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How does the South African Media Socially Construct Minibus Taxi Drivers?



BA Industrial Psychology (Masters) 2015

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Title page

A research project submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Bachelor of Arts Masters (Industrial Psychology) in the faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 15 March 2016.

Declaration

"A research project submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MA by coursework and Research Report in the field of Industrial Psychology in the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 15 March 2016.

"I declare that this research project is my own, unaided work. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at this or any other university"

_____

Caitlin Sugden

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Date

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Abstract

The following research report aimed to determine how the South African print media socially constructs minibus taxi drivers. In order to achieve this aim, a media survey of South African newspaper articles reporting on minibus taxi drivers in the year 2014 was conducted. The collected articles revealed the print media's social constructions of minibus taxi drivers. The media is a very powerful entity which has the ability to create and shift the perceptions of those who read their reports. It is through this ability, that the media portray the current social relations existing in post-Apartheid South Africa.

The researcher was able to determine these different social constructions through the use of a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) methodology. This methodology allowed the reader to look beyond the words the journalists used, and rather to focus on the implications of these words as well as what had not been explicitly mentioned. This research found that the minibus taxi driver was socially constructed using three discourses: 'The Bad Citizen', 'The Victim' and 'The Good Citizen'. This research provides the platform for future research into the perceptions of the minibus taxi and the minibus taxi industry. Understanding these perceptions is vital in transforming the transportation industry of South Africa.

Key words: Minibus taxi drivers; Minibus taxi industry; Social constructions, South African print media; Newspaper articles, 2014.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Through the lens of social construction, everything that exists in society does so because of the way in which society has produced and reproduced constructs (Hacking, 1999). Social construction is a term from the field of sociology which explains that all constructs are fabricated and maintained through relationships between people in society (Boghossian, 2001). These relationships vary from culture to culture and thus understandings of certain constructs vary (Boghossian, 2001). One of the ways these social constructions are maintained or shifted is through the media (Howell, 2015). The media are powerful, highly politicised and provide a space where power relations may be played out (Leonard, 2014; Howell, 2015).

For more than a century the South African print media was censored and strictly monitored (Hadland, 2007) as the Apartheid Government used this platform as a medium through which to propagate information that fuelled the Apartheid Government's political agenda: to separate white and non-white individuals. Through this system of segregation, non-white individuals were forced to live in homelands - areas of barren land far away from employment, health care and education (Walters, 2013). Non-white individuals gained access to the cities through the use of highly regulated and expensive modes of public transport such as buses and trains. This struggle pursued for decades until 1987 when it was announced that the transportation system would be deregulated and the minibus taxi was legally allowed to transport commuters to and from the homelands, at a cheaper cost than buses and trains (Ellison, 1992; Dugard, 2001). Despite the end of Apartheid, the legacy continues to fester amongst us, unaddressed. Inequality and poverty are now considered "the hallmarks of South African society" (Habib, 2003, 238). This impacts on the social relations that exist in society and these social relations impact on society's behaviour towards certain industries and individuals.

The aim of the current study is to explore and determine how the South African media socially constructs minibus taxi drivers. Newspaper articles from the year 2014 that reported on minibus taxi drivers were selected for the analysis from the online media forums of SA Media and News24. The researcher conducted a Critical Discourse Analysis on these selected articles in order to determine how the South African media socially constructs the minibus taxi driver. From this analysis, three primary discourses were established: the minibus taxi driver as the 'Bad Citizen', the 'Victim' and the 'Good Citizen'.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Through determining how the South African media socially constructs minibus taxi drivers, this research aims to establish a platform from which a constructive solution to the flawed public transport system may be implemented as well as to alter the relations society has with minibus taxi drivers in the South African context. It is critical to understand the dynamics of social relations and social constructions in South Africa as these impact on how individuals interact with one another. The following literature study will illustrate the complex nature of the transportation system, the relationship between social constructions and the media as well as how the legacy of Apartheid continues through social relations.

It must be noted that the term 'African' will be used in this research project to describe the group of people who were discriminated against during the Apartheid era. Although the term 'black' is recognised and accepted by legislation, such as Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE), the term African was preferred in this context.

2.1 Social Constructions

Social construction is the way society has produced and reproduced a certain understanding of a particular construct. This construct could not exist if humans had not built and related it to other constructs within the world (Hacking, 1999). For example, constructs such as money, citizenship or newspapers would not exist if society had not constructed them and given them a particular place in relation to other constructs (Hacking, 1999). The way these constructs are created and related arises as a result of the relations between people in society (Boghossian, 2001). These relations occur on a number of different levels and differ across a large variety of cultures (Boghossian, 2001). The view of social construction is subjective in its understanding and is therefore significantly different to other interpretations of knowledge and ideas (Gergen & Wortham, 2001). It is important to note here that the literature on social construction is relatively dated. This is possibly due to the fact that the peak of this particular theory was over 20 years ago and very few studies on the development of this theory have been conducted in the past 10 years. Most of the research and papers about this topic are from the late 1980's and early 1990's, making most of these articles over 20 years old. In saying that, the conclusions that have been provided from these papers are still relevant today as found in the more recent research papers on this matter. Social norms and behaviours are still shaping the way in which concepts are constructed and behaviour is discussed.

This research focuses on the analysis of how the South African media has socially constructed the minibus taxi driver. Through this analysis, the conditions within post-Apartheid South Africa will also be analysed to construct a matrix of the social relations. These relations and the resultant constructions will allow for the development of a platform in which the issues facing the transportation sector can be engaged with in a constructive manner.

2.2 The South African Transportation Industry

Members of the informal and low income sectors make use of public transport, such as minibus taxis, buses and trains, or non-motorised modes, such as walking (Beukes, Vanderschuren & Zuidgeest, 2011), because it is cheaper than owning and maintaining a motor vehicle. As a developing country, South Africa has a high percentage of low income sector individuals and therefore a large percentage of South Africa's population makes use of public transport to travel within or between cities. This results in a heavy dependency on public transport and so the poor state of the industry is a major concern for the government in post-Apartheid South Africa (Walters, 2013). As the cost of private road usage continues to rise with the ongoing increase in the fuel price and implementation of the urban tolling road system, the Government is under enormous pressure to provide safe and reliable public transport (Walters, 2013). Economic and social development is reliant on effective transportation as it aids in the transference of both goods and people (Lucas, 2011). The promotion of trade and improvement of living standards, by providing access to shopping centres, health care and jobs, is all an outcome of efficient transportation (Lucas, 2011).

The current South African transportation system, particularly the minibus taxi industry, is a legacy of Apartheid (Ingle, 2009). During this era the transportation system was moulded to ensure that the social objectives of the Apartheid Government were gratified (Ellison, 1992), namely to ensure the segregation between white and non-white people. Thus the Apartheid Government used public transportation as an instrument of control (Walters, 2013). The Group Areas Act, 41 of 1950 and the Bantu Authorities Act, 68 of 1951, forced white and non-white individuals to live separately, with non-white people being forced to live in homelands. These homelands were dispersed far away from any of the main cities, to ensure that white people and non-white people had no contact with each other and to protect the job market for white workers. Public transportation was therefore essential for non-white people to get to and from big cities as they were strategically located far from job opportunities,

shopping centres and health care facilities (Walters, 2013). The deliberate neglect of the Apartheid Government meant that these locations received no infrastructural development and, thus, transportation facilities such as bus stations and functioning railway services were non-existent.

During the Apartheid era, most of the mobility patterns were influenced by the mining sector, South Africa's largest employer (Clark, Collinson, Kahn, Drullinger & Tollman, 2007). This was due to the migrant labour system which supplied industries, such as mines, with African workers. The workers would need to travel to or live in cities or industrial areas, in order to earn a living, whilst their families would be forced to stay in the homelands, deliberately located far from urban and whites-only areas (Boudreaux, 2006). In order to commute between the homelands and the urban areas, African individuals would have to either catch the train or bus - both of which were very expensive (Khosa, 1995; Dugard, 2001). Because major passenger transportation carriers were majority government-owned, with the government controlling the regulations and subsidies (Ellison, 1992), the tariffs were kept high. The Apartheid government claimed to supply operators with a subsidy which was the difference between the transport cost to the passenger paid and what the government deemed affordable (Ellison, 1992). This system favoured white people who mainly had to travel short distances and, therefore, paid less and yet they could afford it. Non-white people had to travel from homelands and therefore paid much higher rates as they had further to travel. The cost of transportation was, therefore, exorbitant for non-white people (Ellison, 1992). Bus tariffs became increasingly expensive as the Apartheid Government continued to exploit non-white individuals and soon many passengers began to boycott bus services. This led to one of South Africa’s largest bus operating companies, PUTCO, announcing its closure in 1991, citing subsidy losses due to lower volumes as a result of the boycott of bus services (Ellison, 1992). Trains were the only other mode of transport legally available to those individuals living in homelands. However, trains were considered by commuters to be dangerous as they travelled at high speeds, were often overcrowded and known to be gang ridden (Kiernan, 1977). The lack of safety as well as the unreliability of the railway tracks meant that this means of public transport, provided by the Government for those individuals living far away, was undependable.

The social relations that developed out of this system are interesting to consider. First and foremost, there was a deep mistrust of public transport that developed, as the Apartheid Government looked to exploit African commuters. The neglect of non-white people by the

state heightened the mistrust and lack of faith that these commuters had in the system. Furthermore, the violence and gangster activities on the trains led to fear within these communities and they became desperate to find an alternate to a system that was designed to meet their needs (Kiernan, 1977).

There was therefore a need for a cheaper mode of transportation for migrant workers, however, the laws of the Apartheid system did not cater for any alternatives. Despite this, some African entrepreneurs saw this as a business opportunity and undertook the risky and illegal occupation of transporting people to and from the cities (Dugard, 2001; Boudreaux, 2006). This initiative resulted in minibus taxi drivers providing side-lined commuters with depoliticised, regionalised, economical and fairly accessible transportation (Boudreaux, 2006). The market shares of bus and train businesses continued to decrease quite rapidly as the taxi industry became the most popular mode of transport (Ellison, 1992; Khosa, 1995).

In an attempt to deregulate the transportation system, the Apartheid government recognised the 16-seater minibus taxi which is known today as the minibus taxi, as an acceptable form of transportation (Ellison, 1992; Dugard, 2001). This process was based on a White Paper on National Transport Policy of 1987 (Ellison, 1992). It was accepted that the new policy was to deregulate the transport sector by allowing free entry into the industry but control over the quality of vehicles and driving would be heightened (Cooper, Hamilton, Mashabela, Mackay, Kelly, Sidiropolous, Gordon-Brown, & Moosamy, 1993). On the 1st April 1990, the South African Transport Services (SATS), after almost 80 years under state control, became a public company known as Transnet (Cooper *et al*, 1993).

During the early to mid-1980's South Africa was in uproar as the violent resistance and township revolt continued to dominate the country. In 1985, a state of emergency was declared in an attempt to restore some peace and order. It was also during this time that the Apartheid Government was placed under immense international pressure, particularly by the United States and the United Kingdom, to remove the discriminatory laws and implement change as economic sanctions were imposed onto South Africa (Levy, 1999). It is possible that it was this state of emergency declaration, as well the international pressure on the Apartheid Government to implement change, that played a role in the government's decisions to deregulate the transportation industry and recognise the minibus taxi as a legal form of transportation.

The recognition of the minibus taxi led to further growth in the industry (Ellison, 1992) and was regarded as an admirable example of African entrepreneurship in action (Ingle, 2009). The reason for the recognition of the minibus taxi industry led to further growth in the industry (Ellison, 1992) and this was regarded as an admirable example of African entrepreneurship in action (Ingle, 2009). The reason for the recognition of the minibus taxi industry was to promote a free market economic system which would encourage competition amongst African traders (Khosa, 1995). One of the hopes of the Apartheid Government was that by giving Africans a stake in the transport system, the stressful and tense revolutionary state of the country would be reduced (Dugard, 2001). As permits were issued without the correct procedural care, this deregulation the taxi industry becoming ungovernable and chaos ensued across the industry (Dugard, 2001). The opportunity to open a business, which was a privilege denied to Africans during Apartheid, caused a flood in the market as large volumes of people applied to be taxi owners and drivers. Thus, this informal sector of the public transport system was formed on the foundation of illegal trading and improper allocation of licences (Khosa, 1995). Due to the large number of minibus taxis in competition with one another, minibus taxi drivers turned to aggressive behaviour in order to get passengers. This competition amongst traders often turned into violence and rage (Khosa, 1995). Post-1994, violence amongst minibus taxi drivers and unions escalated and taxi wars characterised the industry (Lomme, 2008). Violence between taxi associations was, and still is, due mainly to territory violations, especially over allocated routes and taxi ranks. This is despite the fact that route associations are in place to control route access (Ingle, 2009; Walters, 2013). Violence is not the only characteristic of this informal sector: the industry is also riddled with corruption and crime (Dugard, 2001; Boudreaux, 2006). Most of the minibus taxi drivers and owners are not registered to pay tax nor do they possess legal operating licences (Ingle, 2009). It is unclear how many minibus taxis are operating in South Africa, yet in 2009 it was made known that the industry makes a turnover of roughly R16.5 billion annually (Ingle, 2009).

There are two interesting sets of social relations that may have developed from the above. Firstly, given the evolution of the minibus taxi industry, the relations between it and the government seems to be fraught with tension (Mabuza, 2014; Matlala, 2014). This could be a direct legacy of the Apartheid Government and the lack of co-operation between the two entities has resulted in a number of violent protests and anti-establishment behaviour from the minibus taxi industry. Secondly, the gang violence amongst minibus taxi associations has led

to commuters fearing minibus taxi organisations (Dolley, 2014; Mackay, 2014). This has resulted in the development of significantly negative relations between drivers and their commuters. Furthermore, the violence has also led to other road users fearing minibus taxi drivers and their associations. This has manifested itself in submissive behaviour on the roads, with drivers often avoiding confrontation with minibus taxis despite being put in danger by the minibus taxi.

The minibus taxi industry does not adequately address the mobility needs of their passengers, often leaving passengers stranded or having to wait excessive lengths of time for the minibus taxi (Lomme, 2008). In a study conducted to identify and explore commuter perceptions of bus and minibus taxi services, most minibus taxi commuters cited problems with levels of overcrowding, lack of facilities and delays (Govender, 2014). The Road Traffic Act of 1990 implemented certain safety regulations to protect the passengers. Despite this Act, the minibus taxi sector has been impacted by its inability to be a safe mode of transportation. Overloaded taxis and poorly trained drivers have led to high accident rates over the years (Ellison, 1992; Lomme, 2008). The drivers, however, are not solely to blame as many of the minibus taxi drivers work under exploitative conditions (Sekhanyane & Dugard, 2004). Minibus taxi drivers rent the minibus taxi from the minibus taxi owner, who often owns multiple vehicles. This employment agreement is usually conducted on an informal basis meaning that there are no legal employment contracts between driver and owner (Barrett, 2003). In 2009, most minibus taxi drivers only earned a minimum wage of R1350 per month (Ingle, 2009; O'Rourke, Musango & Brent, 2014). This minimum wage was set by the Minister of Labour when it was made clear that some taxi drivers were earning far below this amount (Ingles, 2009). For this wage, taxi drivers work just over 13 hours a day, 6 days a week (Ingles, 2009), with some exceeding these times. With these long hours sitting in the driver's seat as well as the pressure to transport as many passengers as possible, minibus taxi drivers are exhausted. There is a very interesting relation at play here; the relation between drivers and their bosses, the minibus taxi owners. It is quite clear that drivers are exploited and often work under very tough conditions. They too are victims of a violent system and fear those that employ them.

Despite the serious flaws and risks that plague the taxi industry, travelling by means of minibus taxi has proven to be the most popular mode of transport, with minibus taxis transporting 65% of South Africa's commuters (Walters, 2013). This makes it the service provider with one of the biggest contributions to the South African economy as well as being

the largest urban public transport service provider in the country (Schalekamp, Behrens & Wilkinson, 2010). The reason for its popularity is because of its convenience rather than safety and reliability as well as the lack of alternative modes of public transportation (Govender, 2014). Most forms of public transport, such as buses and trains, do not operate after hours and there are fewer drivers on the weekends (Lomme, 2008). This too, is an inheritance of Apartheid system where the transport designated for transporting African workers to and from home was not allowed to operate after a certain time in the evening and before a certain time in the morning as well as limited times on the weekend (Khosa, 1995; Boudreaux, 2006; Dugard, 2001; Lomme, 2008).

The deregulation of the minibus taxi industry resulted in the rise of the taxi association (Sekhanyane & Dugard, 2004). The South African National Taxi Council (SANTACO) is a representative structure formed by the Department of Transportation in 2001 to enhance government engagement with the minibus taxi industry through a single, national forum (Walters, 2013). Although this structure has been successful in terms of engagement with government, issues with large taxi associations who have not affiliated themselves with SANTACO have arisen (Walters, 2013). These problems consist of a powerful group of minibus taxi drivers who forcefully act against SANTACO and the affiliated associations. This is one of the reasons cited for the ongoing minibus taxi violence. The lack of regulation of the industry will always result in problems beyond the government's control. The informality of the minibus taxi industry often leads to the perception that the industry operates with limited compliance with state regulations and basic conditions of employment (O'Rourke *et al*, 2014). However, what makes this industry informal is the lack of transportation subsidy from the government, despite the fact that it is the largest transportation service in the country (O'Rourke *et al*, 2014).

Despite the lack of control over the industry, the South African government has tried to improve the safety of passengers making use of minibus taxis. The Recapitalisation Programme was introduced to phase out all old, un-roadworthy minibus taxis and replace them with new minibus taxis (O' Rourke *et al*, 2014). By 2014, 135 000 old minibus taxis had been scrapped and an allowance had been paid out to minibus taxi owners for them to purchase new minibus taxis. It must be noted that this has not addressed bad driver behaviour which continues to be one of the biggest problems government faces (O' Rourke, *et al*, 2014).

There are major issues with the current modes of transportation in South Africa. Bus and minibus taxi services are the most accessible and preferred modes for the average passenger despite the lack of availability, the lack of facilities at stops and overcrowding. Rail services continue to be marred by gang violence (Walters, 2013). The problem with the current transportation system needs to be remedied.

Public transport is the backbone of any country's economy as it provides a vital service (Ingle, 2009). It must be noted that the South African transportation system is considered to be a very complex one because all three spheres of government, local, provincial and national, are involved in the provision and regulation of public transport (Ingle, 2009). The issue here is that the public transport system consists of smaller, individual transport systems with little regulation and integration (Ingle, 2009). There is therefore a need for an integrated urban transportation system. The Strategic Integrated Transport Plan aims to develop this Integrated Urban Transport System that assimilates all modes of public transport, minibus taxis, buses and trains, along with non-motorised forms of transport, such as walking and cycling (City of Johannesburg Transport Department, 2013). The National Department of Transport hopes this plan will be implemented and fully functional by 2050 (CoJ Transport Department, 2013). In order to achieve this goal, the minibus taxi industry is going to need to be regulated, which is going to prove difficult as the Department of Transport will experience resistance from certain public transport operators, in particular minibus taxi operators. Minibus taxi operators have a negative perception of being monitored by authorities (van Zyl & Labuschange, 2008) which is what is likely to happen in the integration of the public transport system. Their fear is that if the taxi industry becomes regulated, taxi operators will have to disclose the number of passengers they transport daily; they will have to install security cameras and tracking devices inside their vehicles as well as pay income tax (van Zyl & Labuschange, 2008). As this is unappealing for minibus taxi operators, it is likely to result in major setbacks in the integrated transport plan unless the Department of Transport is willing to accommodate the minibus taxi operators' wishes or the Department modifies their requirements.

Assimilating the minibus taxi industry into this strategy is essential for it to work due to its popularity from users of public transport. Without the buy-in from the minibus taxi industry, the strategy will not be successful. As seen in the media with the Bus Rapid Transit System (BRT), when a new, more efficient system of public transport is introduced, minibus taxi drivers are the first to protest against it and this often leads to violence between minibus taxi

drivers and drivers of other forms of public transport (Todes, 2012). The reason for this is because often the new modes of transport result. This is because often the new introduction results in the displacement of minibus taxi drivers on major routes which leads to an increase in job losses and income (Todes, 2012).

The rapid increase in urban population after the end of Apartheid has resulted in a problem for South Africa as a developing country. Transportation has been one of the sectors most impacted and is in dire need of improvement (Govender, 2014). People in the lower socioeconomic bracket of South Africa's population are most affected by the inefficient, unreliable and unsafe public transport as they rely on this transportation for their daily commutes and livelihood (Govender, 2014). Despite the end of Apartheid bringing a policy of transport deregulation and the privatisation of certain transportation (Ellison, 1992), transformation has been slow (Walters, 2013). Lack of funding, skills and integrated public transportation plans are to blame (Walters, 2013). The opportunity to select one of the major public transport areas was presented at the beginning of this research. The popularity of mini-bus taxi as a mode of transport and the way in which the industry emerged has drawn the attention of the current researcher. Minibus taxis and their drivers are therefore the focus of this study. The minibus taxi drivers will be considered and understood through the eyes of print media and therefore it is necessary to consider the South African print media and how they are responsible for these social constructions.

It is important to consider the state of the current transportation system in South Africa to fully understand the impact of the minibus taxi industry in the development of public transport in South Africa. However, before discussing the South African media and social construction, a look into the social relations in post-Apartheid South Africa is needed to fully understand the class and racial issues and differences which still impact the development of South Africa.

2.3 Matrix of Social Relations in Post-Apartheid South Africa

The transportation system is not the only inheritance from Apartheid that is still poignant. Twenty-two years ago, the oppressive system of Apartheid ended with the first democratic election. The hope was that the new era would bring equality for all South Africans. However, the social relations of Apartheid continue, to a certain extent, and the legacy of inequality and oppression still exists in some parts of South Africa (Steenveld & Strelitz, 2010).

Class is considered the clearest marker of inequality; however, race, gender, occupation and age also play a role in the discourse (Mapadimeng, 2012). Seekings and Nattrass (2005) identified three broad class clusters within South African society namely the 'upper class', 'middle class' and 'underclass'. The upper class is occupied by a small percentage of the South African population. The middle class is considered to entail middle to lower class households who are formally employed - they are also known as the working class. Almost half of South Africa falls into the lower class society (Seekings & Nattrass, 2005). These households are effectively shut out of the labour market (Seekings, 2014) due to the fact that they are unemployed and their chances of gaining employment is slim. It is essential to consider the wealth and income of the people of South Africa to gain an understanding of the interpersonal inequalities that pervade the country (Mapadimeng, 2012).

The class struggle impacts heavily on social relations in post-apartheid South Africa. In 2015, South Africa topped the Gini coefficients table. This means South Africa has the highest level of inequality in the world (http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI). The unemployment rate, although it has decreased slightly, is still sitting at 24.5% (http://www.tradingeconomics.com/south-africa/unemployment-rate/forecast). The people who struggle the most with finding employment are the youth, more specifically the African youth. Employment is considered as one of the major roles in the transition from youth to adulthood. It is increasingly obvious that the denial of employment is resulting in youths finding it difficult to become responsible adult citizens and their frustration is ever increasing (Seekings, 2014). The education standard of South Africa is also poor and often many individuals in poorer communities leave school with a less than satisfactory education, again, depriving them of opportunities in the working world (Seekings, 2014). Many then turn to crime and violence as a way to provide a means to live as well as a way to express their anger and frustration with the system (Seekings, 2014) resulting in, all too, familiar levels of anxiety. These feelings of anxiety that many individuals and their families experience is similar to the anxiety experienced during the Apartheid era (Seekings, 2014).

The South African youth, particularly young African men, are considered a threat to the already fragile democracy (Seekings, 2014). The xenophobic attacks witnessed in 2014 are an example of the frustration and anger of the youth and intolerance is becoming widespread (Seekings, 2014). Frustration, anger and intolerance are also evident on South African roads with road rage incidents on the rise. This behaviour of aggression and recklessness is evident of that of troubled youth.

Generally, minibus taxi drivers are African males from lower to middle class and this could also feed into the social construction of the minibus taxi driver in the media (Khosa, 1997). Minibus taxi drivers are often described as disobedient and reckless (Barnes, 2008) with an overall disrespect for traffic officials and other road users (Sinclair, 2013). Identifying and understanding the social construction of the minibus taxi driver is important because it provides an explanation for the social relations prevalent in post-Apartheid South Africa.

There are a number of complex, interrelated social relations evident throughout this discussion of the literature. Firstly, minibus taxi drivers are interacted with by both those who the minibus taxi driver transports, as well as, those drivers who the minibus taxi driver shares the road with. Both sets of people will have a different social relation with the minibus taxi driver. The minibus taxi driver seems to have a very tense relationship with government, which is possibly one of the reasons for their behaviour towards government implemented systems, such as e-tolls. Government had initially stated that minibus taxi drivers would not have to pay e-tolls, however, only those minibus taxis with the correct operating licences are exempt and according to Marrion (2014), only 20% of minibus taxi drivers have the correct permits to exempt them from paying e-tolls. Furthermore, government is failing to issue operating permits timely to minibus taxi drivers and is perpetuating the tension between the two parties (Mabuza, 2014).

The way individuals interact with each other and a system will result in how they create a social construction of the situation. It may be expected that individuals from different class sectors, races and genders will have different social constructions, as their interactions and socialisations have been different. It is, therefore, important to understand the social constructions of minibus taxi drivers to aid in the explanation of social relations in post-Apartheid South Africa.

2.4 The South African Media and Social Construction:

The media are considered to be an apparatus through which cultural values and beliefs are fashioned and reproduced (Howell, 2015). The media also acts as a mirror to reflect concerns and problems faced by society (Howell, 2015). Because the media are considered both a source and communicator of certain information, they play a prominent role in shaping the reader's understandings and views of a particular situation or idea (Howell, 2015). Although in democratic countries the media is ideally neutral, the highly politicised nature of South

African means that the media is used as a space where power relations are played out (Leonard, 2014; Howell, 2015).

The print media, through language and images, plays a very important role in shaping opinions regarding important topics (Baker, Gabrielatos & McEnery, 2013). Issues that are regarded as important by the media may not necessarily be regarded as important by society, however, the power that the media holds can change society's perception of what is important and what is not (Leonard, 2014). In South Africa, the print media is the largest division of media as it is easily accessible throughout the country (Leonard, 2014). The South African print media is still ruled by four big companies, namely Naspers, Avusa, Caxton and the Independent Group (Leonard, 2014). Through these players, corporations negotiate the power dynamics of local communities to serve their own business goals (Dawson, 2001; Leonard, 2014). Thus the print media is not as independent as they seem to be and the social effects of Apartheid are still evident (Steenveld & Strelitz, 2010). For more than a century, the South African print media had been strictly monitored and limited to what it was and was not allowed to print (Hadland, 2007). Newspapers were not allowed to print any information or news on non-white individuals, including stories happening in homelands (Hadland, 2007). It is therefore reasonable to assume that during Apartheid, newspaper readers were mostly white individuals (Hadland, 2007). Publications aimed at the African majority, such as the Sowetan, although edited by African individuals, were owned and controlled by white individuals (Sparks, 2009). Throughout this period an independent African press had not been allowed to develop (Hadland, 2007). This is because the Apartheid government used the media, both print and broadcasting, to create and sustain their goals and uphold their political agenda. The media was used to create propaganda to increase the separation between white and non-white people. The line between politics and the media is still blurred, thereby making the media biased in many regards (Sparks, 2009; Howell, 2015).

The Four Theories of the Press by Siebert *et al* (1956), depicts the idea that the press, through its power, is able to mirror the system of social control (Hadland, 2007). During Apartheid, an authoritarian state, the government had full access and control over what the media published. After the 1994 elections there was a drop in newspaper sales. The media was completely distrusted by the people of South Africa (Hadland, 2007). Over the course of the years that followed newspaper sales did not increase. The reason for this is that there were repeated ethical mistakes such as plagiarism and biased reporting, particularly those stories surrounding political parties (Hadland, 2007). Two audits since then have exposed the

weaknesses in the industry, both the skills of the journalists and the management from the business executive are to blame (Hadland, 2007). The ANC did assist journalism by providing support and aiding development of young journalists. Since 2000, newspaper sales have gradually increased (Hadland, 2007). The South African Advertising Research Foundation, in 2005, provided statistical figures which demonstrated that 40.6% of adults read a newspaper at least once a week (as cited in Hadland 2007, 16). In 2013 the South African Advertising Research Foundation's All Media Products Survey revealed that 50% of adults read the newspaper daily (http://www.southafrica.info/about/media/news.htm#.Vt8Zs-Rf1PY). If the number of readers continues to grow over the course of the next few years, the ability of newspapers to influence people will increase.

The establishment of democracy in 1994 resulted in the compilation of the South African Constitution. The South African Constitution (1996) states under s16 and s16 (1) "everyone has the right to freedom of expression which includes freedom of the press and other media". Despite this freedom, it may be argued that the press and media are still obligated to construct a version of reality that may sometimes be in line with political and economic interests (MacRitchie & Seedat, 2008; Baker *et al*, 2013). It is common knowledge that the New Age Newspaper is owned by the Gupta family who are known to have personal relations with members of the African National Congress (ANC). Thus, it may be argued that journalists working for this newspaper could be politically influenced to frame a story in a particular light, a light that fits in with the agenda of the ANC. The story is similar in broadcasting with members of the ANC still dominating the South African Broadcasting Commission's (SABC) board and senior management positions (Sparks, 2009; http://mybroadband.co.za/news/broadcasting/87373-new-sabc-board-nominations-full-of-anc-influence-report.html). Thus media coverage may reflect the agenda of the ANC and is therefore biased (Sparks, 2009). This is highly problematic because without media that is completely independent from government, no story is truly represented.

Biased media reporting creates a social construction that causes other aspects, such as vital societal problems, to be overlooked and not addressed. The media has the power to influence and define social priorities and problems (Leonard, 2014). The media does so by presenting the reader with social constructions (Baker *et al*, 2013). In these constructions the media are often constrained by word limitations and space, making it almost impossible for them to accurately and impartially present the account of the situation at hand (Baker *et al*, 2013). The media persuades readers to believe that certain phenomena are either good or bad (Baker

et al, 2013) by constructing a representation of the situation using certain words and tones. Social construction, through our interactions with others over time, is the perception that human life exists as it does due to the social and interpersonal influences experiences which either creates, maintains or destroys all aspects of humanity (Boghossian, 2001). From this, representations are formed and, as argued by social constructionists, are a result of social interactions which bring objects and ideas into being and were conventionally introduced to explain culture, race and sexuality as constructed ideas (Haslanger, 1995).

2.5 Conclusion

Developing an understanding of minibus taxi driver behaviour, as well as the social relations embedded within South African society, is an essential precursor to the success of any intervention into the improvement or regulation of the minibus taxi industry. It is for this reason that social constructionism is an appropriate paradigm for the current study. It allows the researcher to understand how the South African media aids in constructing a social identity of minibus taxi drivers. A social construction of minibus taxi drivers needs to be understood because minibus taxi drivers, as illustrated above, play an integral role in the South African economy. Individuals are required to interact with minibus taxi drivers on a daily basis and therefore a certain construction has already naturally developed. It may be argued that different members of society from different classes may have different constructions of minibus taxi drivers. This is because different individuals have different interactions with minibus taxi drivers which may influence how the minibus taxi drivers are perceived. Some individuals rely on the minibus taxi driver to transport them to and from work, whilst another individual will have to bear with their behaviour on the roads.

This research provides a platform from which future research into social relations between individuals and parties in society may develop as well as providing an opportunity to develop an effective and efficient public transportation system. Without research such as this, the understanding into the parties of the transportation system are ignored. Through understanding the behaviour of these individuals, and in this case minibus taxi drivers, appropriate methods and interventions may be implemented to integrate all current modes of public transportation to improve life for all South Africans.

2.6 Research Questions:

Based on the literature review above, four research questions have been constructed:

1. How are minibus taxi drivers socially constructed in the South African media?
2. How do different newspapers with different target audiences differ in their social construction of minibus tax drivers?
3. How are the events, in which minibus taxi drivers are involved, portrayed in the media?

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Sampling

A sample of South African media reports from 2014 were used in the current study. The media sample was appropriate for the current research because the aim was to determine how minibus taxi drivers are socially constructed in the South African media. Using a variety of newspapers was useful to draw comparisons to determine if different newspapers, targeted at different sectors of the population, socially construct the same image of the minibus taxi driver. In order to have gained a sound understanding of the social construction of minibus taxi drivers by the South African media, a vast range of newspapers was selected. Newspapers such as The Star, The New Age and the Daily Dispatch, to name a few, were selected because the target market of these newspapers range from the middle to lower income sector and middle to upper sector of South Africa. This provided the researcher with a mixture of target markets, from those individuals who make use of minibus taxis as a form of transportation to those who have to share the road with minibus taxis.

3.2 Research Design

The research design was a qualitative, constructivist approach. Using a qualitative methodology enabled insight into texts and discourses which quantitative approaches may fail to do (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Through the use of a qualitative approach, the research socially constructed the image of a minibus taxi driver as portrayed in the South African media. Realities are complex, intangible mental constructions (Guba & Lincoln, 1994) and, therefore, a constructivist approach was appropriate because through the interaction with the media texts, the researcher literally had to construct the reality.

3.3 Instruments

The analysis of the current research relied on media reports as mentioned above. In order to perform the data analysis, online newspaper articles were accessed. Online databases were appropriate, because they provided easy to access online forums which store a variety of articles from a variety of different newspapers. This allowed for a more generalised sense of the social construction of minibus taxi drivers. Online newspaper articles were accessed through a survey of the following online databases: SA Media and News24. SA Media was an appropriate source as it pulls a variety of newspaper articles from a variety of different South African newspapers which aided in the comparison and complete construction. This

database was also able to restrict the year of search (2014). The newspaper articles accessed on this site were newspaper articles that appeared in hardcopy newspapers and were subsequently cut-out and scanned in to be placed online in order for them to be easily accessible to the academic public. News24 is one of the leading online news resources available to the public and, therefore, was appropriate to be utilised to gain access to articles on minibus taxis.

3.4 Procedure:

A discourse analysis, conducted using media articles, was the primary tool of this research. The researcher conducted the online search through the aforementioned databases by searching for key words such as: minibus taxi, minibus taxi driver, minibus taxi industry. The media reports were restricted to South Africa articles in the year 2014.

3.5 Ethics

For reasons given, ethics clearance was not required.

3.6 Data Analysis

A discourse analysis was used to analyse the selected newspaper articles. Discourse analysis is a qualitative methodology used in the analysis of a number of elements, in this case texts. The concept of discourse analysis, however, is difficult to define (Parker, 1992; Alvesson & Karreman, 2000). Instead, some researchers aim to understand the purpose and meaning of discourse. Discourse may be explained as a "system of statements which constructs an object" (Parker, 1992, p.4). An analysis of discourses allows the researcher and reader to 'see' beyond what has been written. It creates a framework for the reader to elaborate meaning of the text beyond the intentions of the writer (Parker, 1992). It is through the use of language found in these texts, and the extension of the intentions of the text that social realities are constructed and maintained (Parker, 1992; Alvesson & Karreman, 2000). Researchers and writers use discourse analysis for two main purposes. Firstly, the language within the text is used to make sense of what has been written and secondly, it is used to reveal ambiguities of the social construction of the reality (Alvesson & Karreman, 2000).

Discourse analysis allows the researcher to examine the relations of ideology and power within the written text (Baker *et al*, 2013). This is particularly relevant to the political influence newspapers may be subjected to. In conducting a discourse analysis, the researcher

considers a variety of linguistic phenomena such as word choice, sentence structure, the choice and use of metaphors and the implications of the written text and examines how texts are constructed in a reality (Baker *et al*, 2013). Through inferences, the researcher socially constructs a reality.

The current research report made use of a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA is a category of discourse analysis which focuses on the way in which social power, dominance and inequality are enacted (van Dijk, 2001). It also considers how these social relations are reproduced and resisted in the social context (van Dijk, 2001). The aim of this type of discourse analysis is to expose, with the aim of causing ultimate resistance, of social inequalities (van Dijk, 2001). At a macro-level, CDA considers power, dominance and inequality between social groups (van Dijk, 2001).

The reason CDA was appropriate for this particular research is because the analysis was conducted on media articles. The media has an undeniable power over the readers and through the use of linguistic tools such as syntax and lexical structure, biased, racist, sexist and stereotypical images and texts are created and thus the media is able to influence readers' perceptions (van Dijk, 2001).

Discourse analysis is, therefore, an appropriate method to reveal the social construction of the minibus bus taxi driver in the South African media.

3.7 Conclusion

The apartheid legacy of inequality is continuously present in modern day South Africa. The state of public transportation is testament to this and the decisions of the Apartheid Government are continuously felt- particularly in the minibus taxi industry. The general South African public interacts with the minibus taxi daily and thus has created certain social constructions. The media also feeds into these social constructions due to the fact that newspaper articles are still highly influential over the readers' perceptions of the world in which they are a part (Baker *et al*, 2013). The lack of research within this area of psychology creates a gap for the current research and a CDA of media articles discussing minibus taxi drivers is important in understanding these post-apartheid social relations.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction:

The print media are a powerful entity that has the supremacy to define social problems and events (Leonard, 2014). Through the use of journalism tools such as semantics and imagery, the media has the power and ability to shape society by imposing on those who read the news a biased view (Howell, 2015). The reason the view of the media is never truly neutral is because the media has specific aims and intentions which need to be brought across to the readers (Howell, 2015). Being able to shape the readers' understandings and values through the use of particular words and images the media have power and coercion over the reader (Howell, 2015). It is therefore plausible to argue that through the way newspaper journalists write about minibus taxi drivers, they are shifting the readers view and attitude towards the minibus taxi drivers.

This chapter will consider an overview of the various newspaper articles used for the analysis and these will be discussed. This discussion will include a synopsis of the popularity of the newspapers as well as the target audience of each of the various newspapers. From this, the chapter will move onto discussing the main discourses and sub-discourses apparent in the newspaper articles. These discourses and sub-discourses will be discussed in some detail and an overall comparison and contrast will be undertaken. The aim of this comparison and contrast is to illustrate the varying discourses identified when analysing the articles about one group of people. Practical implications of this knowledge will also be considered and the discussion will be concluded with strengths and limitations of the current research study.

4.2 Discussion of the Discourses

This study found three main discourses of the minibus taxi driver from the analysis of the media articles: "The Bad Citizen", "The Victim" and "The Good Citizen". A number of other sub-discourses were discovered and thus grouped into one of the three main discourses. Each construction places the minibus taxi driver in a different role, each with a certain set of characteristics or traits. The aim of the analysis is to determine why minibus taxi drivers are constructed in a particular way. These three discourses were identified as a result of a content analysis which provided the researcher with three broad 'images' of minibus taxi drivers into which other discourses could fall.

4.2.1 The Bad Citizen:

Media reports that implied behaviours of *negligence, non-compliance, untrustworthiness, violence* and *aggression* were classified under the discourse of 'bad citizen'. Twenty-two out of the 38 media reports suggested that the minibus taxi driver is a 'bad citizen' thereby making it the most predominant construction throughout the newspaper articles. Out of these 22 articles, 6 articles were from the New Age newspaper, 5 from The Star, 2 were from the Daily Dispatch, 2 from the Sowetan, 2 articles from the News24 website and then 1 article each from the Citizen, Mail and Guardian, Daily News, The Witness and Cape Times.

This construction is plausible based on the informal and unregulated nature of the industry in which minibus taxi drivers work. The informal and competitive nature encourages aggressive and unpleasant behaviour from the minibus taxi drivers. The construction of the minibus taxi driver as a 'bad citizen' begins with the understanding that the minibus taxi driver is a very powerful individual. This is illustrated in the quotation that 'Taxi drivers hold all the power and the passengers are at their mercy' (Refer to Appendix A, 32). This extract illustrates that minibus taxi drivers have control over the people in their minibus taxis. The semantics from this extract suggest that the minibus taxi driver acts upon his or her own whims. A story from a passenger riding in a taxi supports this interpretation: "I sat in front, put on iseatbelt and locked the door. He told me this is not my mother's car" (Refer to Appendix A, 32). Although passengers are paying for the service of transportation, it is the minibus taxi driver who dictates how passengers will behave on-board, "…being promised to get a beating if we don't stop speaking English as he feels we undermining his other passengers" (Refer to Appendix A, 32), how fast or slowly the taxi will drive *"*when we complained (about the music being played on full blast) he drove at 160 (km) in the fog*"* (Refer to Appendix A, 32) and where the minibus taxi will stop "I yelled 'circle' in my model C accent instead of 'sekel' and he drove right past my stop" (Refer to Appendix A, 32). All four of these accounts, which were selected by the journalist, imply that minibus taxi drivers are perhaps frustrated with those individuals who have been afforded opportunities, such as education and their own cars. The way the minibus taxi driver treats passengers is almost as if passengers must be grateful for the minibus taxi driver providing this service and the passengers have no right to complain about the way they are treated. In addition to this, the minibus taxi driver is

portrayed as being able to threaten passengers, and knowing that passengers are threatened and intimidated by them, abuse this power.

This construction of the minibus taxi driver as the 'bad citizen' considers both behaviours of the driver inside the taxi (whilst providing a service), as illustrated in this headline '10 dead in taxi crash' (Refer to Appendix A, 12) as well as outside the minibus taxi, as illustrated in this headline 'Taxi man beats woman resident' (Refer to Appendix A, 19). The discourse of the 'bad citizen' implies that irresponsible and reckless driving typecast those drivers as unworthy or bad citizens. These behaviours of the 'bad citizen', as mentioned above, are discussed below.

4.2.1.1 Negligent Behaviour:

Most of the newspaper articles reporting accidents or events in which a minibus taxi was involved implied the word *negligent.* Except for one article, the rest all reported accidents which have taken place as a result of human error. In other words, the accident has occurred due to the fault of the driver and not as a result of mechanical failures. Each headline of these articles implicates the minibus taxi drivers behaviour as negligent: '24 homicides: taxi driver bound for jail' (Refer to Appendix A, 1), 'Speeding taxi's death ride' (Refer to Appendix A, 15), 'Six die, 12 hurt in taxi crash' (Refer to Appendix A, 21), 'Taxi loaded with pupils rolls on N2' (Refer to Appendix A, 22), 'Taxi drivers in deaths of four case get bail' (Refer to Appendix A, 25), 'Nine security guards killed in horror crash as taxi hits truck' (Refer to Appendix A, 31). In each headline, the words used portray the minibus taxi driver as the main offender. Journalists use the construction of certain sentences and words to imply that the minibus taxi driver was negligent in his or her actions and thus some negative result- often injury or death- is the outcome. The first headline ('24 homicides: taxi driver bound for jail' (Refer to Appendix A, 1)) is one example of how journalists insinuate negligent behaviour without actually using words such as 'negligent' or 'reckless'. The choice of semantics in this headline is interesting. Firstly, the use of the word 'homicide' is not commonly used alone in South African language. It is generally preceded by the word 'culpable'. 'Culpable homicide' is the legal term meaning to act negligently, i.e. with no intent to cause harm. Synonyms for homicide are 'killing', 'murder' and 'slaughter'. All of these synonyms imply that death is caused intentionally. It is therefore interesting that the journalist has made use of the word 'homicide' over deaths. A possible explanation of this is because the word homicide is a more powerful word than death as it implies that the minibus taxi driver was at fault for

purposefully causing the death of 24 people. Another word in the headline which stands out is ‘bound’. This word implies that there is an assumption that the minibus taxi driver will definitely go to jail, despite what happens in the case. This speaks to the point that minibus taxi drivers- or another driver who acts negligently- will definitely go to jail. What is interesting to note in this article is that the journalist is using this article as a forum to discuss two cases. The reason for this is that the journalist is comparing these two cases and implying that the outcome of the one case is guaranteed to impact in the outcome of the other: ‘…the recently decided case which, in a similar matter, saw Supreme Court of Appeal (SCA) sentence a Western Cape taxi driver to eight years in jail for the death of 10 passengers, all children, when he skipped a queue, dodged booms, and drove into a level crossing as a train arrived’ (Refer to Appendix A, 1). The second story that the journalist is writing about is actually the focus of the article. This story is the Fields Hill death crash of 2012. In this accident a truck’s brakes failed causing him to plummet through an intersection killing 24 people. The truck driver is now on trial and although this story does not involve a minibus taxi driver, the journalist is using a minibus taxi accident as a comparison to insinuate the same negligent driving behaviour. This is despite the fact that the Fields Hill accident was as a result of a mechanical failure, whilst the minibus taxi accident was a result of the minibus taxi driver’s impatience. Journalists have the task of presenting all the known facts to the reader in an objective manner. However, in this case the journalist is acting as a judge by portraying the Fields Hill death crash driver as guilty before he has been convicted. This is against the general law in South Africa which states that a person is presumed innocent until proven guilty.

In the second headline ‘Speeding taxi’s death ride’- as listed above (Refer to Appendix A, 15), the implication is that due to the high speed of the minibus taxi, an accident occurred and people were killed. Two words that immediately imply that the minibus taxi driver was guilty, therefore at fault, is human error: ‘…as the province mourns a ‘human error’ crash which killed 11 people’ (Refer to Appendix A, 15). By using the term ‘human error’, the journalist is placing the full blame on the minibus taxi driver without actually writing it. The journalist also makes use of phrases such as “take responsibility” and “excessive speeding” to hint that the minibus taxi driver was negligent and must be accountable for the deaths of 11 people (Refer to Appendix A, 15). The journalist quotes the Member of Executive Council (MEC) of transport to further imply the responsibility on the minibus taxi driver to driver

carefully: “minibus taxi drivers must always take responsibility for the lives of passengers they are transporting” (Refer to Appendix A, 15).

In the third headline, ‘Six die, 12 hurt in taxi crash’ (Refer to Appendix A, 21), the journalist again refers to the accident as a “taxi crash”, but this time the minibus taxi was the only vehicle involved. Although no investigation had been conducted, the wording of the article implies that the minibus taxi driver was at fault: “we will check if the driver applied his brakes before the accident” (Refer to Appendix A, 21). Journalists do not only imply certain things through their own choice of words, they often use the quotations from experts on the scene to aid their construction. These quotes, too, do not contain specific words such as ‘negligent’ or ‘reckless’, but rather infer them: At this stage we think that the vehicle was either travelling at too high a speed or that the driver fell asleep (Refer to Appendix A, 21). This extract illustrates that the driver’s actions, whether speeding or falling asleep, were negligent and thus the minibus taxi driver was to blame for the accident. It is important to note that the journalist does not explicitly state that the minibus taxi driver is to blame, it is rather through her choice of words and construction of sentences that she is able to subtly lay blame.

Negligent driver behaviour such as speeding or recklessness are not the only actions which can result in minibus taxi accidents. Overloading of vehicles is also a negligent act which may result in harm. The fourth headline, ‘Taxi loaded with pupils rolls on N2’ (Refer to Appendix A, 22), alludes to this through the word “loaded”. This word is qualified through the subtitle which states: ‘16-seater was carrying 25 passengers’ (Refer to Appendix A, 22). This subtitle illustrates to the reader that the minibus taxi driver was negligent when he/she allowed more passengers on board than the legal limit. However, “(t)his is not the first time we hear of taxi drivers packing our kids like sardines in their taxis” (Refer to Appendix A, 22) and thus it seems that overloading is a regular occurrence. This extract leads to the fact that minibus taxi drivers are responsible for the number of people they allow on board their minibus taxis. Allowing more than 16 people on board is negligent behaviour as it causes the vehicle to become extremely heavy thus increasing the chances of the minibus taxi overturning, as happened in this accident: ‘the overloaded taxi they were in overturned’ (Refer to Appendix A, 22).

In some newspaper articles, journalists make use of phrases such as ‘out of control vehicle’ (Refer to Appendix A, 21), ‘high speed chase’ (Refer to Appendix A, 25) and ‘passenger-

heavy taxi' (Refer to Appendix A, 3), all of which assert negligence by the minibus taxi driver. Yet, the journalist does not directly lay blame on the minibus taxi driver but rather through the use of these phrases, constructs the minibus taxi driver as negligent and reckless and ultimately at fault for the event which occurred. It is important to remember that the minibus taxi driver is not the only individual involved in these accidents or incidents. The sixth headline ('Taxi drivers in deaths of four case get bail'; Refer to Appendix A, 25) pays attention to the victims of the accident. In this tragedy, the minibus taxi hit a stationary truck killing nine people on board. Commuters who make use of minibus taxis are often on their way to or from work and thus are breadwinners or contributors to family incomes: 'Seven security guards who were all on their way home after having worked the night shift' (Refer to Appendix A, 31). Journalists paint a devastating picture of the passengers who are killed in minibus taxi accidents, especially when the accident is a result of minibus taxi driver negligence. These passengers are constructed as powerless, passive and innocent. Based on the articles analysed, most accidents involving a minibus taxi are caused by the minibus taxi driver (Refer to Appendix A, 15; 21; 22; 25; 31). Also, a number of articles reporting minibus taxi accidents, reported accidents where the minibus taxi was the only vehicle involved (Refer to Appendix A, 15; 21). The biggest concern with minibus taxi accidents is the number of passengers which are affected by the accident and the families that are impacted by loss of support. This quote illustrates how journalists construct this: 'responsible for the death of a young mother' (Refer to Appendix A, 3). The focus on the fact that the passenger who died was a mother makes the reader feel sorry for the child left behind- now without a mother- as well as feeling sorry for the deceased because she was described as 'young' which implies that she had her life ahead of her. Even the passengers who do survive an accident are constructed as powerless and passive and yet their stories are used to aid to the construction of the journalist: "the road was open and there was no rain but the driver was driving fast" (Refer to Appendix A, 31). The passengers are not the only affected parties in an accident. The families and loved ones of the passenger, whether deceased or badly injured, are the ones who are greatly impacted: "He [the security guard] was the head of our household. I don't know how we will cope without him" (Wife of a killed security guard, Refer to Appendix A, 31). Quotations such as this one, adds to the blame which is placed on the minibus taxi driver for causing this to happen. A journalist uses the phrase 'criminally liable for the death' which implies that someone needs to take responsibility for this incident. It also implies that what happened is wrong and could have been avoided.

Out of all the articles that socially construct the minibus taxi driver as negligent, one does not report an actual incident or accident in which a minibus taxi was involved. This article is titled: 'Minibus taxis the worst offenders' (Refer to Appendix A, 13). The words in this headline imply that nobody else is as bad as minibus taxi drivers. Without reading the article, this headline socially constructs the minibus taxi driver as amongst the worst individuals in society. It is only when you read the article, that context is provided. This article discusses the scientific research conducted by the University of Stellenbosch (Refer to Appendix A, 13) which measured and recorded the speed of passenger vehicles. Whilst the study only distinguishes minibus taxis from other forms of passenger vehicles, one may assume that the researchers are referring to buses and private vehicles as passenger vehicles. This study, which occurred on major roads in the Western Cape, found that minibus taxis 'exceeded the 100km/h speed limit more than 45% of the time' (Refer to Appendix A, 13). This is negligent behaviour as 'taxis were required by law not to be driven faster than 100km/h but exceeded the 120km/h speed limit regularly' (Refer to Appendix A, 13). These two extracts imply that minibus taxi drivers are non-compliant as they are breaking the law when exceeding the speed limit. This leads to the next sub-discourse of non-compliant behaviour.

4.2.1.2 Non-compliant Behaviour:

'A trip to Joburg proved a shock in terms of the total non-compliance of minibus taxis with the rules of the road, endangering lives' (Refer to Appendix A, 2). This extract has been taken from an opinion piece in which the writer expresses her shock and disbelief for the non-compliance of minibus taxis with regard to the rules of the road. Johannesburg, as the business centre of South Africa, is home to 12.27 million people. Integrated public transportation is non-existent so minibus taxis are the preferred choice of transportation because they are the most 'flexible' in terms of routes. However, because each taxi is restricted to a specific route, passengers have to be dropped off at the end of the route and wait for another minibus taxi to pick them up and take them to their destination. The semantics used in the extract above are interesting as very emotive language was used by the journalist. This was possibly done to communicate her shock with what she had been exposed to as well as the fact that she is writing about her own opinion and experiences, which makes this type of writing acceptable.

What is interesting to note about this sub-discourse, is that although it is the minibus taxi drivers that are acting against the law, i.e. being non-compliant, the traffic department is

being held accountable by journalists. Journalists are directing their focus at the traffic department for not correctly performing their jobs to ensure safety on the road for all users: "Not once, did I see any traffic police" (Refer to Appendix A, 2). The semantics in this extract illustrate the journalist's dismay at the lack of monitoring and patrol by traffic police. Based on the extract above, the South African Traffic Police are failing other users of the road by not adequately handling the non-compliance of minibus taxis. A journalist from another article discusses the interactions that do occur between minibus taxi drivers and traffic police: "…we (minibus taxi drivers) have to fix our cars, pay traffic fines, bribe traffic officers and still feed our families" (Refer to Appendix A, 36). It is interesting that bribery is mentioned in the same sentence as legitimate activities such as maintaining vehicles and feeding families. This illustrates how this illegal action of bribery is part of the minibus taxi drivers daily life. 'Minibus drivers said traffic officers demand bribes, or 'cool drink money' (Refer to Appendix A, 36). 'Cool drink money' is given to traffic officers when minibus taxis are pulled over and demanded to show their operating permits which most of them do not possess (Refer to Appendix A, 36). In order for minibus taxi drivers to become more compliant, traffic officers need to stop accepting bribes, or 'cool drink money' because "law enforcement is non-negotiable" (Refer to Appendix A, 36). Again, the blame is not placed on the minibus taxi driver for not obtaining the correct permits. The blame is placed on the traffic officers for taking bribes: "taxi drivers should refuse to pay bribes and report the officers concerned" (Refer to Appendix A, 36). Law enforcement does, however, plead with the minibus taxi drivers to 'refuse to pay bribes and report the officers concerned' (Refer to Appendix A, 36).

It is, however, the traffic polices' responsibility to prosecute all non-compliances of the law, not just minibus taxi drivers. 'During the road block, 59 minibus taxis travelling without relevant permits were impounded. A further 29 taxis were impounded for being unroadworthy while 14 drivers were arrested for driving while under the influence of alcohol' (Refer to Appendix A, 14). Without directly stating it, the journalist in this article eludes to the fact that non-compliant actions such as the ones mentioned in the extract above, can lead to accidents and deaths of passengers. It also suggests to the minibus taxi driver as being defiant of the law and just doing as they please. After discussing the actions that the traffic police have taken to remove non-compliant minibus taxis, the journalist goes on to discuss: 'In another development, most of the nine people killed in a crash involving a minibus taxi and a sedan…' (Refer to Appendix A, 14). The juxtaposition of these two stories seems to

imply that the problem of non-compliance is too big to deal with and solve. Thus despite the fact that some minibus taxi drivers are punished for being non-compliant, there are too many who perhaps are not and thus the journalist would rather report on stories that have caused loss of life.

Along with this non-compliance seems to come a level of arrogance from the minibus taxi drivers know they can get away with not complying with the rules and regulations. This was evident in the newspaper article titled: 'Taxi driver ducks and dives' (Refer to Appendix A, 5). After being flagged down by traffic officers for reckless driving the minibus taxi driver 'jumped out of the taxi and ran- then jumped into the nearby river. He swam to the other side shouting "Try and shoot me!"' (Refer to Appendix A, 5). The arrogance of the statement "Try and shoot me!" (Refer to Appendix A, 5) illustrates the minibus taxi drivers complete disregard for the legal system and thus further solidifies the construction of the minibus taxi driver as non-compliant and thus a 'bad citizen'.

In one article, when a minibus taxi driver was approached for being non-compliant with the by-laws, he turned violent and assaulted the resident: 'Complaint leads to assault with pipe' (Refer to Appendix A, 19). Thus the sub-discourse of violence is also a discourse used in the construction of minibus taxi drivers as a 'bad citizen'.

4.2.1.3 Violent and Aggressive Behaviour

'A woman has been assaulted with a metal pipe for trying to get a taxi driver to act in accordance with by-laws forbidding loud music at a Pinetown park' (Refer to Appendix A, 19). The journalist constructs this story through the eyes of the victim by using direct quotations from the victim's personal encounter: '"He pushed his finger in my face, so I did the same". The driver then grabbed her hand and slapped her across the face twice' (Refer to Appendix A, 19). When the victim tried to run after the minibus taxi driver, the minibus taxi driver climbed into his vehicle and the victim thought he was going to drive away. "I banged on his window telling him I was going to have him arrested for slapping me. He pulled out a metal pipe, came back out and hit me with it twice on my side" (Refer to Appendix A, 19). The reason for choosing this method is that the journalist is avoiding calling the minibus taxi driver violent, aggressive, and non-compliant by reconstructing the victim's construction of the minibus taxi driver as violent, aggressive and non-compliant. Through using the victim's exact words, the journalist is still able to create this perception.

The way the journalist has constructed this encounter also gives the perception that minibus taxi drivers are above the law and the lack of dedication to prevent illegal behaviour from the SAPS and Metro Police only continues this cycle: 'They (the Pinetown Community Policing Forum) have tried countless times to get law enforcement to stop illegal activities such as playing loud music and washing cars in the park:…"people tell me the SAPS and Metro Police drive past here all the time and do nothing"' (Refer to Appendix A, 19). The victim also gave the police the minibus taxis registration number however the police had not made any arrests: 'No arrests have been made' (Refer to Appendix A, 19).

In this article, the journalist socially constructs the minibus taxi driver as being a 'bad citizen' as not only does the minibus taxi driver break the by-law by washing his taxi (Refer to Appendix A, 19) and playing his music very loudly: 'by music blasted from a taxi' (Refer to Appendix A, 19), but he also beat a woman resident because he did not like the fact that he was being told-off: 'She went out again to ask the man if he would turn down his music but she said he started swearing at her' (Refer to Appendix A, 19).

Minibus taxi drivers are constructed in their most violent state during protests. Three newspaper articles selected for analysis socially construct the minibus taxi driver as the 'bad citizen' because of their violent and aggressive behaviour in situations where the minibus taxi drivers were striking: 'A man was shot dead and six buses were set alight in Cape Town yesterday during a strike by taxi drivers' (Refer to Appendix A, 24); 'Commuters who gathered at the Bree Street taxi rank, and tried getting into the vehicles of motorists who were offering rides, were allegedly forced out by strikers' (Refer to Appendix A, 34). These two extracts illustrate, firstly, that this violence is not area specific and secondly to illustrate how journalists, again, do not use words such as violence and aggression, but rather give details of the events which then allude to ideas around violence and aggression. It appears, from the newspaper articles, that one of the reasons minibus taxi drivers go on strike is when city authority, or government, implements a system or law which directly impacts the minibus taxi driver. In one article, the journalist reported that 'city authorities are confiscating their (the minibus taxi drivers) permits' (Refer to Appendix A, 24). It is interesting to note that the journalist does not give an explanation for why these permits have been confiscated. The reader immediately assumes it is because minibus taxi drivers, or the associations, have done something wrong. The word 'confiscate' implies that there has been a wrongdoing of some sort and this is the punishment. This confiscation has caused minibus taxi drivers to go on a *rampage* (Refer to Appendix A, 24). The word rampage insinuates how violently and agitated

the behaviour of the minibus taxi drivers. Behaviour such as this associates with being a 'bad citizen'.

Patricia de Lille was quoted in this article condoning this violence: "…the attacks on public transport infrastructure were clearly well orchestrated and driven by the desire to make the city ungovernable" (Refer to Appendix A, 24). The purpose of this extract is to exemplify the perceived power of the minibus taxi industry and the perception that continued violence could cripple other industries and entities. It also shows disapproval of this behaviour from upper government officials. This sort of behaviour is not just condemned by middle to upper class individuals who perhaps do not make use of public transport. This is noted by the journalist through the use of a quotation from a hawker at the bus terminal in this article: "I view the burning of buses as wrong because the company helps transport residents to their destinations" (Refer to Appendix A, 24).

Another article analysed for this study also considers the behaviour of protesting minibus taxi drivers and how they treat non-protesting minibus taxi drivers. When the reader initially reads the headline 'Taxi driver slain during protest' (Refer to Appendix A, 4), there is a level of sympathy towards the minibus taxi driver who was slain. The assumption that is created from this headline is that the minibus taxi driver who was 'apparently shot while on his way to work' (Refer to Appendix A, 4) because he was not involved in the protesting. This constructs the protesting minibus taxi drivers as thug or gangster-like, in the way that they will perhaps even go as far as eliminating one of their own because that individual refused to get involved in violent actions. This construction is further developed through the point that '11 bus drivers were pulled from their vehicles and assaulted' (Refer to Appendix A, 4). This action of pulling someone from a vehicle and assaulting them is thuggish behaviour. The word '*thugs'* is even used in the article: "The passengers were forced to disembark, where after the driver managed to drive away before the thugs could set the bus alight" (Refer to Appendix A, 4). However, the journalist is protected from actually calling the minibus taxi drivers *thugs* because it was the city's transport mayoral committee member who said it. Nevertheless, this construction still sticks. Putting the issue of burning buses aside, a more concerning matter with this violent and aggressive behaviour is that the minibus taxi drivers are not attacking government directly for implementing new bus systems, they are instead attacking individuals who perform the same job, perhaps go through the same daily struggles and make the same sacrifices as the minibus taxi drivers to make a living. This argument is

not to suggest that minibus taxi drivers attack government. It is rather to illustrate the power of the minibus taxi industry.

Minibus taxi drivers who feel that their power has been taken away or that they have been undermined by authorities are also known to become violent and aggressive in order to gain their power back. This was the case when a traffic officer who 'was shot in the leg after his family was overpowered by three men… his assailants apparently accused him of 'taking their taxi'' (Refer to Appendix A, 17). In another incident reported in the same article, 'stones were hurled at the home of a female city traffic officer' (Refer to Appendix A, 17). The word used to describe the minibus taxi drivers was *disgruntled*, implying that they are displeased with how they are being treated and therefore act out in anger. It is interesting to note that although the headline, 'Taxi violence turns into vendetta' (Refer to Appendix A, 17), as well as the first line, contain the words *taxi violence* (Refer to Appendix A, 17), nowhere in the article is taxi violence discussed. The assumption here is that these minibus taxi drivers may have been involved in taxi violence and as an attempt to stop it, law enforcements confiscated their minibus. Just mentioning the words *taxi violence* gives the reader the ability to construct an image of aggressive and violent minibus taxi drivers.

It is interesting to note that throughout the articles which found minibus taxi drivers acting violently, the journalists do not seem to publish the minibus taxi drivers or associations comments. This could be because the minibus taxi drivers could be acting too violently for reporters to approach to ask them why they are behaving in this violent way. Journalists could also be purposefully avoiding the opinion and comments of the minibus taxi drivers or associations so that there is no possible contradiction to their 'bad citizen' construction. Having opinions and comments from the minibus taxi drivers could result in sympathy felt by the reader because the minibus taxi driver has been *humanised* as a *father* or a *husband* as opposed to *the minibus taxi driver.* Thus the journalist is able to maintain this social construction of the minibus taxi driver as the 'bad citizen' by portraying the minibus taxi drivers as out-of-control individuals, vandalising property and assaulting other drivers. Instead the journalist assumes the minibus taxi drivers' comments through the use of words such as *believed* and *apparently* (Refer to Appendix A, 4). These words protect journalists from outright accusing a specific group of individuals from performing a specific action as well as to protect themselves from having to accept responsibility for incorrect facts.

Taxi violence is something which occurs in South Africa far too often. Most of the time, and in this article as well, taxi associations are 'fighting over local routes' (Refer to Appendix A, 11). During these periods of taxi violence, the media is quick to aid the construction of the minibus taxi driver as a 'bad citizen' whilst law enforcement are the 'good citizen' for trying to resolve the violence. In this article, the journalist constructs the policeman as the victim, whose 'firearm was grabbed by the suspect while the policeman was trying to restore order between the rival associations'(Refer to Appendix A, 11). The minibus taxi driver who stole the firearm is deemed to illustrate '*unpleasant behaviour'* (Refer to Appendix A, 11). This term of '*unpleasant behaviour'* is a very safe term to use to describe the behaviour because, although not very descriptive, it still illustrates that this behaviour is undesired and disapproved of by those affected. It is interesting to note that the police officer was not reprimanded for not taking better care of his firearm (Refer to Appendix A, 11) and that it was rather the minibus taxi drivers fault for taking it. It is however a policeman's duty to ensure that his firearm is kept safe and securely away from other people, especially when working in a hostile environment.

4.2.1.4 Untrustworthy Behaviour

The social construction of the minibus taxi driver has so far included their negligent behaviour, their non-compliance with the law and their violent and aggressive behaviour. The last sub-discourse of 'bad citizen' discovered during the analysis was that minibus taxi drivers can also be untrustworthy. In a case where a 'taxi driver was found guilty of the murder of his girlfriend and her mother' (Refer to Appendix A, 27), the court found that the minibus taxi driver's testament was dishonest. Firstly, the accused defended his actions by claiming self-defence, which the court easily disproved by comparing the gunshot wounds of the victims to the story the minibus taxi driver told about how 'he had wrestled for the gun with Tshepiso (the deceased) and a shot accidently went off, hitting her' (Refer to Appendix A, 27). The Magistrate noted that 'if they had been wrestling for the gun she could have been hit on her side' (Refer to Appendix A, 27) and not in her stomach and chest (Refer to Appendix A, 27). Secondly, the minibus taxi driver claimed the deceased had called him to come to her parent's house, in the hope of reconciling their relationship after she had 'obtained a protection order against him' (Refer to Appendix A, 27). The court found that there was an 'exchange of text messages but the cellphone records did not indicate the deceased calling' (Refer to Appendix A, 27). Thirdly, the minibus taxi driver claimed 'he took it (the gun) home with the intention of handing it to Lethabong police, but forgot' (Refer

to Appendix A, 27). Through the use of the extracts above, the journalist in this story constructs the image of an untrustworthy individual without actually labelling the minibus taxi driver as dishonest. The inclusion of the minibus taxi driver asking the court 'for a non-custodial sentence as he was afraid his taxi would be repossessed if he did not pay the instalments' (Refer to Appendix A, 27) was interesting This is because although the journalist has just constructed him as untrustworthy and someone who attacked and killed his girlfriend, yet the journalist is appealing to the circumstances of the minibus taxi driver as someone who will lose everything if he goes to jail. It is however unlikely that this would have been granted because of the fact that he was found guilty of murder (Refer to Appendix A, 27).

This is not the only case which speaks to this dishonest social construction of the minibus taxi driver. The article reporting the accident involving Duduzane Zuma and a minibus taxi has some interesting social constructions of the minibus taxi driver of which negligence was discussed above, the minibus taxi driver as the victim of socio-economic factors will be discussed in the next discourse and the dishonesty of the minibus taxi driver to be discussed now. The headline of this article is: 'Taxi driver disputes Zuma's crash claims' (Refer to Appendix A, 3). The testimony of the minibus taxi driver and Zuma are now contradicting as the minibus taxi driver has 'refuted' the initial version of events (Refer to Appendix A, 3). The minibus taxi driver admitted that 'his statement to the police was wrong in many ways' (Refer to Appendix A, 3). This was after the minibus taxi driver had been 'caught out for originally saying he had been travelling at about 100km/hour at the time of impact but told the court it was actually between 75km/h and 80 km/h' (Refer to Appendix A, 3). It may seem a bit suspicious that the original statement of both the minibus taxi driver and Zuma was the same and yet now they have changed after the minibus taxi driver had been 'caught out' for having lied in his previous testimony (Refer to Appendix A, 3). Although this suspicion is raised through the way in which the article was constructed, the journalist does not make speculations as to why this may have been the case and instead alludes to the fact that the minibus taxi driver was indeed untrustworthy.

This discourse of the minibus taxi driver as the 'bad citizen' sheds some light on the social relations at play between the different parties involved with this negative connotation. There is clearly a fear associated with the interaction with the minibus taxi driver. This was first presented at the beginning when commuters' stories of their experiences with minibus taxi driver were shared and discussed. This fear is then noted under the sub-discourse of violence and aggression when it was discussed how minibus taxi drivers behave like thugs in order to

exert power and relieve frustration. This fear is even noted in one of the articles: "(we were) told by their managers to go home because of the incident. Our manager is scared of taxi drivers." (Refer to Appendix A, 24). Social relations between law enforcement and minibus taxi drivers are also noted in this discussion. This social relation is partly due to the power struggle between the two groups, with law enforcement trying to protect society and minibus taxi drivers deliberately attempting 'to intimidate the city's law enforcement agencies' (Refer to Appendix A, 17). One article illustrates the intensity of this relationship through the use of the word 'battle' (Refer to Appendix A, 37). This implies that this relationship is like a war zone with both parties constantly attacking one another. Based on the behaviour discussed above, minibus taxi drivers have been portrayed as are bad citizens and should therefore (need to) be punished in some way. But through their reported continuous violent and intimidating behaviour both towards people of the general public and law enforcement, this social construction is possibly going to become more permanent and the chances of change will disappear.

4.2.2 The Victim

The discussion above has considered how the minibus taxi driver is socially constructed as the 'bad citizen'. This is not the only discourse which has been used in newspaper articles to socially construct the minibus taxi driver. Journalists have also described the minibus taxi driver as being passive and powerless in certain situations, the opposite to how the minibus driver as the 'bad citizen' is constructed. Twelve out of the 38 newspaper articles have socially constructed the minibus taxi driver as a victim of their *socio-economic status*, victims of *maladministration* and victims of *violence*. Of these 12 articles, 2 are from the Daily News, 2 are from the Times and 1 article each from The Saturday Star, City Press, Business Day, News24, New Age, Cape Times, Citizen and Cape Argus.

The discourse of the minibus taxi driver as the 'bad citizen' was dominant and thus it was surprising that so many articles construct the minibus taxi driver as a victim. This discourse illustrates that despite the fact that minibus taxi drivers can be powerful and coercive, some of them can become victims of circumstances.

4.2.2.1 Socio-economic Status

The Duduzane Zuma case was discussed in two separate articles, one published on 23 August 2014 in the Saturday Star (Refer to Appendix A, 6) and the other published on 7 November

2014 in The Star (Refer to Appendix A, 43. Both of these articles were written by the same journalist yet the construction of the minibus taxi driver is different in the two articles. The article published in The Star (Refer to Appendix A, 3) was discussed above under the sub-discourse of 'untrustworthy behaviour' and is negative about the character of the minibus taxi driver. This is possibly due to the fact that this article was written after the Saturday Star (Refer to Appendix A, 6) and thus more facts could have been gathered during this time.

The article published in the Saturday Star (Refer to Appendix A, 6), portrays the minibus taxi driver as the victim of lower class society citing that 'Legal Aid lawyers were assigned for Dube's family and the driver of the taxi' (Refer to Appendix A, 6). The journalist in this article spends most of the time discussing Zuma's behaviour and how he now has a new lawyer after his last one 'dropped' him (Refer to Appendix A, 6). In this article, the journalist implies that Zuma is to blame: '…after Zuma collided with the taxi while driving his silver Porsche on the Grayston Drive exit' (Refer to Appendix A, 6). The words 'Zuma collided' imply that the accident, and as a result the death of two passengers, was indeed Zuma's fault (Refer to Appendix A, 6). The minibus taxi driver is constructed as very passive and powerless in this article, whilst Zuma is constructed as non-compliant, 'failing to arrive in court', arrogant, as Zuma was described as 'striding into the Randburg Magistrates Court' and naïve, 'Zuma claimed… that he had not received the subpoena for the inquest and that he was unaware his presence was required in court' (Refer to Appendix A, 6). A reason Zuma could have been constructed in this manner is because of his position in upper class society. He is able to drive a Porsche and obtain the best lawyer because money is not an object, whilst the minibus taxi driver, and family of the deceased, are portrayed as poor, lower class citizens who are unable to hire their own lawyers and are thus assigned legal aid attorneys who are busy and thus arguably may not be able to give their all to the case, unlike Zuma's private attorney. This event emphasises the social relation between rich and poor in South Africa. The rich are able to hire the best legal representation whilst the poor are given whoever is available. This could impact the perception of the rich on the poor and vice versa.

Although in the previous discourse, it was noted how minibus taxi drivers are considered a menace to society and their actions often lead them to be associated with the behaviours of a 'bad citizen', there is a level of concern for the wellbeing of minibus taxi drivers and their commuters as noted by the KwaZulu Natal MEC for health: "They (minibus taxi drivers) do not have time to go their local clinics for check-ups" (Refer to Appendix A, 18). The reason

for this is that minibus taxi drivers ‘start work early in the morning and finish late at night’ (Refer to Appendix A, 18).

Although the KwaZulu Natal MEC for Health said “We are not launching this programme in taxi ranks because we think that people in taxi ranks are sick” (Refer to Appendix A, 18), there are still some implications around the reason for this mobile clinic. Although the article does not specifically state that this programme is for lower income individuals, who perhaps cannot afford to take a day off work to go to the clinic, there are certain indicators of this. A minibus taxi driver was quoted saying “It’s free and it’s right here where I work. I haven’t been to the clinic in years so I need a check-up” (Refer to Appendix A, 18). Free health care is something minibus taxi drivers will certainly look for because of their limited income. This service will also be a time saving convenience for minibus taxi drivers which is important as they will not be able to spent too much time in health care facilities due to the nature of their job.

‘The mobile clinic will provide a comprehensive package of primary healthcare services in order to promote a preventative approach to health’ (Refer to Appendix A, 18). This extract reveals the agenda of government in the implication of the mobile clinics. By providing health care that is considered ‘preventative’, government will hopefully pay less to treat sick individuals as there will be fewer. There is also a slight implication that government is hinting towards the fact that minibus taxi drivers perhaps do not take good care of themselves- due to the fact that they are unable to go to clinics- and that by providing a clinic at the taxi rank, minibus taxi drivers will be able to look after themselves more, thereby making them more efficient and effective when transporting individuals.

4.2.2.2 Maladministration

Due to the fact that minibus taxi drivers operate in an informal sector, they are often constructed as victims of maladministration. This may be because of the fact that they are not regulated and therefore certain entities may see this is an opportunity to abuse them. This is evident in two of the articles analysed in the current study. The headline of the one article is ‘Taxi drivers to strike in protest against e-tolling’ (Refer to Appendix A, 10). From this headline, it appears that the construction of the minibus taxi driver could be along the lines of ‘bad citizen’, as they deviate from the law. However, the journalist in this article social constructs the minibus taxi driver as a victim of a poorly administered government system: ‘government’s failure to issue operating licences to taxi drivers in a timely fashion rendered

them prey to e-tolls' (Refer to Appendix A, 10). The use of the word *prey* is interesting, and allures to the fact that minibus taxi drivers are indeed victims of this system as *prey* means to be victim or a target.

What supports this notion of the minibus taxi driver being a victim in the system is that 'SANRAL and the government claimed that they (minibus taxis) were exempt from paying e-tolls' (Refer to Appendix A, 10). However, this statement was made for the own agenda of the government and not for the sole benefit of the minibus taxi industry. In order to be exempt from paying e-tolls, minibus taxis need to have operating licences, which the government issues. According to the National Taxi Alliance spokesman, "governments refusal to issue operating licences means it is rendering our (the minibus taxis) operations illegal. The spokesperson goes onto mention that they (government) know that almost 80% of taxis do not have operating licences" (Refer to Appendix A, 10) and yet they do not seem to be allocating licences. One speculation around this matter, and this was discussed in the literature review above, is as long as the minibus taxi industry is kept unregulated, government does not have to provide subsidies.

It is thought-provoking that the journalist has not considered government or SANRAL's views on this. The absence of comments from these two entities aids in the social construct of the minibus taxi driver as a victim of the system. This is despite the fact that the minibus taxi drivers were shutting down 'major traffic routes in and around Johannesburg' (Refer to Appendix A, 10) and that this protest left 'thousands of commuters stranded' (Refer to Appendix A, 10).

The journalist also mentions that the 'South African National Taxi Organisation has refused to join the protest, stating that, while there are problems with the permits, it believed that they would soon be resolved' (Refer to Appendix A, 10). This is an interesting statement. By placing this statement at the end of the article, the journalist is implying that this specific organisation is perhaps aligned with the political agendas of government. The words 'believed that they would soon be resolved' implies that there is something happening between people in government and this particular taxi organisation. It is interesting that this is the only association which feels there will be resolution with the problem as 'associations from other provinces' joined the protest (Refer to Appendix A, 10).

As discussed in the discourse of the 'bad citizen' above, the minibus taxi driver is often regarded as guilty of causing minibus taxi accidents. And whilst they may sometimes be true,

minibus taxi drivers are not always at fault. Sometimes the vehicle which the minibus taxi driver is driving, is at fault. ‘They split open like a tin can in a crash’ (Refer to Appendix A, 35) is an extract referring to a problem which is becoming more prevalent in the industry- illegally converted minibus taxis. Toyota Quantum panel vans are being illegally converted into minibus taxis and this, according to this newspaper article, ‘continue(s) to claim lives’ (Refer to Appendix A, 35). The reason being is that these converted panel vans ‘are not sufficiently reinforced to carry the weight of passengers’ (Refer to Appendix A, 35). The journalist of this article refers to these vehicles as ‘death traps’ due to the high number of fatal accidents which have been as a result of these converted minivans. ‘There were at least 119 fatal accidents involving converted panel vans since 2005’(Refer to Appendix A, 35). The journalist quoted a former banker who was the individual who ‘laid a complaint at the Public Prosecutor’s office’ (Refer to Appendix A, 35). This individual explained how “the floors had been drilled and cut into many times to fit extra seats and other parts, allowing carbon monoxide from the engine to seep inside. This can contribute to poor concentration, drowsiness and even a non-intentional, sleep-induced state*”* (Refer to Appendix A, 35). This argument was found to be true in the technical investigation report in a court case in which a minibus taxi driver had fallen asleep whilst driving, causing the vehicle to crash (Refer to Appendix A, 35). The minibus taxi driver was therefore a victim of this fraudulent system. Minibus taxi drivers and their owners are both victims of this deceitful act. According to this article, these illegal vans ‘cost about R20 000 to convert and people doing the conversions could sell them for up to R100 000 more than what they paid for them’ (Refer to Appendix A, 35). However, removing these vehicles from the roads could be detrimental as “operators would be without income and drivers without jobs” (Refer to Appendix A, 35). This would increase the already high unemployment rate and possibly even leave hundreds of passengers stranded as there would not be enough minibus taxis to transport them.

The minibus taxi driver can therefore be understood as a victim of maladministration and deceptive systems. It is through no fault of their own that they have ended up as these victims; it is rather a product of their position in society.

4.2.2.3 Violence

Although in the ‘bad citizen’ discourse, it was discussed how the minibus taxi driver was socially constructed as violent and aggressive, there are instances where the media has

socially constructed the minibus taxi driver as a victim of this violence. Seven of the 38 articles construct this image and this is an unexpected yet thought-provoking result.

Minibus taxi violence is far more complex than it appears to be on the surface. This discourse of the minibus taxi driver as a victim of violence considers how minibus taxi drivers' lives are also affected such as this extract explains: 'Taxi drivers have fled their homes in fear for their safety and that of their families' (Refer to Appendix A, 9). The journalist interviewed some minibus taxi drivers about this fear and they do 'not want to be named' out of fear. This constructed a new image of the minibus taxi driver as someone who is vulnerable and frightened, someone who just wants to protect his family: "I am so scared to drive now. I left my house and am staying with a friend. I am so scared" (Refer to Appendix A, 9). It appears the reason for the violence in this particular article is because 'drug-running gangsters have invaded a major taxi route' (Refer to Appendix A, 9) and this violence has 'left nine people dead' (Refer to Appendix A, 9). 'More than 300 taxi drivers marched to the city centre to protest against the killings and to demand a better regulated industry' (Refer to Appendix A, 9). This extract illustrates that minibus taxi drivers are victims of the industry in which they work. This is not just related to their long hours and minimal pay; it is also related to how the unregulated system causes violence to continuously impact lives. The extract also indicates that some minibus taxi drivers would appreciate a better regulated industry and the implication of that could be that they want to be more law abiding. Perhaps a system which respected the minibus taxi driver would be one which reaped more positive and law abiding behaviour from minibus taxi drivers. A source, which again was left anonymous, said "some gangsters owned taxis are using the vehicles to transport drugs" (Refer to Appendix A, 9). "It's a battleground. It's gangs shooting the taxis and vice versa" (Refer to Appendix A, 9). The use of the word 'battleground' paints the picture of a war zone, where people are being injured and killed and there is just chaos everywhere. It is also important to note here that it is also the minibus taxi drivers who are shooting, and not just the gangsters. This infers that minibus taxi drivers have firearms. The reason for this could be that the minibus taxi drivers feel that they need to protect themselves because no one is protecting them, as the victims, during these attacks. It also implies that minibus taxi drivers are themselves gangsters who possess firearms to deter anyone who tries to come into their territories. This second reason relates to the discourse above of the 'bad citizen'.

Two of the articles selected for analysis are reporting on the same minibus taxi violence event. It is interesting to compare how the two journalists report the same story. In this event,

two minibus taxi drivers were shot and killed. The headline of the one article reads: 'Taxi violence claims 2 lives' (Refer to Appendix A, 33). This headline implies that 2 minibus taxi drivers were killed during a minibus taxi violence episode. The second article is titled: 'Taxi violence probed as two drivers are killed' (Refer to Appendix A, 16). Through the use of the word 'probed' in this headline, it implies that an investigation into the violence has been conducted to determine if two minibus taxi drivers were murdered as a result of the violence. The journalist in the second article (Article 16), has gone into more detail about the events and possible causes of the investigation, whereas the journalist in the first article (Article 33) has merely given the facts of the case in a very short article: 'Two minibus taxi drivers were shot dead in suspected taxi violence in Ekurhuleni' (Refer to Appendix A, 33). The journalist goes onto mention where the two minibus taxi drivers were shot and implies that it was the same individuals who shot both drivers: '… shots were fired at the 50-year-old taxi driver from a white car that was following the taxi, killing him. The car then turned around and followed another taxi going in the opposite direction on the same road. A 55-year-old driver was also shot dead before the car sped off' (Refer to Appendix A, 33). The way the journalist has written this article implies that the two minibus taxi drivers were shot on the same road by the same person, yet the journalist does not give any factual evidence to back this claim. This journalist only gives a reference for the facts of the first murder, by acknowledging that the information came from a police spokesperson. By constructing the report in this way, it heightens the fact that minibus taxi drivers are the victims of these individuals who just drive around shooting at minibus taxi drivers.

The journalist of the second article acknowledges that it is unknown if these two incidents are linked by quoting the Hawks spokesperson: "We can't say this incident is linked to the other cases of taxi violence or not but investigations are underway" (Refer to Appendix A, 16). This article also gives more information about the context in which these shootings occurred: 'The Hawks announced earlier that they had embarked on a probe on whether a gang of seven suspected hitmen arrested in the Vaal had members of the police and courts on their payroll' (Refer to Appendix A, 16). The importance of this information is that it gives context to perhaps why these minibus taxi drivers were targeted. The journalist in this article (Refer to Appendix A, 16) makes use of the word *resurgence* which means to revive or reappear. This word is also a politicised word as in the resurgence of African power. The choice of this word is therefore interesting. The semantics of this word implies to the reader that the cycle of taxi violence will continue and possibly never be won. The power struggle between police, gangs

and minibus taxi drivers will continue and possibly be an issue indefinitely. This will perpetuate the cycle of the minibus taxi driver as the 'bad citizen' for fighting in taxi violence as well as the minibus taxi driver as the 'victim' of this form of violence.

It must be noted that these two articles appeared in different media forums: Article 40 is a News24 article which appears online and therefore it has to be short. The aim of News24 is to create short news clips for someone to just skim through and catch up on the news. This means through very limited space and words the journalist needs to construct the story. It is clear that this impacts on the construction as the article which had more space and words was able to provide more detail and therefore present a different construction to the reader. It is not to say that the social construction of the shorter article is incorrect. It is important to expose the fact that the same story can construct the same subject, i.e. the minibus taxi driver in this case, into two different discourses just based on the words used and the people quoted.

The rivalry between minibus taxi associations is one of the biggest reasons of minibus taxi violence. 'Rival taxi operators on the Delft-Khayelitsha route began urgent peace talks after a group of unidentified men opened fire on drivers at the rank in Delft' (Refer to Appendix A, 30). Although the words *taxi violence* are not explicitly mentioned, words and phrases such as 'peace plans' and '10 drivers killed in a three-month period' (Refer to Appendix A, 30) imply that minibus taxi violence is the underlying cause. Rivalry between minibus taxi associations are often because of territories and routes (Refer to Appendix A, 30; 20). In this article, two minibus associations had 'agreed to share the route' (Refer to Appendix A, 30). It appears, through the use of the word 'share' that the operators conduct during this agreement had been amicable and mature and their behaviour one of understanding (Refer to Appendix A, 30). "We were doing so well. We want to know who is responsible for this" (Refer to Appendix A, 30). There is clearly a feeling of frustration expressed by the operators about the event which has taken place. In this incident, 'three or four guys walked into the area behind the rank. Several shots went off towards the drivers who were standing at the rank' (Refer to Appendix A, 30). This extract illustrates how minibus taxi drivers are the victims of taxi violence and that despite the fact that 'operators had worked side by side on the route without any reported clashes', there are still those individuals who are unhappy with this move. The only way these attackers were clearly able to express their frustration or displeasure with the system, is to attack those who making the system work. This again illustrates how the minibus taxi driver is the victim of a poorly administrated system. According to the Cata Western Cape leader, the biggest challenge in overcoming this violence is "…when our

members go to the police, they are reluctant to come out to the ranks to help us. This is why we don't bother reporting the shootings to them anymore" (Refer to Appendix A, 30).

The minibus taxi violence does not only impact the drivers of the minibus taxis. Passengers are also affected. These incidents often leave passengers feeling 'traumatised and angry' (Refer to Appendix A, 26) as their lives are also endangered: 'Taxi owner killed, passenger hurt in shootings' (Refer to Appendix A, 20). In this event a passenger was left 'fighting for her life' in a shooting which escalated tensions between two minibus taxi associations. An event like this is traumatising to experience: "We just screamed… we didn't know what to do" (Refer to Appendix A, 26). One passenger said 'he did not know whether to run or keep standing in the queue while other commuters fled' (Refer to Appendix A, 26). In another article 'a mother who was on her way to work for the first time after her maternity leave' was killed during a shooting at a minibus taxi rank (Refer to Appendix A, 29).

Social relations between the minibus taxi driver and commuters, government and law enforcement are redefined under this discourse as the minibus taxi driver is socially constructed as a powerless, passive individual. The social relations between the minibus taxi driver and commuter are different under this discourse as the minibus taxi driver is classified in the same way as many of the commuters such as victims of violence and victims of their socio-economic status. There is also an implication of a togetherness between driver and passengers in an "us against them" situation. The taxi driver and his passengers were just minding their own business when "they", the perpetrators of violence, attacked them. The social relationship between minibus taxi drivers and the government are also different under this discourse. In this discourse government is shown to have all the power over the minibus taxi industry as it denies minibus taxi drivers the correct permits which renders their 'operations illegal' (Refer to Appendix A, 10).

4.2.3 The Good Citizen

The discourses discussed above imply negative connotations about the minibus taxi driver, whether they may be about their behaviour or how they are mistreated and affected by violence. Only 2 out of the 38 articles make reference to the fact that minibus taxi drivers do indeed provide a vital service for 65% of commuters in South Africa. Minibus taxi drivers are considered as 'good citizens' too because the service they provide alleviates traffic congestion. Another two articles will also be discussed here as it became clear that certain initiatives are being implemented to try and shift the perception of minibus taxi drivers from

being associated with the negative citizen (Refer to Appendix A, 23; 38). The aim is to improve minibus taxi driver behaviour and the way they interact with society to break down the negative social relations between minibus taxi drivers and other road users, other minibus taxi drivers and commuters and government.

The two articles which discuss the vital service minibus taxi drivers, imply that the minibus taxi driver is indeed a 'good citizen' due to the fact that minibus taxi drivers provide a service 'on which more than 15 million people rely, every day' (Refer to Appendix A, 7). This is despite the fact that most minibus taxi drivers do not actually enjoy their job. 'When asked: "Do you like being a taxi driver? Most drivers admit: "No, I don't like it. I have to work from 4:30am til 9pm, I earn little money, and on top of that people hate us and treat us like dogs!"' (Refer to Appendix A, 7). The minibus taxi drivers interviewed for this article claim that they drive very fast or very slow depending on what their passengers want: "One passenger is in a hurry and pushes you to rush, but another feels unsafe and complains" (Refer to Appendix A, 7).

Often to blame for their reckless and negligent driving, 'one might conclude that you are three times more likely to die in a taxi than a private vehicle- right? Wrong- when we (the journalists) considered that taxis carry on average far more passengers (15 versus between 1 to 4 for a private vehicle) we see that the risk of dying in a taxi is actually lower than a private car' (Refer to Appendix A, 7). Although no comparisons were given with regards to other modes of public transport, it is still interesting to see the misperception of the safety of minibus taxi drivers. This article was part of a series of two articles written by 2 Italian students who were in South Africa doing research in this industry. This is very important to mention. Foreign journalists were the only journalists out of all the articles analysed who were able to acknowledge the essential service minibus taxi drivers provide (Refer to Appendix A, 7;8). "As a European coming to South Africa, I respect the SA taxi industry more than South Africans" (Refer to Appendix A, 7). This extract is thought-provoking because many South Africans, as seen in the discussion of the discourses above, only consider the minibus taxis as 'dangerous, uncomfortable and inefficient' (Refer to Appendix A, 7). According to the journalists of this article, this industry is 'highly unappreciated' (Refer to Appendix A, 7). These journalists were out to present a different perspective of this industry. In developing their argument leading to the minibus taxi driver as actually a 'good citizen', the journalists were able to address some key issues which other articles mentioned but failed to provide arguments for both sides.

‘The industry’s informal structure results in a lack of transparency and criticism that it doesn’t pay tax’ (Refer to Appendix A, 8). The minibus taxi driver industry has been criticised for not paying tax, however, the second article in the series of articles explains that this too is a misperception (Refer to Appendix A, 8). ‘The industry strongly disagrees with accusations that it doesn’t pay tax. “We contribute more to the tax base than anyone understands”’ (Refer to Appendix A, 8). This is based on the argument that minibus taxi drivers are the ‘biggest purchases of fuel on the country’ (Refer to Appendix A, 8). Through this, minibus taxi drivers pay a significant amount of ‘indirect taxes- the ‘fuel levy’ imposed on petrol and diesel sales, not to mention the value added tax (VAT) on vehicle purchases and spare parts’ (Refer to Appendix A, 8). Although their argument may be slightly flawed, the industry is under the impression that they are contributing to tax thereby making them the ‘good citizen’. The journalists in this article tend to agree with the logic of the minibus taxi industry which too constructs them as the ‘good citizen’. The journalists also construct the minibus taxi driver as the ‘good citizen’ through arguing that the minibus taxi industry is a ‘mirror to South Africa’s dark side’ (Refer to Appendix A, 8), in the sense that these individuals are not any worse, and at times possibly better, in terms of behaviour on the road than other road users: ‘60 percent of road death occur on the weekend. This is exactly when taxis are least active and when many private drivers may also be drinking (nearly 60 percent of road fatalities are related to drunken driving’ (Refer to Appendix A, 8).

The social relations between minibus taxi drivers and government are also different under this construction. Government is able to acknowledge that minibus taxi drivers do indeed provide an essential service but there are some problems that need to be fixed: ‘High-tech fix for taxi drivers behaving badly’ (Refer to Appendix A, 23). This new reporting system is part of the ‘Wiser Driver, Commuter and Owner campaign’ (Refer to Appendix A, 23). Minibus taxi drivers ‘have been given reflective jackets to make them more visible at night should there be a breakdown or accidents’ (Refer to Appendix A, 23). This illustrates that government wants to ensure that minibus taxi drivers are operating in safe ways at all times and which, in essence, makes them better citizens.

The City of Cape Town is attempting to assimilate the minibus taxi industry in their shifting public transport plans by training minibus taxi drivers as bus drivers: ‘Around 100 minibus taxi driver will be trained to operate a new MyCiti bus route’ (Refer to Appendix A, 38). ‘Those who did not qualify for training because they did not have a grade 10, would be helped by the city with an adult basic education and training course’ (Refer to Appendix A,

38). This extract illustrates the shift in social relations between government and minibus taxi driver and the hope that the minibus taxi driver can be the 'good citizen' and continue to provide a vital service to commuters. The discourse of the 'good citizen' also shifts the social relations between commuters and minibus taxis as commuters were remade aware of how 'affordable and convenient' (Refer to Appendix A, 7) the minibus taxis are.

4.3 Brief Discussion of Discourses

It is perhaps ironic that the dominating social construction of the minibus taxi driver is negative because they provide such a vital service. The reason the minibus taxi driver could have been constructed this way is because of the history of the minibus taxi industry. The informal and unregulated manner in which the industry operates is perhaps frustrating to society so the minibus taxi drivers have become a law unto themselves. Stereotypes of the minibus taxi driver are reinforced through this construction which perpetuates the cycle of the minibus taxi driver as predominantly being viewed as the 'bad citizen'. Having noted this, the media also socially constructed the minibus taxi driver as the 'victim'. The reason for this construction is the legacy of Apartheid which continues to fester in society. This legacy deepens the inequality and social divide between South Africans and those who fall into the lower income sector, i.e. minibus taxi drivers, are the unfortunate targets of maladministration and exploitation. The vital service of the minibus taxi driver did not go unnoticed as the social construction of the 'good' citizen was discovered. However, the lack of media coverage around the vital service again illustrates how the negative stereotypes of the minibus taxi driver are the focus.

4.4 Overview of Newspaper Articles

In the final analysis, 38 articles out of the original 47 were used to narrow the scope of the research project. Eight of the original articles were excluded because these articles were not completely relevant to the development of the construction of minibus taxi drivers and thus failed to provide valuable information to add to this construction. These newspaper articles were then analysed, using the qualitative methodology of critical discourse analysis and placed into one of three main categories, which were later developed into discourses: The Bad Citizen (the negative construction), the Victim (the sympathetic construction) and the Good Citizen (the positive construction). These discourses are not mutually exclusive and

therefore an article may have constructed the minibus taxi driver as both the ‘bad citizen’ and the ‘victim’ in the same article.

One of the research questions presented by the researcher in chapter two of this research report was ‘How do different newspapers with different target audiences differ in their social construction of minibus tax drivers?’. The aim of this question is to determine if different newspapers created different social constructions based on who they know is reading their newspaper. There is minimal information on the target markets of all the newspapers selected for analysis. The researcher did not want to assume the target market for newspapers whose target audience is not known. However, from the limited information a few inferences into how different newspapers construct minibus taxi drivers may be made (Refer to Appendix B).

The most popular newspaper in South Africa is the Sunday Times, a weekly newspaper which is distributed to the whole country (http://www.mediaclubsouthafrica.com/component/content/article?id=110:the-media-in-south-africa). This newspaper therefore only provides readers with stories that have impacted most of the country, rather than just reporting on isolated events. The article from the Sunday Times which was analysed, socially constructs the minibus taxi driver as the ‘good citizen’ (Refer to Appendix B). This is a positive discovery as it illustrates to the reader the importance of the minibus taxi driver in society. The New Age newspaper had the largest number of articles analysed in this research project and the main social construction was the minibus taxi driver as the ‘bad citizen’. This is interesting to note as the reason for this could be the political ties between the New Age newspaper and the ANC. This newspaper therefore maintains the social relations between the minibus taxi driver and government as tense and negative.

4.5 Practical Implications

By understanding the social construction of the minibus taxi driver, one was a better idea of how the minibus taxi driver fits into society and how they are perceived b their communities. Often over coming challenges, it is more an issue of perception rather than implementation. Thus this research report illustrates that too many minibus taxi drivers have perhaps been unfairly constructed by society in the sense that they are not just the ‘bad citizens’ they are made out to be by so many newspaper reports.

This study will hopefully provide an opportunity for policy makers to have a fresh perspective of the minibus taxi industry and thus create policies that will address the real issues of the transportation industry rather than the perceptions that have been portrayed by many.

This research also provides a platform for future research in this field such as considering how other media platforms make use of their power when creating social constructions. An interesting research report could also be to consider the passengers' perception of the minibus taxi driver which would provide further insight into power relations.

4.6 Strengths and Limitations

4.6.1 Strengths

This research offers a unique perspective of the minibus taxi driver as more than just a menace on South African roads. This research report is the foundation for many other research reports in the future which could, in essence, assist government and the Department of Transportation in achieving their 2050 Integrated Public Transport Plan effectively.

This research also considers the social relations in South Africa. The legacy of Apartheid has not been addressed, but rather reinforced through these social relations (Habib, 2003). This research has shed light on to matrix of social relations that exist in post-Apartheid South Africa and how by not acknowledging or addressing these social relations, they will continue to fester and thus continue the legacy of Apartheid. Poverty and inequality are two prevalent issues facing South African society and hopefully from the platform of research such as this, interventions and change may start to be implemented.

The success of the methodology allowed the researcher to look beyond what the journalist said and rather look at what was implied by the researcher. Because the media are so powerful, it is important to understand how the media makes use of journalism tools to construct a perception and then persuade the reader into believing this construction. Through this understanding, people may start to question the social constructions developed by the media.

4.6.2 Limitations

This research used SA Media as its primary source for data collection. At the top of each article accessed from SA Media it reads: 'SA Media – The University of the Free State'. The

implication here is that the University of the Free State selected, scanned and uploaded these newspaper articles onto SA Media. The limitation of this is that only a portion of all newspaper articles about minibus taxi drivers in 2014 were uploaded online and therefore only these newspaper articles were available for selection and analysis. The person or people selecting, scanning and uploading could maybe have been biased to particular newspapers. The criteria for selection is unclear and therefore this could have impacted on the types of articles which were available for analysis.

Another limitation of the current research is that by selecting newspaper articles, the researcher is only considering the perception of about 50% of South Africans (http://www.southafrica.info/about/media/news.htm#.Vt8Zs-Rf1PY). It would therefore be interesting to see if the social constructions of the minibus taxi driver of those individuals who read the newspaper is the same or similar as the social construction of those who do not read the newspaper. This will also be able to provide a greater understanding into the medias' power of perception.

As with all research there is a limitation of the researcher's own bias, especially when it comes to interpreting and inferring information. This limitation may be present here, however; it must be noted that all efforts to prevent this were taken.

4.7 Conclusion

The research report above has illustrated that, through the use of certain words and phrases, the South African print media has socially constructed a perception of the minibus taxi driver as either a 'bad citizen', a 'victim' or a 'good citizen'. The power of the media is extreme enough to persuade readers into believing that these social constructions are indeed true and this impacts the way individuals interact with the minibus taxi driver. This research has also highlighted the tense matrix of social relations which still echo the legacy of Apartheid. This research has provided a platform for future research to be conducted in the hope that through understanding the different players in the public transportation sector, an effective intervention may be implemented. This is in order to create an integrated public transportation system where all modes of public transport are assimilated and regulated to ensure reliable, safe and efficient public transportation for all South Africans.

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Appendix A:

#	Newspaper	Journalist	Date (2014)	Heading	Subheading	Discourse
1	The Star	Tania Broughton	18-Sep	24 homicides: taxi driver bound for jail		Bad Citizen: Negligent
2	The Star	Sue Dockendorff	11-Mar	Nationalise the taxi industry		Bad Citizen: Non-compliant
3	The Star	Shain Germaner	07-Nov	Taxi driver disputes Zuma's crash claims	Contradictory testimony in inquest to determine culpability	Bad Citizen: Negligent and Untrustworthy
4	The Star	SAPA	02-Sep	Taxi driver slain during protest		Bad Citizen: Violent
5	The Star	Jason Felix	20-Feb	Taxi driver ducks and dives		Bad Citizen: Non-compliant

6	Saturday Star	Shain Germaner	23-Aug	Lawyer drops Duduzane Zuma in minibus accident case		Victim: Socioeconomic Status
7	Saturday Star	Alexander Hazen and Sabine Siller	09-Aug	Minibus taxis provide vital service to all in SA		Good Citizen
8	Saturday Star	Alexander Hazen and Sabine Siller	16-Aug	The taxi industry: a mirror to South Africa's dark side		Good Citizen
9	The Times	Caryn Dolley	23-May	Nine dead in bloody taxi war		Victim: Violence
10	The Times	Kingdom Mabuza	31-Jan	Taxi drivers to strike in protest against e-tolling		Victim: Maladministration
11	New Age	France Nyaka	16-Jan	Taxi man nabbed for cop's pistol		Bad Citizen: Aggressive

12	New Age	Montsho Matlala	23-Jun	10 dead in taxi crash	Five killed in taxi and five in bakkie as they crashed head on near Makhado on Saturday	Bad Citizen: Negligent
13	New Age	SAPA	25-Apr	Minibus taxi the worst offenders		Bad Citizen: Negligent
14	New Age	Montsho Matlala	22-Jul	Officers crack down on illegal taxis, cars		Bad Citizen: Non-compliant
15	New Age	France Nyaka	28-Jul	Speeding taxi's death ride	As 11 more die, MEC says taxi drivers must feel responsible for the passengers they carry	Bad Citizen: Negligent

16	New Age	Ntombi Nkosi	09-Jan	Taxi violence probbed as two drivers are killed		Victim: Violence
17	New Age	Vincent Cruywagen	05-Sep	Taxi violence turns into vendetta		Bad Citizen: Violent
18	Daily News	Liam Joyce	19-Feb	Mobile clinics a boon for taxi drivers		Victim: Socioeconomic Status
19	Daily News	Nosipho Mngoma	02-Jan	Taxi man beats woman resident	Complaint leads to assault with pipe	Bad Citizen: Non-compliant and Violent
20	Daily News	Nkululeko Nene	14-Apr	Taxi owner killed, passenger hurt in shootings		Victim: Violence
21	Daily Dispatch	Estelle Ellis	10-Feb	Six die, 12 hurt in taxi crash		Bad Citizen: Negligent

22	Daily Dispatch	Zwanga Mukhuthu	27-Feb	Taxi loaded with pupils rolls on N2	16-seater was carrying 25 passenger	Bad Citizen: Negligent
23	Sunday Times	Siphiliselwe Makhanya	09-Nov	High-tech fix for taxi drivers behaving badly		Good Citizen: Bettering the Minibus Taxi Driver
24	Sowetan	Moses Mackay	02-Sep	Man dies as taximen go on a rampage	Six buses torched, drivers assaulted	Bad Citizen: Violent and Aggressive
25	Sowetan	Estelle Ellis	18-Aug	Taxi drivers in deaths of four case get bail		Bad Citizen: Negligent
26	Citizen	JeVanne Gibbs	12-Sep	Driver killed at taxi rank shooting		Victim: Violence
27	Citizen	SAPA	30-Sep	Taxi driver guilty of two murders		Bad Citizen: Untrustworthy

28	Business Day	Natasha Marrion	17-Oct	Taxi drivers to protest by burning e-toll bills		Victim: Socioeconomic Status
29	Cape Argus	Jade Otte	20-Jan	WITNESSES POINT OUT TAXI SHOOTER	Accused identified as gang member; Defence says he has alibi	Victim: Violence
30	Cape Times	Barbara Maregele	10-Apr	Delft shooting disrupts taxi peace	URGENT TALKS BEGIN AS CATA-CODETA PACT APPEARS AT RISK	Victim: Violence
31	Cape Times	Francesca Villette, Xolani Koyana, Jason Felix	08-Jan	Nine security guards killed in horror crash as taxi hits truck		Bad Citizen: Negligent
32	Mail and Guardian	Khaya Dlanga	12-Jun	No English', and other taxi tales		Bad Citizen

33	News24	Nielen Bottomley	08-Jan	Taxi violence claims 2 lives		Victim: Violence
34	News24			Striking taxi drivers pull passengers from cars		Bad Citizen: Violent and Aggressive
35	City Press		14-Dec	Modified taxis are death traps		Victim: Maladministration/ Fraud
36	News24	SAPA	21-Apr	Potholes damaging our vehicles- taxi drivers		Bad Citizen: Non-compliant
37	The Witness	Jeff Wicks	01-Aug	Pinetown simmers		Bad Citizen: Non-compliant
38	News24	SAPA	18-Jun	Cape Town taxi drivers to get bus training		Good Citizen: Bettering the

						Minibus Taxi Driver

Appendix B:

Comparison of the newspapers selected for analysis

NEWSPAPER NAME	TYPE OF NEWSPAPER	NUMBER OF ARTICLES	NUMBER OF READERS	TARGET AUDIENCE	PREDOMINANT DISCOURSE
The Star	Daily	5	615 000		Bad Citizen
Saturday Star	Weekly	3			Good Citizen
The Times	Daily	2	287 000		Victim
New Age	Daily	7	107 000		Bad Citizen
Daily News	Daily	3	295 000	Middle Market of Durban and rest of KwaZulu Natal	Victim
Daily Dispatch	Daily	2	238 000		Bad Citizen
Sunday Times	Weekly	1	3 411 000	English-literature readership	Good Citizen
Sowetan	Daily	2	1 646 000	English-literate African readership	Bad Citizen

The Citizen	Daily	2	451 000	Lower to middle class.	Victim; Bad Citizen
Business Day	Daily	1	59 000	Business executives and high level management- Upper class.	Victim
Cape Argus	Daily	1	294 000	Aimed at the broader, middle class	Victim
Cape Times	Daily	2	258 000	English-literate individuals in the Western and Eastern Cape	Victim; Bad Citizen
Mail and Guardian	Weekly	1	459 000		Bad Citizen
News24		4		The news reader on the go. This forum provides concise news stories.	Victim; Bad Citizen
City Press	Weekly	1	1 757 000	Aimed at African market.	Victim
The Witness	Daily	1	134 000	English readers KwaZulu-Natal- most readers Pietermaritzburg and inland KwaZulu-Natal.	Bad Citizen

Information retrieved from http://www.southafrica.info/about/media/newspapers.htm#.VuSUZORf1PY ;http://www.superbrands.com/za/pdfs

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