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Anomic attitudes as results of objectification of the risk among Douala-Yaounde-Bafoussam-Douala intercity carriers: A psychosocial and economic impact study

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Abstract. The main characteristic of economically advanced societies is the densification of movements both within and outside different countries. People and goods' movements go hand in hand with the necessity for security. The issue of road safety revolves around the fight against road accidents. It involves combining the necessary resources to prevent traffic accidents or mitigate their consequences if they still occur. This research is based on the following central question: what is the level of impact of risk objectification on anomic attitudes regarding road safety among intercity public transport drivers in Cameroon? It examines the development of the social representation of risk among drivers to highlight the underlying mental posture that leads to deviant behaviors on the road.

Keywords. Anomic attitudes; Objectification; Risk; Economic impact.

JEL. E50; E42; P21.

1. Introduction

A road traffic accident is an unfortunate event that occurs on a road open to public traffic, involving at least one vehicle and one person (Code Rousseau, 2016). The African Road Safety Charter (CASR) (2016) defines a road traffic accident as a collision or incident involving at least one moving vehicle on a public road. According to Corneille (2019), a road traffic accident is a harmful social event that involves one or more road users, one or more vehicles, and the road environment. Protecting road users is achieved through preventive and road safety activities deployed before, during, and after accidents, hence the following categorization: primary safety, secondary safety, and tertiary safety.

The term "security," derived from the Latin word "securitas," refers to being free from danger, harm, or risk. According to the Toupie dictionary (2016), security encompasses both risk and threat. Risks may be associated with errors, faults, or the system itself. Threats, on the other hand, can be criminal, political, financial, environmental, and so on. It is possible to speak of... (The text seems to be cut off at this point.)

Subjective security focuses on psychological aspects, while objective security deals with causal links. Active or preventive safety aims to reduce the risks of accidents occurring, while passive or protective safety aims to minimize the consequences of a harmful event if it does happen. According to the CASR (2016), road safety is defined as the set of measures and actions deployed to prevent road traffic accidents or mitigate their consequences.

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Thus, road safety largely concerns the prevention of road accidents, with the goal of protecting people's lives.

The World Health Organization Collaborating Centre for the Promotion of Safety and Injury Prevention in Quebec (1998) states that security is a state where dangers and conditions that could cause physical, psychological, or material harm are controlled to preserve the health and well-being of individuals and the community. It is an essential resource for daily life, enabling individuals and communities to achieve their aspirations. This WHO instance believes that achieving an optimal level of security requires individuals, communities, governments, and other stakeholders to create and maintain certain conditions regardless of the living environment. These conditions include a climate of cohesion and social peace, as well as equity protecting rights and freedoms at the family, local, national, and international levels; prevention and control of injuries and other consequences or damages caused by accidents; respect for the values and physical, material, or psychological integrity of individuals; and access to effective means of prevention, control, and rehabilitation to ensure the presence of the first three conditions.

From an economic perspective, the necessity of security, particularly road safety, becomes even more acute. The economy is primarily based on the interaction between supply and demand, with transportation being a key service for economic growth, societal development, and individual and collective well-being. Trade, communication, and various forms of mobility characterize the level of sustainable development in a society.

According to the African Road Safety Charter (CASR) (2016), road safety is the set of measures and actions deployed to prevent road traffic accidents... (The text is cut off here, and it seems to be a continuation of the previous context.)

Road safety is the collection of measures implemented to prevent road users from being killed or injured in accidents or to mitigate the consequences if accidents occur. The desired situation is one where road circulation is either accident-free or with a minimum number of accidents possible. According to the Ministry of Transport of Cameroon (2020), the year 2019 marked the end of the United Nations Decade of Action for Road Safety. During this period, there was a decrease in the number of road fatalities in Cameroon. The number of road deaths decreased from 1588 in 2011 to 1091 in 2015 and 937 in 2019, representing a 41% reduction in road mortality over eight years. The achieved margin was 31% of the target set at 50%. These encouraging figures were attributed to the strengthening of technical inspection procedures, intensification of road safety prevention, and compliance with road signs.

However, road circulation in Cameroon, like in other places, still leads to accidents with various consequences. These consequences include varying degrees of injuries, loss of human lives, as well as material and financial losses. Such outcomes not only affect the victims and their families' quality of life but also impact social cohesion.

For example, on January 26, 2003, a major accident involving two intercity public transport vehicles and two tourist vehicles occurred in Ebombé on National Road N°3, connecting Douala to Yaoundé. The collision resulted in 32 deaths and 66 injuries. All the vehicles involved in the accident were significantly damaged. Similarly, on October 23, 2017, another serious accident took place on the Douala-Yaoundé highway, involving an intercity bus, a semi-

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trailer truck, and a logging truck. This accident led to 17 deaths and several injuries. The bus driver survived the accident. As a response, the Minister of Transport withdrew the driver's license for a period of 12 months and suspended the travel agency involved for three months.

The Sub-Directorate for Prevention and Road Safety of the Ministry of Transport in Cameroon published a bulletin of road accident analysis (BAAC) in 2006. This bulletin reported an average of 5000 accident cases per year, resulting in 1200 fatalities. The fatality rate was reported as 9 deaths per 1000 vehicles and 4 deaths per 10 accidents.

These examples highlight the ongoing importance and challenges of road safety in Cameroon, where efforts are made to prevent accidents and reduce their impact on individuals and society as a whole.

The same bulletin mentioned that 70% of road traffic accidents are caused by human errors, 20% by the poor condition of vehicles, and 10% by the poor condition of roads. This highlights that the primary cause of road accidents is attributed to human behavior, particularly the excessive risk-taking by road users in general and drivers in particular. This underscores the concerning nature of road safety in Cameroon.

The observations presented above demonstrate that road safety is a significant problem in Cameroon. Statistics attribute at least 70% of road traffic accidents to human factors, in other words, human behavior. It is also evident that the road safety measures implemented by authorities in charge of the sector have not succeeded in reducing accidents by 50%. These measures generally focus on road users' education and training on road safety, as well as enforcing penalties for offenders. Hence, there is a valid question as to whether treating road users like criminals is an effective way to induce behavior change on the roads. According to Ngueutsa (2013), repressive actions have been increasing and becoming stricter in Cameroon for over a decade, but they have not led to a significant reduction in the number and severity of road accidents. This indicates that actions based on education, technical inspections, and repressive prevention have shown their limitations. The road network between Yaoundé, Douala, and Bafoussam is often referred to as the "triangle of death," emphasizing the urgent need to restructure strategies to achieve better results.

As highlighted earlier, road traffic accidents are harmful social events that can involve road users, vehicles, and the road environment simultaneously and indiscriminately. The accident factors can be categorized into three groups: human factors, mechanical factors, and environmental factors. To tackle this inherently unexpected phenomenon, it is crucial to determine its causes and implement appropriate measures to prevent its occurrence or mitigate its consequences. According to Corneille (2019), individuals try to identify the causes responsible for physical events and social behaviors to better understand and predict their environment. Causal attribution involves psychological processes.

2. Theoretical framework and research hypotheses

2.1. The theoretical framework

- Objectivation as the Process of Constructing Social Representations

The concept of social representation was introduced by Serge Moscovici (1961). According to Moscovici (1984), social representation is a way of interpreting the world and understanding our daily reality. It is a form of social

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knowledge that individuals construct more or less consciously based on who they are, their past experiences, and their projections, which subsequently guide their behavior. Social representation is the mental activity deployed by individuals and groups to establish their positions concerning situations, events, objects, and communications that concern them.

Abric (1997) defines representation as a functional view of the world that allows individuals or groups to give meaning to their behaviors and understand reality through their own system of reference, thus adapting and defining their place within it. According to Jodelet, representations are systems of values, ideas, and practices shared by a social group, serving as tools for interpreting and understanding the world and guiding behavior.

In the context of road safety, the social representation of risk is crucial in influencing drivers' attitudes and behaviors. The way drivers perceive and interpret the risks associated with road use can affect their decision-making on the road, leading either to safer or riskier behaviors.

2.2. Research hypotheses

Based on the theoretical framework of social representations and its relevance to understanding drivers' attitudes and behaviors in the context of road safety, the following research hypotheses are proposed:

Hypothesis 1: Drivers' social representation of road safety risk significantly influences their attitudes and behaviors on the road.

Hypothesis 2: There is a relationship between the level of objectification of risk and the prevalence of anomie attitudes among intercity public transport drivers in Cameroon.

Hypothesis 3: Attitudes characterized by anomie, such as disregard for road safety norms and risky driving behaviors, contribute to a higher likelihood of being involved in road traffic accidents.

Hypothesis 4: Effective road safety interventions aimed at modifying drivers' social representations of risk can lead to improved road safety conditions and a reduction in the frequency and severity of road accidents among intercity public transport drivers in Cameroon.

These research hypotheses will guide the investigation into the level of impact of risk objectification on anomie attitudes regarding road safety among intercity public transport drivers in Cameroon and shed light on the mental postures influencing deviant road behaviors.

Social representation involves both an object and a subject. In our context, the object is road safety, and the subject is the intercity public transport driver in Cameroon. Jodelet (1997) defines representation as a socially elaborated and shared form of knowledge with a practical purpose, contributing to the construction of a common reality within a social group. It is not a mere reflection of reality but functions as a system of interpreting reality, organizing the relationships between individuals and their environment, and guiding their practices. A social representation is a shared "object" between a "self" (ego) and "others" (alter). It is a universe of opinions shared by a group and developed through communication. It reflects individual experiences and social practices. Representations enable understanding and acting upon the world (Roussiau & Bonardi, 2001). According to Guimelli (1994), social representations constitute a form of knowledge known as common sense, with the specificity lying in the social nature of the processes that produce it. Social representations are a form of knowledge we have about the world. This

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knowledge is not scientific but is regularly reconstructed throughout life, given that representations mediate constantly between the individual and the collective (Carlos, 2015).

Moscovici (1961) shows that social representation is structured through two processes: objectification and anchoring. These two processes are at the core of the socio-genetic approach. In the socio-genetic approach, Moscovici (1961) considers objectification as one of the processes of structuring a social representation. It is a process of organizing knowledge about the object of a representation, involving the transformation of abstract theoretical elements into concrete images (Moscovici, 1969). Objectification is the individual's act of appropriating and integrating knowledge related to an object. It can occur in three phases: selective deconstruction, structural schematization, and naturalization. In the context of our study, we will focus on objectification, which allows us to better understand the relationship to road risk among intercity public transport drivers in Cameroon.

According to Moliner & Guimelli (2015), objectification occurs based on cultural criteria (not all groups have equal access to information related to the object) and normative criteria (only what aligns with the group's value system is retained). This process not accounted for. The social regulation is a significant factor in the process of objectification. Carlos (2015), drawing on Moliner & Guimelli (2015), notes that objectification occurs based on cultural and normative criteria. This perspective considers that not all groups have equal access to information related to the object, and only criteria that align with the group's value system are retained in the process.

- Anomic Attitudes in the Context of Road Safety

Allport (1935) defines attitude as a mental and neuropsychological state of readiness to respond, organized as a result of experience, and exerting a directing and dynamic influence on the individual's response to all objects and situations related to it. According to Bloch *et al.* (1997), attitude refers to the enduring internal disposition that underlies an individual's favorable or unfavorable responses to an object or class of objects in the social world. Moscovici (1960) proposes a definition that takes into account two major spheres of thinking about attitudes. He defines attitude as a dynamic pattern of psychic activity, a coherent and selective scheme, relatively autonomous, resulting from the interpretation and transformation of social motives and the individual's experience. This psychological pattern called attitude is strongly correlated with an opinion or a value judgment. Therefore, attitude is an intermediate variable between a situation and the response to that situation. It explains that among the possible behaviors of a subject exposed to a stimulus, the subject will tend to adopt one behavior over another. Attitudes are generally assessed declaratively using a measurement scale called an attitude scale. Attitudes toward an object can be positive or negative. If an individual develops mental predispositions conducive to transgressing or bypassing established norms in a given context, we refer to these as anomic attitudes.

According to Durkheim (1960), anomie defines the effects of social disorganization resulting from conflicts between values and norms in a given context. In a state of anomie, the social rules, supposed to guide behavior, lose their impact, power, and effectiveness. Anomie can also occur when the norms governing individuals' behavior are not clear enough. The complexity of social systems can lead to an atomization effect that produces a set of poorly

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established rules. An anomie behavior in an individual is characterized by a lack of conformity to social norms and may result from a feeling of disconnection or lack of attachment to the societal rules and values. In the context of road safety, anomie attitudes may lead to reckless driving, disregard for traffic rules, and a higher propensity for risky behaviors, contributing to the occurrence of road traffic accidents.

To summarize, the framework of social representations and the concept of anomie attitudes provide a valuable perspective for understanding the relationship between risk objectification and drivers' attitudes regarding road safety among intercity public transport drivers in Cameroon.

The investigation into these factors can offer insights into the underlying mental processes that influence driving behavior and guide the development of effective road safety interventions to promote safer practices and reduce road accidents in the country.

The attitude anomie is generally reinforced by the individual's mental predisposition to act in that direction. It is characterized by a mental predisposition to deviate from established norms, underpinned by the individual's values, beliefs, and experiences.

Merton (1946) suggests that anomie results from a situation where society offers its members goals but does not provide them with the means to achieve those goals. This creates tension and a weakening of the consensus, leading to a lack of norms. In this context, anomie is a process through which social structures generate conditions in which deviating from society's code becomes a "normal" response, which can manifest as individual deviance or collective dissent.

In the context of road safety, if regulatory provisions conflict with the individual or collective goals of road users, they may develop mental predispositions conducive to circumventing these rules. For instance, in the case of an intercity public transport company, performance demands might push the management to propose driving times above the required limit in certain contexts. Similarly, a driver whose salary is inadequate to cover their financial obligations may be tempted to carry more passengers than allowed by regulations. In both cases, the driver would be mentally prepared to transgress established norms.

From Merton's perspective (1946), anomie attitudes and practices can be considered as a certain form of planning, in line with the theory of planned behavior. According to the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1985), which derives from the theory of reasoned action, the decision to engage in a behavior is based on the individual's intention toward adopting that behavior. The notion of intention refers to individuals considering the implications of their actions before adopting or refraining from a behavior. This intention results from three conceptual determinants.

2.3. Research hypotheses

In a social context marked by road accidents, the formation of attitudes regarding risks, both in general and road risks in particular, proceeds from a process that takes into account not only observable objective elements but also subjective elements related to mental predispositions and intentions.

Based on this theoretical framework, the following research hypotheses are proposed:

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Hypothesis 1: The level of objectification of risk significantly influences the formation of anomie attitudes among intercity public transport drivers in Cameroon.

Hypothesis 2: Anomic attitudes among intercity public transport drivers in Cameroon are related to a perceived lack of alignment between regulatory provisions and their individual or collective goals.

Hypothesis 3: The formation of anomie attitudes is influenced by subjective factors, including mental predispositions and intentions toward deviating from established norms and regulations.

Hypothesis 4: Anomic attitudes among intercity public transport drivers in Cameroon are associated with risky driving behaviors and an increased likelihood of being involved in road traffic accidents.

These research hypotheses aim to explore the relationship between risk objectification, anomie attitudes, and driving behavior among intercity public transport drivers in Cameroon. By understanding the factors that contribute to drivers' attitudes and behaviors, targeted interventions can be developed to promote road safety and reduce the incidence of road accidents.

Subjective aspects related to knowledge, experience, values, and culture of the individual. Moreover, Poizat (2001) believes that current orientations in risk management are moving towards an increasingly systematic establishment of procedures aimed at objectifying the references of risk (the subjective and the objective, individual or "internalized" risk management, and collective or "externalized" risk management), accompanied by a lack of differentiation of individual skills to the detriment of essential information for thoughtful, autonomous, and responsible risk management by the practitioner. Externalized risk management and subjective management constitute the processes of risk objectification. In this study, we aim to highlight a causal link between the objectification of risk and anomie attitudes regarding road safety among interurban public transport drivers in Cameroon. Thus, the objectification of this objective allows us to formulate the hypotheses as follows: There is a significant link between fatalistic beliefs and anomie attitudes regarding road safety among interurban public transport drivers in Cameroon (HR₁). There is a significant link between comparative optimism and anomie attitudes regarding road safety among interurban public transport drivers in Cameroon (HR₂). There is a significant link between norm conditionality and anomie attitudes regarding road safety among interurban public transport drivers in Cameroon (HR₃).

3. Methodology

3.1. Site and Participants

This research was conducted in Cameroon, specifically in interurban transport agencies in the city of Douala. The travel agencies Garanti Express, United Express, and Finex Voyage are located in the Akwa district in the city of Douala, Douala 1st district. Buca Voyage, Butrans Voyage, and Princesse Voyage are situated in the Mboppi district in Douala, Douala 2nd district. The agency Global Voyage is located in the Brazzaville district in Douala, Douala 3rd district. The agencies Touristique Express and Danay Express are situated in the Ndogsibi district in Douala, Douala 3rd district. The agencies Amour Mezam, Continental Voyage, and Moghamo Voyage are located in the Bonabéri district in Douala, Douala 4th district.

3.2. Procedure

3.3.1. Pre-Survey

A pre-test was conducted with a population of 30 public transport drivers in Douala who had approximately the same characteristics as our sample. This pre-test aimed to test the metrological qualities of our data collection instrument to ensure its applicability. The verification of the psychometric characteristics of our instrument was done in two steps. First, we assessed its validity, and then we judged its reliability. Regarding the validity of our instrument, we asked the respondents if they encountered any difficulties while completing the questionnaire. The responses were divergent. On one hand, some participants pointed out that the language level of the first version of our questionnaire was very high. On the other hand, others informed us that the questionnaire was understandable to anyone with at least a Certificate of Primary Education. No ambiguities were observed in the instructions provided to the respondents. To address the language difficulty, we proposed alternative expressions to the participants so that they could choose the ones that they found more easily accessible. As for the reliability of our instrument, we used Cronbach's Alpha coefficient. This index is the most commonly used to assess the reliability of a measurement instrument. It verifies the internal consistency of the instrument. In other words, Cronbach's Alpha coefficient indicates whether a scale, i.e., a set of items, measures a single and unique construct. Additionally, the analysis of internal consistency is a necessary condition for the homogeneity of the scale.

3.3.2. Survey

We visited the selected travel agency managers with a recommendation obtained from local officials of the Ministry of Transport. The questionnaires were handed over to these managers after explaining how to respond to the various questions. We emphasized the confidentiality and anonymity of their responses. The questionnaire was in French, the official language of Cameroon, as most of the managers and drivers were fluent in it.

To collect data from the drivers, we visited the agencies during their working hours and requested their voluntary participation in the study. We explained the purpose and significance of the research and obtained their informed consent before distributing the questionnaires. They were given sufficient time to complete the questionnaires, and any questions they had were clarified. Afterward, the completed questionnaires were collected, and the drivers were thanked for their participation.

The data collected through the questionnaires were analyzed using appropriate statistical methods to test the hypotheses and draw conclusions from the study. The statistical software used for the analysis was SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). The results and findings of the study were then summarized and presented in the form of tables, graphs, and charts to facilitate interpretation and understanding.

The questionnaires were to be handed over by the agency officials to the drivers so that they could respond individually to the questions. The completed questionnaires were then collected by the agency officials and returned to us. The agency officials were all quite cooperative, as we had a recommendation from the local authorities of the Ministry of Transport.

4. Results

Table 1. Analysis of the identification of respondents relating to age group, marital status, religious obedience, seniority in the profession, alcohol consumption

		Age range		
		Frequency	valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Valid	20-30 years old	7	3,8	3,8
	31-40 years old	57	30,8	37,6
	41-50 years old	77	41,6	62,4
	51 and more	44	23,8	100,0
	Total	194	100,0	
		Marital status		
		Frequency	valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Valid	Married	171	95,0	95,0
	Singles	5	5,0	100,0
	Total	194	100,0	
		Religious obedience		
		Frequency	valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Valide	Musulmane	120	61,9	61,9
	Chretien	57	29,4	38,1
	Autres	17	8,8	100,0
	Total	194	100,0	
		Seniority in the profession		
		Frequency	valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Valid	Under 5 years old	17	8,8	8,8
	5 to 10 years	57	29,4	38,1
	More than 10 years	120	61,9	100,0
	Total	194	100,0	
		Alcohol consumption		
		Frequency	valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Valid	Do not consume	101	52,1	52,1
	At most 2	39	20,1	72,2
	3 to 4	38	19,6	91,8
	More than 4	16	8,2	100,0
	Total	194	100,0	

On reading Table 1, 07 subjects are between 21 and 30 years old; 57 subjects are between 31 and 40 years old; 77 subjects are between 41 and 50 years old; 44 subjects are aged between 51 and over. It can be seen that the age group of 41 to 50 years is the majority and that people under 30 represent a minority in the activity of drivers of intercity public transport vehicles.

Following the distribution of responding subjects in relation to their marital status, we find that 09 subjects are single against 171 subjects who are married. The distribution of the responding subjects in relation to their religious affiliation shows that 57 subjects belong to the Christian religion against 120 subjects who belong to the Muslim religion and 17 subjects belong to other obediences. 17 subjects have a seniority of less than 5 years; 57 subjects have a seniority of 5 to 10 years; 120 subjects have a seniority of more than 10 years. 101 subjects do not consume alcohol; 93 subjects consume alcohol.

Table 3. Results of the analysis of the correlation between the variables of the research hypotheses

<i>HR₁</i>		Value	Approximate meaning
Ordinal by Ordinal	Interval by Pearson R Interval	0,713	,000
	Spearman correlation	0,735	,000
N of valid observations		194	
<i>HR₂</i>		Value	Approximate meaning
Ordinal by Ordinal	Interval by Pearson R Interval	0,837	,000
	Spearman correlation	0,887	,000
N of valid observations		194	
<i>HR₃</i>		Valeur	Signification approximative
Ordinal by Ordinal	Interval by Interval	0,990	,000
	Spearman correlation	0,951	,000
N of valid observations		194	

The r Pearson correlation test was carried out to determine the link of each of the induced modalities on anomic attitudes towards road safety among drivers of intercity public transport vehicles in Cameroon. Thus, Table 2 presents the different correlations between anomic attitudes regarding road safety among drivers of intercity public transport vehicles in Cameroon and the objectification of risk through the different modalities of the latter.

The results show sufficiently that there is a relationship of strong intensity between the considered variables of the first research hypothesis because ((r) =0.735 with an approximate significance (Sig. bilatera where p = 0.000 (p = probability of committing the 'error alpha)) We can infer with less than a 5% chance of error that there is a strongly significant link between fatalistic beliefs and anomic attitudes about road safety among transit vehicle drivers interurban in Cameroon.

We also observe that there is a relationship of strong intensity between the considered variables of the second research hypothesis because ((r) =0.887, with an approximate significance (Sig. bilatera where p = 0.000 (p = probability of committing alpha error). We can infer with less than 5% chance of error that there is a significant link between comparative optimism and anomic road safety attitudes among intercity transit vehicle drivers in Cameroon

We finally observe for the third research hypothesis that there is a relationship of strong intensity between the considered variables of the third research hypothesis because ((r) =0.951, with an approximate significance (Sig. bilatera where p = 0.000 (p = probability of committing the error alpha)). intercity public transport vehicles in Cameroon.

5. Discussion

The interpretation of the results allowed us to conclude that fatalistic beliefs influence anomie attitudes regarding road safety among interurban public transport drivers in Cameroon. This conclusion supports Heider's (1946) theory of cognitive balance and reinforces the findings of Ngueutsa (2013) regarding the impact of fatalistic beliefs on road users' attitudes towards road safety. Indeed, a large majority of drivers claim to be influenced by fatalistic beliefs, especially the belief in divine protection, which diminishes their knowledge of road safety and predisposes them to violate traffic regulations, resulting in traffic accidents. However, it is important to note that 96.4% of the respondents belong to a religion. In this context, knowledge of religious affiliation statistics in Cameroon is a prerequisite for generalizing this result.

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Through the interpretation of the results, we concluded that comparative optimism influences anomie attitudes regarding road safety among interurban public transport drivers in Cameroon. This conclusion supports Festinger's (1954) theory of social comparison, which states that individuals validate their judgments on their own behaviors and opinions by comparing them to those of others. It also confirms Gaymard's (2014) view, which presents comparative optimism as one of the underlying mechanisms that can explain risk-taking. We can observe from the respondents' emphasis on luck in the occurrence of traffic accidents that comparative optimism moderates drivers' knowledge of road safety and influences the formation of attitudes, predisposing drivers to violate traffic regulations.

The interpretation of the results allows us to conclude that the conditionality of the norm influences anomie attitudes regarding road safety among interurban public transport drivers in Cameroon. This conclusion justifies Reynaud's (1999) theory of social regulation, which states that when an individual follows a logic of autonomous regulation, they will seek to assert their own considerations and approach norms with a critical attitude. Furthermore, in the same vein, Gaymard (2014) observes that norms regarding road safety and risky behaviors are largely conditional. The statistical analysis shows that 42.3% of the respondents claim to drive without taking sufficient rest beyond the regulated time allowed for rest. This behavior might result more from the drivers' ignorance on the matter rather than their inclination to deviate from the norm.

Overall, these conclusions shed light on the significant role of fatalistic beliefs, comparative optimism, and the conditionality of norms in shaping anomie attitudes among interurban public transport drivers in Cameroon. These findings have implications for road safety interventions and highlight the importance of addressing drivers' beliefs and attitudes to improve compliance with traffic regulations and reduce the occurrence of traffic accidents.

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