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‘A MAN DRIVES AS HE LIVES’?

TAXI DRIVERS’ ACCOUNTS OF URBAN ROAD (ANTI)CITIZENSHIP

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts in Social and Psychological Research.

Declaration

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Title: 'A MAN DRIVES AS HE LIVES'? TAXI DRIVERS' ACCOUNTS OF URBAN ROAD (ANTI)CITIZENSHIP

Supervisor: Professor Brett Bowman

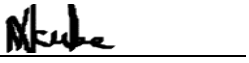
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Abstract

Taxi drivers play a key role in the everyday lives of South Africans, providing transport to over 65% of the population. This study explored how taxi drivers perceive their world(s) through the theoretical lens of citizenship. The aim of this study was to explore the taxi drivers' experiences on and off the road and understand how they account for their behaviour and driving patterns. Ten taxi drivers were interviewed in Johannesburg. Vignette-initiated semi-structured interviews constituted the research instrument. The data obtained was analysed using Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). The data corpus yielded one overarching theme, three subthemes with two ancillary subthemes each. The main finding of the study was that there exists a specific type of citizenship that is expressed on the roads; road citizenship. This notion suggests that citizenship on the roads is not a static state but rather a complex, situation-specific phenomenon that is reported to be experienced in varying ways across different groups of people in a range of contexts. The road was found to be a site that can be interacted with and understood as a unit of analysis in and of itself. The findings of this study are invaluable to other road users, policy makers and stakeholders in the transport sector. The results present a necessity to employ multimodal investigations that address the context and the road users' experiences on and off the road. This enables insight into multiple viewpoints of accounts of driving behaviour and ultimately presents a more comprehensive knowledgebase on which to tailor-make traffic and road interventions.

Chapter One: Introduction, Rationale and Research Aims

Introduction

'A man drives as he lives' is a 1949 conclusion that was made by Tillman and Hobbs (Ross & Antonowicz, 2004). It suggests that personal characteristics are inextricable from driving behaviour. These personal characteristics include personality, background and context. Each of these factors influence driving separately and in combination. This axiom therefore prioritises the need to look at the context of the driver. Context is reported to be inextricable from the person. Social, political and economic landscapes exert an undeniable impact on the lives of South Africans. There are high levels of inequality and inequity on all three of these spheres and this is apparent in all areas of the everyday lives of everyday people. The road is proposed to be no different. South Africa has a large public transport sector that addresses these inequalities and inequities through providing transport for a majority of the population. However, public transport by virtue of it being a main source of transport for the majority of citizens also magnifies these social and economic inequities.

The public transport sector in South Africa is a highly contested space (Thomas, 2016). Public transport was initially designed to ferry passengers (labour) from their places of residence to their places of work. The large geographical separation from places of residence and places of work necessitated this conduit. Public transport therefore reflects more than just a means to an end but a reflection of the inequality and the separation of different groups of South Africans. Although legally and constitutionally this separation has been fairly erased, it permeates daily experiences on the road. In South Africa in the 1960s, the most common forms of public transport were trains and buses (Government Gazette, 2017). These two modes of transport operated according to fixed inflexible schedules that were concentrated

around peak times (morning and evening). This rigid state of affairs led to the birth and increase of minibus taxis as a faster and more convenient mode of public transport. According to Walters (2008) a taxi is a motor vehicle that carries between 12 and 16 passengers over both short and long distances. The history of the taxi industry is wrought with conflicts as initially owning and operating a taxi was legally restricted in terms of ownership, routes and number of passengers (Khosa, 1992; Thomas, 2016). Although the history of the taxi industry is violent and turbulent, taxi drivers are the biggest group of public transport providers. As a group of people that are constantly on the road this study engaged with the drivers themselves to better understand their experiences on and off the road.

Taxi drivers, although they provide a valuable service to the public, have been known to drive in a manner that has been deemed to be deviant, dangerous and destructive (Khosa, 1995; MacRitchie & Seedat, 2008; Ross & Antonowicz, 2004). They are often characterised as transgressors of the rules of the road and this has resulted in extensive research being conducted on them. Taxi drivers are considered to be intolerant of authority, aggressive, have unstable home backgrounds and display antisocial behaviour (Khosa, 1992; Ross & Antonowicz, 2004). With these factors historically and contemporarily at play, research into taxi drivers' accounts of their lives is essential in current and further investigations regarding taxi drivers.

The dawn of the new democratic era that promised revolution and change in all spheres of everyday life is still characterised by conflicts that infiltrate different spaces in the taxi world. These conflicts are amongst the taxi drivers themselves, between taxi drivers and other road users and between taxi drivers and societal institutions. Khosa (1995) suggested that the deviant and defiant behaviour expressed by taxi drivers on the roads reflects these disputes and conflicts. The current occurrence of taxi violence (Bahre, 2014; Khosa, 1992)

and the large proportion of motor vehicle collisions involving taxis (Akpa, Booysen & Sinclair 2016; Khoza & Potgieter, 2005) suggests that these disputes may still be present today. Given the historic and socially significant role of public transport in South Africa, the road is an important site not only for mobility, but for self-expression of (mis)belonging or a specific site for performing citizenship. Broadly, citizenship is an important feature of life that determines not only where an individual is from, but their identity, their role in the city and the access they have to the city and contents thereof (Holston & Appadurai, 1996; Wickham, 2004). However, to date there is no research on the nature of citizenship as it pertains to road usage and specifically looking at taxi drivers. This is introduced in this study.

Rationale for the Study

The majority of the research that has been conducted on taxi drivers has mostly been related to how their behaviour on the roads is risky, their disposition is aggressive and that these two factors contribute to many motor vehicle collisions involving taxis (Akpa et al., 2016; Bahre, 2014; Khoza & Potgieter, 2005; Mahembe & Samuel, 2016). Many vehicle collisions involve taxis and with research stating that between 80-90 % of the responsibility when a motor vehicle collision takes place is due to the driver, the taxi driver has inevitably been painted as an agent of motor vehicle collisions (MacRitchie & Seedat, 2008; Sukhai et al., 2001). The proposed study however aimed to better understand the drivers' behaviour on the roads not as a reducible causal influence involved in motor vehicle collisions but rather as an expression of citizenship, a perspective that has not been explored.

Taxis provide transport for 70-80% of the South African population (Government Gazette, 2017; Thomas, 2016). The sheer number of people who patronise taxis as their main source of transport reflects the structural inequalities and differences that existed before democracy and continue to exist today (Khosa, 1995; Thomas, 2016). Black South Africans and Coloureds are the biggest users of taxis as a mode of transport. This has been attributed

to their economic standing that renders them dependent on taxis as their main source of transport or a cheaper, faster alternative than other modes of public transport (Sukhai et al., 2001). The taxi driver is thus an important post-apartheid stakeholder in South Africa's post-democratic social dispensation. Moreover, this driver assumes an interesting form of citizenship on the country's roads. At its most basic definition citizenship is a sense of belonging that an individual or group of individuals has in a city or country (Holston, 2009). This study uses this important conceptualisation of the politics of personhood to explore taxi drivers' 'deviant behaviour' as a performance of their sense of belonging, exploring how this is carried out on the road.

Taxi drivers are seldom consulted in any research aimed at understanding their behaviour. Rather the focus of such research is primarily to gather information to generate statistics to support interventions directed at improving road safety. With many interventions having been implemented to improve road safety and only minimal effects being recorded, it is important to fully understand a category of road users that are never excused in the discourse of driving and collisions that happen on the road. Research has constantly suggested that issues such as deviant driving, road rage and aggression in taxi drivers should not be taken at face value but in relation to the role that taxi drivers occupy in society (Sukhai & Seedat, 2008; Sukhai, Seedat, Jordaan & Jackson, 2005). This insight will be invaluable in directing and informing future endeavours and interventions directed at improving and understanding behaviour on the roads.

Aims of the Research

The primary aim of this research was to explore taxi drivers' experiences of their professional lives in the context of South Africa's complex transport sector. The focus of the study was not on understanding taxi drivers as risk factors for road accidents, but rather on their experiences as significant actors in the politics of road use in a highly unequal society.

Thus, the research explored the intersection of various factors, the taxi drivers' everyday experiences in their jobs, their sense of belonging on the roads and most importantly the various convergences and divergences of the two. Ultimately this exploration aimed to better understand how taxi drivers account for their own experiences and uses of the road as key citizens of the road in the transport sector in South Africa.

The two research questions that this research aimed to address, and answer were:

1. How do taxi drivers report experiencing their everyday lives as important users of urban roads in South Africa?

2. How do taxi drivers understand their roles as key stakeholders in the South African transport sector?

Chapter Outline of the Research

Chapter two locates the study within the research that has been conducted on taxi drivers in South Africa. Firstly, a brief discussion of the turbulent history of the taxi industry is given. Following this discussion, the theoretical frameworks of citizenship that guide this research are explained. This chapter presents an argument that citizenship transcends commonplace, traditional understandings of belonging and is present and visible on the road.

Chapter three explains the qualitative research design and interpretive analytical methods that were employed in this study. A description of the participants is presented along with the procedures utilised to collect the data. Subsequently, the choice of the analytical tool utilised is explained and described. Within the self-reflexivity section of this chapter is the reflection on the position and influence of the researcher on the overall study. Finally, this chapter provides an overview of the ethical considerations that were made throughout this research.

Chapter four discusses the themes grounded in the data corpus. As proposed in chapter three these themes were analysed through Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis. The chapter is a discussion of these themes in relation to the literature in chapter two. This chapter presents a description of taxi drivers' experiences on and off the road through an analysis of the data and in so doing highlights the interplay of different and novel citizenships in the context of taxi drivers in South Africa.

Chapter five is the concluding chapter of the research report. This chapter summarises the findings of the research. Theoretical and practical implications and recommendations are also given in this chapter. A critical appraisal of the overall research in terms of its strengths and weaknesses is presented in this chapter.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter begins with a brief history of taxi drivers and the taxi industry. The history of the industry provides a detailed understanding of the historical and contemporary issues that affect taxi drivers and ultimately influence their lives and experiences. Different emergent citizenships namely urban, differential, insurgent and anticitizenship are then critically discussed. These citizenships are discussed and explained in relation to the previous research that has been conducted on taxi drivers. This chapter provides an overview of citizenship as the theoretical framework guiding this study. This framework was chosen as it appears to be a valuable (and as yet underexplored) lens with which to understand the complex intersectional lives of taxi drivers in South Africa. These various theories and frameworks are argued to be useful in explaining how the citizenship expressed by taxi drivers is negotiated on and off the roads. The chapter argues that taxi drivers do not fit neatly into any pre-existing citizenship framework but rather express an amalgamation of various elements of a variety of citizenships.

History and Background of the Taxi Industry

The taxi industry is the biggest sector in the public transport industry in South Africa. Early work on taxi drivers and the taxi industry praised the industry for its contribution to the social and economic arena in South Africa (Khosa, 1991). Not only does the industry reflect economic empowerment of Black South Africans, it also signifies the inclusion of Black South Africans as owners and key stakeholders in the transport sector. Although the industry today is a large part of the functioning of society, the history of the industry is shaped by exclusion from the formal economy and social spaces (Barrett, 2003).

During the apartheid era taxi drivers were restricted in various ways. These restrictions birthed disputes between the taxi industry, the government and agencies of the government (Khosa, 1992; van Vuuren, 1999). These disputes were over regulations, routes and the number of passengers that a driver could transport. Taxi drivers' attempts at economic emancipation were curbed at every turn until the dawn of democracy that allowed taxi drivers access to driving permits and permission to carry passengers on certain routes (Barrett, 2003; Khosa, 1992; Khosa, 1995). This however did not fully formalise the taxi industry. The taxi industry is mainly known as an informal sector although there are aspects of formality in the industry. The drivers are required to be licensed operators and the taxis are required to be road-worthy registered vehicles (Fobosi, 2013). However, without the registration of the drivers as taxpayers, non-adherence to the minimum wage by the taxi owners and various labour infringements that the industry commits, this formality is undermined (Barrett, 2003; Fobosi, 2013). This juxtaposition exposes not only the industry to scrutiny and suspicion but leaves the drivers in a precarious and potentially vulnerable position. Not only are their livelihoods compromised, their lives are too.

The everyday lives of taxi drivers are characterised by fatigue due to long hours. Research has shown that some taxi drivers spend 9-12 hours driving, 6 days a week (Akpa et al., 2016; Walters, 2008). Some taxi drivers do not own their own taxis and therefore pay the owners a fee and only the remainder of what they have made is available to them as a salary (Barrett, 2003; Fobosi, 2013). This has been suggested to contribute to their speeding as well as other risky driving behaviour. Taxi drivers are not only competing with each other but also with time, as transporting more passengers during peak hours results in more money. This leads to their risky and aggressive driving that can be attributed to more than individual differences. The context that the drivers operate within reflects a very competitive space. There are approximately 200 000 taxis in South Africa and as the taxi business grows with

more taxis being bought and introduced on the road this causes issues like taxi wars to rear their head in contemporary society (Thomas, 2016). Violence in the industry before the legalisation of taxis and removal of restrictions in the 1980s was found to be due to conflicts between illegal and legal operators, long and short distance operators and between old and new operators (Fobosi, 2013; Khosa, 1992). This has not changed significantly with the presence of taxi wars and disputes over passengers and routes being a feature of the industry today. The increase of taxis presents an over-saturation of routes. This in turn causes taxi wars. Wars are caused by the unwillingness of drivers to share their routes. Encroaching on a driver's route threatens their very livelihood as this limits the number of passengers that the driver carries and consequently the amount of money made. The road therefore is still a site for expression of tensions. The control, management and access to previously divided spaces still dominates the industry and is navigated daily.

In addition to the labour concerns and violence, taxis have been found to be a chief contributor to road crashes. Barrett (2003) highlights that taxis are commonly referred to as 'coffins on wheels.' With so many people reliant on taxis for their transport this referral is alarming. The accidents that taxis are involved in are largely attributed to speeding (Akpa et al. 2016), which is seen as a symptom of the drivers' aggression. This speed has been suggested to be an expression and outlet for the pressure that the profession is known to have. According to Sukhai and Seedat (2001) speed is a means to an end. Although the authors did not look directly at taxi drivers their recommendation was to look to the road but importantly beyond it in explaining deviant driving behaviour. There may be other factors external to the road and the interaction on the road that cause the drivers to speed. The study by Akpa et al (2016) echoes similar sentiments. A speed intervention programme was implemented in the Western Cape and was adhered to by other motorists, not taxi drivers. Although the findings from this study suggest this was due to lack of understanding of the intervention by the taxi

drivers, like Sukhai and Seedat (2001) this again points to the need to look not only at the road but beyond it.

Most of the taxi drivers' lives are spent on the road on which they are considered risk factors for accidents. Thus, most of their citizenship is performed on the roads. Sukhai and Seedat (2008) therefore suggest other aspects to explore including economic, social and cultural practises to explain this driving behaviour. Taxi drivers are general citizens but are especially important actors in the context of public transport. This study is therefore interested in understanding the broader context that shapes this performance, by focusing on public roads as useful sites for understanding the South African society and the place of taxi drivers within it. It is for this reason that this study approached researching the taxi drivers lives and driving behaviour through the lens of citizenship. Citizenship is a notion that is traditionally understood to be comprised of space and mobility. Taxi drivers confront space, mobility and belonging on a daily basis. With the consideration of these three components taxi drivers are therefore a perfect group of people to be investigated through the lens offered by theories of citizenship, specifically on and off the roads.

Overview of Citizenship

Modern day society is ever changing, and our places and senses of belonging are no different. According to Holston (2009) this is especially true in the case of the citizenships that we occupy and construct. Cresswell (2013) defines citizenship as being characterised by place and mobility. Place refers to geographical location; and mobility the ability to move within this space. In this space, through various actions, one performs their citizenship (Cresswell, 2013; Wickham, 2004). These enactments of citizenship determine the type of citizenship that a particular individual constructs. Various authors on citizenship suggest that citizenship coordinates and controls identity (Casey & Flint, 2007; Holston, 2009; Holston & Appadurai, 1996).

An important point made by Cresswell (2013) however is that an identity situated in citizenship does not always reflect a life that will be lived as a citizen. This, according to Cresswell (2013) is because the creation of, and movement within this space is determined externally. Holston (2009) therefore argues that although the umbrella term citizenship suggests equality among people in a specific geographical location this is not the case on the ground with different treatment and citizenships being afforded to different people. This notion is reiterated by Holston and Appadurai (1996) who argue that political and social rights afforded to all citizens are not as equal as they are purported to be. Consequently, taxi drivers are no exception; their experiences of different citizenships are unique to their profession and everyday experiences.

Urban Citizenship

Urban citizenship is a characteristic of democratic societies. Embedded in urban citizenship is the notion that all citizens are equal in terms of importance, rights and access to resources (Appadurai & Holston, 1996; Holston, 2009). Wickham (2006) presents a more specific understanding of urban citizenship. The author defines it as comprising of social cohesion and social inclusion. Social cohesion is the participation of citizens in public areas of the city. Social inclusion is the right for all citizens to access the facilities of the city. Public transport is a very important conduit that enables these two social processes to occur. Through public transport all citizens can be transported to areas where they can have access to the facilities of the city. Access to the city and participation that ensues is a feature of the expression of citizenship.

Statistics reveal that there are over 420 000 people employed in the transport sector in South Africa (Thomas, 2016). Akpa et al (2016) reported that there were approximately 150 000 taxis in South Africa. The sheer number of taxi drivers reveals that their role in society is not only important - it is essential. Similarly, to all other citizens that have different

occupations, the affording of rights does not occur in isolation, there are obligations that accompany these rights.

Wickham (2004) argues that rights should exist within a realm of duty; following the rules of road is a practice of citizenship (Appadurai & Holston, 1996). Taxi drivers are perceived, by the general public and more especially road users, as lawless and reckless (Akpa et al., 2016; Binge, 2003). Akpa et al (2016) compared the vigilante behaviour on the roads between taxi drivers and other motorists. The research found no significant differences between the groups. The other drivers saw taxi drivers as inconsiderate in both attitude and behaviour on the roads. However, the taxi drivers themselves did not see this as the case. Abane (1994) refers to this as the 'positive self, negative other' that taxi drivers express. This difference argues for the need for research into how taxi drivers see themselves and more especially how their lives as taxi drivers express and reflect this.

MacRitchie and Seedat (2008) in their discourse analysis of perceptions of road users found that taxi drivers were seen and perceived as 'unworthy' citizens. This description paints a worthy citizen as one who follows the law and in this case specifically follows the rules of the road. Worthiness as a prerequisite for citizenship challenges the definition of citizenship being due to birth or descent as suggested by Cresswell (2013), rather it consists of performances that add up to one's worth as a citizen. Given the public perceptions about the ways that taxi drivers' flout the laws of the road and the safety precautions they ostensibly imply, it is important to ask exactly what sort of citizenship these drivers embody in their everyday roles in enabling the South African economy. It is clear that these key transport actors occupy differential citizenship in the minds of many South Africans.

Differential citizenship. Differential citizenship is a subset of urban citizenship and a feature that South African society has been actively trying to eradicate since democracy. This

citizenship in the context of South Africa characterises the pre-1994 years where segregation and racism led to the inequalities present in all sectors of society. As aforementioned the constitution guarantees equality between and within different groups of people in South Africa. In this sense, all South Africans should enjoy equal access to opportunities for success. However, in a country that is as socially cleaved as South Africa it is clear that such access is differentially (and hierarchically) organized. Thus, citizenship operates on an inclusion and exclusion plane. People that are not 'the same' but have been led to believe that they are, are treated differently. This suggests that there is differential citizenship constantly at play (Holston, 2011; Hudson & Kane, 2000). Although there have been attempts to level the citizenship field it is different in different situations and different contexts (Hudson & Kane, 2000). Attempting to award equal treatment negates the effect that previous injustices had and rendered on the oppressed groups (Holston, 2011). Differential citizenship and the experiences therein reveal the different experiences of different people (Harrison, 1991).

As aforementioned, the taxi industry in years prior to democracy was characterised by taxi wars that were largely fought over routes and for the deregulation of the industry (Binge, 2003; Khosa, 1992). Khoza and Potgieter (2005) argue that the reason for the road rage and aggression that taxi drivers were found to still express eleven years after democracy was due to feelings that had been 'bottled up' from the past that were conveyed and understood as a lack of consideration for other motorists. Sukhai et al (2005) echoed the same sentiments as Khoza and Potgieter (2005). The study on aggression by Sukhai et al (2005) albeit not specifically directed at taxi drivers, found that aggression on the roads was an 'in the moment' reaction and reflection of economic, political and social tensions still present in society. The road is thus a key political and social site. The different experiences of different people are expressed in different ways and in different places.

Differential citizenship is still performed and relevant as South Africa has a high rate of social and economic inequality. Taxi drivers are part of a sector that is both formal and informal in its existence. The working conditions that the drivers are subjected to cannot be ignored in explaining their behaviour (Khosa, 1995). Drivers work for most of the day, most of the week but their income does not reveal this. According to Binge (2003) this is due to their income being made only after paying their dues to the owner of the taxi. These conditions have been explored extensively (Khoza & Potgieter, 2005; Sukhai et al., 2005; Walters, 2008) but it is important to look at how these averse working conditions and social asymmetries lead to taxi drivers performing differential citizenship and if this is present on the road. These previous studies reveal that citizenship of taxi drivers on the road is linked to and inextricable from their lived experience.

In any society it is inevitable that there are various differences between citizens. These differences are confronted in different ways and in different spaces. On the road this is no different. Drivers make decisions on the significances of these differences and how to react to these differences in turn. Through the choices made regarding these differences, aspects of citizenship are either maintained or recalibrated and the inclusion and exclusion criteria renegotiated (Holston, 2011). The renegotiation of what these differences mean to certain people can result in behaviour that is not within the social contract but not particularly illegal. This is referred to as insurgence.

Insurgent citizenship

According to Holston (2009) countries in the Global South are characterised by new formations of citizenships. These are due to globalisation, urbanisation and neoliberalism. These three processes have given rise to urban citizenship, differential citizenship and insurgent citizenship. Insurgent citizenship occurs in everyday places (Holston, 2009). It is the appropriation of places in the city that individuals or groups of individuals think that they

have rights to. According to Holston (2009) the majority of citizens in Africa live on the periphery of the city, but their labour benefits and builds the city. Through this active participation in building and expanding the city the citizens understand that they have a right to what they produce; the city. Insurgent citizens according to Earle (2012) ask that the rights that 'making the city' has given them, be recognised as valid and just as important. Through the process of auto-making, these citizens see that they have a right to what they produce; the city. This provides the perfect context for the formation of insurgency. Insurgence can be understood as the protesting against current conditions, not through complaints to authorities but through self-empowering actions (Appadurai & Holston, 1996; Holston, 2009).

According to Holston & Appadurai (1996) insurgent citizenship reflects the struggle for a place in the city. True benefits of citizenship are enjoyed through formal work and the nature of the job of taxi drivers rarely labels or refers to them as being part of the formal sector of employment (Fobosi, 2013). However, according to Earle (2012) taxi drivers possess three qualities; i) they are contributors to the city; ii) they are 'honest workers' that are deserving of rights and iii) based on the Constitution of 1996 these rights should be afforded to them. These three virtues qualify taxi drivers as citizens based on the criteria suggested by Rose (1999). Common instances of these three qualities being called into question due to the (perceived to be) antisocial behaviour of taxi drivers may be a contributing factor into the insurgence that is displayed by them (MacRitchie & Seedat, 2008).

Holston (2009) suggests that acts such as road rage can be considered acts of insurgence as this rebellion can be understood as a metaphor for the structure that is being fought against. Insurgence is usually used as a method of inquiry in the context of housing and not in terms of the road and in driving. In South Africa and Brazil specifically, insurgence has been looked at in terms of housing with people living in informal settlements

(Holston, 2009; von Holdt et al., 2012). In both Brazil and South Africa, the citizens have been, or feel they have been promised housing and have not received it. In the building and expansion of the informal settlements the citizens reclaim their right to housing by taking matters into their own hands and building their houses themselves. These outcome of these studies into insurgency were able to redefine the conventional understanding of informal settlements, allowing a different viewpoint to be considered in issues to do with housing and the spill-over effects that are experienced when acts of insurgence take place. This important conceptual framework has yet to be applied to roads, which are central to the economic and transport networks of any city.

Different groups of people expand the meaning of rules and practices of citizenship (Holston & Appadurai, 1996). In these cases, the performance of citizenship is different as there are large levels of social and economic inequality. These differences are especially apparent and revealed on the road (Wickham, 2004). The road according to Wickham (2004) in the context of drivers is a public space that has one function, transit. In the cases where individuals for instance vandalise an area, citizens can distance themselves geographically by moving away. The insurgent citizen that is on the roads is hard to avoid as their space and mobility are not containable. Insurgence is therefore an important theoretical resource for understanding everyday interactions in which taxi drivers are involved.

Taxi drivers are known to drive above the stipulated speed limits. This speeding has been suggested to be an expression and outlet for the pressure that the profession is known to have. Sukhai and Seedat (2001) who looked at speeding in drivers recommended that future research into explaining deviant driving behaviour should look beyond the road. Through the lens of insurgence, speeding could be interpreted to be due to the perceived claims and stakes that the taxi driver has on the road that other motorists do not.

According to Earle (2012) insurgent movements are displays of citizenship that pursue counter hegemonic interests. Speeding and aggressive behaviour are behaviours that put other citizens at risk. Speed limits exist to maintain order on the road but more importantly to protect all categories of road users. Speeding can be seen as resistance to hegemony and therefore can be understood as insurgence. Insurgent behaviour may not always be reprimanded or receive punishment, but the ramifications of this behaviour results in the groups of people being referred to as anticitizens (Casey & Flint, 2007).

Anticitizenship

According to Rose (1999) 'ideal citizenship' is made up of people that are active in government; government of self and government by the hegemonic power. These ideal citizens mirror Marshall's (1964) definition of responsible citizens. Responsible citizens are virtuous, having four characteristic virtues: general, social, economic and political virtues. Overall these virtues speak of citizens that are law abiding and contributing positively to society. Contributing to society is achieved through virtuous social behaviour. Social behaviour involves active participation in pursuing the objectives of the hegemonic powers and following the social contract (Casey & Flint, 2007; Cresswell, 2013). Anticitizens according to Casey and Flint (2007) therefore are individuals who exist in groups that are external to the objectives of hegemonic power. These anticitizens are so named due to their violation of the social contract. Their citizenship is therefore called into question due to socially unacceptable behaviour. Anticitizens are excluded from citizenship based on their behaviour that is the opposite to the virtuous behaviour exhibited by 'ideal' and 'responsible' citizens (Rose, 1999).

The social contract according to Akrivopoulou (2011) works in preserving the common good. It prescribes prosocial behaviour of individuals; either explicitly or implicitly. Rose (1999) likens citizenship to a game; some elements of citizenship have fixed rules, and

some do not. In this analogy citizenship is both flexible and, in some instances, very inflexible. On the road there are both explicit and implicit rules that are to be followed by all road citizens. Driving recklessly, being aggressive on the road and frustrating other road users (Akpa et al., 2016; Bahre, 2014; Khosa, 1995) are breaches of the social contract which are commonly performed by taxi drivers. On the road antisocial behaviour therefore can be defined as not following the rules of the road. When taxi drivers fail to follow these rules the repercussions according to Rose (1999) threaten their citizenship. Understanding citizenship and claims to citizenship as based on rules suggests that citizenship can be revoked, recalled and relegated to a lower level when these rules are broken. According to Rose (1999) any of these three actions create an anticitizen.

Anticitizens are individuals that threaten the very nature of citizenship (Casey & Flint, 2007; Rose, 1999). They are seen as the reflection of the breakdown of morality and social cohesion in the society. As stated by Wickham (2006) public places like the road are sites that enable social cohesion. It has however been suggested that because the road is the site of work for taxi drivers there may be an alternate manner in which they engage with the road and other cars and motorists that in essence are in their conference room. Engaging differently on the roads poses a threat to social cohesion which is a key component of the social contract and citizenship as a whole. If, as stated by Holston & Appadurai (1996), citizenship is the working together of people and following of a shared and common goal and culture, taxi drivers are breaking cultural norms espoused by other drivers. The taxi drivers however themselves may share a common goal, social cohesion and social contracting. This calls into question the labelling of taxi drivers as anticitizens, as although their behaviour outwardly is interpreted as a breach of the social contract they may be adhering to a different social contract.

The belief that a 'bad' taxi driver is a 'bad' citizen according to MacRitchie and Seedat (2008) has been painted as fact in the media. In the case of taxi drivers this is seen in the discourse of taxi drivers that ensues; their classification as 'perpetrators' in motor vehicle crashes, 'unworthy' to be on the road and 'lawless' (MacRitchie & Seedat, 2008). Understanding that taxi drivers are a specific and unique group of people necessitates that their understanding and interpretation of their citizenship be explored. Analysing their behaviour through the lens of citizenship offers insight that reflects that, not all of the moral framework that is present in everyday life and more especially on the road, is universally shared.

Binge (2003) compared taxi drivers and light motor vehicle drivers in terms of road rage. Road rage however, in terms of taxi drivers cannot be understood in isolation, there are other factors which seemingly have no effect on their driving but are intrinsic to the understanding of why taxi drivers drive the way that they do. The taxi drivers did not see themselves as above the law, on the contrary as law abiding drivers (Binge, 2003). Other drivers have been reported to perceive taxi drivers as inconsiderate in both attitude and behaviour on the roads. However, the taxi drivers do not see this as the case. Sukhai et al,'s study (2005) on aggressive driving found that taxi drivers did not report themselves as aggressive (Sukhai et al., 2005). This notion of taxi drivers is not only plentiful in literature; it is the most common rhetoric in reporting of accidents in newspapers involving taxis. MacRitchie and Seedat (2008) in their discourse analysis of 52 newspaper articles on motor vehicle crashes found that taxi drivers were seen and perceived as perpetrators and 'unworthy' citizens. This description paints a worthy citizen as one who follows the law. Worthiness challenges the definition of citizenship being due to birth or descent, rather suggests that it is an active job or role made up of certain behaviours that add up to one's

worth as a citizen. In this case it is therefore suggested that road behaviour and road culture is an expression of citizenship.

Conclusion

Citizenship is a phenomenon that is particular to a specific person, or groups of people. The types of citizenships described above are not mutually exclusive and overlaps are present. These overlaps however are negotiated and renegotiated differently based on the context that the individual is in. Taxi drivers have been shown to possibly have and perform at least one of the types of the citizenships above. However, there is a dearth of research specifically into the negotiation of taxi drivers' citizenship on and off the road. This study addresses this important omission in current understandings of the psychology and politics of road use in South Africa.

Chapter Three: Research Design and Methods

Research Design

This study was approached from a qualitative framework. Qualitative research is focused on better understanding the perceptions that individuals have of a phenomenon (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). This research was further grounded in the interpretivist paradigm. Central to interpretivism is the ontological premise that human experience is grounded in making meaning of reality. The task of any interpretivist research should therefore be to better understand the way that any participant constitutes such meaning and therefore how social reality is configured therein (Krauss, 2005). Using this approach therefore enabled the researcher to attempt to understand the world of taxi drivers and their navigation of their experiences on and off the road, from their individual points of view. Taxi drivers are a group of people that create unique meaning and interpretation of their worlds. Understanding their accounts of their social action, meaning making and the interactional process of the two was achieved using the context-driven idiographic tool that is qualitative inquiry (Krauss, 2005).

Participants

Ten taxi drivers were interviewed in this study. For the purpose of the research, taxi drivers were defined as licensed drivers that currently transported passengers in a vehicle that carries at least 15 passengers. One criterion to be fulfilled in order to participate in this study was that each participant be employed as a taxi driver and the definition of this role was extended to include owner-drivers but excluded taxi owners who were not on the roads ferrying passengers at least five times a week. All of the participants spent at least five days working. The purpose of this study was to gain an understanding of the lives of taxi drivers from various points of view and therefore a specific age cohort was not required. Heterogeneity was a feature that the researcher was looking for in this study and with the drivers being different and having worked in the industry for various lengths of time this was

achieved. The use of ten participants was deemed appropriate due to the specificity of the aims of the study: to obtain a deeper understanding of the phenomena of how taxi drivers understand and make sense of their everyday lives (Smith & Osborn, 2007).

Research setting. The group of participants operated various routes in Johannesburg, with five drivers operating to and from Alexandra, commonly referred to as Alex. Alexandra is a township in Johannesburg near the affluent area of Sandton. It is classified as an urban settlement that consists of both built houses and shacks. Within the township, the residents use Toyota Avanzas, a small hatchback, as a mode of transport. However, travelling to destinations out of Alexandra by public transport is achieved chiefly by using taxis. There is a large taxi rank called the Alex Taxi Rank and with a large number of taxi drivers in Alex and a large number of public transport users this represented a strategically useful first site for participant recruitment.

The other five drivers operated between Bree Taxi Rank and various areas in Soweto, namely Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital and Orlando. Soweto is a township situated in the South-West region of Johannesburg with a large number of residents, who, like Alexandra residents use taxis as a main mode of their public transport. Bree Taxi Rank is one of the four main taxi ranks in Johannesburg (the others being Noord Taxi Rank, Wanderers and Faraday Taxi Ranks). It is located on Lilian Ngoyi street, previously known as Bree Street. There are hundreds of taxis and taxi drivers that are at Bree Taxi Rank, operating different routes. Taxi drivers that operate to and from Soweto, similar to Alexandra, were numerous and presented a diverse selection pool of participants which was central to this study.

Sampling techniques. The main sampling techniques that were used in this study were snowball, convenience and volunteer sampling. Taxi drivers are a group of people that are not usually engaged with in a research setting especially in qualitative inquiry and this

resulted in the reluctance and apprehension of some drivers to participate in this study. Through the use of two gatekeepers who approached and spoke to the drivers on behalf of the researcher (in Alexandra a taxi owner and at Bree taxi rank a taxi driver) the researcher was able to recruit taxi drivers. After hearing about the research and being reassured of the nature of the research not being invasive or of an exposing nature the gatekeepers were able to help recruit participants. The participants referred other potential participants to the researcher. This snowballing allowed for more participants to be recruited. The time of recruiting the participants was at times that were off-peak and therefore convenient for the taxi drivers.

Data Collection Procedures

In this study in-depth semi-structured interviews were used to collect the data. According to DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006) the use of in-depth interviews is beneficial in gaining insight into an individual's experience of an issue. This was an advantage in this study as it allowed for the researcher to probe the participants' responses in order to fully explore their reported understandings of their positions in the South African transport sector. The questions that were posed to the participants were open-ended; the answer to the question was not restricted and this allowed new and different ideas to be explored and discussed.

The interview began with two vignettes in the form of videos (see Appendix A) that were used to prompt a discussion. Two videos were initially shown to each taxi driver from a Sony tablet. The first video played was of cars in traffic and taxis and other cars driving in the emergency lane. The second video was of a taxi driver driving against traffic in a roundabout and a scuffle that ensued between the taxi driver and another driver who blocked him. After each video was played a series of questions were asked (see Appendix A). These videos were used in order to elicit responses that were more 'in the moment' and reflected a more concrete example of how taxi drivers make sense of their world. These videos also served as a manner of building rapport with the drivers and further oriented them to the aims

of the study, allaying their concerns. The researcher added background and contextual questions as a technique to further build rapport with the participants. The rest of the interview continued with the other seven core questions that are in the interview schedule. These questions addressed the participant's reported experiences in their everyday lives, their place and role in the city and more importantly on the road.

The interviews were conducted in the language the participant was most comfortable communicating in (for example English, isiZulu or isiNdebele). Subsequently, all of the interviews were conducted in isiZulu or isiNdebele or a mixture of these two languages (with some sprinkling of English). The original interview schedule was translated from English into isiZulu before the interviews were conducted. After this translation the interview schedule was back translated to ensure that the translation was accurate. This process was reviewed by two other researchers that are external to the research and fluent in both English and isiZulu. The researcher conducted the interviews herself being competent in both languages.

Due to the nature of the taxi business where the driver needs to be close to their taxi as their business is not time nor space-specified the interviews took place in places where the driver was in or around their taxi. All of the interviews at Bree Taxi Rank took place in various taxis, most of them 'belonging' to the driver being interviewed at that time. In Alexandra, due to many of the drivers not being at work during the specific Saturdays that the interviews took place, the interviews took place in the researcher's relatives' cars. Although these venues were not the intended place for data collection they proved to be advantageous. The drivers were comfortable, in close proximity to their vehicles, and by virtue of them being on their own turf they were more open in their responses. The data was collected using both an audio recording application on the researcher's phone (mp3) and handwritten notes were taken during the interview of non-verbal cues.

Self-Reflexivity

Self-reflexivity is an important practice in qualitative research. It is the continuous process in which the researcher is aware of their position and subjectivity throughout the research process (Tracy, 2010). In this study I was cognisant of and critically appraised my positionality in relation to the participants. The participants may have come from a different social class and background and it was important that these differences and their influence were not ignored but dealt with in an open and transparent manner (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). With my introduction of myself as a student studying towards their Masters degree, I was careful to state this in a manner that although was factually true did not deter from the fact that I was in need of their cooperation in order to complete my study.

It was very important that my research and study was navigated within the cultural confines and expectations of being younger and female. Although there were moments when the participants would refer to me as *'Sisi'* (sister) or *'Mfethu'* (friend) I was careful to always be aware of the roles that constantly shifted throughout the interview. In instances where the driver perceived me as an ally I was able to relax a little more and the interview was more conversational. On the other hand, in instances where the driver assumed and asserted their dominant position I changed my tone to a different conversational tone that was assertive but with visible and audible undertones of humility and respect. This respect and humility were especially important considering I was younger than all of the drivers and I am a woman and they were all men. Various cultural boundaries had to therefore be respected.

Throughout the study, gender, social class and age and the shifting dynamics of the three were constantly navigated and assessed in order to not offend the drivers but used as a tool to invite them to be open with me. This was also achieved by deferring to the participants throughout the interview process, making sure that that their answers were understood in the manner that they were meant to be. During the interviews it was important to receive

whatever responses were given in a manner that did not point fingers or blame but was receptive and elicited more information from the participant. In this research process I have actively tried to maintain textual reflexivity (Tracy, 2010). The discourse surrounding taxi drivers details them as a group that is chauvinistic and misogynistic, and it was important that this previous discourse did not take precedence over the exploratory nature of the research but rather that I remained open to responses that were both in alignment with or against the prevailing understanding of taxi drivers. Although I tried to maintain objective I kept a journal during this process. This was important in chronicling my experiences. Reflecting on my thoughts through a journal was particularly important in the data analysis stage where I was able to reflect on my experiences at the time of data collection and their possible influence on my interpretation of the data. It was also important to have a journal in order to understand and reflect on the accounts relayed as my demeanour and influence was a co-constructor of the reality that was described to me.

Data Analysis

In order to explore taxi drivers' reported experiences and accounts of their everyday lives, their driving behaviour and how these two factors converge and or diverge in explaining their behaviour on the roads, it was important to use an exploratory data analytic technique. It was for this reason that the data was analysed using Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). The rationale behind the use of this analytic technique was to, in detail, explore how the drivers made sense of their world, more so in the context of the road (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014; Smith & Osborn, 2007). This approach was not interested in obtaining objective accounts of their experiences in their everyday lives but rather each participant's subjective perception of the phenomenon.

The unit of analysis that guides IPA is reported lived experience (Eatough & Smith, 2008). IPA is sensitive to all the different features of this experience ranging from, feelings,

motivations to belief systems. The technique analyses how these are manifested (or not) in actions and behaviour (Eatough & Smith, 2008). The method is experiential and rooted placing the participant and their reported lived experience as the focal point of the research. A good IPA is focussed on a certain experience and therefore it was important that the data collected was rich and experiential (Eatough & Smith, 2008). The use of in-depth semi-structured interviews therefore was in perfect alignment with the aims and the analytic tool that was selected.

IPA was found to be important in this study as it adopts a bottom-up approach in terms of the interpretations made. Theory was not the driving force of the interpretative process, rather the process was data-led (Eatough & Smith, 2008). This was important as the participants are a group that is scrutinised by society with little dialogue with the drivers themselves in order to understand them better, and the theoretical lenses of the researcher were important to be used only as a secondary tool in the analysis.

Smith and Osborn (2007) reiterate that IPA does not test a hypothesis, rather it explores phenomena in detail. IPA is interested in understanding a phenomenon from a participant's point of view and is idiographic. It prioritises idiographic information and it is for this reason that a small number of participants was used. Although the use of 10 drivers may be considered small to yield a broad understanding of a social phenomenon, this was offset by the deep analysis that IPA offered through the tenets of its analysis (Eatough & Smith, 2008). The first step involved the participants attempting to make sense of their world in the context of the road and off the road. This was followed by the researcher attempting to make sense of the attempts that the participants made. The second step is meant to be more critical than the first step, it is an analysis and critical contextualisation of what the participants have said. The relationship between the researcher and the participants was therefore very important as it guided the important step of interpreting the interpretations

correctly (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). It is important in IPA to be open to topics that are not necessarily expected. In this study this was seen as very important as taxi drivers are not usually engaged with as research participants but rather are dictated to through statistics, laws and policy. A methodology that is primarily exploratory was used but only was deemed useful in collaboration with a researcher who was receptive and open to any and every response (Eatough & Smith, 2008). The researcher as aforementioned in the previous section attempted to build this rapport and relationship with the participants to enable the process to be true to the participants and the analytic tool.

According to Smith, Jarman and Osborn (1999) conducting IPA is two-step process. The first step entails adopting a 'sympathetic' stance that involves trying to see and imagine the experience the same way that the participant does. Through this a rich understanding of their reported lived experience was provided from the point of view of the participants. The second step shifts to a more critical, questioning standpoint. The account that is recollected is scrutinised and a meaning of the utterance that is beyond the face value taken for granted approach. The results from this analysis provide a multi-layered understanding of taxi drivers' point of view albeit through the lens of the researcher (Eatough & Smith, 2008).

Smith and Osborn (2007) suggest that analysis begin with the reading of the first transcript numerous times. This is to become as familiar and enmeshed within the data as much as possible. This first step is important in allowing the researcher to put themselves in the shoes of the participants. Initial notes that are made through the reading and re-reading of the material were arranged into concise phrases and served as the initial themes. These notes according to Pietkiewicz & Smith (2014) may focus on not only what is said but also repetition, metaphors and comments. The whole transcript was seen as a source of data and therefore it was important to not leave out any data or focus on specific sections whilst ignoring others.

These emergent themes that arose from the notes were collated as a 'master list' (Smith et al., 1999) and connections were made between these emergent themes. The remaining transcripts were subsequently analysed using the same approach. The next step when all the transcripts were initially analysed, was the researcher looking for relationships between these themes on these various master lists (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014; Smith & Osborn, 2012). Convergent, divergent and the emergent novel themes were interpreted. This interpretation was tied directly to the data and verbatim quotes from the participants were used to support the interpretation.

Ethical Considerations

Although the participants, taxi drivers, are not a sensitive group of individuals, various ethical concerns were considered. Ethical clearance was obtained from the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Witwatersrand (Protocol number: MASPR/18/005/IH) before any interviews were conducted (see Appendix B). Participants were given a participation information sheet (see Appendix C) to inform them of the aims of and information pertinent to the study. After the participation information sheet was read, two consent letters (see Appendix D and E) were given to the participants to sign. The first letter requested the participant to give consent to be interviewed and the second letter granted the interviewer consent to record the interview. The consent forms were translated into isiZulu in order to ensure that the participants were aware of the study and what was required of them throughout the process.

Consent to participate in this study was completely voluntary and the participants were allowed to withdraw from the study at any time (before the researcher left the vicinity) without any prejudice. This ensured that no coercion took place and contributed to more reliable responses being generated (Australian Psychology Society, 2007). The researcher

however is aware of volunteer bias and the analysis of the data was carried out noting this influence.

In order to ensure confidentiality, the signed consent forms with the names of the participants are being kept in a secure drawer and only the researcher and her supervisor have access to these forms. During the interview process the researcher and the participants saw one another and therefore anonymity was not possible during data collection but in the transcription and analysis stages anonymity was maintained through the researcher assigning different names to the drivers (e.g. John would be referred to as Joseph). No original names were mentioned in the writing up of the report and this was found to be important to be stressed to the participants as they were wary of being identified in the study and face possible consequences from the owners of the taxis they drive or the taxi association that they belong to. Equally important was the understanding that this study would not harm the participants, neither would it benefit the participants in any direct way. The researcher will provide the participants a one-page summary of the results or alternatively, the researcher will relay the findings of the research to each participant telephonically on request.

Chapter Four: Results and Discussion

Introduction

The analysis of the data corpus yielded one overarching theme, three sub-themes and six ancillary-sub themes. These themes were generated through the grouping of similar utterances in the data that fed into a master list and secondary lists. The themes represent recurring ideas that detailed and expanded on the understanding of taxi drivers' lives and their reported experiences on and off the road. For the purposes of analytic argument, the overarching theme "Road citizenship" is addressed first. Following this, the two tiers of subthemes that describe and feed into the overarching theme are presented and discussed. The subthemes generated were 'Tsars of the tar', 'Traps of the trade' and 'Where the rubber meets the road'. The ancillary subthemes generated were 'More than a motorway', 'Whose road is it anyway?', 'The personal is professional', 'Roles and responsibilities', 'First among equals' and 'The road regulator'. Figure 1 is a visual representation of the three tiers of themes and the relationships between them. The following section discusses these themes.

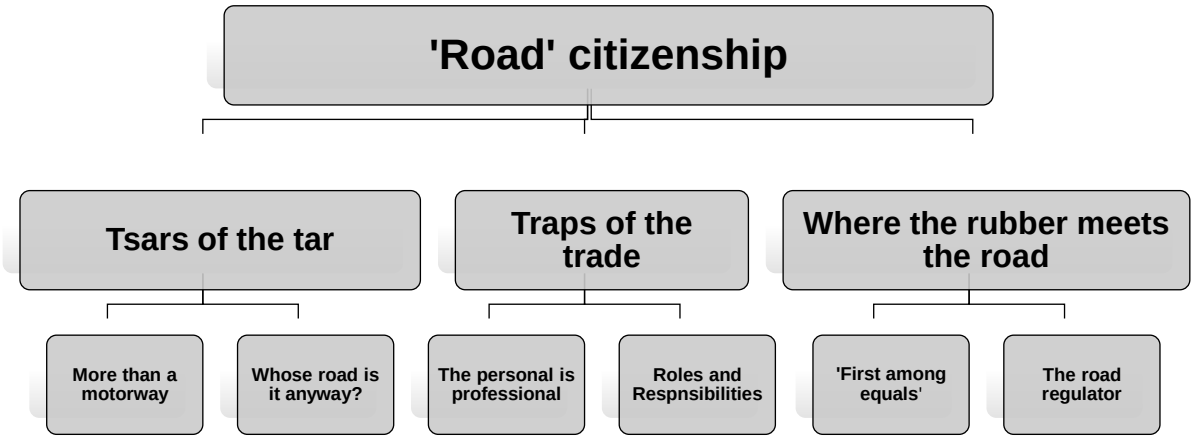


Figure 1: Thematic map

‘Road Citizenship’

The theme of road citizenship represents the overarching and organizing theme of this analysis. It incorporates the aforementioned subthemes and ancillary subthemes as shown in the thematic map above. Road citizenship is suggested to refer to issues of belonging, rights, responsibilities and interaction that are expressed on the road. This study found that the road is a site that is not only a geographical man-made transitory space, it is in fact a site for the expression of masculinity, power, gender dynamics and at times violence. Taxi drivers are a key group of people that engage with the road differently and thus their citizenship on the roads is unique to them. Through the analysis it was further found that the road has various social politics, procedures and processes. Although many of these are particular to the road, they reflect social experiences that are present off the road. The road becomes a site of the enactment of these social factors. One of these social factors is citizenship. Citizenship provided a useful theoretical underpinning to assist in the exploration of the behaviour of taxi drivers on the road. The concept of ‘Road citizenship’ was a finding drawn from the subthemes and their ancillary subthemes that are discussed below.

Tsars of the Tar

The first sub-theme presents one of the contexts under investigation: the road. Within this subtheme is the understanding and conceptualisation that taxi drivers have of the road. The first ancillary subtheme ‘More than a Motorway’ looks into what the road means to the taxi drivers. This lays a critical foundation of how they act on the road. Having looked at what the road means to the taxi driver the second ancillary subtheme ‘Whose road is it anyway?’ tackles who the road belongs to and the inclusion and the exclusion criteria that is at play during this process. Ultimately, a picture is painted that begins with the different manner in which taxi drivers conceptualise the road and their accounts of how ownership is negotiated based on these conceptualisations.

More than a motorway. This subtheme presents a very unique understanding of the road that the drivers have of the road. Zola is a driver from Alexandra who has been driving for over five years. His route is from Alexandra to Johannesburg. The exchange below was had after the second video was played. As described in chapter three the video played was about a taxi driver who drove against traffic in a roundabout and was blocked by another driver who forced him to reverse and drive correctly. The two drivers argued, and the altercation almost culminated in a physical exchange with the driver of the privately-owned car threatening to fight the taxi driver. Zola, based on this, likens the road to an office and more than that gives the road, like an office, characteristics that other road users would not generally attribute to the road. This is explained in the interaction below:

Zola:	*So… so yeah when it's clear then he'll oppose traffic. So, what causes such a situation is pressure...*
Researcher:	*Oh, its pressure, ok.*
Zola:	*Yeah its pressure because eh it's like you in your office you have deadlines*
Researcher:	*Mmhmm*
Zola:	*You have… things that by the end of the day you need to have done, <u>in your office</u>*
Researcher*:*	*Yeah*
Zola:	*So, us, our office is on the road.*

The explanation that is given for this behaviour is that the road is more than a conduit from one point to the other, rather it is a place of work for the drivers. Although pressure is a common feature on the roads that affects all road users, Zola differentiates this experience from that of other drivers as he is carrying passengers. The coupling of the office analogy and pressure further excludes other road users from this feeling and specifies it for taxi drivers. In this exchange Zola makes sure to explicitly 'other' himself from the researcher by emphasising certain words and phrases (the underlined words) and this was reflected on by the researcher and taken as a manner of making sure that the researcher understood that the

driver was making a distinction that had to be considered. Zola included taxi drivers in the understanding of the road as a place of work but excluded other road users as they do not interact with the road in the same manner. This represents that not only is the road understood differently by taxi drivers but that the reported accounts for behaviour on the road may vary for different groups of people.

Anthropologists argue that the road can be understood differently by different groups of people. This presents the road as a site for the enactment of certain characteristics of differential citizenship. Zola in his othering of himself from the researcher makes it clear that he sees the road differently and, due to this, the reckless driving in the video (that is due to the pressure) can be excused. The road therefore is more than the taken for granted piece of connective tar, it carries historic, social and prejudicial connotations that determine how certain people interact with the road.

Augé (1995) further argues that places like the road, shopping malls and airports are non-places. A non-place is a geographical space where people are anonymous. This anonymity is characterised by the transitory nature of these spaces, a road is a connection from one geographical location to another. However, in this case the road, rather than being understood to be a place where mundane repeated movements take place, to the taxi driver it is more than that. It is a place, an area that holds a sense of sociality and attachment (Merriman, 2004). The attachment to the road by the taxi driver is due to the road being a source of income and the arena that allows taxi drivers to make a living. The office analogy therefore not only apt it is necessary in understanding that fundamentally the road is seen differently by taxi drivers.

Zola also reports perceiving the road as a conduit that enables people to get to their destination. What is interesting in this following exchange is that although he highlights that

the road is a connection to and from different areas he does mention that emotions are a feature on the road. This creates a hybrid sense of being on the road for taxi drivers as although they are aware that to other road users the road is a non-place, they operate on it as a place and navigate both viewpoints daily. In the excerpt below Zola acknowledges the non-place feature of the road while simultaneously reflecting that the road is more than that.

> Zola: *You have to be patient on the road, being patient with one another is very important and another thing is don't block the road unnecessarily because eh people are travelling, and they have different problems some are in a rush very serious rush. Like not that they they they they're an emergency vehicle that's ringing sirens and wants to pass. Other people they are – so if you block the road you must think that, you know the the people I am blocking behind me need to go for real and they're in a rush and (laughs) as I said earlier someone is going to court and in court once the hour that you were meant to be there passed then there is another case then.. do you understand?*

In this exchange Zola emphasises that the road is a place that indirectly carries problems. As a taxi driver he carries passengers, but these passengers carry their problems and their emotions. He however mentions other cars and vehicles and in this case 'equalises' all road users. This is evident in that he makes a point to show that emergencies are not limited only to ambulances. Merriman (2004) states that in a non-place the full presence of a person is not realised. A non-place is a transitory space and because of this people are bodies in transition, in between experiences and not experiencing anything fully. In this extract above however, this is not the case. Attributing emotions and different situations that the people on the road have Zola further interacts with the road as a place. Zola gives anonymised cars a face and more than that, gives the drivers and other drivers in the cars, emotions. This example humanises a very detached place where people are in transit and attaches to it emotions and scenarios. What is of interest and important to be noted again is that although taxi drivers see the road as a place, other drivers that operate on the road solely as a geographical space connector, see it as a non-place. Taxi drivers and other similar occupations like delivery personnel and other drivers interact with the road as their source of

income and therefore unlike bodies in transition they are attached to the road as being on the road is their direct source of income. Other drivers and road users interact with the road on their way to another physical location where they make their money. For taxi drivers and other transport personnel money exchanges hands on the road. Compared to the destination of other road users that is the site of generating income, the taxi driver could conversely see the destination as a transitory non-place and the road as a place. This difference between people who engage with the road purely as transitory and those who see it as a profitable place makes the navigation of the road very complex with different conceptualisations and ideologies at play. Not only are the ideologies and conceptualisations different, this can be extended to different moral positions.

This is a possible reason for the tension between the taxi drivers and other road users. If two groups of people interact with a space differently it stands to reason that they are governed by different rules. In the case of taxi drivers this is even more complex as they operate on the roads in a manner that perceives it as a place but is also cognisant of the presence of other road users who conceptualise the road differently. This is explained in the next ancillary subtheme that builds on the notion of the road being the site of work for the taxi drivers and the subsequent issue of ownership of the road that ensued.

Whose road is it anyway?

The following ancillary subtheme discusses issues of the ownership and belonging of the road. Based on the different understanding of the road discussed in the ancillary subtheme above, it questions not only the ownership of the road but also who this ownership should be afforded to. In this first excerpt, Thabo, a driver from Bree Taxi Rank discusses his issues with privately-owned cars that drive on the same routes as taxi drivers and the problems they cause when they do this. Thabo has been in the taxi business on and off for five years.

Thabo: *Yeah and another thing about these cars that I always complain about, taxis have their routes especially in the morning and in the afternoon, for example here on Bree Bree street, there are many roads but just Bree street in the morning and in the evening you know that there is traffic and more especially at month end you know very well on Friday there is traffic but you'll find people in small cars using those roads you get me? and he has excess or many options, many routes he can use as much as I can use those routes because the taxi goes here. If I start to go another the passengers will complain, even me if I am in an accident somewhere else where I don't drive I will be in trouble as well so it's better if I am-, but where we drive you will find small cars and you don't know what he wants?*

Researcher: *Oh, private cars? -*

Thabo: *small cars are here (referring to the road that is right outside Bree taxi rank: Gwigwi Mrwebi Street) then you also see that when the taxi is in the yellow lane they are there as well you don't know what he wants. just causing traffic*

Researcher: *Yeah I understand*

In this extract Thabo expresses that the taxi drivers are restricted by routes and this restriction should be respected. This demarcation of routes however should not be understood as taxi drivers being prohibited from other areas but highlights that certain roads should be solely for taxi drivers. The presence of other cars that are not taxis are seen as a cause of traffic and in this exchange he makes sure to emphasise that the drivers of privately-owned cars are aware of the routes that are for taxi drivers. Interestingly, in this excerpt Thabo does not approve of private-owned cars being in the yellow lane with taxi drivers. Further, the alternative routes that are suggested to be at liberty to the private-owned car drivers do not include routes that are used by taxi drivers, those belong only to the taxi drivers. However, the taxi driver was it not for the passengers should have unfettered access to the routes used by the private-owned cars. Simultaneously, however, Thabo infringes on the urban rights of other road users in limiting their access to routes that are 'non-taxi' routes.

According to Wickham (2006) the nature of urban citizenship is the access of all citizens to all spaces in the urban space. When Thabo begins to suggest the demarcation of

routes and segregation of certain spaces due to the type of car this can be seen as highly problematic and as a form of insurgence. As a taxi driver Thabo uses his profession to argue for his complete access to all the routes. In Thabo's account he is advocating for a version of differential and insurgent citizenship to be present in a place that is governed by urban citizenship (the road). The road is generally a platform that erases all social differences as all citizens have the right to be on the road. In this excerpt however Thabo suggests that certain routes should be for certain cars and not others. Thabo's frustration with privately-owned cars being in the emergency lane paints taxi drivers as motorists that should be at an advantage and permitted to conduct themselves differently on the roads. Taxi drivers see their breaking of the law as a way to equalise the privilege that the private cars have. Privately-owned vehicles can drive almost anywhere, whereas taxi drivers are tied to certain routes. This notion that taxi drivers have a greater claim to certain roads compared to other drivers paints the drivers as insurgent and also serves to paint the drivers as anticitizens, drivers who have chosen to break the rule of the road by driving in the emergency lane.

Litha however, in the excerpt below had a different understanding of who the roads belonged to and how certain vehicles should behave on the roads. Litha is a driver from Bree Taxi Rank who has been in the business for over 10 years.

Researcher:	*And then so ummmm in your opinion who do the roads belong to?*
Litha:	*I can't say it belongs to us because even the private cars drive on the roads that means it belongs to us all*
Researcher:	*It belongs to us all*
Litha:	*Yeah. Even girls drive in the yellow lane*
Researcher:	*In the yellow lane?*
Litha*:*	*girls! Yeah*
Researcher:	*Mmmmm I've never seen it*
Litha*:*	*We all- you haven't seen it?*
Researcher*:*	*Or I haven't noticed*

Litha: *You see this video? With cars in the yellow lane?*

Researcher*:* *Yeah*

Litha: *There were private cars in the yellow lane*

Researcher: *Mmhmm*

Litha: *That's why I'm saying (laughs)all of us*

Researcher: *Ohh ok*

Litha*:* *Maybe taxis only but we all drive the same*

Researcher*:* *Mmhmm*

Litha: *There are private car drivers that drive like us and you will find them driving in the yellow lane*

Researcher: *Mhhmm*

Litha: *They beat the robot. I don't do that*

Researcher: *Mhhmm*

Litha: *They do bad things on the road*

Researcher: *So there is no difference between a taxi driver and a private car driver?*

Litha: *No there is no difference to me we drive in the same way. If I drive in the yellow lane its either I am following a private car or being followed by a private car*

Researcher: *Mmmmm*

Litha's first sentence is very telling. The shared ownership of the road is due to other cars being present on the road. In a scenario where, only taxis were on the road it stands to reason that Litha would then be justified in saying that the road is theirs (taxi drivers). Litha's account however turns to deviant driving and it is interesting that this happens. It seems as though because the road belongs to everyone it is important for him to make it known that other drivers therefore are transgressors of the rule of the road as well. His mention of gender also serves this purpose as it shows that transgressions on the road are not determined by the type of car nor the gender of the driver. The camaraderie on the road is through all the drivers having similar deviant driving behaviour. This excerpt is very interesting as it levels the playing field, it challenges the common discourses of taxi drivers being the main culprits in road rule abuse. Other cars and drivers alike qualify for these labels as well.

In terms of the road and the navigation thereof, taxi drivers welcome insurgent and differential citizenship. The drivers however are not pleased with the anticitizenship that ensues. It is for this reason that Litha speaks of how other drivers break the rules of the road more than taxi drivers but are not held to the same punitive consequences as taxi drivers. The common discourse of taxi drivers is exaggerated and their reputation of being bad drivers according to Khoza and Potgieter (2005) due to the labelling theory is not easily erased. When one taxi driver exhibits deviant behaviour, this case is not only exaggerated, it is applied as fact for the rest of the taxi drivers. According to this testimony it can be seen that the social contract as it pertains to taxi drivers is hyper-magnified and their behaviour is not only anticipated to be bad but the interaction that other drivers have with taxi drivers is from a negative stereotype that is spread to the whole group. This inhibits the abilities of taxi drivers to ever reclaim a more positively understood way of belonging. Litha took this opportunity, helped with the video vignette to express that the label of taxi drivers as the perpetrators should not exclude other citizens that do the same or do worse. Other drivers however benefit from the anonymity of being in different kinds of cars. The taxi is a specific and conspicuous vehicle and therefore labelling all the drivers based on select behaviour occurs. Simultaneously, the discourse that surrounds taxi drivers provides an account and excuse for their reported insurgence on the road.

With Zola, Litha and Thabo's input considered, Sizwe provides a very honest view of the world which taxi drivers wish they operated in. He speaks of how having other cars on the road is a hindrance and how much easier it would be to drive alone. He further speaks of the power that taxi drivers have on the road and how it is exercised. The discourse about taxi drivers being reckless precedes them and gives them advantages that other drivers do not have. Sizwe speaks of how this negative label is used as a tool to manipulate and manoeuvre on the roads.

Sizwe: *...you see this thing of being a taxi driver, the problem is? You don't want to follow other cars. If we could have it our way you'd just drive alone till you get where you are going cause following other cars even on the freeway I weave so I can't drive in one lane if this lane is moving I go there if I come back and this other one is moving it doesn't matter who is there as long as I put my indicator I have the advantage. If you hit me you will pay, they will ask you about the indicator and whether you did not see it? So I will go where I want to go ya I don't want to be held back, stopping while other cars are going, no I indicate, and put the head of my car and also, sometimes what makes laugh is that as taxi drivers we have an advantage, if you indicate and begin to move into that lane, the car will stop they know that 'umageza'* [1] *will hit into you*

Sizwe paints a picture that is very vivid. He speaks of how the taxi drivers use their, albeit bad, reputation in order to get what they want. In his description of how he drives on the road he expresses that being a taxi driver and driving a taxi allows him advantages that are excused and to a certain degree tolerated because of his profession. In this account the road is a place of insurgence, a place to reclaim position, lose position and strive for position. Taxi drivers have different ways of interacting with the road and staking their claim on it but in so doing they lose the 'rights' to do so. The taxi drivers fail to adhere to the conditions that are needed to be fulfilled in order to afford them the right to strive for these rights. This provides insight into how their labelling as anticitizens and 'unworthy' citizens (MacRitchie & Seedat, 2008) occurs. Through the accounts above it can be surmised that some of the labelling that faces taxi drivers is through self-fulfilling prophecy. The drivers feed into the stereotypes held about them and reinforce these stereotypes. This affects and threatens their citizenship and their expression thereof.

The road is a very important first layer in understanding how taxi drivers experience their everyday lives in their profession. Similar to conventional citizenship which is a sense of belonging to a geographical space the road is a geographical space. It is governed by

[1] Umageza (plural omageza) refers to the derogatory and offensive name given to taxi drivers. It refers to them as a group of people who wash under taps.

specific rules and although it dictates a certain code of behaviour; this is interpreted differently by the taxi drivers. The following subtheme 'Traps of the trade' discusses the taxi drivers lives and various components thereof. The self-report of the kind of people taxi drivers are, in and out of the profession is presented in the ancillary subtheme 'The Person and the Profession'. This speaks to how taxi drivers see themselves and compares and contrasts how they are seen by other people. The second ancillary subtheme builds on this 'perception versus reality' discussion and talks of the 'Roles and Responsibilities' that the drivers have and is so named.

Traps of the Trade

The second subtheme relates to the taxi drivers' experiences on and off the roads. This theme speaks of the types of people that taxi drivers perceive themselves to be, the people that they are perceived to be and what they perceive to be people's perceptions of them. The consistencies and inconsistencies between these three perceptions are highlighted as they explain how their citizenship is negotiated internally and externally. The first ancillary subtheme 'The Personal is Profession' summarises how the professional life of being a taxi driver is all encompassing of their separate personal interactions. The second ancillary subtheme builds on this. Titled 'Roles and responsibilities', this ancillary subtheme explores the role and duties that the taxi drivers have in society.

The personal is professional. In this except below Zola speaks of the kind of people that taxi drivers are perceived to be. His account rather than delve into both personal and professional as requested tends to focus solely on the professional aspect of his life.

Researcher:	*What kind of people you are and also what kind of drivers you are on the road?*
Zola:	*…Because we use the road each and every second, unlike <u>you</u> who's…. who's gonna leave home driving to the office, you buy a car, eh we are always on the road so…. <u>Yes</u> we we are reckless on the roads but we know better, we know our story on the road but what I*

> *can say to people that aren- if I can tell you the truth about taxi drivers you know what we work with and for people all the time and if we work with people all the time and people you know that people they take us eh for granted. You know once someone undermines you in the community because the work we do is important the work we do is important but people they take us for granted like ehhhh- we're not educated like ehhhh 'singomageza' like we're they take for granted the job we do in the country is very big so people they have to take us serious because this business like I was telling you if we can stop maybe one hour they'd be confusion in the whole of South Africa even someone in America would know that in South Africa you know the work of the taxi drivers has stopped yeah so that means that this thing is important so ..ehhhh because of this thing that we are taken taken for granted so we end up with that anger that- that we are no longer patient with someone else eh – but it is important, it is important.*

In the above account Zola acknowledges taxi drivers' bad driving and reckless behaviour but accounts for it with the expertise that taxi drivers have on the road compared to other road users. Earlier in the previous theme (the road) the account for bad driving was the pressure that the drivers are under. The mention of another justification for the drivers' behaviour again shows that taxi drivers have a different interaction on the road and are different from other road users. In this account his profession provides him with an edge that other drivers do not have. However, there is a juxtaposition as on the personal plane they are seen as less than because of the profession that they are in.

Further to that, the use of the word 'omageza' is derogatory. It refers to a person who washes at the taps. This is a common stereotype about taxi drivers. The job is not respected and the stereotypes that follow are that the drivers are dirty, wash at the taps and are uneducated. This disregard for the profession spills over into the personal affecting how they are treated as people - less than human. In this utterance by Zola it can be argued that a man does not drive as he lives as he is viewed differently in everyday life and on the road. The work life is all consuming. The drivers are stripped of rights and dignity and are just a vessel that transports people from one location to another. As Sharma (2009) argues, in areas like

the road people are classified by occupation and not much else. The life that they live is a bare life, they are a body that provides a service, further to that, the interaction of the drivers as people is not considered as worthy nor necessary. This ties into and accounts for the sorts of insurgency interpreted as "bad" driving behaviour. In these cases, insurgency is therefore what is done to reclaim personhood, to be seen as more than a body. To be seen rather than 'invisibilised'. As aforementioned the road is a space for losing, gaining and striving for position. Through the above account the road is further seen as a place to gain, lose and strive for citizenship. It represents a place to find and fight for a sense of belonging.

Zola further identifies the important role that taxi drivers play not only to the passengers but to the employers and the economic sector as a whole. They transport 'labour' to companies, they are an invaluable middleman in the South African economic sector. As stated by Khosa (1991) the taxi business represents the inclusion of the Black person in spaces of ownership and contribution to the economic sector. Although they are seen as peripheral they are powerful, and their anger arises from these contradictions. The drivers are treated as second-class citizens but see themselves as key and important people in not only communities but the country as a whole.

This perception of the taxi drivers as 'less than' other citizens was further elaborated on by Themba who spoke of how the treatment they face is at the hands of more than just the other motorists and passengers. In this conversation below Themba was asked what he would like both other drivers and the society as a whole to know about taxi drivers.

Researcher: *What do you want them to know?*

Themba: *That taxi drivers are good people, eh, they are respectful, sometimes the problem starts when you don't work well with him you see? He is just a person who is the same as anyone else and but the difference is that he works for someone , he goes according to time like now, because tomorrow is <u>Monday</u> there are cars that will be at 8, others going to 15 so they will—the money you see that's why they rush and drive in the yellow lane they'll be trying to do what? <u>To keep time</u> so*

you'd think they are bad people but no there is a target that they are trying to reach

Researcher: *Wohh ok. So ummmm I wanted to ask do you have a family?*

Themba: *Yeah*

Researcher: *Or you haven't yet-*

Themba: *yeah*

Researcher: *oh ok. So, having a family- does it affect how you drive or?*

Themba: *It affects it because sometimes as the driver I have to think about the family that I still want to provide for eh, I can't just drive. The taxi business is sad because if you get hurt, if you are involved in an accident*

Researcher: *Mmm*

Themba: *So, you can get nothing when you are hurt maybe you'll spend a year not working and the owner of the taxi will not pay anything for you*

Researcher: *Mmmm*

Themba: *Ye*

Researcher: *So, if you get hurt it ends there?*

Themba: *Its finished it depends how hurt you were the government maybe most of the time you can get hurt badly and the owner of the taxi will just fix his taxi and hire another driver then you will be in trouble bothering other people, you can no longer provide so you have to take care of yourself and make sure you take care of yourself*

This account continues in the same vein on how taxi drivers are treated. Similar to Zola, Themba offers insight into the reason for their bad behaviour on the road but stresses the fact that this is because of the occupation and not the person. The mention of the target that they are trying to reach is mentioned and is the explanation for bad driving. Themba again stresses that being bad drivers does not make taxi drivers bad people. Taxi drivers are subject to the same pressures as other citizens, but they do not receive the same levels of respect. This reflects a sense of differential citizenship that is resisted through insurgency on the road.

Ross and Antonowicz (2004) argue that driving does not directly reflect the life that a person lives. Rather the authors suggest that drivers are road chameleons. Their driving and their engagement off the roads adapt and shift in response to the behaviour that is acceptable

and will enable them to work through the tensions caused by the work and personal. In his words it is important to separate the personal and the profession. The researcher delved further into Themba's life. In his recall of how having a family makes him careful in his driving he does expose the pitfalls of the occupation. Taxi drivers are people with lives and families, they are not just transgressors, they are people. The informal nature of the profession does not offer protection for the drivers and puts the drivers in an incongruent situation. They need to drive fast to maintain the target (their job) but in so doing could be involved in an accident that threatens their very job.

Further to that Themba reflects on the objectification of the drivers. They are expendable and can easily be replaced. This introduces the taxi owners into the conversation and how they see their drivers as objects and means to ends. As aforementioned by Sharma (2009) a person who occupies the non-place especially in the way that taxi drivers do lives a life that is devoid of the courtesies offered to other people. Their citizenship is inherently threatened. Taxi drivers both in their personal and professional lives contribute to the society but this collapsing of their personal and occupation leads to the overshadowing of any good that they do by the bad that is perpetuated in media and in the society. In the above accounts the taxi drivers speak of themselves as responsible citizens that contribute to the running of the country and the betterment of society. According to Abane (1994) taxi drivers have a positive sense of self. This is echoed above with the drivers expressing that their actions are not intended to hurt or harm but rather to achieve a goal that serves the society at large. With the acknowledgment and explanation of their deviant driving being core to their accounts, the above drivers make a case to be seen as complete beings that can exist apart from their occupation.

Taxi drivers, by virtue of being providers of public transport to close to 70% of the population occupy a large role in society. With these roles come great responsibilities and these are discussed below.

Roles and responsibilities. When it came to the detailing of the role that taxi drivers play in society, Sizwe was very deliberate in his account of the important role that taxi drivers play. In reference to the society at large he interprets the roles of taxi drivers as very big. Sizwe, like Zola speaks of the mutual reciprocity between the drivers and the society.

Researcher:	*Ohhh Ok and then what role is played by taxi drivers in society?*
Sizwe:	*It's very big*
Researcher:	*It's very big?*
Sizwe:	*So, taxi drivers somewhere somehow we are underestimated but then we are people just like the whole community and sometimes we need each other. The community acts as if we are begging them but no one is begging anyone else. We help each other, that is what is happening. Cause if I am not there they won't be able to get to work and if they weren't there I wouldn't be able to make money, but they act as if without them we are nothing as if without us they are something. And the community is nothing without us there are days that we have to beg one another, if they made one line and we made one line with our cars the whole rank would be full they won't be able to go and then we show that we beg each other, not that we beg each other, we need each other you see?? Yeah so you see sometimes it's like we need them a lot and they do not need us*

Sizwe similarly speaks of taxi drivers being undermined even though they are needed. His response also explains that interdependency is a feature of the profession and transcends to the personal because without the society to transport the drivers do not make any money to maintain their livelihood. Without the taxi drivers the community itself would also be unable to go to work and this would affect their livelihood. The use of the example of a full rank (this interview was conducted at Bree Taxi Rank) Sizwe shows the sheer number of both taxi drivers and people that would be affected if either decided they could live without the other. In these accounts it is clear and evident that the drivers felt a need to assert and express their personhood. Their personhood is diminished by the professional and this leads to the society

seeing the drivers as just that: workers. The phrase that Sizwe uses '*but they act as if without them we are nothing as if without us they are something'* is very telling. This sentence more than reflecting the mutuality of the two groups reflects that people are people because of each other.

Citizenship, and the identity it offers and sometimes withdraws is a purely social process. Sizwe reiterates this notion in reflecting that without one another both taxi drivers and the passengers would be excluded from the very activities that allow them to be citizens. Without taxi drivers a large proportion of the community would have no transport to get to their jobs where through prosocial behaviour they contribute to society and thus can be labelled full citizens (Rose, 1999). In the same way taxi drivers, without customers would not be able to transport anyone anywhere and would make no money. The taxi drivers would therefore be further excluded from the spheres (contributing to the city and exhibiting prosocial behaviour) that characterise them as worthy of being called citizens.

When communities see taxi drivers as people at their mercy and interact with them in that way it diminishes the social aspect of their personhood and relegates them to a lower position, an anticitizen in the words of Rose (1999). The drivers see themselves as important citizens in the sense that they contribute to the economy. This is another case for asserting that for drivers breaking the law can be both virtuous for being efficient (both for themselves and their passengers) and that they are entitled to break laws that don't belong to them because they are not valued as ideal citizens.

This relegation however seems to affect different drivers differently. Zulu has realised and accepted that the society does not take the taxi drivers seriously, either as workers or as people. With this revelation he has adjusted how he sees the society and how he interacts with them. Zulu is an older driver from Bree that has been in the business for over a decade.

His account below therefore, in comparison to Sizwe's who has only been a taxi driver for 8 months reflects how the years in the industry have shaped and changed how the drivers see their role in the society.

Researcher:	*Yeah ummmm so and then what role is played by taxi drivers in the community?*
Zulu:	*In the community of the people that we transport?*
Researcher:	*Yeah in the society in Bara or Orlando or all of South Africa*
Zulu:	*Eh (laughs) you know in the community no*
Researcher:	*Mmm*
Zulu:	*No, there I cannot answer your question Sisi we carry people they pay, and we take them where they are going*
Researcher:	*Mmhmm*
Zulu:	*And it ends. Unless if someone arrives and says their money is short, I'll put them in my car and take them where they need to go. Actually, the community doesn't want us, but they want us*
Researcher:	*Mmhmm*
Zulu:	*You see when you drive a taxi carrying passengers they don't want you Sisi*
Researcher:	*Mmm*
Zulu:	*They don't want you they really don't want us but also they want us to take them where they are going*

In this account Zulu treats his job as just that; a job. He speaks of how the community does not want the taxi drivers. In his words the interaction of taxi drivers beyond transporting people is in possibly subsidising and helping out passengers that have insufficient fare. Zulu mentions that being someone who drives a taxi with passengers makes you a social outcast. This expresses that the profession is not the only feature that robs the drivers of their personhood. The type of car is one as well. This fully contrasts the earlier argument that Zola made of the road being a place and having characteristics that humanise and remove anonymity. To Zulu it is the opposite case, the road and more especially the type of car on the road, in this case a taxi, makes the road a purely transitional place. It is a non-place, a site for business for the taxi driver. The only time that the road crosses the barrier to a place is when

the driver helps a passenger reach their destination due to insufficient taxi fare. The crossing of the barrier is in the hands of the passengers however, they determine when the driver can be approached as a person and not a service provider. Using the example of anticitizens this shows that the power to rethink and relabel the taxi drivers lies external to the drivers themselves (Khoza & Potgieter, 2005). Passengers and other road users hold the power and privilege that serves to differentiate the taxi drivers and upgrade or downgrade their citizenship.

The lives that taxi drivers live are very complex. In these above accounts this was further emphasised. The definition of a taxi driver describes an individual that is a public transport provider. However, this profession covers and diminishes certain aspects of citizenship. For taxi drivers this profession is a label that carries connotations and stereotypes that cannot be shaken off or rewritten. In cases where these labels are erased, either permanently or temporarily this is done by groups of people that are external to the taxi drivers. As such, taxi drivers' existence is on the periphery of citizenship, the car and the profession cloak their 'normality' and other aspects of their citizenship. Their daily lives off the road point to issues of no minimum wage, a contested issue in the business that is in the power of the owner and the arrangement that is made between the owner and the driver (Barrett, 2003; Fobosi, 2013). With no minimum wage and no standard for working conditions this leaves the drivers in a very vulnerable position (Barrett, 2003). Drivers are always seen as a tough group of people, the 'monsters of mayhem' per se, but as suggested by Khosa (1992) there is more to their 'deviance' than meets the eye. Khoza and Potgieter (2005) suggested various theories that could explain why taxi drivers behave the way that they do. Engaging with the drivers provided a better understanding of their professional lives and their roles and responsibilities on a personal and professional plane and how these inform driving. This does not and should not excuse their transgressions on the road however it does

explain the drivers' behaviour and how their lives and the pressures that they are under manifest on the road in ways that are seen as destructive and antisocial.

The previous two subthemes have discussed the taxi drivers in terms of their understanding of the road and interaction with other members of society off the road. The final subtheme discusses the combined influence of the two. The taxi drivers see the road differently, see themselves differently and interpret the road differently. The final subtheme describes and explains what is expressed and reportedly experienced on the road with the combined abovementioned factors at play.

Where the Rubber Meets the Road

As aforementioned in this study the taxi drivers' experiences on and off the road cannot be isolated. The two previous subthemes looked at the drivers from a chiefly personal view. The drivers do not drive alone and the interaction between the taxi driver and other drivers is an important feature to be considered in understanding their driving choices. Driving, similarly to citizenship is a social and interactive phenomenon. This subtheme presents accounts that paint a vivid picture of the type of citizenship that a taxi driver has on the road.

'First among equals'. The road traditionally should be understood as a social space that, due to all of its drivers having gone through the same processes to be granted access to it, is very equal. This equality however would suggest that the behaviour on the roads and how motorists relate to one another should be somewhat similar. This ancillary subtheme however presents a case that is contrary to these notions. Titled 'First among equals' it speaks of the irony that exists on the road with taxi drivers admitting that the road is a place of equality but simultaneously a place that is hierarchical.

The researcher posed a question to the participants that asked them if taxi drivers are the same as other drivers. Sizwe did not hold back in his account of where taxi drivers rank in comparison to other drivers.

Researcher:	*(laughs) oh ok and then ummm so are taxi drivers the same as other drivers?*
Sizwe:	*We are not the same. <u>We are not the same.</u>*
Researcher:	*How are you different?*
Sizwe:	*No, I am the last number and this thing goes according to levels. I am here whistles (gestures 2 levels and in this example he is at the top)*
Sizwe:	*The drivers of the private cars are here (gestures a lower level) because I can get into spaces that someone didn't see a space, cause I am fast where I am going so other drivers are here you see?? Someone will be waiting for a car to give him a space and I hoot, when they try to start the car it stalls, that doesn't happen to be I see a space and drive there, Michael Schumacher*
Researcher:	*Michael Schumacher (laughs). Yeah so the private car drivers are at a lower level?*
Sizwe:	*(points to an even lower level)*
Researcher:	*Yoh!*
Sizwe:	*Down there (whistles) levels, I am there (higher level)*
Researcher:	*Mmmm*
Sizwe:	*Yeah the last number no forget it we don't drive the same*

In this account Sizwe compares taxi drivers with other drivers and in this comparison the taxi drivers are at a higher level. It demonstrates that driving allows the drivers to elevate their position. This elevation is seen to be due to the prowess that taxi drivers have, as in this case Sizwe compares himself to Michael Schumacher. This comparison suggests he is a good driver. Interestingly, in an earlier quote Sizwe spoke of other drivers giving taxi drivers the right of way not because of their prowess but because of their reckless driving and the possibility of the taxi driver hitting into the other car. Sizwe is adamant that the driving of taxi drivers is not the same as other motorists. This is ironic as in a space where everyone is

equal and the entry into the space is the same for everyone Sizwe stresses that it is not the same. This further reflects that being transgressive on the roads can equalise the playing fields of citizenry for drivers. In this account it is therefore shown that taxi drivers can be the most powerful drivers on the road but as in the previous theme this is offset with them being the least powerful people off the road.

Like Sizwe, Thabo speaks of the difference between taxi drivers and other motorists. Thabo however mentions some similarities between the drivers and other drivers.

Researcher:	*Yeah are they the same as other drivers?*
Thabo:	*Like those that drive private cars?*
Researcher:	*Yeah private or bus drivers, any*
Thabo:	*Sisi it's the same*
Researcher:	*It's the same?*
Thabo:	*I can say it's the same and different*
Researcher:	*Ok how is the same?*
Thabo:	*You know why? If I take your car and drive out of here who will know I am a taxi driver?*
Researcher:	*Mmmmm mmhmm*
Thabo:	*Driving in a BM and I will curse at a taxi driver and say 'heyi you mageza' and forget that myself I am a mageza so it's the same and different. Because many even the drivers of Rea Vaya or Metro buses come from this industry… <u>where I would say we differ and differ indeed is that it rare to find a woman who is like us, they are there but it's a few</u>*
Researcher:	*Please explain?*
Thabo:	*You guys have your own driving*
Researcher:	*(laughs) what is our driving like?*
Thabo:	*You have your own driving. I call it 'ngobumbokodo'[2] especially when you are driving vrrr phas[3]. A guy will drive, when he sees a car coming at speed in most cases he moves, a woman won't give you space, forget it, even in traffic or wherever 'I've got the right of way' (pretending to be a woman doing her make up in the mirror) you won't find a man fixing his hair never and sunglasses. I even say that when*

[2] 'Ngobumbokodo' refers to a stubbornness. In this case this is attributed to drivers that are women. Women are commonly referred to as imbokodo meaning a rock, a strong entity but in this case it is used in a negative light.
[3] Vrr phas are high performance cars, usually VW Golfs and Polos. Vrr pha is the sound made by their engines

	they sell cars to women they come with shades (pretends to be putting on shades in the mirror). Totally different. Totally different.
Researcher:	*So is it right or wrong*
Thabo:	*Your driving?*
Researcher:	*Mmmm*
Thabo:	*As I've said <u>you're not the same</u> it's rare to find a girl that is sharp when it comes to driving <u>they are there</u> but ones that even beat taxi drivers and the people that I know. That drives in such a way that yes this one has a licence and when they drive you think it is a guy driving the car or a boy and you'll be shocked to find out it is a girl they are there but in most cases…*

Initially, Thabo speaks of how in a different car he could curse at taxi drivers. The car is what differentiates drivers. Being in a taxi attracts and accounts for certain behaviour. This is further seen in his account that other drivers that were taxi drivers and are now bus drivers may drive the same, but the vehicle hides and explains away their wrongdoings. The vehicle one drives is powerful, not only does it denote class and enable the physical aspect of social mobility it conversely attributes behaviour and expectations that other people have of a certain car and the people that drive that car. Taxi drivers are judged merely on their vehicle. They do not have the opportunity to be recognised mainly as drivers of a public service vehicle like bus drivers are, they are always seen as 'deviant' drivers. Their contribution to the public service is secondary, if recognised at all.

Thabo's further comments about the difference in driving being due to gender echoes that of Litha who exemplified deviant drivers with women as the poster child and example of this deviance. Thabo however reduces women to a group of stubborn drivers calling their driving '*ubumbokodo*'. Usually the use of women and the word '*imbokodo*' at the same time is a positive statement that praises them for being strong. *Imbokodo* is a rock, something that is hard to move. In his account, Thabo uses this comparison to reveal stubbornness. Interestingly when the researcher asked if the driving of women is right or wrong Thabo withdrew and focused on how not every woman is the same but in the same vein stated that

all of them are. This may have been to appease the researcher as he reiterated that some women are better drivers than taxi drivers themselves. This, similarly, to Sizwe, implies that taxi drivers are the best drivers.

Thabo's hierarchy of drivers that he presents at the end of his response however is very telling even after his attempt to repair how his response had made the researcher react. In the context of drivers, the order from best to worst is; taxi drivers, men, boys, then girls. This places women in a position that the taxi drivers themselves are commonly placed in and his referral to them as girls further achieves this relegation. They are the anticitizens on the road. Ironically, Thabo grants taxi drivers or wishes he could grant taxi drivers courtesies that he does not grant to drivers who are women. Rather he does the exact same thing that other drivers do to taxi drivers. He strips them of their rights with his account of them and paints women as the anticitizens of the road and the taxi drivers the tsars of the tar.

The road regulator. This ancillary subtheme reflects the social responsibility of correcting and reprimanding that occurs on the road. It speaks of who has the right to correct who on the road. The road is a place where prosocial actions and behaviours are necessary to maintain safety and prevent motor vehicle collisions. Other drivers should be accountable to one another and as such should be able to reprimand one another. Zola's viewpoint stresses the equality of all road users, but it is not complete equality. The main differential he mentions is who holds corrective power.

Researcher:	*So how would you describe the rights of a taxi driver?*
Zola:	*Ah no on the roads…on the roads we are all the same on the roads… ehhhh what we tend to do ehhhh like to drive in the yellow lane it's not like we are infringing on the rights of other people, ehhhh if you make a <u>mistake</u> on the roads you have to wait for the person whose job it is to correct those who make mistakes on the road because eh (laughs) you understand that if it was said that we're all right so there are people that must lose their jobs if we're all right, right?. So the police are <u>there</u> because we we we are working so they are the ones with a right to reprimand us, other things <u>you</u>, like <u>you</u> you're just driving ah*

we are not disturbing you in any way so we- we're driving in the yellow lane you decided to drive in the yellow lane and stop us and YOU ARE NOT A POLICE so you are not a police. There, the issue of rights starts there, you drive in the yellow lane, the person we are expecting to give us tickets, stop us, take (check) our licences, to- to- write off – take our cars, call the breakdown vehicles all that stuff, the person we are waiting for to do that is a police officer, not you!

Researcher: *Oh ok*

Zola: *You stay in your lane. If you wanna join us on the (both laugh) yellow line you can join us it's not a problem but this thing of yours that you're going to go into the yellow lane then you start stop us, now you're driving slowly now you're blocking us then you'll get our anger there Then you'll have no right but you have a right*

Go, if you wanna drive in the yellow lane join us join us and we hit it (both laugh)

Zola speaks of how deviant driving is not an infringement of any rights and for that reason drivers should be allowed to drive in the yellow lane. The road is an area where all drivers are under both implicit and explicit rules and should behave in a specific way. There is an accountability that the road users have to one another and they should be able to assist and reprimand one another. Zola does not see it this way, he believes that only the police hold the power to reprimand bad driving. In this case with Zola having 'invited' other road users to use the yellow lane he himself reveals that in essence the taxi drivers have the power to regulate, but the taxi drivers themselves can only be corrected by the police. This is a novel contribution that reflects both taxi drivers and non-taxi drivers being under one overarching regulatory power, the police.

Themba agrees with the police holding regulatory power but to him this power is in a hierarchy with other institutions that the taxi drivers report to. This is explained in the account below:

Themba: *it's not right this thing but somewhere somehow it works for us cause when we do it we are afraid to do it and know we are misbehaving; we look both in front and behind to see what is happening maybe there is a police car. So, if the traffic officer's car is there the person in front starts coming back into traffic then like we all come back running*

away from the cops. When we have passed them, because we respect the law because somewhere somehow it's the time that is the problem.

Researcher: *Ok So earlier we were talking about the rights of taxi drivers right, so who gives them these rights? The passengers as well, you did say the passengers have rights like the driver? So, who gives them these rights?*

Themba: *The rights are given by the association, ours is called ATA. ATA has offices that if you do something that is not right the passengers can go and report you at the office where they can suspend you or expel you, even I have the right to go the office if something isn't sitting right with me*

Researcher: *Wohh so you can go and report at the office?*

Themba: *Mhhmm*

Researcher: *Oh ok*

Themba: *At the association*

Researcher: *So, the the the association, would you say the association is the governing body of -taxi- taxi drivers?*

Themba*:* *Yeah*

Researcher: *The one in Alex? It's called ATA right?*

Themba: *Yeah*

Researcher: *Ohhh ok*

Themba: *Hmmmm*

Researcher: *So where are the police in relation to the association, are they above the association, or are they below, whereabout are they?*

Themba: *Ahhhh the police are above, eh if there is a problem like if there is a time that many cars are being impounded a lot there are people at ATA that will go and talk to the police and ask them why their cars are being taken like this -then they discuss and tell them that a car must be complete and the driver must carry all the required things*

Themba speaks of respecting the law, but this is only if the law is visible. Visibility of the police is central to the taxi drivers respecting the rule of law. Themba's account of who gives the drivers rights is novel. Other drivers spoke of the government and the traffic departments giving the drivers rights. Themba however gives the task of giving and removing rights to the taxi association. The regulatory power of the taxi association allows the association to suspend and expel drivers. This is very similar to powers that the police have. The police do however occupy the highest tier in Themba's hierarchy of discipline. The

association and the police do communicate, and this conversation reveals that the top spot is negotiated, and the taxi drivers take their directives from both organisations but in different situations one is more powerful than the other.

When it comes to the association another player comes to the fore: the passengers. They have a stake in correcting the drivers as they can approach the association and complain about the drivers and get them suspended or fired. On the road other motorists that should accountable to one another have no corrective power. Instead, it is the passengers and the 'real' governing body of the taxi (the association) that actually have the right to reprimand the drivers.

In this final account Litha paints a very concerning state of affairs on the road. Litha explains that the taxi drivers have no rights. This is because similar behaviour that is carried out on the road by other motorists is differently punished.

Researcher:	*Ok so and then ummm do taxi drivers have rights on the road?*
Litha:	*Mmmmm eh what can I say? We don't really have rights because sometimes I can be driving in the yellow lane with a private car and the police will stop me the taxi driver you see, we don't have rights, meaning they, they block us.*
Researcher:	*Ohhh ok. So, the police bother taxi drivers?*
Litha:	*They bother us, driving in the yellow lane is also done by buses, the officer will block you and ask you why you are doing the wrong thing and and and*
Researcher:	*So, the bus?*
Litha:	*The bus belongs to the government*
Researcher:	*Ohhhh ok…*
Litha:	*A taxi belongs to a person, a person isn't really allowed*
Researcher:	*Mhhmm*
Litha:	*He stands alone*

In comparison to bus drivers and private cars the taxi driver occupies the bottom of the list of drivers and therefore in terms of rights has the least. This is ironic, as the road is a space that serves to equalise everyone. Litha's explanation however mirrors a very historic

period where the government owned vehicles were at an advantage over Black owned public transport vehicles. His account reveals that the text-based rights as stated by Cresswell (2013) do not always reflect a life that is lived as a citizen. Without rights, this account by Litha suggests that taxi drivers are non-citizens. Further to taxi drivers being non-citizens Litha's account reflects differential treatment and punishment that is given when taxi drivers display insurgency, compared to that of privately-owned vehicles. In one utterance Litha's account reflects the negotiation of all the types of citizenships discussed previously.

Concluding Remarks on Road Citizenship

The first subtheme, 'Tsars of the tar' spoke of the different ways in which the road is understood by different people. In this case it stands to reason that different people would be different road citizens. Taxi drivers occupy two main types of road citizenships. There is the road citizenship that they perceive themselves to have and the road citizenship that they are given by other motorists, passengers and society at large. In the citizenship that the drivers give themselves or perceive themselves to occupy they are the owners of the road. This ownership is self-imbued due to frequency, prowess and access. This is contrary to the citizenship that that is attributed to the drivers by other road users. With the use of derogatory terms and the painting of the drivers as 'monsters of mayhem' on the road this suggests that these rights that the drivers think they have on the road are not understood in the same way. As mentioned earlier with different people interpreting the context differently this lays a foundation for different interactions. Taxi drivers are seen as different and subsequently see themselves differently. This reflects that in the case of taxi drivers the type of road citizen that they are is denoted by both themselves and others. The road therefore due to this difference is the birthplace of differential road citizens. Different road citizens have different rights and express them differently.

The second subtheme ‘Traps of the trade and its close relationship to the first subtheme, ‘Tsars of the tar’ reflected that the context of the road and the very being of the taxi driver cannot be separated. This was highlighted in the ancillary subtheme ‘the personal is professional’. Unlike citizens who are able to occupy different spaces and be treated accordingly based on the context they are in; taxi drivers face a collapse of their personal life into their work life and there is a possibility for the driver to not drive as he lives. This results in the peripheral treatment of taxi drivers by other road users and notably passengers. Passengers treat the drivers as merely transport providers that are at their mercy. The drivers, however, see their role in society as more than that. They are more than that, their provision of transport maintains employment. In the accounts of taxi drivers, being a taxi driver strips you of other aspects of citizenship. Drivers are seen as a means to an end. This inevitably leads to them being dehumanised and objectified. The drivers define themselves as having roles and responsibilities like other citizens. The importance of these roles and responsibilities is seen to be not as important to the society as a whole but very important to the drivers. Their diminished sense of belonging in their everyday lives extends to their sense of belonging in on the roads but is expressed differently. This reveals that the citizenship on the road is informed by the experiences off the road, although it does not necessarily mimic them. The therefore road provides them with the ability to elevate their state citizenship via road citizenship.

The third subtheme that contributes to understanding of the drivers’ lives looks at the interaction between the driver and the road and is titled; ‘Where the rubber meets the road’. This interaction is very important as it points to the very social aspect of both driving and living. None of these processes happen in a vacuum. Taxi drivers reported that they have their own rules of navigating the road. This ties into the above component that their interaction on the road is different as compared to other road users. A main difference is that

that although the drivers like other road users are governed by rules, there are other various 'governing bodies' that are in constant collaboration and dispute throughout the process, so although there is a large element of 'sameness' the constant negotiation of the other governing bodies renders the 'sameness' futile and replaces it with difference instead. The road citizen therefore is a road user whose life may not mirror how he lives but may be a representation of the life he wishes he lived.

Aspects of insurgence, differential, urban and anticitizenship were found in the analysis of the data corpus. However, they were not adequate in providing comprehensive understanding of the various interactions of the road. In the experiences of the taxi drivers there are instances where they experience three or four types of citizenship simultaneously and other instances that do not have any of these citizenships but a very specific experience on the road not articulated in the citizenship literature. Road citizenship is a concept that requires development. In this research it can be seen that it is a specific form of citizenship and although it encompasses the three subthemes and six ancillary sub themes it is necessary that the citizenship literature expand and include the road as a site of citizenship construction and enactment.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The primary aim of this research was to explore taxi drivers' reported experiences in their profession. This exercise was undertaken in order to explain and better understand the drivers' behaviour on the road and how they account for it. This study however was not without any limitations and these are discussed below. Firstly, the theoretical and practical implications are discussed, this is followed by the study limitations. Future recommendations that address these limitations are provided and finally the concluding section that ties together the main arguments and findings of the research is given.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

Theoretically, this study provides valuable insight into citizenship. The theories of citizenship that exist today are plentiful but not all of them speak to issues that are current and contextually relevant. The intersection of citizenships is suggested in research and this study exemplified that in the context of taxi drivers one type of citizenship is inadequate to fully grasp their sense of belonging in society. Four types of citizenship were presented and were found to provide a foundation for the need to conceptualise the notion of a road citizen. This study also encourages the need to expand the common, taken for granted explanations for certain behaviour and be open to expanding the understanding of the spaces and places that govern individuals' sense of belonging.

The development of a novel theoretical construct speaks back to the common theories of citizenship that taxi drivers do not fit neatly into. This study interrogates and criticises the notion of copy-pasting pre-existing theories to the context and argues instead for the adaptation of theories to the context or alternatively the conceptualisation of novel theories that are more reflective of the context. With the subjects of inquiry directly being taxi drivers the study also necessitates the need to include the voices of the actors of the story in the narrative written about them.

In terms of the practical implications, the findings from this study are important to an array of stakeholders. The main message from this study is that taxi drivers are a group of people who, similarly to all groups of people have bad and good members. The media's portrayal of the drivers is always in a negative light that perpetuates and excuses behaviour that could with the right method of intervention be reduced or completely stopped. The findings in this study are relevant to people in policy making. With the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme and other programmes that have been undertaken to streamline and promote safer taxis this study provides input that reveals that programmes directed at taxi drivers need to be multi-dimensional as the drivers are affected by more than just bad vehicles. Roads are a microcosm for the social dynamics (and inequalities) that define South Africa and need to be seen as a research setting in and of themselves. Understanding the human condition of the taxi driver and interacting with the drivers with this knowledge in hand could lead to better interventions aimed at taxi drivers, and road users as a whole, being designed. Most importantly the study reveals the importance of engaging with taxi drivers as people rather than 'objects' that drive vehicles.

Limitations of the Study

The study comprised interviews with 10 drivers from Johannesburg. The drivers came from two groups of taxi drivers. Although the drivers themselves were all different in terms of time spent in the industry and ages, they ferried only two different routes and most of them belonged to one of the two taxi associations. This could have made their views common as although reported lived experience is different their experiences on the road may be similar due to the routes they drive on. All the interviewees were male and a taxi driver who is female could have provided valuable insight into road citizenship from a gendered point of view female taxi drivers.

Methodologically this study could have strengthened its use of IPA by using multiple interviews with the participants. Eatough and Smith (2008) suggest this is as a strategy that would have allowed for the exploration of the life worlds of the taxi drivers in greater detail. More than one interview for IPA would have also served to cross check the accounts given.

Future Recommendations

Future studies are suggested to be based on a more heterogenous group of taxi drivers, that include women. A group of taxi drivers from more than two taxi ranks and taxi associations is also suggested. Studies going further could also look at taxi drivers that are from different provinces in order to examine whether the experiences of the taxi drivers are context dependent or the same for all taxi drivers. Furthermore, subsequent studies could look at further than the taxi driver. Road citizenship applies to more than taxi drivers, it can be extended to any road user, whether a driver or not. A focus group discussion with various road users could provide valuable insight into the road citizenship convergences and divergences that are conceptualised by these different types of road users.

Discourse analysis could be employed on the data that was generated in this study. A discourse analysis could be used to explore and analyse the power dynamics that were spoken about in the finding of a road citizen. Power is undoubtedly exercised on and by taxi drivers and the combination of an exploratory IPA and a discourse inquiry could provide valued insight into taxi drivers lives and driving patterns. Discourse analysis ultimately enables the unmasking of how power operates within interactions that speak about certain groups of people. Parker (1992) characterises discourse as a set and system of related statements that construct an object. In this case therefore this layer could serve as another lens to use to fully grasp and define road citizenship.

Conclusion

Driving and being a driver are commonly understood to consist of the ability to coordinate a series of certain, timed and appropriate mechanical and physical movements. The only variable that should change during this endeavour should be the type of car and the driver of the cars. This is not the case on the roads with different people displaying different driving behaviour. These differences have been linked to the lives of the drivers. The title of this research directly tackled this suggestion in the case of taxi drivers. It suggested that there is an influence of the lives of taxi drivers on the way that they drive. Citizenship was used as the lens to explore the lives of the taxi drivers and account for their driving patterns.

Taxi drivers are a group of people that play a very large role in the public transport sector of South Africa. Providing transport to 70% of the population their contribution to not only the passengers but more so the economic sector cannot be ignored. Taxi drivers however are commonly reduced to the agents of motor vehicle collisions, the proponents of deviant driving and generally aggressive people and drivers. Their place in the South African society is contested, debated but most importantly misunderstood. Historically, taxi drivers have been excluded in various ways either from operating on certain routes, from formalisation of their industry or from engagement with the public transport industry in key transport matters. The drivers have had to fight to be included in the social, economic and political sphere. The exclusion of the drivers is not only from these social spheres, it is also visible in their exclusion from research. The discourse about taxi drivers is far removed from them and rarely engages with them. Through this research the importance of engaging with the taxi drivers themselves was highlighted and valuable insight was uncovered.

The main finding of this research was that the experiences of the taxi drivers are different to other road users. Their everyday lives on and off the road are littered with experiences that are interpreted differently by the drivers themselves. The notion that a man

drives as he lives as was suggested in the title of this research was found to not apply to the taxi drivers. The road to the taxi driver reflects a site for their expression of various injustices that they face in their lives. Through insurgent, deviant and differential driving the drivers are able to enact a life that they wish they were living. Like chameleons the drivers adapt and mould their behaviour in a manner that will allow them to reach their goals for the day; ultimately to make a living.

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Appendix A: Interview Schedule

Vignettes

The following videos were shown to the participants.

Video 1: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ggxgi-j7qFk and

Video 2: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DOlxW5HWzhU

The participants were asked to describe what was happening in each video and probed with the following 3 questions after each video was played.

i. What is happening in this video?
ii. In this video is anyone doing the right thing? Is anyone doing the wrong thing? Probe on answer given.
iii. How do you think you would have acted in this situation? Why?

Interview questions

1. Can you walk me through a typical day in your life on the road?
2. What is the biggest challenge you face in your profession? On the roads and in general?
3. What role do you think taxi drivers play in society?
4. Who do you think the roads belong to?
    i. What right do taxi drivers have to the road?
    ii. What gives them this right? If answer is no, what prevents them from having a right to the road
5. If we understand road citizenship as the sense of belonging that a taxi driver has on the road, how would you describe your road citizenship? (Probe on response given with questions like- What does being a citizen on the road mean to you? Do you have responsibilities as a road citizen? Probe on the answers given)
6. Are taxi drivers the same as the other citizens on the road in South Africa? What makes them the same/different? Probe on the answers given
7. If you could tell other people (motorists and the general public) about the type of citizens that taxi drivers are on the road what would you like them to know? Why?

Appendix B: Ethics Certificate

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (SCHOOL OF HUMAN & COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: MASPR/18/005 IH**
PROJECT TITLE:	'A man drives as he lives': taxi drivers' accounts of their urban road (anti)) citizenship.
INVESTIGATORS	Ncube Vuyolwethu
DEPARTMENT	Psychology
DATE CONSIDERED	19/07/18
DECISION OF COMMITTEE*	Approved

This ethical clearance is valid for 2 years and may be renewed upon application

DATE: 19 July 2018

CHAIRPERSON _____
(Prof. Gillian Finchilescu)

cc Supervisor:

Prof. Brett Bowman
Psychology

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR (S)

To be completed in duplicate and **one copy** returned to the Secretary, Room 100015, 10th floor, Senate House, University.

I/we fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure be contemplated from the research procedure, as approved, I/we undertake to submit a revised protocol to the Committee.

This ethical clearance will expire on 31 December 2020

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES

Appendix C: Participant Information Sheet

School of Human and Community Development

Private Bag 3, Wits

2050

Johannesburg, South Africa

Tel: 27 (0)11 717 4524/5 Fax: 27 (0)11 7174556

Dear Sir,

My name is Vuyolwethu Ncube and I am a student completing my Masters degree at the University of Witwatersrand.

My research aims to understand the meaning and sense of belonging (citizenship) that taxi drivers enact and create through their daily lives and interactions. To participate, you will be asked to answer several questions in the form of an in-depth interview. The interviews will happen individually and at a time that is convenient for you. I would like to invite you to consider taking part in this study

Participation in this study is voluntary and as such you are free to withdraw from the study at any time for any reason, no questions asked, and will experience no penalty for leaving. There are no benefits nor is there any harm in participating in this study and confidentiality is guaranteed as all results will be published in terms of unidentifiable themes and quotes. As soon as the data is collected, it will be assigned an anonymous code. No findings that could identify you will be published, and the raw data will only be accessed by my supervisor, Professor Brett Bowman, and me.

Results from this study will be published in terms of themes and the interpretation of the themes. As no identifying information will be collected individual feedback is not possible and will not be given.

By taking part in this study, you as a participant, agree to allow the data collected from this study to be published and used in further studies and consent to the above information.

Should you have any further questions please do not hesitate to contact me. My contact details appear below my signature.

Thank you for considering taking part in the research project.

Kind Regards,

Vuyo Ncube

0836948104

vuyolulama@gmail.com

Supervisor:
Professor Brett Bowman
011 717 8335
Brett.Bowman@wits.ac.za

Appendix D: Participant Consent Form

School of Human and Community Development

Private Bag 3, Wits

2050

Johannesburg, South Africa

Tel: 27 (0)11 717 4524/5 Fax: 27 (0)11 7174556

Dear Sir,

I, _____ consent to being interviewed by Vuyolwethu Ncube, for her research project focused on the exploration of taxi drivers' sense of belonging and road citizenship and how this is enacted and constructed in their everyday lives. I understand that;

- Participation in this study is completely voluntary and that at any time before the researcher leaves I may withdraw from the study.
- I may decline to answer any question I do not feel comfortable answering.
- The researcher may take field notes during the interview
- The tapes, transcribed documents and field notes will be kept in a safe and secure place for the duration of the study and destroyed at a later stage after the completion of the research report
- All information provided will remain confidential
- Any personal information of mine for example my name, will not be used in the interview, transcripts, notes as well as the research report.
- Direct quotes from my interview may be written up in the research report but my name will be substituted with a pseudonym e.g. participant 1.
- There are no risks or benefits associated with this study.
- I am aware that the results of the study will be reported in the form of a research report, which upon completion will be available online on the university thesis database.
- The research report being undertaken is in partial completion of a Masters degree at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Consent for Interview:

Signed: _____ Date: _____

Appendix E: Participant Consent Form- Consent to Record Interview

School of Human and Community Development

Private Bag 3, Wits

2050

Johannesburg, South Africa

Tel: 27 (0)11 717 4524/5 Fax: 27 (0)11 7174556

I, _____ give my consent for my interview with Vuyolwethu Ncube to be audio recorded for her study. I understand that:

- The recordings and transcripts will not be seen or heard by anyone other than the researcher and her supervisor.
- The recordings and transcripts will be stored on a password protected laptop.
- No identifying information will be used in the transcripts or the research report.
- Although direct quotes from my interview may be used in the research report, I will be referred to by a pseudonym.

Signed: _____

Date: _____