



Uncovering Precarious Working Conditions in the Global South: A Case of the Minibus Taxi Industry in South Africa

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ABSTRACT

One thing that is common between all sociologists is the notion of uncovering the hidden – the underlying social structures which give rise to that which we see, for example, the precarious working conditions in the minibus taxi industry. South Africa's minibus taxi industry exists inside social institutions – the interrelated arrangement of accepted practices and social jobs to fulfil the social need. The industry is arranged around economic institutions (facilitated by the state) which manage economic and property relations. Through social institutions, the state subjects the business to some type of social control (exemplified through regulations, for example licensing of taxis). Within the social structure of the minibus taxi industry, precariousness occurs. In other words, taxi drivers and taxi marshals perform their roles in precarious conditions. Social structure constitutes recurrent, stabilised and orderly relationships. The industry has recurrent precariousness. Taxi owners, taxi drivers and taxi marshals engage in types of behaviour which are recurrent. A social structure consists of norms, status and roles which are manifested in the behaviour of taxi owners, taxi drivers and taxi marshals functioning with the industry. Using South Africa's minibus taxi industry as an example, this paper uncovers the existence of precarious working conditions in the Global South. While considering precariousness from Guy Standing's perspective, the author critiques it and explain that precarious existence cannot be generalised. Therefore, the working conditions of the precariat cannot be generalised, as what holds as precariousness in the Global South might not be considered precarious in the Global North.

KEY WORDS: Global South, Global North, Minibus taxi industry, Precariat, Precariaty,

Precariousness, Precarious Working Conditions, Social Structure

I. INTRODUCTION

Sociologists and others who think in a sociological way have a tendency to "unmask" the social structures they study. Debunking, according to Berger, is an essential sociological tool for deconstructing some facets of culture in order to reconstruct it as a more moral view of the world (Baehr, 2013). When a thinker uses the debunking method, he or she tears down assumptions, facades, and judgments in order to see the situation as it really is. Individual sociologists have had success in resolving organizational issues. They have been spectacularly ineffective in addressing long-standing social issues like poverty. According to Peter Berger, sociology has three key goals: debunking, relativizing, and system-relating (Berger, 1966). Debunking involves exposing the methods used by the wealthy to legitimize their positions of social privilege. Relativizing means bringing what society recognizes as naturalized, common, and unchangeable into comparative and historical context, exposing as random what is regarded as immutable and unavoidable. The micro-'in here' and the macro-'out there' are connected by system-relating. It demonstrates the connection between "private problems" and "public issues," as C Wright Mills famously put it (Mills, 1959). Certainly, one thing that is common between all sociologists is the notion of uncovering the hidden – the underlying social structures which give rise to that which we see, for example, the precarious minibus taxi industry. Therefore, this paper uses the case of the minibus taxi industry to uncover, unmask, and debunk the existence of precarious working conditions in the Global South. Sociologists want to know how social forces,



structural changes, and structures form people's lives and interpersonal circumstances, as well as how people can consciously shape those forces. A sociologist's task is to unearth social facts and then justify them with the help of other social facts. Thus, using precarity as a framework, this paper uncovers precariousness in the minibus taxi industry.

II. BACKGROUND

When understanding the essence of work in the minibus taxi industry, it is important to remember that in terms of how the labour process is structured and who has control, the industry is different from other industries. In other words, the way work is traditionally done is different. The taxi industry is dominated by commuters and so taxis have to run as long as there are commuters to be picked up. Capitalists control the labour-process within the capitalist system to maximise income. Within the labour process, the interests of capital and wage-labour are conflicting (Allen, 2014). As Edwards (2018) states, the process of labour is essentially an area of class struggle, and the workplace is what can be considered a disputed environment, and this in itself exposes the conflicting existence of labour power within the process of labour. In this context, what Edwards calls "structured antagonism" 'exists because exploitation is inscribed in the organisation of work' (2018:3). While labour process analysis is important in informing debates on the nature of work, Burawoy (2008) writes that since 1974, labour studies have shifted their attention from the examination of labour process to studying the labour movement. The labour movement has faced significant transformation, with the demise of old industrial business unionism and the growing strength of "New Labour" (Burawoy 2008) with its focus on the service sector.

According to Thompson, 'there are three immanent rules' (2010:9) describing the characteristics of labour process organisation within a capitalist system. The labour process' early debates began with the publication of a pamphlet, *The Labour Process and Class Strategies*, in 1977 by the Conference of Social Economists. According to Thompson (2010), two articles framed these early debates: The Brighton Labour Process Group (BLPG) which focused on Gorz and Braverman; and the other by Andy Friedman. Thompson states that the BLPG identified the capitalist labour process as defined by three characteristics: '(i) the division of intellectual and manual labour; (ii) hierarchy or

hierarchical control; and (iii) the fragmentation/deskilling of labour' (Thompson 2010:9). Like Thompson, who argued that these immanent laws are 'empirically inaccurate and conceptually-confused', I argue that the labour process is defined by various contradictions, as is the case in the minibus taxi industry. The problem with the BLPG is 'that it stuck too closely to Marx's distinctions between formal and real subordination' (Thompson 2010:9).

While noting the contributions of Edwards, Braverman, Spencer, Warhurst and Thompson to the labour process debate, my approach to the minibus taxi industry transcends these existing norms by offering the notion of labour marked by the conflicting formalisation and informalisation processes in the industry. The minibus taxi industry's labour process appears to be disputed terrain (Imaniranzi, 2015). Moreover, the labour process within the industry refers to the extent to which the owners of taxi fleet have a double function in some taxi associations: manager/capitalist's role (that of structuring the industry's nature of work), including the taxi marshals and taxi drivers' roles. Nonetheless, some taxi owners tend to organise the labour process in a rather different way, employing workers to work as taxi drivers, taxi marshals, administrators, et cetera (SATAWU 2012). Khosa (1994) writes that taxi owners use different strategies to control taxi drivers, for example, through the recruitment of labour from rural areas, setting daily targets for taxi drivers. Taxi owners maintain maximum control of the labour process within the industry. The sector's quota system, for instance, causes taxi drivers to work irregular hours. As such, the amount of hours the driver is supposed to operate is organised by the taxi owners. As will be shown further below, drivers' working conditions tend not to comply with the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA) provisions. However, Clarke argues that 'the BCEA was instrumental in establishing a system of regulated precariousness' (2006:238)(2006:238).

Within the labour process, the desires of capitalists / capital and workers / wage labour are conflicting. While the industry is a type of production that exists on the fringes of the capitalist mode of production, it is incorporated and subordinated to it. In the labour process, the contact between employer and employee is primarily aimed at controlling the labour process / employment relationship. Central to the employment, or rather labour relationship, are three parties: that is, employers, employees and the state,



hence it is called a tripartite relationship (Khosa 1994). According to Mahlangu, the relationship between an employer and employee is two-fold, characterised by a primary relationship and a secondary relationship. The primary relationship is the one between the employer and employee, informed by mutual and conflicting interests. On the other hand, the relationship that the state has with those in the primary relationship is characteristic of a secondary relationship. For example, the role the state plays in the primary relationship is achieved by having labour laws (Labour Relations Act (LRA) and BCEA) that aim to regulate the primary relationship. But the state determines the enabling environment for these relationships. So, they do not happen in isolation from each other. The state plays the role of enabling an environment for the minibus taxi industry to operate in. Therefore, while Mahlangu (2002) argues that the relationship between an employer and employee is two-fold, it is not as simple as that – the relationships are intertwined. The taxi industry, for example, operates according to state regulations. The state not only plays a role in the secondary relationship, but also within the primary relationship. This is not a matter of primary or secondary relationships, but that of a continuum relationship.

The primary partnership in the industry has been between the operator / owner and the individual driver, since the minibus taxi industry originated. Yet for this partnership to happen, the state offers legislation for the minibus taxi industry's operations first. The industry works in a continuum relationship with the state and not a linear relationship, as implied by Mahlangu. However, Mahlangu (2002:15) is correct in that, 'until recently the State had no interest in the minibus taxi industry'. In this sense, the limited amount of state intervention has not helped to foster an employment relationship, as the government has concentrated on permits allocation, including taxi ranks' space, while neglecting the labour process.

The nature of work within the taxi industry remains complicated and very difficult to understand. The long hours are linked to a commission basis of payment. Through commission work, taxi owners/operators set targets on a weekly basis for taxi drivers who are paid on commission (Fourie, 2003). For example, commission payment within the industry varies between 15% and 25%. The earnings/wages of the taxi drivers are dependent on the number of trips they make (this is central to the nature of

precariousness in the industry). Furthermore, the precariousness of workers is reflected in the context where wages set are not in compliance with the Sectoral Determination. Commission work in the industry plays a central role in working conditions, placing taxi drivers in a dilemma in that they have to make as many trips as possible, obtaining traffic fines for speeding while chasing passengers. Taxi drivers continue pushing themselves to work maximum hours, depending on the availability of passengers. In addition to this, drivers compete on a daily basis over passengers in an attempt to make profits. Moreover, drivers are expected to generate as much revenue as possible per day. There are variations in rates of commission between taxi owners, meaning that the industry has no standard pay (Mmadi, 2012).

III. METHOD

Using qualitative research methods, the author interviewed fifty-eight participants to uncover precarious working conditions within the minibus taxi industry in Johannesburg. The participants were the key informants from the Department of Transport; Gauteng Department of Labour; Gauteng Department of Roads and Transport; Gauteng Provincial Regulatory Entity; SA Taxi Development Finance; South African Transport and Allied Workers Union; South African National Taxi Council; National Taxi Alliance. Most interviews were conducted with taxi owners, taxi drivers and taxi marshals in the four main taxi ranks of the City of Johannesburg. Lastly, interviews were also conducted with the commuters of the minibus taxis. The author performed a thematic analysis of all the interviews conducted.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Taxi owners, taxi drivers and taxi marshals occupy their positions within the social system of the minibus taxi industry. Social status locates these individuals in the social structures of the industry. Within such social structures, workers find themselves in precarious labour conditions. State institutions (with the role of regulating the industry) organise social relationships in the industry and create patterns of social relations between taxi owners, taxi drivers and taxi marshals. Social structures within the industry capture the collective identities that are exhibited by actors in the industry. The work of taxi drivers and taxi marshals takes place within precarious structures and leads to precarious social relations. Precarious labour conditions beg the following questions as



defining the social structure: what holds the industry together? What keeps it steady? Through his research, the author established that the industry is held together and kept steady by its social structures.

The term labour conditions is considered as a collective agreement between taxi drivers, taxi marshals and their employers (taxi owners) that generally determine the hours of work, wages and working conditions. This is an organised set of social relationships in which members of the industry are variously implicated. As defined by Guy Standing (2011:10), workers in precarious labour conditions lack the following securities: “*labour market security*” (labour market participation); “*employment security*” (protection of workers from arbitrary loss of jobs, by collective agreements, regulation of convention); “*job security*” (protection of employees against loss of job-based rights); “*work security*” (good working conditions, health and safety protection); “*skill reproduction security*” (workers have access to skills acquisition); and “*representative security*” (workers must have a security capacity to bargain and a strong “voice” to ensure distributive justice in the workplace). As such, workers within the minibus taxi industry lack all these securities and are, therefore, situated in precarious conditions of work. However, it is important to note that, in contrast to Standing’s view that this is a new condition which resulted from globalisation, the condition has always existed in the minibus taxi industry.

Recurrent Precariousness within the Minibus Taxi Industry

Through his research, the author uncovered that within the social structure of the minibus taxi industry, precariousness occurs. In other words, taxi drivers and taxi marshals perform their roles in precarious conditions. Social structure constitutes recurrent, stabilised and orderly relationships (Chan, 2019). The industry has recurrent precariousness. Taxi owners, taxi drivers and taxi marshals engage in types of behaviour which are recurrent. A social structure consists of norms, status and roles which are manifested in the behaviour of taxi owners, taxi drivers and taxi marshals functioning with the industry. Therefore, precariousness in the industry (though historical in context and also related to the ANC’s government’s neoliberal economic choices) comes about through the actions of taxi owners, the roles of taxi drivers and taxi marshals, and the social interaction between all the actors in the industry.

The industry continually responds to the adaptive needs of society, because through its activities, the economy is grown. But, if the industry is to survive and continue contributing to economic growth, it must be internally integrative and externally adaptive.

Most participants in the minibus taxi industry are full-time, some are self-employed, with the former being mostly taxi drivers and taxi marshals, and the latter taxi owners. None of the participants possessed a contract of employment. In addition, the monthly income for all taxi drivers was less than R5000; and for taxi marshals, it was mostly between R5000 and R10 000. For taxi owners, the monthly income was between R5000 and R10 000 or more. However, while the demographic questionnaires revealed this information about participants, it is important to note that some participants were not comfortable in talking about their income, as discussed in the finding chapters. Taxi drivers mentioned that they are paid approximately R500 on a weekly basis but noted that this amount fluctuates every week depending on the taxi fares they generate.

Precarious work in the minibus taxi industry can be noted through a lack of “work security”, that is lack of good working conditions, health and safety protection. Workers are also subjected to insecure working relations. The work of taxi drivers and taxi marshals signifies the hidden forms of work that are not tracked by government. These are employers concentrated in the same location, the taxi ranks, and precarious locations. For example, one taxi driver from Noord taxi rank (known as the MTN taxi rank) states:

The taxi rank is in a suitable place. The only problem is the space to work in that is not there. You’ll find that in this rank there is no space to get out, the road is filled with cars and there is little parking space (Taxi Driver 2 Noord Taxi Rank, Interview, 1 October 2018).

Therefore, while some taxi drivers view the Noord taxi rank as being in a suitable location, they complain about the unavailability of space in the rank. The unsuitability of taxi ranks for taxi operators and drivers speaks to the existence of precariousness in South Africa. It also means that precariousness is not only defined by a lack of labour rights, as Guy Standing (2011) suggests, but also by poor working conditions. In relation to the challenges of space in taxi ranks, another taxi driver from the same rank notes:



The MTN is not alright. The problem is that this hole here is killing us very much as the taxi drivers. First of all, it stinks here at this hole and it is not clean. The smell sits very painfully in the chest. So another thing that we are up against as the taxi drivers is the fact that we are facing many challenges here. The taxi industry is a big company but it does not have people who are managing it in the proper way. One, we as the taxi drivers do not have benefits. Two, we as the taxi drivers do not have permanent jobs. Three, we are fired like dogs. You work here for about 10 years and then they fire you like dogs. Unfair dismissal! Yes, those are the challenges that we have. So our complaint is that the government can make us registered and work according to law, so that we can be able to have benefits. So that we can have retirement funds and pension funds like a person who works in companies. This is a company. It's just that we do not have people who manage it. They do not operate it properly. That's our challenge (Taxi Driver 3 Noord Taxi Rank, Interview, 1 October 2018).

The Noord taxi rank is considered to be in poor working condition. This implies that taxi drivers are confronted with harsh working conditions. Corresponding with this argument, Sanchez et al., Sanchez et al, while studying the quality of life and work ability of taxi drivers from Brazil, argue that 'urban transport drivers, specifically taxi and motorcycle taxi drivers, are exposed to particular environmental, societal, and health situations related to their occupation' (2019:1). In the same way, minibus taxi drivers in South Africa are vulnerable to the precarious conditions of work found at taxi ranks. The minibus taxi drivers work in precarious conditions of work and do not have work security. This is similar to the context of taxi motorcycle taxi drivers in Brazil who have 'job insecurity and lack of social security' (Sanchez et al. 2019:2). It is also clear that taxi drivers complain about not having employment benefits. The argument is that they would have these benefits if the industry was well managed. The non-existence of employment contracts in the industry is explained by the same taxi driver, who states that:

You don't have a contract; you have no payslip. Even if you can go to the furniture shop to go and make an

instalment for a bed, they will ask for a payslip, a bank statement, and those are things that we do not have (Taxi Driver 3 Noord Taxi Rank, Interview, 1 October 2018).

In addition to not having formal contracts of employment and payslips, which makes it difficult for them to apply for credit, taxi drivers are not members of trade unions. For example, the same taxi driver states: "No. I am just person. We don't have unions here in the taxis, that's why we are fired like dogs" (Taxi Driver 3 Noord Taxi Rank, Interview 2018). Therefore, taxi drivers are in a precarious condition as they lack representative security and employment security: a point that is explained by the non-existence of unions in the taxi ranks and the fear of being fired. It seems that the work of taxi drivers is uncertain and unpredictable. In addition to these precarious conditions, most taxi drivers complain that they work long hours.

While labour regulations in South Africa require that taxi drivers have a contract of employment, they do not enjoy this, as their employers, the taxi owners, deny them this right. Also, taxi drivers do not enjoy a right to representation, as revered in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. In this way, this proposal adds to the hypothesis of precarity in that the precariat are part of the working class and have labour rights even though they do not enjoy them, being denied these rights by taxi owners. Breman (2013) has argued that Standing's analysis is distorted where he identifies a new "global" class, and similarly, I argue that the precariat is specific to conditions found in different countries. Lazar and Sanchez also argue 'that precarity is experienced in various ways in the Global North and South, among stable labourers and in "casual work' (2019:3), and I corroborate this argument by proposing that the existence of the precariat cannot be generalised. Workers in informal sectors of the minibus taxi industry experience precariousness in their own ways. While the working class might have different histories between countries and similarities in terms of what makes a precariat, the precarious existence is different in each context. Indeed, even in other parts of the Global South, this presence is extraordinary, (for example, the situation between the formalised buses and trains and the informalised/unregulated minibus taxi industry). Therefore, the working conditions of the precariat cannot be generalised, as what holds as precariousness in the Global South might not be considered precarious in the Global North.



Accumulation of Capital and Precarious Conditions of Work within the Minibus Taxi Industry

Extensive literature (Barrett, 2003; Mmadi, 2012; Baloyi, 2012; Fourie and Pretorius, 2005) has shown that working in the minibus taxi industry places taxi drivers in the position that they need to make as many trips as possible, thus getting traffic fines for speeding while chasing passengers. The industry generates capital accumulation for the taxi owners and motor manufacturing companies (Khosa 1994). Central to the production and accumulation of capital is the production and reproduction of value-creating labour power. The contradictory nature of capitalism is revealed in the sense that the capitalists/employers are mainly concerned with profits and extraction of surplus value, while workers' concerns rest with wages. Thus, there is a need to socially reproduce labour power in the form of wages so that workers can be involved in the production of capital. It is clear from this that capital cannot exist without labour, and vice-versa. The continuous reproduction of labour power is therefore the requirement of capitalist production. Given this, the reproduction of workers is and continues to be a necessary condition for the reproduction of capital. Taxi drivers continue pushing themselves to work maximum hours, depending on the availability of passengers, so as to maximise the accumulation of capital. The taxi industry epitomises what Karl Marx called the 'antagonistic character of capital accumulation', with the accumulation of wealth at one pole (taxi owners) and accumulation of misery and brutality on the opposite side (taxi drivers and taxi marshals) (Marx, 1961). Harvey notes that accumulation depends on the 'availability of sufficient accessible reserve of labour power' (2010:58). Marx calls this 'an industrial reserve army'. Therefore, such a reserve army is a necessary condition for the reproduction of capital within the minibus taxi industry. Following Marx's conception of the antagonistic character of capital accumulation, taxi drivers confirmed this during my fieldwork. For example, one taxi driver from Bree taxi rank complained that 'the taxi owners only care about themselves. An owner owns about 10 taxis and yet we get paid peanuts' (Taxi Driver 5 Bree Taxi Rank, Interview, 1 August 2018).

Taxi drivers also find themselves forced to work very long hours for poor pay. Therefore, the TRP has a long way to go before precarious conditions within the industry are addressed. Capital accumulation in the industry is the

continual recurrence of the process of production across the industry. An unlimited and constantly changing number of private taxis (legal and illegal) create the total capital reproduction within the industry. Taxi operators produce independently of one another, and are 'not simply producers of commodities but are essentially capitalist producers' (Luxemburg, 1951:9). Production within the minibus taxi industry is not simply production for the sake of transporting commuters, but essentially capitalist production. Taxi drivers are under pressure to generate as many taxi fares as possible. One taxi driver from Bree taxi rank explains this pressure as follows:

Taxi owners only care about themselves. They want to see that money is created daily. As taxi drivers, we are put under pressure to generate income for them (Bree Taxi Rank Taxi Driver 1, Interview, 1 August 2018).

This reveals not only an element of the generation of capital, but also a social recognition of taxi drivers' struggle within the taxi industry. Mahmud explains the workers' pressures as follows:

The higher the productivity of labour, the greater is the pressure of the workers on the means of employment, the more precarious therefore becomes the condition for their existence, namely the sale of their own labour-power for the increase of alien wealth, or in other words the self-valorization of capital (2015:699).

Therefore, the conditions for taxi drivers becomes more precarious as they are under pressure to generate more taxi fares, while being underpaid and work in precarious conditions. The growth of the minibus taxi industry is also marked by precarious labour markets. The conditions of precariousness within the industry are therefore directly connected with capital accumulation, conditions in the taxi ranks and the politics of representation by the National Taxi Alliance (NTA) and South African National Taxi Council (SANTACO).

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

Fourie (2003) examined the formalisation of the minibus taxi industry in South Africa and argued that 'subsequent to the formalisation of the operational structure of the industry, a design for the formalisation of the capital structure of the taxi industry should be explored' (2003:105). The



informal, unregulated and precarious context of the industry threatens its existence, and therefore, the formalisation process should be rethought to involve different stakeholders (Browning, 2018). One of the main things that can be done to improve the Revised Taxi Recapitalisation Programme (RTRP) and working conditions within the industry is collaboration between departments and stakeholders. For example, the Department of Transport (DoT) must work together with the Department of Employment and Labour (DoEL), SANTACO, NTA, South African Transport and Allied Workers Union (SATAWU) and taxi operators to successfully transform the industry. A participant from the DoEL explains the issue of collaboration:

Look I have mixed views when it comes to that but definitely the transport system needs some attention. Another thing that we need not to shy away from is that the governance needs to work together. If we work together there is so much that we can achieve. There is collaboration not with government only, with business as well. There are several issues that we see collaboration between business and taxis. How many times at night have you seen a taxi waiting outside Spur waiting for workers? That is collaboration. It needs engagement from different stakeholders. If you want to speak about transport system just in broad. There are a lot of issues, there is your uber issue, meter taxi issue and there is the one that just happened recently in Alexandra. The issue that came up is that I think the taxi industry, personal view as well, have realised the power they have in terms of economy and they are starting to push their head forward for this. You need to look at this in terms of feasibility of the transport mode that we have in the country because to most commuters, taxi is a solution for them. With the fuel hike prices that we get, it really complicates the whole transport system. For that I will reserve, that's personal views that I have put forward (Representative from the Department of Employment and Labour, Interview, 1 August 2018).

Therefore, collaboration is important for the RTRP to have a meaningful impact in the industry. For example, for the DoEL to successfully carry out inspections, it needs to collaborate with the DoT and the traffic department. This collaboration would ensure that the industry is formalised, as per the recommendations of the 1996 White Paper on Transport Policy (Department of Transport, Republic of South Africa, 1996). This White Paper

aimed to address unemployment, inequality and the challenges of poverty through a more efficient and effective transport system. However, 23 (twenty-three) years after this policy was passed, there is still much to be done to transform the public transport sector.

In order for the DoEL to be able to conduct inspections of the taxis and improve working conditions, they need to collaborate with traffic officers. This will help the DoEL to see if the industry is complying with labour regulations. However, Sechaba suggests that 'the DoEL as a custodian to inspection and enforcement for labour legislation seems to fail in fulfilling its mandate' (2017:32). As with Sechaba's analysis that some taxi drivers indicated that they had never seen DoEL inspectors at the ranks, the author's research findings suggested that this was the case in all four taxi ranks.

The DoEL displays a lack of strategic intervention in the industry, with this leading to further precariousness of work in the industry. The DoEL appears not to be actively involved in the regulation of the industry. In fact, the Department appears to be passive. Perhaps collaboration, as the participant from the DoEL suggests, could work in terms of labour regulating the industry. The same participant also notes that intimidation from the industry makes it difficult for labour inspectors to perform their functions adequately.

There should be willingness from government to engage with the minibus taxi industry in order to improve the effectiveness of the TRP. This political will is critical to the realisation of a developmental state in the 21st century (Edigheji, 2010). So, for the benefits of a so-called collaborative minibus taxi industry and operating models, as described by Dr Blade Nzimande in the announcement of the RTRP on 26 April 2019 to be realised, there needs to be willingness from the DoEL. Certainly, if the DoEL is involved and there is willingness from the taxi operators, the provision of decent and secure employment to taxi drivers and taxi marshals will address their precarious conditions of work.

VI. CONCLUSION

This paper uncovered the existence of precarious working conditions in the Global South, using the case of the minibus taxi industry. Precarious existence cannot be generalised. Therefore, in contrast to Standing, it is important to mention that precarity in Global North and South is experienced in different ways. Despite the fact that taxi drivers drive registered minibus taxis as per the



regulations, both drivers and taxi marshals remain a precariat. An increasing number of people are entering the minibus taxi market, get allocated routes (some with/without operating licenses) but their workers continue reproducing the precarious working conditions. There is a sense of unwillingness on the part of some taxi operators/owners which will keep reproducing precariousness of work in the industry. This, in turn, will have a negative impact on the role of the industry to compete effectively and efficiently with other modes of public transport and contribute to the economy of the country.

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