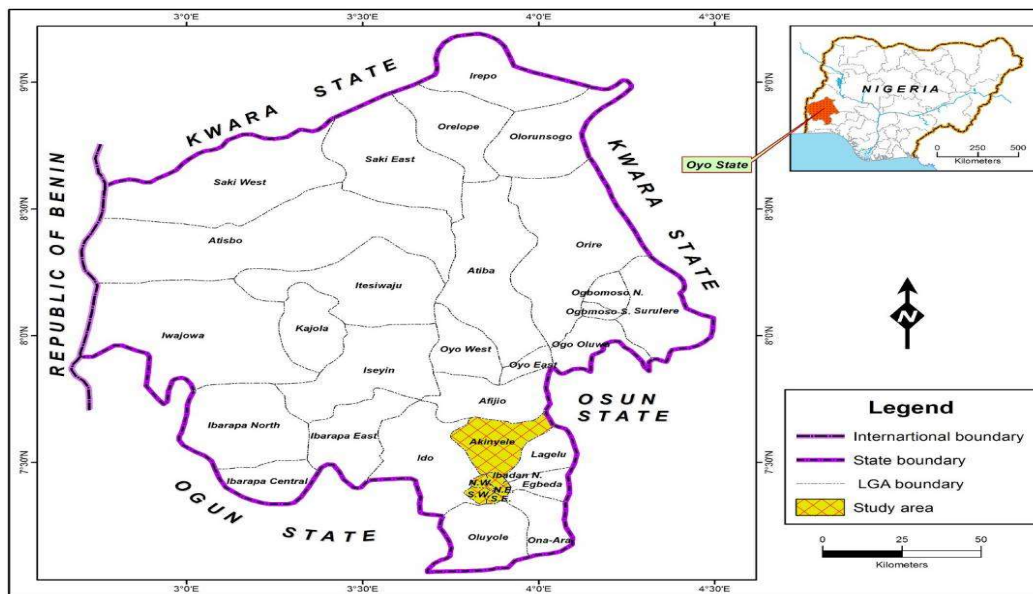


Fig. 1: Map of study area

Sample population

The sample population comprised 36 commercial motorcyclists from different points across the six local government areas under study, 24 executives of commercial

motorcyclists, 24 residents/commuters of the selected communities, 2 traditional bone setters and 2 staff at the accident and emergency ward of the University Teaching Hospital (UCH).

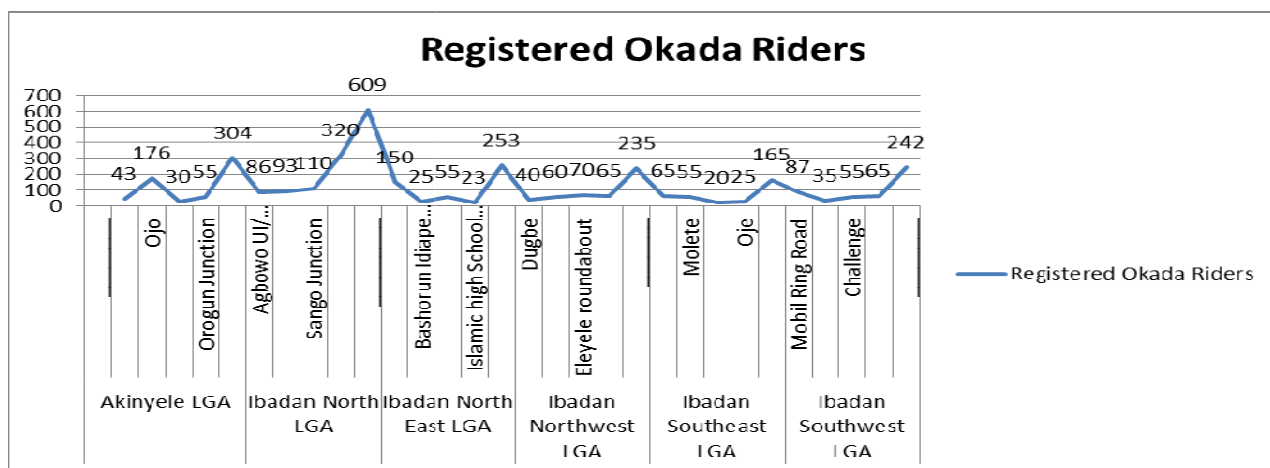


Fig.2 : A chart of registered motorcycle points obtained during a pilot study

Sampling technique and Data Sources

The sampled population was purposively drawn. Those that were sampled include respondents from the 24 motorcycle units selected, 12 focus group discussions with the branch heads and union members of the motorcycle unions and the six purposively selected commuters across the city. Data was collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources include in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. The secondary sources were obtained from books, journals, and newspaper commentaries.

Method of data collection and Analysis

Ethical issues were properly considered to ensure that the various rights and freedom of individual respondents were adequately respected and protected. No respondent was placed under duress, fear or favour of any sort. Informed consent of individual respondents; secrecy and confidentiality of respondents, and the integrity of individual respondents were respected. All these were emphasised in order to ensure truthful, reliable and quality information. Data was collected using qualitative techniques. Twenty-eight in-depth interviews and twelve focus group discussions were conducted. Two major instruments were employed in carrying out this study, they are in-depth interview guide (IDI) and the focus group discussion (FGD) guide. Data gathered from the interviews and FGDs were transcribed, processed, pooled together and categorised into themes based on the research objectives. The data was content analysed using descriptive and narrative styles.

IV. RESULTS / FINDINGS

This study was designed to X-rayed the efforts made by the governments in addressing commuters' safety challenges in Ibadan. These research questions were raised to provide answers to this study and the data gathered were discussed in relations to the specific research questions. Inferences were drawn from the data generated on each research question from the content analysis.

The main objective of the study was to analyse governments' efforts in addressing the commuters' safety challenges posed by commercial motorcycling operation in Ibadan. The outcomes of the content analysis adopted revealed that government's efforts can be effective based on the followings:

Governments' restriction and banning of commercial motorcycles in Ibadan

Commuters' safety is the biggest challenge facing commercial motorcycle transport in Ibadan metropolis and its environs. With the establishment of the fact that human behaviour constitutes the largest percentage of factors that is specifically known to threaten the safety and security of commuters, the various level of governments (Federal, State, and Local) have made repeated effort to address the safety challenges experienced by commuters in Ibadan metropolis. Nevertheless, such attempts have not worked out smoothly;

the governments in the various levels have experienced bitter/sweet relationship with the operators of commercial motorcycles.

For instance, *"many aspirants for public office normally find commercial motorcyclists useful as campaign foot soldiers, the relationship often turn sour immediately such public office seekers assume office. This is often the case when the government attempts to restrict their routes in which they are allowed to ply or outrightly ban and prohibit their operations in urban centres"*(An Okada Rider, 29 March, 2017).

However, imposing such ban is usually interpreted as a demonstration of the insensitivity of the governments to the socio-economic implications of such decisions on the *okada* operators on the one hand and an unwillingness to come to terms with their inadequate provision for citizen mobility in the transport sector on the other.

A ban was placed on all commercial motorcycles from conducting their business on federal and state roads in Ibadan metropolis. This was backed by the promulgation of a law that restricts commercial motorcyclists within the city as passed by the Oyo State House of Assembly. The regulation also highlighted motorcycle operators must carry identification cards and warned them against overloading. To prevent accident and reduce loss of precious lives, the law criminalised carrying of pregnant women, children and women having baby strapped on their backs on motorcycles. Anyone below 18 years is outlawed from riding motorcycles; appropriate honking system and abolition of fixing stereo on a motorcycle were all proscribed. Furthermore, a stringent instruction to both riders and passengers was the compulsory use of crash helmets when conducting their business among other regulations.

Opeifa (2010) highlighted more provisions of the law to include declaring illegal the usual habit of operators to face oncoming vehicles thereby riding on one way, parking on kerbs, pedestrian walkways, and dividers. Other provision of the law includes legal time to operate motorcycles within urban centres.

Commercial motorcycle operators according to Opeifa (2011) were cautioned to refrain from breaking the laws and enjoined members of transport associations as well as residents to comply with the enforcement agencies. However, enforcement of the ban did not last for long as motorcyclists returned to the highways. A resident of Mokola area in Ibadan noted:

It is not making laws that are important but the implementation of laws. Motorcycle

operators have continued to defy the government order by swiftly returning to routes where they have been hitherto banned from plying. One begins to wonder is it the motorcyclists that are above the law or the government that is not serious. We really need to sanitise the chaos we experience daily in this city (Interview, at Mokola, 23, March, 2017).

Nevertheless, the story changed as the government of Senator Ajimobi assumed office in 2011. Although the new government took a different step to restrict the movement of motorcycle operators as compared to the previous government. Following the state government intervention, the governor explained the objective was to regulate and fine-tune the activities of commercial motorcycles in the state so that the business can be more sanitised. He suggested and encouraged another dimension of commercial transport - tricycles also known as *Keke NAPEP* which he claimed will be safer and more *environmental*-friendly than the *okada*:

Thus while empowering our people with this first phase of 1,000 tricycles, it is our target that this gesture will ultimately permeate the nooks and crannies of the state, thus gradually phasing out okada-riding from our major highways (Vanguard News, January 31, 2017).

Perhaps, for fear of the political consequences of the ban, the governor said “his administration had no intention of banning the activities of commercial motorcyclists, but that his government had put necessary machinery in place to train and retrain the *okada* riders so as to acquire more knowledge and experience on the job. In addition he stated that the *okada* riders would be issued identification numbers to decrease robbery occurrence to the barest minimum (*Vanguard News*, January 31, 2017).

Thus, it is noteworthy that there are no de facto restrictions by Oyo State government whatsoever on commercial motorcycles (*Okada*). They operate at anytime, anywhere, without helmet, sometimes even during the 2-hour restriction on sanitation days. Consequently, they are everywhere and anywhere. They have become an essential part of Ibadan city landscape.

In another effort, the agency saddled with the responsibility of maintaining safety on the roads in January 2017 proposed an outright ban of commercial motorcycles to reduce road crashes. The Corps Marshal stated that commercial motorcyclists remain the main reason for major road accidents across the country. According to the RTC statistics of October 2016, 18 per cent of 1,259 accidents which occurred within a month involved commercial motorcycles with 36 per cent for motorcycles and minibuses with 19 per cent. The study revealed motorcycle crashes ranked higher than other means of transportation across the country (*Vanguard News*, January

31, 2017). Speaking on the proposed ban of commercial motorcycle operation, the Sector commander of the corps stated that the Corps was displeased with the increased wave of motorcycle crashes all over the country, especially in the city of Ibadan. He stated:

The call to ban the operation was borne out of the need to reduce road accident involving motorcycle riders. Some of the commercial motorcyclists were unruly in their conduct on the roads; the proscription of their operation would significantly curb crashes on the roads (Interview at Eleyele, 17, March, 2017).

However, the proposed proscription of commercial motorcycle activities was rejected by the motorcycle operators’ associations. The organization argued that the proposal was a deliberate attempt to further impoverish and deny our members of a decent means of livelihood. They further complained that in spite of the hostile environment, the frustration by government officials, the government is still out to take their means of survival. According to Alhaji Muhammad Sani Hassan:

No fewer than 30 million Nigerians will be rendered jobless if the federal government implements the proposed nationwide ban of commercial motorcycles.

It is unfortunate the way government agencies treat us. They just wake up and come up with policies that affect us without consulting us. The FRSC has never organised any training for Okada riders; and they just woke up one day and said commercial motorcycles should be banned (www.leaders.ng).

Furthermore, the suggestion to totally proscribe the activities of commercial motorcycles as proposed by the Federal Road Safety Commission has created diverse opinions. Some of the proponents of the idea argue that proscribing will be in order because operators often aid and abet crimes against members of the public, while those against the idea argue that it is a viable sector capable of providing supplementary income and employment for the teeming youth and other citizens. A respondent stated:

The ban of okada by the government can only be supported by the public if they are able to provide another viable alternative though motorcycle operators have been linked with increasing robbery and kidnapping attacks across the state. Despite all this, they are necessary evils because there is no alternative to the services they render (Interview, at Apete, 26, March, 2017).

Nonetheless, at a time when the various levels of government are slamming bans on commercial motorcycles (*Okada*) over safety and security concerns, and laws and regulations have been passed and implemented by Federal, State and Local Governments to curb the excesses of the riders, a move was made in Ibadan recently to re-orientate the *Okada* riders. At the workshop, Ademola Oluyomi Alalade noted:

Okada riders are quite useful in our transport system but the problem is the danger associated with them. These dangers can however be averted if they observe simple safety rules like not over-speeding, maintaining their motorcycles and wearing protective clothing (Akpuh, 2017).

In spite of the efforts discussed above, efforts have been directed to address the issues of commuters' safety in the past. Laws and regulations have been passed by all tiers of Government towards curtailing motorcycle operators' lawlessness; some of which are the enactment of Federal Road Safety Commission Establishment Act of 2007 and the National Traffic Regulation of 2004 among others. The enforcement of these laws by both governing body and the officers in charge of enforcing these laws has been rather poor considering how unruly motorcyclists are on the roads especially in obeying the traffic codes. With the laws put in place, it is still disheartening that accidents are still recorded daily in Ibadan metropolis (Ogagaoghene, 2011).

Due to rising incidence of fatal road accidents, concerned local and international organisations especially the United Nations have been forced to develop new mechanisms of reducing fatal mishaps. This led to the adoption of UN Decade of Action for Road Safety which covers between 2011 and 2020. During this period, concerted efforts will be geared towards the stability and reduction of traffic fatalities globally. Ban Ki-Moon, the former UN leader expressed optimism that several lives will be saved during the decade of action (FRSC, 2012). Tolling the same line, the Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC) in Nigeria adopted and domesticated decade of action plan with series of programmes targeted at road users across the country. Few of the programmes set out include training and public enlightenment. Responding to this, an officer working with the FRSC in Ibadan noted:

We have carried public enlightenment to their places; we have invited them for public enlightenment in our offices. If they will come, they will not stay for long, you will see them trooping out one after the other. So, starting from their attitude of not yielding to training, they are not too good for us on the road (Interview in Eleyele, 17, March, 2017).

The attitudes of motorcycle operators as described in the above interview might have contributed to the reasons why many stakeholders including road traffic officers are calling

for the total ban of *okada* in Ibadan metropolis and other states in Nigeria. Nevertheless, the reasons why some state governments are imposing ban on the use of *okada* indicates gross inability of government to initiate strategic building blocks for urban transport policies.

Another issue raised in this direction by Mitric (2008) is the control of street space by traffic and speed limitations and prohibitions. Frequently used tools in this category, according to him, include time-based entry prohibitions to down towns and/or residential enclaves for some or all motor vehicles, and reversible lanes on major arterial roads. In the case of Ibadan it seems the Oyo State Government has lost control in terms of regulation of *okada* operation, for instance, the State Government could not even compel the *okada* riders to obey safety regulation as regards the use of helmet. A newspaper report in 2009 aptly captures the story.

....Hundreds of commercial motorcycle operators staged a violent protest in Ibadan on Tuesday, beating up officials of the Federal Road Safety Commission who were arresting their colleagues for violating the law on crash helmet. The incident occurred in front of the Iwo Road Area Command Headquarters of the Nigeria Police Force testing ground in the metropolis. Scores of the offenders had been arrested and were being tried at a mobile court within the station, when the aggrieved riders mobilised to the scene and attacked the FRSC officers on duty. The development angered the policemen at the station and they joined the road marshals to arrest five ring leaders of the protesters. The court session resumed after normalcy had been restored with the accused persons facing charges, ranging from non-usage of crash helmets, carrying passengers who did not wear helmets and overloading (*The Punch newspaper*, Wednesday, 28 January 2009).

A cross-sectional look at institutional methods of providing public transport services reveals a range with a public-owned, monopoly-holding operator as one regulatory extreme, and a minimally regulated (or unregulated) market of small-scale, privately owned providers as the other extreme. There also exist various combinations of public or private provision including sub-contracting, management contracts, concessions and franchises. In some cities one regulatory set-up or the other is dominant; in many cities, several types co-exist. Sharing of functions among stakeholders, who owns fleets and infrastructure, scope of regulations, and revenue risks ultimately impact travelers and the general public interest.

In the case of Ibadan, the government maintains the road while road transport union collects dues. The collection of transport union dues has generated violent conflict in the city

because the leadership of the transport union is enmeshed in corruption and is highly politicised. Mitric (2008, 28) stated that such roles concerning the ownership policy for public transport services can be generalised for all aspects of urban transport, from road construction and road maintenance to parking. There is a broad consensus that public policy and the protection of the public interest should remain in the hands of city governments and their special-purpose institutional arrangements, whereas execution and operation should be transferred (judiciously) to the private sector using a competitive framework.

The Governments' intervention in the areas of fares, subsidies and quality of public transport services has three major dimensions, all of which tend to exert a downward pressure on fares. The first is that there are routes and periods where passenger volumes are insufficient to cover costs of service provided and otherwise. The second is a sharp income polarisation found within urban travel markets of many client cities, making commercially viable fares even for the lowest-quality services unaffordable to many people. These two dimensions are often combined. The third is that prices and service quality of public transport must be seen relative to those faced by users of its major competitor individual motor vehicles. Prices and service levels are of course the two determinants of modal choice, if in fact a choice market exists. This further demonstrates the centrality of government intervention in the transport sector, if mobility stress being experienced by citizens would be eased. This is true of Ibadan, as the rate of urbanisation is growing at geometric progression; while urban regulatory mechanism is moving at arithmetic progression.

Road Safety Policy in Nigeria

Road safety as a concept deals with the state of security and certainty of roads by its users. It is defined as the absence of crashes, injuries and fatalities. The term "safety" implies that there are no mishaps. Safety is widely referred to protection from personal harm. It can be described as a condition whereby an individual feels completely free from danger and other events that can kill, maim, or impact its well-being (Lawal, 2008). It is a protection against injury and traumatic issues (Miller, 1982). Therefore, reducing harm caused by motorcycle collisions has become the overriding ambition of the Road Safety effort (Akpur, 2017; National Open University, 2013). At present, the need to ensure road safety consciousness by road users has been on the front burner for the regulatory authorities in Ibadan. The road safety situation in Ibadan metropolis is worse when compared to the developed countries.

Road safety activities in Ibadan and Nigeria as a whole are in conformity with national policy. An action plan targeted at

reducing deaths, injuries and carnages on the roads by half at 2015 has commenced (FRSC, 2015). Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC), under the presidency has the core mandate to regulate and maintain standards on all federal roads. Therefore, FRSC is the lead agency on maintaining accident-free roads in Nigeria as well as issuance of valid drivers' licenses and other related documents for all users. Though not without its own peculiar challenges, 'the National Road Safety Action Plan' has recorded landmark achievements with ample room for improvement if adequate resources are allocated and deployed. However, irrespective of the limitations, the FRSC in Ibadan are still making concrete effort to improve the road safety standard. One of the officers at the FRSC reacting to the issue of road safety policy noted:

The Federal Road Safety Commission investigates, records and stores data on all accidents across the state, though not in electronic format. Such data are used to estimate the prevalence of road crashes across the country which are summarized and published from time to time in both print and electronic media (Interview at the Federal Road Safety Commission at Eleyele road, March 23, 2017).

Hence, Ibadan like any other part of Nigeria has standardised curriculum for testing and training new drivers before licenses are issued. Safety awareness and consciousness are taught despite inadequate teaching aids and other materials in the training schools. However, all these are only applicable to vehicle owners while commercial motorcycles hardly pass through these practices. Nevertheless, road safety sensitisation and education are organized regularly. During such trainings, the need for compulsory use of seat belts, crash helmets and avoidance of driving under the influence of alcohol are taught, though enforcement of the laws has been poor. Concerted efforts are also taken towards boosting traffic infrastructure to engender safety at a limited scale due to the paucity of funds. Nigeria has specifications which imported, locally manufactured motorcycles and other transport equipment must meet before distribution to members of the public. This function is undertaken by the Standard Organisation of Nigeria (SON). Mandatory inspection has been poor in this regard unfortunately. As a result of all these inadequacies, the three-tiers of government have emergency services and systems across the country to cater for lapses and other eventualities in the system.

The accidents and crimes recorded in UCH, Nigerian Police, FRSC between 2010 2016 in Ibadan

Table 1: Accidents recorded in the University College Hospital between 2010 and 2016

Year	Total accidents	Other Accidents	Motorcycle accidents	Other accidents (%)	Motorcycle accidents (%)
2010	407	171	236	42.01	57.99
2011	513	212	301	41.33	58.67
2012	874	371	503	42.45	57.55
2013	858	365	493	42.54	57.46
2014	749	318	431	42.46	57.54
2015	571	242	329	42.38	57.62
2016	306	132	174	43.14	56.86

Source: Medical Records Department, University College Hospital, Ibadan, 2016

Table 1 showed the general and motorcycle accidents cases recorded at the University College Hospital, Ibadan between 2010 and 2016. The total number of recorded accidents was 4,278 while motorcycle accidents was 2,467 which accounted

for 57.67% averagely. Other accidents accounted for the remaining 42.33% averagely. Yearly analysis showed that 2011 had the highest motorcycle accident with 58.67%, compared to 2016 with 56.86%.

Table 2: Crime Report recorded by the Nigeria Police Force between 2010 and 2016

Year	General crime report	Motorcycle incidents	Other crime incidents	Other incidents (%)	Motorcycle incidents (%)
2010	463	247	216	46.65	53.35
2011	374	209	165	44.12	55.88
2012	302	187	115	38.08	61.92
2013	401	243	158	39.40	60.60
2014	541	372	169	31.24	68.76
2015	597	417	180	30.15	69.85
2016	411	218	193	46.96	53.04

Source: Police Report on Crime from Crime Extract Diary, 2016

Table 2 showed the general crime statistics recorded by the Nigeria Police Force between January 2010 and June 2016. It should be noted that general crime reports include other crime cases reported within these period such as robbery using motorcycle, snatching of bags using motorcycle, kidnapping, pick-pocketing among others. In other cases, some motorcycle operators are employed as spies and informants for intending crime. From this Table, 3,089 general crime cases were recorded, out of which motorcycle incidents had 1,893 accounting for 61.28%. Yearly analysis showed that 2015 recorded the highest motorcycle incidents with 69.85%, and

2016 had the lowest with 53.04%. Generally, motorcycle accidents and other related crimes were high within the period of study from the data collected from the three agencies. This showed that motorcycle is a major source of transportation within Ibadan metropolis. This could be due to its flexibility, accessibility and affordability. Hence, the high rate of crime and accidents of this mode of transportation.

General and motorcycle accidents recorded by the Federal Road Safety Corps between 2010 and 2016

Table 3: Summary of road traffic crashes with those involved from January to December 2010

S/N	NAME OF THE INCIDENT	TOTAL	PRIVATE	GOVT	TOTAL COM'CIAL ACCIDENT	COMMERCIAL		COMMERCIAL	
						Other Accident	Motorcycle	Other Accident %	Motor Cycle %
1.	Total No. of People Involved	2393	103	6	2374	992	1382	41.79	58.21
2.	Total No. of People Injured	1432	78	2	1352	563	789	41.64	58.36
3.	Total No. of People Killed	219	11	-	208	87	121	41.83	58.17
4.	Total Casualty	1736	106	-	1630	703	927	43.13	56.87
5.	Total Cases	288	64	-	224	96	128	42.86	57.14
6.	Total No. of Accident	423	159	8	256	104	152	40.62	59.38

Source: Federal Road Safety Corps. Policy, Research and Statistics Department, RS 11.3. Oyo State Sector Command's Accident dairy/record

Table 4.3 showed the summary of road traffic crashes recorded by the Federal Road Safety Corps from January to

December 2010. The total number of other accidents was 40.62% compared to motorcycle accident which was 59.38%.

Table 4: Summary of road traffic crashes with those involved from January to December 2011

S/N	NAME OF THE INCIDENT	TOTAL	PRIVATE	GOVT	TOTAL COMM'CIAL ACCIDENT	COMMERCIAL		COMMERCIAL	
						Other Accident	Motorcycle	Other Accident %	Motor Cycle %
1.	Total No. of People Involved	2832	226	4	2602	1044	1558	40.12	59.88
2.	Total No. of People Injured	1528	131	1	1396	569	827	40.76	59.24
3.	Total No. of People Killed	284	47	2	235	96	139	40.85	59.15
4.	Total Casualty	1933	211	3	1719	706	1013	41.07	58.93
5.	Total Cases	331	81	-	250	107	143	42.80	57.20
6.	Total No. of Accident	569	160	7	402	166	236	41.29	58.71

Source: Federal Road Safety Corps. Policy, Research and Statistics Department, RS 11.3. Oyo State Sector Command's Accident dairy/record

Table 4 showed the summary of road traffic crashes recorded by the Federal Road Safety Corps from January to December 2011. The total number of other accidents was 41.29% while

motorcycle accidents recorded 58.71%. However, 40.85% died as a result of other accident, while 59.15% died as a result of motorcycle accident.

Table 5: Summary of road traffic crashes with those involved from January to December 2012

S/N	NAME OF THE INCIDENT	TOTAL	PRIVATE	GOVT	TOTAL COMM'CIAL ACCIDENT	COMMERCIAL		COMMERCIAL	
						Other Accident	Motorcycle	Other Accident %	Motor Cycle %
1.	Total No. of People Involved	2522	248	9	2265	817	1448	36.07	63.93
2.	Total No. of People Injured	1375	137	3	1235	449	786	36.36	63.64
3.	Total No. of People Killed	291	63	-	228	85	143	37.28	62.72
4.	Total Casualty	1807	253	-	1554	583	971	37.52	62.48
5.	Total Cases	275	78	-	197	74	123	37.56	62.44
6.	Total No. of Accident	1199	143	5	1051	373	678	35.49	64.51

Source: Federal Road Safety Corps. RS 11.3. Policy, Research and Statistics Department, Oyo State Sector Command's Accident dairy/record

Table 5 showed the summary of road traffic crashes recorded by the Federal Road Safety Corps from January to December 2012. While motorcycle accidents recorded 64.51%, other accidents rated 35.49%. Also, 63.64% were injured through motorcycle accidents, and 36.36% were injured through other accidents.

V. CONCLUSION

The study examined government interventions towards safety challenges amongst commuters' and the operation of commercial motorcycles in Ibadan, Oyo state and its connection with commuters' security and safety in Ibadan metropolis, Oyo State. This study has established that personal security is a greater challenge facing commuters as they ply different routes and other daily activities using commercial motorcycles as mobility. This is because as people join the motorcycle trade as a result of growing unemployment and urbanisation, various matters emerged. The issue of distraction on the part of the drivers,

recklessness, lack of experience, fatigue, drugs and substance abuse, over speeding and the general attitudes of the operators towards road safety measures. This study has identified that commercial motorcycle riders fail to obey the Federal Road Safety Act. They contravene the Acts deliberately for the purposes of generating more income. They carry more than one passenger at a time and fail to use safety equipment like helmets. They do not wear protective clothing when driving, riding motorcycle without license, they take alcohol and drive. In this sense, commuters are exposed to differentiated levels of risks. This study was able to show the interplay between commuters' safety and commercial motorcycling.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

From the foregoing, regarding commuters safety challenges with commercial motorcycling, the findings revealed that the use of motorcycles for criminal activities by fake commercial motorcyclists, lack of protection and adequate vests for drivers, reckless driving, impatient, over speeding and non-

compliance to traffic rules are the major commuter safety challenges in Ibadan.

Therefore, the government both at the federal and state level should increase the level of security in Ibadan. This can be achieved by posting more trained and experienced law enforcement agents in Ibadan metropolis. By so doing, the menace of criminal activities, lack of safety, impatient, over speeding and non-compliance to traffic rules associated with commercial motorcyclists will be curtailed and the pedigree of genuine commercial motorcyclists will be protected. Considering the extent to which the operation of commercial motorcycle undermines commuters' safety, it was revealed that the risks involved have been influenced by human behaviour. As regards to governments' efforts in addressing the commuters' safety challenges posed by commercial motorcycling operation, the government has to step up measures to repair roads that have gone bad and create lanes for mercantile motorcycles in Ibadan metropolis. This study examined commercial motorcycling and commuters' safety and security in Ibadan metropolis, further study could be carried out in the area of commercial motorcycling and commuters' safety in the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria. Further research could focus on government prevention and control measures aimed at reducing the human security threats posed by commercial motorcycling to commuters' safety and security.

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