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Isibaya: organized chaos - a study of taxi marshals as streel level bureaucrats and their role in the everyday management of the minibus taxi industry

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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND
SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING

Isibaya: Organized Chaos

A Study of Taxi Marshals as Streel Level Bureaucrats and their role in the everyday management of the minibus taxi industry

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October 2020

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Abstract

This research explores the role that taxi marshals play 'on the street' – quite literally - within a significant-but-demonised transit sector- which is often described by scholars and media as chaotic and volatile. Understanding the MBT industry from a fresh angle, as an avenue for bringing together a policy-based understanding of the industry with one that examines the 'every day', would be valuable from a development planning perspective. Exploring the daily duties and practices of taxi marshals as 'micro-managers' of the industry using the 'Weberian' conception of bureaucracy allows us to move beyond a simple analysis of regulation (policy and rules) by examining the particularities of implementing and enforcing rules. By doing so, the study uses the theory of 'Street Level Bureaucracy' by Lipsky as an analytical tool to understand how marshals make their day-to-day decisions that affects the industry. As such, their discretion is explored in detail and further deciphered through the study of the micro-physics of power in micro-interactions between marshals, commuters and taxi operators.

Acknowledgements

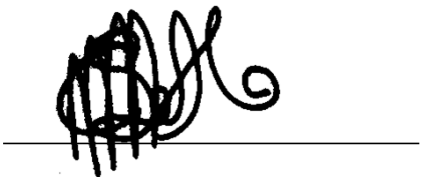
This research would not have materialised if I worked alone.

- To my family, ke leboga lerato le hlohloletso tse le mfileng tsona mengwageng ya go feta. Nkabe e se lena, nne nka se fihle mo. Mma, Koko, Rakgadi, Pat, Norman le Terry ke leboga kudu kudu ka hlohloletso le go nthusa ka mekgwa ya go fapana gore ke felletse dithuto tsaka. I appreciate you all.
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- To my friend and editor, Thembani Mkhize, you have been a great friend throughout this research. You encouraged me to enrol for this degree and continued to support me through it. I appreciate the work you have done to make sure that some of my chapters are well edited and for the words of encouragement. I am grateful.
- To my friend and mentor, Prof. AlyKaram. Thank you for the impact you had in both my academic and life journey. You have helped me grow in many ways.
- And finally, to the Farady Taxi Association, thank you for allowing me to conduct my study on one of your routes. And to the manager and all the taxi marshals and divers who took time from their very busy schedule to speak to me, I am grateful.

During the course of this research, I have challenged myself. I have been to the worst parts of Johannesburg and spoke to the scariest people. In some instances, I woke up in the morning and decided not to go to the site because I was simply scared. However, through inspiration from you all, I was able to wear my brave cap, head to the site, and pretend to be totally comfortable for hours. I appreciate you all.

DECLARATION

I, Matome Sekwatlakwatla, declare that this research is my own, unaided work submitted for Master of Science in Development Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.



Date: 10 October 2020

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Chapter 1- Organized chaos: Setting the scene

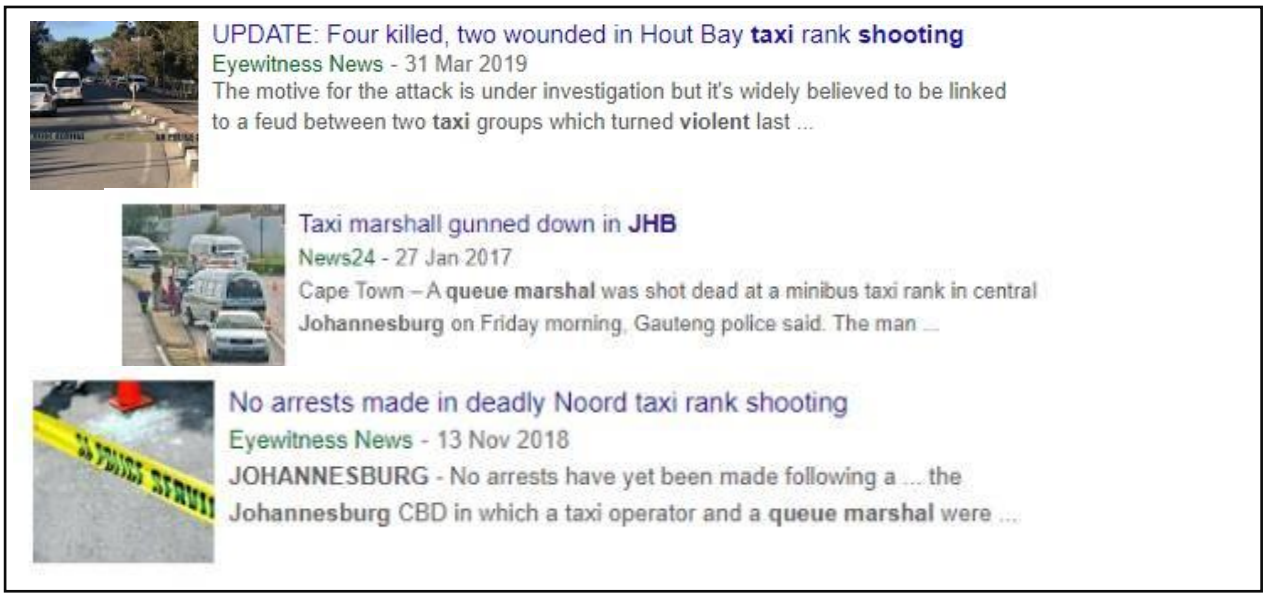


Figure 1: Newspaper excerpts on the current controversies in the taxi industry
Source: Eyewitness News (2018;2019); News24 (2017)

Figure 1 above shows newspaper article headlines depicting controversies associated with the minibus taxi industry over the past year. The newspaper headlines above, coupled with the images in Figure 2 below, depict the minibus taxi industry as a disorganized, violence-ridden, unconducive and unsafe space for everyone involved in it – taxi owners, taxi operators and passengers alike. Indeed, for many years, the minibus taxi industry has endured severe woes which have contributed significantly to tainting its reputation and marring its image. These woes have been inclusive of, among other things, harassment of vulnerable groups such as women, harassment of fellow motorists on roads, taxi association wars over routes (which have also placed the lives of passengers at risk) (Raseroka 2019)). Recently, the prevalence of taxi conflicts resulted in the closure of six taxi ranks and routes for three months in Soweto. The latch on routes and taxi ranks followed the turf wars associated with several murder cases, public violence, disruption of traffic, and damage to property (Mitchley, 2019; Gous, 2019). Such controversies, to some extent, justify the negative perception of the minibus taxi industry in academic and policy circles as well as in media (see for instance Sauti 2006:1; Raseroka 2019; Mbatha 2011). For instance, some scholars refer to minibus taxis as "unsafe mobile coffins" (Sauti 2006:1). Not only that,

but the government is also said to have maligned the minibus taxi industry, with some media reports recommending that the sector "die a slow death" (Raseroka 2019) on the basis that there is a "lack of political interest" (ibid.) in it. This begins to hint at the possibility that some of the setbacks encountered by the MBT industry stem from its 'informal' nature – it is self-regulating and is typified by little-to-no regulation by the state (Mhlanga 2017).

Such perceptions eclipse and/or take away from the fact that the minibus taxi industry (hereafter MBT industry) is responsible for the movement and/or circulation of millions of commuters in South Africa. A mobility survey conducted by the National Household Travel Survey (2014) finds that approximately 60% of commuters in South African cities rely on the MBT industry to get to and from places of socio-economic opportunity as well navigate the city and other towns, thereby bringing forth the undeniable necessity of this sector in citizens' daily lives. Yet, although it has the highest ridership, the MBT industry in South Africa is often seen as the 'black sheep' of the public transport sector (Kgwedi and Krygsman, 2017). With such negative perceptions of the MBT sector against its significance for mass circulation in the country, it becomes necessary to unpack its dynamics, internal workings, politics as well as actors. Yet, insofar as the tainted image of the taxi industry is arguably self-inflicted – what with the ubiquitous taxi wars over routes – it can also be argued that there is more than meets the eye. There may be other factors at play, hence the need for research into the workings of this sector.



Figure 2: Passengers flee the taxi after being fired at with multiple gunshots. Source: Nyathi (2018)

Several ethnographic studies have begun addressing the dynamics and challenges of the MBT industry in South Africa. For instance, scholars such as Fobosi (2013, 2019), Woolf and Joubert (2013), and Alive (2015) have studied the industry through analysing user experiences of it, taxi recapitalisation programmes and policies as well formalisation mechanisms. Mhlanga (2017) finds that in as much as there are policies and other regulatory frameworks in place to ensure that taxi drivers align with their routes, conflicts still emerge. There has also been a discussion of factors that contribute to conflicts over routes, with scholars such as Molefe (2016) citing the taxi industry's incapacity to implement policies and regulations passed by the government as the biggest contributing factor.

Other scholars have looked into the reasons why taxi operators adopt aggressive behaviour, find themselves in conflict with one another, and endanger passengers as well as other road users in the process (Fourie 2003). It is argued that taxi operators/drivers, pressured by taxi owners to meet daily financial targets, find themselves having to work very hard for long hours and competing for routes and customers (ibid.). This is seen as but one manifestation of the inadequacy of rigorous control and regulation in the industry which often leads to conflicts among taxi associations and owners. Indeed, scholars appear to have focused much of their attention on depicting disorder and politics within the MBT industry, by so doing overlooking the degree to which there may be order/functionality within the disorder and dysfunctionality within the industry. There appears to be little-to-no research speaking to the dynamics of stakeholder organisation and hierarchy within taxi associations.

Whilst most scholarship on the MBT sector seemingly demonises and paints a gloomy picture of the MBT industry and the actors within it, there may also be emergent literature exploring the human(e) side and living experiences of some stakeholders within the MBT industry. For instance, a doctoral dissertation by Masuku (2016) investigates the extent to which a spirit of humanity exists in the industry by using taxi/queue marshals as the objects of her research. Through an investigation and/or analysis of taxi marshals' daily practices/activities, Masuku (2016) observes that they are some of the most overlooked actors in the MBT industry and thus motivates for an in-depth exploration of the taxi marshal figure. This becomes necessary especially given that "queue marshals are usually the first people passengers speak to … they can mean the difference between one's destination and getting into a taxi heading in the opposite direction" (Mbatha, 2011).

This not only hints at the influential and enabling role played by taxi marshals in the day-to-day operations of the industry, it also begins to speak to their power attempts to contribute to filling gaps on overlooked actors in the MBT industry. It does so by focusing more attention on taxi marshals' day-to-day practices, particularly the power that they have in ensuring active, day-to-day management of the taxi industry and the urban spaces, including taxi ranks, changing spots and the intersections which they operate in.

1.1 Inhloso-The Focus and Scope of the Research

The existing literature on the taxi industry has focused a great deal of attention on taxi owners and operators (Woolf, 2014; Van Dalsen, 2018; Fobosi, 2013, 2019). Little attention has been attributed to taxi marshals, who are equally important in the industry (Ngubane, 2016). Nelson (2010: 8) defines taxi marshal as "a person who arranges passengers and vehicle-related procedures at taxi facilities". This definition is, however, an understatement to the contribution that taxi marshals make to the industry. Although they are often portrayed as the lowest on the hierarchy of the industry and are often overlooked by many scholars, taxi marshals are responsible for the establishment of order and mobility within and beyond taxi ranks. Masuku (2016: 43) makes an assertion that taxi marshals are in actual fact critical for the functioning of the industry as they hold absolute ownership and control over the operation of the taxi ranks. Hence the prosperity of the taxi industry is often attributed by rank managers and taxi drivers, as mentioned by Masuku (2016: 43), to a "healthy

relationship that queue marshals establish with passengers and everyone who uses the space".

Generally, each association employs its own taxi marshals. Hence, in taxi ranks shared by many associations, such as Bree, taxi marshals become the face of the associations they work for. In this regard, the prosperity of each association, and the taxi industry in general, rely on the customer service by the taxi marshals. Although almost anyone can be hired as a taxi marshal, there are basic factors that make a good taxi marshal. These include knowledge of routes, basic literacy skills, understanding of and ability to compile time-schedules, as well as "harmonious personalities in dealing with different stresses that come from dealing with various people of all walks of life daily" Masuku (2016: 51). Henceforth, the role that taxi marshals play to ensure the safety of commuters cannot be underestimated. Indeed, taxi marshals are responsible for the general observation of the taxis, as well as the condition of the taxi drivers before they leave the taxi rank. In doing so, they ensure that the taxis are in good condition, and that taxi drivers are in the condition to drive.


SANTACO LOOKING TO DEPLOY MORE MARSHALS AT TAXI RANKS

Santaco says it needs government to pitch in to ensure the safety of passengers.

Figure 3: A newspaper article reporting on the plan by SANTACO to deploy more taxi marshals
Source: EWN, 2019

The picture in figure 3 above was sourced from a newspaper article written after a three-day conference organised by the Gauteng Community Safety Department after a spike in crime and sexual assaults in taxi ranks at the beginning of 2019 (Khoza, 2019). By deploying marshals, SANTACO was hoping to improve security. However, the article quotes general secretary of SANTACO Ralph Jones- "*If government can come to the part with us, that we take people for training, I am sure we can be empowered*"- thus showing a desire to collaborate with the government (EWN, 2019).

Taxi marshals in South Africa are only known for undertaking taxi-related duties. However, the role of marshals has been widely extended in the United Kingdom. The introduction of the Taxi Marshal Scheme by the municipalities and cities in the UK has been instrumental in keeping the inner-city centres well managed and controlled (Oxford City Council, n/a). The Taxi Marshals schemes in the UK was first introduced in 2005 in Hertfordshire, North London. With its success being noticeable and desired across the nation, it was further rolled out in four more towns (Watford, Stevenage, Hitchin and St Albans). Having been provided with training, their jobs transcended beyond maintaining order in the taxi ranks. Taxi marshals became an important part of city management and security personnel (Oxford City Council, n/a).

By recognizing the importance of taxi marshals in their cities, Oxford Council published on their website that "*...[they] have implemented a Taxi Marshal Scheme at various Taxi ranks in the City Centre*". Marshals have proven to be highly effective in other towns and cities in reducing illegal 'pick ups', controlling taxi queues, improving the safety of vulnerable persons, and dealing with confrontational situations" (Oxford City Council, n/a). This shift of the role of taxi marshals in the United Kingdom played a significant role in motivating the researcher to explore the role that taxi marshals play in South Africa and how that affects the taxi industry, and the urban spaces such as taxi ranks and intersections.

1.2 Inkabi nge mpela! Aim of the research

As gatekeepers of taxi industry spaces such as taxi ranks and loading terminals, taxi marshals most likely command some power and respect in the taxi industry. This research is aimed at understanding the amount of authority and discretion that they possess, how they utilise these as well as what this says about their influence in decision-making and other matters within the MBT industry.

1.3 Objectives of the research

This study seeks to investigate the role played by taxi marshals as 'custodians' of taxi industry spaces within urban environments. The study also seeks to understand the role that taxi marshals play in the MBT industry as a whole – the degree of their control within their taxi associations, their place/role within the broader shift of the transport sector in Johannesburg and Gauteng. The research also analyses the ways in which taxi marshals, as actors keeping a record of taxi fleet activity within taxi ranks as well as within certain designated taxi routes, are 'taxi industry bureaucrats' maintaining order and social control within the MBT industry. What draws special attention to this study is the fact that governance in the MBT industry is more-often-than-not misunderstood and portrayed in a bad light, and this has negative ramifications for the manner in which it is perceived in policymaking and implementation. By seeking to understand the practices and lived experiences of invisible MBT industry actors such as taxi marshals, we contribute to a very understudied but important research avenue. A better understanding of actors at the forefront of the MBT industry not only allows us to get to know them better but it also provides policymakers with a deeper knowledge of the MBT industry - the various actors playing a significant role in the efficient and effective operation of the taxi industry.

1.4 Formulating an enquiry on the taxi industry bureaucrats

To what extent do taxi marshals, as 'Taxi Industry Bureaucrats', influence the effective, safe, and compliant operation of the taxi industry?

Sub questions

- In what way are taxi marshals 'Street-level bureaucrats'?
- How do micro-scale decisions by taxi marshals affect the management and operation of the taxi industry?
- How do taxi marshals utilize urban spaces to control/ manage the taxi industry?

1.7 Sho't left: Jozi maboneng- Context of the research

In 2013, it was recorded that the overall 69% of households in South Africa use minibus taxi transport. This is a great contribution considering that the formal transport sector, bus, and rail services, only have a ridership of 20% and 10% respectfully. Furthermore, Walters (2007) recorded a daily ridership of about 14 million commuters, with each commuter spending an average of 65 minutes, and each taxi transporting about 3000 passengers monthly. However, the industry is affected by a large number of road accidents due to the behavior of taxi drivers (Walters, 2007). In 2017, SANTACO estimated that the taxi industry consists of over 300 000 minibus taxis, and has an average annual turnover of R50 billion. However, considering that taxi fares are unregulated, these revenue estimates are perceived as guesswork by Van Dalsen (2018). Nkambule and Govender (2014) assert that the taxi industry employs an estimated 200 000 employees. This figure comprises important stakeholders such as taxi drivers, taxi marshals, fare collectors, and vehicle washers.

To give a bit of context on Johannesburg- In 2016, the population of Johannesburg was 4 949 346, which is about half a million more than it was in 2011. Based on the current rate of 3.2%, Johannesburg residents make up 36% of the Gauteng population and 10% that of the nation. With a median age of 29, Johannesburg has a relatively young population. Although this young population may be an advantage for the economy, high levels of unemployment, poverty, and inequality are some challenges that it is faced with. In 2016, Johannesburg was recorded by the National travel survey to be among one of the cities with the highest inequality in the world. The survey noted a 28% unemployment rate in the province. Out of the 72% of the employed Johannesburg residents, about 78% were in the formal sector and 8% in the informal sector. Of course, the minibus taxi industry plays an indispensable role in the mobility of both formal and informal sector workers.

In fact, the minibus taxi industry is a dominant mode of transport in Johannesburg. There are currently 32 taxi associations in control of just over 1000 routes. There is at least 450 starting points from which both the short distance and long distance taxis are operated. Although the average route length for short distance taxis is 17.8 km in Johannesburg, the last survey on taxi routes in Johannesburg, which was conducted in 2002, recorded over 12 300 minibus taxis. To narrow down location of this study, a

route within the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality is explored in larger detail as a study area.

As depicted in figure 3 below, this study area is located in the Johannesburg city centre on a minibus taxi route operated by the Faraday Taxi Association. The route stems from Bree taxi rank to Zandspruit, which is located about 30km north of the Johannesburg City centre. Although the route is prolonged, this research will focus on specific areas where taxi Marshals working for the Faraday Taxi Association operate. These areas are Bree Taxi rank, Braamfontein, Auckland Park and Cresta. The details of the site will be explored further in Chapter 3 (Research methods) and Chapter 4 (Findings).

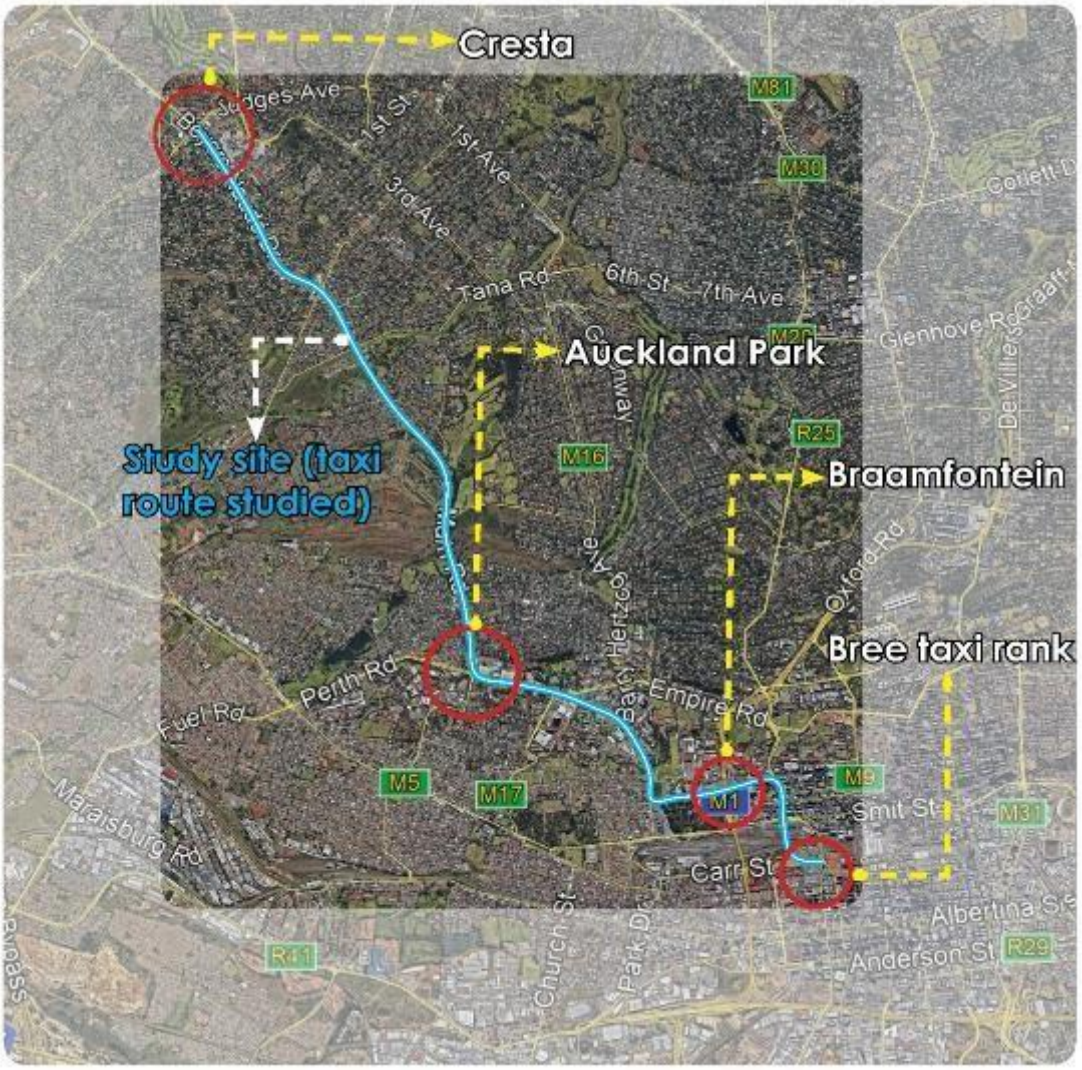


Figure 3: Extent of the site and Interview areas
Source: Author (Adapted from Google Maps)

Chapter 2: Established Knowledge- Literature Review

This chapter integrates and synthesises main arguments emanating from the literature I reviewed for this study. The chapter begins with a conceptual framework that outlines the theoretical concepts deemed central/critical for the study, doing this by bringing them together, showing their correlation as well as positioning them in the wider scope of the research topic. By this, I mean that the conceptual framework does not just highlight the main concepts and their connectedness; it also takes the form of an organogram as it situates taxi marshals in the 'wider scheme of things'. The diagrammatic illustration shows their positionality in the MBT sector and the transport sector as a whole, who they have close linkages with, their practices, and, to some extent, their power and how they wield it.

The third section unpacks the Weberian concept of bureaucracy paying close attention to the extent to which it relates to the MBT industry in general and taxi marshals in particular. I argue that bureaucratic organizations, such as the taxi associations themselves, are incapable of directly implementing their policies on the ground. They need frontline workers such as taxi marshals to do this. This then sets the tone for a discussion of the Lipskian concept of Street-level bureaucracy which, in essence, argues that policies are best studied where they are implemented as opposed to where they are drafted. As such, I introduce taxi marshals in the sixth section as frontline workers for taxi associations, as bureaucratic organizations, and the impact that they have on the operation of the taxi industry at large. Additionally, an international case on taxi marshals in Oxford is briefly explored to get a sense of how marshals could be understood as more than just 'queue marshals'.

In the seventh section, the concept of discretion is explored as it is possessed by frontline workers, in conjunction with the notion of 'practical norms'. This way, the research tries to understand discrepancies between written codes of conduct and rules 'hatched' on the ground, as they relate to the taxi marshal figure. The eighth section presents the Foucauldian concept of governmentality (conduct of conduct) to better understand the art of governing as carried out by non-state actors such as taxi marshals – how they govern themselves, each other, and other stakeholders in a

context of limited state interference/regulation. Additionally, the concepts of brokerage and patronage are utilized to briefly unpack the nature of relations between taxi marshals – as 'transmission belts' between drivers, passengers, and other stakeholders. The concluding section reflects on the relevance of all the presented concepts for the study.

2.1 Forging links between key objects and concepts

The following conceptual framework summarises the interrelations between different objects affecting taxi marshals and supplemented by concepts that are employed in this research to decrypt the interrelations between these actors. In a nutshell, the conceptual framework is built to understand marshals as professionals in their field. In doing so, it defines the larger context within which marshals are confined to- the association as a bureaucratic organization. Marshals actively play a role of gatekeepers of the associations (thus of the industry) in environments with no active supervision from the association. In some cases, marshals establish or 'invent' these spaces- an action which one can deduce as their way of (re)claiming their 'Right to the City'. In achieving this 'gatekeeping' duty, marshals tend to overlook official norms of the organization to depend on practical norms, which they impose through the discretion that they have as frontline workers, to make decisions. Their discretion is, however, enabled by the power interrelations they have with commuters and taxi operators. To decipher the power dynamics between these actors, the concept of 'governmentality' as built by Foucault is most appropriate. Through this concept, 'conduct of conduct'- where taxi marshals are understood to govern themselves, govern other actors, and allow other actors to govern them- is well understood. These microphysics of power between different actors involved in the day to day operation of the taxi industry is a central feature of this research. This is mainly because it is at the forefront where patronage/brokerage relationships occur- which affects the negotiations regarding decisions of profit, the safety of commuters, efficiency and reliability. These micro-interactions are in many cases the decisive factors in such conditions. These concepts are sketched below in a conceptual framework diagram which aims to show a correlation between different role players affecting the industry as well as the study's main concepts.

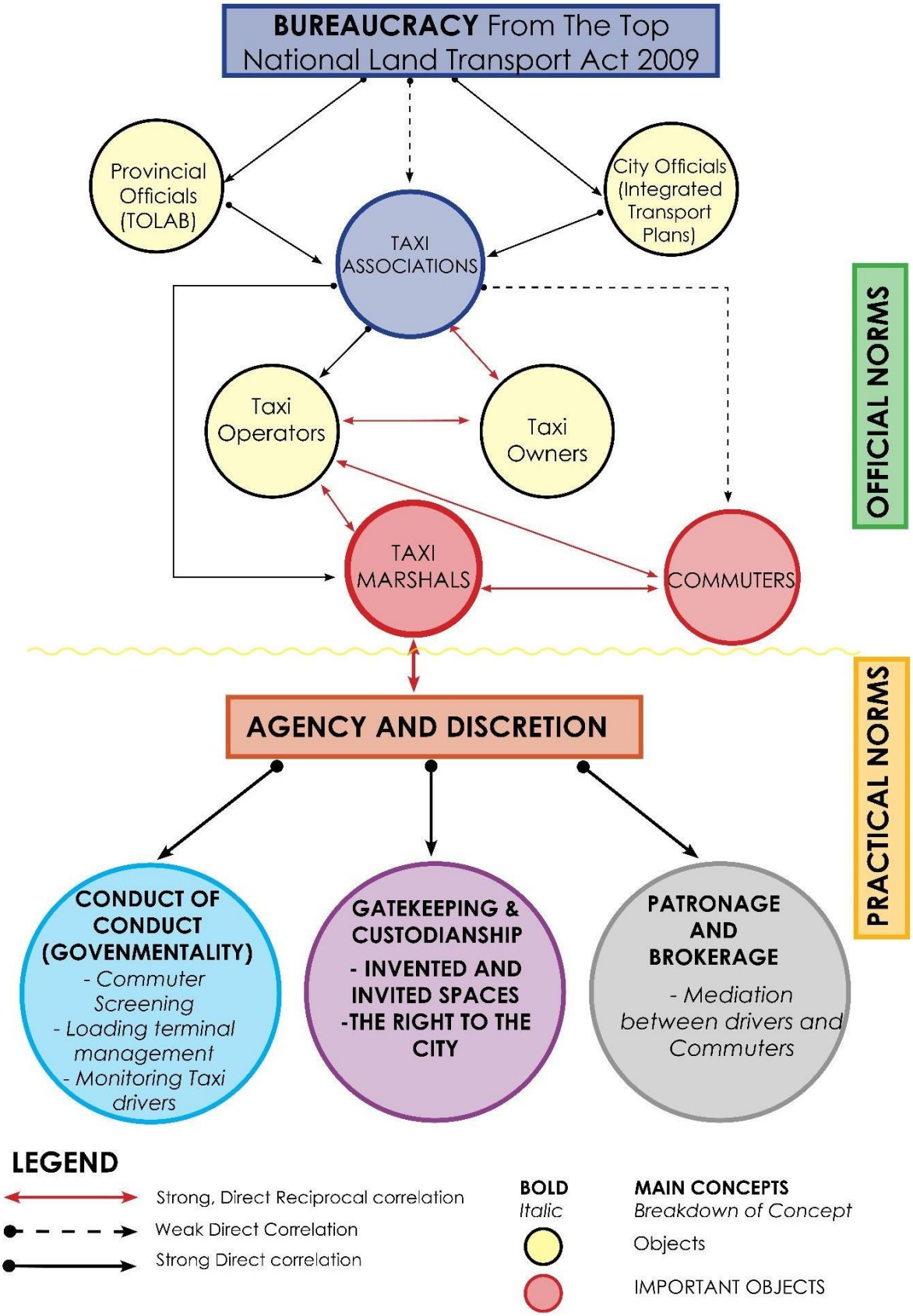


Figure 4: Graphic illustration of the main concepts
Source: Author

2.2 Introducing bureaucracy and bureaucratic organizations

The term Bureaucracy has its premise in mid-1700, in France (Albrow, 1970). The accord for the description and definition of the term has been precarious over the years. One common apprehension of the term is its command of power and authority, as well as its clique with the central state. Indeed, the Dictionary of the French Academy in 1798 defined Bureaucracy as: "Power, the influence of the heads and staff of government bureau" (Altay, 1999; Niskanen, 2017). Post World War 2, the discourse of bureaucracy was popular, with a prominent reference figure being Max Weber- a seminal German sociologist. Weber understands bureaucracy as a concept that is linked to three types of authority. Namely: traditional, charismatic, and rational authority. To elaborate, the conception of traditional authority by Max Weber is self-explanatory- a leader whose authority stems from the tradition, with the normative 'it has always been that way', taking advantage of the unwritten rules and history; Charismatic authority's power stems from the leader's obedience-commanding personalities; and Rational authority, the most relevant in this research, sits centrally in the absence of charismatic and traditional authorities in the modern era coated with complex administrative systems (Weber, 2015).

Weber's interest and research into social evolution were followed by the deduction that social behavior had come to be dominated by goal-oriented rationality- he refers to as zweckrational- and less by tradition, values, or emotions (Elwell, 1996; Metni, 2008). Hence bureaucracy, in Weber's terms, is characterized by hierarchically organized duties that are formally pre-determined through procedures, laws, and administrative rules; and division of tasks is undertaken in a non-personal and formal way by specialists (Page, 2003). Weber's model of bureaucracy works well in large organizations as an administrative apparatus used to achieve an effective machine-like system (Altay, 1999).

Weber's perspective has had a huge influence on thinkers and professionals' understanding of bureaucracy in the 19th century. It has played a significant role in understanding bureaucracy as a rational device to ensure the just and efficient delivery of public policy and services (Page, 2003; Altay, 1999). . In this case, it is evident that the taxi industry- as an informal, yet bureaucratic organization, does not occur in a vacuum. It exists in a framework of bureaucratic organizations and

bureaucratic regulations which directly impacts how it is run. And as a bureaucratic organization itself, it consists of procedures, laws, administration rules which govern marshals, operators, owners, and commuters.

2.3 Introduction to Street Level Bureaucrats as visible representatives of Bureaucratic organisations

In the 1970s, Michael Lipsky (1969), who had a keen interest in understanding how policies get operationalised on the ground, sought to understand the point of interaction between ordinary people and government officials. In so doing, he coined the concept of street-level bureaucracy and referred to state actors operating with citizens on the ground as Street-level bureaucrats. Thus, according to Lipsky, street-level bureaucrats (SLBs) are "those men and women who, in their face-to-face encounters with citizens, 'represent' government to the people" (Lipsky, 1980: 4). As such, bureaucratic organizations have to interact face-to-face with citizens or clients, with varying and complex circumstances daily, new challenges that cannot be resolved through calculations, rules, laws, and procedures arise, hence the need for SLBs. Therefore, the actions, decisions, and sanctions of SLBs is seen by clients or citizens, as organizational policy (Erasmus, 2015). However, the liberty of SLBs from organizational oversight gives them the freedom to exercise discretion in implementing organizational policy, thus gaining power and authority. (Rowe, 2012; Wright, 2003; Wise, 1989. However, considering the dependence on their judgment when completing tasks, the perceptions of SLBs may conflict with other groups within their organization, including their managers and co-workers. Also, the liberty from organizational authority as well as the discretion they possess may lead SLBs to perform contrary to the policies and goals it prescribes (Erasmus, 2015).

2.4 The Bureaucratic context of the industry

The concept of bureaucracy is brought into this research mainly as a tool to explore and understand the organizations, policies and legislation governing the minibus taxi industry. This way, factors that directly affect how marshals operate are brought up and explored. The taxi industry exists in a larger spectrum of a regulatory framework which highly influences its operation (Mhlanga, 2017). The diagram below summarises all the bureaucratic structures in place to impose procedures, laws, and administrative rules.

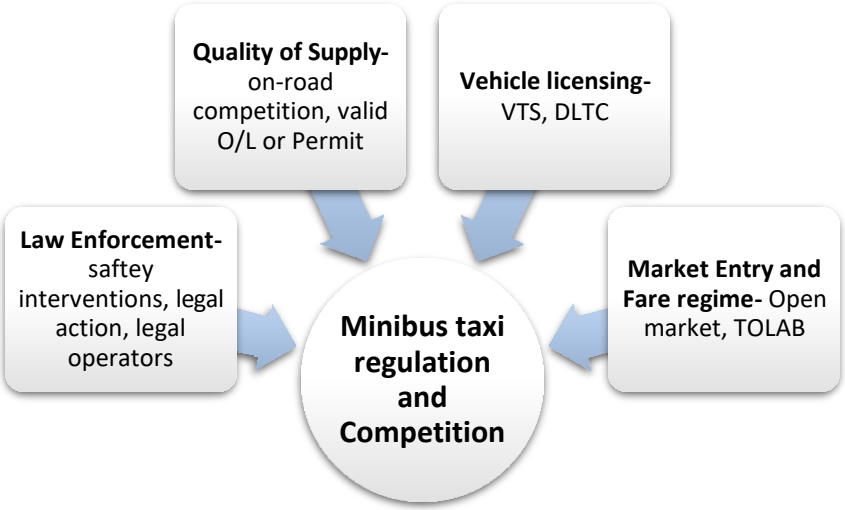


Figure 5: Representation of the bureaucratic structures influencing the taxi industry Source: Mhlanga, 2017

In this instance, the National Land Transport Act of 2009, through section 49, 56 and 73, acts as an enabling feature for the establishment of many bureaucratic organizations influencing how the taxi industry is run- including the Provincial Administration System, Transport Operating License Administration Boards, and Planning Authorities- which work in collaboration to oversee actions related to the establishment of taxi associations, determination of taxi routes and provision of operating licenses (City of Cape town, 2014; Walters, 2013; 2014). In addition to the regulatory entities discussed above, the taxi industry is also heavily affected by safety regarding driver fitness and the roadworthiness of the fleet (Mhlanga, 2017). In this regard, the Driver License Centres (DLTC) and Vehicle Testing Stations (VTS) play an important role in ensuring the quality of supply by regulating of driver fitness and the roadworthiness of the minibus taxis (Moyana and Chibira, 2016). The municipalities further extend this role by working as provincial agents to administer driver and vehicle licensing. The VTS is however mainly undertaken by independent service provides. In doing so, these independent service providers issue fitness certificates for each vehicle that has passed the assessment. By doing this, the VTSs can regulate the operation of vehicles on public roads, thus ensuring roadworthiness (Moyana and Chibira, 2016). However, these institutions are often undermined by motorists given their cost and time-consuming nature.

Fobosi (2019) through his work on the regulation of the taxi industry in Johannesburg renders its regulation from a sociological perspective. While recognizing that a

plethora of literature highlighted that the industry remains unregulated, Fobosi established that social and economic regulations provide some form of the regulatory framework within the minibus taxi industry. By social regulation, Fobosi argues that the industry is embedded in social control which serves as a guideline for it to function efficiently. As such, issues of health, safety, security, and the environment of taxi ranks are raised. It is important to note that these are the issues raised in the research question as subjects of this report.

The taxi industry itself also plays an important role in the enforcement of the law. The taxi industry itself consists of taxi associations, which are also bureaucratic organizations established to represent and protect their specific routes for the benefit of their taxi owners, operators, taxi marshals, and all other actors involved (Ngubani, 2016). However, the bureaucratic organizations in general, and taxi associations in particular, cannot effectively and directly interact with clients. It is for this reason that implementing agents, such as taxi marshals in the case of the taxi industry, is essential to act as visible representatives of these organizations.

2.5 Implications of Neo-liberal Governance on the traditional 'bureaucrat' –the emergence of Private SLBs

SLBs are often identified through a combination of four factors. First being that they are employed by the government; second, their constant interaction with citizens as part of their jobs; third, the independence they possess in decision making; and lastly their significant impact on the lives of their clients (Hupe and Hill, 2015). These conditions are a useful tool to measure if taxi marshals 'qualify' as SLBs. One important condition that is of interest to this research is that of 'being employed by the government'. Being aware that taxi marshals are not employees of the government, does it then mean that they are disqualified as SLBs? This question can only be answered through an exploration of the role that neoliberalism has had over the years in transforming how the government is structured.

The diffusion of government since the 1980s through influences of New Public Management and globalization played a major role in merging collaborative relations between the state and private actors (Robicheau and Lynn, 2009:22). The division of labor between the state and the private sector has changed and became much more hybrid. As a consequence, the involvement of the private sector in public

sector affairs has a significant impact on the traditional/ideal 'bureaucrat'. It shifts the perception of a bureaucrat from the sole association with the state administration to an actor whose role is to implement traditionally public tasks (Cotoi, 2011; Sager et al, 2014). Therefore, a principal-agent relationship between the public and private sector has emerged to allow for an effective delegation of public tasks to private actors.

In this case, considering a central role that the minibus taxi industry plays in the public transport sector in South Africa, particularly in terms of mobility and access for the marginalized, it would be appropriate to argue that it provides a service which should traditionally be supplied by the public sector (National Travel Survey, 2014; Fobosi, 2019; Fourie, 2005). With this analogy, it can be said that since the minibus taxi industry is within the private/informal sector, it is performing public tasks, however not formally outsourced. With the taxi associations being incapable of directly interacting with commuters and taxi operators at the frontlines, they utilize the services of taxi marshals. As SLBs, marshals are mainly employed for several key factors- to ensure loading order between taxi operators, a proper queue between commuters, and enforcing official norms of the organization. Considering that taxi marshals represent the association to both commuters and taxi operators, this research sees both these actors as clients of taxi marshals.

2.6 Governance of the Self: Exploring governmentality and microphysics of power interrelations between key players in the industry

In studying taxi marshals, this research has come across many interesting interactions between taxi marshals, taxi operators, and commuters. The relationships, partnerships, and engagements between these actors in many instances reflect power dynamics that happen on the ground-where policy is implemented. In trying to decipher these interrelations, a turn towards the Foucauldian understanding of power-play/ dynamics at a very localised level is required. In this research, the focus is on "*…meticulous, often one-minute techniques [by taxi marshals] which control the behavior of a collective*" (Sokhi-Bulley, 2014). In this setting, the laws become secondary to tactics- which are essential in observing the power relations that produce governor/governed) relations. To encapsulate the tactics or what Lemke (2000) refers to 'technologies of power', Foucault, through his series of lectures

between 1977-78 titled *Security, Territory, and Population*, coins the concept "governmentality".

The concept of governmentality has over time been seen as a deranging term of Foucault's work as it plays a decisive role in his analytics of power in several regards. First, it provides a new perspective on power which sees beyond both consensus and violence. In this sense, instead of assuming a macro-perspective of the state and focusing on power holders, Foucault emphasized the investigation of the microphysics of power and anonymous strategies. In his study, Foucault found that power is more about guidance-governing the forms of self-governance, structuring, and shaping the field of possible action of subjects. However, conceptualizing power as a guide does not in any way dismiss the coercive and consensus forms of power. Instead, it raises coercion and consensual forms of power as 'elements' or 'instruments' of power, rather than as the source of power relationships (Foucault, 1982: 219-222).

The second feature of governmentality is that it aligns technologies of self with technologies of domination, as well as the formation of the subject.

"*…[one] has to take into account the interaction between those two types of techniques – techniques of domination and techniques of the self. He has to take into account the points where the technologies of domination of individuals over one another have recourse to processes by which the individual acts upon himself. And conversely, he has to take into account the points where the techniques of the self are integrated into structures of coercion and domination. The contact point, where the individuals are driven by others is tied to the way they conduct themselves, is what we can call, I think government…*" (Foucault, 1993: 204).

By adopting the notion of government to investigate the relations between technologies of the self and technologies of domination, Foucault (1988) understood the 'governing' of the people beyond their expectation to abide by what the 'governor' wants. Rather, he sees 'governing' as a flexible and imperfect balance between the two technologies. Hence Foucault is invested in the how of government-how governing happens and how it is thought. Foucault's understanding of the word government is unique. He argues that the word 'government' must be allowed the very broad meaning it had in the sixteenth century. 'Government' did not refer only to political structures or to the management of states; rather, it designated how the

conduct of individuals or groups might be directed…to govern, in this sense, is to control the possible field of action of others.

To further illustrate the individual's capacity for self-control, Foucault (1993) uses the processes of subjectivation. Lemke (2000) believes that subjectivation renders the work of Foucault more precise and concrete. In establishing this argument, Foucault assumes that power is not wielded through oppression but rather through the manufacturing of "individuals". The accentuation of the double meaning of 'subject' by Foucault works well to establish the point of this section as an important thrust of this research. First, as a self-aware topic of something (subject), secondly, as something which is controlled (subjected).

This notion of 'subject' and 'subjected' is preferred in this study because it signifies the ability of taxi marshals, commuters and taxi operators to exert their individual power towards one another- thus allowing themselves to be subjected to each other. Through these interactions between taxi marshals, commuters and taxi operators, it is easy to apply Foucault's notion that 'governmentality' is simply the problem of government- which put bluntly, is how to govern oneself, how to be governed, by whom should we accept to be governed and how to be the best possible governor.

In translating the verb 'govern', a French verb 'gouverner' covers a range of meanings relating to acts of control, direct, motion and support. Furthermore, Sokhi-Bulley (2014), through her study of Foucault's work, notes that the verb 'govern' also has a moral meaning of 'to be in a relationship of command' or 'to conduct someone'. By accentuating the term conduct, a concise deduction to the definition of governmentality as the 'conduct of conduct' was made by Sokhi-Bulley (2014). 'Conduct of Conduct' can be loosely translated as the regulation (conduct) of behaviours (conduct). Hence, 'governmentality' aims to produce a government[able] subject.

Many scholars such as Govender (2006), Lomme (2008) as well as Vilakazi and Governder (2014) argue that the taxi industry is unregulated- thus denote or conclude that it is chaotic. However, this research uses the conception of governmentality to understand 'chaos' associated with the taxi industry as 'organized chaos'. The urban dictionary (2020) defines 'organized chaos' as *"a term used to describe an area, room, etc. which looks extremely messy, but the owner knows exactly where everything is"*. This definition merges well with how marshals are understood in this

research as bureaucrats of a seemingly chaotic industry- which they are expected to micro-manage. In so doing, this research looks to utilize the concept of 'governmentality' to reflect on how micro-interactions between key role players in the day to day operation of the minibus taxi industry actively, as well as passively, play a central role in the regulation of the minibus taxi industry. The concept of governmentality is profusely applicable in the study of the minibus taxi industry in SA. In particular, the micro-engagements between taxi marshals, taxi operators, and commuters are of great interest to explore this concept of governmentality. The rationale is that since the taxi industry is seen as unregulated, the role players in charge of the minibus taxi industry, as well as those who are affected by it, at the micro-interaction level are in fact providing some form of regulation. In a nutshell, by adopting the notion of 'conduct of conduct', an understanding of how taxi marshals govern themselves, how they govern others (taxi operators and commuters), and how they are in turn governed by others is sought. These interactions of government between these role-players within the minibus taxi industry play a significant role in its regulation.

This ability

2.7 'For my friends everything'- Studying implications of SLBs use of practical norms and discretion

In investigating the micro-managements of the daily operation of the taxi industry, the notion of practical norms which as profusely studied by Sardan (2008) is an important theoretical avenue to explore. To define, "practical norms…are the various informal, de facto, tacit or latent norms that underlie the practices of actors that diverge from the official norms" (De Herdt and Sardan, 2015: 8). To further illustrate the notion of practical norms and set it aside from official norms, De Herdt and Sardan (2015: 8) raises the double game practised by political 'patrons' to display power through the quotation of a popular slogan they use: "*For my friends, anything, for my enemies, the law*". This slogan sums up the point of the existence of the concepts of clientelism/brokerage and practical norms- to bend the law in the name of fractional interests.

To deduce this analogy into perspective, the taxi industry does not depend entirely on formal regulation for its day to day operations. The practical norms are in most

cases applied during the interactions between taxi marshals, taxi operators, and commuters to serve as a guide for the regulation of the industry. Since the association does provide a basic framework of rules, this research draws more interest in how the decisions are made at the micro-engagement level to ensure that the industry runs safely, effectively and is reliable. This understanding of the notion of practical norms and its significance leaves an important question to consider later in this research: How are practical norms used by taxi marshals and what are the implication from diverting from the official norms (rules)?

Lipsky identified three dilemmas that SLBs are faced with. The first challenge is inadequate resources. For adequate job performance, SLBs need organizational resources, with manpower/client ratio being the most important, as well as personal resources, where time to make decisions and act is the most important. The second condition identified by Lipsky (1969) is ambiguous and contradictory job performance expectations. The third and last condition is the prevalence of psychological and physical threats, as well as regular confrontation of their authority.

In light of the above-discussed challenges faced by SLBs, Lipsky raised some institutional mechanisms, strategies, routines, and simplifications which SLBs integrate into their behaviour to alleviate the bureaucratic problems (Sabel, 2012). In a setting comprising of inadequate resources, SLBs develop shortcuts to accomplish their jobs with less difficulty and dedicate the constrained resources to a large pool of demand. To reduce threats to their physical and psychological well-being, they develop routines and simplifications (Lipsky, 1969). In doing so, SLBs may use avoidance strategies to evade involvement, including the utilization of ploys, including the phrase 'it's the law', to avoid personal involvement. Through these strategies, SLBs alter formal norms of their organizations by using their instincts, stereotypes and context-based experience to identify and avoid these dilemmas. These instincts, stereotypes and context-based experience used by SLBs is better explored through the concept of 'discretion'.

Taking a look inside the realities of Lipsky's concept of SLB, the concept of discretion emerges at the core of the theory. Discretion can be defined as the latitude possessed by front line workers to interpret rules when implementing programs, thus rendering them de facto policymakers. Evans (2010) sees discretion as an extent of freedom possessed by an employee to exercise in a specific context. While studying discretion,

important questions of exploration are 1) how does SLBs' discretion affect their clients, and 2) how does discretion influence the attitude and work produced by SLBs? In answering these questions, Tummers and Bekkers (2014) have developed a theoretical framework to explore the effects of discretion. The first effect is the client meaningfulness. This effect looks at discretion through the perspective of clients. This way, discretion is seen as a mechanism to increase the meaningfulness of the policy/task/ rules for clients. This effect is closely related to an economic concept of customer utility in that the more discretion SLBs have, the more their services are can satisfy their clients (Meyers and Vorsanger, 2011).

The second effect of discretion is the Willingness to implement. Through his study of 'policy alienation', Tummers (2011) asserted that affording SLBs discretional power increases their enthusiasm to implement the policy. This is based on the assumption that SLBs want to make a difference in their clients' lives, hence discretion allows for the fluidity of options to do so. The realization of the power of their discretion affords SLBs a step up towards helping clients, thus enhancing their enthusiasm to implement policy.

Having justified how much of a big factor discretion is in the work of frontline workers, it becomes interesting to think of it in the context of taxi marshals. Taxi marshals work on the streets with thousands of clients (commuters) from diverse communities and are in charge of the highly controversial minibus taxi operators. Of course, one can only assume that taxi marshals alike are challenged with complex situations that cannot be simply solved by association rules. As such, in the context of the study, we become interested in exploring the extent to which marshals exercise their discretion as well as the implications that it has for both commuters, taxi operators, their respective taxi associations and the transport policy as a whole.

2.8 'The right to the city'-The appropriation of urban spaces and insurgent economic participation in the city

Urbanization, environmental awareness, social activism, and spatial innovations have been largely used to contest human rights instruments in the 1960s. With human rights being in the spotlight, 'the right to the city' as a concept was inspired and burgeoned quickly among urbanism and human geography scholars (Brown and Kristiansen, 2008; and Harvey, 2012). A French sociologist and philosopher Henri Lefebvre is a

pioneer of the concept of 'the right to the city' through his two publications which explores direct, rather than passive, democracy, rights, and citizenship. His first major writing on the City was in 1968 with a publication of his book 'The Right to The City', followed later by another publication titled 'Production of the Space in 1973'. Throughout his former publication, Lefebvre (1968) raised critiques towards the traditional city around him: "…its use-value is being overwhelmed by the exchange value resulting from the commodification of urban assets" (Lefebvre, 1996: 67). Purcell (2003: 100) interprets Lefebvre's conception/utopia as a city that "…enfranchise citizens to participate in the use and production of urban spaces". Hence, Brown and Kristiansen (2008: 15) assert that 'the right to the city' entails just more than access to the city but more- "to remake the city in a different image, defining a new urban common".

Henceforth, two principal rights were raised by Henry Lefebvre- The right to participate and The right to appropriate- where the former raises the centrality of the voice of citadins in decisions that affect their urban spaces- and where the latter aligns with Lefebvre's understanding of space as a social construct in The production of Space (Lefebvre, 1973). The right to appropriate is of interest to this research. The advocacy for citadins to not only occupy what already exists but to actively create and alter the city as their own- so that it becomes a resource in which their needs can be achieved (Purcell, 2003)- resonates largely with the use of urban spaces by the taxi industry, particularly taxi marshals.

Furthermore, the active role of insurgence in producing these seemingly illegal socio-economic urban spaces by the taxi marshals, and the taxi industry in general, can be closely attributed to the 'invented spaces of activism' by Miraftab (2004) and Ay and Miraftab (2016). To define, invented spaces are informal spaces of citizenship where "...collective actions by marginalized communities that directly confront the authorities and challenge the status quo [is taken]" (Shrestha and Aranya, 2015: 428). An example of invented spaces, as understood by this definition, would be a community protest. In such a case, the community itself would be creating its own platform of participation, and challenging the state on issues that were otherwise taken as "business as usual". In contrast, invited spaces would be a community meeting chaired by a government representative that discusses issues that affect the community and what the state plans to do about them. Although Miraftab (2016) and Shrestha and Araya (2015) write of invented spaces as spaces of democratic

participation, this research extends this understanding to include economic participation. Particularly in informal settings where the presence of taxi marshals in these spaces is seen as illegal, and their persistence in these spaces is seen is an act of insurgence.

In the taxi industry, urban public spaces, particularly taxi ranks and intersections where taxi marshals work, are of central value for their role- as both loading and offloading-terminals of commuters. Having said so, some of the urban spaces, particularly those that are occupied by taxi marshals, are not recognized as taxi spaces, particularly by the government. In fact, some of the respondents, which will be discussed fully in the fourth chapter, have reported how their presence in these spaces is seen as 'illegal' by the metro-police and owners of the properties they worth close to. However, by occupying these spaces and making use of them to serve their economic interests as well as the social interests of commuters, taxi marshals are at large actively living and exploring the 'right to the city', while producing new urban spaces in the existing city around them. It is for this precise reason that employing 'the right to the city' theoretical lens is of value in this research.

2.10 Conclusion

Although the role that taxi marshals may not be popular and well researched, their role in the taxi industry as 'custodians' of loading spaces in the taxi ranks and other urban spaces, including intersections and changing spots, is of central importance. It is due to this role of taxi marshals that this research finds a link between the theory of SLBs and the taxi industry through taxi marshals and urban spaces. The understanding of the researcher is that by using their discretion, which is based largely on queer, morality, safety, liveability and the public good, SLBs are able to control the way urban spaces work, which in turn affects how taxi operators, owners and commuters carry themselves around the taxi industry spaces. As such, taxi marshals directly micro-manage and are responsible for creating order within a chaotic industry - thus remedying the chaos into "organized chaos". As this is mainly a hypothesis, this research aims to explore this role of taxi marshals in more detail to further understand the relationship between SLBs and Urban spaces, and how it affects the taxi industry in general.

Chapter 3: Research Methods- 'Small small'- Ungashayi umnyango

Taxi marshals became an important part of city management and security personnel. The shift in the roles played by taxi marshals in the United Kingdom provided the principal motivation and impetus for a focus on the potential for a similar shift in the South African context. How this would then affect the taxi industry more broadly in logistical and strategic terms forms the key basis for this particular enquiry and research. Furthermore, the impact on urban spaces such as taxi ranks and intersections locate this work physically. The research approach to this study is of imperial importance considering the volatility of the taxi industry in South Africa. The figure below provides a summary of the research approach pursued in this study.

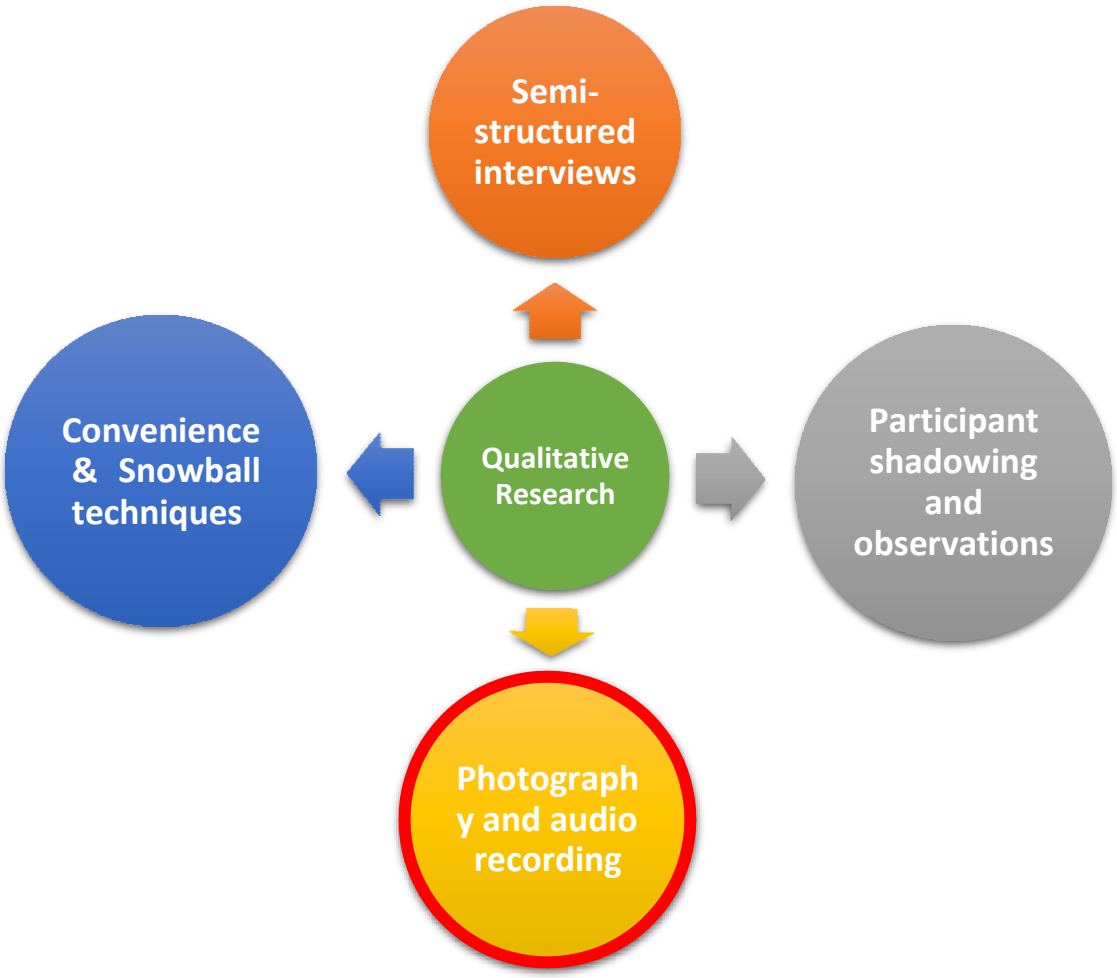


Figure 6: A summary of the research methods

This chapter attempts to cover how the research will be carried out, and how the data will be collected and analysed to effectively respond to the research question. The researcher begins by briefly reflecting on his personal experience in the industry, and how this helped in making decisions regarding research methods and to ensure his own safety. However, recognising that his perceptions about the industry may affect the findings, the researcher employs an approach that allows the opinions and understanding of the participants to take precedence.

3.1 Out of the comfort zone: Reflecting on the researcher

Having used taxi as a primary mode of transport for most of my life, and the taxi-related news being in the mainstream media and social media every day, I had a general understanding of the discourse around the taxi industry, and the role that taxi marshals play at the taxi ranks before the commencement of this research. However, having grown up in a small town and only migrating to Johannesburg five years before this research, my understanding of the depth of these issues has significantly changed. In small towns, the depth of taxi-related issues is not as intense as in Johannesburg considering that the market is not as heavily contested, and it is not receiving attention in the mainstream media.

In view of the controversies surrounding the taxi industry in Johannesburg, there has been an array of stories emerging which contributed to the portrait of the taxi industry as highly volatile and horrendous. These stories have been perpetuated over time by media and soap productions such as 'Ye ke Kgwebo Yaka ye'- a late 90s local television soap based primarily on the industry from the perspective of taxi owners, and 'iSibaya', which is a contemporary soap, also based on the taxi industry in Johannesburg from the perspective of both taxi owners and drivers. Hence it is interesting for me to explore the taxi industry from the perspective of taxi marshals, which is generally an untold trajectory in a scholarly sense.

However, besides these stories, my own experience of the industry over the past 5 years has been highly influential in making decisions regarding the research topic, as well as the approach. Although these preconceived views that may have been biased were influential for my general understanding of the industry and safety, I went into the fieldwork with an open mind to allow findings an opportunity to induce a new lens of the industry. Inasmuch as I was sceptical about pursuing research related to

the taxi industry, the curiosity to learn and understand such an important part of the public transport from a different stance in order to contribute to the contemporary discourses around it was a primary motivation.

3.2 Meeting the manager and waiting for the board- Securing permission to do research

With the research based on the participation of taxi marshals, taxi drivers, and potentially association representatives, permission was required from the Taxi Association. Doing so, however, was not as easy as anticipated. In fact, I spent over 6 months attempting to get hold of the Faraday Taxi Association senior representatives. Having been able to easily get access to taxi marshals who work on-site, I requested contact details of the taxi association's senior representatives on two occasions from two different marshals working on two different parts of the site. Although on the first occasion taxi marshals did not give me any problems getting the contact details, it was disappointing to find that the cell phone number provided did not go through. I then went to the taxi rank in an attempt to directly speak to any senior representative of the association. However, taxi marshals and drivers at the taxi rank were not keen on helping me get in contact with them. I was constantly told that I had just crossed directions with one of the representatives. Hence I was either told I was "too early or too late".

After going to the taxi rank persistently for over a month, I was eventually pointed to the direction of a white kombi, where I could find "abo one", which is a taxi slang for the senior representatives. I found only one representative in the kombi and introduced myself and the desired study. The study was well understood and accepted from the start by the association representative. Again, things were not as easy as I had anticipated. The association representative that I spoke to had to schedule a meeting with the association board and inform them of the request to conduct research on one of their routes. A letter requesting permission from the association, as well as a list with all the questions which will be posed to taxi marshals, taxi drivers, and association representatives, were requested. Considering that time was not on my side, I had already drafted an agreement form, which was submitted with all the requested information.

The meeting was held a few days later, with the outcome being that the chairman would go through all the documents, sing and return them. I had to go to the taxi rank every morning before work to check if the chairman had signed the letter. However, this was not the case as weeks went by without any communication from the chairman. In response to this delay, I had to request the association representative to contact the chairman of the association to check if he had signed the documents. The outcome was that the chairman was too busy and was never around the taxi rank to deliver signed documents. Hence the representative opted to sign the agreement letter himself considering that he is always around the taxi rank and that the board did not object to the study in the first place. However, the signed permission letter had no stamp, as the association leader highlighted that it was not available at the moment.

3.3 Using Qualitative Research methods

In conducting research interrogating the role assumed by taxi marshals in the taxi industry, the study of lived spaces, experiences, and interactions between taxi marshals, taxi operators, and commuters is required. To effectively explore this research and achieve reliable findings, I aim to employ research methods that would yield composite data open to interpretation and different views. For this reason, a phenomenological approach to collecting qualitative data will be employed.

Qualitative research can be defined as a collection and observation of non-numerical data. Instead of quantifying the problem, the qualitative research approach attempts to understand reasons, motivations, and opinions (Phillip, 1998). Through qualitative research, the complexities of the depth of the problem can be understood through data collection methods such as analysis of documents and materials, direct observations, pictures, and semi-structured interviews (Gray, 2013). Hence these five data collection methods will be used to investigate the daily practices of taxi marshals- particularly how they contribute to the safety of commuters, efficiency, reliability and adherence of taxi operators to regulations- and how they establish relationships with taxi operators and commuters to make their jobs easier and more profitable.

3.4 Picking the Sample- Utilizing non-probability sampling techniques

In carrying out the fieldwork for this study, non-probability sampling was used to collect the qualitative data. Non-probability sampling can be defined as a sampling technique in which the researcher selects samples based on his subjective judgment rather than on random selection (Schillewaert et al, 1998). Out of the 7 different types of probability sampling techniques, this research employed mainly two- convenience sampling and snowball sampling.

3.4.1 Convenience sampling- picking the site for easy access to taxi marshals

Convenience sampling is a technique where participants are selected because they are conveniently available to the researcher/ participants are easy to recruit (Etikan and Bala, 2017). It is the most common non-probability sampling method because it is cost-effective, fast and easy to access the sample.

Considering that the researcher stayed in Braamfontein during the course of this study, the taxi marshals he had easy access to work in Braamfontein and Bree taxi rank. Hence the route picked starts in Bree taxi rank and passes through Braamfontein as depicted in figure 7 above. After doing a desktop study on routes that begin in Bree and pass through Braamfontein, it was easy to identify the study area. In this sense, the closest route was picked to easily access the participants. Although it would have been interesting to use different routes belonging to different associations, it is important to note that only one association- Faraday taxi association- was deliberately chosen. This was to avoid having the researcher being seen as a 'double agent' or a 'spy'- if he had chosen more than one association. Hence he had to be seen only with the Faraday Taxi rank employees and managers. This way, he able to earn the trust (and the approval) of the association.

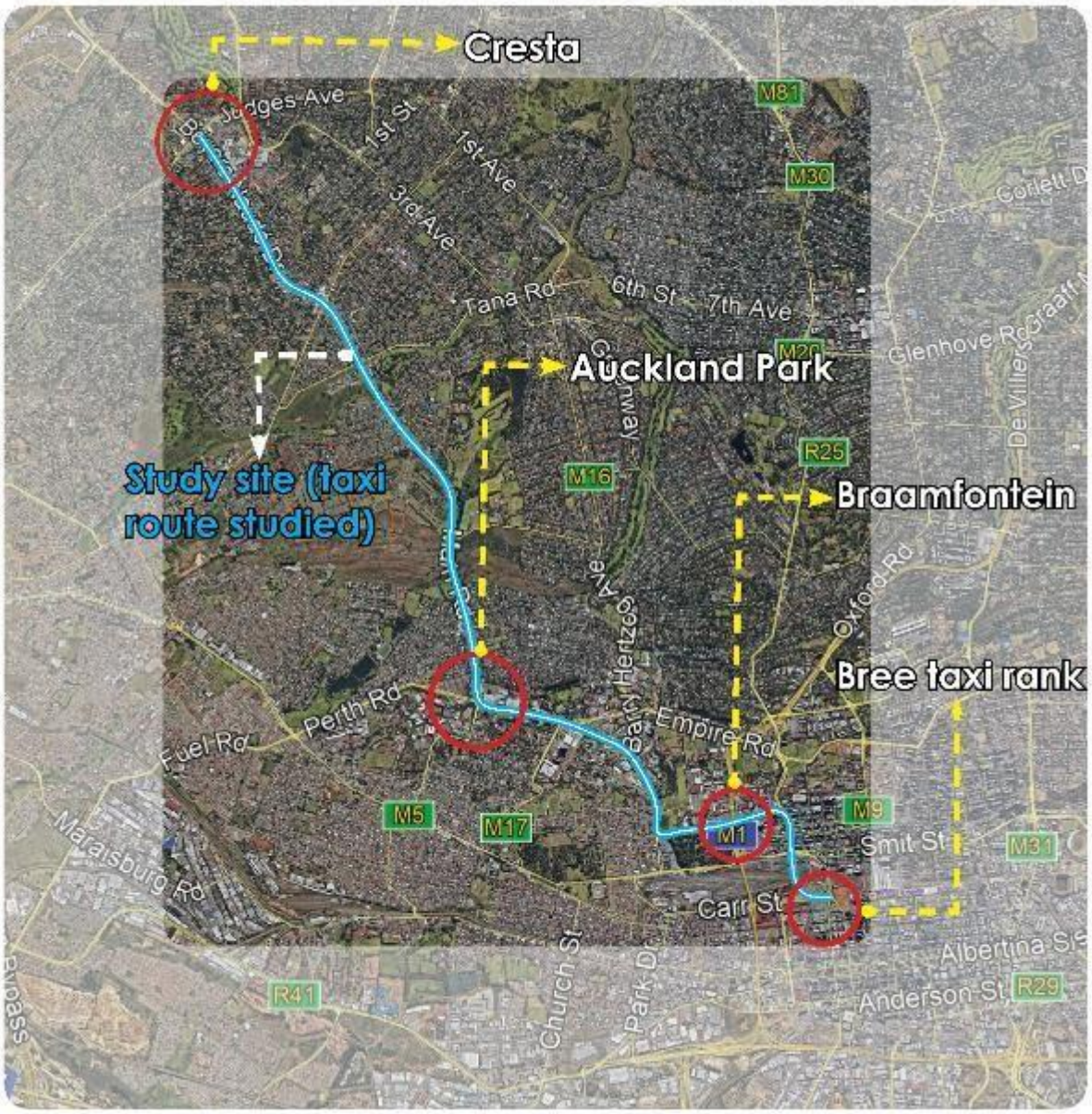


Figure 7:Introducing the study site and interview areas
Source: Author

3.4.2 Snowball sampling- depending on participants' networks for the sample

On this route, however, the number of taxi marshals is limited, and they are not easy to identify for someone who does not use the route regularly. Hence the researcher relied on the second sampling technique- Snowball sampling. The Snowball sampling technique is dependent on the network the researcher establishes during the study. This is a useful technique when the researcher has little or no knowledge of the organization to study (Tansey, 2007). Hence, contact with one person from the

organization may direct the researcher to more potential participants. Basically, this sampling technique works similarly to a referral program. However, the sample for this has to be small. If not, it will be difficult to use when it becomes larger (Etikan, 2016). Below is a table of all the participants who made part of this study.

Table 1: Summary of participants in the study

Position	Age	Years in position	Location	Pseudonym
Taxi Marshal	48	25	Bree (at the back)	Sfiso
Taxi Marshal	36	7	Bree (terminal)	Themba
Taxi Marshal	35	5	Braamfontein	Tinyiko
Taxi Marshal	42	12	Aucklandpark	Thato
Taxi Marshal	47	8	Cresta	Peter
Driver	33	15	From Bree	Jacob
Driver	40	10	From Bree	Radebe
Manager	63	34	Bree	Mr Ngcobo

From the above table, the first contact person was the association manager- who directed the researcher to the two marshals at the taxi rank, who subsequently gave him directions to other taxi marshals outside the taxi rank. However, it was not easy to identify taxi marshals outside the taxi rank. This is due to the fact that most of them (except one) do not wear a uniform. They look like regular commuters waiting for a taxi. Therefore, the researcher had to ask who the taxi marshal was when at the site. However, in some cases, the researcher had a clue who the marshal could be due to the noise they make calling for commuters to come to get a taxi to their destination.

3.5 Data collection methods

3.5.1 Securing the semi-structured interviews

In utilizing the qualitative approach, this research will employ its methods of data collection, particularly interviews, participant observation, and conversations. With an assumption of constrained time and to avoid undue influence by researcher on the

field, this research will take an advice by Lester (1999) for "minimum structure and maximum depth" by utilizing semi-structured interviews.

According to Simon (2006) semi-structured interviews possess a mixed format, making them desirable for diverse range of situations. For this study, this data collection method will be utilized particularly because of its reliance on the perceptions, preferences and behaviour in reaction to particular circumstances. Semi-structured interviews are dependent on subjective opinions and views of the participants; hence it is preferred that they are completed through a face to face encounter which may take between 45 and 50 minutes (Simon, 2006). Through this method open-ended questions were posed to research participants. To effectively respond to the research question, the interviews for this study focused on extracting as much information on the influence that the taxi marshals have over the safety of commuters, diffusion of taxi conflicts, efficiency of the taxi industry and adherence of rules and regulation by taxi operators. Also, in understanding the rules and regulations as well as the significance of the role played by taxi marshals in the industry, the association leader and two taxi operators were interviewed.

The interviews took place at the taxi rank, as well as in the streets where taxi marshals outside the taxi ranks operate. Considering that the researcher did not make appointments with taxi marshals, and that they are busy throughout the day, the taxi marshals interviewed could not give him their full attention. Some of the taxi marshals, would talk to commuters and give instructions to taxi drivers, and in most cases asking the researcher to follow them around. However, inasmuch as this was not expected by the researcher, it was helpful as part of the observations and also gave the researcher the time to make notes.

It is important to note that the researcher had to translate his interview questions to Sepedi as in most cases the participants preferred not to use English. However, none of the taxi marshals spoke Sepedi. They spoke Zulu, Tsonga and Sotho. Although the researcher understands a bit of these languages, he may have missed some important information as he is not proficient.

Out of the five taxi marshals interviewed, it is important to report that two of the taxi marshals asked the researcher for "cool drink" money, which he felt obliged to pay. The researcher gave each of them R50 at the end of the interviews.

3.5.2 Participant shadowing and observations

Participation observation is a study that seeks to provide an in-depth description of in-life worlds of the participants of a study in order to understand their insider perspectives and practices (Mouton, 2001). As a data collection technique, participant observation particularly helpful in finding answers to research questions is mainly interested complex social inter-relations (Quinlan, 2008). Therefore, considering that one of the objectives of this study aims to understand the micro-engagements and interactions between taxi marshals, taxi operators and commuters, this data collection technique will be essential.

To employ this technique in this research, the researcher had to first get the permission from the association manager to undertake the research on one of the routes of the association. It was not easy to obtain the permission from the association (this is explained in more detail later in the chapter). Although the initial plan was to spend more time in the taxi rank and on changing spots with taxi marshals, this was not the case. Considering that the researcher worked on weekdays, he could only go to the taxi rank on weekends and on week days in the morning between 6am and 8am before work, and in the afternoon between 5pm and 6pm after work to observe. Although this was not enough time to conduct research in a way that was initially desired, more was learnt during this time than any other time about the taxi rank, taxi industry and taxi marshals in general. This is mainly because it is the busiest time in the taxi rank as people are rushing to work and drivers are starting their day at work.

However, before progressing with the observations, the researcher had to introduce himself to the taxi marshals and inform them of the research. The marshals in the taxi rank were happy to give their consent to the researcher for observation and interviews afterwards. However, the taxi marshals outside the taxi rank were not as eager initially. Bearing in mind that most of them do not wear uniform, the researcher had to ask who the taxi marshal was in order to request consent to continue with the observation. However, marshals were initially not keen to speak to the researcher. Only after explaining to them that he was a student and doing research did the marshals start talking to the researcher. At one point, the researcher was warned not to ask who the taxi marshal was without introducing himself first as they are living in fear. One of the marshals made the researcher aware that asking questions about their identity is risky. He illuminated his paranoia as their enemy is unknown, and the attack is often eminent

from suspicious people, of which the researcher may have came across as. For this reason, when anyone suspicious ask questions related to the identity of the taxi marshal, driver or owner, they attack first to protect themselves. Having learnt this important lesson, the researhcer proceeded with caution by producing the permission letter signed by the taxi association leaders, the participant information sheet with Wits letterheads and the consent forms whenever approaching a potential participant.

3.5.3 Photography and recording

"…*Photographs and images alike are powerful tools that can describe actions, emotions and moods of humans…it is easier to think in pictures than in words*" (Erdner, 2010: 146).

Following Erdner's advocacy for the use of photography in supplementing observations, the researcher aimed to employ photography as a data collection technique. However, it was unfortunate that some taxi marshals were not keen to be photographed or recorded. Even after producing the permission letter from the association, my Wits student card, and participant information sheet, most of the marshals directed the researcher not to take pictures or record them citing that they do not want to hear their voices on the radio or see their pictures on the newspapers. Additionally, as I was personally uncomfortable and fearing for my safety throughout the fieldwork, I was content with not taking pictures in taxi spaces. This, however, affected the data collected as I depended heavily on the notes I took during the interviews. The lack of pictures in this study also affects the presentation and credibility of the data collected. Having pictures would have provided a better visual context to my findings and observations.

3.6 Ethical considerations

As highlighted in the previous sections, the data for this research was mainly collected mainly through interaction and engagement with taxi marshals, taxi operators and the association representatives. Vulnerable groups were not an interest of this research and were not interviewed or involved in any way, thus reducing ethical issues considered. However, considering that the interviews and observations made in the taxi ranks and in public spaces outside the taxi ranks, some vulnerable persons may have been encountered as either commuters or pass byers. Hence throughout the

study, the researcher was aware of the presence of these groups and ensured little or no contact.

Also, the research may have interrogated the vulnerability of taxi marshals to poverty. Particularly with questions pertaining to their daily, weekly and monthly income. However, when posing such questions, the researcher made sure to remind the participants that they had no obligation to answer. Therefore, to avoid any ethical concerns, participants were asked for their written, and at times verbal, consent after being informed of the intentions and parameters of the research from the initial contact so they understand what their inputs or information they provide will be used for. The participants were assured that their anonymity will be maintained throughout the research and after the completion of the research in order to ensure that they are not in danger or their jobs threatened in any way. In doing so, pseudonyms were used for their reference in this report.

Additionally, participants were respected at all times, and were in no manner forced to or tricked into participating in the research. However, some 'tips' were offered by the researcher after some participants asked for 'cool drink' money. However, this did not in any way affect the reliability of the information collected as the researcher did not initiate it, and they were only offered at the end of the interviews after the researcher felt obliged to do so.

3.7 Summation: Self-awareness in employing methods.

This chapter discussed some of the most important themes and aspects of this research. With research methods being of central importance considering the volatility of the taxi industry, this chapter focused on research methods employed in this research. However, considering the importance of appearance, language, behaviour, background and other personal aspects in conducting research, particularly within the taxi industry, I found my own introspection regarding the taxi industry important and fitting to this section. In reflecting on myself and my personal experiences of the taxi industry, I was able to utilize methods that guaranteed my safety and comfort throughout the study. However, doing so limited the study given that I could not speak to marshals of the competing associations- which would have provided a good perspective into the politics of marshalling- to avoid being seen as a double agent. As such, I had to be seen with only Faraday Taxi Association to avoid this. Also, I could not take pictures of the marshals in action given that marshals were

paranoid that I may be a journalist- despite having on a Wits University regalia and having a letter from the association. Having images of marshals doing their job would have provided an encompassing image of what taxi marshals look like, what they do, and they spaces they work in- which would have demonstrated their strengths and challenges quite well. Furthermore, to avoid ethical issues, I was not comfortable taking pictures in the taxi ranks where there is people from different backgrounds- which includes vulnerable persons- who may not have appreciated appearing in the images.

Overall, the methods employed in this research were helpful and made the research successful. However, in the future, a research such as this would be more feasible if the researcher has an entry person into the association- in the form of a taxi operator, marshal or association manager. This would earn the researcher the trust of the relevant people within the association. Also, the researcher would have to spend more time in the taxi rank and taxi spaces to establish a friendship-like relationship with marshals and taxi operators to ease their paranoia. Furthermore, one has to recognize the impact of "incentivising" taxi marshals- as done in this research- through small money 'tips' as an important puzzle that helped the researcher gain a bit a of trust and 'motivation' from marshals.

Chapter 4: Findings of the study

The last three chapters have been influential in building a case that directly feeds into this chapter. Having established that marshals are significant in the management and operation of the taxi industry and that they should equally be attributed the attention that taxi operators and owners get, this section looks directly into what they do as part of their day to day job. However, the literature indicated that small-scale interactions are of significance in the decision making for taxi marshals- particularly given that they have independence as frontline workers. This section will explore the relationship between marshals, commuters and taxi operators. As eyes and arms on the ground, marshals play an important role in implementing policies of the association. In this regard, the findings of this research are reported in a way that focuses on the contribution of taxi marshals towards the effective, safe, and compliant operation of the minibus taxi industry. In doing so, the work made use of 8 broad themes which look at different aspects of the contribution of the taxi marshals in the taxi industry. The themes will draw from observations, and semi-structured interviews with the taxi drivers, the taxi marshals, and one of the association managers interviewed. These themes are 1) Introduction of marshals interviewed and their respective sites; 2) taxi rank dynamics; 3) Qualifying as a taxi marshal; 4) How associations benefit from having taxi marshals on the ground; 5) providing safety and comfort for commuters; 6) monitoring condition of the fleet and conduct of taxi operators; 7) official norms vs practical norms; 8) challenges of being a taxi marshal.

Theme 1: Introducing the Marshals and their sites

Bree Taxi Rank

At Bree taxi rank, the researcher spoke to two taxi marshals, in addition to the association manager. The first point of contact for the Faraday taxi rank taxi fleet is Themba who has been working at the front of one of the queues at Bree taxi rank for over 7 years. Before he was recruited, Themba worked as a car washer just outside Bree taxi rank. Due to a close relationship with many taxi drivers he worked with, some noticed his interpersonal skills and encouraged him to go apply for a job at the FTA offices when they were recruiting taxi marshals. Being from Tembisa, one of the most

culturally diverse townships in South Africa, Themba speaks 8 official languages, which is his biggest strength as his job requires constant interaction with people from different backgrounds who speak different languages. Themba is now a full-time employee of the association and earns approximately R800 per week. His shifts begin as early as 6 am and end as late as 6 pm on weekdays. On Saturdays, Themba begins work at 8 am and may leave any time after 1 pm, and he does not work on Sundays.

The second taxi marshal at the taxi rank is Sfiso. He is a 48-year-old man who has been in the taxi industry for over 25 years. He began working as a taxi driver in the late 90s and now has his fleet. Unlike the other four taxi marshals interviewed, Sfiso does not recognize himself as a taxi marshal. His argument is that taxi marshals help load commuters into the right taxi and he does not interact with commuters. Instead, Sfiso sees himself more as a manager as he works at the back entrance of the taxi rank where his main responsibility is to create a loading schedule for all the taxis belonging to the Faraday Taxi Association (FTA). From his argument, the researcher was made aware of another key role player in the taxi industry who is however not a taxi marshal.

Braamfontein

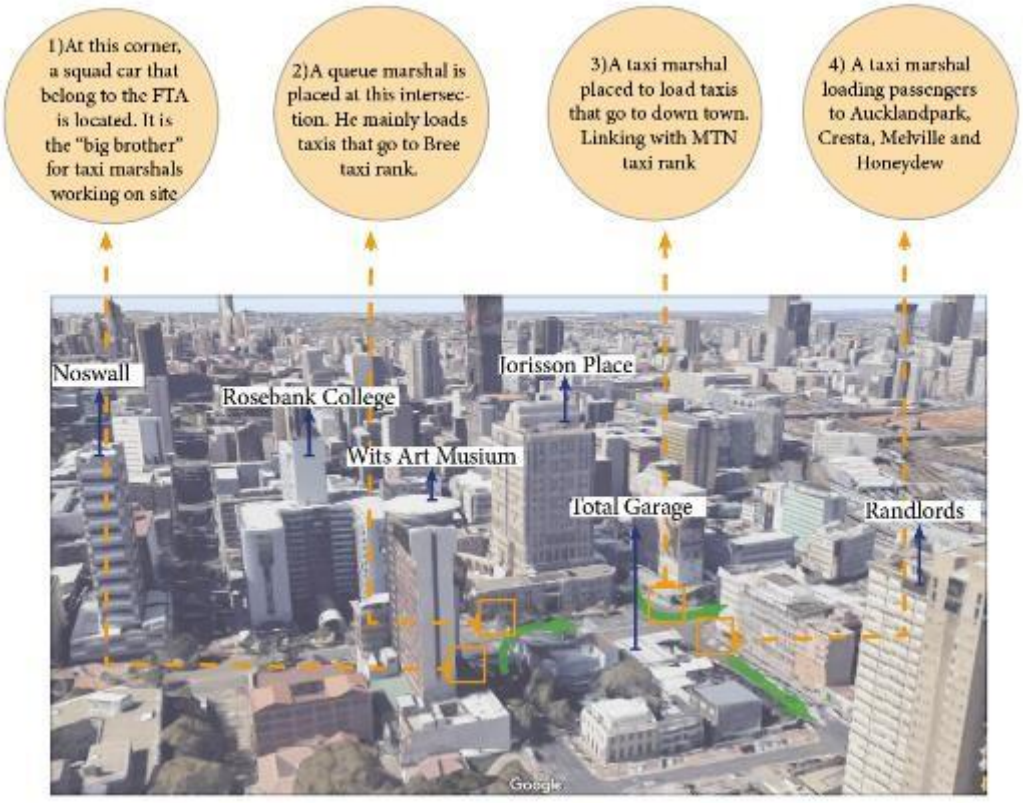


Figure 8: location of taxi marshals and other role players in Braamfontein Source: Author

On Cnr Juta and Bertha in Braamfontein, another marshal is located. He introduced himself as Tinyiko, a 38-year-old man who has been working on this site for about 6 years now. Before this, he worked at a Steel production company in Boksburg. Following the termination of his contract, he had to find other means of survival. After spotting a gap for a queue marshal in Braamfontein, he volunteered, initially without an official recognition form the association, but was later recruited as a full-time taxi marshal.

Throughout the observations and interview, Tinyiko would walk across the street to give instructions to an individual who the researcher later learned was an employee of the association, and was also on duty as a taxi marshal. Making a further inquiry, it was discovered that there were five full-time employees of the Faraday taxi association placed between the Bertha/Juta intersection and Bertha/Jorisson intersection. That is five employees in a 50m radius. As sketched in figure 8 above, the Bertha/Jorisson intersection is overseen by a taxi Marshal and a squad car which is occupied by two full-time employees of the association, while the Bertha/Juta was overseen by two taxi marshals placed on either side of Bertha Street. Making a further inquiry into this commitment by the association on the site, it was discovered that it was one of the most lucrative intersections the association has in the inner city.

Auckland Park

In Auckland Park, a marshal was identified by the noise he made calling for commuters going to Braamfontein, Bree, and Joburg CBD. After his recruitment for the study, he directed the researcher not to take any pictures or record anything. He further excused his inability to pay full attention to the interview as it was a busy day but promised to try answer as many questions as he could.

The taxi marshal-Thato- is a 38-year-old male who has been working as a taxi marshal for 12 years. Before this, Thato worked as a security guard for Nedbank. When his contract as a security guard expired, he had to find another way of making an income. Although he is recognized by the FTA, Thato is still a 'volunteer marshal'. Hence he does not receive a salary from the association. Instead, he gets paid R5 for every full load. On a good day, Thato makes about R300.



Figure 9: location of taxi marshals and other role players in Auckland Park
Source: Author

"….I then decided to start my own small business in Northcliff. I used to sell sweets, cigarettes, and snacks but the corner I was working at was too busy. There were too many people looking for a taxi to go to Town. So I had to stop taxi drivers to help people get taxis. After a few months of doing this, the Faraday taxi association recognized my work and approved me. They gave me two sites to work. My original site in Northcliff and this one in Aucklandpark." Thato

The researcher observed that there are different groupings of taxis around the intersection. Thato mentioned that the taxis are headed to different destinations and that they are sharing the intersection with a competing association. However, Thato

reiterated that the presence of marshals and drivers of a competing association does not interfere with his work in any way as they use their routes.

Cresta

In Cresta, Peter, a 38-year-old full-time employee of the association was interviewed. Before his current job, Peter was a petrol attendant. He moved to the taxi industry because he saw better opportunities and potential for growth. Although this interview site was not as busy as the other four, some inconsistencies were observed. Unlike other marshals, Peter had a reflector his name on, and a walkie talkie which he used to communicate with people from the Zandspruit taxi rank.

Theme 2- Gijima! Some interesting taxi rank dynamics



Figure 10: Long queues of commuters and different products by informal traders in the taxi rank Source: Mpofu (2018) [IOL]

Before interacting with the Taxi marshals and drivers, time was spent at the taxi rank and other identified spaces making up the research site during peak hours to observe how they conducted their respective duties. It is important to note that the Bree taxi rank is one of the largest taxi ranks in the country. On average, it has over 500 000 commuters daily. Bree is also home to a series of other informal businesses, hosting over 500 traders daily (Mbatha, 2011). Traders are from all walks of life and sell different products including food, hair, herbs, fruits, and vegetables- as depicted in figure 10 above.

The industry begins operations as early as 4 am. For this reason, the majority of marshals and taxi drivers arrive shortly thereafter taking advantage of the calmness of the environment at the time to have breakfast, which they often buy at the taxi rank from informal traders. However, still cautious of their duties, they eat their breakfast at their respective rows directing the few commuters available to their desired taxi.



Figure 11: Commuters rushing into the taxi to secure comfortable seats
Source: Masikane, 2018 [Twitter]

Apart from the noise directing commuters to their desired taxis, a welcome sign into the taxi rank is the unwelcoming stench. The taxi ranks during rush hours are typically characterized by long queues made up of hundreds or even thousands of commuters anxiously waiting for the next taxi. It is ideal for commuters to wait for at least ten to fifteen minutes in the queue before getting into a taxi. Being on a first-come-first-serve loading order, those carrying babies, luggage or large items typically rush to occupy the first row of seats behind the taxi driver and those who are plus-size or above-average body size would also rush in to occupy other seats to avoid going to the backseat, which is ideally cramped up by four passengers. Some, however, do not get their desired seats and have to ask other passengers to move to the backseat or other available seats. In some instances, especially in the case of vulnerable people, taxi marshals intervene and give orders to move passengers around so they get a comfortable seat. The front seat is often avoided by commuters at all costs.

When paying for the trip, the person occupying the front seat automatically assumes the responsibility to count the money and return change to commuters. Although this payment method is common in Johannesburg, as a regular minibus taxi user, the researcher noticed this is done differently in different associations- especially outside Johannesburg. In some associations, before leaving the taxi rank, the marshal collects taxi fare from the commuters, counts it, and gives it to the driver who would then give the marshal his share- which is often R5. Having taxi marshals collect money at the taxi

rank would take too much time, of which is a rare commodity especially during rush hours. Hence having a front seat commuter count is preferable.

As this study is looking to understand taxi marshals as Street Level Bureaucrats, these observations are useful in exposing their work conditions, and their individualism/agency. In alignment with the theory of SLBs on personalities of SLBs and how it affects their clients, it is useful for this research to observe that taxi marshals have a humane side- which is prominent when helping vulnerable persons, and the profit-chasing side, which is prominent when they let the drivers use commuters to collect the taxi fares on-the-road. Furthermore, by looking at other role players such as informal traders in the taxi ranks, one can understand key actors who contribute to the time-saving tactics of the taxi industry- who sell food to marshals and operators nearby- thus allowing them to eat on duty.

Theme 3- Qualifications

During the initial interaction with the association manager, the researcher was asked if the study entailed teaching or training the marshals. As this question arose on multiple occasions during the first interactions, it piqued the curiosity regarding the qualifications or conditions that one can be considered a taxi marshal. The respondent interview process and observations revealed that not simply anyone can be designated as a marshal. Considering that they have to work with people from different backgrounds and personalities, this requires a certain type of temperament and acuity that would be better suited to work with that range of people. Being aware of this, the association implemented measures to ensure that the right people are hired. And as one of the measures, the FTA manager Mr. Ngcobo (2020 reiterated that:

"…we have to assess their personalities to ensure that they are capable of working with people…".

By doing so, the manager revealed that the FTA interviews and workshops each of the candidates. As the taxi users are from different parts of the country, the association has to ensure that they are well understood and provide a good service. In doing so, the manager emphasized some of the personal traits that are most desired during recruitment and training- these are patience, respect, interpersonal and multilingual skills.

Since these recruitment measures are in place for the association, it is important to stress that some marshals, particularly volunteers, did not follow the recruitment conditions. Indeed, some marshals were able to spot the gaps in some busy intersections or spaces and operated 'informally' with taxi operators until the association approved them. Thato is such a case, and in this instance, the association only has to workshop and regularly monitor their interaction with passengers as they created the opportunities themselves.

Theme 4-Agent/principle Relationship-How taxi associations benefit from having taxi marshals on the ground

In addition to the structure/agency relationship defined in the second chapter on the relationship between taxi associations and the taxi marshals, it can be further demonstrated, although not entirely, through an economic perspective on the principal-agent relationship. In this economic sense, the principal is the association and the taxi marshal takes a role as an active agent of the association.

"Without marshals, the business does not flourish…"- Ngcobo

Examples of principal-agent relationships are encountered in the everyday lives: worker-employer relationship, owner/organization-manager relationship, and lawyer-client relationship- respectively, the latter is the agent while the former being a principal. The need for agents in these relationships stems from a series of reasons, which include 1) agent possesses skills and abilities which the principal lack, 2) the agent is more effective in completing the tasks than the principal, 3) the principal would rather spend time more productively performing other tasks. In imitating the principal-agent setting, the taxi associations employ taxi marshals for mainly economic reasons and to ensure the reliability and efficiency of the taxi industry.

Maximum collection of profit

From the interviews conducted with the taxi marshals, it has occurred that taxi marshals are strategically located along the routes in response to many reasons, demand is at the center. For this, taxi marshals are on guard to ensure a constant supply of the taxis. For example, considering a large number of students- from Wits, University of Johannesburg, Rosebank College- residing between Braamfontein, Melville, and Auckland Park, taxi is the most affordable way to move between

residence and campus. They form a large market for the Faraday taxi association which controls the route from Braamfontein to the two largest taxi ranks in South Africa, Bree Taxi Rank and Noord Taxi Rank, which distributes commuters throughout the city. For the above-discussed reasons, the Faraday taxi associations hired three taxi marshals within a 100-meter radius in Braamfontein- between Bertha and De Beer street and Bertha and Jorissen street.

The commitment on this site by the taxi association has been hinted by Jacob (the taxi driver) as he made a claim, which was later disputed by the Tinyiko however, that the intersections are more economic for the associations than the taxi rank because they are productive throughout the day, while the taxi rank is only productive during peak hours when people need to go to work/school and back home. Inasmuch as there are no statistical data to support this claim, it reflects how critical these intersections which marshals work in.

Securing the routes

By having marshals on-site, the Faraday taxi association protects its routes and ensures a constant, yet orderly, supply of the taxis. To act this part, the FDA provides marshals with Walkie talkies and airtime to ensure constant communication with the taxi marshals to notify each other and taxi drivers when the queues are long. By doing this, marshals ensure that the commuters do not wait long on the queues. Thato (taxi marshal in Auckland park) mentioned that commuters do not like to wait long in general, and this case becomes worse when it is hot or raining. Thato further reiterated that:

"ge basa kreye taxi ka pela, batlo founela uber, ra loser tshelete"- which translates to- *'if they do not quickly get a taxi, they will call an uber and we will lose money'*

Maintaining loading order between taxis

Taxi marshals are mainly responsible for the loading order at the terminals both in the taxi ranks and outside. In doing so, they have to ensure that the queue, which is in the form of a list made by the marshal at the taxi rank in the morning, is adhered to at all times. To elaborate, Sfiso is responsible for the loading list inside and outside the taxi rank. The list is then duplicated into small, pink paper markers and given to all the taxi operators. On each of these pink "slips", two registration numbers are written- that of the taxi loading and the one preceding it. This way, the marshal knows which taxi is

coming next. Without a slip, no taxi is allowed to load. Thato emphasized the importance of the loading order:

"…I have to call the next one (taxi) from the queue there (pointing to a queue of 6 taxis parked about 100m from his site). They are all arranged according to the list. The managers at Bree and Wanderers create a list of taxis that load here. It creates order. Every taxi that loads here must produce a slip from the taxi rank reflecting the registration number of the taxi, and that of the taxi following it" - Thato

The Modus Operandi of the taxi operators is making the most income to reach the daily targets set by the taxi owner and generating their income (Ngubane, 2016). In light of this, without loading order, distractive competition would emerge between them. Therefore, loading queue management is a strategy by the association to ensure healthy competition between taxi operators. By entrusting marshals with this task, the taxi association promotes equal opportunity for all taxi operators to access loading terminals both inside and outside the taxi ranks.

The association also works with taxi marshals to ensure that every taxi follows the right loading order. By doing so, the manager checks that the taxi has a slip before it enters the taxi rank, and the marshal ticks off the registration number on the slip before it loads passengers. By creating order, taxi marshals, working closely with the association manager, reduce conflicts between operators, thus encourage efficiency.

Theme 5 - Providing Safety and comfort for commuters

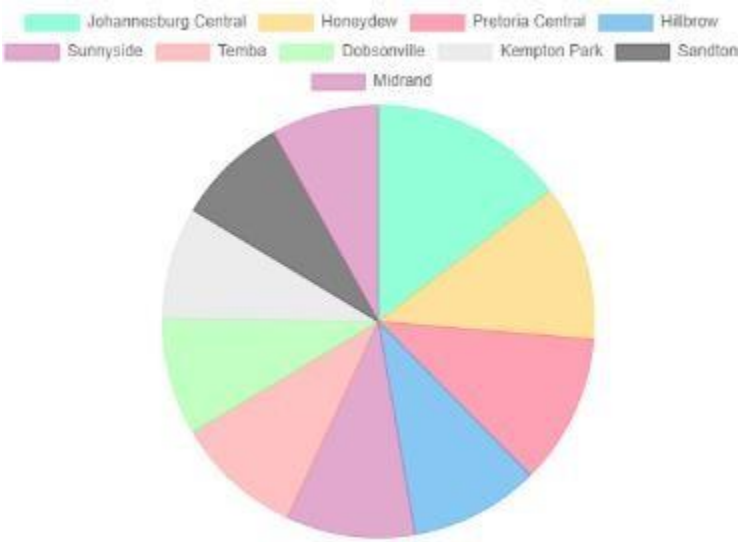


Figure 12: Crime Stats in different parts of Johannesburg
Source: Crime Stats SA (2019)

In 2014, Conde Nast, one of the biggest global media company, released a list of the friendliest and unfriendliest cities in the world. At the top of the world's unfriendliest cities list was Johannesburg (Smith, 2015). Although the list is made from the perception of tourists, one of the key features that affect both the tourists and residents of Johannesburg is

safety. In 2019, Crime Stats South Africa published a list of the largest number of reported crimes in Gauteng, with Johannesburg central being at the top of the list with over 14000 cases (CrimeStatsSA, 2019).

A figure with the crime statistics in different parts of Johannesburg have attached above. These cases include murder, sexual offense, assault, and common robbery where weapons were used. Due to these crime incidents which have grown over the past few years, it is unsafe to walk alone in Johannesburg central at any time of the day. For these reasons, taxi marshals, particularly those who work outside the taxi ranks, have to undertake a more involved role in the safety of commuters.

Concerning the safety of commuters in the taxi spaces outside the taxi rank, Tinyiko reiterated his involvement:

"…having me and taxi drivers in this space brings safety. In cases where people get robbed of their belongings here, we make an effort to find the perpetrator and retrieve the belongings of our commuter or anyone passing by. We help everyone here. Not just commuters. We also give people directions. Whether they use the taxi or not".

Thato made a similar statement:

"…siya ba jezisa ma ba zama uku bamba inkuzi la. As'funi ukuthi ama customer a hlukumezeka ma ba'me la" – which translates to- *'We punish those who try to mug people, we don't want (commuters) to worry while waiting here'.*

When asked about the contribution to the safety of commuters by marshals, the association manager, Mr Ngcobo, responded that the association expects marshals to play an active role, citing that*:*

"…without marshals on-site, customers get lost and get mugged in the city…".

Therefore, by being actively involved in ensuring the safety of passengers by apprehending perpetrators, commuters are more comfortable waiting in spaces with marshals despite the spike in crime throughout the city. This thus attracts commuters to spaces where taxi marshals are, thus encouraging more people to catch the taxi in these spaces.

Although marshals are expected to protect commuters in these spaces, the taxi association does not provide security training and weapons to carry out this duty. In fact, out of the five taxi marshals interviewed, only one (Thato) had previous training

as a security guard. When this concern was raised with the manager, he responded that marshals work closely with the patrol squad groups who are better equipped to deal with security issues. Hence, whenever a taxi marshal is confronted with safety-related problems on-site, he has to call the squad cars. Besides the squad cars, Tinyiko mentioned that the presence of a large group of people waiting for the taxi or a taxi (with its doors open) waiting for commuters, as well as a lot of pedestrian movement around his site, keep the thugs away.

Besides fears of crime, while waiting for the next taxi, marshals also play a key role in the safety of commuters during the trip. Taxi marshals are expected by the association to make sure that commuters comfortable and safe throughout the trip. In doing so, they monitor the conduct of commuters. According to Themba, disruptive commuters, particularly those who are intoxicated, are generally warned not to drink in the taxi and not to bother other commuters. Should the commuter not comply, the marshal has the right to refuse him a space in the taxi.

Theme 6 - Monitoring condition of the fleet and conduct of taxi operators

In the South African public transport landscape, the biggest challenge for the government is to make transport safe, efficient, and affordable (Molefe, 2016). Being under the spotlight in this regard is the minibus taxi industry which is often seen as unsafe and abusive to passengers (ArriveAlive, 2017). Apart from the attitude of taxi operators, another factor rendering the taxi industry unsafe is the condition of the fleet.

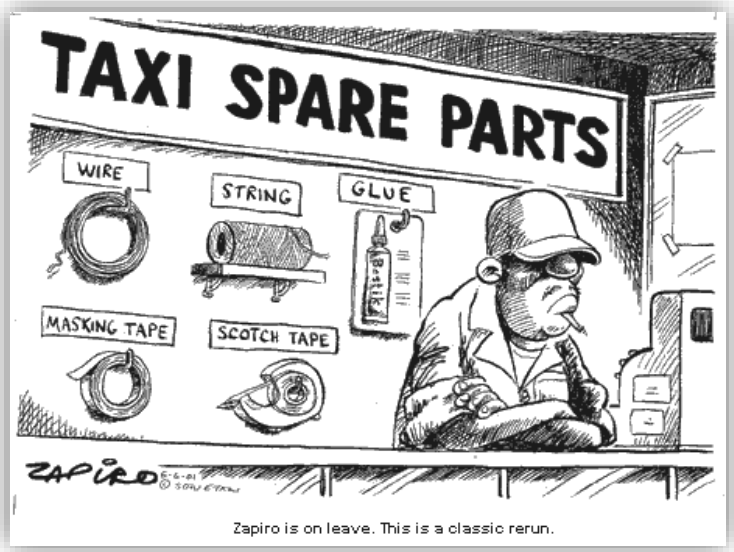


Figure 13: A figure depicting lack of proper maintenance for minibus taxis Source: Unknown

The average age of a minibus taxi in South Africa is 10 years. Additionally, ArriveAlive (n.d.) notes that taxi operators do not adequately service the fleet. Instead, they purchase the cheapest available parts considering that the costs come directly from

their earnings. Figure 13 illustrates the materials used by taxi operators as an alternative to proper service (ArriveAlive, 2017). For the interest of this research, it is important to note that marshals play a direct role in combating the challenges regarding the conditions of the fleet and the conduct of the taxi operators- by inspecting the taxis before loading passengers and assessing the condition of the operator.

Inspecting the Taxis before loading

Indeed, Themba reiterated his contribution to the safety and comfort of commuters by inspecting the condition of the taxi before it leaves the taxi rank. In doing so, he checks the tyres, as well as the interior of the taxi to ensure that it is safe and clean. In a situation where a tyre is flat, the taxi marshal has to notify the driver to fix it before loading commuters. However, it is important to note that throughout the interviews, as Themba was busy loading commuters, he did not check the tyres or open to check if it was clean inside. Inasmuch as this raises doubts regarding the implementation of this safety strategy, the interview was not conducted during the first load where Themba argued was the time he checked the safety and cleanliness of the taxi. Although they are also required to check the condition of the taxi, Tinyiko and Peter- marshals operating outside the taxi rank, mentioned that they do not have to check the condition of the taxi as the assumption is that it was checked during the first load at the taxi rank in the morning. Furthermore, both marshals and drivers have to constantly warn commuters not to eat in the car to keep the taxi clean. In most cases, taxis have a warning notice telling commuters not to eat in the taxi.

Monitoring the conduct of the driver

Another safety strategy entrusted with taxi marshals is checking the condition of the taxi driver before they load commuters. Thato reiterated that:

"…If a driver is visibly drunk on duty, I have the authority to deny him to load and report him for the disciplinary hearing. I have to check that taxi drivers are also kind to commuters and treat them with respect."

This way, they ensure that operators are not in a condition that endangers the lives of commuters. In addition to the condition of the driver, marshals have to monitor the conduct of taxi operators towards commuters, as well as excessive speeding.

"…should a commuter complain to me regarding the conduct of the driver, I have to call him to order. If he repeats the misconduct, I have to send the grievance to the disciplinary committee to deal with him". -Sfiso

However, as the interaction between commuters and taxi operators mostly occurs during the trip, marshals have to rely on the complaints of the commuters to report the driver.

In a case where a taxi operator is intoxicated, the marshal has the right to refuse for him to load commuters, and call the squad cars to confiscate his keys and vehicle. Punishment for the driver would either be a suspension or fine, depending on the decision of the disciplinary committee of the association.

Monitoring the dress code

Through the interviews, I have made interesting discoveries. One of these is that of a strict dress code rules. The taxi industry has a dress code which every employee, including taxi operators and taxi marshals, have to adhere to at all times. According to Mr. Ngcobo, the association manager, taxi operators, and marshals are not allowed to wear shorts, vests, tracksuits, and sandals on duty. He reasons that they have to look like "*amadoda*" [men] and professional. Tinyiko attested to this by saying that-

"…fanele ukuthi u mamele umthetho wa se lenkeni"- translating to- *'you must follow the rules of the taxi rank'.*

Tinyiko further elaborated on the importance of the dressing code-

"…we work with people from different backgrounds here. Including women and children. We want them to feel safe and comfortable. You cannot come here with a vest trying to charm students with muscles. You must respect them"

According to Mr. Ngcobo, marshals have to monitor the dress code of taxi operators. None compliance with the dress code will result in the denial to load. Sifso mentioned that in some cases taxi operators were sent back home or to clothing stores to get appropriate clothes or shoes before they could proceed with their shift- thus showing the seriousness of this rule.

Theme 7- Official norms vs practical norms

One of the key features of Street-level bureaucrats is discretion. However, in this instance, discretion is considered when there is a diversion from the official organizational rules for coping mechanisms that make the day to day jobs of SLBs easier. For this reason, in this subsection I will be discussing the official norms that taxi marshals are expected to operate within, and how they divert from these to make their jobs easier in order to, among other reasons, increase their safety, save time and make an extra money for themselves.

Skating on thin ice- Reflective safety vests on site

As taxi marshals work with people and in most cases away from the supervision of their superiors, Mr. Ngcobo reiterated the need for them to have reflective safety vests with their name tags on at all times. This is part of the strategy to help commuters easily identify marshals, and to also ensure that marshals look formal and approachable in the unfriendly streets of Johannesburg. However, as there are two types of employment arrangements for taxi marshals- volunteers and permanent taxi marshals- the association manager alluded that only full-time employed marshals are required to have the safety vests on. Mr. Ngcobo emphasized that failure for full-time marshals to have their safety vests on duty may result in a fine of up to R500 or at least three weeks' suspension.

Inasmuch as the safety protective vests are mandatory for all the full-time taxi marshals, this is not the case on-site. Of all the five marshals interviewed, only Peter (taxi marshal in Cresta) had a safety vest on. Considering the seriousness of the consequences as alluded by the association manager, the marshals were questioned on their decision not to wear their safety vests. The response to this by all the four marshals on the full-time contract with the association was similar. They raised their safety concerns and deemed the rule as inconsiderate. With the violence across the minibus taxi industry, the marshals mentioned that by being exposed to the frontline, they are already an easy target for the competing associations. Hence, having their protective vests will expose them to danger- by making them easy targets. Therefore, in fear of attacks from the competitors, they have to try as much as they can to remain invincible. Although the association takes seriously a breach of this rule, marshals are not worried as the managers hardly visit their sites for inspections.

Although the marshals were concerned that the safety vests will compromise their safety, Peter (the taxi marshal in Cresta), was not worried- he had his safety vest on. It is for this precise reason that he was easily identified for an interview. Contrary to other taxi marshals, Peter expressed that he felt safe for three reasons: 1) His site had no contestations from other association as most taxis operating there belong to the faraday taxi association; 2) he felt safe as the squad car was near his site; 3) that he has a walkie talkie which he uses to regularly communicate with the people at the taxi rank- if anything happens to him, they will know instantly.

Taking note of the inconsistencies on-site regarding the protective safety vests, a follow up was made with the association manager. Upon raising questions of the marshals being exposed to more danger by wearing protective safety vests, Mr. Ngcobo alluded for 'eye for an eye' response by reiterating the following-

"no taxi marshals under Faraday taxi association will get attacked because other associations have taxi marshals too".

Hot cash- employment arrangements and quick money strategies

From the interviews conducted, it was evident that marshals are not happy with their income. There are two employment arrangements for marshals who are recognized by the FTA. The first is that of a 'volunteer'. In this arrangement, marshals get paid R5 directly by taxi operators for every load. This way, if a marshal fills 10 taxis in one hour, he would collect R50. The second arrangement is that of full-time employment by the association. This way, marshals are paid about R600 per week, which includes Saturdays, directly by the association. Although the payment arrangements are different, the average remuneration is more or less the same.

However, there are trade-offs either way. The 'volunteer' marshals are not guaranteed a steady income. Their income is dependent on the number of taxis they fill, which is solely dependent on the time of the day, and day of the month. Hence, after rush hours, 'volunteer' marshals do not make as much money compared to rush hours. Furthermore, at the end of the month, 'volunteer' marshals earn more considering a spike in the demand for taxis. In this regard, on some days, 'volunteer' marshals make as little as R100 a day, and as much as R300 per day on busy days- particularly at the end of the month. However, for full-time marshals, income is the same every month- thus guaranteed a steady income.

One of the concerns raised by Thato as a 'volunteer' is his inability to make long term financial commitments and plans given the uncertainty of his income. Hence he is unable to make any financial savings as he survives directly from 'hand to mouth'. Conversely, Themba, Tinyiko, and Peter have a steady income. Inasmuch as they can make long term financial commitments, they are not happy with income as it is still too little and does not increase during rush hours or at the end of the month- as it does with the 'volunteer' marshals.

As noted in both cases, taxi marshals are not content with their remuneration packages. In dealing with this, they have developed strategies to work around the formal rules and earn more money. Considering that there is no supervision on duty, marshals often work with taxi drivers to break the rules and overload taxis. By overloading the taxi with two extra passengers, marshals can make more than double their average 'per load' rate after sharing with taxi operators. It is important to note that this strategy is employed by both 'volunteer' and full-time taxi marshals to supplement their earnings. In this regard, if a taxi costs R15 for a passenger per trip, for two extra passengers a marshal would make R15 after splitting 50/50 with the taxi operator, plus his R5 share for the load if he is a 'volunteer' taxi marshal.



Figure 14: A figure depicting overloading of minibus taxis
Source: Unknown

Although it is prohibited by both the law enforcement and rules of the association, marshals and operators find ways to avoid getting caught for overloading the taxi. The consequences of overloading taxis include being penalized by law enforcement officials and direct complaints to the association by commuters for being forced to sit in an uncomfortable position. One way of not getting caught is by regularly communicating with taxi operators on the road to check if there are law enforcement officials on the route. Additionally, marshals overload taxis with not more than 2 extra passengers to reduce chances of being easily spotted by the law enforcement officials, and to make fewer commuters uncomfortable- to reduce the chances of being reported to the association.

It is important to note that the association expects marshals to enforce the rules and make sure that the taxi operators do not overload. However, due to the meagre income from the association, taxi marshals break the rule that they are expected to uphold to make extra money. This, therefore, affects how the taxi marshals contribute to the compliance and safety of the taxi industry.

Theme 8 - Challenges of taxi marshals

The minibus taxi industry in South Africa is associated with many controversies including violence, lawlessness, abuse towards commuters, and fellow road users (Molefe, 2016). At the forefront of the loading terminals, which are the heart and soul of the industry, are taxi marshals who are responsible for order between taxi operators, as well as commuters. Having to work with the notorious taxi operators, owners, and commuters from different walks of life, marshals arguably perform the most complex job in the industry. In light of this, marshals face challenges that may deter their mandate. These include problematic taxi operators, contestations over spaces where they work, problematic commuters, payment/contractual issues with the association.

Problematic taxi drivers

Taxi marshals are expected to act as the 'eye of the association' to enforce association rules on the ground. However, as they have to constantly check the conduct of taxi operators and call them to order or send them for a disciplinary hearing, marshals are often prone to confrontations from taxi operators. Taxi marshals who work alone in isolated spaces are more exposed as taxi operators take advantage of the absence of witnesses and backup for the taxi marshal. To avoid such confrontations, should a taxi operator contradict the rules and refuse to take orders from taxi marshals, instead of using physical confrontation, taxi marshals have resorted to taking the registration number of the vehicle and the name of the driver to the association committee which will take over the matter by employing harsher punishment. In cases where emergency intervention is required, especially when the driver is visibly drunk or is in a condition which poses danger to the commuters, taxi marshals have to contact the squad car to repatriate them before the taxi leaves the loading terminal.

Contestations over work spaces

Outside the taxi ranks, taxi marshals operate "illegally" in either public or private spaces. For this, one of the biggest challenge that taxi marshals face is the contestations over spaces which they operate in. From the interviews which I conducted, Tinyiko and Thato face bigger challenges with regards to this factor. Tinyiko operates outside a flat in Braamfontein. The property management has on many occasions given him the instructions and warnings to vacate the area.

To deal with this, the association management has contacted the property management on multiple occasions to negotiate with them. Tinyiko believes the property management has to recognize that the presence of a taxi marshal and taxis outside the property is beneficial for both parties because first, it makes the space safer, and secondly, students staying inside the flat use the taxi regularly. However, as the association has not reached any formal agreement with property management, there is uncertainty over what they will do in the future. Thato, on the other hand, faces a similar issue, however from law enforcement officials. Indeed, Thato has been evicted by the Johannesburg metro-police on many occasions as they believe the taxis do not positively contribute to space which they operate on. Instead, the law enforcement officials have evicted Thato on the grounds taxis block the rock for other motorists. However, having taxi operators nearby at all times, whenever law enforcement officials come to space, Thato mentioned that they have to put at least R600 together for a bribe, which the law enforcement officials accept immediately and allow them to continue using the space. As he is aware that it is illegal to operate in this space, Thato feels that he is powerless and has to succumb to the law enforcement officials every time they come.

Safety concerns

Being an active face of the association, marshals are exposed to both the internal and external conflicts associated with the taxi industry. However, as part of their duty is to monitor and report route invasion by other associations, taxi marshals are seen as a challenge by competing associations- particularly those who want to pry. This, therefore, puts taxi marshals lives in danger. To avoid this, marshals often try as much as they can to remain "invincible". In doing so, some marshals have resorted to not wearing the safety protective vests which the association has given to them. By doing so, they cannot be spotted from afar by the competing associations.

Summing up the findings

This chapter made interesting and key discoveries that make the backbone of this research. Having found evidence that marshals can actually be considered taxi marshals, this set up the scene for other concepts which were explored in the literature review- including discretion, governmentality, conduct of conduct, practical/official norms, patron-client relationship, principal-agent relationship, invented/invited spaces and the right to the city. By using these concepts as a reference point to study marshals, this chapter discovered that marshals, as SLBs, have a high degree of independence in decision making as they are far from the supervision. By studying the 'micro-physics' of power dynamics at the small-scale engagement between marshals, operators and commuters, this section discovered that marshals are indeed influential to the safe, successful and compliant management and operation of the taxi industry. However, making decisions in this case is not easy for marshals. This is in consideration with the discovery that taxi operators and commuters have a significant degree of power over marshals- operators pay marshals directly, thus take advantage and ask for 'illegal' favours, while commuters may report this directly to the association. This therefore forces marshals to find a balance to make both commuters and operators happy.

Another important aspect of this chapter lies in the influence of spatial factors on the power that taxi marshals have. Having proven that some taxi marshals establish terminals where operators load commuters, this section made an assertion that they indeed 'invent' their own spaces of economic participation. Hence, in doing so, marshals claim their right to the city. The power that comes with 'inventing' a space of participation in this case is that of a gatekeeper to the terminal. This way, taxi marshals are gatekeepers of loading terminals. Thus have the power to directly influence access, safety and comfort of these spaces for mainly commuters. This therefore attracts commuters to prefer getting their taxi in these spaces. thus increase income for marshals. Having made these discoveries, the next chapter aims to expand, using the literature, how the key findings relate to each other and the methods.

Chapter 5: Using concepts to analyse the key findings

In chapter 2, I argued that the taxi industry performs a public service to the millions of South Africans who are dependent on it for mobility. As such, I made a deduction that in as much as they are invisible actors within the taxi industry and among many scholars, taxi marshals actually play an enabling role in the operation of minibus taxi industry. For this reason, I made an argument that taxi marshals have adopted a role as Street Level Bureaucrats. As the theory is ideally applied in relation to state employees such as teachers, nurses and police officers, I argued that the line between the state and the private sector has been blurred by the neoliberal and globalized economies so much that private and informal sector, in cases such as the taxi industry, plays an important role which should ideally be ran by the state. For this reason, I will start this analysis chapter by making links between the primary conditions that need to be met for one to be considered a Street level bureaucrat. Henceforth, I will analyse the role that taxi marshals play as custodian of the loading terminals- particularly outside the taxi ranks. This role will be explored as a move by taxi marshals to 'invent' their own spaces of economic participation- under an umbrella of 'the right to the city' approach.

In alignment with Miraftab's conception of invented/invited spaces of participation, there is a significant amount of 'power' that comes with an invention of spaces of participation. Therefore, the role as a 'custodian' or gatekeepers of loading terminals, the association vested a significant amount of authority in taxi marshals. However, as taxi marshals are themselves not well remunerated by the associations, taxi operators and in some cases commuters have some level of power over them through 'tips' and other favours. To decipher these relationships and micro-engagements, I will use the Foucauldian conceptions of governmentality, subjectivity and conduct of conduct. Also, supplementing the concepts of governmentality and taxi marshal's authority, the concept of discretion as a backbone of the decision making in the work of SLBs in general and taxi marshals in particular will be explored. And finally, the dilemmas of SLBs will be used to explore, in particular, the physical and psychological threats that taxi marshals are susceptible to as frontline workers.

5.1 Reality of taxi marshals versus theory: What it takes to be a Street-Level Bureaucrats.

In the literature, I discussed three primary conditions for one to be considered a Street Level Bureaucrat. Of course, these conditions were brought forward by Lipsky when he coined the concept of Street-Level Bureaucracy. These conditions are: 1) constant interaction with citizens; 2) extensive independence on duty-which is in many cases closely aligned with discretion in decision making; 3) extensive impact on citizens. From the findings recorded, it is arguable that taxi marshals do meet these three main conditions. Of course, by their mere recruitment to assist commuters with directions towards the right taxi and maintain order on the queues denotes constant interaction between taxi marshals and citizens. Taxi marshals are preferred to have interpersonal skills and be multilingual so they can interact and assist commuters from different backgrounds. Furthermore, taxi marshals have an extensive impact on the lives of commuters. A brief interaction with a taxi marshal in the taxi rank may save one's time and money in the wrong taxi. Also, considering that taxi marshals are the 'face' of the taxi association to commuters, they serve as a channel of communication through which complaints are raised by commuters to the association.

Lastly, considering that they are seen as 'an eye' of the association and 'managers' of taxi spaces outside the taxi rank, where their superiors (association managers) are absent most of the time, taxi marshals have significant independence on duty. They can divert from rules and make decisions which they deem fit or make decisions on issues that are not addressed by policy. This independence of taxi marshals is expanded by Lipsky as discretion. Discretion makes a large part of the theory of SLBs. However, the concept of discretion is not applicable alone on the taxi marshals' tendency to divert from the law. It aligns well with Foucault's concept of governmentality, as well as the concept of practical norms. These three concepts will be explored in more detail later on in this chapter.

From this section, it is clear that since taxi marshals do not work for the government, they in fact meet the primary conditions of Street-Level Bureaucracy as established by Lipsky. Therefore, as I argued in my literature, frontline workers do not have to be employees of the state to be considered SLBs. In this case, the minibus taxi industry, which is a non-state actor/organization, is at the centre of public transport in South Africa. As such, it is arguable that it contributes significantly to the movement of both

formal and informal workers, thus making it an essential part of the economy. Therefore, the SLB theory, as originally coined by Lipsky, has to evolve to recognize the role that the private sector plays to provide services that should ideally be delivered by the state.

5.2 Custodianship of the establishment - Claiming the Right to the City and inventing new spaces of economic participation

Through my literature, I have highlighted the two 'Rights to the city' as advocated by a French philosopher Henry Lefebvre. These are 'The right to appropriate' and 'The right to participate'. To recap, 'the right to the city' can be seen as more than access to the city but also entails the ability to remake the city in a different image. The 'right to appropriate' has been advocated by Purcell (2003) as the ability for citidans to not only occupy the city as it exists but to also actively create and alter it as their own. The 'right to participate' on the other hand is concerned with the participation of citidans in decisions that affect their urban spaces. To further elaborate 'The right to the City', particularly 'the right to participate,' and to extend its trail of thought into this research, I have also discussed the notion of 'invented' spaces of participation which is dearly advocated by Miraftab (2004). To recap, the 'invented' spaces relate to informal spaces of participation created as a collective action by the marginalised communities. These spaces are associated with an insurgent form of participation which in many cases aims to challenge the status quo and confront the authorities.

Although from a completely different but arguably related theoretical acumen, the notion of 'invented/invited spaces of participation' extends the understanding of both 'the right to participate' and 'the right to appropriate' to a more insurgent act of part-taking in urban activities. After closely studying taxi marshals, one can make significant deductions regarding their role in exercising their 'right to the city' by their insurgent acts of 'establishing' new 'illegal' spaces to participate in the economic activities of the city. However, considering that Miraftab (2003), when writing about 'invented/invited spaces of participation', was more concerned with political participation of communities in city activities, this research applies the same principles of this notion, however, more interest is vested in the economic participation of taxi marshals.

The findings of this study indicate that the urban spaces which taxi marshals work in were not 'discovered' or 'established' by the taxi association itself. Taxi marshals in most cases were responsible for the 'establishment' of these spaces, which were then adopted by the association through the recognition of taxi marshals as either their employees or paid volunteers. By creating these spaces, it is arguable that taxi marshals have made/are making a socio-political political statement. First, by merely operating in these spaces without permission from the city they are actively reclaiming their right to appropriate through the invention of new spaces. Secondly, with the unemployment high in the country, taxi marshals are actively utilizing the city/urban spaces as an economic resource to create an opportunity for their livelihood, thus reclaiming their right to economically participate in the city.

Considering that they did not get permission from the city and the management of the properties they operate in front of, it can be argued that taxi marshals are 'illegally' utilizing these spaces. Law enforcement has in several cases attempted to get rid of one of the taxi marshals. However, he, together with some taxi drivers, was able to use bribery as a strategy to keep the law-enforcement away from the site to continue operating. Furthermore, another taxi marshal has also been told to vacate his site by the property manager of the flat he operates in front of in Braamfontein. Although the association has attempted to negotiate with the property management, no agreement was reached. However, regardless of this request by the property manager, the taxi marshal has not moved from his site. These acts to continue operating in these spaces can be seen as both 'illegal' and 'insurgent' from the analogy of Miraftab (2004) on the invented/invited spaces of participation.

Besides the illegitimacy and insurgence, the continuation of taxi marshals to operate in these spaces show persistence and the attachments the taxi marshals have to these spaces. If not social, at least economic attachment (Miraftab, 2004). Socially, taxi marshals in these spaces have already established relationships/friendships with commuters who regularly take taxis in these spaces. These relationships/friendships in some cases consist mainly of favours- whether to borrow a regular commuter's cell phone for a quick phone call or financial favours in the form of 'tips'. Hence, leaving these spaces means forfeiting these relationships. Economically, these are often the spaces where demand for taxis is higher than any other place nearby. Furthermore, the route-based operation of the taxi association makes it difficult to move between spaces as the next space/intersection may be controlled by a different association

that may not welcome their services. Therefore, forfeiting these spaces may result in decreased demand for taxis, which translates to less income for taxi marshals. It can, therefore, be seen that when establishing these spaces to operate in, taxi marshals consider a series of factors that they cannot get anywhere else, thus making it even difficult to vacate in the future.

5.3 Taxi marshals as Managers of taxi spaces- Using practical norms and discretion to whose benefit?

As discussed in the previous section, taxi marshals, 'create' taxi spaces outside the taxi ranks. A such, they are entrusted to assume a role as 'managers' in these spaces by the taxi association. With this role comes the authority towards both taxi marshals and commuters. This authority comes in the form of discretion. Discretion is an integral part of the theory of street level bureaucracy. However, this concept of discretion cannot be applied alone in this research. The concepts of governmentality and practical/official norms comes into play to supplement the discretion that taxi marshals have when diverting from the official rules of the association. Also, the understanding of the power dynamics between taxi marshals and actors they frequently interact with [taxi operators and commuters] is essential. Therefore, I will demonstrate how the power dynamics, through the discussion of governmentality, affects the way taxi marshals, commuters and taxi operators engage with one another in respect of the power they possess towards to each other. From here on, I will discuss the concept of practical norms and how taxi marshals use their discretion to decide in what situation to use practical norms.

To recap, Michel Foucault is one of the most distinguished critical thinkers of the 1960s-1970s, hence his work is still relevant, and highly influential to this day. Through his Marxist view, yet critical of the centrality of power in State institutions, Foucault made an assertion that challenged how government was perceived. According to Foucault (1991), governance occurs in myriad ways, most of which are external to the State. The social fabric, through families, households, individuals, communities, cities, and corporations, posits wealth of which government invents and reinvents itself (Proudfoot, 2006). Hence Foucauldian perceive governance beyond the state through to the day-to-day individual activities of 'governing the self and governing the others' (Lemke, 2002; Curtis, 2002; Marquadt et al, 2012).

Put bluntly, the perception from Foucauldian conception is that by the way we individually and collectively carry out our day-to-day activities, manage ourselves and each other, besides involvement from official institutions, is an extension of the concept of governance. According to Chakwiriza and Mashiri (2012), the term governance encapsulates the action of self-organizing, which is a characteristic of the minibus taxi industry. By synonymising it with 'conduct of conduct', Foucault tapped further into the power play where a government[able] subject is produced.

Furthermore, In the literature chapter, discretion was described as the authority of frontline workers/SLBs to interpret rules when implementing programs or policies. In this case, discretion makes frontline workers de facto policymakers. Discretion by frontline workers is important in two ways. First, by increasing the meaningfulness of the policy for clients. This way, as an argument by Meyers and Vorsanger (2011) relates this to the economic understanding of customer utility, the more discretion SLBs have, the more their services can satisfy their clients. Secondly, Tummers (2011) argues that affording SLBs discretion increases their enthusiasm to implement policy. Of course, the reasoning in both cases is highly dependent on the assumption that SLBs want to make a difference in their clients' lives, hence discretion allows them the fluidity to do so.

In the micro-engagements between taxi marshals, commuters and taxi operators as studied in this report, it is arguable that inasmuch as taxi marshals are placed in the position of authority by the taxi associations, they are susceptible to the influence of both taxi operators and commuters in many ways. To demonstrate this, it is important to highlight that both taxi operators and commuters are clients of taxi marshals. This therefore complicates the very same discretionary power that taxi marshals possess. Indeed, having to satisfy both taxi operators and commuters is not easy. The relationship between taxi operators and commuters is often complex- and in most cases characterised by disagreements/ conflicts. Being 'the eye' of the association, taxi marshals are expected to ensure that taxi operators abide by the rules, respect and treat each other and commuters well.

From the findings, an example of the balance that taxi marshals need to make to keep themselves, taxi operators and commuters satisfied is seen through their strategies to overload taxis with not more than 2 passengers at a time. This way, passengers are not as cramped up, taxi operators get to make a bit more on income,

and taxi marshals themselves also get to make an extra earning. Therefore, inasmuch as overloading is prohibited by both the association and the law enforcement, instead of enforcing the rules, taxi marshals break the very same rules to satisfy taxi operators and themselves, however without compromising on the happiness of commuters. This way, taxi marshals are enthusiastic to implement policy as they make an extra income, however by breaking some rules, while keeping the utility of both taxi operators and commuters unchanged.

5.4 The dilemma a Street Level Bureaucrat- coping with reality

The studies by Lipsky (1969; 2010) and Protassa (1979) acknowledge that as frontline workers, SLBs are the only actors who have access to both institutional rules and clients' experiences. Therefore, as mediators, their practice is situated on the ground level. This thus exposes their role to various dilemmas. By dilemmas of SLBs, Scott and Lyman (1968: 46) mean "…the tensions and conflicts between different principles, aims and demands that are inevitably present and being dealt with in mundane street-level work in order to find pragmatic ways of making the conflicting practices meaningful and accountable". Lypsky (1980) raised three main dilemmas of SLBs: unavailability of adequate resources, prevalence of clear physical and psychological threats where the SLBs authority is regularly challenged, as well as ambiguous and contradictory job performance. It is important to note that inasmuch as these dilemmas may be pervasive in many bureaucratic contexts, they are more prevalent in the case of frontline workers. Additionally, while recognizing that, for example, judges are not as much prone to physical threats as police officers and teachers, Lipsky (1980) argued that it is important to specify those dilemmas that are applicable to each context, rather than to invalidate his argument where a some of these dilemmas do not apply. For this reason, this research will focus primarily on the physical and psychological threats. However, some elements where the authority of taxi marshals as well as the ambiguous job performance expectations do occur, and will be highlighted, but in very meagre detail.

Psychological threats

"The potential for chaos, or a chaotic classroom implies the elimination of the conditions under which teaching can take place. The threat of chaos is present

whether or not teachers commonly experience chaos and whether or not chaotic student-classroom conduct can be said to be caused by the students or inspired by the teacher" (Lipsky, 1969: 6-7)

Taxi marshals are entrusted by the association with the responsibility to monitor the conduct of taxi operators and commuters and apprehend them to the association should they contravene the rules- some of which include the loading queue, dress code, fights with commuters and drunk-driving. However, in conducting this role, their authority is often questioned and challenged by taxi operators. To avoid being challenged, taxi marshals often demonstrate their authority by contacting the 'squad cars' or sending the guilty party to the association for disciplinary hearing. This is in alignment with an example given by Lipsky (1969:7-8):

"The authority vested in the role of policeman is seen by police as an instrument of control, without which they are endangered…hence comes the often reported tendency to be lenient with offenders whose attitude and demeanour are penitent, but harsh and punitive to those offenders who show signs of disrespect" (Lipsky, 1969: 7-8

Physical threats

Considering the precariousness and controversies associated with the taxi industry, it is almost eminent to assume, even without doing research, that taxi marshals have serious challenges. Having spent time with the taxi marshals and interviewed them, the assumption was confirmed-they do have serious challenges. And they have to make life/death decisions and survival strategies in some cases. The findings of this study indicate that taxi marshals are exposed to several physical and psychological threats. A major physical threat in this study is that of safety concerns- as taxi marshals play a major role in monitoring the illegal invasion of routes by other associations. For this reason, they become a target for competing associations. It is important to note that "…threat may exist independent of the actual incident of threat materialization" (Lipsky, 1969: 60). Therefore, considering the violent nature of the taxi industry, particularly between competing associations, taxi marshals' lives are exposed as they mainly operate on the frontline. However, Lipsky (1969) raised an argument that SLBs tend to invent threat reduction mechanisms. Sabel (2012) made an argument that should SLBs not invent threat reduction strategies, the consequences may be severe.

In this regard, taxi marshals have some strategies in place to keep themselves safe. One of the strategies is to simply make themselves "invisible" by simply wearing casual clothes to blend in with the commuters and pass byers so they are not easily spotted. However, this strategy is illegal as the association expects the taxi marshals to wear protective safety vests with name tags so they are easily identified by commuters. According to the association manager, failure for taxi marshals, particularly those who are on a full-time employment contract, may result in hefty penalties such as fine and suspension. However, in alignment with Sabel's (2012) argument that SLBs are rarely on the receiving end of penalties for employing threat reduction mechanisms, taxi marshals get away with their strategies given that there is no supervision on site.

This strategy to remain "invisible" by taxi marshals may have some implications- particularly for commuters and taxi operators in some cases. First, however a bit far-fetched argument- as they pose as 'any ordinary person', it can be argued that this may expose some pass byers, commuters and taxi operators as competing associations may mistake them/ wrongly profile them as taxi marshals. Secondly, a major reason for the association to prefer for taxi marshals to wear protective safety vests at all times is to ensure that they are easily spotted and identified by commuters. In this case, if commuters are able to easily identify the taxi marshal in the streets, they are able to feel comfortable to ask for taxis or directions. Also, it makes it easy for associations to follow through complaints of commuters as they would have the name of the taxi marshal.

Chapter 6: Ses'fikile: Conclusion and Recommendations

The prime purpose of this study was to investigate the contribution of taxi marshals to the operation of the taxi industry in a safe, reliable, effective and compliant manner. In investigating this role, the research focused a great deal on taxi marshals as frontline employees of taxi associations, managers of loading terminals/ taxi spaces, as well as how the decisions that they make through their micro engagements with taxi operators and commuters enable them to achieve this role. To decipher the role of the taxi marshals in the taxi industry, particularly as frontline worker, I used concepts that are interested mainly in the micro-physics of power interrelations at the micro-engagement scale. These concepts include Street Level Bureaucracy, governmentality, discretion, practical/official norms relations and invented/invited spaces of economic participations. Therefore, drawing from the literature, findings and synthesis chapters, this section aims to answer the research question.

This section will therefore begin by answering all the three sub questions, which will build up to a short section which will directly address the research question. Followed by this, this section will explore the relevance of this study to the Development Planning profession and to the scholarly information on the taxi industry and taxi marshals. And lastly, the recommendations stemming from gaps noticed in the study will be explored.

6.1 In what way are taxi marshals 'Street-level bureaucrats'?

Are taxi marshals Street Level Bureaucrats? The research question, as quoted above, makes an assumption that taxi marshals are 'taxi industry bureaucrats'. This term is derived from the concept of 'street level bureaucrat'. Therefore, before going far in the chapter, this subsection seeks to clarify how the research found taxi marshals qualify as 'taxi industry bureaucrats', and what the implication of this are.

The findings of this research indicate that taxi marshals work in the frontlines to serve their clients- who in most cases are some of the most vulnerable in the society. In doing

so, they constantly interact with them and are arguably making an impact on their lives in many ways. These include ensuring the safety of commuters/ their clients in the taxi spaces, as well as inside the taxi by ensuring that the taxi itself, and the taxi operator, are in the condition to transport commuters. Furthermore, as representatives of a bureaucratic organizations, which is the taxi association, taxi marshals have a great degree of independence during the course of their daily work. Therefore, to a certain degree, this research found that taxi marshals possess some qualities of street level bureaucrats, or taxi industry bureaucrats as they are referred to in the research question.

However, Lipsky (1969) indicated that SLBs are actually actors who represent the government or employees of government. This posed an interrogation of the validity of taxi marshals as SLBs given that they are employees of government. However, this research made a point that due to the new governance systems that were encouraged by neo-liberalism, particularly through New Public Management theories, the public sector often outsources public services to private sector. This thus makes private sector frontline workers capable of being SLBs as their service represent their organizations, which in turn represent the government. Therefore, having read that the taxi industry is at the centre of mobility, especially for black people who were previously placed or located at the peripheries of urban areas during apartheid, this research argued that the taxi industry does render a public service- especially for the needy. With this in mind, it was then justified that taxi marshals are frontline representatives of the taxi industry, thus concluding them to be SLBs.

6.2 How do micro-scale decisions by taxi marshals affect the management and operation of the taxi industry?

There are trade-offs that taxi marshals have to work around on site, far from the association. Hence, it is not enough to answer this part of the question by looking at issues of safety, success and compliance of the taxi industry in isolation. To study the complexities related juggling of these issues, particularly in when considering the independence of taxi marshals on site, concepts such as governmentality, discretion and practical norms were used to decipher important dynamics in these interrelations. These concepts were particularly helpful in decoding the micro-physics of power that taxi marshals, operators and commuters have towards each. Hence, with these concepts as a lens, this research found that taxi marshals, as SLBs, have a high degree

of independence in decision making. These includes decisions regarding the profits made by operators, safety of commuters, loading order between operators, and compliance to the official rules. However, this independence is particularly valid at the frontlines- which means it is mostly felt by taxi operators and commuters.

The independence of marshals is influenced by the power which commuters and taxi operators have towards them, and towards each other. In this case, inasmuch as they are entrusted to enforce official norms of the association, taxi marshals do not always do so- in most cases they divert and take decisions which are not in accordance with the official norms of the association. This diversion is necessitated by the fact that official norms or rules do not have provisions for every possible problem/situation that may emerge on site. In some cases, however, marshals divert from the official rules for two main reasons. The first reason being acting in their own interest to earn extra income in the form of tips from taxi operators in exchange for overloading the taxi or breaking other rules. The second being in the interest of commuters, particularly where the vulnerable are involved, and where there is blatant potential for danger. In doing so, taxi marshals have to strike a balance between their own income (tips from operators), safety and good service to commuters (making commuters happy), loading order between operators, and compliance to the official rules. Failure to do so may lead a commuter or operator to complain directly to the association. Therefore, to ensure a safe, effective and complaint operation of the taxi industry, marshals have to make on-the-ground decisions which are often contradictory.

6.3 How do taxi marshals utilize taxi spaces/loading terminals to manage the taxi industry?

This study investigated the role played by taxi marshals as 'custodians' or 'gatekeepers' of the urban spaces used as loading terminals of the taxi industry. To better understand the relationship between taxi marshals and urban spaces, this research used the concepts of 'invented/invited spaces' of participation by Miraftab, and 'the right to the city' by Lefebvre. By using the latter, this research found that taxi marshals claimed their right to appropriate urban spaces by establishing or 'inventing' spaces where they could participate economically in the city. By 'inventing' these spaces, taxi marshals gained, to a certain extent, some authority. The findings of this study proved that marshals are perceived as 'managers' of loading terminals both

inside and outside the taxi ranks. Therefore, through this role, taxi marshals keep record of taxi fleet activity at the loading terminals, ensure equal access to all operators, maintain order and social control within the taxi industry.

Addressing the research question

As SLBS, taxi marshals have to make decisions which influence the management and operation of the taxi industry at the implementation level, or 'micro-scale'. Therefore, to understand the effect of taxi marshals on the management and operation of the taxi industry, this research investigated taxi marshals at a micro-scale where they interact with commuters, taxi marshals and other actors to contribute to issues of safety, efficiency, profitability and orderly operation of the industry, as well as enforcement of formal rules of the association. These are discussed below.

Contribution to Safety of commuters

Marshals are entrusted with different aspects of safety within the taxi industry. First, they have to inspect the condition of the taxi, particularly tyres, to ensure that the vehicle does not pose any danger to commuters and other motorists on the road. Secondly, they are expected to assess the state of taxi operators in an attempt to ensure that they are not intoxicated. Thirdly, taxi marshals, particularly those working outside the taxi ranks, are expected to act as security guards of some sort to provide safety for commuters waiting for the taxi in the inner city. And lastly, marshals are expected to act as mediators when there is conflict between taxi operators, and commuters. In this regard, marshals are expected to report back to the association on any serious matter that may compromise the safety of commuters.

Contribution to Efficiency and orderly service

In the case of efficiency of the association, and taxi industry in general, marshals are tasked mainly to ensure loading order between operators to ensure equal opportunity to access loading terminals. By doing so, there are taxi marshals in the taxi ranks who work closely with the association manager whose work entails creating loading list in the form of slips of which an operator cannot load at any terminal without one. Marshals are responsible for checking and ticking off these slips after an operator has loaded. And lastly, marshals are expected to ensure that taxis get loaded as quickly as possible. By doing so, taxi marshals often spend their time calling for commuters

heading to the destination which the next taxi is headed. Hence, by fulfilling these tasks, marshals ensure loading efficiency across all the loading terminals.

Enforcement of rules- ensuring compliance

To enforce rules of the association, particularly those related to safety and efficiency discussed above, taxi marshals do not have the power to personally apprehend and penalize taxi operators. Instead, they work closely with route patrol team, especially in emergency situations, to have disobedient operators or commuters apprehended. Furthermore, the association has a disciplinary committee where culprits are reported and penalized. Taxi marshals, however, do not always rely on official rules of the association. As SLBs, they often make decisions based on their discretion. However, this research has encountered complexities of such decisions, and how they affect the operation of the association and taxi industry in general.

6.4 Relevance to the study

In studying taxi marshals, this research came across many interesting interactions between taxi marshals, taxi operators and commuters that directly affect the way the taxi industry is managed. The relationships, partnerships and engagements between these actors in many instances reflects power dynamics that happen on the ground- where policy is implemented. This study was particularly interested in "…*meticulous, often one minute techniques* [by taxi marshals] *which control the behaviour of a collective*" (Sokhi-Bulley, 2014: 8). In this setting, the laws become secondary to tactics- which are essential in observing the power relations that produce governor/governed) relations. By adopting this Foucauldian analogy, this research demonstrated governance beyond the state through the day-to-day individual activities of 'governing the self and governing the others' by taxi marshals. It is from this understanding that this research exposes the governance of the taxi industry and the contribution that taxi marshals make henceforth.

This research found that taxi marshals directly influence the management and operation of the taxi industry through the micro-interactions they have with taxi operators and commuters; they divert from official norms of the association and use their independence on site to make decisions- which may be seen as 'illegal'; and they rely on social norms to make decisions which affects how the industry operates

This way, their personality and relationship with commuters and taxi operators influence how their decisions are made.

Therefore, by presenting a fresh perspective on the practices and lived experiences of invisible MBT industry actors such as taxi marshals, this study becomes relevant to mainly scholars and policy makers because it exposes an understudied, yet critical, aspect of the management and operation of the taxi industry. In doing so, this study draws attention to the fact that governance in the MBT industry is more-often-than-not misunderstood and portrayed in a bad light, and this has negative ramifications for the manner in which it is perceived in policy making and implementation. By providing a better understanding of marshals, as actors at the forefront of the MBT industry, not only does this study allow scholars and policy makers to get to know them better but it also provides them with deeper knowledge of the MBT industry. Hence it provides a fresh lens on how the industry is managed on the ground by taxi marshals and how they directly and indirectly contribute to the safety, success and compliance of the industry in general.

6.5 Recommendations

This study has exposed seemingly invisible actors in the taxi industry. The recommendations of this study are brief and speak mainly to policy makers and scholars. Having exposed that taxi marshals play a direct role in the management and operation of the taxi industry- particularly through micro-decisions on issues of safety, efficiency and compliance- it is important for public transport policy makers to consider exploring how taxi marshals could be further utilized to improve safety and compliance of the industry to regulations.

Additionally, having briefly discussed a case study of the taxi marshals in the City of Oxford, it would be useful for urban management policy makers to consider expanding the role of taxi marshals beyond being merely 'taxi marshals'. This is mainly because crime has become a problem in the Johannesburg City centre. By improving safety around taxi terminals outside the taxi ranks as well as their interpersonal skills, taxi marshals have shown great potential to grow beyond the taxi industry towards 'micro-urban managers'. However, more training for taxi marshals is required for them to fulfil this role.

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Addenda

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   Isibaya: Organized Chaos-A Study of Taxi Marshals as Street Level Bureaucrats and their role in the everyday management of the minibus taxi industry
10. Did your research involve animal experimentation or human participants as defined in A.4 of the Senate Standing Orders on Higher degrees?

YES	NO

    If **YES**, please certify that clearance was obtained from the relevant Ethics committee

    Clearance Number: SOAP059/06/2019
11. I understand that I may not graduate unless my University fees have been paid in full and I have no Library holds.
12. Name of Supervisor(s)

    Nqobile Malaza ---------- School: SOAP ----------

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13. Has the work been published in any peer reviewed journals. If yes how many papers?

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Name: Matome Sekwatlakwatla Student Number: 852209

Candidate for the degree of: Master of Science in Development Planning

has today submitted his/her thesis/dissertation/research report for examination.

Please answer ALL questions below by ticking the appropriate box:

Is this research submitted with your acquiescence? (if no attach/submit a separate report to the Faculty Office)

YES	NO

To the best of your knowledge are you able to verify that the candidate has acknowledged wherever any information used in the thesis or other work have been obtained by him or her while employed by, or working under the aegis of any person or organization other than the University or its associated institutions?

YES	NO

Did the students research involve any animal experimentation of human participants as defined in A.4 of the Senate Standing Order on Higher Degrees:

YES	NO

If yes, has clearance been obtained from the relevant Ethics Committee? Provide ethics clearance form.

YES	NO

Name of Supervisor: Nophile Malaza

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Name of Co-Supervisor: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Name of Head of School: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

FACULTY STAMP

Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment

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PLAGIARISM DECLARATION TO BE SIGNED BY ALL HIGHER DEGREE STUDENTS

SENATE PLAGIARISM POLICY: APPENDIX ONE

I Matome Sekwatlakwatla (Student number: 852209) am a student registered for the degree of MSc Development Planning in the academic year 2020.

I hereby declare the following:

- I am aware that plagiarism (the use of someone else's work without their permission and/or without acknowledging the original source) is wrong.
- I confirm that the work submitted for assessment for the above degree is my own unaided work except where I have explicitly indicated otherwise.
- I have followed the required conventions in referencing the thoughts and ideas of others.
- I understand that the University of the Witwatersrand may take disciplinary action against me if there is a belief that this in not my own unaided work or that I have failed to acknowledge the source of the ideas or words in my writing.

Signature:  Date: 20 April 2020