

CRIMINAL VICTIMISATION OF RIDESHARING DRIVERS IN LAGOS STATE

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CERTIFICATION

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DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to God Almighty. Also, I dedicate the PhD thesis to Mr. Ephraim Abuh my very supportive husband and my parents Engr. Gbenga Popoola, Evang Grace Popoola, and my siblings: Kolawole, Atinuke and Samuel.

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ABSTRACT

Globally, criminal victimisation has become a security threat in the ridesharing industry, which uses digital application to connect riders to drivers. In Nigeria, criminal victimisation has become prevalent among drivers working with prominent ridesharing companies in Lagos State. Existing studies described the self-protective behaviours of ridesharing drivers, with scant attention paid to the social context of their victimisation and lived experiences. This study, was therefore designed to investigate the nature of victimisation, factors associated with its occurrence, its risks as well as the preventive measures provided by ridesharing companies to protect drivers in Lagos State.

The Routine Activity Theory provided the framework, while the exploratory design was employed. Lagos State was purposively selected due to the recorded prevalence of ridesharing victimisation. Two prominent ridesharing companies were purposively selected because they are the leading players in the ridesharing industry. In all, 45 in-depth interviews were conducted. This comprised 30 drivers (15 in each of the two companies), 10 riders and five police officers in the Rapid Response Squad who had handled ridesharing victimisation cases. A key informant interview was also conducted with an operations manager of one of the companies to understand safety and preventive measures put in place for drivers. These were complemented with 10 reported cases of victimisation in the Vanguard and Punch newspapers, selected because of their extensive coverage on ridesharing victimisation. The data were thematically analysed.

The 30 ridesharing drivers were male. Of these, 18 worked on full-time, while 12 worked on part-time basis. Cash-dominated payment system, working late at night and the type of cars used by ridesharing drivers exposed them to victimisation from crime-motivated riders. The drivers experienced violent attacks from crime-motivated riders, resulting in loss of cars, phones and money. They also sustained bodily injuries, while some of their colleagues died in the process. Despite reported victimisation of ridesharing drivers, ridesharing companies were reported to have done little or nothing to secure the lives and valuables of their drivers who had suffered varying degrees of victimisation. Although, ridesharing companies reported that there were security measures put in place, such as the rating system and insurance, the ridesharing drivers noted that these measures were insufficient to protect them from crime-motivated riders. The police stated that installing security camera in ridesharing cars would be helpful in deterring crime-motivated riders and enhance the safety of drivers.

Criminal victimisation of ridesharing drivers manifested in the form of physical injury, loss of lives, and dispossession of valuables. Drivers should avoid crime hot-spots and timing of their operation while ridesharing companies should install tracking devices on their cars.

Keywords: Ridesharing, Crime in transport corridors, Criminal Victimisation, Lagos State

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page	
Certification	ii
Dedication	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Abstract	vi
Table of Contents	vii
List of Tables	x
List of Figures	xi
List of Boxes	xii

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1	Background to the Study	1
1.2	Statement of the Problem	3
1.3	Research Questions	4
1.4	Research Objectives	5
1.5	Justification/Significance of the Study	5
1.6	Scope of the Study	6
1.7	Definition of Terms	6

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1	Brief History of Public Transportation in Lagos State	8
2.2	Introduction of Ridesharing in Nigeria	11
	2.2.1 Strength of Digitalised Transport System	13
2.3	Overview of Criminal Victimization	20
	2.3.1 Causes of Criminal Victimization	20
	2.3.2 Prevention of Criminal Victimization	21
2.4	Overview of Ridesharing Victimization	24
	2.4.1 The Dynamics of Criminal Victimization in the Ridesharing Industry	24
	2.4.2 Ridesharing Driver's Victimization	28
2.5	Measures Taken by Ridesharing Companies to Address Ridesharing Victimization	32
	2.5.1 Overview of Uber and Lyft Protection Measures in the United States of America and Nigeria	34
2.6	Prevalence of Ridesharing Drivers Victimization in Lagos State	35
	2.6.1 Typology of the Nature of Criminal Victimization of Ridesharing Drivers	37

2.7	Transit Crimes and Safety Measures	38
2.7.1	Victimisation Experiences of Taxi Drivers	42
2.7.2	Crime Prevention Strategy	44
2.7.3	Crime and Criminality in Nigeria	45
2.8	Survey of Studies on Violence Against Ridesharing Drivers	47
2.9	Theoretical Framework: Routine Activity Theory and C.R.A.V.E.D Theory	51
2.9.1	Application of the Theories	56

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1	Research Design	59
3.2	Study Location	59
3.3	Study Population	61
3.4	Sample Size	61
3.5	Sampling Method and Sampling Technique	61
3.6	Types and Sources of Data	63
3.7	Data Collection Method and Instrument	64
3.7.1	In-Depth Interview (IDI)	64
3.7.2	Key Informant Interview (KII)	64
3.7.3	Non-Participant Observation (NPO)	65
3.7.4	Case Study (CS)	65
3.7.5	Secondary Data	68
3.8	Methods of Data Analysis	68
3.9	Ethical Considerations	68
3.10	Challenge Encountered	68

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1	Socio-Demographic Characteristics Ridesharing Drivers	70
4.2	Factors Predisposing Ridesharing Drivers to Victimisation	73
4.2.1	Working Late Night	73
4.2.2	Dominant Cash Payment	75
4.2.3	High Demand for Toyota Corolla Cars	77
4.2.4	Phones	78
4.3	Nature of Criminal Victimisation	79
4.3.1	Strategies Employed by Crime-Motivated Riders	82
4.3.2	Weapons Commonly Used by Ridesharing Drivers	86
4.3.3	Items Stolen by Criminals	89
4.3.4	Negative Impacts of Victimisation	91
4.3.4.1	Economic Impact of Victimisation	91
4.3.4.2	Social Impact of Victimisation	94

4.3.4.3 Psychological Impact of Victimization	95
4.4 Perceived Risk Faced by Ridesharing Drivers	98
4.4.1 Hotspot Locations	102
4.4.2 Type of Ride Requested	105
4.5 Safety Strategies Used by Uber and Bolt Drivers	107
4.5.1 Safety Measures	108
4.5.2 Time and Location	109
4.5.3 Safety Strategy from the Police Perspective	111
4.6 Drivers' Perspective on Role of Ridesharing Company in Incidents of Victimization	112
4.6.1 Basic Security Lapses with Ridesharing Operations in Lagos State	114
4.6.2 Rider Profiling	114
4.6.3 Cashless Payment System	117
4.6.4 Training for Drivers	118
4.6.5 Installing Camera	120
4.7 Ridesharing Company Security Analysis	121
4.7.1 Rating System	121
4.7.2 Insurance Coverage for Drivers	124
4.7.3 Emergency Button (SOS Button)	125
4.7.4 Conflict Resolution on Payment Issues	128
4.8 Discussion of Findings	132

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary	135
5.2 Conclusion	139
5.3 Recommendations	139
5.4 Contributions to Knowledge	140
5.5 Suggestions for Further Studies	141
References	142
Appendix A In-Depth Interview Guide for Ridesharing Drivers	157
Appendix B In-Depth Interview Guide for Riders of Uber/Bolt	161
Appendix C Key Informant Interview Guide for Uber and Bolt Manager	163
Appendix D In-Depth Interview Guide for the Police	165

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1	Newspaper Reports of Victimization of Ridesharing drivers in Lagos State from 2017 to 2023	36
Table 3.1	Summary of Sampling Techniques and Sample Selection	62
Table 3.2	Matrix of Research Instrument by on Study Objectives	66
Table 3.3	Data Analysis Plan/Matrix by Objectives and Research Instrument	67
Table 4.1	Socio-Demographic Characteristic of Ridesharing Drivers Participants	71

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LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1	Locations where Ridesharing Drivers Pick up and Drop off Passengers.	60
Figure 4.1	Hotspot Locations Where Ridesharing Drivers Are Most Vulnerable to Victimization.	104

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LIST OF BOXES

Box 4.1	Narrative of a Survived Ridesharing Driver (victim)	81
Box 4.2	Narrative of Apprehended Criminal (rider)	83
Box 4.3	Narrative from a Dead Victim's Fiancé	85
Box 4.4	Narrative from Police	88
Box 4.5	Narrative from Police	88
Box 4.6	Narrative from a Victim	92
Box 4.7	Narrative from a Victim	106
Box 4.8	SOS Emergency Button	127
Box 4.9	Complaints from Uber Drivers on Payment Issues	129
Box 4.10	Slow Remuneration from Ridesharing Company	130

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Influx of ridesharing services has brought improvement to public transportation in cities around the world. Ridesharing, also referred to as ridesharing platforms, connects a driver with a rider. These ridesharing services include Uber, Lyft, Bolt and other ridesharing apps and the ridesharing service makes it possible for a rider to connect with the driver close to his location via the smart phone (Clewlow & Mishra, 2017).

Ridesharing service was introduced by Uber in 2009, in California, U.S.A (Uber, 2016). Uber is a technology driven application that provides transportation service. Since then, other ridesharing companies have since joined the fray. Companies like Lyft which began in 2012 and currently operates in more than 65 cities across North America (Feeny, 2015). Careem, which is operational in parts of Asia, North Africa and the Middle East, was introduced in 2012 while DidiChuxing ridesharing service was also introduced in China alongside Uber. The convenience of ridesharing services facilitated the introduction of Uber to Africa in 2013 when it began operation in Johannesburg, South Africa. It has since expanded its operations into Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana, Uganda, Ivory Coast, Egypt, Morocco and Tanzania (Dube, 2016). Ridesharing was introduced in Nigeria in 2014 while Bolt (previously known as Taxify) launched its services in Lagos in 2016 (Oreva, 2016).

Some researches (Mulholland 2016; and Greenwood & Watal 2017) have examined the advantages of using ridesharing services as a form of public transit inside the United States. They found that ridesharing has reduced drunk-driving accidents and fatalities among drivers, especially in the late hours of the night. Before the introduction of the ridesharing platforms, people had to queue long hours to get a taxi. In recent times, riders

of Uber and Bolt can now hail a cab through the app and a nearby taxi as shown on the app will receive the request for ride and connect with the rider (Chaudhry, 2018). Ridesharing services provide convenient, reliable and affordable transportation services and have created employment opportunities in Nigeria (Rogers, 2015). In addition, ridesharing has empowered individuals economically, as people can easily generate money with their private cars or leased vehicles. As a result, it has strengthened their financial capabilities and the local economy (Cenfri, 2020). Ridesharing drivers are not regarded as employees. Instead, they are regarded as independent contractors (Uber, 2016). Competitiveness among ridesharing companies is building better customer service in the transport sector in Africa, as well as raising the service standards and expectations (Oreva, 2016).

It is vital to stress here that its accessibility, comfort, affordable cost, availability and most especially its ability to maneuver traffic congestions through the Global positioning system (GPS) to arrive its destination on time make it an easy alternative to the traditional taxi cabs. However, victimisation has become a major problem in ridesharing (Chaudhry, 2018). For example, an Uber driver was shot by a passenger who requested for a ride through the Uber app. He was found dead around Badore in Ajah area of Lagos Island, Lagos State on January 5, 2021 (Lambo, 2021).

In spite of the alluring benefits and positive impacts of ridesharing as means of public transportation and its contribution to economic and social development of societies, Mulholland and Dill (2016) stated that the availability of ridesharing influences the increase of car theft. Badiora (2012) notes that car theft has become a profitable business in Nigeria, adding that characteristic of a car and the location play major roles in car snatching. Eck and Weisburd (1995) corroborate that victimisation is likely to occur in high crime location. This means criminals may act as passengers to isolate their potential victims (Weber, 2014; Feeney, 2015). Assault, harassment, rape and violence are frequent occurrences in public transportation, especially in the Global South (Badiora, 2015). Fear of victimisation in public transportation can affect the mode, route and time of movement of people (Moeketsi, Schurink, Molefe & Bruce., 2001). Consequently,

criminal victimisation leaves victims with distress including, but not limited to, psychological and physical distress (McGarry & Walklate, 2015).

The incidences of victimisation have different impacts on the victims. These can include social, economic, physical and physiological effects. Ridesharing drivers are out of job due to loss of their source of income to criminals who hailed them through the app. Also, some of the attacks accompanied by this victimisation result in severe bodily assault, and some victims have lost their lives. Similarly, the prevalent assault and loss of lives signify a state of insecurity and calls for crime prevention strategies by ridesharing companies and particularly the Police. Yet, the prevalence of victimisation of ridesharing drivers had not received attention in ridesharing research in Nigeria. To bridge this gap, this study examines the nature and lived experiences of ridesharing drivers in Lagos State.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Global insecurity in ridesharing services has continued to rise, and these are often manifested in harassment, assault, loss of lives and property (Weber, 2014; Feeney, 2015). In Nigeria, victimisation of ridesharing drivers threatens the sustainability of this innovative transport service as the insecurity promotes fear among ridesharing drivers, thereby affecting business and threatening the sources of income of operators (Cenfri, 2020). Ridesharing drivers are required to accept all rides to any location in the city, but the growing rate of victimisation of operators now make many drivers decline to ride to some locations in the city of Lagos, especially at night. The fears occasioned by this victimisation have affected movement mode, route taken and time of movement (Page *et al*, 2001; Van der Reis 1997).

Ridesharing has provided better service delivery including the utilisation of technology to drive and change the landscape of booking, and payment in public transportation. However, with all these benefits their services are being disrupted by victimisation. The prevalence of victimisation and loss of lives of ridesharing drivers has had effects on the economy of ridesharing. Reports on the victimisation of ridesharing drivers have been a recurring headline in Nigerian newspapers and other media. In 2017, the *Vanguard Newspaper* reported a case of Uber driver, who was found dead in Ikeja area of Lagos at

10:30pm. Also, the *Punch* reported the case in Bolt driver, whose dead body was found at Ibeju Lekki and his car missing. Cases of ridesharing driver's victimisation are becoming prevalent in Lagos State (Lambo, 2021).

Existing research such as Oluwole and Richard (2019), Kristin and Christopher (2021), and Mathew and Spiesel (2017) explore drivers' perception on safety and examined the type of victimisation, while McCart and Santisteban (2017) and Cheng, Zhang, and Xu (2021) discuss the factors that contribute to driver victimisation in the ridesharing. Laura and Christiaan (2019) ascertain how time of day and location necessitate ridesharing driver's victimisation. Almoqbel and Wohn (2019) and Schwendau (2017) lament that some factors such as intoxication of riders, assaults, and sexual harassment give ridesharing drivers concern for their safety and this informed their adopted protective measures, aimed at protecting them from criminals posing as riders. Therefore, this has informed a change in their work behaviour. Therefore, most studies rarely examine the lived experience of ridesharing drivers and the negative impact of victimisation on ridesharing drivers. This criminal victimisation of ridesharing drivers is threatening their source of income and creating fear.

Public transport staff have a high risk of assault and victimisation in the course of their work (Omidiji & Ibitoye, 2010). Yet, little has been done to investigate the nature and lived experience of victimisation of ridesharing drivers. This study, therefore, contributes to the discourse by investigating the nature and experience of ridesharing driver in Lagos State.

1.3 Research Questions

This research was guided by the following research questions.

1. What factors drive victimisation in ridesharing industry?
2. What is the nature of criminal victimisation experienced by ridesharing drivers?
3. What perceived risk drives victimisation in ridesharing industry?

4. What are the crime preventive measures employed by ridesharing stakeholders to avoid victimisation in Lagos State?

1.4 Research Objectives

The study provided answers to the following research questions;

1. Identify factors engendering victimisation in ridesharing industry;
2. Examine the nature of criminal victimisation in ridesharing;
3. Explore the perceived risk victimisation in ridesharing; and
4. Examine the crime preventive measures put in place by ridesharing stakeholders to avoid victimisations in Lagos State.

1.5 Justification of the Study

Fear of crime among ridesharing drivers, passengers and the ridesharing company is one thriving issue of this newfound technology-driven transport service in Nigeria. The service has exposed many of the drivers to criminals who hide behind the anonymity provided by ridesharing app platform to perpetrate their crime. Also, a considerable number of drivers have lost their lives in the course of their daily ride around the city of Lagos as means to make ends meet. Furthermore, studies on victimisation of commuters and crime in public transportation have provided insight on the perceived risk and criminals' modes of operation (Moeketsi *et al.*, 2001; Cozen, Neale & Hiller, 2004; Badiora 2015). This study builds on existing studies on crimes in inter and intra city transportation system, thereby adding to existing body of knowledge by unpacking the new and emerging complexity and patterns of crime in the fledging ridesharing economy. It will assist in developing safety cues for stakeholders in ridesharing industry; influence the development of security architectural framework and operational modalities for safe public transportation, especially on the part of the government and the police.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study location is Lagos State, Nigeria. This includes ridesharing drivers, riders, and the ridesharing companies as well as the police. Selected ridesharing drivers operating with the two most widely used apps, Uber and Bolt were part of the study. Since identified criminal hotspots in Lagos cut across the island and mainland, the study essentially covers the entire state with particular focus on the well-used routes and destinations amongst drivers and riders. The pilot study showed that some routes and destinations are ‘red-flagged’ by operators because of their high incidence rate, and this was corroborated by reports in the newspaper as well as social media (Hanafi, 2018).

1.7 Definition of Terms

Ridesharing: Ridesharing is a transportation service that allows individuals to share a ride in a personal vehicle with paying passengers, facilitated through a smartphone app. The service typically provides an alternative to traditional taxi or car services, offering a more cost-effective and convenient way to travel. Ridesharing companies such as Uber and Bolt connect drivers who own personal vehicles with passengers who need a ride. The driver and passengers are matched through the app and the driver picks up the passenger and provides the ride, with payment handled through the app.

Ridesharing Drivers: These are individuals who use their personal vehicles to provide transportation services to customers through a ridesharing platform such as Uber or Lyft. They use a smartphone app to connect with passengers and receive payment for the rides they provide.

Ridesharing Company: This is a company that operates a platform to connect drivers who use either their personal or hired vehicles to provide transportation services with passengers who need a ride. The platform typically uses a smartphone app to facilitate the booking, payment, and communication between the driver and the passenger. Examples of ridesharing companies include Uber and Bolt.

Ridesharing Application: This is a location-based service that monitors the movement of riders and driver in real time. The application also allows individuals to book and pay for a ride in a personal vehicle provided by a driver through a smartphone. The app connects drivers and passengers and facilitates the process of booking, payment, and communication between them. The ridesharing app provides an alternative to traditional taxi services and is designed to be user-friendly, convenient, and efficient. Examples of ridesharing apps include Uber and Bolt.

Victimisation: This refers to the process of making someone a victim or being subjected to harmful or unjust treatment. It can refer to a wide range of experiences, including physical violence, emotional abuse, financial exploitation, discrimination, and harassment. In the context of crime, victimisation refers to the experience of being a victim of a crime, such as robbery, assault, or fraud. The term can also be used to describe the experience of being unfairly targeted or scapegoated, such as in a workplace or social situation. In all cases, victimisation involves the violation of an individual's rights, dignity, and security, and can have serious and lasting impacts on their well-being. In this study the target of victimisation is ridesharing drivers of Uber and Bolt in Lagos State.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter focused on the historical background and introductory aspects of ridesharing in Nigeria. This research also focuses on the examination of empirical studies conducted on the victimisation experiences of ridesharing drivers. In relation to this topic, this paper aims to conduct a comprehensive examination of the prevalence of victimisation within the context of ridesharing services. Specifically, it seeks to analyse the dynamics of criminal victimisation that occur within the ridesharing industry, as well as the safety measures that ridesharing firms have adopted to address these issues. Additionally, this study will explore crime prevention tactics that can be employed to safeguard ridesharing drivers. The study examined the theoretical foundation that underpinned the research, specifically the Routine Activity Theory presented by Cohen and Felson (1979) and the C.R.A.V.E.D. theory (concealable, removable, available, useful, pleasant, and disposable) developed by Clarke (1999).

2.1 Brief history of public transportation in Lagos State

Public transportation plays a key role in urban areas around the world (Fitzgerald, 2012). It provides an affordable option for urban commuters and helps to reduce reliance on private car ownership. High population growth experienced in African cities is associated with influx of people from rural and urban areas to cities. African Association of Public Transport (2010) estimates that by 2020, some African cities such as Lagos, Nairobi among other will experience 55% population increase. Consequently, urban areas will be faced with enormous challenges in terms of increasing demand for transportation to cater for the growing population. According to Fadahunsi and Babawale (1996), by the mid-1990s, a very good number of publicly owned and managed public transportation enterprises in Nigeria were out of business in Nigeria. This was occasioned by the

Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) policy introduced in 1986 during the military regime of General Babangida which was aimed at solving the economic crises but it ended up worsening the economy. As a result of SAP, the Nigerian economy was hit by inflation which increased the cost of imported vehicles, and in turn made it difficult for people to purchase new vehicles as replacements for the ageing ones (Thomas, 2014). Importation of cars in Nigeria went down drastically from 15,750 units in 1979 to only 2,729 units in 1986 due to the Structural Adjustment Program policy implementation (Samaila, 2015). This had indirect impact on public transportation in the country as the number of public buses on Nigerian roads reduced drastically. In 1982, there were about 5,000 registered public service buses in Kano State; but the number fell to 565 in 1986 (Kano State Motor Vehicle Statistics, 1986). SAP resulted in the privatisation of public assets and a decline in government support for public transportation. This action by the government did not favour the demand for a better transport system in urban areas. In 1988, the federal government proposed a 700 million Naira investment in mass transit project across all urban areas in the country. This project was aimed to support state government to purchase buses and mini buses to boost public transportation system in their various states and at the federal level (Remi *et al.*, 2009).

According to Remi *et al.* (2009), about 85% of the buses were given on a loan basis, and the repayment period set between three to five years at 3-6% interest rate. The other 15% were given to institutions of higher learning as grant. In spite of the huge investment by the federal government, the buses purchased under the Federal Urban Mass Transit Scheme were badly used and generally mismanaged. As a result of widespread corruption and misuse of public resources, the scheme failed (Filani, 2002). Following the collapse of this government initiative, public transportation suffered long years of neglect, leaving this important sector to private operators to cater for the increasing demand for public transportation system while the steady upsurge in urban population made for a chaotic, unsustainable transportation system in various cities in Africa, including Nigeria.

For many years, the public transport sector in most urban areas across Nigeria could be described as unregulated; largely dominated by private operators. This situation is not totally different in the city of Lagos, which has remained the commercial and economic

capital of Nigeria, with over 23 million inhabitants and its population is growing rapidly (Lagos State Government, 2013). Taiwo (2017) reports that for many years, one of the basic attributes of Lagos city transport system is ubiquitous wide-bodied buses locally known as *molue*, the minibuses also known as *danfo* and the taxi cabs, all painted in the prescribed yellow colour with black stripes. The operators of the *molue* and *danfo* were rambunctious and reckless with little or no regard for traffic rules while the yellow taxi cabs popularly referred to as *oko ashewo* were less unruly. These were all considered part of the identity of the city of Lagos city. The chaotic transportation system in Lagos contributed to traffic congestion in the city. By the mid-1990s, motorcycles were introduced as part of the transportation system in Lagos. This soon gained wide acceptance because of its utilitarian advantage in navigating the road congestion and traffic across the metropolis.

However, with the use of motorcycles, popularly called *okada*, came another dimension of recklessness by the riders resulting in fatal accidents. There were also reports of the use of *okada* by criminal elements in the society (Okere, 2021). As part of solutions to the intractable public transportation problems in the state, the administration of Bola Ahmed Tinubu, the Governor of Lagos State developed a new policy framework for public transportation in the state. This led to the establishment of the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) designed to address intra-city movement that had become a major challenge to the state, especially in its bid to turn Lagos into a global mega city (LAMATA, 2003). The BRT runs on limited routes with plans for gradual expansion. Although the BRT has provided good alternatives in public transportation for Lagosians, the challenges of intra-state mobility are still high. This yawning gap is what technology driven platforms such as Uber and Bolt have plugged into by connecting passengers with drivers with ease. The promptness and efficiency of the ridesharing service providers, especially Uber and Bolt, as well as the security provided through the app, coupled with the drivers' relative courteousness (different from the rambunctious *danfo* and *molue* drivers) have contributed in their being preferred by commuters in the city of Lagos (Feeny, 2015).

2.2 Introduction of Ridesharing in Nigeria

Prior to Uber in Nigeria, there were different licensed taxis that operated in different states across the country. These taxis painted in each state's prescribed colours complemented other forms of transportations in the country. Also, there was the Afro Cab which started operation in the Nigeria market in 2012, before Uber came into the ridesharing market (Adewumi *et al*, 2015).

The ridesharing app enables rider key-in their location on the application which shows the particulars of the driver, including name, telephone number and the registered number of the car. The app also provides a rough estimate of the ride's cost based on the distance. The rider can use the app to find a driver in the area and request a trip to their destination. The driver hailed can accept or reject the ride. If the driver accepts the ride, his location will be displayed through the live map on the app, and visible to the potential rider. As good as Afro Cab was, it had its downsides and these included the failure of the app to recognise some areas within the metropolis of operation. This excluded rider living in or going to such locations access to hailed cabs. Another Nigeria ridesharing company, Easy Taxi, was introduced in Nigeria by Bankole Cardoso in 2013 (Oluwafemi, 2015). Easy taxi's goal was to change commuters' perception of taxi cab. Easy taxi was hailed through their application and this locates the nearest driver to the rider's location and immediately a live map comes up to display the location of the driver. Easy Taxi wasn't widely accepted in Nigeria based on skeptical reservations about their delivery system (Oluwafemi, 2015).

Uber, an international brand, made its entry into the Nigerian market in July 2014 to challenge Nigeria's licensed taxis sharing the transport market. The entry of Uber into the Nigerian taxi industry brought elements of style and class in the taxi industry (Adewumi *et al*, 2015). The Uber application helps to connect the rider and driver in the same location. When a rider requests a ride on the application, the location of the rider requesting a ride will be shown on the map. The rider can choose his preferred car as displayed on the smart phone, and the picture of the selected driver. Once selection is done, the ride preference will pop up on the screen with the car's license plate number,

the estimated price based on the destination and a contact number. The rider can then make payment through the app or pay with cash. The good part of the application is the live feed of the ride can be updated on the map and the rider can send his/her location to their family and friends, and this is enabled through the GPS location to track the ride. Drivers can be rated after the ride, to show if the service provided was satisfactory.

Digitalised transport operators emerge out of fundamental change in technology; presently, this system is creating a shift in the ordinary man's perspective on the mode of transportation services through disruptive inventions (Kufuor, 2019). In contemporary Nigeria, there is a paradigm shift in the popular transport service culture to a new scheme of ridesharing transportation operators offering services to commuters to navigate the city using GPS. These include international brands such as Uber and Bolt, and indigenous ones such as Alakowe, Oga Taxi, Redline, Safecabs, and Tripps among others. New innovations and technology have been provided by these digitalised transportation companies displacing metered taxi and drops by providing better service delivery including the utilisation of technology to drive and change the landscape of booking, payment and transportation. This new culture of transportation by digitalised transportation companies offers exquisite transport services to passengers as opposed to old accepted appealing ways of transportation system.

The taxi system in Nigeria has evolved from a major transport available to arrivals at the old airport in Kano to a means of transport engaged within the cities for privacy at parks, to flagging down on the road to booking booking a cab at the convenience of just pressing few buttons on the phone. With the new mode of technology facilitated taxis such as Uber and Bolt, the market is now divided between the two dealers (the local Taxi and the tech driven such as Uber and Bolt) with the latter gaining more ground by the day. This raises questions awaiting answers such as what advantage does it have over the localised taxis; what is the level of security of properties; how convenient is it to get a ride; and lastly what class of commuters use the ridesharing app. The next few paragraphs will focus on the advantages of this new ride of taxi over the old, government licensed taxi.

2.2.1 Strength of Digitalised Transport System

Ridesharing services by Uber and Bolt, among others, have, in recent time, changed the transportation industry, and this has brought about enormous benefits to clients and drivers. Uber and other ridesharing companies have provided auxiliary convenient rides to the taxi industry. For instance, one of the shortcomings of the antecedent system is that people desiring a taxi ride have to physically wave at cars, at any rate, or call a hired car, at least thirty minutes to one hour, before pickup time. Ridesharing companies have made it possible to hail a taxi with the aid of a mobile cell phone from any location. Rather than flagging down a taxi on the road or waiting for minutes for a local taxi or a hired cab e for pickup in your location, clients of ridesharing can hail a car from any location within few minutes.

A prospective rider books a ride, and the driver accepts a ride. The would-be rider then calls the driver to know his location and follow up till he arrives for pickup. Upon meeting at the pickup location, the driver sometimes asks the rider the drop off point and he also gets to know the goal of the rider in the course of their conversation when the ride is initiated. Since the rider's charge card is linked to the ridesharing account, no money can change hands. Upon arrival at the destination, the driver ends the ride and the passenger can proceed out of the car. A receipt is dispatched through the riders' registered e-mail. Also, the new system monitors display of professionalism in the business. Usually, through the rating system provided by the application, riders have the opportunity to rate the driver's services. Drivers with bad driving skills or unmannered drivers can be screened out of the system. All these progressively cultivate a positive encounter for clients.

Consistently, these platforms are increasingly well known to users. According to *The Punch* (2019) in urban communities where these technology-driven ridesharing alternatives are accessible, local taxi ridership has declined, practically, by 20%. Though these new organisations are still in their initial dates of improvement; riders' convenience is their major feature. Each ridesharing operators has its disparities. However, all the digitalised transport operators, despite their disparities, work under a similar fundamental

idea: nearly anybody can be a driver for these administrators. Yet, everyone has distinctive least measures for screening their drivers and vehicles. Commuters or passengers would be able to see accessible drivers and make a solicitation through an application on their advanced mobile phones. Most applications will show the driver's course and assessed time of entry, notwithstanding the driver's name, photograph, and vehicle data. The ridesharing administration at that point takes a cut of the passage, regularly between 20 to 25 percent, for each ride a driver finishes. Regularly, their rides are additionally surcharged, relying upon the season of the ride, day of the ride, dimension of traffic, and separation the driver needs to drive. This means passengers are being charged for a ride that the end cost can be somewhere in the range of two to multiple times the sum it ought to be. These applications are helpful for commuters or passengers who need a ride and for drivers hoping to enhance their salary. In any case, they are not without defects. (Adepoju, 2017).

For instance, it may be difficult to figure out what guidelines or neighbourhood laws each administration and its drivers need to pursue, just as, what protection inclusion applies to them and who is viewed as subject in case of a mishap. In situation involving insurance, since ridesharing drivers utilise their vehicles for both business and individual purposes, the ridesharing administrations need to clear up when drivers are secured by various kinds of protection. Also, when a driver is not tolerating rides, his or her own accident coverage is the essential inclusion. At the point when the driver turns the application on but a ride is yet to be acknowledged, ridesharing administrations often offer unforeseen obligation inclusion. In contrast to taxis, which are controlled on a city-by-city premise and need to pursue explicit rules, ridesharing operators do not have to hold fast to the equivalent exacting guidelines. However, this is gradually changing. The present Lagos State government has instituted new laws to ensure ridesharing operates with a licence (Aderemi, 2020). According to Bakare (2020) in a report by Business Post by Lagos State's commissioner for transportation Bolanle Ogunlola, outlined the new rules and regulations for ridesharing services that went into effect in August 2020, stating that Uber and Bolt operators with more than 1000 drivers will have to pay a ₦25 million licensing fee and a ₦10 million annual renewal fee. If a company has fewer than 1000 drivers, it must pay a licensing charge of ₦10 million and an annual renewal price of ₦5 million.

Operators that directly own their vehicles and employ their drivers only need to pay the ₦5 million operating license cost; if they employ fewer than 50 drivers, they must pay ₦10 million. E-hailing companies are required to renew their licenses three months before to the expiration of the present license and to pay a 10% "service tax" on "each transaction paid by the passengers."

(a) Source of Income

One of the benefits of being a ridesharing driver is the ability to earn extra income on a flexible schedule. Ridesharing drivers can choose to work as much or as little as they want, making it an ideal option for those who need to supplement their income or those who want to earn extra money in their spare time (Farrell *et al.*, 2018). To become a ridesharing driver, individuals must meet the company's driver requirements. These requirements typically include having a valid driver's license, a clean driving record, and a car that meets the company's standards (Feeney, 2015). Once a driver is approved, they can begin accepting ride requests through the company's app. The driver is free to choose when and where they want to work, allowing for flexibility and control over their schedule. Ridesharing drivers are paid for each ride they complete. Ridesharing drivers can work as much or as little as they want, and they can choose their own hours. This allows them to work around other obligations, such as family, school, or another job. A study conducted by the University of California; Santa Cruz found that the majority of ridesharing drivers value the flexibility of the work schedule the most (Kleiner, 2018). The amount a driver earns per ride depends on several factors, including the distance traveled, the time taken, and the demand for rides in the area. Drivers may also earn bonuses for completing a certain number of rides or for driving during peak hours when demand is high.

Also, many ridesharing drivers report high levels of job satisfaction. A study conducted by the Center for Automotive Research found that 90% of ridesharing drivers are satisfied with their experience driving for a ridesharing platform (Silicon Valley Institute for Regional Studies, 2019). This high level of job satisfaction is likely due to the flexibility, autonomy, and social interaction that comes with ridesharing driving.

Development of Transferable Skills: Ridesharing driving can also help drivers develop a range of transferable skills that can be useful in other areas of their lives. These skills include customer service, communication, time management, and navigation. In addition, ridesharing driving can provide drivers with exposure to a variety of people and cultures, which can help them develop cultural competence and empathy (Silicon Valley Institute for Regional Studies, 2019). However, there are also some challenges associated with being a ridesharing driver. One of the biggest challenges is the potential wear and tear on the driver's vehicle. Ridesharing driving can be hard on vehicles, and drivers may need to spend significant amounts of money on maintenance and repairs. According to a report by Consumer Reports, the average ridesharing driver puts around 1,000 miles per week on their vehicle, which can add up to thousands of dollars in maintenance costs over time (Tedeschi, 2018). Ridesharing drivers may put more miles on their car than the average driver, leading to more frequent maintenance and repairs. Additionally, ridesharing drivers must cover their own expenses, such as gas, insurance, and car payments.

Despite these challenges, many people have found ridesharing to be a profitable source of income. The ability to set their own schedule and work as much or as little as they want has made it an attractive option for many people. Ridesharing companies have also introduced new features and incentives to help drivers earn more money, such as surge pricing during peak hours and driver referral bonuses. In addition to the financial benefits, some ridesharing drivers enjoy the social aspect of the job. Many drivers enjoy meeting new people and engaging in conversation during rides. Some drivers have even formed friendships with their passengers, making the job more enjoyable and rewarding.

Overall, ridesharing has created a new source of income for many people, allowing them to earn money on a flexible schedule. While there are some challenges associated with being a ridesharing driver, the potential financial benefits and social rewards make it a popular option for many people. As the ridesharing industry continues to grow and evolve, it will be interesting to see how it continues to shape the future of transportation and employment.

(b) Flexibility of the Job

Ridesharing companies have disrupted the traditional taxi industry by providing a cheaper, more convenient alternative. One of the main reasons for this disruption is the flexibility that comes with being a ridesharing driver. Ridesharing drivers are able to set their own schedules, allowing them to work as much or as little as they want (Kleiner, 2018). This flexibility makes ridesharing an attractive option for those who need to balance work with other responsibilities, such as family, school, or other jobs. To become a ridesharing driver, individuals must meet the company's driver requirements. These requirements typically include having a valid driver's license, a clean driving record, and a car that meets the company's standards. Once a driver is approved, they can begin accepting ride requests through the company's app. Drivers are free to choose when and where they want to work, allowing for flexibility and control over their schedule.

According to Greenwood & Watal (2017) the flexibility of ridesharing allows drivers to work around their own schedules. Drivers can choose to work early in the morning, late at night, or any time in between. They can also choose to work on weekends, holidays, or during periods of high demand. This flexibility makes it easier for drivers to balance work with other commitments, such as family or school. Another benefit of ridesharing in relation to flexibility is the ability to take time off whenever needed. Drivers are not tied to a fixed schedule, so they can take time off for vacations, appointments, or other personal reasons without the need for approval from a supervisor. This kind of flexibility can be especially valuable for those who have unpredictable schedules, such as parents with young children or students with changing class schedules.

Ridesharing also allows drivers to work in different locations. Drivers can choose to work in areas that are most convenient for them, or in areas where there is high demand for rides. This means that drivers can work in different neighborhoods or even different cities, depending on their preferences and availability. In addition to the flexibility of scheduling, ridesharing also allows for flexibility in the amount of work that drivers take on. Drivers can choose to work as much or as little as they want, depending on their financial needs and other commitments. This means that ridesharing can be a good option

for those who need to supplement their income with part-time work, or for those who want to earn a full-time income by working more hours.

Furthermore, ridesharing can be an ideal option for those who have irregular income streams. Ridesharing drivers do not have a set income, as their earnings depend on the number of rides they complete and the amount of time they work Cenfri (2020). This can be an advantage for those who have unpredictable income from other sources, such as freelance work or seasonal employment.

Despite the benefits of flexibility, there are also challenges associated with being a ridesharing driver. One of the challenges is the potential for unpredictable income. Ridesharing drivers do not have a set income, as their earnings depend on the number of rides they complete and the amount of time they work. This can make it difficult to plan for expenses or to budget for income.

(c) Card Payment System

The use of card payment systems has become a standard feature of the ridesharing industry, as it provides convenience and security for both drivers and passengers (Feeny, 2015). Ridesharing companies such as Uber and Lyft have integrated card payment systems into their apps, allowing passengers to easily pay for their rides without the need for cash. In this overview, we will explore how card payment systems work for ridesharing drivers and the benefits they offer.

To begin with, when a passenger requests a ride through the ridesharing app, they enter their payment information, including credit or debit card details. When the ride is completed, the app automatically charges the passenger's card for the total fare, including any applicable fees and taxes. The payment is processed securely and automatically, eliminating the need for the driver and passenger to handle cash or exchange sensitive financial information. For drivers, the integration of card payment systems into ridesharing apps has several advantages. One of the biggest benefits is the reduction of cash handling. Drivers no longer need to worry about carrying cash or making change, which can be a security risk. This is especially important for drivers who work late at

night or in areas with high crime rates. By eliminating cash handling, drivers are able to focus on driving and providing a safe and comfortable ride for their passengers.

Another benefit of card payment systems is the speed and ease of payment. With card payments, the driver's earnings are automatically transferred to their account, usually within a few days. This eliminates the need for drivers to manually collect payments from passengers or to wait for checks to clear. In addition, drivers have access to detailed information about their earnings and ride history through the ridesharing app, allowing them to track their income and expenses more easily.

Card payment systems also provide a higher level of security for drivers. When payments are made through the app, the passenger's payment information is securely stored and processed by the ridesharing company's payment provider. This reduces the risk of fraudulent payments or chargebacks, which can be a problem when handling cash payments. Additionally, because the payment is made through the app, drivers are protected against disputes or issues related to payment, since the ridesharing company handles any payment-related issues on behalf of the driver.

For passengers, card payment systems provide a convenient and hassle-free payment method. Passengers no longer need to worry about carrying cash or making sure they have enough money for their ride. Instead, they can easily pay for their ride through the app, with the fare automatically charged to their card (Wright, 2014). This eliminates the need for passengers to calculate fares or to negotiate payment with the driver, making the ride experience more seamless and stress-free. Card payment systems also provide transparency for passengers. With each ride, passengers receive a detailed receipt that includes the fare breakdown, including any additional charges or fees. This allows passengers to see exactly how much they are being charged and what they are paying for. In addition, the payment system also provides a way for passengers to rate and provide feedback on their driver, which helps to ensure quality service and accountability.

However, despite the benefits of card payment systems, there are also some challenges to consider. One challenge is the potential for technical issues or glitches (Redahlia (2019)). Because the payment system relies on technology and connectivity, there is

always the possibility of errors or disruptions that can affect payment processing. In some cases, this may result in delays or errors in payment processing, which can be frustrating for both drivers and passengers.

Another challenge is the potential for payment disputes or chargebacks. Although card payment systems provide a higher level of security and protection against fraud (Feeney, 2015), there is still the possibility of payment disputes or chargebacks, which can be time-consuming and costly for drivers. This can occur if a passenger disputes the payment or claims that the ride was not completed, leading to a refund or chargeback.

2.3 Overview of Criminal Victimization

Criminal victimisation is a significant social issue that affects individuals, families, and communities. It refers to the physical, psychological, and emotional harm caused by criminal acts such as assault, theft, sexual assault, and homicide (Hirsch and Jareborg, 1991). Criminal victimisation can occur in various settings, including the home, workplace, school, and public spaces (Land *et al.* 2011; Webb & Wills, 2012). This overview will provide a comprehensive analysis of criminal victimisation, its causes, consequences, and prevention strategies.

2.3.1 Causes of Criminal Victimization

Criminal victimisation is influenced by various individual, situational, and structural factors. These factors can be categorised into three main groups, namely:

- (a) **Individual Factors:** These are personal characteristics that increase the risk of victimisation. They include age, gender, race, socio-economic status, and lifestyle choices. For example, young people are more likely to be victims of crime than older adults, while women are more likely to experience sexual assault than men (Vanderveen, 2006). Similarly, people from low-income backgrounds are more likely to be victimised than those from high-income backgrounds.
- (b) **Situational Factors:** These refer to the circumstances in which victimisation occurs. They include the location, time, and context of the crime. For example, crimes are

more likely to occur in areas with poor lighting and limited surveillance, such as alleys and parking lots. Similarly, crimes are more likely to occur during the night or when the victim is alone.

- (c) **Structural Factors:** These refer to the broader social, economic, and political conditions that create an environment conducive to criminal activity. They include poverty, inequality, social disorganisation, and weak law enforcement. For example, poverty and inequality increase the risk of crime by creating a pool of potential offenders and victims. Similarly, social disorganisation, such as high rates of residential mobility, weak social ties, and low collective efficacy, can create an environment where crime flourishes.

2.3.2 Prevention of Criminal Victimization

Preventing criminal victimisation requires a multi-faceted approach that addresses the various individual, situational, and structural factors that contribute to crime (Barton, 1996). Some of the key strategies for preventing criminal victimisation include:

- (a) **Individual-level prevention:** This involves empowering individuals to take steps to reduce their risk of victimisation. For example, individuals can take self-defense classes, avoid high-risk situations, and use crime prevention tools such as alarms and locks (Schwendau, 2017).
- (b) **Situational-level prevention:** This involves altering the physical and social environment to reduce the opportunities for crime. For example, installing CCTV cameras, improving lighting, and increasing police presence in high-risk areas can deter offenders and increase the likelihood of detection (Page *et al*, 2001).
- (c) **Structural-level prevention:** This involves addressing the underlying social and economic conditions that create an environment conducive to crime. For example, investing in education, providing job opportunities, and addressing inequality and poverty can reduce the risk of crime by reducing the pool of potential offenders and victims (Page *et al*, 2001).

2.4 Overview of Ridesharing Victimization

Ridesharing services have transformed the transportation industry, providing an affordable and convenient means of transportation for millions of people worldwide (Adewumi, 2015). However, with the rise of these services has come an increased risk of criminal victimisation for ridesharing drivers. Forms of ridesharing victimisation. Drivers who work for companies like Uber and Lyft have reported being victims of various forms of criminal activity, including robbery, assault, sexual harassment, and even murder while on the job.

- (a) **Physical Assault:** One of the most serious forms of victimisation that occurs in ridesharing is physical assault (Almoqbel and Wohn, 2019). This can include sexual assault, rape, and physical violence. There have been a number of high-profile cases in recent years involving passengers being assaulted by their ridesharing drivers, as well as drivers being assaulted by passengers (Adeleke and Olatayo, 2021). These incidents can have long-lasting effects on the victims, including physical injuries, trauma, and emotional distress.
- (b) **Verbal Harassment:** Another form of victimisation which is common in ridesharing is verbal assault (Schewendau, 2017). This can include unwanted sexual advances, inappropriate comments or questions, and derogatory remarks. Both passengers and drivers can be subjected to verbal harassment, and it can make them feel unsafe and uncomfortable during their rides. This type of victimisation can also have long-term effects, including anxiety, depression, and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).
- (c) **Theft:** Theft is another issue that is commonly associated with ridesharing (Lambo, 2021). Passengers may have their belongings stolen by their drivers, or drivers may have their vehicles or personal items stolen by passengers. This can include items such as phones, wallets, and purses, as well as more valuable items like laptops and jewelry. These incidents can be particularly distressing for victims who may feel violated and vulnerable as a result.
- (d) **Discrimination:** Discrimination in ridesharing based on race, gender, sexual orientation, and other factors. Riders may be discriminated against by drivers who refuse to pick them up or treat them poorly during their ride (Almoqbel and Wohn,

2019). Similarly, drivers may be discriminated against by passengers who refuse to ride with them based on their race or other characteristics. Discrimination can have a significant impact on the well-being of victims, and it can contribute to a culture of fear and distrust in the ridesharing community.

- (e) **Sexual harassment:** Another notable form of victimisation experienced by ridesharing drivers is sexual harassment. A study conducted by the National Women's Law Center found that 1 in 6 female ridesharing drivers reported being sexually harassed by a passenger (National Women's Law Center, 2018). This finding is consistent with another study conducted by the University of South Carolina, which found that 8.1% of surveyed ridesharing drivers had experienced some form of sexual harassment (Carter, 2018).

Causes of Victimisation

The criminal victimisation of ridesharing drivers is influenced by several factors, including the nature of the job, the driver's socio-demographic characteristics, and the location and time of the rides (Cozen, Neale and Hiller, 2004). The nature of the job is a critical factor that influences the criminal victimisation of ridesharing drivers. Ridesharing drivers are vulnerable to criminal victimisation due to their interaction with unknown passengers, who may pose a threat to their safety and security. Additionally, the flexible work schedule and lack of supervision in the ridesharing industry also make drivers vulnerable to criminal victimisation (Mayhew, 2000). The socio-demographic characteristics of the drivers are also a significant factor that influences criminal victimisation. Several studies have reported that younger drivers and male drivers are more vulnerable to criminal victimisation than their older and female counterparts (Chen *et al.*, 2020; Noland and Quo, 2019). Moreover, drivers who work in areas with high crime rates are more likely to be victimised than those who work in low crime areas (Almoqbel and Wohn, 2019).

Types of Victimisation

Ridesharing drivers are vulnerable to various forms of criminal victimisation, including verbal and physical assaults, robbery, sexual assault, and kidnapping. Verbal and physical assaults are the most common forms of victimisation experienced by ridesharing drivers. According to a study by Almoqbel and Wohn (2019) ridesharing drivers reported experiencing verbal abuse and physical abuse. Robbery is another common form of victimisation, with 6.7% of ridesharing drivers reporting having been robbed while on duty (Harris and Krueger, 2019). Sexual assault and kidnapping are fewer common forms of victimisation, but they are still significant concerns for ridesharing drivers. A study by Noland and Quo (2019) found that 8.5% of ridesharing drivers reported having been sexually assaulted, while 2.8% reported having been kidnapped.

Consequences of Victimisation

The criminal victimisation of ridesharing drivers has several consequences, including psychological and physical harm, financial loss, and decreased work productivity. Psychological harm is one of the most significant consequences of victimisation. Ridesharing drivers who have been victimised may experience post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), anxiety, and depression (Mayhew, 2000). Financial loss is another consequence of victimisation. Ridesharing drivers may lose their earnings, and they may also incur expenses related to medical treatment and repair of damaged vehicles (Harris and Krueger, 2019). The victimisation incidents may also result in decreased work productivity, as drivers may need time off work to recover from the victimisation incidents (Chen *et al.*, 2020).

2.4.1 The Dynamics of Criminal Victimisation in the Ridesharing Industry

The ridesharing industry has grown exponentially in recent years, providing an alternative to traditional taxi services. However, this growth has also led to an increase in criminal victimisation in the industry. Global dynamics of criminal victimisation in the ridesharing industry can be analysed in several ways.

Type of crime: Criminal victimisation in the ridesharing industry can take various forms, such as physical assault, robbery, sexual assault, and harassment. Different types of crimes may have different rates and patterns of occurrence (Almoqbel and Wohn, 2019).

Perpetrator characteristics: The characteristics of the perpetrators involved in ridesharing crimes can also vary. Some perpetrators may be passengers who pose a risk to drivers, while others may be drivers who target passengers (Lambo, 2021).

Response by companies and law enforcement: Ridesharing companies have implemented various measures to enhance the safety of their drivers and passengers, such as background checks, GPS tracking, and in-app safety features (Uber, 2016).

Impact on the industry: Criminal victimisation can have significant consequences for the ridesharing industry, such as decreased customer trust and increased costs for safety measures (Almoqbel and Wohn, 2019). It can also affect the livelihoods of drivers who may experience physical or psychological harm, lost income, and reduced job satisfaction.

In a study conducted in Australia, Hamilton, Begg and Carroll (2020) explored women's experiences of sexual violence while using ridesharing services. They found that ridesharing companies need to do more to address the risks of sexual violence and harassment, particularly for women traveling alone or at night. In Turkey, Bozkurt and Akin (2018) analysed crime victimisation in shared transportation, including ridesharing services. They found that the risk of victimisation was higher for passengers who used ridesharing services infrequently and for those who took rides during late-night hours.

A study conducted in Indonesia by Mohammed and Suryadi (2020) investigated the determinants of crime victimisation in online ridesharing services. They found that the risk of victimisation was higher for passengers who used ridesharing services frequently and for those who used cash payments instead of electronic payments. Ozkan and Sahin (2020) also studied crime victimisation in ridesharing services in Turkey. They found that the risk of victimisation was higher for passengers who used ridesharing services infrequently, for those who travelled at night, and for those who used cash payments

instead of electronic payments. Bhatti and Saeed (2020) conducted a study in Pakistan to investigate the impact of crime on ridesharing companies, using Uber in Lahore as a case study. They found that criminal victimisation, particularly incidents of harassment and theft, negatively impacted the customer base of ridesharing companies.

Ekman, Gerell and Jarvholm (2020) conducted a comparative study of sexual harassment and assault in the ridesharing industry in cities across Europe, Latin America, and the USA. They found that the risk of sexual violence and harassment was higher for female passengers and drivers, and that there were significant variations in the levels of risk across different cities. Xu and Zhang (2021) studied safety in ridesharing services in China, using DiDi Hitch as a case study. They found that DiDi Hitch's in-app safety features, such as real-time location tracking and emergency contact options, were effective in promoting passenger safety and reducing the risk of criminal victimisation. Zambon and Piza (2019) provided evidence-based recommendations for preventing sexual assault in the ridesharing industry. They suggested that ridesharing companies should implement training programs for drivers on how to recognise and respond to incidents of sexual violence, as well as in-app safety features such as panic buttons and emergency contacts.

Overall, these studies suggest that criminal victimisation is a significant challenge for the ridesharing industry worldwide. However, the industry is actively exploring strategies to address these challenges, including in-app safety features, community partnerships, physical safety measures, and driver and passenger ratings. The issue of criminal victimisation in the ridesharing industry is not limited to developed countries but also affects many African countries. Some studies have explored the African context of criminal victimisation in ridesharing.

In Nigeria, Adeleke and Olatayo (2021) studied the safety and security concerns of ridesharing passengers in Lagos. They found that passengers were concerned about the safety of ridesharing services, particularly the risk of kidnapping, robbery, and sexual assault. In South Africa, Botha and Geldenhuys (2019) investigated the safety and security of Uber drivers in Johannesburg. They found that drivers were at risk of criminal

victimisation, particularly from passengers who refused to pay, damaged their cars, or threatened them with violence. Ali and Khalil (2020) conducted a study on the safety of ridesharing services in Cairo, Egypt. They found that passengers were concerned about the safety of ridesharing services, particularly the risk of harassment and assault. A study by Hellen et al. (2019) explored the safety and security of ridesharing passengers in Nairobi, Kenya. They found that passengers were concerned about the safety of ridesharing services, particularly the risk of robbery and harassment. In Ghana, a study by Adomako et al. (2019) investigated the factors influencing the use of ridesharing services in Accra. They found that passengers were concerned about the safety of ridesharing services, particularly the risk of robbery and physical assault.

The issue of criminal victimisation of ridesharing passengers is also a significant concern in Nigeria. Several studies have investigated this problem. According to Adeleke and Olatayo (2021), another study in Nigeria by Ojo and Ogunrinola (2020) investigated the factors that influence the vulnerability of ridesharing passengers to criminal victimisation in Lagos. The authors found that poor road infrastructure, inadequate regulation, and poor screening of drivers were among the factors contributing to the risk of criminal victimisation. The authors recommended that ridesharing companies should implement stringent background checks on drivers and install safety features in their apps.

Oluwakemi and Oluyemi (2019) conducted a study on the perception of safety among ridesharing passengers in Lagos. The study found that passengers were concerned about the safety of ridesharing services, particularly the risk of kidnapping, robbery, and physical assault. The authors recommended that ridesharing companies should implement stringent background checks on drivers, provide in-app safety features, and collaborate with law enforcement agencies to improve passenger safety. In a study by Oye et al. (2019), the safety and security of ridesharing services in Abuja was investigated. The authors found that passengers were concerned about the safety of ridesharing services, particularly the risk of kidnapping, robbery, and physical assault. The authors recommended that ridesharing companies should implement safety features in their apps, such as an emergency button and real-time tracking of rides. These studies suggest that the concern of criminal victimisation of ridesharing in Nigeria is weighty.

Also, the studies substantiate that the risk of victimisation can be attributed to various factors such as poor infrastructure, inadequate regulation, and high crime rates.

2.4.2 Ridesharing Driver Victimization

Ridesharing drivers have reported being victims of criminal activity, including robbery, assault, and even murder, while on the job. According to Hanafi (2018) some passengers do assault drivers and sometimes refuse to pay for the ride.

Risk Factors Associated with Ridesharing Driver Victimization

Several factors contribute to the risk of victimisation for ridesharing drivers. Another factor that contributes to the risk of victimisation is the lack of screening of passengers. Unlike traditional taxi services, ridesharing companies do not conduct background checks on passengers, which makes it difficult to identify those who may pose a threat to drivers (Ballesteros *et al.*, 2019). Gender is also a risk factor for ridesharing driver victimisation, with female drivers being at a higher risk of sexual harassment and assault than male drivers (Carter, 2018; National Women's Law Center, 2018). This is consistent with research on the general population, which has found that women are more likely to experience sexual violence than men (Breiding, 2014).

(a) Lack of Regulation and Oversight

Another factor is the lack of regulation and oversight of the ridesharing industry. Unlike traditional taxi services, ridesharing services are not subject to the same level of regulation or oversight. This lack of regulation can create opportunities for criminals to exploit the system and target ridesharing drivers. The ridesharing industry operates in a regulatory grey area, with little to no oversight from government authorities. The lack of regulation has raised concerns over the safety of ridesharing drivers, as they are not subject to the same background checks and training as traditional taxi drivers. In some cases, ridesharing drivers have been found to have criminal records or have been involved in accidents while driving for ridesharing platforms (Cheng, 2019).

The lack of regulation has also led to concerns over the working conditions of ridesharing drivers. Ridesharing drivers are not considered employees; that is, that they are not entitled to benefits such as minimum wage, sick pay, or health insurance. This has led to protests and strikes by ridesharing drivers worldwide, who argue that they are being exploited by ridesharing platforms. In response to these concerns, some cities and countries have attempted to regulate the ridesharing industry. For example, in 2018, New York City passed legislation that capped the number of ridesharing vehicles on its streets and established a minimum wage for ridesharing drivers (New York City Council, 2018). However, such attempts to regulate the industry have been met with resistance from ridesharing platforms, who argue that regulation will limit their ability to provide affordable and convenient transportation services.

(b) Safety Concerns

The lack of regulation and oversight of ridesharing drivers has raised concerns over their safety and the safety of passengers. In some cases, ridesharing drivers have been found to have criminal records or have been involved in accidents while driving for ridesharing platforms (Cheng, 2019). Another factor is the nature of the job itself. Ridesharing drivers work alone and at night, often in areas that may be unfamiliar to them. This makes them vulnerable to attacks by passengers or others who may see them as an easy target. The nature of the job of ridesharing drivers has raised concerns over their safety. Ridesharing drivers often work long hours, sometimes driving late night or in areas with high crime rates.

Ridesharing platforms have taken steps to improve the safety of their drivers. For example, both Uber have implemented in-app safety features that allow drivers to share their location with loved ones or contact emergency services if they feel threatened (Uber, 2019). Ridesharing platforms also conduct background checks on their drivers, although the extent and frequency of these checks vary between platforms and jurisdictions. Some cities and countries have implemented regulations to improve the safety of ridesharing drivers. For example, New York City passed legislation in 2018 that required ridesharing platforms to provide a panic button for their drivers (New York City Council, 2018). In

2019, California passed a law that requires ridesharing platforms to conduct annual background checks on their drivers (California Legislature, 2019).

Finally, the rise of the gig economy has contributed to the victimisation of ridesharing drivers. Ridesharing companies often classify their drivers as independent contractors rather than employees, which means that they are not entitled to the same level of protection as employees under labor laws. This lack of protection can leave ridesharing drivers without adequate support in the event of victimisation.

Consequences of Ridesharing Driver Victimisation

Ridesharing services like Uber and Bolt have become a popular mode of transportation in Nigeria (Adewumi, 2015). While these services have provided a convenient and reliable way for Nigerians to move around cities, there have been instances of criminal victimisation of ridesharing drivers. The criminal victimisation of ridesharing drivers in Nigeria has significant consequences on drivers' mental health, physical safety, and financial stability.

The victimisation of ridesharing drivers can have serious consequences for their physical and mental health, as well as their ability to earn a living. Drivers who have been victimised may suffer from physical injuries or psychological trauma, which can affect their ability to continue working. Moreover, drivers who have been victimised may be less likely to continue working in the ridesharing industry, which can lead to a shortage of drivers and increased wait times for passengers. The victimisation of ridesharing drivers can also have broader societal consequences. If ridesharing drivers do not feel safe on the job, they may be less likely to provide services in areas that are perceived as high-risk (Hanafi, 2018). This can leave passengers in these areas without access to reliable transportation, which can exacerbate existing transportation inequalities.

(a) Mental Health Consequences

Criminal victimisation has a significant impact on the mental health of ridesharing drivers. A study conducted by National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH)

found that taxi drivers who have experienced criminal victimisation have higher levels of anxiety, stress, and depression (NIOSHA,2018). The study also found that drivers who have been victims of crime are more likely to have poor sleep patterns, have difficulty concentrating, and experience nightmares. These mental health consequences can have a detrimental impact on drivers' overall quality of life and their ability to work.

(b) Physical Safety Consequences

The criminal victimisation of ridesharing drivers in Nigeria also has significant physical safety consequences. Ridesharing drivers are at risk of being robbed, physically assaulted, and even killed. In some instances, criminals have impersonated riders to lure drivers into remote areas, where they are then robbed or attacked. In other cases, criminals have used weapons to rob drivers of their vehicles, phones, and cash (Hanafi, 2018). These physical safety consequences not only pose a risk to drivers' lives but also affect their ability to work and provide for their families.

(c) Financial consequences

Criminal victimisation also has significant financial consequences for ridesharing drivers in Nigeria. Drivers who have been victims of crime may lose their vehicles, phones, and cash, which are critical tools for their work (Lambo, 2021). Without these tools, drivers may be unable to work and provide for their families. In some cases, drivers may also have to pay for medical bills and repair costs, further adding to their financial burden. The financial consequences of criminal victimisation can push drivers into poverty and exacerbate existing financial challenges.

(d) Regulatory consequences

The criminal victimisation of ridesharing drivers in Nigeria also has regulatory consequences. The Nigerian government has a responsibility to ensure the safety and security of citizens and visitors, including ridesharing drivers. Failure to address the issue of criminal victimisation of ridesharing drivers can harm the reputation of the government and deter investors and tourists from visiting Nigeria Ogunlana and Olugbara

(2020). Therefore, the government has a responsibility to create an environment that is safe and conducive to business and investment.

2.5 Measures Taken by Ridesharing Companies to Address Ridesharing Victimization

The rise of ridesharing companies such as Uber and Lyft have been a revolutionary development in the transportation industry. These companies have provided a cost-effective and convenient transportation option for riders, while also providing a source of income for drivers. However, with the increased popularity of ridesharing, there has also been a rise in the victimisation of drivers, ranging from verbal abuse to physical assault (Almoqbel and Wohn 2019). In response to this issue, ridesharing companies have implemented various measures to address ridesharing driver victimisation.

(a) In-app Safety Features

One of the most significant measures that ridesharing companies have taken to address driver victimisation is the implementation of in-app safety features. These features are designed to help drivers feel safe and secure while working (Schwendau, 2017). For instance, Uber has implemented an in-app emergency button that allows drivers to contact the police quickly in case of an emergency. Similarly, Lyft has introduced a feature that allows drivers to call 911 directly from the app. These features give drivers a quick and easy way to get help if they are in danger or feel threatened.

(b) Driver and Rider Ratings

Another measure that ridesharing companies have taken to address driver victimisation is the implementation of driver and rider rating systems Schwendau (2017). These rating systems allow drivers and riders to rate each other after each ride. Drivers with high ratings are more likely to get more rides, while riders with low ratings may be barred from using the service. This rating system incentivizes good behaviour on both sides and helps weed out bad actors. Ridesharing companies also monitor ratings to identify potential problem riders and drivers, allowing them to take action before incidents occur (Uber, 2019).

(c) Driver and Rider Identification

Ridesharing companies have also implemented measures to ensure that drivers and riders can verify each other's identity. For instance, Uber requires riders to provide an email, name, and phone number, while drivers must provide their name, photo, license plate number, and vehicle information (Uber (2016)). Similarly, Lyft requires riders to provide a profile photo, name, and phone number, while drivers must provide their name, photo, and vehicle information. These measures help prevent impersonation and ensure that both drivers and riders are who they claim to be.

(d) Background Checks

Ridesharing companies also perform background checks on drivers to ensure that they do not have a history of criminal activity that could put riders at risk. For instance, Uber performs background checks on all drivers, including criminal history checks at the national, state, and local level (Uber, 2016). Similarly, Lyft performs background checks that include criminal record checks, sex offender checks, and driving record checks. These background checks help ridesharing companies identify potential problem drivers and ensure that only safe drivers are allowed to provide rides (Lyft, 2021).

(e) Driver Education and Support

Ridesharing companies have also implemented measures to educate and support drivers on how to deal with difficult situations. For instance, Uber has created a comprehensive safety toolkit for drivers that includes training videos and guidelines on how to handle difficult situations. Similarly, Lyft has a 24/7 support team that drivers can contact in case of an emergency. Ridesharing companies also provide support to drivers who have been victimised, including offering counseling services and financial assistance.

(f) Collaboration with Law Enforcement

Ridesharing companies have collaborated with law enforcement agencies to address driver victimisation. For instance, Uber has created a Law Enforcement Response Team that provides assistance to law enforcement agencies investigating incidents involving

Uber drivers or riders Uber (2019). Similarly, Lyft has partnered with the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children to help locate missing children. These collaborations allow ridesharing companies to work with law enforcement agencies to prevent and address incidents of driver victimisation.

2.5.1 Overview of Uber and Lyft Protection Measures in the United State of America and Nigeria.

Uber and Lyft are two of the most popular ridesharing companies in the USA. These companies have implemented various crime preventive measures to ensure the safety of their riders and drivers. One of the most significant measures is the background check that is performed on all drivers before they can join the platform (Uber, 2019). The background check is conducted by a third-party company, and it includes a criminal record check, a driving record check, and a check for any other relevant violations. This background check is conducted regularly to ensure that all drivers on the platform meet the company's safety standards.

Another measure that Uber and Lyft have implemented is the in-app emergency button. This button allows riders to call 911 directly from the app if they feel unsafe or if they are in an emergency situation. The app also provides the rider's location to the emergency services, which can help them respond more quickly. Drivers also have access to an emergency button that they can use to report any incidents or accidents. Uber and Lyft have also implemented a rating system that allows riders and drivers to rate each other after each trip. This system encourages good behaviour on both sides and helps the company identify any potential safety issues. If a driver's rating falls below a certain threshold, they may be removed from the platform (Schewendau, 2017).

In addition to these measures, Uber and Lyft have also partnered with various organisations to improve safety. For example, Uber has partnered with the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children to provide training to drivers on how to identify and report potential cases of child sex trafficking. Lyft has partnered with RAINN (Rape, Abuse and Incest National Network) to provide resources and support for victims of sexual assault and harassment (Lyft, 2020). In Nigeria, both Bolt and Uber

also have in-app emergency buttons that allow riders to call for help if they feel unsafe or if they are in an emergency situation. The app also provides the rider's location to the emergency services, which can help them respond more quickly. Drivers also have access to an emergency button that they can use to report any incidents or accidents.

Bolt and Uber Nigeria have also implemented a ratings system that allows riders and drivers to rate each other after each trip (Uber, 2016). This system encourages good behaviour on both sides and helps the company identify any potential safety issues. If a driver's rating falls below a certain threshold, they may be removed from the platform. In addition to these measures, Bolt and Uber Nigeria have also implemented some unique measures to ensure the safety of their riders and drivers. For example, Bolt has implemented a feature called "SOS alerts" that allows riders to send an SOS message to a pre-selected emergency contact if they feel unsafe or if they are in an emergency situation.

Also, Uber and Bolt verifies the documents of all vehicles before they are allowed to start operating on the platform. Almoqbel and Wohn (2019) stated that drivers documents are verified include the vehicle registration, insurance, and roadworthiness certificates. The purpose of verifying the documents is to ensure that only vehicles that are road worthy and adequately insured are allowed to provide rides to customers. This measure helps to reduce the risk of accidents and other safety incidents.

2.6 Prevalence of Ridesharing Driver's Victimization in Lagos State

The criminal victimisation of ridesharing drivers in Lagos State takes various forms, including robbery, assault, and carjacking. In many cases, these criminal acts are perpetrated by criminals who pose as riders, request a ride, and then rob or attack the driver during the trip. Criminals often target ridesharing drivers because they are vulnerable, and have valuable assets, such as cars and smartphones. Ridesharing drivers are also perceived to have cash on them, making them attractive targets for robbers.

Table 2.1. Newspaper Reports of Robbery, Carjacking and Victimization of Ridesharing Drivers in Lagos State from 2017 to 2023

S/N	Victim	Date	Newspaper
1	We killed uber driver to steal his vehicle-suspect	11/3/2017	Vanguard
2.	Passengers strangle uber driver, flee with car	12/4/2017	Punch
3.	Ex-inmates kill Lagos uber driver sell car for 350,000	21/3/2018	Punch
	Man stabs, rob uber driver of car	9/7/2018	Punch
4.	Passengers pretend to pay Lagos uber driver, snatch car at gunpoint	15/9/2018	Punch
5.	How uber driver was murdered, dumped in Lagos-Police	11/3/2019	Daily Post
6.	Uber driver dropped in the lagoon and car snatched	4/5/2019	Punch
7.	Police nab man for allegedly strangling taxify driver	27/5/2019	Guardian
8.	Five suspects arrested for hijacking taxify car	1/9/2019	Nation
9.	Man, to die by hanging for killing uber driver	7/2/2020	Punch
10.	Robbers shot dead Lagos uber driver, steals car	5/1/2021	Punch
11.	Man arrested in Ogun State for snatching uber car in Lagos	11/6/2021	Punch
12.	Operators lament as car robbers stab uber driver to death	2/8/2021	Punch
13.	10 uber/bolt drivers killed by carjackers since January	12/8/2021	Punch
14.	Passenger strangle Lagos doctor turned uber driver, steal car	9/9/2021	Punch
15.	Police arrest suspects for allegedly killing uber driver	8/9/2021	Vanguard
16.	Three nabbed for murder, robbery of uber cars in Lagos	10/9/2021	Vanguard
17.	Armed passengers steal Lagos uber driver's car	20/3/2023	Punch

Source: Punch and Vanguard Newspaper from 2017-2023

2.6.1 Typology of the Nature of Criminal Victimization of Ridesharing Drivers

The table 2.1 provides a list of reported cases of violence against ridesharing drivers in Lagos, Nigeria. The cases range from robbery to murder and have been reported in various newspapers such as Vanguard, Punch, Daily Post, and Guardian. The earliest case was reported on November 3rd, 2017, while the most recent case was reported on March 20th, 2023. The table provides information on the date of the incident, the newspaper that reported it, and a brief description of the incident. The incidents highlight the need for increased safety measures for ridesharing drivers in Lagos.

Robbery: The newspaper reports in Table 2.1 expose how ridesharing drivers are vulnerable to robbery because they often work alone and late night (Lambo, 2021). Criminals use variety of tactics to rob ridesharing drivers, such as posing as a passenger and then threaten the driver, with a weapon such as a gun or knife to intimidate the driver and steal their car and belongings. To prevent robberies of ridesharing drivers, it is important to take steps to improve their safety and security.

Victimization hotspots: The incidents occurred in different areas of Lagos State, but there were some areas where the incidents occurred more frequently, such as the Ajah and Lekki areas. Reports of victimisation hotspot was revealed in Table 2.1 some areas of Lagos have been identified as high-risk zones where drivers are more likely to be victims of crime, including carjacking, and robbery. Some of the high-risk areas for ridesharing drivers in Lagos include Badore Ajah, Victoria Island, Lekki, Festac, Surulere, Yaba, Oshodi, Mushin and Bariga. According to Alemika (2005) These areas are known for high levels of crime, including armed robbery, carjacking, and other forms of violence. Drivers who operate in these areas may be at greater risk of being victimised by criminals. However, it is important to note that victimisation can occur in any area of Lagos, and drivers should take steps to protect themselves regardless of where they are operating.

Lack of Security Measures: Many of the incidents occurred due to insufficient security measures by ridesharing companies to protect the drivers and absence of police, which can make drivers more vulnerable to criminal attacks. The lack of security measures can

leave individuals and properties vulnerable to victimisation, particularly in high-risk environments in Lagos State. The absence of effective security measures can contribute to the risk of crimes such as robbery, carjacking, and assault against ridesharing drivers.

2.7 Transit Crimes and Safety Measures

Crime is one of the many challenges of the public transportation sector. Public transit crime can occur in different locations, such as from the point of leaving home to the bus-stop. Crime can also occur at a bus-stop or any location where taxi or bus can be hailed, or in any mode of transportation such as shared taxi, ferry, bus and train (Newton, 2004). Crime can also be committed against the drivers (assault, car theft, robbery, harassment, murder) and the commuters are not left out (assault, rape, pick-pocket, highway robbery and the like). Pearlstein and Wachs (1982) explain that crime mostly occurs in high crime area of the city. They also reveal that most crimes occur when there is a crowd of commuters in a location. It may be worse and violent when it occurs during the late hours of the evening, while theft and robberies are at their peak during rush hours. Levine, Wachs and Shirazi (1986) also reveal that crimes on buses are higher both in time and space, especially when a bus travels through a high crime location. This shows that transportation crime is environment based; this affects all modes of public transportation. In the same vein, Newton (2004) submits that public transport environment (buses, trains, trams and other forms of transportation system), with the various stops, stations and interchanges, is a multifaceted coliseum, made of different settings with the interplay of potential offenders, victims and guardians. These various interchanges send stops control with the, offender, inflow and outflow of victims and guardian in the system. All these (environmental factors) come to play in facilitating transit crime. Based on this environmental interplay, it is vital to recognise how the public transportation system may attract crime.

Transit crimes can be viewed from various angles. Many urban commuters depend on public transport to navigate from home to their place of work for their daily activities and through the available modes of transportation which expose them to different levels of crime risks. Badiora (2015) identifies theft as a regularly occurring transit crime in

Nigeria, particularly on the highways. He further states that victimisation is minimal on urban streets where there is natural surveillance. However, passengers are vulnerable to attack or exposed to threat in isolated areas. Also, transit crime is higher in a crime related area or location in an urban area. This corroborates Pearlstein's and Waches' (1982) stated that the environment of a transport system can have an effect on crime level.

Time dimension is also a factor in public transportation crime; Crime rate is minimal during the day and the peak of crime surfaces during the night. At this time, no capable guardian or surveillance is active. Uittenbogaard (2014), on the dimensions of the occurrence of crime by type, explains crime in relation to time of occurrence. According to him, theft occurs more often in the afternoon and violent crime at night and the frequent happenings associated with the daily activities involving the victim. In the study of a group of London taxi drivers cited by (Vanderveen, 2006), it appeared that fear of crime, particularly in the night, was observed among one third of the drivers which in turn affects their jobs. Crawford (1998) is of the opinion that crime raise anxieties among members of a community. Other variables such as age and gender can be contributing factor to fear of crime and victimisation (Badiora, 2015).

Odufuwa (2012) explores gender perspective to transit crime in Lagos metropolis. The study discusses insecurity and cites rape, assault and harassment as related insecurity issues experienced by women and in public transit. Also, Ajayi and Ajayi (2014) corroborate the forgoing that female commuters are highly vulnerable to victimisation. The research also attempts a comparative analysis of natures of criminal activities prevalent at bus stations. Apparently, transit crime could be property crime, rape, insult, vandalism, sexual harassment, kidnapping and other violent crimes (threat, assault and murder). Further, other studies indicate that economic and social inequalities are products of high crime rate in public transportation (Clifton, 2009; Odufuwa, 2010; 2011). Unfortunately, issues of how to secure and reduce occupational crime of drivers of these transport systems, particularly in Nigeria has not been explored.

Transport crimes are common phenomenon in Lagos, Nigeria (Fadare and Oduwaye, 2009; Alemika and Chukuma, 2005). Studies have revealed that drivers are more

vulnerable to transit crime (OSHA,2000; Lauer, 2005; Stanley, 2015; Couto *et al.*, 2009; Klima, 2011). The security needs of drivers are yet to feature in major transport policies in Nigeria. Drivers are more exposed to insecurity in public transport crimes. This includes all commercial drivers of public transport (buses, shared taxi, taxi, ridesharing taxi, and the likes). They are exposed, to crimes such as car snatching, kidnapping, assault and murder (Stanley, 2015). According to Toscano (1997), drivers of taxi cabare more prone to assault and homicide in their occupation compared to the average American worker. Safety and security are important in public transportation. Exposure to crime and victimisation in public transportation significantly affect ridership. According to a survey conducted by Loukaitou (1994) in Los Angeles, residents point out that fear of violence discourages commuters from using public transit. Many of these transit related crimes have made public transit less safe.

In the face of all these, ridesharing has brought a twist to public transportation, bridging the issue of safety by ensuring the safety of passengers and drivers (Feeny, 2015). Ridesharing self-identification and card transactions of riders have helped to reduce the exposure to risk related with public transportation, which is the risk of violent crime (assault and murder). Through the use of Smartphone, ridesharing has been able to ensure rides are hailed online and also tracked by the ridesharing app company and the rider. The Bureau of Labour Statistics (BLS) U.S.A reported drivers of taxicab are faced with unusual high risk of victimisation. A study conducted between 2006-2012 shows that the occupational risk faced by taxi drivers ranged from 14% to 19.7%, which is higher than other occupation workers. This shows violent crimes make up a significant portion of taxi related deaths in the taxi industry. Felson (1998) identifies why taxi drivers are exposed to violent victimisation. First, taxi drivers transact with cash which exposes them to criminals and they are also exposed to giving rides to strangers. This exposes them to being targets for robberies and assault. Ridesharing companies by contrast, removed these major inhibitors to violent crime by facilitating the apprehension of offenders through their customer details. A rider is required to open an account with Uber through the app, and then the rider will input his/her card details which are linked to the rider's account. At the end of a trip, transactions are automatically made into the ridesharing account with no cash exchanging hands. But in this regard, Wright *et al.* (2014) opine

that the introduction of electronic payment has proven to decrease crime by 9.8%. This is the advantage ridesharing drivers have over other public transportation; passenger's security concern in public transport is lessened. Ridesharing companies ensure their drivers are screened and trained, which make their services attractive to commuters. Feeny (2015) submits that indeed, ridesharing's cashless transactions and self-identified customer have helped to mitigate violent crimes associated with local taxi.

The introduction of ridesharing has been linked with significant reduction in crime in urban areas (Weber, 2019). These indicate that ridesharing provides security for its riders. In recent times there has been significant safety and security concerns among riders and drivers, that a driver can become a victim of crime and also, the driver can be the perpetrator of crime too (Feeny, 2015; Taxicab, Limousine and Paratransit Association, 2017). Mulholland and Dills (2016) accentuate that the entry of Uber into the taxi industry has significantly reduce arrest for assault and there is increased arrest for car robbery. This makes for a negative consequence of ridesharing Uber. Since many cars and drivers are required for ridesharing, Mullholand and Dills (2016) anticipate increase in car theft and other related crimes. The fleets of cars provided in the cities where they operate asan alternative to local taxi might increase the number of potential victims of car theft.

Safety in ridesharing transportation Studies by (Dalziel and Job 1997, Gilbert, 2011, Burgel and White 2014 and Barton 1996) have examined the safety measures for taxicab drivers considering their job as dangerous. OSHA, (2010), death rate of taxicab drivers was between 21 and 33 times higher than other occupations. Some of the highlighted factors affecting taxi drivers include working with cash, servicing high crime areas and being alone in isolated areas. Knestaut (1997) describes taxi driver's victimisation, assault and robberies as always ending in violent crime. It is either the driver is badly injured or killed in the process of struggle. Ridesharing on the other hand deals with electronic transactions, thus minimizing their risk. Ridesharing uses a rating system to rate the riders and drivers, this rating system help them to filter troublesome riders as well as allow drivers the choice of accepting or declining a hail from the rider. This shows that ridesharing drivers have a choice, which improves safety and minimise risk for ridesharing drivers. OSHA (2010) also adds that the use of GPS tracking device for both the rider and

the driver helps to track and monitor the ride in case of distress. Amey (2011) supports the notion that the double tracking helps to reduce danger because both the rider and the driver have established profile through the verification system. Boyd and Boyd (1998) review the federal statistics to examine the dominant transit related crimes, and reported that property crimes carry 22% while violent crimes are at 14%. They made some suggestions on the measures to improve safety and security in transit crime. These include media campaigns (to enlighten the general public about transit related crimes), patrol of security personnel's and enhanced security (for example, to improve and increase the law enforcement agents and ensure proper training for transportation operators), increased sanction for offenders (such as helping prosecutors to successfully convict criminals), plan out action (for instance, provision of street lights, CCTV in isolated locations of the city, signage, bus-stop enclosure) and technological innovation (for example, driver operated alarms in vehicle in case of distress, installing video monitoring).

2.7.1 Victimization Experiences of Taxi Drivers

Previous researches focused on car theft, accidents, injuries and carjacking of taxi drivers. There is limited research on personal crime in ridesharing taxi. We have research on crime against taxi drivers (Dalziel and Job, 1997; Smith, 2005; Ministry of Transport, New South Wales, 2007; Gilbert, 2011; Burgel, Gillen, and White, 2014; McGhee, 2015; Kloberdanz, 2016). Also, other studies have focused on how to prevent violence in taxi cab and to ensure the safety of taxi drivers. (Department of infrastructure, Victorian, 2007; Ministry of Transport, South Wales, 2007; Mayhew, 2000; Appleby, 2000; Dalziel and Job, 1997; Barton, 1996). These studies only focus on the taxi drivers' occupational violent crimes in public transit. However, for independent contractors like Uber, there are no set guidelines to ensure security of drivers on the job. These ridesharing drivers are not trained on the preventive strategies to ensure their safety. They do not work in a regulated taxi system like the local taxi drivers who regulating bodies have associated with the government and on occasions train them on how to be safe on the job (Adeoye, 2019). The ridesharing drivers are trained to use the smart phone application to facilitate communication with the riders. Limited studies exist on the taxi drivers' safety. Toscano (1997) and Bureau of Labour Statistics (2007) show that taxicab drivers are exposed to

more risk than any average worker. In a survey of 130 cab drivers in 2010 by Gillen and White (2014), it is revealed that 48% of the cab drivers had reported robbery, been physically assaulted and threatened with a weapon. This shows that effective crime prevention strategy should be in place to reduce violence and victimisation of taxi drivers.

Uber and Bolt allow their drivers to rate passengers through the rating system. However, such low rating system does not protect the driver or other drivers on the platform. Uber thinks the avenue for passengers to create a profile when signing up to the app will help the drivers to know their passengers and to feel safe (Vivanco, 2014). Unfortunately for them, anyone can use any phone number to sign up on the app with a false name and details and this does not guarantee safety. Furthermore, the electronic payment system which allows for cashless transactions to avoid the risk of carrying cash (Vivianco, 2014) still has its challenges. In Nigeria where cash is still a dominant factor in the economy, and due to lack of trust in online transactions, 90% of Uber transactions are paid with cash (Redahlia, 2019). Moreover, the use of smartphone has exposed ridesharing drivers to robbers because of cash transactions (Usman, 2018).

There is an upsurge in the attack of ridesharing drivers. On January 12, 2019, a Bolt driver was attacked and killed by the passenger who fled with his accomplice on a bike (Akinrinade, 2019). Also, ridesharing drivers are being hailed and forced (through threats) by passengers to use their cars to rob. In some situations, their cars are used to peddle drugs thereby putting them in danger. The risk of this is high because they are not allowed by the ridesharing company to search their passengers for weapons, drugs or any incriminating material or objects (Hanafi, 2018). According to (OSHA, 2010) local taxi drivers even with their regulations still have records of high cases of homicide every year. From the foregoing, it can be imagined the number for Uber, Bolt and other ridesharing drivers working in fear of not knowing the fate awaiting them. Effective and strategic preventive measures will help to reduce the rate of attack and victimisation of ridesharing drivers especially in Lagos city which house more of these ridesharing companies. The study will examine the coping strategy and safety measures the drivers have in place on

a daily basis and to find out intervention strategy for the ridesharing company and what the government will do to help keep them safe while at the wheels.

2.7.2 Crime Prevention Strategy

Fear of crime is one of the growing concerns of every society. There are four dimensions of crime as stated by Brantingham and Brantingham (1991), namely: the target, offender, crime location and law. One of the crime prevention strategies is surveillance, which focuses on the specific crime location and spatial aspect of the potential target. Painter and Tilley (1999) Surveillance is a device that is put in place to monitor residents and activities of any given location. It is part of capable guardian in the environmental design of crime. When offenders get to know there is surveillance in the location, they want to perpetuate a crime, it deters them from acting against the law; this will enable and increase potentials for intervention to prevent crime. The three types of surveillance will be discussed below.

- (a) **Organised/Formal surveillance:** This type of surveillance is highly organised system provided by security guards, supermarket, and banks. Studies by Poyner (1994) and Laycock (1992) the presences of formal guardianship at parking lots have helped to decrease car theft. Another study by Poyner (1991) states that formal surveillance may reduce car theft but it might not be able to impact theft of parked vehicles, which calls for physical presence of security guards as another available surveillance.
- (b) **Natural surveillance:** Loukaitou-Sideris (1999) proposes that a high populated location can conceal crimes e.g., pick pocketing and theft. Weisel (2002) adds that lonely and isolated locations with less natural surveillance can provide opportunities for criminals. This was explained in a case of property theft. However, natural surveillance does not necessitate that the people around are paying close attention to what is going on in their vicinity.
- (c) **Mechanical surveillance:** Close Circuit Television (CCTV) is one effective deterrent measure when it comes to crime prevention. Poyner (1988), reviewing the benefits of mounting CCTV on public transportation such as buses, found that there is a reduction in vandalism of public buses. The use of CCTV has also helped to curb

car theft in parking lots (Tilley, 1993). This report is validated by Brown (1995) who states that CCTV has significantly reduced car theft, theft from vehicles and burglaries. Mahalingham (1996) also demonstrates that such devices aid in significant reduction of crime in the community and also help to deter offenders (for instance, burglary or vehicle crime) due to fear of being detected. (On the part of the offender this may outweigh the benefits). However, in other crimes such as alcohol related offences, the CCTV camera may not be effective. (Ramsay, 1991) added that street light could serve as a surveillance and security measure in the community.

2.7.3 Crime and Criminality in Nigeria

Crime is one of the major challenges in Nigeria, especially Lagos State which is the commercial nerve centre of Nigeria and home to millions of people who come from different parts of the country. This is evident from the regular media reports of crimes ranging from robbery, car theft, rape, assault, burglary, kidnapping to murder. Odekunle (2005) points out that relative poverty and high unemployment rate in the country is responsible for the increase in crime rate. This assertion is corroborated by Arinze (2010) that emphasises that the high crime rate in Nigeria is due to unemployment and high inflation rate in the country. Badiora (2012) blames auto vehicle theft on the frustration of jobless youth whose expectations for economic and social development are frustrated by the debilitating socio-economic realities of the country, so they turn to automobile theft as a means to make money and sustain their standard of living.

In Nigeria, we have the law enforcement agencies that are responsible to ensure there is law and order in the country. The police are responsible for control and to curb violence and crime in the society (Alemika, 1993). Thus, it is expected that the police must be available to prevent and apprehend offenders. However, Iwah (2013) avers that the police are corrupt, brutal and ineffective. Odinkalu (2004) also accentuates that the security agents (police) in Nigeria are yet to meet the expectation of the populace in crime detection and blockage. The manner of approach of the police to a victim is usually impolite, treating victims like evidence and not as human beings. Omisakin (1998) and Odinkalu (2004) emphasise that the capacity of the Nigerian Police to monitor and

manage social space is highly disappointing and will persist unless a new trust is built between the law enforcement agent and the people. According to Dalhatu (2013), the Nigerian police have a bad image in the public eye and presently the crime rate is progressively threatening the security of the country. Hanafi (2018) reports that crimes committed against ridesharing drivers are scripted out by offenders before the target come into play. Therefore, preventive measures must be in place to prevent crimes such as assault and murder. For crime prevention to be effective the police must work with other stakeholders in the ridesharing sector in Lagos metropolis.

Insecurity in Ridesharing

Insecurity in ridesharing has been a growing concern in recent years, as more and more people use ridesharing services as a means of transportation. Ridesharing companies have implemented various safety features to protect both riders and drivers, but incidents of violence and crime still occur. In this overview, we will explore the issue of insecurity in ridesharing and the measures being taken to address it.

One of the main causes of insecurity in ridesharing is the anonymity of riders and drivers. Unlike traditional taxi services, where drivers are licensed and riders must provide their personal information, ridesharing services allow riders to remain anonymous, making it difficult to identify them in the event of an incident. This anonymity can create a sense of distrust between riders and drivers and increase the risk of victimisation. Another factor that contributes to insecurity in ridesharing is the lack of physical security measures in vehicles. Unlike taxis, which often have partitions or cameras for driver protection, most ridesharing vehicles do not have these features, leaving drivers vulnerable to assault and robbery. In addition to these factors, there have been reported incidents of drivers and riders being victimised in ridesharing services. These incidents range from verbal harassment to physical assault and have occurred in various locations around the world. The frequency and severity of these incidents have led to calls for increased safety measures in ridesharing services. Ridesharing companies have responded to these concerns by implementing various safety features to protect both riders and drivers. For example, some companies have implemented GPS tracking and two-way feedback

systems, allowing riders and drivers to rate each other and report any incidents. Other safety features include emergency buttons, which allow drivers and riders to quickly contact emergency services in the event of an emergency.

Many ridesharing companies have also introduced background checks for drivers and riders, and some require riders to provide additional information, such as a profile picture and payment information, to reduce anonymity. Additionally, some companies have implemented policies prohibiting certain types of behaviour, such as inappropriate or aggressive behaviour towards drivers and other passengers. While these safety features are a step in the right direction, there is still room for improvement. Ridesharing companies must continue to innovate and develop new safety measures to ensure the safety of their drivers and riders. This includes implementing physical security measures, such as partitions or cameras, and developing more effective ways to verify the identity of riders.

In conclusion, insecurity in ridesharing is a growing concern that must be addressed by ridesharing companies, regulators, and law enforcement agencies. The anonymity of riders and drivers, lack of physical security measures, and incidents of violence and crime have contributed to this problem. Ridesharing companies have implemented various safety features to address these concerns, but there is still room for improvement. By working together, we can create a safer and more secure environment for everyone who uses ridesharing services.

2.8 Survey of Studies on Violence Against Ridesharing Drivers

Hall and Krueger (2018) conducted a survey of Lyft and Uber drivers to investigate their demographics and working conditions. The survey found that a significant proportion of drivers are immigrants, people of color, and low-income individuals. The survey also found that drivers work long hours and have limited access to benefits and protections. The study suggests that these factors may contribute to a higher risk of victimisation for passengers, as drivers may be more desperate for money and less likely to report incidents.

A similar study conducted by Sun and Zhang, (2018) found that ridesharing drivers were more likely to experience non-violent crimes than violent crimes. The study found that the

most common form of criminal victimisation experienced by ridesharing drivers was theft, followed by verbal abuse and physical assault. Another study conducted by Sun and Wong, (2019) examined the relationship between driver characteristics and the likelihood of criminal victimisation. The study found that drivers who worked during the night shift, worked in high-crime areas, and had less driving experience been more likely to experience criminal victimisation. The study also found that drivers who took proactive measures such as installing a dashcam were less likely to experience criminal victimisation.

Brewer et al., (2020) found that ridesharing drivers were more likely to experience violent crimes than non-ridesharing drivers. The study found that the most common forms of violent victimisation experienced by ridesharing drivers were physical assault and sexual assault. The study also found that drivers who worked at night and in high-crime areas were more likely to experience violent victimisation. A more recent study conducted by Liang et al (2020) used data from a survey of 256 ridesharing drivers in the United States to examine the relationship between victimisation and mental health outcomes. The study found that drivers who had been victimised were more likely to report symptoms of depression and anxiety than those who had not been victimised. The study also found that drivers who had been victimised were more likely to engage in safety behaviours, such as avoiding certain areas or cancelling trips. The authors suggest that ridesharing companies should do more to support drivers who have been victimised, including offering counselling and other mental health services.

A study conducted by Zheng et al (2019) used data from a survey of 316 drivers in China to examine the prevalence of victimisation and the factors associated with it. The study found that 23.7% of drivers had been physically assaulted, while 58.5% had experienced verbal abuse or threats. The study also found that drivers who had previously experienced victimisation were more likely to engage in safety behaviours, such as carrying weapons or avoiding certain areas. The study concludes that ridesharing companies should do more to prevent driver's victimisation. Oluwole et al (2019) examined the perceptions of safety and crime among Uber drivers in three cities in the United States. The authors found that drivers reported a relatively high level of perceived safety, but also experienced various

types of crime, including verbal abuse, physical assault, and theft. The drivers reported feeling safe because of the built-in safety features of the Uber app, including the GPS tracking and the passenger rating system. However, they were concerned about the potential for crime and violence, especially in areas with high crime rates, and about the risk of getting into accidents due to passenger behaviour. The study also found that drivers' perception of safety was influenced by their past experiences with crime and violence, as well as their overall level of job satisfaction. The study suggest that Uber could improve drivers' perception of safety by providing more training on how to handle potentially dangerous situations, and by implementing more rigorous background checks on passengers.

Bechtel and Morrison (2021) surveyed data from ridesharing drivers in the United States to examine the prevalence and types of victimisation experienced by drivers. The authors found that drivers reported high rates of verbal harassment and threats, as well as lower rates of physical assault and property theft. The study utilized data collected from a sample of 654 ridesharing drivers through an online survey. The survey measured the prevalence and types of victimisation experienced by ridesharing drivers, as well as the demographic and work-related factors that may contribute to victimisation. The results of the study showed that a significant percentage of ridesharing drivers reported experiencing some form of victimisation while working, including verbal abuse, physical assault, and sexual harassment. The study also found that factors such as gender, race, and hours worked per week were associated with an increased likelihood of victimisation. The study concludes that ridesharing drivers are at an elevated risk of victimisation due to the nature of their work and recommends that ridesharing companies take steps to improve driver safety, such as providing driver training on how to handle difficult passengers and implementing better reporting and response procedures for incidents of victimisation.

Matthews and Spiesel (2017) surveyed Uber and Lyft drivers in the United States to assess their perceptions of safety and security. The authors found that drivers reported high rates of verbal harassment and threats, as well as lower rates of physical assault and theft, and noted the importance of safety measures such as background checks and in-app emergency features. Cheng et al. (2021) examines the prevalence and factors associated with physical

assaults among ridesharing drivers in the United States. The authors conducted an online survey of 1,245 ridesharing drivers and collected information on their experiences of physical assault, demographic characteristics, working conditions, and safety measures taken. The results showed that 8.2% of the ridesharing drivers had experienced physical assault in the past six months, and 3.6% had experienced severe physical assault. The factors associated with physical assault included working in high-crime areas, driving during late-night and early-morning hours, working more than 40 hours per week, and carrying cash as payment. The study also found that drivers who had experienced physical assault were more likely to take safety measures such as carrying self-defense tools, avoiding high-crime areas, and limiting their driving hours.

Almoqbel and Wohn (2019) explores individual and collaborative behaviours of ridesharing drivers to protect their safety. The study highlighted that driver use a range of strategies to protect themselves, such as checking passenger ratings, sharing their location with friends or family, and carrying self-defense tools. Additionally, drivers collaborate with other drivers to share information about dangerous passengers or areas to avoid. Similarly, Schwendau (2017) highlighted the main safety concerns for ridesharing drivers, including robbery, assault, sexual harassment, and other forms of violence. To protect themselves, ridesharing drivers often engage in self-protective behaviours such as avoiding certain locations, carrying weapons or self-defense tools, and screening potential passengers. These behaviours were sometimes effective, but they also had limitations and could potentially put drivers at risk if they were not used correctly. The study also discussed the potential role of ridesharing companies in promoting driver safety through improved safety protocols and communication channels. She suggested that companies could do more to provide resources and support for drivers, such as safety training and access to emergency services.

Overall, the available research indicates that ridesharing drivers are at risk of criminal victimisation, and that factors such as working in high-crime areas and driving during late-night increase the risk of victimisation. The research also suggests that passenger characteristics, such as being intoxicated, non-white, or younger, may also be associated with a higher risk of victimisation.

2.9 Theoretical Framework: Routine Activity Theory and C.R.A.V.E.D Theory

As there has always been crime, there have been attempts to prevent it. The straightforward use of punishment to prevent people from committing crime is ineffective. Hence, criminologists must devise strategies to prevent the perpetrator from committing the crime in the first place. Criminologists have put forward hypotheses about why crime occurs in an effort to learn how to prevent it. Instead of focusing just on the offender, environmental criminologists contend that opportunity is the root cause of crime. Theories have been employed by criminologists for a long time to explain why crimes occur, why criminals behave in certain ways, and what makes a victim. Routine activity theory is the theoretical anchor for this study.

Building on the lifestyle theory (Hindelang, Gottfredson & and Garofalo, 1978), Cohen and Felson (1979) proposed the Routine Activity Theory, which asserts that crime happens as a result of situational conditions. It examines crime from the perspective of the perpetrator rather than society or the victim. The theory falls under the purview of opportunity theory. The theory postulates that it takes spatial-temporal interaction of three elements, namely suitable target, motivated offender/motivated criminal and lack of capable guardian for a crime to take place (Groff, 2007). According to Cohen and Felson, the absence of any one of these components is enough to stop a direct-contact predatory crime from being successfully carried out (Cohen & Felson, 1979). Cohen and Felson (1980) presume that criminals (offenders) will always seize opportunity to commit crime when it presents itself. Suitable targets can be anything such as an object or a person worth stealing or capable of being stolen. A motivated offenders are more likely to engage in criminal behavior when they perceive the benefits of committing the crime to outweigh the risks. Capable Guardian can be an object (security camera, safety lock etc.).

According to routine activity theory, a criminal opportunity arises when a motivated offender encounters a suitable victim who is lacking a skilled guardian converge in space and time. The theory also contends that personal choices and everyday habits can affect how likely it is that these three factors will come together at the micro level. A motivated

offender searching for a chance to commit a crime would consider, for instance, a person who routinely walks home by themselves late at night through a high-crime neighborhood as a viable target (convergence of elements). On the other hand, a person may be less susceptible to criminal victimisation if they walk home with a group of friends or choose a well-lit, congested route (modified routine behaviour) because there is less chance for the three elements to coincide. Such encounters are made possible by the components of the society or community as a whole on a macro level. The theory further contends that more extensive social, economic and cultural elements can have an impact on the chance of becoming a victim of crime. For instance, because there are more motivated criminals and fewer capable guardians present, areas or communities with high levels of poverty, unemployment and social disorder may have a higher risk of crime. Perhaps are cultural elements like the promotion of violence or a lack of social cohesion contribute to higher crime rates.

Routine activity theory can assist in explaining how larger social systems and institutions can affect people's behaviour and contribute to patterns of criminal victimisation at the macro level. Researchers and politicians can create more successful strategies for reducing crime and fostering community safety by comprehending how these macro-level elements interact with specific behaviours and routines. For instance, by addressing some of the underlying causes of criminal behaviour, community development programs that prioritise lowering poverty, expanding access to education and employment opportunities, and fostering social cohesiveness may contribute to reduction in crime rates overall. From the perspective of control, it is no longer about internal control but rather about the lack of control from others who might be guardians that may permit crime to happen.

Since few people have the consciousness of individual guardianship, it is up to the community to provide social and environmental level guardianship. Communities encourage surveillance through target hardening techniques like neighborhood watch, street lighting and environmental design that incorporates cctv, and hopefully citizens will continue such cooperative efforts to get rid of crime in their region (Wilcox, Madensen & Tillyer, 2007). However, there is the possibility that while the general

population will be happy with this, about the question of how to get provide for occupational violence (that is, preventing opportunities for criminality for those who are at work. For instance, while having the knowledge and training to safeguard both themselves and others, police officers are somehow killed. These policemen may encounter a prospective offender despite being armed with a gun, and if the officer lets down or does not have backup, he or she runs the risk of becoming a victim.

Jobs that engage with the public provide greater opportunities to interact with potential offenders. Transportation workers interact with the public on a daily basis, much like police officers do. Anyone person who joins a public vehicle, whether a taxi or bus, becomes a potential threat. The driver has no way of knowing if the passenger is having a good or terrible day, under the influence of drugs or alcohol, or planning to rob and/or physically harm the driver (Stone & Bienvenu, 1995; Barton, 1996; Durham, 2012).

Routine activity theory, with its focus on the daily routines and lifestyles of victims, has gained popularity among criminologists (Meier & Miethe, 1993; Madriz, 1996; Brown, Esbensen & Geis, 2015). Criminologists have only recently taken into account criminals and their lifestyles, which may raise their chances of committing a crime (Brown et al 2015). There are always people who want to commit crimes; they simply need the perfect occasion, setting, and victim. Most criminals prefer to find a possible victim who is not under any supervision rather than spending a lot of time plotting out how to commit a crime. In order to gain the valuables or the desired mental dominance, he is only interested in the easiest target that does not need a lot of time or effort. The perceived value, visibility, accessibility, and inertia of the object are what drive him to seek out targets (Boetig, 2006).

Depending on how motivated the criminal is, an unguarded person or location that is desirable to the criminal may become a viable target (Felson & Clarke, 1998). This individual or location falls prey to this determined attacker for the simple reason that they are attractive and inadequately defended (Felson & Clarke, 1998; Wittebrood & Nieuwbeerta, 2000). Theoretically, a motivated offender must be tempted by something (Brown, 2015). Several targets also leave themselves exposed to attack. For instance, the

proliferation of cellphones has led to an increase in the number of persons who wander around while oblivious to their surroundings. They might not be aware that they are being followed as a result, making them easy targets for having their handbag or wallet stolen. The physical accessibility and visibility of people and things to potential offenders at any given time and location are characterised as this exposure. Also, there will be consequences due to the offender's proximity to the victim. In other words, the likelihood that a crime will happen increases with the distance between the victim and the perpetrator (Landau & Bendalak, 2008). Also, the target's closeness to high crime regions enhances the likelihood that crime may occur there (Meier & Miethe, 1993).

Lack of capable guardians is the final risk factor for victimisation. A guardian could be anything that acts as a kind of protective wall surrounding people. For instance, a guardian could be security guard keeping watch, a police officer on patrol, or a friend or relative driving someone to an event. According to Felson and Clarke (1998), a capable guardian is someone whose presence or closeness would prevent a crime from happening. In other words, these guardians deter criminals from choosing their victims. Guardianship, therefore, is the presence of those who are able and willing to use both formal and informal forms of social control, as well as to not just deter crime but also to safeguard individuals (Cohen *et al*, 1981).

C.R.A.V.E.D Theory

Clarke (1999) takes the theory further and identified some elements of “hot products” known as C.R.A.V.E.D which will help further explain the hot product (ridesharing drivers in Lagos metropolis, in the context of this study) as target and motive for victimisation of ridesharing. Clarke posits that the product must be concealable, removable, available, valuable, enjoyable and disposable. Each of this constitutes the acronym of Clarke’s framework.

According to Clarke, products that possess these attributes are more likely to be popular and in-demand among consumers. Let's break down each element:

- Concealable: Products that are easy to conceal or carry around are more convenient for consumers, especially if they need to use them outside of their homes.
- Removable: Products that are easy to remove or take off, such as clothing or accessories, provide consumers with more flexibility and choice.
- Available: Products that are readily available in stores or online are more accessible to consumers, which makes them more likely to be purchased.
- Valuable: Products that offer unique or special benefits to consumers, such as quality, durability, or functionality, are perceived as more valuable.
- Enjoyable: Products that provide enjoyable or pleasurable experiences to consumers are more likely to be purchased repeatedly.
- Disposable: Products that are disposable or consumable, such as food or personal care items, create a cycle of demand and are more likely to be purchased again and again.

Some features of the hot product (Toyota Corolla) includes the following:

Confidence: Ridesharing drivers in Lagos State may have confidence in the Toyota Corolla car due to its reputation for reliability and durability. Toyota Corolla is a well-known car brand that is often associated with high quality and dependable performance, which may increase the confidence that ridesharing drivers have in the car.

Realisation of need: Ridesharing drivers in Lagos State may realise the need for a reliable and fuel-efficient car to meet the demands of their job. The Toyota Corolla is known for its fuel efficiency, which may make it an attractive option for ridesharing drivers who want to save money on fuel costs.

Ability to buy: Ridesharing drivers in Lagos State may be able to afford the Toyota Corolla car, especially if they are earning income from their ridesharing job. Additionally, Toyota Corolla cars are widely available in Lagos state, which may make them more accessible and easier to purchase.

Value perception: Ridesharing drivers in Lagos state may perceive the Toyota Corolla as a valuable investment due to its reliability and fuel efficiency. The car may also hold its value well over time, which may further increase its perceived value.

Ease of buying: Ridesharing drivers in Lagos state may find it easy to buy a Toyota Corolla car due to the availability of dealerships and financing options. This may make the purchasing process less stressful and more convenient.

Desire to buy: Ridesharing drivers in Lagos state may have a strong desire to buy a Toyota Corolla car due to its reputation for reliability, fuel efficiency, and value. Additionally, Toyota Corolla cars may be seen as a status symbol in Lagos state, which may further increase the desire to own one.

Overall, the C.R.A.V.E.D framework can help explain why Toyota Corolla cars are a popular choice among ridesharing drivers in Lagos state. The car's reputation for reliability, fuel efficiency, and value, along with its accessibility and ease of purchase, may make it an attractive option for drivers who are looking to invest in a car for their ridesharing job.

2.9.1 Application of Routine Activity Theory and C.R.A.V.E.D Theory

The frequent occurrence of ridesharing driver's victimisation in the city of Lagos is a result of the interplay of the 3 elements of crime (suitable target, motivated offender and capable guardian). The theory can easily be used to explain victimisation and car snatching among ridesharing drivers in Lagos city. Loss of car by ridesharing drivers could often be prevented from motivated offender if ridesharing drivers take necessary precautions and provide a capable guardian. Capable guardian may include installing a dash camera or installing a security button in the car. Ensuring proper guardianship will discourage a potential thief, and reduce ridesharing driver victimisation and car snatching (Jacobs, Topalli & Wright 2003; Copes, 1999). Routine activity theory envisages that development in technology can change the environment of crime by creating new opportunity base for crimes and increasing the interplay of these 3 elements of crime. That means that as the environment advances, crime, will take a new form and criminals

devise new strategies to isolate their target and perpetuate crime (Clarke & Newman, 2003).

Ridesharing companies require a car, drivers, rider and internet to connect a rider with a driver through their app to facilitate their business. The cars are the target of criminals (motivated offenders) and the object of victimisation of ridesharing drivers (Hanafi, 2018). The introduction of internet and the influx of smart phone applications have given offenders opportunity to isolate their potential victims (Clarke & Newman, 2003). Using the C.R.A.V.E.D attribute to explain crime in ridesharing, the target of ridesharing victimisation is the car (hot product). Clark and Newman analyse the modalities involved in car snatching, stating that the types of cars targeted by criminals would depend on the value as explained in C.R.A.V.E.D for example; criminals who need the car to convert it to money will go for expensive cars. Criminals who want to sell vehicle parts will go for good-quality cars. Other important elements include the model of the car and its economic value. C.R.A.V.E.D elements are crucial in explaining the type of products being stolen and how often they are stolen may depend on the availability of market serving this hot product and ease of disposal.

The element of C.R.A.V.E.D can be incorporated in crime prevention strategies (Clarke, 1995) by exposing the elements that make these hot products easy access to criminals (motivated offenders) and devising means to prevent their cars from riders whose aim is to snatch their car. For example, some preventive strategies for ridesharing drivers may include dash board cams and videos to record trips. Criminals disguise as riders of Uber and Bolt to deceive the driver to locations where they can carry out their plan (Hanafi, 2018). This study will expand studies on criminal victimisation of ridesharing drivers. Crime rate differs from one location to another; therefore, crime preventive strategies must be directed to vulnerable locations in the city. Media reportage has shown some vulnerable locations where victimisation of ridesharing drivers is prevalent. Locations with high crime incidence calls for preventive measures, to keep the streets and roads safe, especially at night, and to reduce fear of navigating such locations by ridesharing drivers.

This research contends that crime prevention strategy and security must focus on hot product of ridesharing to protect it from motivated offenders. Also, ridesharing drivers need to better understand, the 'hot' product, and why is it regarded as 'hot'. This will help ridesharing drivers to protect themselves from car snatching, assault and harassment, and it will also help the Police in advising the ridesharing companies on how to protect their businesses. It will also help governments in formulating policies to protect start-up tech businesses and to help keep vulnerable locations secured. Further, when hot spot locations are kept safe, it will help to reduce victimisation and car snatching of ridesharing drivers. With crime preventive measures in place, criminals will be deterred from victimising drivers and passengers. The vulnerability of ridesharing drivers has encouraged the prevalent crime among ridesharing drivers and more criminals are tempted to engage in this act of victimisation because of its profitability and lack of security in the companies' system to protect drivers from attack, assault and harassment. If proper security measures are not in place, more criminals will keep taking advantage of these loopholes to commit more crimes.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

This study is exploratory in nature, and it provides deep understanding of ridesharing driver's victimisation because of limited extant works in this area of research. The study examined the security and safety issues of ridesharing drivers. It also explored the various protective measures employed by these drivers and their companies to ensure their safety.

3.2 Study Location

Lagos state was the research location. The state was purposively selected for the study based on three reasons. First, Lagos State is one of the states in the south west known as the commercial centre of Nigeria, and is the hub of the country's fastest-growing technology sector (Olawoyin, 2021). Second, it is known to be one of the largest cities in Nigeria and the second most populous city in Africa which makes it attractive to technology startup companies like Uber and Bolt (Cenfri, 2020). Finally, according to Lambo (2021) the prevalence of assault and carjacking of ridesharing drivers especially in Lagos State calls for intervention. It is within the context of this study that Uber and Bolt companies in Lagos State were targeted largely because of high reportage of victimisation in the newspaper.

Geographically, Lagos State is bounded to the south by the Bight of Benin and to the west by the international border with Benin, Lagos State borders Ogun State to the northeast making it the only Nigerian state to border only one other state.

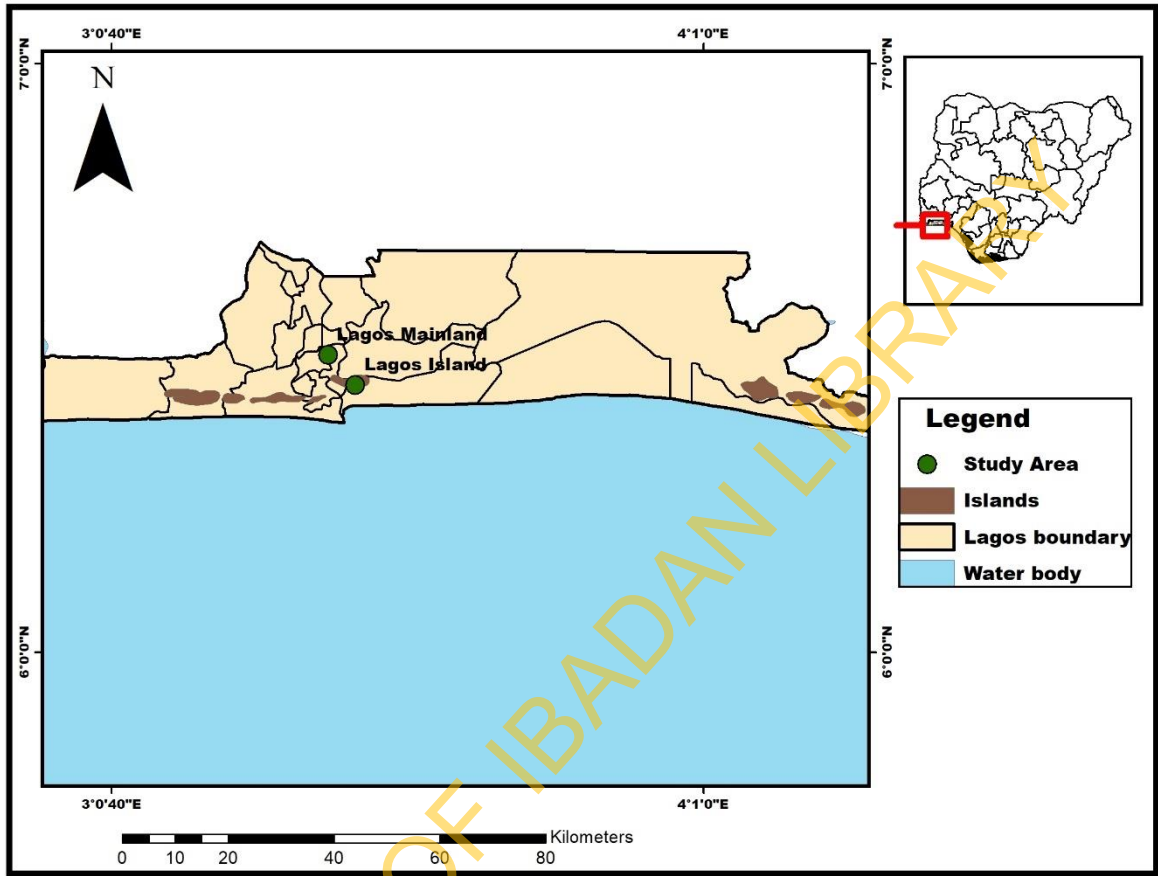


Figure 3.1. Locations where ridesharing drivers pick and drop off passengers in Lagos State.

3.3 Study Population

The study sought information from all the stakeholders involved in the ridesharing transport. Altogether, the study population comprised four groups. The first group is made up of ridesharing drivers (Uber and Bolt). The second group is the technology platform operators managing and running of the Smartphone app. Group three are riders while the fourth group consists of the Police.

3.4 Sample Size

The sample size for the study was drawn from 46 participants (15 Uber drivers and 15 Bolt drivers, 10 riders, 5 police and Uber operation manager) in Lagos State. Thus, this research employed qualitative approach of social inquiry. Qualitative method generates non-numerical data and it is used to understand people's beliefs, experiences, attitudes, behaviour, and interactions (Mangal, & Mangal, 2013). The qualitative method of enquiry was used to elaborate and corroborate findings from the case study. In view of this, the sample size for this study was determined based on qualitative methods of social inquiry as adopted.

3.5 Sampling Method and Sampling Technique

This study adopted purposive sampling method and techniques. Purposive design provides cases rich in information for in-depth study where individuals can contribute, in real terms, what they perceive on an issue under discussion. This study used this sampling method to gain important insights on the influencing factors necessitating victimisation of ridesharing drivers in Lagos State.

The method also provided the demographic profile of ridesharing drivers in Lagos State. The size of the sample was controlled to minimise repeated information at the point of saturation, that is, the level at which repetition or confirmation of previously collected data occurred during the field exercise. This design was also chosen because of the need to develop rich information and experiences of ridesharing drivers regarding victimisation rather than using sampling techniques that support general data.

Table 3.1. Summary of Sampling Techniques and Sample Selection

Sampling Techniques	Sampling Selection	Data Collection Methods	Numbers of Participants
1.Purposive Sampling	Ridesharing driver who drives for Uber	IDI	15 (Uber drivers)
	Ridesharing driver who drives for Bolt	IDI	15 (Bolt drivers)
	Police (Rapid Response Squad Manager)	IDI KII	5 (Police officer) 1(Uber Operation Manager)
2.Snowball Sampling	Uber Rider	IDI	5 (Riders who patronize Uber)
	Bolt Rider	IDI	5 (Riders who patronize Bolt)
3.Purposive Sampling	Ridesharing drivers who have been victimised, drivers who lost their cars to crime-motivated riders, Police narration about deceased drivers, narratives from colleagues and relatives of deceased victims, and confession narratives from apprehended criminals derived from IDI with the victims.	Case Study	10 (cases that deal with victimised drivers reported in the newspaper. Drivers who at one point in time been victimised within the scope of the study)
			Total: IDI= 45; KII=1; CS= 10

NB: IDI=In-depth Interviews; KII=Key informant interviews; CS=Case study

Table 3.1 showed the distributions of how the In-Depth Interview (IDI) and Key Informant Interview (KII) were structured, conducted, and distributed among the study population in the study area.

Case studies on ridesharing drivers who survived carjacking and robbery from crime-motivated riders were purposively selected based on the relevance of the case which emerged from Newspaper reportage. For this, 10 case studies were selected from victims and relatives of victims who came face to face with the violent attack from crime-motivated riders. Some of the deceased ridesharing drivers' cases that were examined helped to open up an investigation into how and why these violent crimes were committed by crime-motivated riders and also exposed the tactics and strategies used by these criminal riders to victimise ridesharing drivers in Lagos State.

The rationale for the number of participants (45) that were interviewed largely hinged on the homogeneity of the population that was sampled. Similarly, opinions sampled from the field trip, especially Uber and Bolt drivers became exhaustible. Therefore, after the 45 participants were sampled, subsequent opinions and responses were repeated information of what the 45 participants already gave, and the researcher deemed it fit to stop the interview as the study had attained a saturation point.

3.6 Types and Sources of Data

In this study, primary and secondary data were the two main categories of data used. Interviews like the IDI and KII were used to gather the primary data. This was done in order to collect information directly from people who had the knowledge needed to fulfil the study's objectives. On the other hand, newspaper stories served as the source for the secondary data. However, the majority of the data sources used qualitative techniques and included case studies, KII schedules, and IDI.

3.7 Data Collection Method and Instrument

This study employed the qualitative approach of data collection to provide rich information appropriate for the study's objectives. For the primary source of data collection, comprised IDIs, KIIs, and non-participant observation, whereas the secondary data relied more on crime statistics, from newspapers. The processing of the qualitative data collected for the study started with the use of digital voice record tape which was stored and saved on the computer almost immediately after the completion of all interview. These data were later translated and transcribed into English language immediately in order that errors could be minimized before the actual analysis of the data commenced. The transcripts were also stored using electronic device (computer) to avoid loss of data.

3.7.1 In-Depth Interview (IDI)

Data from the qualitative method were obtained through a structured interview guide and were used to obtain in-depth information from study participants on the experience of being a victim of ridesharing drivers, particularly the expanding activities centered around car snatching by crime-motivated riders in Lagos State. All interview sessions were conducted during the day, especially in the afternoon and evening with a tape recorder and note taking.

3.7.2 Key Informant Interview (KII)

The key informant interview was structured to elicit questions on the safety and preventive measures in place for ridesharing drivers during recruitment process as well as insurance covers available for ridesharing drivers, in cases of emergencies or loss of property in the course of the job. Key informant guide was designed to sample opinion of ridesharing company officials though they declined interviews by the researcher.

3.7.3 Non-Participant Observation (N P O)

The participant observation was used to understand the fears of the ridesharing drivers during pick-up and drop-off of riders at the hailed locations. This was a first-hand experience to observe the mood and countenance of drivers with respect to their safety.

3.7.4 Case Study (CS)

A case study on ridesharing driver criminal victimisation in Lagos provided valuable insights into the nature, causes, and consequences of this phenomenon. Lagos, as a densely populated and traffic-prone city, presents unique challenges and risks for ridesharing drivers, who are often vulnerable to criminal activities such as robbery, assault, carjacking and kidnapping.

A case study on this topic involves a selected sample of ridesharing drivers who have experienced victimisation in Lagos, and reviewing the in-depth interviews to gather information on their experiences, perceptions, and coping strategies. The case study is necessary to collect data on the frequency, type, and location of victimisation incidents, and analysing the role of ridesharing companies in the reviewed cases.

Based on the relevance of cases that involve nature of victimisation, pattern of attack and mode of operations of criminals who victimise drivers, case studies of 10 victims of criminal victimisation examined occurred in Lagos State. Participants selected had bad experiences of victimisation. These victimisation stories provided insights into the complexities of the experiences of these victims that helped in giving answers to the research questions and objectives of the study. Case studies examined further helped the researcher to elicit more detailed, robust and concise narratives on the nature and prevalence of victimisation experiences of ridesharing drivers in Lagos state. The participants for the case studies were purposively selected.

Table 3.2. Matrix of Research Instruments by Study Objectives

S/N	Study Objectives	IDI	KI	CS
			I	
i.	ExamiIdentify factors engendering victimisation in ridesharing industry.	√		
ii.	Invest Examine the nature of criminal victimisation in ridesharing.	√		√
iii.	Explore the perceived risk of victimisation in ridesharing.	√		
iv.	DescriExamine the crime preventive measures put in place by ridesharing stakeholders to avoid victimisations in Lagos State.	√	√	

NB: IDI=In-depth Interview; KII=Key informant interview; CD=Case study

Table 3.3. Data analysis plans/matrix by objectives and resear instrument

S/N	Research objectives	Indicators	Study participants	Research instrument used	Method of analysis
1.	To Identify the factors engendering victimisation in ridesharing industry	*Emergence of victimisation of ridesharing drivers *Influencing factors * Lifestyle factors	Uber drivers and Bolt drivers	IDI	*Thematic analysis *Figures *Graph
2.	To examine the patterns of attack and mode of operations of criminal agents ridesharing actors	*Demographic factors of criminals *Target attractiveness * Time factor * Location factors *Car snatching business	Uber drivers, Bolt drivers, victims from newspaper article, interviewed criminals from the selected newspapers.	IDI	*Thematic analysis
3.	To explore the perceived risk victimisation in ridesharing	*Exposure of rideshare drivers *Routine activities of rideshare drivers *Social impact of victimisation *Socio-economic impact of victimisation	Uber driver, Bolt drivers and the managers of Uber and Bolt	IDI	*Thematic analysis *Diagram
4.	To document the crime prevention strategies in place by ridesharing companies and	*Challenges faced by rideshare drivers * Strategies to curb victimisation * Security loopholes in Ridesharing operations	Uber drivers, Bolt drivers, Police and the managers of Uber and Bolt	IDI KII	Thematic analysis *Diagram *Figure *Graph

3.7.5 Secondary Data

In addition to field data, the study also used secondary data in the form of records from the *Vanguard* and *Punch* newspapers. These two newspapers have dedicated crime report pages, that extensively cover crime stories.

3.8 Methods of Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was used to analyse the qualitative data for this study, which was collected using IDIs and KIIs (MAXQDA 2020) software and descriptive summary. Data, apart from the notes collated from the field research, were transcribed and adapted to suit objectives of the study. The comments from the interviewees were also quoted verbatim to bring out the important points that relate to the subject matter.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

Individuals and groups were employed for the study. Therefore, informed consent was very important considering dealing with human beings with emotion and free will. Consents of all participants were of utmost importance before commencing with the non-participant observation and interviews. All data were treated and presented with confidentiality and anonymity. All information gathered from this study were basically for academic purpose only. This study adhered strictly to the international ethical standards for research so as to protect the research study population. Letters of introduction with ethical approval number (UI/SSHREC/2021/0076) was obtained from the Faculty of the Social Sciences, University of Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria. The study participants were not, in any way, subjected to any harm (non-maleficence) neither was their information traceable to them. Hence, there was a minimal risk to study's participants.

3.10 Challenge Encountered

This study encountered difficulty accessing Uber and Bolt managers for interview. This was due to the sensitivity of the situations encountered by their drivers. Replicating this

study in other states in Nigeria is essential to compare the views of ridesharing drivers regarding the security situation encountered in their state and how it has been handled by ridesharing companies and the police response in various locations. This will enable the identification of similarities and differences in the experiences of ridesharing drivers across different states in Nigeria. Additionally, it will provide insights into the effectiveness of current policies and interventions aimed at improving the safety and security of ridesharing drivers.

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CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The responses gathered from participants in the field about the criminal victimisation of ridesharing drivers in Lagos State are presented and discussed in this section. This study is qualitative research and the research employed the use of In-depth interview (IDI), examined the case studies and Key Informant Interview (KII); this instrument was used to gain more insights on the experiences of these drivers. Data were thematically analysed using MAXQDA 2020 software.

4.1 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Ridesharing Drivers

Data from the interviews conducted during the fieldwork were used in this section to highlight the general characteristics that were unique to each study participant.

Table 4.1. Socio-Demographic Characteristic of Ridesharing Drivers' Participants

Variables		Frequency	Percentages
Sex	Male	30	100%
	Female	0	0%
Age	21-30	7	23 %
	31-40	21	70%
	41-50	2	7%
Marital status	Single	10	33%
	Married	20	67%
	Divorced	0	0%
Level of education	Secondary	0	0%
	Tertiary	30	100%
Category of driver	Part-time	12	40%
	Full time	18	60%
Type of car	Toyota Corolla	25	83%
	Toyota Camry	3	10%
	Nissan	2	7%
Ridesharing history	6 to 12 months	6	20%
	One year	6	20%
	More than two years	18	60%
Type of customers	Young adult (16-25)	18	60%
	Adult (25-50)	8	27%
	Elderly (50 and above)	4	13%

The ridesharing driver's population was mainly male (30); the ridesharing industry is male dominated which is evident from the gender distribution. The selection of participants was done randomly through the ridesharing application. No female driver came up from the number of drivers hailed through the app.

The study participants were mainly young adults, as most were in between 20 and 40 years of age. Ridesharing is an attractive option for young people who are seeking employment and need to engage themselves until they secure formal employment.

Most of the study participants (20) were married while 10 of the study participants were single. Some of the married participants took up ridesharing job after the loss of their jobs, especially during Covid-19, as a means of survival to feed the family. Some of these married participants enjoy the flexibility of the work as it gives them time for their families and also to engage in some other businesses.

All 30 participants in the study had tertiary level of education. This suggests that the ridesharing industry provides employment opportunities for graduates who are unable to secure formal employment or require alternative means of livelihood.

Some of the participants worked full-time while others worked part-time. The number of hours put in at work was mostly dictated by the participants' ability to earn money and their immediate financial requirements. Eighteen (18) of the participants worked on the platform on a full-time basis, while (12) others only worked part-time. The participants had worked for ridesharing businesses for anywhere between six months and three years.

The study discovered that the majority of ridesharing service users were young adults aged 16-25 (18) and adults (12). The adult group, eight were aged 30-50 while four were aged 50 and above.

4.2 Factors Predisposing Ridesharing Drivers to Victimization

For the purpose of understanding, the factors engendering victimisation of ridesharing drivers, information was obtained from the participants on the situational factors that predispose participants to victimisation. Participants attributed cases of victimisation and assault to factors such as working into late hours of night, high cash payment, popularity of Toyota Corolla cars and high market value of mobile phones used by many drivers.

4.2.1 Working Late Night

One of the major causes of victimisation of ridesharing drivers include is working very late into the night. The busiest times for the transportation industry in Lagos are typically very early in the morning and very late at night. Badiora (2015) revealed that most violent crimes occur during the late hours of the evening. Time dimension is also a factor in public transportation crime. Crime is minimal during the day and it peaks during the night. At this time, no capable guardian or surveillance is very active.

Despite news reports of murder and robbery of ridesharing drivers, the quest for more profit stood out as one major factor why drivers work late at night. They continue to pick passengers late at night with little consideration for the associated risks. A victim explained that some ridesharing drivers subject themselves to such risks in the quest to make more profit to meet up with loan repayment on their car. Another participant, traumatized by the death of one of the drivers, stated that his colleague died as a result of the profit he had envisaged to make from a long trip. One of the participants said:

You cannot blame Uber drivers that work late night because some want to get enough money to do repayment on the car loan, they are using for Uber business. So, they have to do night to be able to pay for the car because ordinarily you make more money in the night, especially from 9pm onward. Those are peak hours where the pay increase and some of these criminals that hail us at night want to see if they can rob us of cash, phone or the car and it has happened to so many of my friends who work very late in the night.
(UberDriver/Male/ IDI/15/2021)

Another participant stated

My friend was killed on the island, close to Badore Ajah. He was hailed via the app, and when he arrived at the pickup location, he was attacked. Unaware that one of them was armed, he fought them off, and they shot him twice before driving off in his car. They regularly employ this tactic by asking for along-distance journey, like as one from Egbeda to Lekki. No driver will receive such a request around 7 or 8 o'clock and not accept it since he will earn more money because such a trip will fetch him more than N5,000. When you arrive at the pickup location, you will see about three men carrying guns, cutlasses, and knives. They will quickly strike and rob you of your phone, money, and other valuables. (**Uber Driver/Male/ IDI/24/2021**)

Some of the participants stated that they make more profit in the night when there is surge in demand for ride. Olawoyin (2021) describes Lagos night life as a bubbling time where buying and selling is at its peak and there is high movement of people. He attributes this to the activities of night clubs; restaurants, hotels, small businesses that function mostly at night. He adds that the international airport also contributes to late night movement of people, especially those coming in from other states and countries due to difference in time zone. These give room for late night movement and high commute patronage at this hour of the night. This is evident from the response of one of the participants.

This participant stated that:

In general, if I do not work late at night and on weekends, I will not be able to make enough money. Weekends in Lagos are hectic, so we must be out there transporting people. There are a lot of demands at night, especially on weekends when men and women visit clubs, churches, and other places. (**Bolt Driver/Male/ IDI/6/2021**)

The time and location of rides play a significant role in driver criminal victimisation in ridesharing. Drivers who work late night and early-morning hours are more likely to be victimised than drivers who work during the daytime (Page et al., 2001). Additionally, drivers who work in urban areas, particularly in high-crime areas, are more likely to be victimised than drivers who work in suburban or rural areas (Vanderveen, 2006).

4.2.2 Dominant Cash Payment

Nigeria economy is still cash dominated (Feeny, 2015), and cash transactions make taxi drivers vulnerable to crime. These ridesharing apps implemented digital payments on purpose to cut down on crime. Unfortunately, there are a number of reasons why many people prefer to pay with cash. These include slow internet connections, log in problems on digital platforms, transaction failures, sluggish refunds for failed payments, down time on digital channels, and trouble finishing payments. Redahlia (2019) confirmed that Nigeria is a cash-dominated economy, and due to lack of trust in online transactions, 90% of Uber transactions are paid with cash. The failure of electronic payment system puts the lives of their drivers at risk of crime. This dominant cash transaction has increased the vulnerability of ridesharing drivers. However, Uber wants to encourage cashless transactions, which is why the App's cashless section was created to protect drivers against robberies. In a statement, Uber highlighted that it is intended that all transactions be cashless and that drivers do not need to carry cash to prevent robberies (Vivanco, 2014). Unfortunately, ridesharing app is not entirely cashless, considering the fact that there is option for cash payment which most riders prefer. All the interviewed participants collected cash and most of them gave reasons peculiar to them. Some of them emphasised that cash transactions were not going out of style anytime soon.

One of the participants stated that:

The system of payment here in Nigeria is cash dominated, even though we have a cashless policy. Most people do not trust our online payment system or put out their card details on the ridesharing app. Because of this trust issues in our online payment system, most of our rides are mostly cash transactions. This alone put our lives in danger of cash theft because these criminals know that we carry cash in our car and not small amount of cash (**Uber Driver/Male/IDI/4/2021**)

Uber and Bolt have card payment options on their application. The use of an ATM card to register and select the payment option which will be automatically charged without cash transaction is a safe mode of payment for both the rider and driver as there is no

physical cash involved. Also, this mode of payment makes it easy for the driver to get their pay and also for the ridesharing company to get their commission.

Most of the ridesharing drivers prefer the card payment to cash because it rules out being cheated out of their pay. Some drivers have been cheated of their pay because the riders prefer to pay with cash and some riders on getting to their destination run away with the drivers pay. Most of the participants have been victims of theft and robbed by their riders when it is time to make payment.

One participant who has been robbed of his pay said:

I prefer card transaction to cash, because it makes me feel safe that I will get my pay. Most riders do not want to pay or get scared by the charges at the end of the ride. Card payment is much better because I would not be carrying cash in my car. I have been cheated of my pay on many occasions. There was this incident with a rider. I drove him to the island and on getting to the location he alighted and asked for the price. When I told him it was 9,500 Naira, the guy exclaimed 9,500 Naira! Before I could park the car, he had run into the mall and there was crowd. That was how I could not get my money. I reported to Uber that evening and they said they will get back to me and till today, I have not heard from them (**Uber Driver/Male/IDI/15/2021**)

Another participant said:

Cash payment exposes us more to danger because when they see a Toyota Corolla and someone seated at the owners' corner, it is easy for them to guess that this must be an Uber, and they automatically know you have money stashed in the car. Especially those traffic and road side robbers, when you are sighted, they will come close to the driver's side to intimidate us. I can recall a case of a driver that was robbed in traffic while he had a passenger in the car. The robbers shot the window by the driver's side and before he knew what is going on he landed in the hospital with glass shrapnel in his eyes and face. The driver is blind now as a result of the incident. If all rides are strictly card payments, it will reduce this risk of carrying cash in our cars (**Bolt Driver/Male/IDI/14/2021**)

4.2.3 High Demand for Toyota Corolla Cars

There are different brands of car that can be used for Uber or Bolt business so far, they meet up with the company's requirement which states that the car must have been manufactured not earlier than 2002 and must be in a very good condition. Therefore, it was important to find out the popular brands commonly targeted by crime-motivated riders in Lagos State. Most of the participants submitted that Toyota Corolla is mostly at risk of theft. The price of a Toyota Corolla 2010 model in Nigeria ranges from ₦2,000,000 to ₦3,700,000. From newspaper reportage of recovered Toyota Corolla, cars stolen from ridesharing drivers were sold less than the original price which makes it attractive to buyers who want to get it at a cheaper rate. A newspaper reported that:

The victim's Toyota Corolla car was sold for N350,000. The person to whom the car was sold was to move the car to Jigawa State (Case Study 3 / PunchNewspaper/Police/2021)

Another case study reported:

One of the recovered Toyota Corolla which was claimed from the criminals who posed as riders was to be sold to a buyer outside Lagos (Case Study 1/ Punch Newspaper/Police/2019)

Toyota Corolla is most targeted because of its relatively low fuel consumption, good air conditioning system, reliability, low maintenance cost, good life span and resale value, among others. Owing to these qualities, criminals see a good business opportunity due to the good resale value on the car used by ridesharing drivers. This is why ridesharing drivers are being victimised by crime-motivated riders Mulholland and Dill (2016) also corroborate this assertion that the availability of ridesharing influences the increase of car theft.

4.2.4 Phones

The requirement for a phone specification that can accommodate the size of the Uber and Bolt App has made drivers an attractive target of victimisation.

I was robbed of my phone, in traffic, at Festac area as the criminal broke my window and demanded for my phone. He was held a knife to my neck and I had to let go of the phone so I would not get stabbed (Bolt Driver/IDI/Male/28/2021)

Another driver corroborated the statement:

Some ridesharing drivers use expensive smartphones to work. Some of us have more than one smartphone. So, we become a target of robbery (Uber Driver/Male/ IDI/24/2021)

The results suggest that situational circumstances and self-induced factors may expose ridesharing drivers to victimisation. Participants who carry cash and choose to work very late night put themselves in a vulnerable position with criminals whose target is to rob, attack or assault them. Additionally, dealing with cash, phones and the type of cars they ride indirectly facilitate victimisation. The lack of capable guardians and updated security for drivers makes them vulnerable to victimisation. According to Siegel and McCormick (2006), crime is not random; rather, it is a result of a person's daily routine. The failure of some ridesharing drivers to be cautious or exercise some level of discipline, especially from behaviours such as displaying phones on car dashboards and working late night despite knowledge of attendant risks in the absence of capable guardians, increases their victimisation.

Working late night creates an opportunity for crime to occur. During this time, the city is quiet and less crowded, making it easier for offenders to identify potential victims. Phones are a desirable target for criminals because they can be easily resold. Cash payment is another factor that increases the risk of victimisation. Individuals who carry cash are more likely to be robbed because criminals can easily access their money.

Toyota Corolla is a popular car model in Lagos and is often targeted by criminals. Routine Activity Theory provides a useful framework for understanding why working late at night, using expensive phones, cash payment, and Toyota Corolla serve as targets for crime-motivated riders in Lagos State.

By identifying these factors, individuals can take steps to minimise their risk of victimisation. This includes being aware of their surroundings, using discretion when using expensive items in public, and taking steps to secure their valuables. Additionally, policymakers can use this information to develop strategies to reduce crime, such as increasing police presence in areas with high crime rates or promoting the use of electronic payments instead of cash.

4.3 Nature of Criminal Victimization

For the purpose of understanding the nature of criminal victimisation, the study explored the experiences of ridesharing drivers. Criminal victimisation takes various forms, including physical violence, sexual assault, theft, fraud and emotional harm, and can have severe and lasting effects on the victim's physical, emotional and psychological well-being, as well as on their social and economic status.

The nature of criminal victimisation can vary depending on the type of crime, the victim's demographic characteristics and the context in which the crime occurs. For example, some crimes, such as robbery or assault, involve direct physical harm to the victim. Victims of criminal victimisation may experience a range of physical and emotional symptoms, including physical injuries, anxiety, depression, fear, and trauma. These symptoms can have long-lasting effects on the victim's health, social relationships, and quality of life.

Victims record losses, to include property loss and loss of lives. It was found out that some of the drivers lost their cars, phones, money and some died in the process. Some of the participants are direct and indirect victims while some are vicarious victims. We have direct victimisation in the case of loss of car, phone and money while indirect victims are

those who lost colleagues in the business. The loss of livelihood of some of these drivers has made them lose trust in the industry.

It is important to note that every victim and participant in this study said that the ridesharing companies did not prioritise their security, leaving them vulnerable to attacks from riders, and the absence of security personnel facilitate victimisation. It suggests that their victimisation was spurred on by a lack of competent guardians. Apart from the losses incurred by some of the victims (cash and phone), from newspaper reportage, we have some victims (survivor/deceased) whose stolen cars were acquired through hire purchase arrangements and were yet to complete the payment before the incident of victimisation occurred. Some of the participants (9) bought their car on hire purchase arrangement to operate Uber/Bolt business. Therefore, the cost of purchasing another car and starting life all over again was unimaginable to the victims who are still in anguish.

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Box 4.1. Narrative of a Survived Ridesharing Driver (Victim)

I picked up two riders from Lekki around 11 p.m., when we got to Ikoyi, one of the riders said I should continue driving to Dolphin Estate to pick up their female friend. When we arrived at Dolphin Estate, the two of them got out of the car and returned a few minutes later, stating that the female friend was not going to join them and that he should drive them to Oshodi. When I was about to climb the Oshodi-oke bridge, one of them grabbed me by the neck from the back seat, and another covered my mouth. A gun-like object was pointed at my head and they asked me to get in the back seat. Immediately I unbuckled the seat and opened the door, I saw some RRS operatives and shouted robbers, and ran towards them. They immediately swung into action when I narrated what happened and that my car was about to be taken. They went towards my Toyota Corolla car and caught one, while the other fled with my phone and the ₦80,000 cash (**Case Study 7/Male/Uber driver/Survived victim/Punch**)

This driver encountered a violent struggle but was able to survive by calling out for help to a nearby police on duty who were able to apprehend one of the crime-motivated riders. It could be inferred from the above that some of these victims went through a traumatic experience; some are lucky to come out alive as narrated from one of the survived victims in the case study. Richardson and Windau (2003) describe taxi driver's victimisation, assault and robberies as always ending in violent crime. It is either the driver is badly injured or killed in the process of struggle. In addition, 40% of cab drivers complained of poor safety and emphasised that safety is paramount in their jobs as their lives are precious like the lives of their passengers.

4.3.1 Strategies Employed by Crime Motivated Riders

For the purpose of further understanding the nature of criminal victimisation, the strategies and pattern of attack employed by crime-motivated riders in Lagos State were investigated to understand their mode of operation. Two national newspapers *The Vanguard* and *The Punch* were analysed.

Crime-motivated riders can employ various strategies to victimise ridesharing drivers in Lagos, Nigeria. One common tactic is to lure drivers to remote or poorly lit areas, where they can be robbed or assaulted. Another approach is to request a ride and then refuse to pay.

Box 4.2. Narrative of Apprehended Criminal (Rider)

We requested a ride on the bolt app and when the driver arrived in the Toyota corolla as seen on the app, we entered the car, and mid-way into the trip we announced to the driver that we are robbers and he should park and hand over the keys to them or they will kill him, but he refused to stop so I held him by the neck while my friend poured petrol on his face, which made him to suddenly stop the car. We dragged him out of the car and dropped him by the roadside and drove away.

(Case Study 1/Criminal/Punch Newspaper/2019)

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The incident highlights the danger that ridesharing drivers face in Lagos and the need for increased safety measures to protect them. The newspapers gave detailed accounts of incidents of assault and murder of Uber and Bolt drivers in Lagos State. They provided comprehensive interviews of survivors of victimisation, and detailed accounts of how the incidents happened as narrated by apprehended criminals. Findings indicated that crime-motivated riders devise different strategies which they successfully use to isolate and victimise ridesharing drivers. Most of the criminals use violent approaches resulting in the death of some of victim-drivers while some survived with either bodily injury and were hospitalised.

Organised, crime-motivated riders use time and place to isolate and attack their victims. There are always people who want to commit crimes; they are just waiting for the proper occasion, setting, and victim. Most criminals seek out possible victims who are not under any sort of care. Criminals are only interested in targets that are the easiest to take down and do not require a lot of time or effort to gain the valuables or mental dominance he desires. The perceived economic value, visibility, and accessibility of the object are what drive him to seek out targets. (Clark, 1999).

Time is also a factor in public transportation crime. Crime rate is minimal during the day; it peaks during the night. At such (night) time, no capable guardian or surveillance is active. Uittenbogaard (2014) explains crime in relation to time of occurrence. According to him, theft occurs more often in the afternoon and violent crime at night and the frequent happenings associated with the daily activities involving the victim.

Box 4.3. Narrative from a Dead Victim's Fiancé

I became concerned when his phone number went unanswered around 12 midnight. In the morning I tracked his car to a mechanic's workplace on Oyadeyi Close in Abule Egba, where I realized that the license plate and tires had been removed after tracking the car to that location. Immediately I went to Meiran Police Station to file a report. Some policemen followed me to the area and detained the mechanic and one of the suspects. At the station, the suspects narrated that the trip was a set-up and that they had planned to rob an Uber driver, but it was unfortunate that it had to be him. They didn't even offer him a choice; instead, they strangled him in the back seat, shoved him out of the car, and drove to Afrika Shrine to celebrate. They took the police to the crime scene, at Abule Egba under the bridge, where his body was discovered. He was scheduled to start a new job the next day, at 8 a.m. on Monday; he accepted the trip to have money to sustain himself and died in the process. The three suspects were apprehended in connection with the crime. (*Case Study 10/Fiancé of deceased Uber driver /Vanguard Newspaper/2021*)

4.3.2 Weapons Commonly Used by Ridesharing Drivers

These are common weapons of attacks used by criminals who victimise ridesharing drivers in Lagos based on the reviewed case study.

Weapon of Attack: Gun

Guns are one of the most common weapons used by criminals who target ridesharing drivers in Lagos. In 2019, Vanguard newspaper reported on a case where a ridesharing driver was shot and killed by armed robbers in the Ikotun area of Lagos. The robbers had flagged down the driver, entered his vehicle, and demanded money before shooting him and taking his car. (Case study 5/Vanguard newspaper/ 2019)

Weapon of Attack: Knife

Knives are also commonly used by criminals who target ridesharing drivers. In 2019, Vanguard newspaper reported on a case where a ridesharing driver was attacked with a knife by robbers in the Badore, Ajah area of Lagos. The robbers had flagged down the driver, entered his vehicle, and demanded money before attacking him with a knife and went away with his car. (Case study 6/Vanguard newspaper/2019)

Weapon of Attack: Axe

Axe is another weapon used by criminals who target ridesharing drivers. In 2020, Vanguard newspaper reported on a case where a ridesharing driver was attacked with axe by robbers in the Abijo GRA, Ibeju Lekki area of Lagos. The robbers hailed him on the app half way through their trip they attacked him with the axe and was seriously injured and left for dead, and then stole his car. (Case study 4/Vanguard newspaper/2020)

Weapon of Attack: Stones

Stones are also used by criminals who target ridesharing drivers in Lagos. In 2020, Punch newspaper reported on a case where a ridesharing driver was attacked with stones by robbers in the Ipaja area of Lagos. The robbers had thrown stones at the driver's

vehicle, causing him to lose control of the car and crash. They then robbed him of his belongings. (Case study 1/Punch newspaper/2020)

The ridesharing industry in Lagos, Nigeria, has become a target for criminals who use various weapons to victimise drivers. Guns, knives, axe and stones are some of the weapons and tactics used by these criminals. Ridesharing companies should take steps to protect their drivers, including conducting background checks on passengers, providing safety training, and developing safety features in their apps. Additionally, law enforcement agencies should step up their efforts to apprehend these criminals and bring them to justice. By working together, ridesharing companies and law enforcement agencies can make the roads safer for both drivers and passengers.

According to routine activity theory, criminal behaviour occurs when a motivated offender come in contact with a suitable target in the absence of a capable guardian. In the context of ridesharing drivers, there is convergence in time and space of motivated offender, a suitable target, and the absence of a capable guardian. This convergence of factors increases the perceived opportunity for crime-motivated riders to commit a crime and decreases the perceived risk of being caught or prevented. Crime-motivated riders use the knowledge of the driver's routine, their location, and the absence of a capable guardian (such as police) to victimise them. The time of attack and victimisation, from newspaper reportage, ranges between 10pm and 3am. Within this time frame, the presence of capable guardianship is little or absent which makes the ridesharing drivers vulnerable as easy target of victimisation.

Box 4.4. Narrative from Police

At 11.30 p.m., the suspects requested an Uber trip. While the unsuspecting driver was transporting them to their destination in Ajah, the suspects attacked him with an axe when they arrived at Abijo Government Reserved Area, Ibeju Lekki, causing him to lose control of the steering. They then placed him in the passenger seat of the Toyota Corolla and drove away. The culprits were apprehended in Ibeju Lekki's Mayfair Garden. The abducted driver was also rescued. The suspects were found carrying an axe stained with blood and one knife, according to authorities. The driver, who was critically hurt, is being treated in a hospital. The suspects admitted that they normally hail Uber drivers between 9:30 and 10:00 p.m. to transport them to a remote place, particularly around Ajah on the Island, where they would not be easily noticed by police or onlookers (**Case study 4/Vanguard Newspaper/Police/2020**).

The implication of these findings is that these crime-motivated riders in Lagos State work in groups and are highly skilled and organised, which shows it is an organised crime carefully planned by this group of criminals. Also, it can be concluded from these case study narratives that these crime-motivated riders have devised various methods and tactics suitable to carry out their operation. These findings also corroborate the submission of Uittenbogaard (2014) on violent crime that most thefts are usually violent at night and the frequent happenings associated with the daily activities involving the victim.

4.3.3 Items Stolen by Criminals

This section explores the items that are commonly stolen from ridesharing drivers in Lagos State and the measures that can be taken to prevent such thefts.

One of the most common items stolen from ridesharing drivers in Lagos State is cash. Ridesharing services in Lagos State often accept cash payments, which means that drivers are required to carry cash with them to provide payment balance to passengers. This makes them a target for thieves during traffic and crime-motivated riders, who rob them of their cash. One of the victims from the case study stated

Most of the drivers have lost money on many occasions in the course of their work. One of the drivers stated he lost ₦5,000 on one occasion (Case study 2/ Punch Newspaper /2019)

Mobile phones are also frequently stolen from ridesharing drivers in Lagos State. These items are valuable and can be sold quickly for cash, making them an attractive target for thieves. In addition, drivers may display their phones on dashboard of their car making them vulnerable to theft.

“Mid way into the trip, the criminals held me by the neck and poured petrol on my face, I was dragged out of the car. They went away with my phone and car” (Case study 1/Bolt driver/survived victim/2021)

Another item that is commonly stolen from ridesharing drivers in Lagos State is the car itself. Car theft is a significant problem in Lagos State, and ridesharing drivers are not immune to this threat. Thieves may steal the car while the driver is picking up a passenger or when the driver is parked in a vulnerable location.

The suspects narrated that the trip was a set-up and that they had planned to rob an Uber driver of their car, by randomly picking drivers that is close to their location because you can see the type of car on the app. **(Case Study 10/Fiancé of deceased Uber driver /Vanguard Newspaper/2021)**

To prevent theft from ridesharing drivers in Lagos State, there are a number of measures that can be taken. One of the most important measures is to be aware of the risks and to take steps to minimise them. For example, drivers should avoid carrying large amounts of cash and should keep their mobile phones and other electronic devices out of sight when not in use. Another measure that can be taken is to install security cameras in the car. These cameras can help to deter thieves and can provide evidence in the event of a theft. Drivers can also consider installing GPS tracking devices in their cars, which can help them to locate the car in the event of a theft. It is also important for ridesharing drivers in Lagos State to be aware of their surroundings and to avoid driving in areas that are considered unsafe. Drivers should also be cautious when picking up riders and should avoid picking up riders in isolated locations.

In addition, ridesharing companies can take measures to protect their drivers and their riders. For example, they can provide training for drivers on how to minimise the risk of theft and can offer incentives for drivers who have not had any thefts in their cars. Theft from ridesharing drivers is a significant problem in Lagos State, with cash, mobile phones, cars, and other items being commonly stolen. To prevent thefts from ridesharing drivers, it is important to be aware of the risks and to take steps to minimise them, such as avoiding carrying large amounts of cash, installing security cameras in the car, and being cautious when picking up riders. Ridesharing companies can also play a role in protecting their drivers.

4.3.4 Negative Impacts of Victimization

Victimization can have a number of negative impacts on individuals, both in the short and long term. Being victimised can cause significant psychological, economic, social and trust issues.

4.3.4.1 Economic Impact of Victimization

The economic impact of victimisation on ridesharing drivers in Lagos can be significant and far-reaching. Ridesharing drivers, like drivers in other cities around the world, are vulnerable to a range of criminal activities, including robbery, assault, and kidnapping. These incidents can have a range of economic impacts on drivers, including loss of income, damage to their vehicles, and the need for medical treatment. One of the participants stated:

These companies don't consider our car usage, maintenance cost and others. When you send them mail on issues of accident or robbery, they don't respond to us, meaning you are on your own. Some of my colleagues that were carjacked are yet to recover from it, now they are out of job **(Bolt driver/Male/6/2021)**

One of the most significant economic impacts of victimisation on ridesharing drivers in Lagos is the loss of income. When drivers are victims of crime, they may be unable to work for a period of time, either due to physical injuries or emotional trauma. This can result in a loss of income that can be devastating for drivers who rely on their ridesharing work to support themselves and their families. Additionally, when drivers are victims of crime, they may need to repair or replace their vehicles, which can be costly. In some cases, drivers may need to take time off work to make these repairs, further exacerbating the economic impact of victimisation.

Box 4.5. Narrative from a Victim

I was robbed in traffic on the Apongbon Bridge, Lagos, on September 12, 2019, by two youngmen around 8pm. I was a Bolt driver and I had a female passenger in the car. We were going to Papa Ajao, Mushin. One of the robbers pointed a gun at me; I was about giving him my phone, when he shot me in the face and collected the phone. The pellets shattered the window and hit me in my two eyes. The robbers ran away immediately I was shot. My passenger became scared and panicky. The next thing I noticed was that she disembarked from the vehicle and began calling for help as she was running away. I was bleeding profusely without help. She came down from the vehicle and shouted for help; nobody answered. After about five minutes, two policemen showed up. They were the ones who took me to the Military Hospital, Yaba, in my vehicle. One of the policemen drove us to the hospital. While driving, the other was busy holding me and saying kind words to me so that I wouldn't give up. When we got there, I was given first aid to stabilise my condition. I lost vision immediately I was shot. After spending 3 months in the hospital for treatment, it is still the same, we are only hoping for God's intervention. The vehicle belongs to my sister's husband. I used to remit money to him pending when I would get the NYSC call-up letter. He added, "I went for surgery at the Eye Foundation. He said the doctors told him that if he wanted to get permanent treatment for his damaged teeth, he would have to pay N350,000 for each which is a lot apart from all the money they have spent so far for his sight. What broke my heart the most was Bolt's arrogance towards me. A top staff member of Bolt, Justin assured me tirelessly that the company would send its staff to sympathise with me. Till now, no one from Bolt has reached out, I got a letter from Bolt, stating that I did not subscribe to its Driver Shield Insurance package and would only get ₦250,000 to treat himself. This was after my family have spent over N1.7 million in the hospital. (Case study 5/Bolt Victim/Vanguard Newspaper/2019)

Another economic impact of victimisation on ridesharing drivers in Lagos is the cost of medical treatment. When drivers are physically injured as a result of criminal activity, they may require medical attention, including hospitalisation, and surgery. These costs can be significant, and drivers may struggle to pay for them, particularly if they are unable to work due to their injuries. In addition to these direct economic impacts, victimisation can also have indirect economic impacts on ridesharing drivers in Lagos. For example, when drivers are victims of crime, they may be more likely to quit their jobs or reduce their hours, either out of fear or because they are physically unable to work. This can lead to a shortage of drivers in the market, which can drive up prices for riders and reduce the availability of rides. Furthermore, when ridesharing companies are perceived as unsafe due to high rates of victimisation, they may lose customers, further reducing the income of drivers. This can create a negative cycle in which drivers are victimised, leading to a reduction in income, which in turn makes them more vulnerable to crime.

To address these economic impacts, there are a number of steps that ridesharing companies, regulators, and drivers themselves can take. One of the most important is to increase safety measures for drivers, including providing training on how to identify and avoid dangerous situations, implementing safety features in vehicles, and increasing police presence in areas where drivers are particularly vulnerable. In addition, ridesharing companies can work to improve the economic stability of their drivers, by offering benefits such as health insurance, paid time off, and retirement savings plans. This can help to mitigate the financial impact of victimisation and make drivers less vulnerable to economic instability.

Overall, the economic impact of victimisation on ridesharing drivers in Lagos can be significant and far-reaching. By taking steps to increase safety and economic stability for drivers, however, it is possible to reduce the negative impact of crime and create a safer and more prosperous environment for all involved.

4.3.4.2 Social Impact of Victimization

The social impact of victimisation on ridesharing drivers in Lagos, Nigeria is significant and far-reaching, which can have a wide range of social consequences. One of the primary social impacts of victimisation is that it can lead to a breakdown of trust and communication between drivers and passengers. When drivers are victims of crime, they may become more hesitant to engage with passengers or to provide a high level of service, which can create tension and hostility between drivers and passengers.

I am a free person and I like to talk to my passengers, engage them in discussions about happenings in the country. But with all the report from my colleagues about bad experiences with riders and the ones we hear on the news. I don't trust anyone who hail me on the app. I become edgy and very attentive whenever any rider enters my car. Sometimes, I will but on a bold and scary face if I pick up more than one passenger. **(Bolt driver/male/6/2021)**

Another participant added:

I am always careful when I pick up a rider, especially if they are more than one. I keep monitoring them from my rear mirror in case of any suspicious act. I also, try to strike conversation to know the kind of person he/she is and if its someone that doesn't talk, I will just keep monitoring them in case because I don't trust anyone with all that is happening to ridesharing drivers **(Uber driver/male/15/2021)**

The issue of trust is a critical one for ridesharing drivers in Lagos, particularly in light of the high rates of victimisation that drivers experience. These incidents can erode trust between drivers and their passengers, making it more difficult for drivers to do their jobs effectively and safely.

One of the primary ways that victimisation impacts trust is by creating fear and anxiety among drivers. When drivers are victims of crime, they may become more fearful of future attacks, making it more difficult for them to trust passengers and to feel safe on the job. This fear can lead to a range of negative outcomes, including reduced productivity, and increased stress. Furthermore, when drivers do not trust their passengers, they may be

less likely to provide quality service. This can lead to a negative cycle in which passengers become dissatisfied with the quality of service they receive, further eroding trust and making it more difficult for drivers to earn a living. According to a rider:

These days most ridesharing drivers act rudely and are always edgy which is unprofessional. That's why most of them will keep getting bad ratings from us. (Rider 6/female/2021)

Another way that victimisation impacts trust is by creating a perception among passengers that ridesharing drivers are unsafe. When passengers hear about incidents of violence against drivers, they may become less likely to use ridesharing services, or they may be more hesitant to engage with drivers when they do use the service. This can lead to reduced demand for ridesharing services, making it more difficult for drivers to earn a living. Additionally, when passengers do not trust drivers, they may be more likely to engage in criminal activity themselves, further exacerbating the problem of victimisation. For example, passengers may be more likely to refuse to pay for rides or to engage in verbal or physical abuse, creating a hostile environment for drivers.

In addition, ridesharing companies can work to improve trust by increasing transparency and accountability especial in the area of resolving conflicts between a driver and the riders. This can include providing drivers with information about rider's background checks, and implementing policies that ensure fair treatment of drivers.

4.3.4.3 Psychological Impact of Victimisation

One of the primary psychological impacts of victimisation is post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Drivers who experience violent attacks may develop symptoms such as flashbacks, nightmares, and intense anxiety, which can affect their ability to work and engage in daily activities. These symptoms can also lead to 'avoidance behaviour', where drivers avoid certain areas or types of passengers to reduce their risk of being victimised again.

If you say you are going to Badore, Ajah when it is very late, I will say, no sir, I'm sorry, I cannot go there. Hearing those locations bring back fresh memories of my friend that was killed (Uber driver/male/17/2021)

Depression is another common psychological impact of victimisation. Drivers who experience violence may feel hopeless, helpless, and lose interest in things they used to enjoy. They may struggle to sleep or eat, and they may withdraw from social situations, which can exacerbate their feelings of isolation and loneliness. Anxiety is another common mental health issue experienced by drivers who have been victimised. They may feel nervous, anxious, and on edge when driving or interacting with passengers. This can affect their ability to provide quality service and earn a living.

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Box 4.6. Narrative from a Victim

Adeniji Olanrewaju, 33, a Bolt driver, was wearing a casual t-shirt on August 28, 2020, when he was stabbed three times in the neck by riders in Lekki. He had picked up three riders at Mega Chicken in Lekki around 5 am and headed to Okota when one of his riders said he wanted to ease himself. When he entered the car, the operation began. The rider at the back brought out a small knife and stabbed my neck. The one who went to urinate began to punch me, Olanrewaju explains. When they beat me to their satisfaction, they threw me out of the car. That was how I lost my black Toyota Camry. I went to Ajiwe Police Station to report the issue, but passed out. Till today, whenever I notice anyone behind me, I get triggered. (Case study 8/ Vanguard newspaper/2020)

Moreover, creating a supportive and empathetic work environment can help drivers feel more comfortable discussing their experiences and seeking help when needed. This can include creating training programs that address the psychological impact of victimisation, as well as promoting a culture of empathy and support among drivers and ridesharing companies.

4.4 Perceived Risk Faced by Ridesharing Drivers

For the purpose of understanding the associated risks faced by ridesharing drivers, the study examined the security concerns that ridesharing drivers face on daily basis. Detailed information about the driver is provided to make the riders feel safe and comfortable during the ride. Meanwhile, there is little or no information provided by riders that sign up on the app. Such information predisposes drivers to more risks.

Ridesharing drivers, especially in Lagos, have reported fears of being killed on the job due to incidents of carjacking and robbery. Some drivers have been physically harmed or killed during carjacking incidents. Also, there is the risk of robbery as riders may use the service with the intention of robbing the driver, and may use violence or threats to carry out the robbery. This can leave drivers feeling vulnerable and unsafe, and create fear among ridesharing drivers.

The study by Kumar *et al.* (2018) show that unequal measure of background checks also put the drivers in a vulnerable position because the emails, name and phone number provided by riders can be changed or discarded. This indicates that the ridesharing companies know more of the drivers than the riders. Kumar *et al.* (2018) further state that safety of the riders is more prioritised compared to that of the drivers. Some of the participants show concerns about the details provided by some of the riders especially the registered names of riders on the App. A participant stated

I do see strange names pop up on my app for a ride. Sometimes you will see scary names like 'Fire', 'Dragon', 'Muncher' and some riders will call with foreign contact that you cannot trace. All these

scare us as drivers and riders have access to all our details (**Uber driver/Male/IDI//2021**)

Another participant shared

They should do the riders app just like the way they do drivers profile. That is profiling the riders. With pictures, contact, license, NIN. Not just with contact and email. If you see some stupid names and if such rider does anything bad, how you will trace such person? Some use foreign numbers to call you and you can't call the number back. They really need to work on all these. We are scared for our lives and we have families too. I will love to go home to meet them every night (**Bolt driver/Male/16/2021**)

In addition to the scanty background check provided by the ridesharing app, the ridesharing drivers are faced with fear of getting killed by the riders. Since they are not allowed to ask the riders for their destination until the ride commences and also, the drivers are not allowed to search the riders in case they carry things that can harm them (Hanafi, 2018). Due to all these limitations, drivers' sense of insecurity has heightened and they look over their shoulders during any ride. A participant shared:

I constantly scan the riders I pick in the rearview mirror, keeping an eye out for any unusual moves. Because it is against our rule book to search our riders before they enter the car, we cannot read their minds to determine whether they have good or evil ideas, nor can we search them before they enter our car. We are aware of the numerous risks associated with our work, but only God can shield us from criminals pretending to be riders (**Bolt driver/ Male/IDI//2021**)

Another participant said:

Since my unpleasant encounter with a rider, whenever, I receive a request after 10 o'clock at night, I ask the passenger where they're going, and if I don't feel safe going there, I cancel the trip. I used to be able to go practically anywhere in Lagos at any hour, even at 2am in the morning, but now since the frequent killing and snatching of uber cars I politely decline rides when it's late (**Uber driver/ Male/ IDI//2021**)

The app's general accessibility makes it easy for criminals to take advantage of the drivers. One of the participants said that because the drivers have nice cars and expensive phones, it is easy for anyone to download the applications on their phones and request a ride.

When they refused to pay for the ride, they boasted to me that I could go ahead and file a complaint. They claimed they would uninstall the application, reinstall it, and register using a different name and email address while continue using the service. It was around 1 am and I was frightened they were going to kill me this alone puts us at risk **(Bolt driver/Male/IDI/17/2021)**

The aforementioned account makes clear that drivers can report assaults and harassment using the ridesharing app, but the companies themselves do not penalise customers severely. Even if Uber or Bolt can suspend a violator's account if they get complaints, the offender will simply erase the app from their phone and download it again using a different phone number and login details. According to Almoqbel and Wohn (2019), the majority of drivers do not feel secure because they know little about their passengers. According to some drivers, the only information needed to create an Uber or Bolt account for a rider is their name and email address, which may be changed by riders. Some riders occasionally call drivers using international phone numbers after being linked with them. Riders get to know the full details of the driver such as the names, contact information, license plate, and picture. They may pick riders who are not the owners of the accounts used to hail them, making it easy for them to flee or get away with the crime. In contrast, before applying to drive for Uber or Bolt, applicants are carefully screened and examined to protect the safety of the riders. However, drivers are not given the same level of information about their passengers, leaving them vulnerable to criminal victimisation. Many drivers are afraid to drive because of this enormous risk.

Fear of being robbed is another common risk factor faced by ridesharing drivers (Chen et al., 2019). Robbery is a criminal act that involves the use of force or threat of force to take property from someone else. In the context of ridesharing, robbery can occur when a driver is forcibly robbed of their earnings, personal belongings, or vehicle by a passenger. Robbery can have serious physical, emotional, and financial consequences for

drivers, and can negatively impact the overall safety of the ridesharing industry (Pulido and Matusitz, 2018). According to one of the participants

*I always fear getting robbed of my car, because I am yet to complete the payment on it.
(Uber driver 3/Male/ 2021)*

Being cheated by a rider refers to situations in which ridesharing drivers are not paid for their services or are paid less than the agreed-upon amount due to fraudulent practices by the rider. This can include situations such as riders falsely reporting rides as incomplete or disputing charges, or riders claiming to have lost items in the vehicle in order to avoid payment (Kamhoua *et al.* 2019).

Some riders do not have money to pay for the ride but they will hail us and by the time we get to the destination it will be a problem, some will come up with different excuses and some will run away with our pay (**Bolt driver /21/Male/2021**)

Being cheated by riders can have significant financial consequences for drivers, particularly those who rely on ridesharing as their primary source of income (NIOSH, 2018). To address the risk of being cheated by riders, ridesharing companies can implement several measures to enhance drivers safety and protect their earnings. For example, companies can use cashless payment systems that require riders to pre-authorise payments and provide identification information. Companies can also use fraud detection and prevention measures to identify and flag suspicious activity, and provide support for drivers in disputing fraudulent charges. Drivers can also take steps to reduce their risk of being cheated by riders. For example, drivers can ask riders to confirm their identity and destination before starting a trip, and ensure that they have a clear understanding of the fare before beginning the trip. Drivers can also monitor their earnings and payment history to identify any discrepancies or fraudulent activity. Overall, it is important for ridesharing companies and drivers to be aware of the risk of being cheated by riders and take necessary precautions to protect themselves. By implementing proactive measures to address this risk, the ridesharing industry can create a more secure and equitable working environment for drivers.

Being out of a job is another risk faced by ridesharing drivers, particularly those who rely on ridesharing as their primary source of income. The ridesharing industry is highly competitive, and drivers may face challenges such as low pay, high commission fees, and limited job security. In addition, ridesharing companies may periodically adjust their policies or pricing structures, which can affect driver's earnings and availability of work.

One participant expressed his concerns:

Losing my life and being out of job is one of my greatest fears, because the ridesharing company is less concerned about our safety. We have channeled our concerns through protest and letters but we haven't gotten a favourable response especially regarding profiling our riders for our safety (**Uber driver / 22 / Male / 2021**)

Ridesharing companies can also take steps to enhance driver job security and reduce the risk of drivers being out of work. This can include providing clear and consistent policies and guidelines, offering bonuses or incentives for high performing drivers, and providing support for drivers. Additionally, companies can invest in initiatives such as driver training and development programs to help drivers build their skills and increase their earning potential.

4.4.1 Hotspot Locations

In Lagos State, particularly in the late hours of the night, location is extremely important for ridesharing drivers' feelings of safety. Each participant mentioned a location or two that they often avoid in order to keep safe. The locations, Badore Ajah, Mushin, Egbeda, Ikorodu, Lekki, and Ketu were mentioned by the participants. Given the lack of a capable guardian (police), these locations are regarded as dangerous for their business. According to a crime survey done by Alemika and Chukuma (2005), Lagos Island, Mushin, and Kosofe had higher rates of murder and car theft. As a result, the majority of individuals developed avoidance behaviours as a coping strategy and behavioural reaction to get over their fear and anxiety. Some of the participants voiced their worries in the following manner:

I keep clear from certain places in the Ikeja and Ojota areas after 8 o'clock. I refuse requests for the Lekki and Ajah axes due to safety concerns (Boltdriver/Male/21/2021).

Another participant pointed out that:

I used to be able to go anywhere in Lagos at any time of day. However, once it is 6 o'clock I decline any requests to go to places like Ajah, Mushin, or the Ikorodu axis out of concern for my own safety because of all the awful Things we hear occurring to our colleagues there (Uber driver/Male/15/2021)

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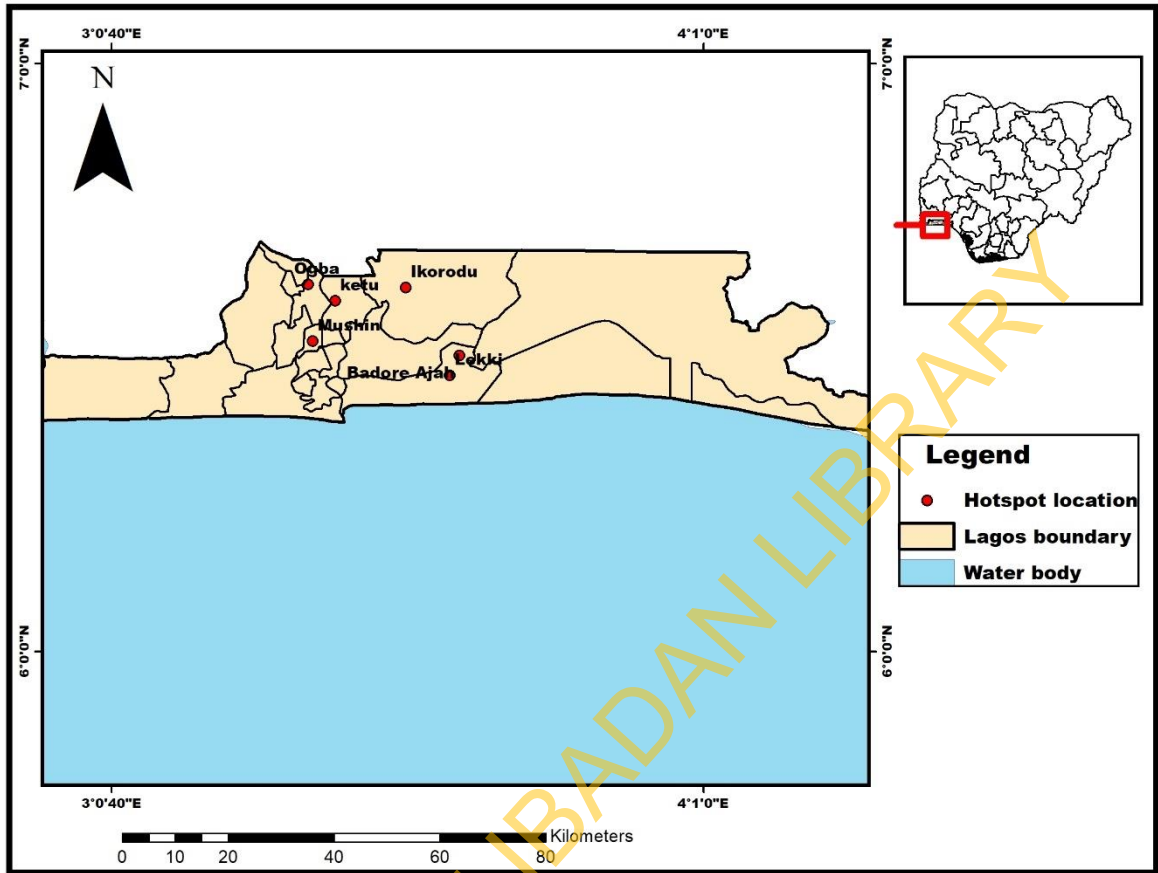


Figure 4.1. Hotspot locations where ridesharing drivers are most vulnerable to victimisation.

One of the risks that ridesharing drivers encounter is location. Some places where Uber/Bolt drivers were abused and killed were mentioned in the case study that was analysed. Some of the drivers afterwards confirmed that some of these areas were unsafe and that they avoid them, particularly at night. According to the survey, Lekki and Ajah on the Island are places where Uber and Bolt drivers are most likely to be attacked and victimised. Alemika and Chukwuma (2005) conducted a study on the spatial distribution of crime in Lagos, Nigeria. Relatively, high number of incidents of violence and crime has been reported in these areas. Many of these roads in Ajah and Lekki are poorly lit and have few or no security cameras, which makes it easier for criminals to commit crimes without being identified. The absence of police checkpoints and patrols also makes it more difficult to apprehend offenders and deter crime.

The study provides some insight into the geographical concentration of crime in Lagos. The study found that crime is not evenly distributed across Lagos, but rather concentrated in certain areas. Violent crime is concentrated mostly in Lagos Island, Mushin, Agege and Oshodi. These areas are densely populated and have high levels of poverty, unemployment, and social inequality, all of which have been identified as factors that contribute to crime. In these areas, crimes such as robbery, burglary, and assault are common. This is evident from locations feared most by participants interviewed in the study.

4.4.2 Type of Ride Requested

The type of ride requested by passengers can also affect the risk of driver criminal victimisation in ridesharing. Rides that involve multiple passengers are more likely to result in verbal abuse or physical assault than rides with a single passenger (Kim *et al.*, 2018). There are several reasons why rides with multiple passengers may increase the risk of victimisation for ridesharing drivers. One factor is that rides with multiple riders may create a more chaotic and unpredictable environment. Riders may be more likely to behave in an unruly manner or engage in rowdy behaviour when they are in a group, which could lead to verbal abuse or physical assault directed at the driver.

Box 4.7. Narrative from the Police

Before getting to their destination, they told the driver they wanted to ease themselves. It was at this point they descended on him. He was killed and pushed out of the car into the road before driving the car to beach road, Lekki, where they hid it for two days while looking for abuyer (**Case study 9/Vanguard Newspaper/Police/2020**).

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Additionally, if there are multiple riders in the car, it may be more difficult for the driver to identify who is responsible for the abuse or assault, making it harder to report the incident to the ridesharing platform or law enforcement. Overall, rides with multiple passengers may require additional vigilance and precautions to ensure the safety of both drivers.

4.5 Safety Strategies used by Uber and Bolt Drivers

This section discusses the safety precautions taken by ridesharing drivers to protect themselves while on the job, as well as the measures implemented by the ridesharing companies and the role of police in crime prevention in Lagos State. It is important to note that ridesharing companies such as Uber and Bolt have strict policies prohibiting drivers from carrying weapons while on the job. For example, Uber's policy states that Uber prohibits riders and drivers from carrying firearms of any kind in a vehicle while using our app (Uber, 2021). Carrying weapons while driving for ridesharing services can result in the driver being deactivated from the platform, and in some cases, facing legal consequences. It is worth noting that some drivers may carry weapons for personal protection, but this is not a common practice, and it is therefore not recommended. To ensure their safety, ridesharing drivers used a variety of techniques that ridesharing companies may or may not have approved. Many drivers stated that they prioritised their safety over adhering to a law that would endanger their wellbeing. Apart from carrying weapon, ridesharing drivers are also prohibited from asking passengers about their destinations, and doing searches of riders in case they have evidence of a crime on them (Schewendau, 2017). Most of the participants resort to prayer, carrying defensive weapons, and being selective about the times and places they drove to keep themselves safe.

4.5.1 Safety Measures

Nine out of 30 participants carry equipment to protect themselves when faced with danger. This is contrary to the study conducted by Schwendau (2017) which revealed that most of drivers carry guns in their car while driving and some carry pepper spray to disarm their riders in case they are under threat. Some participant stated that they make use of their car tools as a form of defense against attack as explained by one of the participants below:

One of the participants said:

People are evil, so I store my car tools next to my car safe. If the business cannot ensure my safety, I must take precautions for myself (Uber driver/Male/24/2021).

Another participant remarked that:

As a precaution in case, I come across a criminal as a rider, I keep a baseball bat in my car (Bolt driver/Male/12/2021).

Some drivers use less violent techniques like praying to stare off crime-motivated riders.

Since we lack the ability to read the thoughts of our riders to determine if they are harboring good or ill intentions, prayer is my only weapon. We can only pray before we start our day because we pick different categories of people in our cars. I entrust my ways to God every morning because the work entails several risks (**Bolt driver/Male/18/2021**).

Prayer is a common practice in Nigeria, and it is often used as a means of seeking divine intervention and protection from various challenges and dangers. In response to this challenge, many ridesharing drivers in Lagos State have turned to prayer as a means of protection. Many ridesharing drivers believe that praying before and during their trips can protect them from harm and keep them safe from crime-motivated riders.

There are several reasons why ridesharing drivers in Lagos State use prayer as a protective means. Firstly, they believe that prayer is a powerful tool that can help them overcome any obstacle or challenge that they may encounter. They see prayer as a means of tapping into a higher power that can provide them with the strength, courage, and protection that they need to navigate the challenges of their job. Prayer is seen as a means of spiritual protection. Many ridesharing drivers in Lagos State believe that there are spiritual forces at work in the world, and that these forces can influence the outcome of their trips. They believe that by praying, they can call upon these spiritual forces to protect them from harm and ensure that they arrive at their destination safely.

Ridesharing drivers in Lagos State use prayer as a protective means to protect themselves from crime-motivated riders. Prayer is seen as a powerful tool that can help drivers overcome any obstacle or challenge, provide spiritual protection, and build trust with riders. However, it is important to note that relying solely on prayer is not without its risks, and drivers should take additional measures to protect themselves from harm.

4.5.2 Time and Location

Drivers for ridesharing services have their own schedules. Knowing where the hot spots are in Lagos State has helped Uber and Bolt drivers avoid them, especially at night. Some of the participants talked about the methods they employ to stay away from these locations. Especially late at night, ridesharing drivers have identified some places as hotspots. So, when they get a ride notification and arrive at the place, they ask the rider where they are going, and if it is somewhere unsafe, they decline the ride. One of the participants claimed:

Because of my experience, I close by 10 p.m. I no longer drive beyond the Ikeja and Ojota areas, and when I get a request for ride at night and two people approach the car, I turn down the request to protect myself from unpleasant experiences **(Bolt driver/Male/21/2021)**

Another participant added:

I now close by 6 pm because I'm always scared. I do not want any unfortunate incident to happen to me. And those that work at night are the ones that collected car loans. So, they have to do night to be able to pay for the car. Some of these criminals that hail us at night do so to rob us of cash or phone. This has happened to many of my colleagues (**Uber driver/Male/15/2021**)

Many of the participants cited security concerns as justification for the early closure. In the research of a group of London cab drivers described in (Feeny, 2015), it was found that one-third of the drivers experienced fear of crime, particularly at night, which has an impact on their employment. Also, ridesharing drivers can take steps to increase their visibility and presence as capable guardians. This may include installing security cameras in their cars or wearing visible identification badges that indicate they are ridesharing drivers. By increasing their visibility, drivers may deter crime-motivated riders who are looking for easy targets and attract riders who are seeking a safe and reliable transportation option.

Additionally, ridesharing companies can take steps to improve the safety of their drivers and riders by implementing security measures such as background checks for riders, GPS tracking of vehicles, and in-app safety features such as camera that allow drivers and riders to share their location with the company. By providing these measures, companies can help to reduce the opportunities for motivated offenders to target suitable targets and increase the likelihood of finding capable guardians.

Finally, routine activities theory has important implications for the safety of ridesharing drivers in Lagos State. By understanding the role of time and location in creating opportunities for crime, drivers can take steps to reduce their risk of encountering crime-motivated riders. By increasing their visibility and presence as capable guardians, they can deter potential offenders and attract riders who are seeking a safe and reliable transportation option.

4.5.3 Safety Strategy from the Police Perspective

Five Rapid Respond Squad Police (RRS) Officers were interviewed to find out the strategies in place to enhance security in vulnerable locations in Lagos state, and to get some security tips that the drivers in question can adopt to keep themselves safe from criminal minded riders. Some of the suggestions include mounting dashboard cameras as a security measure to curb criminals, avoiding dangerous locations at night, sharing their locations with friends and loved ones, having emergency contact numbers of police, calling for help when faced with a threat as well as being also be security conscious. A policeman affirmed that:

Innocent drivers have occasionally been attacked, while drivers have also attacked innocent riders. To combat some of these new crimes and threats to Nigerians' lives and property, we'll keep developing fresh tactics for battling crime. To make sure we safeguard them and other citizens, we will collaborate with all pertinent parties, including cab drivers. Some nations have cameras installed, particularly on buses, but I'm not aware of any in Nigeria. I also do not know what the cost implications might be given the high cost of data. I will advise Uber and Bolt drivers to stop operating in recognized unsafe areas, especially after dark. To keep people safe, we have RRS Police officers stationed all around Lagos (**RRS Police/Male/ 4/2021**)

Another RRS Police officer added thus:

Why would you accept a ride request to one of these well-known risky locations at past midnight as an Uber driver? When faced with threats, drivers should always have access to the emergency numbers for the local law enforcement authorities where they often operate. Crimes should be promptly reported to the nearest police station. Additionally, we caution drivers from driving while using tinted glasses so that onlookers may clearly recognise when anything unexpected is about to happen and take appropriate action. (**RRS Police/Male/ 5/2021**)

4.6 Drivers' Perspective on Role of Ridesharing Company in Incidents of Victimization

Some drivers feel that ridesharing companies have not done enough to protect them from these incidents, while others feel that the companies have taken some steps to ensure their safety. From the drivers' perspective, ridesharing companies can play a significant role in preventing incidents of victimisation by implementing safety features such as the emergency button, which can quickly connect drivers and riders to emergency services. Additionally, some drivers believe that ridesharing companies should conduct more thorough background checks on riders before allowing them to use their platform.

However, some drivers also feel that they bear some responsibility for their safety and should take precautions to avoid dangerous situations. For example, drivers can choose to decline a ride request if they feel unsafe or uncomfortable with the rider or the pickup location. Many of the drivers complained about how badly they are treated by the ridesharing companies. Cases of robbery, assault, harassment, as well as payment issues are not properly addressed by the ridesharing companies. This was also laid bare by a driver that revealed that:

Nothing! They ignore you and do not care if anything bad happens to the driver. They should be more concerned and considerate about drivers as partners. We are in partnership with them and not just slaves for them (Bolt driver/Male/11/2021)

Another participant opined that:

You will send a mail and wait a long time before you get a response. That is if your request is attended to (Bolt driver/Male/19/2021)

Some of the participants complained that the ridesharing companies do not trust the drivers especially when it comes to the issue of payment. They believe the riders over the drivers, as expressed by a one of the participants:

They mostly just tell you they are sorry and nothing will be done. The problem is immediately when you report they will ask the rider. They will call the rider and if the rider says “yes, I paid”, that is the end of it. So, they trust the rider more than us. The best thing is to accept card payment, not cash. There should be a kind of cyclic information not and not just basing their final decision on the riders. Hear the side of the drivers too; if possible, they can do a conference call with the driver **(Bolt driver/Male/15/2021)**

One of participants pointed out that:

There are insurance measures they take to cover certain costs if an accident condemns the car. In 2018, the Partner Injury Protection Program was started, but it was later discontinued. That's it; there was no longer any kind of insurance available to drivers on any of the ridesharing services. On its end, Bolt has never provided any of its drivers with insurance or payment. It has never before brought anyone any benefit. The rider's app should be developed in the same manner as the driver's profile. That is a form of rider profiling, with images, contacts, a license, and NIN not simply through email and contact. **(Bolt driver/Male/16/2021)**

Another driver supported the statement above as he submitted that:

Bolt is completely inactive. No one of my coworkers who was hurt while riding actively has benefited from insurance coverage. The drivers cannot determine who they will choose because there is no reliable system in place. Riders book at random, and anyone can make a booking. Some criminal elements have taken advantage of these flaws to do bad deeds after discovering them. The first step in tackling driver crime should be to profile riders. People with phone numbers that can be quickly deleted if they commit any crimes are constantly exposed to us. They distance themselves from such events if they occur. They need to gather information about the riders as well as enhance the safety of the drivers **(Bolt driver/Male/18/2021)**

Many drivers expressed their frustration about the way they are treated by the ridesharing companies. In cases of emergencies when the drivers reach out to the companies through email, all they get is 'sorry' we will get back to you as soon as possible, which may take more than 24 hours. It shows that they prioritise their own 20-25% cut on all trips than the security and welfare of the drivers. This shows that the drivers are left on their own to take care of themselves. Schwendau (2017) highlights the concern of the drivers that the only avenue of communication with the ridesharing companies, in cases of emergency, is email.

4.6.1 Basic Security Lapses with Ridesharing Operations in Lagos State

Some suggestions were gathered from the interviewed participant on strategies and ways they want the ridesharing companies to improve the security of the drivers from crime-motivated riders. The pick-up location and the passenger's first name are the only details provided to drivers. Many of the participants proposed adequate rider profiling to lower the danger of choosing idling strangers who cannot be located in the event of an emergency, better driver security, and also to improve the payment system by getting rid of cash choices to lower their vulnerability to robbery.

4.6.2 Rider Profiling

Background checks are an essential part of the ridesharing industry, especially in Lagos Nigeria, where there have been reports of drivers being assaulted or robbed by passengers. Ridesharing companies, such as Uber and Bolt, have implemented various measures to ensure the safety of their drivers and riders, including conducting background checks on their riders.

The process of conducting a background check on a rider typically involves verifying their identity by requesting certain information such as their identification card or credit card details. The information is used to conduct a criminal record check, as well as to verify that the rider is who they claim to be. Background checks can help to mitigate this

risk by providing drivers with more information about their passengers before accepting the ride. As one of the participants stated:

Riders should be required to upload any ID (voters' card, Nigerian passport, and, other mode of ID) when registering. In fact, they should be required to input their NIN number. That will help curb the prevalence of criminal conduct (Uber driver/Male/4/2021)

Another participant added that:

We need to be protected just like the way they prioritize the safety of the riders when incidents occur and reward us accordingly (Uberdriver/Male/3/2021)

One of the most significant benefits of conducting background checks on riders is that it allows ridesharing companies to identify individuals who have a history of criminal activity. This information can then be used to deny these individuals access to the platform, reducing the risk of violence against drivers and other passengers. For example, if a rider has a history of assault or robbery, ridesharing companies can deny them access to the platform, ensuring that they do not pose a threat to other riders or drivers.

Another benefit of conducting background checks is that it can help to deter potential criminals from using the ridesharing platform. If riders know that they will be subject to a background check, they may be less likely to engage in criminal activity, knowing that they could be identified and denied access to the platform.

Companies that provide ridesharing services say that since users must create profiles, drivers should feel more secure (Vivanco, 2014). However, since users' profiles are not vetted like those of ridesharing drivers, it is clear from the data acquired from participants that anyone may construct a profile with different email addresses, names, and phone numbers. These put ridesharing drivers at risk of victimisation rather than promoting their safety. Some of the interviewed riders also gave some suggestions on how to improve the security of drivers to prevent victimisation. One of the riders suggested that

Riders can be verified by being mandated to provide their BVN. But with fears over hackers accessing accounts with BVN, NIN can serve because it automatically provides the identity of a phone user. The Federal Road Safety Corps provided the app companies with a database with which they can verify a driving licence just by inputting the number on the licence. These app companies can liaise with those that developed the software and request a template with which riders can be verified. All that is needed is to input the NIN linked to the phone number and the network provider will give every required detail. If the name provided doesn't correspond with the phone number, the rider should not be activated (**Bolt driver/Male/28/2021**)

However, there are also some potential drawbacks to conducting background checks on riders. One potential issue is that it may infringe on the privacy of riders. Some riders may be uncomfortable with the idea of sharing their personal information with a third-party company, especially if they are not aware of how the information will be used or stored. To address these concerns, ridesharing companies can take steps to ensure that the information collected during the background check process is kept confidential and used only for the purposes of conducting the check. They can also provide clear information to riders about how their information will be used and stored, and allow riders to opt-out of the background check process if they choose to do so.

In conclusion, conducting background checks on riders is an essential part of ensuring the safety of ridesharing drivers in Lagos Nigeria. By verifying the identity of riders and conducting criminal record checks, ridesharing companies can identify potential threats and take steps to prevent violence against drivers and other riders. While there are some potential drawbacks to the background check process, these can be mitigated by ensuring that riders' privacy is respected and that they are fully informed about how their information will be used. Ultimately, the safety of drivers and riders should be the top priority for ridesharing companies, and background checks are one of the most effective tools available to ensure this.

4.6.3 Cashless Payment System

One of the most significant advantages of cashless payment systems for ridesharing companies is the reduced risk of robbery incidents. When cash is involved in a transaction, it creates an incentive for thieves to target ridesharing vehicles. By eliminating cash payments, ridesharing companies can significantly reduce the risk of robbery and make ridesharing a safer experience for everyone involved. In addition to reducing the risk of robbery, cashless payment can also help to prevent conflicts between drivers and riders over payment. When cash is involved, there is always the potential for misunderstandings or disagreements over how much money was exchanged. This can lead to arguments and even physical altercations in some cases. With cashless payment, there is a clear record of the transaction that both the driver and rider can access. This eliminates any confusion over how much money is owed and helps to prevent conflicts from arising. If there is a dispute over payment, the ridesharing company can easily review the transaction and resolve the issue fairly.

Also, with cashless payment, drivers do not have to worry about riders refusing to pay or disputing the fare amount. These disputes can sometimes escalate into physical altercations, putting drivers at risk. By using cashless payment options, these conflicts are reduced, and drivers can feel safer on the job. Some of the participants feel safe when the riders make payment through the ridesharing app. Collecting cash exposes these drivers to victimisation and they want this to be addressed for safety purposes. This is evident from the statement made by one of the drivers:

Cash transactions expose us drivers to danger of theft from our riders. I always prefer card payment through the app. It is more preferable to cash as it solves most of these cash or transfer payment issues (Bolt driver/Male/9/2021)

Another participant stated

Cash has been an exposing factor for us because most of my riders prefer cash payment to card payment. The card payment reduces

this friction of evasion of fare and also protects us from riders who think we deal mainly with cash. I would prefer if Bolt can remove cash payment to protect, we drivers **(Bolt driver/Male/12/2021)**

Cashless payment options reduce the risk of fraud and protect the interests of the ridesharing company and its drivers. Riders cannot use counterfeit money or falsely claim that they paid for the ride when they did not.

4.6.4 Training for Drivers

In order to ensure the safety of their drivers, ridesharing companies need to provide comprehensive safety training to their drivers on how to evaluate their riders and read body language. The first step in providing safety training is to educate drivers on the various safety cues to look out for when evaluating riders. This includes understanding the importance of checking the passenger's profile and rating before accepting a ride request. A low rating or negative reviews from other drivers could be a warning sign of potential danger. Drivers should also be encouraged to trust their instincts and decline any ride request that makes them feel uncomfortable.

Another important safety cue that drivers should be trained on is reading body language. This involves paying close attention to the passenger's nonverbal cues, such as their facial expressions, posture, and tone of voice. Drivers should be able to identify signs of aggression, nervousness, or intoxication in their passengers, and take appropriate measures to ensure their safety. As suggested that drivers should learn how to read their riders to know who to pick and who to turn down, as a safety cue. This was supported by one of the riders who emphasized that:

Drivers should be security conscious. They should be psychologically alert when receiving the riders (Rider 4/Female/10/2021)

In the opinion of another rider,

Drivers should remain cautious and avoid driving when it is very late in the night and avoid offline rides (Rider 10/Male/1/2021)

Additionally, drivers should be trained on how to effectively communicate with their passengers. This includes using clear and direct language to establish boundaries and expectations, such as not allowing passengers to eat or drink in the car, or not tolerating any kind of disrespectful behaviour. Drivers should also be encouraged to maintain a professional and respectful demeanor at all times, while also setting clear expectations with their passengers.

One other way to effectively train drivers on safety cues is through a combination of online modules and in-person training sessions. Online modules could include interactive quizzes, videos, and case studies to help drivers recognise potential safety risks and develop effective strategies for handling them. In-person training sessions could involve role-playing exercises and group discussions to further reinforce the importance of safety cues and communication skills.

Ridesharing companies could also consider implementing a mentorship programme where new drivers are paired with experienced drivers who can provide guidance on how to identify potential safety risks and effectively communicate with passengers. This type of program could help drivers feel more confident in their ability to navigate potentially dangerous situations, while also fostering a sense of community within the ridesharing industry. It is important for ridesharing companies to create a culture of safety within their organisations. This means taking a proactive approach to addressing safety concerns and encouraging drivers to report any incidents or potential risks they encounter. Ridesharing companies should also prioritise driver safety in their policies and procedures, such as by implementing background checks and vehicle inspections.

Ridesharing companies need to prioritise safety training for their drivers, especially when it comes to evaluating riders and reading body language. By educating drivers on safety

cues, providing technology to enhance safety, and creating a culture of safety within their organisations, ridesharing companies can help ensure the safety of both their drivers and riders.

4.6.5 Installing Camera

Ridesharing companies are increasingly considering the installation of cameras inside the vehicles of their drivers. This is being done to deter criminal behaviour and also to help in conflict resolution between the driver and the rider. The primary purpose of installing cameras is to enhance safety and security for both the driver and the passenger. Cameras can deter criminal behaviour by capturing footage of any illegal activity that may occur during a ride. This can include incidents of violence, theft, or harassment. By having cameras in place, ridesharing companies can deter potential perpetrators from engaging in criminal behaviour, knowing that their actions will be recorded and can be used as evidence.

Cameras can also be used to resolve disputes between the driver and the passenger. If a conflict arises during a ride, the camera footage can be used to determine what happened and who was at fault. This can help to prevent false accusations and ensure that both parties are held accountable for their actions. In addition to enhancing safety and security, cameras can also be used to improve the overall experience of using ridesharing services. For example, cameras can be used to monitor the behaviour of drivers and passengers, ensuring that they are following company policies and providing clarity of service. This can help to maintain the quality of the service and ensure that customers are satisfied with their experience. According to one of the riders:

*They can be more professional and perhaps a camera inside the vehicle can go a long way to ward off criminals who pose as riders (**Rider 3/Male/8/2021**).*

Another rider stated:

CCTV camera can be placed in the cab to record the trip and also to scare the rider from doing something bad (Rider 8/Male/7/2021).

However, the installation of cameras inside vehicles has raised concerns among some drivers and passengers who feel that their privacy may be violated. Ridesharing companies need to ensure that the cameras are installed in a way that respects the privacy of both drivers and passengers. This can be done by ensuring that the cameras only capture footage during the ride and that the footage is only accessed in cases of criminal behaviour or conflict resolution.

The installation of cameras inside ridesharing vehicles can enhance safety and security for both drivers and passengers. While there are concerns about privacy, ridesharing companies can address these concerns by ensuring that the cameras are installed in a way that respects the privacy of all parties involved. By doing so, ridesharing companies can create a safer and more enjoyable experience for everyone using their services.

4.7 Ridesharing Company Security Analysis

In order to further understand the role of ridesharing companies in protecting the lives and properties of ridesharing drivers, attempt is made in this section towards analysis of effectiveness of the measures in reducing safety risks for drivers.

4.7.1 Rating System

Although ridesharing drivers do not receive extensive safety training, most ridesharing companies provide general advice or safety quiz to their drivers. Additionally, ridesharing companies include features in their apps aimed at increasing driver safety. They have the rating system, for example, as a safety measure for both riders and drivers.

Ridesharing companies use a rating system to protect both drivers and riders by encouraging good behaviour and providing a mechanism for resolving disputes. The rating

system is designed to create a positive feedback loop of responsible behaviour and good customer service, where both parties benefit from having high ratings. Ridesharing companies use a rating system as a security measure to promote responsible behaviour by both drivers and riders. The rating system allows users to rate their experience with the other party on a scale, usually from one to five stars. The average rating of each user is then displayed on their profile, and users with low ratings may eventually be banned from the platform. Both drivers and riders rate each other after a ride is completed. The rating scale is usually from 1 to 5 stars, with 5 being the best rating. Drivers and riders can also leave comments to justify the rating. The average rating is displayed on the driver/rider's profile, allowing prospective partners to see their track record. If a driver/rider consistently receives low ratings, they may be subject to an account deactivation or other consequences.

We provide the rating system as a security measure for both drivers and riders, which is why we use the rating system to screen out bad riders and drivers. This rating system has helped us to curb criminal activities (Operational manager/Uber/2021)

Contrary to what the operational manager said about the rating system which is meant to screen out bad riders and drivers. The participants see the rating system as a tool for riders who are bad-mannered or those with bad intentions to give drivers low ratings so that they can ban them on the ridesharing app. This was evident in the narration of some of the participants

I picked up a rider from Oshodi to Lekki on the island when we got to the destination, she started complaining that the cash with her was not enough. I asked her to transfer she said no money in her account and I needed my balance. Instead, she started insulting me and said she will give me a bad review and she also threatened to give me low rating so that my account will be banned from Uber
(Uber driver/Male/17/2021)

Additionally, the rating system does not protect ridesharing drivers from crime-motivated riders. This is supported by a prior study by Schwendau (2017) which found that both

drivers and passengers view the rating system offered by ridesharing applications to be ambiguous and unclear. This observation was asserted by one of the participants who said

Some of my colleagues no longer ride for Bolt because they were banned from the app due to poor rider ratings. If you are rated very low by riders, you will not receive such rides because it will appear on the rider's app, and some riders will not want to hail a driver with a low rating because they believe such a driver is bad. However, in my opinion, the rating system is not a fair judgment and does not protect us from bad riders (Bolt driver/Male/23/2021)

The rating system provided by ridesharing companies is designed to provide feedback to both drivers and riders and to ensure that both parties have a positive experience. However, it is not foolproof and may not fully protect ridesharing drivers from victimisation by crime-motivated riders because the rating system is based on the feedback provided by the riders, which can be subjective and biased. This means that a driver can be unjustifiably rated poor by a rider who possibly has ulterior motives, even if the driver provided good service. Biased ratings can make it difficult for drivers to maintain high ratings and can put them at risk of being deactivated by the platform.

Also, drivers may be reluctant to report criminal behaviour by riders for fear of retaliation or negative ratings. A driver who reports a rider for criminal behaviour may risk receiving negative ratings from the rider, which can harm their reputation and their ability to earn money on the platform. This fear of retaliation can discourage drivers from reporting incidents and can make them vulnerable to victimisation. Most of the participants stated that they did get support from the ridesharing companies in cases of fare evasion, theft and carjacking, thereby leaving them at the mercy of crime-motivated riders. Some of the participants who have experienced criminal victimisation sometimes find it hard to recovery from losses as a result of victimisation

Ridesharing companies typically conduct background checks on their drivers, but they do not do a thorough background check on the riders. While the rating system provided by ridesharing companies can be helpful in providing feedback to drivers and ensuring a

positive experience for both drivers and riders, it may not fully protect ridesharing drivers from victimisation by crime-motivated riders. Ridesharing companies should take steps to address these issues and ensure the safety and well-being of their drivers.

4.7.2 Insurance Coverage for Drivers

Ridesharing companies typically provide insurance coverage for their drivers in cases of emergency. The specifics of this coverage can vary by company, but it generally includes protection for medical expenses, liability for damages caused to third parties, and coverage for theft or damage to the vehicle. Injury Protection and Bolt Trip Protection were introduced by Uber(2018) and Bolt (2020), respectively. Bolt Trip Protection is underwritten by AIICO Insurance PLC in partnership with AutoGenius. This insurance covers emergency medical expenses, disability and even accidental death. The insurance is said to be available in all the 11 cities where Bolt operates across the country at no cost to passengers and drivers.

This insurance coverage serves as a financial protection for our drivers, in cases of theft and accident of our partner-drivers in Nigeria and it is accessible to all our drivers (Operational Manager/Uber/2021)

In order to strengthen its relationship with its driver partners in Nigeria, Bolt offers health insurance for ridesharing drivers. Drivers must accomplish a certain number of trips each month to be eligible. Every driver partner who accomplishes their goal automatically qualifies for the insurance coverage in the next month in order to fulfill this commitment to protect drivers' safety and inspire them to work harder. However, drivers who drive for Bolt claimed that this insurance plan was ineffective in light of awful incidents that had happened to some of them. The majority of theft and work-related injury incidents are not covered by ridesharing companies. Victims pay for any medical expenses or property losses out of their own resources. As stated by one of the participants

If you have a car accident, for example, there are insurance policies in place to cover some of the costs. The Partner Injury Protection

Program was launched in 2018, but has since been discontinued. And that was the end of insurance for drivers on any of the e-hailing platforms. Bolt, for its part, had never insured or paid any of its drivers **(Bolt driver/Male/16/2021)**

Another participant added

Bolt does nothing in the event of an emergency, and none of my affected colleagues who were injured during active rides received insurance coverage. There is no adequate mechanism in place to assist drivers in determining who they will select. Riders book at random, and anyone can book for anyone. Some criminal elements have identified these loopholes and used them to commit evil **(Bolt driver/Male/18/2021)**

Additionally, there have been reports of drivers facing difficulties in obtaining compensation from insurance companies in the event of a carjacking. This can be due to issues with the claims process, disputes over the circumstances of the incident, or disputes over the amount of compensation owed. Overall, while insurance coverage can provide some level of protection for ridesharing drivers, it is not a foolproof solution to the problem of carjackings. Ridesharing companies, the government, and law enforcement agencies must work together to implement more effective measures to reduce the incidence of carjackings and protect drivers.

4.7.3 Emergency Button (SOS Button)

Uber introduced its emergency button feature in 2018 while Bolt Bolt introduced its emergency button feature in 2019. The emergency button allows riders and drivers to quickly and easily contact emergency services directly from the Uber app in case of an emergency. The button can be found in the app's Safety Toolkit, which can be accessed during a trip by swiping up from the bottom of the screen. When the button is pressed, it immediately dials the local emergency services number and provides the rider or driver's location and trip details to the dispatcher.

Ridesharing companies operating in Lagos, Nigeria have implemented an SOS (distress signal button) emergency button feature that allows passengers to quickly contact

emergency services or the ridesharing company's support team in case of an emergency during a ride. However, according to the ridesharing drivers, this feature is not effective in addressing emergency situations because they do not get rapid response in emergency cases.

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Box 4.8. SOS Emergency Button

Several ridesharing drivers expressed their concerns about the effectiveness of the SOS emergency button. The drivers claimed that the feature was not responsive and did not work as expected during emergencies. The article further highlighted that the drivers' concerns were not new, as they had been raised previously in a 2019 report by the International Association of Transportation Regulators. The report had recommended that ridesharing companies should improve the effectiveness of their emergency response mechanisms, including the SOS emergency button, to ensure the safety and security of both drivers and passengers (**Case Study3/ Punch Newspaper/2021**)

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One of the participants stated

They don't care about our wellbeing. The only feature enabled on their Uber and Bolt apps is an emergency SOS button linked to the Lagos State Fire Service. The number is of no use, as it is barely answered. If anyone responds at all, it would be hours after harm would have befallen the driver. We complained and nothing was done. The only feature which riders and drivers make use of is trip sharing (**Bolt driver/Male/27/2021**)

The drivers' concerns about the effectiveness of the SOS emergency button in Lagos highlight the need for ridesharing companies to prioritise the safety and security of their drivers and passengers. Ridesharing companies need to take the necessary steps to improve the responsiveness and effectiveness of their emergency response mechanisms, including the SOS emergency button, to ensure that they can adequately address emergency situations during rides. According to one of the participants, the SOS emergency button provided by ridesharing companies in Lagos, Nigeria, has been criticised by drivers for being ineffective in addressing emergency situations. Ridesharing companies need to prioritise the safety and security of their drivers and passengers by taking steps to improve the effectiveness of their emergency response mechanisms.

4.7.4 Conflict Resolution on Payment Issues

Ridesharing companies have faced criticism from their drivers over payment issues, with drivers stating that they are often at a disadvantage when it comes to resolving payment disputes with riders. According to drivers, ridesharing companies prioritise the opinions of riders over their own side of the story, which can lead to unfair and delayed payment settlements.

Box 4.9. Complaints from Uber drivers on Payment Issues

Several Uber drivers in Lagos, Nigeria, expressed their dissatisfaction with the company's payment dispute resolution process. The drivers claimed that the company often sided with riders, even when there was evidence to support the drivers' claims of payment invasion. The drivers also alleged that the payment dispute resolution process was often delayed, leaving them without payment for extended periods (**Case 2/Punch Newspaper /2019**)

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Box 4.10. Slow Renumeration from Ridesharing Company

Ridesharing drivers claimed that the company had not paid them for several weeks, despite evidence of completed trips and earnings. The drivers also alleged that the company's payment dispute resolution process was slow and often favoured the riders over the drivers (**Case study 6**)

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One of the participants also corroborate this

The problem is immediately when you report they will ask the rider. They will call the rider and if the rider said yes, I paid that's the end of it. So, they trust the rider more than us. The best thing is to collect card not cash. They should be a kind of cyclic information not base your final decision on the riders. Hear the side of the drivers too; if possible, they can do a conference call with the driver. There won't be a kind of judgmental view. Just to be a perfect view of the situation. Another thing is when we lodge complaint it should not be extended to the next day at least treated like 8 hours before they resolve issues concerning them (**Uber driver/Male/15/2021**)

To address these stated concerns, ridesharing companies need to improve their payment dispute resolution process to ensure timely and fair judgments. This can be done by implementing transparent policies and procedures that take into account the evidence presented by both drivers and riders. Ridesharing companies can also consider implementing independent dispute resolution mechanisms to ensure that disputes are resolved fairly and without bias. Furthermore, ridesharing companies should also provide adequate support and training to their drivers on how to handle payment disputes and how to provide evidence to support their claims. This can help to reduce the likelihood of payment disputes and ensure that drivers are equipped to handle such situations effectively.

In conclusion, ridesharing companies need to prioritise the fair and timely resolution of payment disputes to ensure that both drivers and riders are treated fairly. By implementing transparent policies and procedures, providing adequate support and training to drivers, and considering independent dispute resolution mechanisms, ridesharing companies can improve their payment dispute resolution process and promote trust and confidence in their services.

4.8 Discussion of Findings

This study is an exploratory study of pattern and experience of ridesharing driver's victimisation in Lagos State. The study examined how victimisation experience has shaped the behaviour and activities of ridesharing drivers. The routine activity theory was adopted for this study to explain crime against ridesharing drivers. Cohen and Felson (1979) for a crime to occur there will always be a suitable target, motivated offender and absence guardian. If any of these factors is missing, it reduces the chance of a crime occurring. The ridesharing driver is the suitable target, the motivated offender is the rider while the guardian is the ridesharing company and the police. Also, for a crime to occur, the ridesharing driver must be present, there will always be a rider, either motivated to commit crime or not and absence guardian. All these three factors necessitate the likelihood of ridesharing driver's criminal victimisation (Cohen and Felson, 1979). The interviews conducted with ridesharing drivers show the absence of guardianship and the need to upgrade security to make them less vulnerable.

There are always people who want to commit crime; they just need the right time, place, and victim to do so. Most offenders spend less time planning a crime; instead, they are looking for a potential victim who is not under any guardianship making it an opportunity-based crime. These crime-motivated riders are looking for easy target that does not require a lot of time or energy to obtain the valuable items or mental dominance he seeks. Their motivation is to randomly select a ridesharing driver from the ridesharing app with a Toyota Corolla, and the motive of these criminals is based on perceived value, accessibility, and visibility (Boetig, 2006). These suitable targets (ridesharing drivers) are left to figure out how to protect himself on the job. Drivers feel vulnerable and blame the ridesharing companies for aiding the riders to victimise them. In curtailing this and posturing themselves as less attractive to crime-motivated riders, ridesharing drivers employ preventive measures to avoid being victimisation. These measures include closing early, being vigilant and security conscious, and avoiding high risk locations, mostly at night.

The experiences of other ridesharing drivers who survived assault, coupled with other colleagues' experience informed drivers' decisions of observing preventive measures to keep safe on the job. Most of the drivers do not use weapons to protect themselves. Instead, they decline ride to some dangerous locations, contrary to what the rule book says, in order to protect themselves. Despite these preventive measures, some drivers still fall victims due to lack of proper profiling of riders. All the details of the driver are made available to the riders, to protect the riders while the only detail provided by riders are their email and phone number and these can be changed or discarded by the riders, at any time.

To further explain the Routine Activity theory, Clarke (1999) identifies some elements of what he calls "hot products", which is defined by its C.R.A.V.E.D. characteristics. As evident from the offenders and victims' narratives, the hot product in this case is Toyota Corolla used for ridesharing in Lagos metropolis. Criminals who need the car to convert it to money will go for expensive cars. Criminals who want to sell vehicle parts will target good-quality cars. The study also posits that some of the important attributes of 'hot products' include model, size and economic value. The demand for Toyota Corolla is on the increase in Lagos market today because apart from Uber and Bolt who are the pioneer of digital ridesharing, we have new ridesharing companies that are operating in the same study area of Lagos.

In relation to the car used, the ridesharing drivers who participated in this study ticked the boxes of the car's (C.R.A.V.E.D.) characteristics as concealable, removable, available, valuable, enjoyable, disposable. The 'availability' of ridesharing cars through the ridesharing app places them in a vulnerable position to be randomly hailed by the offenders. Another thing is the value placed on the car used by these drivers. What drives this market is the high 'second hand value' placed on Uber/Bolt cars because most of these cars are clean and good, solid cars which when used is 'enjoyable'.

The high unemployment rate in the country is driving more people to join the ridesharing business to make ends meet, especially graduates and married men. The cars used by the

ridesharing drivers are 'disposable'. This is evident from the arrested offenders who pointed out that the vehicles can be sold wholly or dismantled and the different auto parts sold. These cars are 'removable' and 'concealable' as reported by the police who recovered some of the stolen cars from mechanic workshops or where they are parked and covered up till such a time when they can get buyers for them. If the tracker of the car is disabled, it makes it untraceable for the police. Removability of these cars makes it possible to be transported to other places outside Lagos state.

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CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

Ridesharing has gained significant popularity as a prevalent means of transportation in numerous urban areas across the globe. Nevertheless, the increasing prevalence of victimisation within the ridesharing industry has emerged as a significant concern for both drivers and riders alike. Ensuring the safety of ridesharing drivers is of paramount significance, given their heightened vulnerability to victimisation. Numerous drivers engaged in ridesharing services are currently experiencing heightened apprehension regarding the potential loss of their lives and sources of income as a result of the escalating incidents, including assault, harassment, robbery, car theft, and loss of life. The aforementioned circumstances pose a significant risk to the long-term viability of this pioneering transit service.

Nevertheless, previous research has consistently prioritised investigating issues that contribute to the victimisation of ridesharing drivers. The critical assessment of criminal victimisation in transit crime research in Nigeria is an area that requires further investigation. The criminal victimisation experienced by ridesharing drivers can be attributed to the specific choice of automobiles utilised in the ridesharing industry. In order to accomplish this objective, the present study investigated the criminal victimisation experienced by ridesharing drivers operating within the geographical boundaries of Lagos State.

The study aimed to examine the characteristics of victimisation, the variables linked to its prevalence, the accompanying hazards, and the preventive measures implemented by

ridesharing firms to safeguard drivers in Lagos State. In order to attain these objectives, the study was anchored on the Routine Activity Theory (RAT) to gain an understanding of the factors that contribute to the criminal victimisation of ridesharing drivers. This theory highlights the significance of situational conditions and guardianship in deterring criminal opportunities. Additionally, the CRAVED framework was also employed to identify the attributes that render ridesharing drivers' vehicles highly sought-after in Lagos State.

The research was exploratory in nature. The sample consisted of 15 Uber drivers and 15 Bolt drivers, 10 riders, and five police officers from the Rapid Response Squad who had experience handling incidents of victimisation related to ridesharing. Additionally, a key informant interview was conducted with Uber operations manager in order to gain insight into the safety protocols and preventative measures implemented for drivers. In addition to the aforementioned sources, our analysis included a total of 10 documented cases of victimisation as reported in reputable newspapers like *Vanguard* and *Punch*. These particular examples were chosen because of the comprehensive coverage they provided on incidents related to ridesharing victimisation. The collected data underwent thematic analysis to answer the research questions.

The findings of this research have revealed that individuals who work as ridesharing drivers are susceptible to instances of violent crimes, which can manifest in a range of ways, such as assault, harassment, and theft. The consequences of victimisation encompass various dimensions, including physical, social, psychological, and economic impacts experienced by individuals who have been victimised. Moreover, the research findings suggest that the utilisation of ridesharing drivers is influenced by various factors experienced by the individuals involved, such as working at late hours, owning a specific type of vehicle, and having access to a mobile phone and cash. The majority of riders exhibit a preference for using cash as a payment method, thereby subjecting ridesharing drivers to an increased vulnerability to theft. Nevertheless, individuals who have obtained loans for the purpose of engaging in ridesharing ventures have a tendency to engage in late-night labour in order to maximise their earnings and fulfil their debt

obligations. This behaviour, however, exposes them to a heightened vulnerability to potential victimisation.

The study also presented evidence of the propensity for ridesharing drivers to experience victimisation from riders with criminal intentions, highlighting the prevalence of violence in such incidents. Both the victims in the case study and the individuals who were interviewed encountered various forms of loss, including damage to their properties and the loss of human lives. The individuals who target rideshare drivers for illicit activities have a high level of organisation and often engage in collective operations. The perpetrators entice the drivers to secluded locations, frequently on Lagos Island, where the absence of law enforcement or surveillance systems facilitates their subsequent assault and victimisation. The individuals involved in these criminal activities encompass a range of occupations, such as mechanics, conductors, security guards, and those with prior criminal records.

These offenders possess specific expertise in targeting ridesharing drivers with the intention of stealing their mobile devices and vehicles. Subsequently, they proceed to sell these stolen items to consumers located outside the city of Lagos. This statement elucidates the involvement of numerous collective networks in engaging in illicit activities that involve the exploitation and victimisation of ridesharing drivers. Hence, the primary criminal networks comprising economically disadvantaged adolescents without employment opportunities in the research area are primarily focused on victimising rideshare drivers. A significant proportion of the participants included in the study had experienced victimisation, either through direct personal experiences or indirectly through their associations.

Furthermore, the research findings indicate that ridesharing drivers operating in Lagos State have apprehensions regarding their personal safety and security. Specifically, the study participants express concerns regarding their personal safety, as they possess an understanding of the potential vulnerability to exploitation by individuals masquerading as passengers. In addition, drivers express apprehension regarding the inconsistent manner

in which ridesharing enterprises address incidents of misconduct by passengers and instances of fare evasion. These companies exhibit a tendency to place trust in the narratives provided by riders with regards to issues related to payment and misconduct. The only information available to ridesharing drivers pertains to the identities and contact information of the riders.

As per the accounts provided by several participants, the sole requisite information for establishing a rider account on platforms such as Uber or Bolt includes the individual's name, contact details, and email address. It is worth noting that these particulars are subject to modification by other passengers. The inclusion of various personal details such as photographs, driver's licence numbers, licence plate numbers, and contact information of ridesharing drivers within the application engenders a sense of insecurity among users. The selection of riders who are not account owners by ride-hailing services facilitates their potential escape or engagement in criminal activities. Despite the concerns raised by a significant number of participants, no tangible measures have been taken by ridesharing companies to enhance safety protocols. A significant proportion of participants in the study exhibit a tendency to disregard the prescribed guidelines and instead devise tactics aimed at evading potential risks.

The results of the study also revealed that certain participants use both lethal and non-lethal weapons as a means of self-defence in situations of victimisation. This is in addition to the premeditated avoidance strategies employed by rideshare drivers to ensure their own safety. To ensure personal safety in perilous circumstances, 30 individuals were surveyed, of whom nine (9) reported carrying defensive items such as screwdrivers, baseball bats, and car tools. Additional participants employ spiritual defence strategies such as prayer. Various recommendations have been proposed to enhance the overall safety of drivers in ridesharing companies. These suggestions encompass several measures, such as implementing thorough rider profiling and verification processes, ensuring prompt and fair resolution of complaints, eliminating cash payments to enhance payment security, and improving support for drivers in emergency situations and instances of property theft.

5.2 Conclusion

The occurrence of violent victimisation among ridesharing drivers leads to the loss of lives and the disruption of their means of livelihood. The report proposed strategies for mitigating the victimisation of ridesharing drivers in Lagos State. Ridesharing firms are advised to incorporate security training as an essential recruitment strategy for drivers and to regularly offer security updates for both drivers and passengers. Hence, to mitigate transit crimes, it is imperative for the government and law enforcement authorities to prioritise the protection of susceptible regions inside and in close proximity to Lagos State. Additionally, efforts should be directed towards enhancing public awareness regarding the modus operandi employed by criminals in the public transportation system.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the study's findings, the following recommendations were made:

1. To reduce the danger of robbery in ridesharing services in Nigeria, it is recommended that ridesharing companies encourage card payment to reduce theft and prevent riders from fare evasion.
2. Ridesharing drivers are not able to access the insurance program offered by the ridesharing app. Although it may sound wonderful on paper, when put into practice and made available to ridesharing drivers, it will help them recover from emergencies. This is because the insurance program provides coverage for accidents and other emergencies that may occur while driving for the ridesharing app. However, the insurance program is not always available to drivers.
3. Proper profiling and verification of riders is important to make drivers feel safe. The suggestion of requiring a passenger picture, NIN and destination address would go a long way to keep the drivers safe. This will help drivers feel more secure when picking up riders and reduce the risk of theft or other crimes.

4. Introducing cameras into ridesharing cars will go a long way in deterring motivated offenders from victimising ridesharing drivers. This is because cameras will record what is happening inside the car during each trip and it will also be monitored by the ridesharing company. In cases of assault or victimisation, then the ridesharing company and police can use the information on the camera to apprehend the criminal. When riders are informed that all trips are recorded it will deter criminal activities.

5. The most important way to reduce risks of victimisation of ridesharing drivers is to provide safety training for ridesharing drivers to protect themselves as well as to know what to do in the event of an emergency.

6. Neither Uber nor Bolt provides number for drivers to call in case they have concerns, questions or to report an emergency. The only avenue opens to ridesharing drivers to contact the company is through email. If a driver sends an email, it often takes days to receive a response. Contact lines should be made available for ridesharing drivers in case they need an urgent response or help in times of emergencies.

5.4 Contributions to knowledge

The study filled in the existing gap in ridesharing drivers' criminal victimisation in Lagos, Nigeria. Since its launch in 2014, ridesharing has transformed into a substantial economy and industry in Nigeria. The lack of rider profile on the ridesharing app makes it easy for crime-motivated riders to assault and victimise drivers without leaving a trail, which motivates the victimisation of ridesharing drivers.

While victimisation of ridesharing drivers is frequent at night, the crime-motivated riders are often drawn to the ridesharing car, phone, and cash. The peak times for the ridesharing business are when crime-motivated riders attack and victimise them. Ridesharing drivers were more susceptible because there were no policemen in the area where they were being victimised.

The victimisation of ridesharing drivers in Lagos State is becoming worrisome and is having an influence on both the livelihood of the drivers and the viability of the ridesharing industry in Lagos. The ongoing victimisation of ridesharing drivers has been greatly facilitated by the ridesharing companies' lax security measures. Strategies capable of reducing victimisation of ridesharing drivers in Lagos State include profiling of riders, strengthening safety procedures, and safety training for drivers.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Studies

The following was recommended as the scope and areas for additional research, subject to the study's findings:

1. This study should be replicated in other Nigerian states to collect ridesharing drivers' experiences as well as to better understand the dynamics of how crime-motivated riders operate in different parts of the country.
2. To provide a comprehensive understanding of security issues in ridesharing, more research on ridesharing victimisation should include the security of ridesharing drivers from the standpoint of the ridesharing companies

APPENDIX A

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR RIDESHARING DRIVERS

I am Ronke Popoola, a doctor of philosophy student of the department of sociology, university of Ibadan. The aim of this discussion is to investigate the concerns of ridesharing driver's victimisation. Your responses will go a long way in contributing to the successful completion of the research. Please, be informed that information provided is strictly for the purpose of research. Confidentiality and anonymity are therefore guaranteed. Also, you, are free to opt out of the session at any time you deem fit.

Thank you for the anticipated cooperation.

A. Socio-Demographic

1. Sex
2. Age
3. Educational level
4. Marital status
5. Ridesharing company you drive for:
 - i. Uber
 - ii. Bolt

1. What are the factors influencing victimisation in ridesharing industry? Probe for:

Which of the following factors expose you to victimisation?

- a. Accepting cash for rides
- b. Taking rides late in the night
- c. Pick up location of a rider's request
- d. Drop off location of the rider

2. Patterns of attack and other crimes perpetrated by criminal agents ridesharing actors?

Probe for:

- a. In what ways have the victimisation taken place in Lagos? When, who, how frequent?
- b. What is the nature of victimisation such as phone theft, car theft/snatching, assault, sexual harassment and murder?
- c. What is the common weapon of attacks use by car thieves in Lagos?
- d. What time and location is feared most by Uber/Bolt drivers?
- e. What route is considered safe by drivers to prevent victimisation?
- f. What is the effect of victimisation in terms of social relationship between the drivers and riders?
- e. What is the most feared crime among Uber/Bolt drivers?
- f. How was the car snatching/theft resolved by the ridesharing company?
- g. How was the car snatching/theft resolved by the Police?
- h. What is the role of Uber/Bolt in the occurrence of victimisation/car theft?

3. What perceived risk drives victimisation in ridesharing industry?

Probe for: to know if females are collaborators, perpetrators and victims?

- a. What crime do you fear most on the job?
- b. Which location do you fear most on the mainland and on the island?
- c. What aspect of the ridesharing App do you think need security update to curb fear on the job?

4. Crime prevention strategies employed by ridesharing drivers to avoid victimisation.

Probe for: Use of weapon, type of weapon, avoidance call

- a. Do you carry any weapons to ensure your safety? If so, please explain what you carry and why? Where is it kept? Have you ever used it?
- b. Do you have a dashcam in your car? Why or why not? Has it made a difference for you as a driver?
- c. Can you tell me about any incidents in which you felt unsafe driving? Have you had any?
- d. Have you ever contacted Uber/ Bolt about your safety? If so, what was their response?
- e. If you were attacked as a driver, would you stop driving for Uber/ Bolt? Or would you start taking precautions on your own like carrying a weapon? Please explain.
- f. Is there anything you would like to tell the company executives about driver safety? If so, what?
- g. Do you have any suggestions for Uber/ Bolt and other ridesharing companies to ensure driver safety? If so, what?
- h. Was there safety training before you started driving with Uber/Bolt
- i. How effective is the tracking of drivers and rides in Uber/Bolt in crime prevention? Safety training, tracking.

APPENDIX B

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR RIDERS OF UBER/BOLT

I am Ronke Popoola, a doctor of philosophy student of the department of sociology, university of Ibadan. The aim of this discussion is to investigate the concerns of ridesharing driver's victimisation. Your responses will go a long way in contributing to the successful completion of the research. Please, be informed that information provided is strictly for the purpose of research. Confidentiality and anonymity are therefore guaranteed. Also, you, are free to opt out of the session at any time you deem fit.

Thank you for the anticipated cooperation.

1. Name (Optional):
2. Age:
3. Sex:
4. Educational qualification:
5. Profession:
6. How often do you use Uber or Bolt services?
7. Why do you choose to use Uber/Bolt services?
8. Do you share the ride?
9. Do you read peer reviews or check rating of drivers before hailing Uber/Bolt?
10. Do you have any safety concerns related to Uber/Bolt?
11. Have you experienced Victimisation of driver of Uber/Bolt while present in the car
12. If yes, can you narrate the incident?

13. Did you report the incident to the ridesharing company or report to the Police?
14. Any suggestions or advice on how drivers of Uber/Bolt can prevent victimisation?

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APPENDIX C

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR UBER AND BOLT MANAGER

I am Ronke Popoola, a doctor of philosophy student of the department of sociology, university of Ibadan. The aim of this discussion is to investigate the concerns of ridesharing driver's victimisation. Your responses will go a long way in contributing to the successful completion of the research. Please, be informed that information provided is strictly for the purpose of research. Confidentiality and anonymity are therefore guaranteed. Also, you, are free to opt out of the session at any time you deem fit.

Thank you for the anticipated cooperation.

1. Socio- demography
2. Sex
3. Age
4. Educational level
5. On the average per week how many cases of driver attack do you receive?
6. What has been done about reported cases of snatched cars or attack of your drivers?
7. Is there any plan in place to upgrade the app to protect the lives of the drivers?
8. What factors do you think predispose them to victimisation?
9. What do you think you can do to help solve this problem?
10. What channel is available for drivers to report cases of insecurity during the course of duty?
11. If it is available how effective, is it to protect Uber/Bolt drivers from victimisation?
12. Would you consider the use of hidden camera by your drivers to monitor their ride and also help at apprehending the culprits even though it violates the rights of your passengers?

13. How often do you update the ridesharing app to take care of new security threat?
14. Do you run a safety program for your drivers? Yes/No

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APPENDIX D

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE POLICE

I am Ronke Popoola, a doctor of philosophy student of the department of sociology, university of Ibadan. The aim of this discussion is to investigate the concerns of ridesharing driver's victimisation. Your responses will go a long way in contributing to the successful completion of the research. Please, be informed that information provided is strictly for the purpose of research. Confidentiality and anonymity are therefore guaranteed. Also, you, are free to opt out of the session at any time you deem fit.

Thank you for the anticipated cooperation.

1 Socio demographic

2. Sex
3. Age
4. Marital status
5. How often do you hear about Uber/Bolt car snatching/theft?
6. Which of the Police unit is responsible for keeping the highways safe in case of car robbery, victimisation and assault?
7. What would you advise ridesharing companies to do to curb assault, violence and car theft among its drivers?
8. What prevention measure is in place by the police force to help keep vulnerable locations in Lagos metropolis safe to reduce incidence of Uber/Bolt car the