



Emotions Felt At The Wheel And Taking Road Risks Among Cameroonian Motorists

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ABSTRACT

Car risk-taking is a concern for governments and road safety agencies around the world. However, few studies on this topic have highlighted the role of both positive and negative emotions. The few existing studies have focused more on negative emotions. Anger has been shown to be related to the driving situation and has deleterious effects on driver behavior. It has also been shown that anxiety both impairs performance and encourages caution. But nothing is yet clearly established about the role of positive emotions. This article aims to identify the different emotions that Cameroonian motorists report feeling when they are behind the wheel, generative situations and underlying risk-taking behaviors. From the semi-structured interviews conducted with 21 participants, it emerges that four emotions are regularly felt by motorists: anger, anxiety, fear and joy. The situations at the origin of these emotions are specific to each sex and the risky behaviors, depending not only on the type of emotion felt but also on the gender of the participant. This study is a course of intervention to be exploited to act effectively on the phenomenon of road accidents related to risk-taking. It can help to effectively define trajectories not only for future studies but also in the development of road safety strategies.

Keywords: road accidents, emotions, risk-taking, emotional generating situations

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1-Introduction

The objective of this research is to identify the emotions felt while driving, the generative situations as well as the underlying risk behaviours. Considering the growing number of motorists, driving seems to be a relatively easy and undemanding activity. Yet, according to the World Health Organization (WHO, 2020), 1.35 million people are killed each year worldwide. This shows that driving is not as obvious. African countries that do not have a large enough vehicle fleet currently have the highest road fatality rate in the world (United Nations, 2018; NgahEssomba, 2017; Small &Runji, 2014). According to WHO projections, the situation is worsening and the number of road deaths could rise further by 2030. As a result, road safety becomes a public health issue with very high social and financial costs. The causes and consequences of these accidents are related to infrastructural (road), mechanical (vehicle) and human (user behavior) factors (MINT, 2020; ONISIR, 2018).

Considerable efforts are being made by States, Governmental and Non-Governmental bodies responsible for road safety to curb this phenomenon and the consequences it entails. Scientific research has been initiated by States with the aim to identifying the factors responsible for road risk-taking. They have led to several improvements, whether in terms of infrastructure, vehicle safety and passenger protection or in terms of motorist awareness. But, in view of the still high statistics, much remains to be done, especially to allow the understanding of driving behaviors involved in traffic accidents and to draw the attention of both sides to the role of the human factor responsible for about 60% of fatal accidents on the roads of Cameroon; with 35% of speeding accidents; 10% for non-control of the vehicle and 7% for dangerous overtaking (Mintransport, 2021).

Indeed, the human factor is most important in the context of driving insofar as driving activity is based on the individual's ability to process, analyze and react to events in the environment

while anticipating future events (Endsley&Kiris, 1995). However, several psychological factors can induce distractions in the system of perception of events and cognitive representation of driving situations, including negative emotions (Smallwood et al., 2009; Smallwood & O'Connor, 2011). According to theories of cognitive evaluation, the emotion felt by individual is determined by particular events experienced and interpreted by the latter (Frijda, 1986; Ortony, et al., 1988; Scherer, 2001; Smith & Ellsworth, 1985). It is the personal meaning that the individual gives to ambiguous stimuli in his environment that determines the emotion felt by the latter through a cognitive evaluation. This means that emotion is not a spontaneous generation but it is the evaluation of situations that generates it. This evaluation of events would then allow the individual to give weight to certain events rather than others, which is likely to promote the appearance of distractive thoughts.

Among negative emotions, anger is an object of study that has gained momentum in the field of road safety research due to the risks represented by aggressive driving and road rage (Sullman, 2015). It is characterized by a feeling of tension, nervousness, irritation or fury that emerges when an individual perceives the presence of an external obstacle as disturbing and obstructing his own goals, plans or well-being (Arnett et al., 1997; Deffenbacher et al., 2002). According to the effects reported in the literature, this emotion could cause an increase in traffic violations (Abdu et al., 2012; Deffenbacher et al., 2003; Stephens & Groeger, 2011, 2012), excessive traffic speed (Avoulou, 2013; Deffenbacher et al., 2002; Delhomme&Villieux, 2005; Jeon et al., 2014; Mesken et al., 2007; Roidl et al, 2014) or a poor assessment of driving situations (Arnett et al., 1997; Jeon et al., 2015). However, there are few studies to our knowledge aimed to understanding the role of other negative emotions in the adoption of risky driving behaviors. Indeed, in addition to anger, research

is increasingly expanding on the effect of other negative emotions such as anxiety and fear related to road risk-taking.

According to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV, 1994), anxiety is characterized by persistent and intense fear of an irrational or excessive nature, triggered by the presence or anticipation of confrontation with a specific situation (DSM-IV, 1994). In a driving situation, anxiety would therefore be associated with the set of negative thoughts maintained by the motorist before or while the latter is at the wheel of his vehicle. Research shows that anxiety experienced as a result of negative thoughts at the wheel tends to limit the processing of information in memory and inhibit the cognitive abilities required in driving activity (Taylor, 2008; Dula et al., 2010; Taylor et al., 2000; Clapp et al., 2011). Anxiety leads to cautious and even excessive caution behaviors that can go as far as complete cessation of driving activity (Da Costa et al., 2014).

Unlike anxiety which is called "fear without object"; "irrational fear", fear is another negative emotion that arises this time from the awareness of areal and obvious threat that could arise and put the individual in danger. It warns the organism and mobilizes it for flight, defense and protection (Gallopel&Petr, 2000). When it is felt intensely while driving, it leads to stalling and avoidance (Daignault, 2007).

Like negative emotions, some studies also highlight the role of positive emotions such as joy, positive mood and joyful music on the adoption of certain risky behaviors while driving. Admittedly, work in this area has remained rather timid because of the lack of instruments to measure this type of emotion, and the fact that the results obtained are still quite contradictory (Pêcher&Lemercier, 2009). Contrary of the work of Fredrickson (2001), Fredrickson and Branigan (2005) emphasizes that positive emotions broaden the perceptual and attentional reach as well as the mental representations and actions of individuals. Others on the other hand have

shown that when drivers are happy, they are more distracted and drive slower on the one hand, when a motorist drives while listening to fast and catchy music, it becomes distracted and the degradation of driving performance increases on the other hand (Brodsky, 2002; Dibben& Williamson, 2007; Jäncke et al., 1994; Pêcher&Lemercier, 2009).

As we have just seen, several authors link emotions (positive or negative) to the adoption of most of the risky behaviors involved in road accidents. As part of this work, we propose to identify in a Cameroonian context the emotions that motorists report feeling while driving, the situations at the origin of these emotions and the risky behaviors they report adopting. Clearly, we want to see if there is a differentiated risk-taking that is a function of a particular emotion in our road context.

2- Method

2.1- Participants

The participants were recruited among the motorists of the city of Yaoundé from a convenience sample. As eligibility criteria, you had to be a motorist between the ages of 20 and 50 and hold a B licence. No financial compensation was given to the participants. To have participants, we benefited from the help of our supervisors and some colleagues or negotiated directly with them in their places of service, in their homes, on campuses and in gasoline stores. A total of 21 participants (8 women and 13 men) were interviewed, on the one hand, drivers of personal cars (8 women and 7 men) and on the other hand, taxi drivers (6 men).

2-2 Material and procedure

To more effectively identify the emotions felt behind the wheel and risky behaviors among motorists, we conducted semi-structured interviews with participants based on an interview guide. This guide consisted of four themes related to negative emotions (anger, anxiety and fear) and positive emotions (joy) and a fifth theme focused on risk behavior related to

emotions. Questions about identification of participant were also take part of the interview guide. The average duration of the interviews was about 15 minutes. These interviews sought to identify the different emotions participants reported feeling and the underlying risk-taking behaviors.

The questions focused on the emotion of anger: example "do you ever get upset when you are behind the wheel? Compared to what? »; anxiety: example "Before you hit the road how do you feel? How do you feel? »; Fear: example "are there situations on the road that often make you tremble? Which?" and joy: example "What are the driving situations that give you joy behind the wheel? ». Risk-taking was approached in terms of violations, errors and failures (oversights) as noted in the work of Reason et al., (1990). The violations related to dangerous overtaking, non-compliance with the speed limit and non-compliance with traffic lights. Participants were asked to report on the extent to which they engage in these types of behaviors.

3-Results

This involves presenting the emotions that participants report feeling while behind the wheel (anger, anxiety, fear, joy) and the underlying risky behaviors (mistakes, violations and forgetfulness).

3.1 Anger

The presence of the emotion of anger is effective in the participants of this study. Out of 21 participants surveyed, 14 report feeling anger when they are behind the wheel, a percentage of (67%). Indeed, some see anger as a normal emotion automatically associated with driving activity. Angele, for example, laughs and says "Naturally, you can't not get upset" and Lysette adds "of course, everyone ends up getting angry". Others report experiencing the emotion of anger several times in a day. This is the case of Alphonse who maintains that "I sometimes get angry several times like everyone else". This is also the case of Hubert who says "Yes, I very

often get upset very often when I am behind the wheel". Indeed, whether you are a man or a woman, whether you are a personal car driver or a taxi driver, exposed to driving activity, everyone experiences anger at the wheel. The emotion of anger is related to several driving situations.

If some agree that it is "the incivism of other drivers on the road and their bad attitude of the other" (Eric) or it is "someone who does not respect the rules of the road, drivers who insult you for example while you are in right" (Alphonse), or "the attitude of road users" (Nova), motorcycle drivers also provoke anger. Rachel confides in this regard that, "motorcycles, they do not respect the rules of the road; they drive everywhere" and "are all the time forcing the road so that all the time, they come to hit you the rearview mirror, it's really annoying, they do not give way" (Paul).

Also, the participants evoke drivers who enter, stop and leave traffic without the slightest signal "Someone who goes in front and without flashing, he stops suddenly, really it is things that put out of oneself" (Madeleine), "someone who does not signal when he wants to leave the lane or when he wants to enter is really annoying" Rosine.

Others, on the other hand, get angry when they notice that the road is free in front but the driver in front of them hangs out or talks with the passenger next to him: this is the case of Lysette who points out that "I can't stand that the road is free in front and you are dragging and refusing to give way"; Madeleine adds that "What annoys me frankly and a lot, most often is when someone is in front of you and the road is free but he drives by talking with the person next to him looking at him and forgets to drive normally what bothers the people behind"; others point to the fact of not only dangerous but also violent overtaking as well as the non-respect of the 'Stop' which puts everyone in danger. This is the case of Rosine "when I am at the wheel and someone comes to pass me violently, he drives to open tomb and then we find him still in front

stuck in the traffic jam; there are also people who do not respect the 'Stop', it really annoys me because it puts us in danger, its incivism puts us all in danger" better still, Baudry thinks that "the most annoying is when I am for example in a turning point and someone wants to double, it annoys me because he puts his life in danger to gain a few minutes".

However, the specific situations that generate anger in participants are specific to each group of drivers. What annoys the taximan is not necessarily what annoys the driver of personal cars. Indeed, taximan and personal car driver report feeling anger when they are behind the wheel. Unlike taximen, drivers of personal cars report getting angry at three situations: the poor management of road space by taximen; the misuse of the horn by other motorists and the attitude of pedestrians when crossing the road.

On the subject of the mismanagement of the road space, Ben, says that "concerning other drivers, it is especially our taximen brothers who park in any way; at the same time as they discuss the way", "it is especially the taximen who park very badly, they sometimes arrive at the taxi stop, they do not take the rank of taxis, they take the lane of those who drive normally, they do not control the back of their vehicle so much they are concentrated in looking for passengers" (sylvester). Rosine supports this idea in these words: "The taximan when a customer stops him, he stops abruptly without warning and everything... and Janette adds: "Taximen, really! Better being behind a staff but when you're in the middle or behind a taximan it's total. Me, when I'm behind a taximan, I try to ride at his pace until he frees me. Because if you try to go hard you're going to end up having an accident, he's going to send you on the way."

The misuse of the horn is another factor of anger. On this subject, Paul says, "Most often, it's the horn! People honk their horns wrongly and through. I don't like it because it scares me, I had the horn removed in my car and that's why I roll the windows up." Pascale adds, "People honk their horns too much for a lesser thing or a

lesser hesitation: it's the horn that annoys me veritably... ». The use of the horn translated for the participants, "... the level of impatience of people, they do not try to put themselves in the place of others and say that he or she, if this one takes longer to do this or that it is surely because he has a problem or he learns again and everything ... they honk, they honk" Pascale.

Pedestrians are another factor of anger among participants. For Beaudry, "pedestrians are also not left out; when we are on unlit areas where it is dark, they feel that they have seen the headlights, they can quickly cross forgetting that it is they who see the headlights before but sometimes the driver does not see them in advance"; "Sometimes even, sometimes some venture to cross in a skyrocket without assessing the difficulty that mechanical cars have on the climb and other hill top" (Angèle). "Pedestrians cross the road without hindrance. Sometimes when they want to cross, they do not look at the cars that are at their level but, they only focus on the cars that come from the other side and forget outright those that are already at their level. Others sometimes do not hurry; they take all their time. And sometimes, it is when the light turns green that they decide to cross and everything" Pascale.

For taxi drivers, the situations that arouse the emotion of anger are rather: the relationship with customers, the presence of law enforcement on the road and the driving activity itself. Romeo explains in this regard that "customers who pretend to warn that they have a big ticket and he swears that he warned then that this is not the case, some go even further, they give a destination and once they enter the car, sleep takes them and as the driver can't keep all the destinations in his head, when you cross with that one when he wakes up, he's just looking for a fight for you." The insufficient recipe is reflected in the speeches as a source of anger. Hubert explains that "when the work is hard, it annoys especially when you have a certain amount of money to deposit at 6 p.m. and until 3

p.m. you don't even have half yet, hum the pressure rises!"

The presence of law enforcement on the roads is another factor of anger. Participants said that law enforcement sometimes abuses their authority. Romeo tells us that, "the police take themselves for demigods in their uniform, they know they are untouchable, so all the miseries we have on the way are mostly related to them", "we are sometimes arrested by the police without a valid reason most of the time" (Nova) and Ben adds that "what annoys a little is that they tend to waste time to people. They find that you are up to date and if you are in a big car, they will start to make you 'the atalakou' so that you leave them something, which tends to waste time when you are in a hurry... ». Also, these law enforcement officers exploit the flaws of drivers to make profits. Théophile explains this in these terms "When you have no papers and you are not in order, the heart beats hard and most often the first reflex is to look for the fault to flee. If that's not possible, you already know you're going to part with your 2000 and about 3.5 liters of fuel." Clearly, anger is linked to a set of situations that the driver faces when he is behind the wheel. Alongside anger, motorists report feeling anxiety.

3.2 Anxiety emotion

Among 21 participants surveyed, 16 say they feel anxious when they are behind the wheel, i.e. 76%. Indeed, anxiety is manifested here both by a set of negative thoughts participants have either before getting behind the wheel or while they are behind the wheel. Those manifestations range from sweating to panic attacks while driving.

Participants report feeling anxious when they are behind the wheel. Ben points out that "You always feel a little fear, you are always a little anxious because once on the road, it is enough a lesser thing comes from you or another motorist for your life to change". For Nova, the emotion of anxiety is present when he says: "I'm always a little worried every time I leave the house and I hope I'll get out well and come in

well." That emotion is related to physiological manifestations not only in women but in most participants with a driving experience of less than 5 years. For Janette (6-month-old driver's license) "most often, before getting behind the wheel, I often have a big ball in my stomach, sweaty hands and it is unbearable". Pascale (driving experience of 2 years) "the simple fact of knowing that I will get behind the wheel I am worried, I am in a bad state. I have apprehensions at first; I have a big lump in my stomach... there is this little thing which reminds me hold on! I'm going to get behind the wheel"; For Théophile (2 years of experience) "when we are not yet fit, we panic, we say to ourselves that we will do badly, the heart beats at 100km / hour but more and more, when we take the road regularly, the beats drop".

The context which generate anxiety are: type of route taken, driving at night, fear of dying in an accident and fear of having a breakdown and having to call on a stranger.

For the type of itinerary, the concern is specific to all participants, man and woman. The participants explain at this level that "it depends on where I go, driving is usually automatisms. When I go to work for example, it's the same path I follow and there are even times when I don't realize I've already passed a place. When it is automatism, at this moment it is your subconscious which reacts at this specific time. When you are on the other hand in a new route, it is sometimes at this moment you realize you are driving. And at the moment, we want to be careful especially if we make a long journey, a long journey when we do not do it all the time. We want to feel careful" (Alphonse).

Driving at night also generates anxiety. Beaudry says about "when I'm forced to hit the road at night, it's really stressful because in fact you're not alone, you can make effort to be as careful as possible but others aren't necessarily so. There are people driving without headlights, pedestrians crossing the road sometimes dressed in black when there is not already much lighting."

The fear of dying and leaving one's family without landmarks is another source of anxiety. Most equate the vehicle with a double-edged knife, that is, on one side a source of fulfillment and another object of death. On this subject, Romeo emphasizes "there are always worries, I am a parent and I manage a whole family. I have three small children and another is in my womb. My concern is that I will go back in the evening to my family."

3.3 Fear emotion

The emotion of fear is also present in most participants in this study. When asked if there are conditions that make participants tremble, 14 out of 21 answer in the affirmative, i.e. 66%. For Janette, "everyone has their pet peeves on the road which make them tremble, make everyone feel worried", a feeling Raelle describes as "unpleasant". For Hubert "yes, those context are never lacking on the road". For Lysette, "there are situations we encounter when we are behind the wheel which simply allow us to realize fragility of life and precautions to take on a daily basis to preserve it". Rachel adds "I am often very disturbed by certain situations on the road. There are specific disturbing situations which at some point in your life, will freeze you" as Romeo points out, "which impose a certain style of driving". Situations which cause fear are: behavior of truck drivers, making big maneuvers in traffic, having passengers criticizing the way of driving and narrowly missing an accident.

Regarding trucks, Rachel says that "Trucks, I'm afraid of jumbo jets, but when I see jumbo jets I always feel like tree pieces or goods can fall on me I die. So I always tell myself that brake can let go and they end their race on me and ideas of death come back"; Janette adds that "For me the pet peeves on the road is to drive behind trucks and other jumbo jets" That emotion of fear is more accentuated when the participant approaches the turn. Théophile declares at this level "it is especially when you take the turn and you come across a truck which drives in the right middle of the road, as it is the lords of the road

even, so, me, it is the idea of crossing those people at the turns that makes me tremble".

Another source of fear is also the big maneuvers among novices either to park or to manage traffic jams. Pascale points out that "fear will kill me especially when I know I am going to make a big maneuver, the reverse ... When I pass in a parking lot where you have to park, or when traffic is dense and you have to try getting out of the traffic jam and manage to park in the middle of two vehicles in short, doing the niche in the traffic jam creates a huge pressure between horns and insults. And as Cameroonians are very little patient, they do not understand that someone can have difficulties, they simply honk their horns."

The presence of passengers in the vehicle who criticize the participant's driving is also a source of fear. That context causes panic in them and can cause them to make mistakes "It can make me nervous and push me to make mistakes on the way, to drive badly. It can lead you to have an accident" (Hubert); Pascale adds at this level "it stresses, we wonder if we will live up to the expectations of the people we wear, so, it is stressful and sometimes even by dint of trying to please them, we can find ourselves making mistakes and everything; it's very stressful." According to the speeches of the participants, the pressure and fear felt are even more accentuated when a person we respect and esteem is in their car "but if it is a person I respect a lot, who is responsible and I know that he drives very well, then I would be really too afraid to drive. Because I'm too scared to make mistakes in front of that person. I am known to be very responsible in my work and in my daily life" (Raelle); "I when I'm carrying my mother. As he is a former driver who has always been in extreme caution, so it stresses huum, fear can kill me! Laugh" (Pascale).

The riding style of motorcycles "... the bad overtaking of motorcycles which do not respect the rules of the road and do not drive on the side that is intended for this" (Eric); the behavior of pedestrians who "cross anywhere and in any

way, just as, in schools there are always children who are always running sometimes even on the road suddenly, it makes you panic, we are afraid to knock them over" as well as the fact of missing an accident narrowly are other factors of fear.

In addition, the fear of having a breakdown and having to call on a stranger remains persistent among women. Rosine explains: "I hate having a breakdown on the way is my greatest fear and especially having a breakdown in the wrong place" for Marie "what kills me is the fact of imagining having to call on a stranger when you are down with all risks of aggression this can entail".

3.4 Joy emotion

Joy is another emotion participants in this study report feeling before or while behind the wheel. Indeed, out of 21 participants surveyed, 18 say they feel and experience joy when they are behind the wheel, a percentage of 85.71%. Several context are at the origin of this joy. These context depend on the gender and category of the driver.

When it comes to personal car drivers, joy is felt when traffic is open and congested and more so when there are no taxi drivers to create traffic jams. Alphonse points out "When there is no traffic jam and people make effort to respect rules of the road, when taxis are absent, I am joyful", Eric says "I feel joy at night when traffic is released at late hours" and Nova adds "When I travel and when I travel long distances where the road is clear I am happy".

For women, it is rather the courtesy of other motorists which gives them joy as well as the feeling of security the car provides. At this level, Raelle says "Much more when I see someone who has been elegant in his way of driving, someone who stops when pedestrians want to cross the road and gives way to them, I really have joy, I still tell myself there are still some people who care about pedestrians and others". On the other hand, for Lysette, "when I return in the rain and we are safe, I say at that moment thank God and my husband for blessing me; I

feel privileged and I'm really happy." Also, joy is felt when they manage to succeed in a seemingly complicated maneuver. Pascale points out on the subject "When I succeed in a maneuver that seemed difficult and complicated at the beginning, it gives me joy and it allows me to regain confidence for the future".

Taximen say they feel more joy when their "recipe" of the day is consistent "when I drive and from time to time I watch in the cash register, I realize the cash register goes up, I am happy, I even smile sometimes alone, who is not happy with the money? Laugh. If as soon as I got out I had a race and then a deposit, I'm happy sometimes I call home that I'm coming" (Romeo). Hubert adds that "when I am taken for a ride or for a deposit, I am happy the customer will pay me well and the day will end well or when I travel". Patience also goes in the same direction "a good customer who paid you well, a good race".

4. DISCUSSION

The main objective of this study was to identify different emotions which drivers report feeling while driving, contexts that generate them and risky behaviors induced by those emotions. The results revealed on the one hand participants reported feeling four main emotions: anger, anxiety, fear and joy. On the other hand, risky behaviors reported by drivers are a function of the emotion felt nature.

In terms of anger, in general participants whether male or female reported experiencing the emotion of anger. That idea is found in the work of Loncsak et al. (2007) which states there is no difference between men and women when it comes to anger at the wheel. On the other hand, they still find men report encountering more generative situations than women. For Malte et al. (2001) angry drivers have high levels of muscle tension which tend to affect the effectiveness and efficiency of motor performance and induce aggressive behaviors, especially when they perceive a driving situation as hindering their progress (Mesken et al., 2007; Malta, 2001). This is what Assailly (2006)

describes as "the relationship to time and time pressure". For the latter, anger at the wheel is largely related to the significant time pressure when you are in the car and which generates stress and its corollaries. Indeed, the fact individual lives in a world more and more demanding where everything contributes to push him to surpass himself and optimize his tasks; between professional occupations and leisure activities which fill the slightest free time; time pressure tends to arise once behind the wheel. However, if the principle of "you have to go fast, everywhere and all the time" is easily applied to other spheres of life, this is not the case for the road, hence the frustration felt by drivers on the road as well as the growing impatience where, each slightest other drivers action, each slightest hesitation is perceived as "he wastes my time". In this study, everything happens as if the anger aroused by other drivers tends to disarm the driver and release all impulses buried and repressed in the unconscious. That state is even more noticeable among taxi drivers who, in addition to the daily revenue they have to deposit with the owners of the vehicles, it is also necessary to be able to find their own account. Hence this predisposition to anger in this category of motorist.

If there is no difference between men and women in the way they feel the emotion of anger, there is still an effect of the gender in the expression of the anger emotion and in the adoption of certain behaviors at the wheel. Delhomme and Villieux (2008, p. 361) already pointed out on this subject "depending on their personality and driving situations, motorists may not express anger or try to positively manage their anger, while others may manifest a more or less great aggressiveness (this aggressiveness can be verbal, physical, etc.)". In the same vein, Deffenbacher et al. (2002) showed individuals have different ways of expressing their anger behind the wheel depending on gender. Some express it in words verbally, others in a physical way, others use their vehicles to do it, others on the other hand, favor indifference, resilience.

Clearly, expressing and externalizing anger is a function of gender. If men find themselves more in the confrontation both verbal, physical (taxi drivers) and in the use of the vehicle as a means of anger expression (abusive use of the horn), women on the other hand, find themselves in what we call resilience. They fall into the category of drivers who believe that "it is not worth responding to the crazy people of the road".

The results of this study are in line with the logic of Sharkin' (1993) work which explains the gender effect on the expression of anger through the socialization of men and women. That author explains in reality women have been socialized to express and exteriorize all their emotions except anger. As a result, women who expressed their anger were rejected by society (Lerner, 1994; Brescoll&Uhlmann, 2008) because they were considered deviants, who had violated social norms and values. They were considered "unfeminine" (Lerner, 1994) or "witches" by those around them (Brescoll&Uhlman, 2008), hence the need for women to repress that emotion. Men on the other hand have been socialized to repress all emotions except anger, the only emotion allowed to be expressed by men. Thus for men, expression of anger attests to their masculinity (Brescoll&Uhlman, 2008; Thomas, 2003). It would therefore be acceptable, even if they express it in a physically aggressive way (Thomas, 2003). In other words, the way of living and feeling the anger emotion is linked to the social personality and to the educational models of values transmission specific to men and women. Indeed, if socially a "real man" must be aggressive and angry, a "good woman" must on the other hand be gentle and cautious. Once those values are internalized through learning role-playing games, they are transposed into the style of driving and the way of approaching driving situations as men or as women. The study led by Thomas (2003) provides an additional explanation for the real causes of the anger emergence in men. The author evokes "the

notion of good versus evil and the notion of control" and explains men get more angry when they are confronted with situations where other drivers act immorally or contrary to social expectations/norms, this is what would legitimize their anger and then make them both outraged and irrefutable (Gagnon, 2011).

In this study, the emotion of anxiety was found to be fully felt by participants just before getting behind the wheel and while they are behind the wheel. Its impact is more noticeable on the cognitive level where anxious concerns are frequent and nourished by a set of negative thoughts related to the fear of losing one's means, the fear of constituting a danger to others and the fear of causing an accident. This result is consistent with the Taylor' (2000) work who showed an overestimation of the accident risk is more present in individuals who report being anxious at the wheel. In other words, by maintaining negative thoughts, participants feel every gesture or action taken while driving would automatically lead to an accident, which is why many participants turn to extreme caution (Clapp et al., 2011) and frequently adopt excessive safety behaviors such as driving very slowly or simply stopping driving (Da Costa et al., 2014)

In addition, drivers who report experiencing anxiety point out an increase in evaluation errors in driving situations including the poor estimation of distances and the poor estimation of his vehicle capacities. Indeed, it is as if the anxiety felt at the wheel tends not only leading to a deficit of driving skills and performance in drivers but also inhibiting the attentional abilities required for the driving task. That result is similar with Matthews et al.' (1998) conclusions; who already showed on a driving simulator that anxiety at the wheel could interfere with the immediate demands of the driving task and contribute to reducing the driver's performance. Those authors also noted participants who performed fewer checks and performance errors were more likely to report anxiety about driving before they even started the task.

Moreover, if at the same level, men and women report feeling anxiety while driving, the context generating it are therefore specific to each sex. The men in this study report feeling anxious when it comes to taking a new route, or when driving at night or at the thought of losing control of their vehicle on a slippery road. Women on the other hand, report feeling anxious about having a breakdown on the way and having to call on a stranger and driving when traffic is congested (traffic jam). That last situation is also the one which provides a higher level of anxiety in the latter.

This study also shows the perception of non-controllability of events is a source of anxiety among drivers. Indeed, when drivers feel a difficulty in exercising control over the situations they encounter or are likely to encounter, it generates anxiety in them. Kouabenan, (2007) and NgahEssomba (2017) share the same idea by explaining that in situations where the individual has difficulty exercising control over the events that generate anxiety, the individual tends to use beliefs as a lever of support. Those beliefs thus make it possible to fill the powerlessness and the gaps caused by the complexity and uncertainty of certain driving situations. They help guide the behaviour of individuals either in favour of health or safety or in favour of risk (Mvessomba, 2016). Thus, being persuaded that God protects would explain the adoption of certain behaviors on the road. As such, anxious concerns felt by participants in this research induced two types of behaviors: the belief of God control and the adoption of prudence behaviors and exaggerated prudence.

In a study conducted by NgahEssomba (2017) among Cameroonian drivers, it appears to avoid accidents, Cameroonians believe it is absolutely necessary to address prayers to God. Moreover, Nguetsa and Kouabenan (2014) add that when the belief in control in God is high, individuals feel more able to face danger without being frightened. Thus, in this research, participants state that when they find themselves overwhelmed by negative thoughts and the

ideas of death caused by anxiety, they turn to God and pray to Him for the strength and courage to reach their destination without being afraid. For some, prayer is like a reflex; they do not undertake anything in their lives, without associating God. However, if praying to God allows some to get rid of anxious thoughts, it provokes in others, some risky behaviors.

Indeed, some participants say the strong belief in God sometimes leads them to take more risks and to make dangerous overtaking because they say. The participants in this research seem to derive their power of control from God, presented as an authority that protects from danger, an all-risk insurance. This is why they believe and think they have a power of control over the danger. They know that even if they expose themselves to danger through less safe behaviors, even if they are parasitized sometimes by the ideas of death coming from their anxiety, they feel able to face everything because they have God with them and feel His presence. This means when individuals feel God is protecting them from risks, they tend to overestimate their ability to deal with dangerous trafficking situations. This belief of control strongly found in the participants of this study aims to scotchomatize anxious thoughts while driving and better management of situations encountered while driving.

Exaggerated safety/caution behaviors are another type of behavior developed by participants to cope with anxiety while driving. Participants report driving too slowly (well below the speed limit) or stop driving. The work of Da Costa et al. (2014) showed people who experience anxiety while driving frequently report engaging in excessive safety behaviors, such as driving very slowly. That is what Taylor and Koch (1995) calls a better response, a coping response strategy which reduces anxiety symptoms by increasing the sense of security and control over the driving situation.

The fear emotion was also identified. In this regard, Ehlers et al. (1994) have shown fear in driving is not an abstract phenomenon, it can be

apprehended through the description by the individual of the concrete situations he faces and which generate fear in him. In their work, for example, participants reported feeling fear when they were forced to drive on highways with heavy traffic. According to those authors, that fear leads participants to be distracted, to make more errors in judgment, to lose control and to be involved in certain accidents.

Participants report reducing their speed or parking and waiting to come to their senses before continuing to ride when they are frightened by a situation. In addition, they state that fear, when felt at the wheel intensely leads to respect for the safety distances between the cars; to resort to prayer for obtaining God's guidance in this type of situation. This finding is consistent with logic of studies which show a high level of anxiety or fear can develop various defense mechanisms such as stalling and avoidance (Daignault, 2007).

Joy is a positive emotion which is reflected in the speeches of the participants of this study. Indeed, whether one is a man or a woman, joy is present in everyone. However, the context generating it remain specific to each group of drivers and result in a particular style of driving. The effect of positive emotions in risk-taking has certainly not had a great echo because the research has not been very conclusive, which has led to the tendency to assume positive emotions facilitate safer driving behavior. But the work of Pêcher et al. (2009) has shown that when drivers are happy, they are more distracted and drive slower.

In this study, results are mixed. The results obtained in men tend to be the opposite of those obtained by Pêcher et al (2009). If for the latter, the emotion of joy leads participants to be distracted and to drive slower in this study, the joy declared by the men leads them rather to drive faster and not to respect the speed limit. When a man listens to catchy music that makes him happy, he tends, according to the results, to drive at the rhythm of this music, to make dangerous overtaking, to be impatient with other

drivers and not to respect the speed limit. At that level, work of Dibben and Williamson (2007) has shown music influences driving; it can act on the driver's mood and in some cases be a source of distraction which can degrade driving performance. In the same vein, Brodsky (2002) showed the faster the tempo of the music is, the higher the degradation of driving performance is too. That researcher comes to conclusion the estimate of speed and the number of traffic violations (collisions, red lights on and misdirection on another lane) increase with a fast musical tempo: he thus concludes music has a negative effect on driving activity.

In women, the result obtained is in line with the logic of Pêcher et al (2009). The emotion of joy which women report experiencing when they are behind the wheel, leads them instead to be more focused on the driving activity and to respect the speed limit. That finding is in line with studies which agree positive mood has a positive effect on human attention and cognition (Isen 2001; Carver 2003). In the Broaden-and-Build theory developed by Fredrickson (2001), researchers point out positive emotions expand perceptual and attentional reach as well as mental representations and actions (Fredrickson & Branigan, 2005). This explains why simply listening to relaxing music leads women to be more vigilant and to be more attentive to the different signals coming from the driving environment. Women appear to be superior emotional regulators and tend to develop a high awareness of their emotional states to effectively anticipate emotional consequences (Thayer et al., 2003; Martin & Dahlen, 2005).

Risk-taking is another element which emerges from this study. Indeed, most of the participants in this study say they take risks by adopting certain behaviors when they are behind the wheel. To this end, three types of risk-taking behaviors stand out more in their speeches: mistakes, violations and forgetfulness.

Among the mistakes highlighted (getting the wrong destination at the last minute, operating a windshield wiper when you wanted to turn on the

turn signal, finding yourself taking a usual road when it is not the destination of the day, drowsy at the wheel, etc.) in the speeches of the participants, drowsiness is what stands out more. This finding is consistent with most of the literature, which indicates errors and deviations are significant predictors of accidents about as many times as the various violation factors (Parker et al., 1995; Parker, West, et al., 1995; Lawton, et al., 1997; Prairies et al., 1998; Dially, 2005; Zkan & Lajunen, 2005). In the same vein, the work of Ohayon et al. (1997) and Philip et al. (2010) explains sleep impairment is linked to a conduct disorder called "sleep insufficiency syndrome" which is characterized by chronically insufficient sleep to ensure the maintenance of a perfect level of wakefulness.

The study conducted by Coren (1996) also shows the responsibility of drowsiness in road accidents. His results showed that a one-hour sleep deprivation could explain a significant number of accidents attributable to falling asleep at the wheel. Along the same lines, the American study on fatal accidents linked to drowsiness among truck drivers showed the average duration of sleep in the 24 hours preceding the accident was 6 hours (National Transportation Safety Board, 1995). The aforementioned studies show drowsiness is a significant risk factor while driving.

Forgetting is also another category of risk-taking behavior identified among participants in this study. Indeed, they say they forget more to turn on or off the turn signal once in traffic. The difference between men and women is also perceptible at this level. Because, while men say they forget to turn on their indicators, women say they forget to turn them off. Participants associate this forgetfulness with inattention and distraction. This result is consistent with the work which has shown femininity is associated with errors of inattention and inexperience (Özkan & Lajunen, 2006; Parker et al., 1995a; Reason et al., 1990) and errors of inexperience (Aberg & Rimmö, 1998). This is because in most cases, many of them operate with the gender

stereotype behind the wheel. They perceive themselves as less gifted for driving and lacking control of the vehicle compared to the man considered to be naturally competent.

Risk-taking behavior in relation to violations also emerged from the discourses of participants in this study. Indeed, there are three categories of violation in this work: violations related to traffic lights, dangerous overtaking and violation of the pedestrian crossing. Men are more likely to break fires while women report doing so only in an emergency. This result is in line with studies which have shown a greater propensity for men to report more traffic offenses than women, at all ages (Aberg&Rimmö, 1998; Blockey& Hartley, 1995; Harré et al., 1996 Obriot-Claudel &Gabaude, 2004; Özkan&Lajunen, 2005b, 2006; Parker et al., 1995a; Simon & Corbett, 1996; de Winter &Dodou, 2010). This means male drivers report more traffic offenses and violations. Other studies add to this that men are more involved in so-called aggressive violations and in most dangerous overtaking on the road (Lawton et al., 1997b; Özkan&Lajunen, 2006).

CONCLUSION

This study conducted on the basis of semi-structured interviews aimed to identify the emotions felt at the wheel, contexts generating them and risk-taking behaviors declared by Cameroonian motorists. It shows participants reported feeling anger, anxiety, and fear on the one hand and joy on the other hand when they are driving. Also, contexts which generate those emotions differ whether you are a man or a woman, a taxi driver or a personal car driver. Belief in God at the start, not taken into account in this study, turns out to be a non-negligible variable in the explanation and understanding of risk-taking. In this regard, the majority of participants say they have recourse to God to protect them from all danger and all anxious thoughts which may arise when they are behind the wheel. In addition, several risk-taking behaviors have also been identified. They range from oversights to violations by passing through errors participants report making while driving.

Note that there is still a preponderance of violation behaviors compared to other types of risk-taking behavior. Indeed, if the risk is unidirectional and only exposes the individual in the case of omissions and errors, the violations are distinguished by the fact the risk involves both individual who commits to but also other road users. This work highlights the role of emotions in road accidents. This highlighting allows emotions to be taken into account in the development of awareness-raising and road accident prevention strategies. Controlling the different situations that provoke emotions in motorists behind the wheel could constitute a strategic axis of intervention by the public authorities for training and awareness-raising and for more targeted road safety. This is a line of intervention to contain the phenomenon of deaths on the roads.

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