Structuring Legitimacy via Strategies of Leadership, Cooperation and Identity: The Comité de Motard Kisima’s Engagement of Media and Communication for the Enactment of Motorcycle Taxi Work in Lubumbashi

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Nakia M. Matthias
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This dissertation titled

Structuring Legitimacy via Strategies of Leadership, Cooperation and Identity: The

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ABSTRACT

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Structuring Legitimacy via Strategies of Leadership, Cooperation and Identity: The Comité de Motard Kisima’s Engagement of Media and Communication for the Enactment of Motorcycle Taxi Work in Lubumbashi

Director of Dissertation: Roger A. Cooper

Motorcycle taxi workers are a relatively new phenomenon in the Democratic Republic of Congo’s (DRC) informal public transportation sector. However, their ability to conduct work is challenged by a legacy of violence and hazards stemming from the role of motorcyclists in insurgent activities, robberies, as well as road traffic injuries and fatalities. Consequently, the country’s growing motorcycle taxi workforce operates in a largely unfavorable socio-political environment as mass mediated messages, public perceptions and governmental policies challenge their identity, legitimacy and ultimately their right to generate income through organized labor.

An eleven-week ethnographic inquiry among the Comité de Motard Kisima (CMK) motorcycle taxi club of Lubumbashi, DRC produced data to inform this study. Structuration Theory, Grounded Theory, and Social Identity Theory were consulted as analytical frames to examine the methods employed by the CMK as they negotiate structures to legitimize their work-life. Grounded Theory analysis revealed that the CMK reproduces structures of leadership, cooperation and identity management to construct and relay their legitimacy in the DRC’s public transportation environment. Each
structure is constituted by modalities and structural properties that impart meaning to the CMK’s perceptions and conceptualizations of legitimacy.

The leadership structure constitutes legitimacy for the CMK as a means for account giving for citizenship; transformation and growth; active inclusivity, and proven integrity. The cooperation structure embodies legitimacy for the CMK as it facilitates criminal disembodiment and diplomacy. The identity management structure forges legitimacy for the CMK by way of story-making and the possibility of a Manseba movement. This study bears significance for entities tasked with maintaining relations with the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers. It is also relevant to studies concerned with locating meaning in groups’ organizational structuring processes. Overall, it contributes to the growing body of work that examines the socio-political and economic intersections between daily spatial mobilities, public transportation and embodiment.
DEDICATION

For mom whose memory kept me through this process and Tloloc, always know that you can do whatever you will so long as you put your mind to it and it is good.

Thank you Dad for your love and support!
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work could not have been realized without the assistance, care and patience afforded to me by the Comité de Motard Kisima. I am most thankful to Patrick Ngoyi Lufulwabo [Papa Leki] who sacrificed his time and in some instances his income to promote the stories of the Manseba and Wewa in the City of Lubumbashi. Many thanks are also extended to the President and general members of the Comité de Motard Kisima for sharing with me and granting me the opportunity to gain glimpses of their work-life. Furthermore, the linguistic skillset, fieldwork assistance and ongoing encouragement of Thomas Tshikuna Lufulwabo saw the development of this inquiry from its nascent stage, as a set of hopeful ideas, to its manifestation as a thoughtful and nuanced representation of a group of Manseba in Lubumbashi. I would also like to express my sincere appreciation to the members of my Dissertation Advisory Committee: Dr. Roger Cooper, Dr. Karen Riggs, Dr. Laura Black and Dr. Edna Wangui. Thank you all for your assistance and support toward the completion of this work.
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<th>Full Form</th>
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<td>ANR</td>
<td>Agence Nationale des Renseignements/ National Intelligence Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASBL</td>
<td>Association Sans But Lucratif/ non-profit association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BaLubaKat</td>
<td>General Association of the Baluba People of Katanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMK</td>
<td>Comité de Motard Kisima/ Committee of Kisima Bikers</td>
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<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>Democratic Republic of Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FARDC</td>
<td>Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo/ The Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo</td>
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<tr>
<td>IRB</td>
<td>Institutional Review Board</td>
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<tr>
<td>MSF</td>
<td>Médecins Sans Frontières / Doctors Without Borders</td>
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<tr>
<td>ONATRA</td>
<td>Office National des Transports/ National Transport Office</td>
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<tr>
<td>PCR</td>
<td>Police Routière / Traffic Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNC</td>
<td>Police Nationale Congolaise/ Congolese National Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STUC</td>
<td>La Société de Transport Urbain du Congo/ The Urban Transport Company of Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNAFEC</td>
<td>Union Nationale des Fédéralistes du Congo / Union of Congolese Nationalist Federalists</td>
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Figure 1. Political map of the Democratic Republic of Congo and surrounding countries. Source: (2011, July) United Nations Department of Field Support Cartographic Section
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Motorcycle taxis are increasingly associated with the alarmingly high rate of injuries and fatalities in Sub-Saharan Africa (Bachani et al., 2012; Chen, 2010; Jacobs & Aeron-Thomas, 2000; O. E. Johnson, 2012; Kudebong et al., 2011; Onywera & Blanchard, 2014; Radio Okapi, 2013i; Trans-Africa Consortium, 2008). However, motorcycles have become a popular and practical form of informal public transportation due to their maneuverability and capacity for speed, which enable motorists and commuters to navigate poor road and traffic conditions stemming from the regions overwhelmingly undeveloped, underdeveloped roads infrastructure. This is particularly the case in the DRC, which possesses the least number of paved, navigable roads than any country comparable to its size in the continent of Africa (Foster & Benitez, 2010; Letsara & Saidi, 2013; WHO, 2013).

Despite the fact that the potential for injury and fatality is greater for passengers of motorcycle taxis as compared with other forms of public commuter transportation (Eze, Kipsaina, & Ozanne-Smith, 2013; Radio Okapi, 2013i), motorcycle taxis present passengers with advantages over other types of public transportation (Olvera, Plat, Pochet, & Maïdadi, 2012; Olvera, Plat, Pochet, & Sahabana, 2010) in the DRC. Passengers benefit from individualized service, door-step service, access to roads and terrain that cannot be navigated by other types of vehicles, less expensive fares, and greater navigability in dense road traffic conditions (Chang, 2012; Crouzier, 2013; Diaz Olvera, Plat, & Pochet, 2013; Howe & Davis, 2002; Olvera et al., 2012, 2010; Oyesiku, 2002; Radio Okapi, 2011, 2014n; Spittaels & Hilgert, 2008). Thus, motorcycle taxis
form a rational mode of public transportation for publics that seek to mitigate geo-spatial isolation and gain access to services, resources, and the uptake of daily mobility necessary for the maintenance of their livelihoods and participation in the life activity in the DRC. These factors may contribute to the growing popularity of motorcycle taxis as a mode of informal public transportation in the country. The demand for motorcycle taxi services has resulted in an uptick in the pursuit of motorcycle taxi labor and the advent of the motorcycle taxi worker in the country’s informal public transportation sector.

Motorcycle taxi workers are a growing phenomenon in the DRC’s public transportation realm, lending to interregional migration as employment-seeking males move into and throughout the country’s cities and economic hubs for uptake in motorcycle taxi clubs (Crouzier, 2013; Kaka, 2014; Radio Okapi, 2011). However, the DRC’s Motorcycle taxi workers are faced with challenges to their occupational and social identities as they have become associated with fatal accidents, robberies, domestic terrorism, insurgency, traffic problems and longstanding ethnic rifts in the DRC (MBG, 2013; Radio Okapi, 2012c, 2014b, 2014l). Motorcycle taxi workers are also victims of ethnically motivated hate crimes, robbery and motorcycle thefts as they are commonly known to earn above average incomes, and travel alone during periods of work (Radio Okapi, 2012c, 2014s).

Consequently motorcycle taxi workers and their practices are characterized as a growing social problem that demands intervention. Their daily spatial mobility routines are subject to political debate, as well as cycles of regulation, deregulation and re-regulation. As a result of the increased scrutiny directed at motorcycle taxi workers
provincial governments have taken to communicating to them via the top-down use of radio and television broadcasts where new and revised regulations are presented to them via mass mediated broadcast news programs (Crouzier, 2013). This has resulted in a dynamic that positions the country’s motorcycle taxi workers in an operational limbo as they wait for regulatory labor directives that introduce fleeting changes to the ways that they are able to enact work. Thus, governmental positions and policies work to inform mass mediated representations, public scrutiny and the perspectival lenses through which they are observed, and expected to they carry out their work. Furthermore, the mercurial regulatory environment that ordains their experiences constrains their ability to acquire and maintain legitimacy. Their daily mobility routines are probed, surveilled and problematized. As a result the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers are subject to a culture of arbitrary law enforcement that involves rent-seeking, punitive intimidation and routine interception that daunts their work routines (Doyle, 2012; Radio Okapi, 2012a, 2012f, 2014e).

Although motorcycle taxi workers are increasingly important to the daily spatial mobility of the citizens of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) there is an absence of cohesive academic and institutional study on these groups and the clubs that they form in the country. What is known of the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers is limited to local and aggregated news reports; fleeting mention in the dossiers of non-governmental entities, and the contents of local governmental transcripts. It is imperative to examine the ways that the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers conduct their labor routines within the realm of complexities that order their work-life. Understanding the experiences and
social import of motorcycle taxi workers in the DRC calls for the examination of the realms of communicative phenomena that are both external and internal to their organizations. Such phenomena include representation, identity, perception, social interaction, and the enactment of work.

These elements are relevant to the experiences of the country’s motorcycle taxi workers as they pertain to inter-regional migration, daily corporeal movement within and across space, as well as the embodied nature of their work. Motorcycle taxi workers’ experiences are simultaneously important to the DRC government, as their overall growth in numbers is tied to their social, political and economic relevance. They are thus an emergent labor group whose advancing entitivization, social significance and political influence cannot go underestimated.

This inquiry is an attempt to provide formative insight to the ways that a Congolese motorcycle taxi club manages the confluence of constraints and opportunities that emerge through governmental entities, mass mediated representations and public perceptions for the enactment of work. It specifically illustrates the ways that social identity and daily geo-spatial mobility bear upon their embodied experiences as they carve out their space (s) amongst the realm of the country’s mass mediated representations, public perceptions and governmental authority.

Through the consultation of Structuration Theory, Social Identity Theory and a Grounded Theory ethnographic approach this study offers an in depth analysis into the ways that the club members interact with strategies of communication, leadership and identity management in order to structure the legitimacy of their work-life in the DRC’s
economic capital, the City of Lubumbashi. Ethnographic contact was accomplished over a period of 11 weeks in the city of Lubumbashi where a combination of observation, interviews and aided elicitation techniques were employed to engage participants in their communities, homes and work settings. Grounded Theory served the ethnographic and analytical process, whereby theoretical sampling recursively guided the investigation and discovery of perceptual, interactional and expressive phenomena among participants, as well as within data driven themes.

In conjunction with the Grounded Theory approach, Structuration Theory proves essential to locating meaning among participants at the micro and meso levels of social interaction in order to articulate the ways that their practices and perceptions constitute structures that they use for interacting within, as well as transforming contexts that materialize their work-life environment. Social Identity Theory converges with Grounded Theory and Structuration Theory to facilitate the inspection of the group’s identity construction processes as they relate to participants’ embodied performances, as well as their perspectives on in-group and outgroup negotiation of a club-specific identity.

Collectively these approaches enable the development of the descriptions and interpretations that produce an account of the participants’ structured responses to mass mediated message frames, perceived identity constructs, work-related social interactions and occupational regulations. They support the specification and assignment of interactional communicative phenomena that inform, and derive from structures that the participants reproduce to represent, as well as secure their organizational legitimacy. Furthermore, they facilitate the demonstration of the routine methods contracted by
participants as they foment social, political and economic empowerment through the engagement of mass media, perceptual phenomena, and their socio-communicative networks.

More specifically, the combination of the methodological approaches gave rise to the use of qualitative methods that produced the research findings and subsequent analysis. The findings show that the Comité de Motard Kisima draw on and deploy three modalities composed of a fiduciary role, communication strategy and leadership repertoire. These modalities link their actions to club specific, and external structures so that club members can negotiate and structure legitimacy. The analysis reveals that these modalities are essential to maintaining virtuous structural properties that signify, establish and regulate conceptions of legitimacy structures for club members. Together the CMK’s modalities and structural properties interact to materialize leadership, cooperation and identity management structures that the CMK interacts with to enact motorcycle taxi labor.

The leadership structure is a structure of domination, as it produces and holds the CMK’s capital facilities, which symbolize, exact, and stem from power through advocacy and opportunity. The cooperation structure denotes a structure of legitimation through its role in accommodating and advancing group specific, as well as externally founded norms for interaction, which are ordered by socio-cultural and political sanctions. The identity management structure functions as a structure of signification via its capacity for guiding interpretive frames that represent the CMK’s communicative roles as liaisons and representatives both within the club, as well as among outgroups.
Overall, this work bears implications for scholarship, practice and policy in the realms of communication, critical media studies, human geography and political economy. This is the case as it explicates several inextricably linked factors that persisted throughout the course of inquiry including: (1) The need for Congolese governments to identify efficacious communication channels and processes to engage motorcycle taxi workers; (2) The influence of local and national mass media representations over the social identity and the embodied experiences of motorcycle taxi workers; (3) Daily spatial mobility as a factor in the interdependence between motorcycle taxi workers, law enforcement agents, governmental authorities and publics; (4) Social actors’ perceived status as a the impetus for the social construction of power and legitimacy through communicative acts, as well as (5) Migration, organized labor and geo-spatial power dynamics.

The findings and analysis offer a qualitative baseline, which may be useful to local and international governing entities tasked with researching and communicating with emergent and existing labor organizations, employment-seeking migrants, as well as public transportation workers in the DRC. They may also be useful to entities concerned with examining the interaction between political communication, Congolese mass media reporting, publics’ exposure to media content, and public policy processes. Finally, it may supplement lines of group communication scholarship that seek to juxtapose social identity with organizational identity in groups’ legitimizing processes; as well as studies that examine geo-spatial dimensions of spatially mobile groups’ embodied communication practices. Ultimately, this study aims to facilitate understanding of the
communication structures that a group of Lubumbashi based motorcycle taxi workers produce and reproduce through interaction with them as means for legitimizing their role in the DRC’s informal public transportation sector.

The study proceeds as Chapter two encompasses a review of the literature, which overviews public transportation and motorcycle taxi phenomena in SSA and the DRC. It also contextualizes the role of social identity, Structuration Theory, Grounded Theory and, Ethnography as methodological approaches to the examination of the motorcycle taxi workers’ legitimizing phenomena in the DRC. Chapter three examines the Institutional Review Board protocols employed, methods for sampling and data collection, as well as a description of the types of data collected, and the settings where data collection transpired. Chapter four delves into reflexive accounts regarding my re-entry to the research community and re-introduction among participants; the nature of social referents in labeling and assignment of my roles among participants, in addition to the routines that I undertook to develop relationships, gain insight into participants’ experiences and gain access to opportunities for data collection.

Chapter five presents the findings to include descriptions of the CMK membership body and organizational structure, as well as the dimensions of the CMK’s structurational modalities for establishing legitimacy via a fiduciary role, communication strategy and leadership repertoire. Chapter six examines the conceptualization of the CMK’s structures for leadership, cooperation and identity management, as well as the analysis of their structural properties by way of Structuration Theory. Finally, chapter seven discusses the ways that legitimacy is represented through the CMK’s modalities.
and structural properties, as well as the implications for finding meaning constructions within them for groups’ legitimation processes. The chapter concludes with my opinions regarding the social, political and economic roles of the DRC’s motorcycle taxi clubs in the future; the future of research on motorcycle taxi clubs; limitations and challenges to the inquiry and my final thoughts on the research journey.
CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Discourses on Public Transportation in Sub-Saharan Africa

The lot of academic work on public transportation in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) primarily focuses on its western, southern and eastern regions (See Appendix A). Public transportation within Central African states in has received less attention aside from the reports produced or sponsored by multilateral and bilateral agencies. Collectively, the literature on SSA problematizes the role of public transportation as a central concern for bodily injuries, fatalities and health risks associated with vehicular traffic and poor road conditions (Chen, 2010; Esperato, Bishai, & Hyder, 2012; Hyder, Labinjo, & Muzaffar, 2006; Lamont, 2010, 2012; Peden et al., 2004; WHO, 2006, 2009, 2011). Additionally, the safety of publics and public transportation workers is presented though discourses on helmet use (Bachani et al., 2012; Bliss & Breen, 2009; Bonner, 2008; Gwilliam, 2002, 2011; Jacobs & Aeron-Thomas, 2000; O. E. Johnson, 2012; Kudebong et al., 2011; Lamont, 2010; WHO, 2009, 2011, 2006); vehicular speed (Esperato et al., 2012; A. G. Johnson, 2000); the use of safety restraints (Bliss & Breen, 2009; WHO, 2011, 2013); communicable disease transmission (Andrews, Morrow, & Wood, 2013; Wood et al., 2012); impaired driving (Bliss & Breen, 2009; Chen, 2010; Jacobs & Aeron-Thomas, 2000; Lamont, 2010; WHO, 2009), domestic security and the socio-economic costs of accident related fatalities and injuries. Furthermore, the issues of terrestrial public transportation enterprise and public commuting are sidelined by extensive knowledge production, analysis and records keeping on the industrial aspects of transportation, and
the development of transportation infrastructure as this relates to economic development through interstate and regional commerce (Trans-Africa Consortium, 2008, p. 70).

Contextualizing Public Transportation in Sub-Saharan Africa

SSA’s public transportation industry is primarily facilitated via cars, mini buses and maxi buses imported from Asia, Europe and the United States (Lamont, 2010; Olvera et al., 2010; Oyesiku, 2002). However, the majority of nations comprising SSA possess public transportation services that are disadvantaged by insufficient, dilapidated, and non-existent road networks in urban and rural spaces (Carruthers, Krishnamani, & Murray, 2008; Chang, 2012; Chen, 2010; OECD/ITF, 2008; Peden et al., 2004; WHO, 2009). Most countries in the region do not benefit from a formally coordinated, government supported public transportation sector (Lamont, 2010; Trans-Africa Consortium, 2008; WHO, 2009). Challenges to public transportation and commuting are presented through material constraints including the lack of fully operational and dedicated public transport fleets (Kiva, 2012; WHO, 2011) as well as limited governmental economic resources for employing skilled labor to develop and sustain public transportation. Furthermore, unenforceable regulations and a lack of consistent governmental oversight (Chang, 2012; Chen, 2010; Lamont, 2010; Starkey, 2007; WHO, 2009, 2011) thwart the realization of protections and support for the interests of transportation service providers, commuting publics and pedestrians.

To date, only 11 out of 54 countries in Africa have established national policies for developing and investing in public transportation (WHO, 2013, p. 7). African countries that provide formal, government funded means of public transportation
maintain their operations through labor provided by government employees who comprise a minute component of the government workforce sector (Chen, 2010; WHO, 2011). However, the majority of African states rely on informal public transportation entities, which are also ironically called *paratransit* in institutional and academic discourses (Cervero & Golub, 2007; Gwilliam, 2002; Hook, 2006; Jacobs & Aeron-Thomas, 2000; Kumar, 2011; Mutiso & Behrens, 2011; Olvera et al., 2012; Oyesiku, 2002; Salazar Ferro, Behrens, & Wilkinson, 2013; Schalekamp & Behrens, 2010).

Furthermore, due to inadequate investment and inconsistent regulation, Africa’s formal public transportation sectors, have not proven to be profitable for governmental operators (Lamont, 2010; Trans-Africa Consortium, 2010), therefore, its viability may burden governments’ economic and material resources.

Public transportation in SSA is primarily a privately owned, minimally regulated and oftentimes uncontrolled enterprise which its publics have come to depend on and trust for their routine transportation needs (Chen, 2010; Kumar, 2011; Lamont, 2010; Mutongi, 2006; Olvera et al., 2012; Oyesiku, 2002; WHO, 2011). Private transportation entities boast ridership superior to that of the public transportation services provided by governments (Chen, 2010; Lamont, 2010; WHO, 2011) in SSA and thus contributes to a public transportation industry that is operated by private citizens who organize their transportation business within and around the rules and regulations set-forth (Goodfellow & Titeca, 2012; Lamont, 2010; Mutongi, 2006; Starkey, 2007; WHO, 2009, 2011) by national, regional and local laws. Generally, it is within these contexts that public transportation thrives throughout SSA.
The Growing Popularity of Motorcycle Taxis in Sub-Saharan Africa

The history of the motorcycle in Africa can be traced to the early 1900’s when colonial forces and settler communities imported them for the purposes of domination and leisure (Belgian Information Center, 1942, p. 38; Jowett, 2001, pp. 4–5; Stapleton, 2011, pp. 46–47). Throughout the continent militaries, law enforcement agencies, health care providers, traders, hawkers and transport workers have since used motorcycles for their respective routines and operations (Dolan, 2012; United States Embassy of Democratic Republic of the Congo [Congo-Kinshasa], 2013). In African contexts contemporary uses of motorcycles occurs primarily due to their capacity to generate income and facilitate livelihoods rather than through their function as instruments of leisure (Chang, 2012; Kumar, 2011; Lamont, 2010).

Figure 2. (left to right) A native soldier of the Belgian-Congo’s Force Publique colonial gendarmerie and a motorcycle taxi worker in the DRC in 2013. Source: Belgian Information Center, 1942; researcher photograph
Several Sub-Saharan African states have seen the use of motorcycles as a form of public transportation and the creation of motorcycle taxi industries according to similar trajectories. In each case these industries developed in direct response to the absence and deterioration of colonial and post-colonial transportation systems (Kumar & Barrett, 2008; Mutongi, 2006); as an outcome of externally sanctioned structural adjustment programs that steered divestment in infrastructural development and public transportation services throughout Africa (Bonner, 2008; Kumar, 2011; Njie, 2012), as well as citizens’ efforts to assuage socio-economic and geo-spatial marginalization conflated by a lack or absence of accessible public transportation and roads.

A range of social, political, economic and geographical variables has fostered motorcycle taxi industries in the African states that possess them. Such factors include: An abundance of employment-seeking labor (Bonner, 2008; Olubomehin, 2012; Tuffour & Appiagyei, 2014); the regional, cross-border and daily spatial movements of people and goods (Nyachieo, 2013; Trans-Africa Consortium, 2008, p. 33); fuel availability (Gibigaye, 2006; Olubomehin, 2012); national trade and investment policies that shape international and local market relations (Starkey, 2007); access to, and the condition of marine ports, railways and road systems (Olubomehin, 2012; Trans-Africa Consortium, 2010), as well as the features of local regulations that direct the purchase, ownership and operation of motorcycles. Thus, motorcycle taxi industries have emerged throughout the continent according to social, political and economic circumstances that influence the nature of their acceleration, organization and legitimacy over time.
The commercial use of motorcycles occurred in West African states since the 1970’s (Olubomehin, 2012; Trans-Africa Consortium, 2008). However, the launch of formally coordinated motorcycle taxi industries generally formed during the 1990’s across the SSA region. This is true of most notable motorcycle taxi industries in the continent including the Okada of Nigeria (Olubomehin, 2012), Boda Boda of Uganda (Howe & Davis, 1999, 2002), the Zémidjan of Benin (Blimpo, 2013, p. 4) and Togo (Tuffour & Appiagyei, 2014), and the Kupatapata of Angola (Lopes, 2009, p. 111). This may be attributed to citizens’ ability to access used and new motorcycles through cross-border trade; the presence of local manufacturing sites; international trade relations characterized by open markets, and the state of local policies which may have enabled the growth of these industries.

Several other of SSA’s urban and rural centers have evidenced an exponential increase in the use of motorcycles as a popular form of public transportation within the past 7 to 10 years (Chang, 2012; Kudebong et al., 2011; Kumar, 2011; OECD/ITF, 2008; Olvera et al., 2010). The motorcycle taxi industries of countries such as Kenya and the DRC have emerged within this timeframe (Chang, 2012; Crouzier, 2013). These recent upticks are attributed to revamped political and economic ties between Asian and African states, whereby access to consumer markets and inflows of business and capital have created favorable conditions for Asian actors to import two-wheel vehicle fleets in new African markets (Chang, 2012; Crouzier, 2013; Freemantle & Stevens, 2013; Kumar, 2011; Lamb, Nelson, Mthembu-Salter, & Gasana, 2012; Lamont, 2010; Maritz, 2013; Vanhulle, 2009). For instance, India’s Bajaj Auto has maintained a well-established
presence in 10 countries throughout SSA as the largest exporter of motorcycles to Africa for over a decade (Bajaj, 2014). China’s Lifan Group has sold motorcycles in Nigeria since the 1990’s and seeks to penetrate more African markets through the opening of new motorcycle manufacturing plants in the region (Haiyan, 2013, online). The ramping influx of motorcycles and motorcycle manufacturing facilities supports a new and competitive form of employment in many Sub-Saharan African states, while advancing the significance of motorcycle taxi workers in the realm of public transportation (Chang, 2012; Kumar, 2011; Nyachieo, 2013; OECD/ITF, 2008).

Motorcycle taxi workers may be self-employed motorcycle owners or they may earn their wages by renting motorcycles from the owners of motorcycle fleets (Blimpo, 2013; Gibigaye, 2006; Kisaalita & Sentongo-Kibalama, 2007; Ogunrinola, 2011; Olubomehin, 2012). The prospect of becoming a motorcycle worker has summoned unemployed and underemployed populations to urban centers where they readily uptake in the instant income bearing opportunity (Chang, 2012; Njie, 2012; Olvera et al., 2010; Tuffour & Appiagyei, 2014). The literature (Goodfellow & Titeca, 2012; Howe & Davis, 1999; IRIN, 2009; Kisaalita & Sentongo-Kibalama, 2007; Nyachieo, 2013; Ogunrinola, 2011) indicates that primarily male youth populations are pursuing motorcycle taxi work and motorcycle ownership to create regular employment for themselves, with females contributing to a minimal share of this form of labor uptake. Transportation service providers have also taken advantage of the earning potential of motorcycles as they acquire them to diversify their fleets beyond four-wheel vehicles in order to respond to their growing popularity among potential renters and commuting publics. Their
favorable reception can be attributed to their use toward commercial profit-making opportunities for their owners and operators, as well as their role in mitigating geo-spatial isolation that inhibits citizens’ access to social, economic and material resources.

The owners of public transportation fleets, transportation workers and publics offer interrelated reasons for using motorcycles to satisfy their mobility routines. Motorcycle owners and transportation workers herald the cost effectiveness and temporal efficiency of motorcycles as they are less expensive to purchase (Kumar, 2011; OECD/ITF, 2008), fuel and repair than cars or busses (Chang, 2012; Kumar, 2011; Olvera et al., 2010). They also maneuver traffic ridden urban roads at greater speeds than four-wheel vehicles (Trans-Africa Consortium, 2008; Tuffour & Appiagyei, 2014). Publics cite fare affordability and reduced travel times as factors that influence their preference for commuting via motorcycles (Kudebong et al., 2011; WHO, 2009). They may also depend on motorcycles for their ability to penetrate communities that are devoid of road networks, as well as their capacity for navigating obstructed and underdeveloped roads (Kowene, 2012; Olvera et al., 2010; Trans-Africa Consortium, 2008). Motorcycles are a rational choice for the commuting publics, fleet owners, and transportation service providers that benefit from their consumer market accessibility and socio-economic utility.

The Challenge of Documenting the Present State of Public Transportation in the Democratic Republic of Congo

There is an overall dearth of literature on the relationship between public transportation in the DRC and its citizenry’s daily spatial mobility routines. This subject
is either sidelined by a diachronic range of commonplace underdevelopment and
development discourses, or it functions as subtext within institutional reports produced by
international and state actors concerned with some aspect of the country’s transportation
infrastructure or conflict-related phenomena (See Lamb et al., 2012). The extant research
on public transportation in the DRC is primarily situated within the context of the
country’s infrastructural development. Such examples are found via works that examine
the socio-economic and political legacies of colonialism (Jewsiewicki, 1977; Ntoko,
2011); the country’s lack of basic infrastructure (Foster & Benitez, 2010); the decrepit
state of the DRC’s road and rail networks (AFDB, 2013; Connors, 2007; Kabwit, 1979;
Letsara & Saidi, 2013); linkages between national transportation infrastructure,
commerce and trade logistics (Bah, 2013; Ulimwengu, Funes, Headey, & You, 2009), as
well as the impact of the particulars of the DRC’s ‘minerals-for-infrastructure’
agreements with emerging economic blocs such as the alliance between Brazil, Russia,
India, China and South Africa (BRICS) and other international actors (Jansson, 2009,
2013).

Furthermore, the bulk of recent, in-depth research on the DRC’s transportation
infrastructure surveys the dimensions of foreign investment and tied-aid in refurbishment
and construction initiatives for the railways and roads that facilitate the country’s trade
hubs and major transportation arteries (Jansson, 2009, 2011, 2013; The World Bank,
2013). Most of this research focuses on the country’s capital city-province, Kinshasa
and nearby provinces that connect to the DRC’s national ports and international rail
system. A number of sources document the role of the DRC’s rivers and railways in the
mass transportation of laborers and raw materials throughout its colonial period until the present (Foster & Benitez, 2010; Jewsiewicki, 1977; Ntoko, 2011). Furthermore, multilateral and bilateral agencies publish reports that present limited overviews of the state of public transportation in the country (Democratic Republic of the Congo: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper-Progress Report, 2010; IOM, 2013). However, the most current and locally nuanced survey of public transportation in the DRC is found through the routine accounts of Internet based news websites such as the Radio Okapi Internet service, and news gathering web sites that focus on or feature issues related to the DRC such as, Direct cd and All Africa to name a few. Such information can also be located via the ambassadorial communiqués and press releases of international actors that invest in the DRC’s public transportation industry though the terms of trade agreements, as well as personal blogs published by citizen journalists, independent researchers and expatriate development workers

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Historical Overview of Public Transportation in the Democratic Republic of Congo

The nature of modern public transportation in the DRC has its beginnings in the facilitation of the Belgian colonial extractive industry. Colonial authorities built approximately 3,500 miles of non-contiguous railway systems throughout the territory to transport labor populations between designated residential settlements, mining operations and port cities (Belgian Information Center, 1942; Ntoko, 2011). Additionally, at independence, the DRC inherited a transportation infrastructure that consisted of an estimated 90,000 miles of roadways (Ntoko, 2011; Trefon, 2011) that linked the country’s ports, and railways in service of the colonial export economy (Jewsiewicki,
Thus, the country’s transportation infrastructure privileged commercial exports at the exclusion of the daily spatial mobility requirements of its citizens’ livelihoods. Subsequent decades of the corrupt Mobutu regime; a six-year civil war; and the emphasis on investment in private enterprise, minerals trade and “public sector management” as stipulated by the terms of structural adjustment programs all contributed to the deterioration of an already underdeveloped transportation infrastructure and hindered further development of road and rail networks in the country (Kabwit, 1979; N.A., 2011; Ntoko, 2011; Trefon, 2011).

At present, the country’s 11 provinces are largely disconnected, as existing rail and road networks fail to link them [See Appendix B]. National sources recently confirmed that only an estimated 10,000 miles of the DRC’s 32,000-mile road network are navigable (Bah, 2013 online). The African Development Bank found that, “… only 2% of the national [road] network [is] paved and [only] 11% of the rural feeder road network is in … acceptable condition (AFDB, 2013).” Additionally, improvements to the national rail system are underway in select areas, however the DRC’s current railway transportation network is limited to areas where mining and port activity transpires (AFDB, 2013; Edinger & Jansson, 2008; Railways Africa, 2010, 2011). It operates with a few dysfunctional locomotives and is subject to derailments, regular prolonged delays and power outages (Connors, 2007; Keane, 2011). These factors are compounded by the government railway agency’s (Société Nationale des Chemins de fer Congolais, SNCC) inability to compensate its employees (Keane, 2011; Railways Africa, 2010). The state of the DRC’s public transportation infrastructure results in the isolation and immobility
of populations that do not reside within the proximity of paved roads and local access roads. As roads and railways comprise the primary means by which the DRC’s population can engage in mobility to maintain their livelihoods, the trajectory of the DRC’s transportation infrastructure is inextricably linked to the manifestations of public transportation throughout the country and the aspects of human experience that it bears upon.

To date, railways, cars, auto rickshaws, motorcycles, ferries, modified mini buses, midi buses and a range of large passenger buses facilitate the DRC’s public commuter transportation system (Crouzier, 2013). Cars and busses are the most common forms of public transportation throughout the country, however public transportation operations vary in each province and in some instances motorcycles are outpacing the use of cars and busses for public commuting (Crouzier, 2013; Kowene, 2012; Reuters, 2013). Formal government supported public commuter transportation is realized through loans, investments and procurements from a combination of private corporations and parastatal entities. Collectively formal entities such as Transports au Congo (Transco), La Société de Transport Urbain du Congo (STUC) and Office National des Transports (ONATRA) oversee public commuter transportation in the country (Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Kinshasa, 2014a; IMF/ GRN DRC, 2010; IOM, 2013; Radio Okapi, 2014g; Trans-Africa Consortium, 2008).

Formal transportation in this instance is limited to bus fleets and railways whose services are undergoing incremental expansion and improvement especially in Kinshasa, the DRC’s capital city-province. For example, the parastatal Transco introduced 200 new
55-passenger Mercedes Benz buses to Kinshasa in 2013 and an additional 70 in 2014 (Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Kinshasa, 2014a; IOM, 2013; Kikayabinkarubi.net, 2014) all of which are scheduled to operate along assigned routes in the city. In 2006 the Indian government transferred lines of credit to the Congolese government for the acquisition of 228 passenger busses from India’s Tata Motors (Embassy of India in Kinshasa, 2013, p. 2). Although it unclear as to how these busses are currently used they were purchased as part of Kinshasa’s urban transportation development initiative (Ray, 2006; The Hindu Business line, 2013). Since the Kinshasa is the country’s political capital and most populous city with over 8 million residents the Congolese government plans to rectify Kinshasa’s public commuter transportation needs before it serves other major cities such as, “Kikwit and Lubumbashi ” (Reuters, 2013, online). Consequently, Kinshasa currently possesses the largest and most modern public passenger bus fleet in the country.

Formal public commuter transportation is either non-existent or limited to a handful of experimental and introductory initiatives in urban cities iv within and outside of Kinshasa (Crouzier, 2013; Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Kinshasa, 2014a; Reuters, 2013; Schumacher & January, 2014). Despite the attempts of the DRC’s government to address the absence, lack and poor condition of public commuter transportation in the country, it requires additional resources to purchase fleets, coordinate them and implement immediate solutions for its citizenry through formal modes of coordinated transportation. The country’s most populous cities outside of Kinshasa are Lubumbashi, Mbuji-Mayi and Kananga, each have over 1,000,000 residents
and the cities of Kisangani and Bukavu each have over 800,000 residents (Central Intelligence Agency of the United States of America, 2014). However, these cities primarily rely on informal modes of public commuter transportation, as formal government initiated methods are inadequate or unavailable. This is the case throughout the entire country, whereby informal transportation enterprise serves the routine transportation needs of the country’s rural and urban populations.

Intricacies of the Democratic Republic of Congo’s Informal Public Transportation Environment

Informal transportation in the DRC operates through a complex cultural ecology constituted by pedestrians, commuters, fleet conductors, motorcycle operators, taxi car operators, mini bus operators, auto rickshaw [litaka and petita in local vernaculars] operators, ferry navigators, bicycle operators and traffic authorities. Cars, mini buses, motorcycles, bicycles and auto rickshaws facilitate the country’s informal terrestrial public transportation system, each bearing unique operational structures and significance throughout the DRC’s urban, peri-urban and rural areas. Cars and mini buses are the most readily available modes of informal public transportation; and a limited number of auto rickshaws have been introduced to operate on roads that experience lower volumes of vehicular traffic ( Provincial Government of Katanga, 2012a).

Like formal methods, informal modes of public commuter transportation manifest differently in each of the country’s 11 provinces at the district, city and commune level. These variations may result from a number of factors attributed to the geographical locale and/or proximity of an area to: terrestrial and marine transportation infrastructure
[whether dysfunctional or new] and formal public transportation services; provincial or international borders; commercial trade and industrial centers; the country’s political capital and international administrative zones; as well as population dense centers and emergent population settlements. The nature of interaction between public policy, law enforcement and the DRC’s informal public transportation workers also contributes to the complexities of the country’s informal public transportation environment. The DRC’s public transportation regulations are either loosely enforced, subject to fleeting modifications, unknown, or ignored by many informal transportation workers (Crouzier, 2013; Radio Okapi, 2012b, 2014c, 2014n).

The DRC’s national government has drafted and infrequently applied national traffic laws known as the Code de la Route. However, revisions to these regulations have only been made in 1978 since the initial drafting of the document in 1957 (GRN RDC, 1978). In 2004 the latest version of the Code de la Route was reissued in a governmental publication without changes (Cabinet du Président de la République-GRN RDC, 2004). Although the Code de la Route is the national regulatory document for road traffic, it is primarily the ordinances of provincial and city-level governments that regulate the operation and use of informal transportation throughout the country.

For example, the local government of Kinshasa has sanctioned the phasing-out of, commuter transit minibuses called, “207” or “spirit-of death” in various parts of the city (Kikayabinkarubi.net, 2014; Radio Okapi, 2014f; Reuters, 2013, online) and motorcycle taxis have been banned from conducting business in the city center (Radio Okapi, 2014f). Additionally, the mayor of Goma prohibited the operation of motorcycle
taxis beyond 6 p.m. (Crouzier, 2013; Kowene, 2012; Radio Okapi, 2012h, 2013g, 2014j); in Lubumbashi motorcycle taxi services are generally prohibited after 6 p.m., but may be allowed to provide services until 7:30 p.m. in some cases (Radio Okapi, 2014j); and in the city of Matadi, motorcycle operation was completely outlawed for public transportation (Radio Okapi, 2013a) but subsequently reinstated with restrictions and mandatory training for motorcycle taxi operators (Radio Okapi, 2014a). In most cases informal transportation service providers are required to comply with local route assignments, as well as designated makeshift depots or ranks where passengers may lawfully embark and alight from vehicles (Crouzier, 2013; Radio Okapi, 2014f, 2014g).

The DRC’s informal transportation operators generally negotiate and restructure traffic rules and regulations according to their personal priorities and the sway of local occupational exigencies (Crouzier, 2013; Radio Okapi, 2013e, 2014c). This trend may also be evidenced throughout the realm of informal public transportation in SSA (Jacobs & Aeron-Thomas, 2000; Mazarire & Swart, 2014; Mutongi, 2006; Onywera & Blanchard, 2014; Starkey, 2007). Oftentimes informal transportation service providers avert formal traffic and vehicular regulations to assume structures that avail the greatest opportunities for income generation, and to limit their interactions with law enforcement officers. In such instances informal transport operators may choose or create their own routes (Crouzier, 2013); enable passengers to enter and disembark their vehicles at undesignated sites, as well as terminate and change travel destinations at will during the course of service.
Public transportation operators may attempt to avoid law enforcement officers in cases where their vehicles are unregistered; in violation of inspection codes or if they wish to abstain from the customary practice of *peage* which involves the monetary bribing of traffic officials as a condition for operating (Bertrand, 2014; Kakala, 2014; Radio Okapi, 2014d). The latter occurs as traffic enforcement officers practice rent-seeking behavior and wage arbitrary rule enforcement and fees as means to bolster their incomes (Kakala, 2014; Radio Okapi, 2012a, 2012f, 2014e, 2014i). In some cases, the DRC’s informal public transportation operators have their vehicles confiscated by traffic enforcement officials for failure or inability to comply with demands for money under the guise of traffic law enforcement (Radio Okapi, 2014n).

The routines and practices of the DRC’s informal transportation service operators are simultaneously considered injurious and beneficial to commuters and pedestrians. Informal public transportation is overwhelmingly associated with road traffic injuries and fatalities, which constitute a primary public health and safety concern in the DRC (Crouzier, 2013; Kakala, 2014; Kermeliotis, 2014; Radio Okapi, 2013i). The country’s informal transportation operators are charged with the abusive treatment, bodily harm and fatalities suffered by commuting publics and pedestrians (Crouzier, 2013; Radio Okapi, 2008a, 2012b, 2012d, 2013i, 2014c). Reports (Crouzier, 2013; Radio Okapi, 2012b) indicate that passengers whom commute using informal public transportation are subject to undue, forced expulsion from vehicles, as well as physical injury as fleet operators enforce impromptu route changes and engage in reckless behavior in their attempts to compete with other operators for acquiring new and additional passengers.
Although the risk of injury and potential fatality for motorcycle taxi passengers is generally greater than as compared with other forms of public commuter transportation (Eze et al., 2013; Radio Okapi, 2013i), motorcycle taxis offer passengers practical advantages over rival forms of public transportation (Olvera et al., 2012, 2010). Passengers benefit from individualized service, door-step service, access to roads and terrain that cannot be navigated by other types of vehicles, less expensive fares, and greater navigability in dense road traffic conditions (Chang, 2012; Diaz Olvera et al., 2013; Howe & Davis, 1999; Olvera et al., 2012, 2010; Oyesiku, 2002; Radio Okapi, 2011, 2014n; Spittaels & Hilgert, 2008). These factors may contribute to commuters’ preferences for motorcycle taxi services; the growing popularity of motorcycles as a viable public transportation option; an increase in the pursuit of motorcycle taxi labor in the country; and the creation of the motorcycle taxi worker in the DRC.

Characterizing the Democratic Republic of Congo’s Motorcycle Taxi Workers

The DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers are known as, “Manseba” ix and “Wewa” ix [Luba words from the Tshiluba language], which are common referents for individuals who operate motorcycle taxis for a living. (Crouzier, 2013; Kakab, 2013; Provincial Government of Katanga, 2012a, 2012b; Radio Okapi, 2014n). Motorcycle taxi operators are generally considered a migrant community that is primarily formed by members of the BaLuba-Kasaï ethnic group from the city of Mbuji Mayi in the Kasaï Orientale province and the city of Kananga in the Kasaï Occidental province (Crouzier, 2013; Radio Okapi, 2010b, 2011, 2014n). Residents of the two Kasaï provinces, and particularly the BaLuba peoples are known as the ethnic group of motorcycle taxi labor in
the country. The DRC’s motorcycle taxi workforce shows exponential growth as migrating populations join extra-regional receiving communities to settle into the country’s industrial, economic and political capitals. For example, in the year 2008 there was an estimated 1,000 motorcycle taxi workers in Lubumbashi and in 2013 there was approximately 4,000 motorcycle taxi workers operating within the city (Crouzier, 2013).

Motorcycle taxi work is a male dominated occupation and gendered lifestyle that includes an extremely low, relatively invisible number of female members. Although the males comprising the Manseba and Wewa population overwhelmingly hail from the Luba ethnic group, the composition of this population presents diversity as it pertains to age; marital status; parental status; educational status; employment history; political affiliation, and household function. They may range in age from 18 years and upwards. Some own their motorcycles, while others may work for motorcycle owners on a daily basis or rent their bikes for intermittent periods under extended “contracts” (Lamb et al., 2012, p. 20). Many are single and childless but it also the case that wedded males with children are represented within the occupation.

Some may have no formal education (Radio Okapi, 2012b), while others possess formal primary, secondary or tertiary education. Several motorcycle taxi workers have labored in mines either as children or adults, while others held other types of jobs typical to their geographical origins, such as positions security guards, military personnel (Lamb et al., 2012, pp. 19–21), artisanal miners or traders. Others have no employment history and have endured chronic unemployment, while some manage underemployment conditions. Political associations amongst motorcycle taxi workers are varied, however,
typically ethnically aligned. Finally, the roles enacted within their households may stem from their positions as sole providers or contributors of income and other resources. They may also be obligatory roles based on their immediate and extended kinship relations within their social networks. Recognition of these factors is salient for appreciating their contribution to the social identity and thus group experience of Manseba and Wewa populations, and may impact the categorical perceptions and attitudes held by outgroups that they conduct work amongst.

Migration, Daily Spatial Mobility and the Embodied Nature of Motorcycle Taxi Labor in the Democratic Republic of Congo

Migration and daily spatial mobility are embodied practices, made up of habituses that require examination in the telling of the stories of motorcycle taxi workers in the DRC. Bourdieu (1977) conceives of habitus as both a, “structured and structuring” system of enduring and transitional attitudes (Fuchs, 2003, p. 137); motivations (Stones, 2012, p. 8) and patterns (Dion, Sitz, & Rémy, 2011, p. 325) that generate social practices and perceptions, which recursively inform the reproduction of “sociopsychological,” (Elliott & Urry, 2010, p. 10) dispositions and stances. Within the system of habitus, the body is, “a mode of perception and knowledge,” that manifests internalized and persistent structures through social actors’ outwardly practices. (Dion et al., 2011, p. 325). As actors are exposed to varying situational contexts and external structures [such as other, and others’ habituses], they make sense of, adapt to, and act in keeping with their habitus (Hilgers, 2009, p. 731). Thus, through habitus the body is a vessel and representation of
practice, whereby embodied structures become visible to the eye and comprehensible to others’ sensibilities through, and because of bodily performances.

The idea of habitus gives rise to the social constructionist process of embodiment, which links human bodies to interactive systems of meaning and socio-cultural relations (Bourdieu, 1977; Cresswell, 1999; Elder-Vass, 2008; Sheller, 2011). Through this process the body functions as a conduit, “receptacle” (Dion et al., 2011, p. 325) and instrument for the, “[confirm]ation and [resist]ance,” of norms, ideologies, policies and statuses (Cresswell, 1999, p. 176). The DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers are construed of a complex habitus [these will be detailed in the latter parts of this work] of, perspectival gazes, media frames, identity performances, and policy prescriptions that evolve from, and structure their position as migrant laborers. These phenomena result from their embodied practices of regular inter-regional migration and labor facilitated via daily spatial mobility.

*Migration and Motorcycle Taxi Worker Embodiments*

National discourses in the DRC presume that the expanding presence of motorcycle taxi workers in the country’s cities and towns is the result of ruptured socio-economic networks that have been forced to shift from smaller, economically frail [basically dormant and resource scarce mining-centers] cities of the Kasaï Oriental and Kasaï Occidental provinces to more populous and industrially active cities in search of employment (Radio Okapi, 2010b, 2011). In some instances sending communities are home to ex-combatant populations that have engaged in conflict in the country’s Eastern regions (IRIN, 2009; Lamb et al., 2012). The migration of Kasaïans and other
provincials [that are less visible or underrepresented] into the DRC’s industrially driven urban and peri-urban spaces is viewed as a strategy for the acquisition of resources and opportunities in receiving locales that are already choked by the absence and wane of such affordances. Above all, motorcycle taxi workers are seen as an imposing regional Other, or national, “pariah” (Crouzier, 2013) in many of the locales that they move to for employment in the country’s informal public commuter transportation economy.

Outside of the accompaniment of motorcycles, perhaps the foremost way that motorcycle taxi workers are discernible is by way of their ethnicity. As ethnic migrants-cum-Manseba and Wewa, motorcycle taxi workers are delineated from, and categorized by local populations according to their linguistic traits, cultural mannerisms and appearances in public. Ethnicity may be discerned through these bodily practices (Kray, 2005), whereby the body poses as a channel for the making of ethnicity (Dion et al., 2011) and the relay of particular ethnic embodiments. According to Dion, Sitz & Rémy (2011, p. 235) ethnicity is fundamental to ones experiential domain, “entangled in embodied practices transmitted, learned and solidified through interactions with the world”. With this in mind it is imperative to consider ways that the ethnicity of motorcycle taxi workers in the DRC is not only integral to how their daily mobility routines are perceived, depicted and enacted through exchanges with others, but why it confounds their attempts to form representations of themselves, conduct place-making and guide the construction of their geo-spatial significance within the places that they turn to for work.
Migration thus presents problems of daily spatial mobility for both migrating populations whom become Manseba and Wewa, as well as the inhabitants of the cities that they move into and throughout. The nexus of problems is realized in three major ways: (1) as motorcycle taxi workers negotiate, project and consolidate their social identity[ies] to transform their status among powerful and dominant outgroups; (2) through transactional social interactions characterized by preconceived ideas and unfavorable sentiments about motorcycle taxi workers [and their migrant networks]; and (3) as a consequence of representations circulated amongst mass media channels and outgroup socio-communicative networks that inform the attitudes of locals, policy makers, law enforcement and other institutions within receiving locales.

Additionally, the migration of these employment-seeking groups generates local anxieties associated with resource threats and the perceived disruption of social, and oftentimes moral safety (See Radio Okapi, 2012h, 2013j, 2014n). In such instances their transition from migrant Kasaïan to Manseba and Wewa is met with an embodied narrative that they struggle to gain control over as they, “body forth” (Thrift, as cited in Pinch & Reimer, 2012, p. 441) into dramatic terrain that places them in a contest for social, political and economic power manifest through their attempts to subvert socio-economic fixity by means of daily spatial mobility.

The Spectacled Daily Spatial Mobility of the Democratic Republic of Congo’s Motorcycle Taxi Workers

Daily spatial mobility (Kellerman, 2012) is the recurrent and multiply-situated corporeal [and oftentimes virtual or imagined] movements enacted by social actors that
enter, exit and traverse physical places and social spaces for the purpose of maintaining life-activities pertinent to their livelihoods and personal desires (Bryceson, Mbara, & Maunder, 2003; Elliott & Urry, 2010). It juxtaposes the intersubjective duality of space and place with motorcycle taxi workers’ use of their bodies, meaning-making capacities and imaginaries as reproductive structures for action and the attainment of social mobility. However, aside from the structures that they wage to achieve mobility, motorcycle taxi labor in the DRC holds socio-cultural, political and economic significance that transcends its labor force. It involves a national [and international in some cases] audience of overseers, uncertain onlookers, critics and supporters who partake in the construction and manipulation of motorcycle taxi worker embodiments.

Motorcycle taxi workers’ mobility routines are thus spectacled through popular and institutional discourses. These utterances pertain to the regulation of the country’s motorcycle taxis; they elaborate the ways that motorcycle taxi workers are a hazard to themselves and others, as well as how their work makes them a target for violent offenses; they provide the basis for viewing motorcycle taxi workers with suspicion; and finally they offer appreciation and support for the practicality and utility of motorcycle taxis in the DRC.

The Regulation of Motorcycle Taxis and Motorcycle Taxi Workers in the Democratic Republic of Congo

Local governments claim that regulatory interventions are necessary to shield the public from the risky behaviors of motorcycle taxi workers, as well as to protect motorcycle taxi workers from themselves due to their neglect of traffic rules (Radio
Officials also assert that regulations serve to limit motorcycle workers’ exposure to targeted violent crimes (Radio Okapi, 2013g). Furthermore, since acts of terrorism and insurgency have been associated with motorcyclists, governments maintain that they are duty bound to control moto-mobility\textsuperscript{xii} throughout the country. The daily spatial mobility of motorcycle taxi workers in the DRC is highly politicized and subject to periodic cycles of regulation, deregulation and re-regulation. Since their emergence, motorcycle taxis have operated within the confines of a political limbo. A prime example of the country’s vacillating regulations for motorcycle taxi labor can be made through examination of the regulatory course taken in the city of Lubumbashi. Prior to 2010 Motorcycle taxis were an entirely unregulated enterprise in Lubumbashi until they were completely banned during the same year, and subsequently allowed to operate on unofficial terms (Radio Okapi, 2010b). By early 2012 motorcycle taxis were restricted to and from certain areas within the city (Provincial Government of Katanga, 2012a, 2012b). From mid-2012 to the present fluctuating curfews, jurisdictional mandates, carriage laws, as well as public and private assembly restrictions have governed the operation of Lubumbashi’s motorcycle taxis (Crouzier, 2013; Provincial Government of Katanga, 2012a, 2012b; Radio Okapi, 2013g, 2014j).

The mercurial nature of the regulations placed on the operation of motorcycle taxis positions its labor force in an uncertain and liminal state. Regulations are ordinarily unknown (Radio Okapi, 2013i), ambiguous, incomplete, reactionary and oftentimes considered punitive. The United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the DR Congo and some local governments have taken to offering motorcycle taxi workers
informational courses that provide overviews to regulations and traffic laws (MONUSCO, 2014; Radio Okapi, 2014a, 2014k), however such initiatives are left to the discretion of provincial and city-level authorities. In many cases, governments communicate regulations via local mass media channels such as radio and television (Crouzier, 2013). In others, motorcycle taxi workers only learn of laws after law enforcement offices intercept them for breaching them.

The DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers perform in an atmosphere of regulatory tumult whereby their ability to organize themselves as formal entities and work in clubs is daunted by regulatory tensions. For instance, one cannot perform as a motorcycle taxi operator in the DRC without membership in a motorcycle taxi club or local station association. However, membership within such groups does not ensure ones right to conduct a motorcycle taxi, as their parent organization may not be formally recognized by governmental agencies. Possession of the correct licenses, permits and organizational articles may not guarantee legitimacy in the eyes of the law as regulations fluctuate and may go unpublished. Furthermore, a culture of arbitrary law enforcement enables PCR [Police Routier/ Traffic Police] and other types of police to impose old and false regulations on motorcycle taxi workers (See Radio Okapi, 2012a, 2012f, 2014j). These phenomena thrive due to the fact that both the DRC’s national and local governments have not established a terminal process so that motorcycle taxi organizations attain the credentials for legitimate operation and rights-based recognition.

The lack of cohesive regulation has come to characterize and reflect upon motorcycle taxi workers as they subvert and craft rules to seize control over, and prosper
within their work environments. These uncertainties structure the work routines of the country’s motorcycle taxi workers to contribute to the state of their presentations and representations. Essentially, disarray is transposed onto and projected through Manseba and Wewa bodies as their mobility routines, bodily comportments and presence have come to signify the absence of regulation. Thus, they are primarily seen breaking traffic laws, engaging in disruptive public behavior, maneuvering their motorcycles without caution and congregating in menacing formations as they abound in the country’s cities and communes. Regulations are thus carried out onto and toward the bodies of motorcycle workers to correct, punish and monitor them. In such instances they face intimidation, harassment (Crouzier, 2013; Nyota Radio Television, 2014; Radio Okapi, 2012c, 2015), arrest (Radio Okapi, 2010b, 2013g, 2014o), as well as the seizure of their motorcycles by law enforcement officers (Digitalcongo.net, 2014; Radio Okapi, 2014j, 2014n) that assume a socio-politically ordained right over motorcycle taxi workers’ experiences in the country.

_Hazardous Motorcycle Taxis and the Hazards of Motorcycle Taxi Work in the Democratic Republic of Congo_

According to the World Health Organization’s _Global Status Report on Road Safety_ (2013, p. 88) Approximately, “15%” of road traffic deaths in the DRC involve, “riders of motorized 2 or 3-wheel vehicles”. Local authorities in the DRC cite a stark increase in road accidents and fatalities involving motorcycle taxis (Radio Okapi, 2013a, 2013i, 2014n). Although reports attribute “70 %” of road traffic passenger deaths due to four-wheel vehicles in the country (WHO, 2013, p. 88) motorcycles and motorcycle taxi
workers are routinely equated to an impending danger, where injury or death are inevitable. The practices of the country’s motorcycle taxi workers are usually likened to risk-taking, whereby they believed to intentionally pursue dangerous courses of action. The most debated issue is their failure to wear motorcycle helmets (Provincial Government of Katanga, 2012b; Radio Okapi, 2008a, 2008b, 2014n). Country officials also cite motorcycle taxi workers’ use of excessive vehicular speed, the carriage of more than one passenger, [including babies] (Kaka, 2014; Lamb et al., 2012, p. 25; Radio Okapi, 2010b, 2013i) and travel against oncoming traffic (Radio Okapi, 2014n) as an indictment against the occupation. However, some authorities acknowledge structural factors that facilitate this behavior, such as a ignorance of road traffic laws, functional illiteracy, a lack of knowledge about where helmets can be obtained as well as some workers’ inability to earn sufficient funds (Radio Okapi, 2008a) for purchasing helmets, resulting in their treatment as non-essential items. Other issues that do not receive adequate attention, pertain the fact that many motorcycle taxi operators conduct their work while under the influence of alcohol (Kaka, 2014) and that a number of motorcycle taxi laborers have not benefitted from a formal education beyond the primary level. Together these factors shape public and authoritative attitudes attributed to the real and perceived hazards of motorcycle taxis and the motorcycle taxi workforce.

*The hazards of motorcycle taxi work in the Democratic Republic of Congo.* Aside from the risks and hazards attributed to motorcycle taxi workers’ behaviors, their work exposes them to violent crimes and other criminal offenses. The victimization of the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers has become a normalized, underrepresented and
systematic phenomenon throughout the country. This is the result of attacks committed against motorcycle taxi workers by law enforcement officers, military personnel, intelligence agents, rebel militias, and organized bandits. These acts are motivated by a range of factors including personal resource acquisition, ethnic and political rifts, as well as local organizational struggles for power over space and place.

The DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers have become victims of a rising number of assaults, robberies, (Radio Okapi, 2012c, 2014m) and murders (Radio Okapi, 2010a, 2012i, 2013g, 2013h, 2014j, 2014t). They have been shot and killed by police officers, soldiers and members of the DRC’s national intelligence agency on a number of occasions for supposed traffic offenses, attempts to evade capture by law enforcement, confrontations over the collection of fees, and by accidental shootings (Radio Okapi, 2012i, 2014j, 2015). The murder of motorcycle taxi workers is a national trend, especially in the border city of Kasumbalesa where, 18 motorcycle taxi workers were killed by law enforcement officers over a period of three months in 2012 (Radio Okapi, 2012i, online). During the first half of the year 2013, motorcycle taxi workers were the victims in, “17” known murder cases in Lubumbashi (Radio Okapi, 2013h, online). Again in Kasumbalesa, “four” motorcycle taxi workers were shot by, “unknown” assailants within the span of, “one week” in 2014 (Radio Okapi, 2014b, online).

Insurgent militia members and organized criminals have also contributed to the murder rate of Manseba and Wewa in the country. In some cases rebel groups have murdered motorcycle taxi workers because of their ethnicity; as a mechanism for inciting fear throughout the communities they work in (Human Rights Watch, 2015), and as
coercion for the workers’ compliance in the orchestration of tactical activities through the extortion of money and other forms of support, such as transportation (Doyle, 2012). These acts have transpired in regions of the country where protracted conflict and resulting insecurity prevail, but are becoming widespread and trickling to other areas. Examples of the murder, and the near fatal shooting or stabbing of motorcycle taxi workers have also been documented in disaggregate news accounts and institutional reports.

The same groups involved in the murder of motorcycle taxi workers are also implicated for assaulting and robbing the laborers for their vehicles and earnings on several occasions. Members of organized crime groups pose as customers, soldiers and police officers to execute their plans for stealing from Manseba and Wewa throughout the country (Radio Okapi, 2012c, 2014t). The workers are aware of upticks in these offenses during holiday periods and on well known monthly employment pay periods (Radio Okapi, 2010a). In Mbandaka bandits torched the motorcycle taxi workers’ motorcycles and ordered them to discard their clothing while they robbed them in front of onlookers (Radio Okapi, 2012c). In the conflict ridden Sud-Kivu town of Rutemba criminals rob motorcycle taxi workers and their passengers (Radio Okapi, 2014s). Similarly rebel insurgents, such as “Mai Mai Yakutumba,” and “Forces Nationales de Libération (FNL)” ambush motorcycle taxi workers and make away with motorcycles and passengers’ possessions (Lamb et al., 2012, p. 21). Some motorcycle taxi workers have responded by siding with local officials regarding operational curfews and route restrictions, (Radio
Okapi, 2013b) and have resorted to screening the identities of potential customers (Radio Okapi, 2014t).

Additionally, bona fide law enforcement agents and military personnel have established tactics to intercept and intimidate motorcycle taxi workers through manufactured encounters and false laws that assist them with the seizure of money and motorcycles. In such cases dubious checkpoints and tolls blockades are set up to conduct these illicit practices (Radio Okapi, 2012f, 2015). Such incidents have caused motorcycle taxi workers to protest (Radio Okapi, 2012a, 2013f, 2014r) and challenge the rightful authority of these public officials.

Suspicion and the Daily Spatial Mobility of Motorcycle Taxi Workers in the Democratic Republic of Congo

The daily spatial mobility of motorcycle taxi workers is fraught with suspicion due to widespread crime facilitated through the use of motorcycles. In some instances, criminals impersonate motorcycle taxi workers to perpetrate organized crime. Motorcycle taxi workers may also work with political insurgents through forced conscription or due to the nature of complex allegiances and ties to such groups. Criminals acting as motorcycle taxi workers have become a menacing presence to the public, as well as legitimate motorcycle taxi workers since it can be impossible to discern between individuals with criminal intent and actual laborers. Furthermore, authorities problematize motorcycles, moto-mobility and motorcycle taxi workers as a combination that if not stemmed, threatens to breach the tipping point of existing social, political and economic instability within the country. This has generated perceptions of fear, anger and
distrust among the public, in addition to the inscription of social deviance upon Manseba and Wewa.

Several incidents have transpired in the country’s capital city, Kinshasa where organized youth gangs, called, “Kuluna” are partnering with men who possess motorcycles to engage in pickpocketing, mobile phone thefts, the ransoming of property, burglaries and worse (J. Hogg, 2013; Human Rights Watch, 2014; MBG, 2013). These criminal groups are the historical product of electoral politics in Kinshasa from 2006 to 2011 whereby presidential candidates and local politicians assembled and sponsored Kuluna in exchange for, “protection” and the, “intimidation” of oppositional supporters (Human Rights Watch, 2014, p. 1). During these times Kuluna were provided with weapons, money and vehicles including motorcycles, which they used to assist politicians’ endeavors (Human Rights Watch, 2014, pp. 1, 12). To date Kuluna culture has resurfaced in the form of criminal element inclusive of street children and local gangs (J. Hogg, 2013; UNJHRO, 2014). The Congolese president, military and law enforcement leadership have vowed to arrest Kuluna throughout Kinshasa and other areas that they may emerge (Bangré, 2013; J. Hogg, 2013; UNJHRO, 2014). The combination of motorcycle enabled crime in conjunction with the history of Kuluna and their present involvement with motorcyclists in the execution of criminal acts has cast suspicions upon motorcycle taxi workers in Kinshasa and other parts of the country (Radio Okapi, 2013j, 2014q). It is the concern of many motorcycle taxi drivers that the name, Kaluna is becoming synonymous with the terms Manseba and Wewa.
Beside their supposed associations with local gangs, motorcycle taxi workers are suspected of working in collusion with insurgent rebel contingents that contribute to the maintenance of regional insecurity in conflict zones and border towns. In 2014 motorcycle taxi workers were found to be involved with providing Bakata Katanga [Katangan Kiswahili term for ‘dividers of Katanga’ or literally ‘those who cut Katanga’] secessionists transportation from regional outskirts to Lubumbashi, which resulted in the rebel group’s push to take over the city’s central business district after 2 previous attempts (Kavanagh, 2013; LeKatangais & Dieudonne, 2013; Radio Okapi, 2013c, 2013d). These events have caused local governments to assume that insurgents are among the ranks of the members of local motorcycle taxi clubs. They have addressed this concern by restricting the public and private gathering of local motorcycle taxi organizations due to fear that they may be conspiring to seize the city. They have also ordered a slew of other restrictions upon the mobility acts performed by motorcycle taxi workers. Motorcycle taxi organizations have argued that the actions of the few motorcycle taxi laborers are not representative of the entire labor force and should not be foregrounded to enlarge the air of mistrust surrounding the occupation. They also contend that it is possible that those responsible for transporting rebels are unaware of the identities and intentions of these passengers.

However, in some instances motorcycle taxi operations in the DRC are believed to thrive through the support and direction of rebel militias and terrorist groups (Kowene, 2012; McGregor, 2014; Stearns, 2013; West, 2015). It is rumored that motorcycle taxi workers in the town of Beni belong to transportation networks controlled by the Ugandan
affiliates of the Al Shabaab terror organization (Hellyer, 2013; McGregor, 2014; West, 2015). A United Nations Security Council investigation refuted the credibility of claims (UN Security Council Committee, 2014, pp. 3, 8, 10, 119, 121) that link Al Shabaab to Ugandan insurgents and terrorist groups that maintain a presence in Beni. However, the reporting of regionally embedded international media entities, researchers and non-governmental organizations offer that a link between Al Shabaab, the Ugandan ADF-NALU (Ross, 2014) and local motorcycle taxi workers is real (Hellyer, 2013; McGregor, 2014; West, 2015). Although the connection to Beni’s motorcycle taxi workers and Al Shabaab sponsored groups remains unclear it is common for motorcycle taxi workers to garner income and maintain their livelihoods via clientelistic arrangements with militias and rebel groups who are responsible for conflict and terrorism within their communities (Stearns, 2013; West, 2015). In such cases, motorcycle taxi workers’ daily earnings pay for the hire of the motorcycles that they use for work and directly support the operations of groups responsible for various forms of terror. Such relationships are becoming commonplace among motorcycle taxi workers and insurgent militias, particularly in Eastern Congo (Stearns, 2013). As such they lend to wholesale characterizations of motorcycle taxi workers. Regardless of the absence or presence of affiliations with insurgents and rebel terrorist groups, motorcycle taxi workers serve an unwitting function in mainstream socio-political frames that are conflated with narratives of insecurity, unrest and enduring suspicion.
Appreciation and Support for Motorcycle Taxi Workers in the Democratic Republic of Congo

In spite of the unfavorable dispositions taken toward Manseba and Wewa populations, their utility, practicality and the nature of auxiliary services that they perform within the DRC’s communities do not go overlooked by members of the public, law enforcement, non-governmental entities and politicians. Motorcycle taxi workers are appreciated for making travel possible, easier and safer for the public (Crouzier, 2013; Kowene, 2012; Radio Okapi, 2014n). They are regarded as the unofficial assistants to Congolese law enforcement officers through their acts of vigilantism (Radio Okapi, 2014n, 2014t). Non-governmental clinical entities deem them a critical resource in the facilitation of medical services (MSF-DWB, 2014), and socio-political leaders associate with them to benefit from their socio-communicative value (Radio Okapi, 2012g, 2014h). It is perhaps these factors that make them relevant, sustain their position in the informal commuter transport realm and contribute to the overall good-evil binary that influences appreciation and disdain for their occupation.

Motorcycle taxis help the DRC’s citizens cope with the country’s widespread problem of non-existent and underdeveloped road networks (Crouzier, 2013). Not only do they grant citizens increased physical mobility, but they enable them to exploit and create social, political and economic resources. Motorcycle taxis make travel convenient, safer and more affordable for the country’s citizens (Crouzier, 2013; Kowene, 2012; Radio Okapi, 2014n). Passengers can request to be dropped off at any location, which mitigates personal safety issues, especially during the night (Crouzier, 2013; Kowene,
Motorcycle taxis are the cheapest [in most cases] mode of transportation available in the DRC. They allow passengers to travel to and from hard to reach areas and usually at faster rates of travel time. These factors apparently outweigh public sentiments pertaining to the risks and dangers of riding with motorcycle taxis, as the number of motorcycle taxis in the DRC is steadily increasing and motorcycle taxi workers are known to earn more than other kinds as informal public transportation workers in the country\textsuperscript{xii}.

Police officers also benefit from the speed and maneuverability of motorcycle taxis as motorcycle taxi workers perform acts of vigilantism to capture criminals that commit robberies, hit and run vehicular offenses and other crimes that occur on the DRC’s roads. In Kinshasa, they have, “…helped the police in case[es] of vehicle accidents, chase[es] and [the] arrest [of] fugitives drivers…” (Radio Okapi, 2014n, 2014t, online). The international organization Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) [Doctors Without Borders] created the Motorcycles Without Borders initiative in the DRC which, enlists motorcycle taxi workers to transport people, medicines and medical supplies, in addition to conducting needs assessments in remote conflict areas with poor road access (COMESARIA, 2014; MSF-DWB, 2014). The program acknowledges that motorcycle taxi workers offer not only the benefits of mobility, but that their local knowledge and socio-communicative relations are crucial to the program’s service communities, efficiency and efficacy (MSF-DWB, 2014).

Motorcycles taxi workers’ ability to organize themselves and make appeals through public events has caught the attention of the country’s political and
organizational leadership. Their presence is oftentimes arranged by such groups at public events (See Radio Okapi, 2014h). Similarly, the representatives of political parties and governmental organizations attend public functions that are organized by motorcycle taxi associations. These public displays of intergroup cooperation show how motorcycle taxi labor is implicated in the interests and platforms of various political organizations and occupational contingents. During a public event in Bukavu over, “100” motorcycle taxi workers coordinated with local politician Vital Kamerhe, to transport supporters of, a “Caravan of Peace,” in effort to revive attention toward conflict in the country’s eastern regions (Radio Okapi, 2014h, online). Motorcycle taxi workers have gained the support of the public and politicians due to their involvement in collaborations that represent their concern for, and interest in a range of social, political and economic issues in the DRC.

They have also become adept at using public events to draw media coverage to garner attention and support for their grievances. For instance, it was reported (Radio Okapi, 2014n, online) that in Kinshasa, “Wewa” staged a protest “…outside of the headquarters…” of “TV Molière” to complain about the “confiscation of eight… motorcycles” by local traffic police. The broadcast of their complications with law enforcement has created empathy for them, as sympathetic citizens are familiar with abrasive policing practices in the country. One particular public show of support for them challenged the authority of law enforcement when a motorcycle taxi worker was shot by a police officer after attempting to flee a motorcycle seizure for breaking the operations curfew in a Lubumbashi commune. The residents, “… took to the street on the same
night…” and also responded, “…by blocking the main route of their neighborhood with burned tires…” (Radio Okapi, 2014j)

Overall, the DRC’s Wewa and Manseba communities use a combination of public work routines, daily deeds and strategic performances to structure their appearances and engage others’ attitudes. These acts in addition to the commonly understood benefits of their labor contribute to the appreciation and support that various stakeholders maintain for them. They also factor into the nature of popular and mass mediated representations that depict motorcycle taxi workers in the country.

Daily Spatial Mobility and Mass Mediated Representations of Motorcycle Taxi Workers in the Democratic Republic of Congo

Understanding the experiences and significance of motorcycle taxi workers in the DRC requires an examination of communicative phenomena including representation, identity, perception, social interaction, and the enactment of work. These factors relate to their experiences with interregional migration, their daily corporeal movement within and across space, as well as the embodied nature of their roles as of public transportation laborers. The literature demonstrates that these contexts dictate the ways that the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers are understood and treated by observing publics, governmental authorities and law enforcement entities in the country. They are also inextricable to the ways that motorcycle taxi workers go about the elaboration of work-life. The DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers’ daily spatial mobility ordinarily follows a dichotomy defined by others’ representations in competition with the representations that motorcycle taxi workers wish to project in the construction and defense of their personhood. Others’
representations are transmitted via the mass media and diffused through interpersonal networks. Motorcycle taxi workers primarily represent themselves through the daily practice of mobility, as well as through the creation of events such as blockades, protests, funerary processions, and the withdrawal of their presence and service through strikes.

Mass mediated representations of the country’s motorcycle taxi workers are primarily visual and aural and normally flow from mass media broadcasters to interpersonal networks. These widespread representations subsequently become imagined products of the audio and visual media environment and thrive within the minds and conversations of the average Congolese citizen, lawmakers, law enforcement and others that interact within the country’s socio-communicative realm. Motorcycle taxi workers are thus shaded according to a binary of good and evil via stories told, analyzed and managed by others.

In many cases, governmental stances on motorcycle taxi workers are communicated in a patriarchal and top-down manner as official communiqués and statements circulate through news media to discuss, debate and present the affairs of motorcycle taxi workers as socio-political ills requiring tolerance, corrective policies, behavioral interventions and regulations at national, provincial and local levels. For example, motorcycle taxi workers are problematized through governmental discourses that conflate their line of work with regional and international cross-border terrorism (West, 2015, p. 6), patterns in local crime, and community upheavals within the country. They are also portrayed as law breaking actors that cause harm to themselves and others due to failure to comply with traffic laws and engagement in reckless behavior. Several
incidents have generated and perpetuated these sentiments. Local news reporting, the transcripts of local governmental sessions or the institutional documents of international agencies all capture and narrativize these events.

An example can be drawn from the experiences of motorcycle taxi workers in the Kivu provinces whom are subject to an operational curfew as the mayor of the city Goma claims that they are the most “visible” factor for violence and insecurity caused by “grenade” throwing, “assassinations and murder” due to their assumed compliance with rebel terrorists (Radio Okapi, 2012h, online), such as “M23” (Kowene, 2012, online) and, “ADF- NALU” [Allied Democratic Forces-National Army for the Liberation of Uganda] (McGregor, 2014, p. 8; West, 2015, p. 6). Such accusations are based on the fact that rebel groups use motorcycles to commit violent offences within the Kivu provinces and in other parts of the DRC where insurgents and terrorists operate. These associations may also arise through similar trends evidenced throughout East African countries such as Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda, which border the DRC’s Kivu provinces (McGregor, 2014; West, 2015; See Figure 1, Appendices A and B). Furthermore, in the DRC the link between terrorism, rebels and two-wheel vehicles may stem from concessions for peace between local governments and rebel groups that involve the exchange of weapons and explosives for money or material items such as bicycles. One such instance transpired in 2005, whereby religious clergy in the Katanga province publicly traded “800 bicycles” with Mayi Mayi secessionist rebels in Lubumbashi (ICG, 2006, p. 3; Radio Okapi, 2013d). They may also be linked to the historical Kuluna phenomenon whereby motorcycles served the security activities and violent intimidation tactics of hired youth
gangs in the streets of Kinshasa during the country’s last two elections (Human Rights Watch, 2014).

Additionally, spates of crime such as robbery and sexual offenses also pinned to motorcycle taxi operators. In the Katangan provincial city of Kalemie they have been accused of collaborating with bicycle taxi operators [called Toleka, meaning ‘let’s go’ in the Lingala language] to carry out, “pickpocketing,” purse snatching and mobile phone grabbing (Radio Okapi, 2013j). Motorcycle taxi workers have also been accused of the rape and attempted rape of female passengers that are kidnapped and sexually assaulted in isolated areas (Radio Okapi, 2013k). Motorcycle taxi organizations are also blamed for their involvement with riots and community-wide brawls over operational turf, fare monopolies, debts between rival motorcycle taxi organizations; competition for organizational leadership positions and the unlawful seizure of motorcycles by law enforcement and government officials (Digitalcongo.net, 2014; Radio Okapi, 2012g, 2014j, 2014o). In the Oriental province’s city of Bunia two motorcycle taxi organizations fought over the presidential seat for the, “Association of Motorcycle Drivers Ituri (ACOMOI)” that resulted in “serious injuries for five individuals (Radio Okapi, 2012g, online). Similarly, the DRC’s capital city Kinshasa was the scene of a brawl between motorcycle taxi workers, journalists and traffic police (PCR) during a protest on the property of a television station over the confiscation of eight motorcycles (Radio Okapi, 2014n).

These types of scenarios have become commonplace with the development of Congolese motorcycle taxi organizations and contribute to unfavorable characterizations
that complicate their members’ ability to operate legitimately. They also call into question the nature of motorcycle taxi organizations’ motivations and rights to engage in daily spatial mobility through motorcycle taxi labor. In addition to incidents involving violent crimes and altercations the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers are associated with perils of road travel that culminate in accidents, injuries and fatalities, which have been attributed to their ignorance, neglect or intended evasion of traffic and road safety laws (Crouzier, 2013; Radio Okapi, 2008a, 2013i, 2014k).

Mass mediated news reports also relay conflicts between motorcycle taxi workers and the government over laws and regulations for the operation of motorcycle taxis. For instance many motorcycle taxi workers are known to ride motorcycles without helmets for themselves or their passengers; they are also cited for operating motorcycles without registrations and licenses; overloading their motorcycles with passengers and failing to respect regulations related to local curfews, and restricted areas of operation such as city centers and business districts (Crouzier, 2013; Provincial Government of Katanga, 2012b; Radio Okapi, 2008a, 2013i, 2014f, 2014j).

Overall, the country’s motorcycle taxi workers function in a socio-communicative environment that offers contrasting portrayals of their daily spatial mobility and appearances in public. They are simultaneously represented as perpetrators and vigilantes; crime victims and victimizers; the cause for disruption and organizers for peace; elicit gangsters and leaders of labor organizations. These divergent frames are primarily facilitated by mass mediated information and entertained among the public sphere to shape popular discourse and opinions regarding motorcycle taxi workers. In
response to these complexities motorcycle taxi workers establish organizations, labor standards, relational networks, personal behavioral practices and a range of communicative tactics to mediate and restructure the competing representations that contribute to the embodiment of their work life.

Theoretical Approaches in the Engagement of Motorcycle Taxi Workers’ Experiences

The theoretical approaches that inform and contextualize the inquiry include Social Identity Theory, Structuration Theory, Grounded Theory and Ethnography. These are outlined with respect to their significance in the study of phenomena related to the experiences of the Democratic Republic of Congo’s motorcycle taxi workers. It explains the role of the approaches in the orientation the fieldwork and analysis as it pertains to imposing order over phenomena within the data toward the location and co-construction of meaning.

Social Identity, Social Categorization and Motorcycle Taxi Workers in the Democratic Republic of Congo

Social identity and social categorization are concerned with generalized, rather than individuated features of a group of social actors. They are socio-communicative processes that provide the basis for the stereotypification, as well as the perceptual placement of others (Wang, Walther & Hancock, 2009; Hogg & Reid, 2006; Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy & Flament, 1971) as the actions and practices of individuals are considered representative and prototypical. Thus, they are both culturally structured and structuring cultural communicative phenomena that help to locate and analyze identity structures that shape and result from relations within and between groups.
Collective behavior, relational resources, rule dynamics, and deviance are intrinsic features of the structuration process. They also constitute structural features of Social Identity Theory. In fact, “identity maintenance is a critical aspect of structuration processes” (Sunwolf & Seibold, 1998, p. 302) as identity structures are formed by and transformed through social interactions. Within the context of the motorcycle taxi workers’ efforts to command their representations and establish legitimacy in the DRC, Social Identity Theory is implicated in the structuration process that they participate in by way of the rules and resources that they deploy and reproduce through interactions with outgroups. Motorcycle taxi workers structurational endeavors are also essential to the emplacement of social identity in situations where they can secure opportunities and social advantages (Tzanakis, 2013) for establishing legitimacy and transforming their prototypical representations. Social identity is not only a structuring mechanism for motorcycle taxi workers’ legitimizing agendas, it is also a salient communicative structure that may be strategically linked to the enactment of their daily work routines.

The central concern of Social Identity Theory rests in intergroup relations and the promotion of one’s group [in-group] (Finley, 2010) over other groups [outgroups] (Hogg & Reid, 2006, Tajfel & Turner, 1986). It works to explain how intergroup behaviors are naturally generated through prejudice, discrimination (Finley, 2010; Ramsay, Troth & Branch, 2010; Hogg & Reid, 2006, Abrams, Hogg, Hinkle & Otten, 2005) as well as other socio-structural factors that cause competition or coalescence amongst groups in an environment (Tajfel, 1974). It posits that individuals identify themselves and form aspects of personhood via their membership within “social groups and categories” and
employ prototypical group members as social referents (Hogg & Reid, 2006, p. 9; Abrams, Hogg, Hinkle & Otten, 2005; Tajfel, 1974). The individual actor or self is thus considered a product and rendering of group membership (Tajfel, 1974). However, the group, but not the individual within the group is the most instrumental and salient feature of social identity maintenance (Abrams, Hogg, Hinkle & Otten, 2005).

Through this process individuals define themselves, forge in-group identification, delineate outgroups (Guimond, 2000; Tajfel, 1974) and demonstrate behavior according to their social identity (Hogg & Reid, 2006; Oldmeadow, 2003). Essentially, Social Identity Theory lends to the investigation of the meaningful mindsets and lenses, which influence the ways motorcycle taxi workers construct and situate themselves and outgroup others in social categories premised upon identity. Social Identity Theory helps bracket observation of the ways that the, “…self becomes transformed from an individual to an in-group member” (Abrams, Hogg, Hinkle & Otten, 2005, pp.109). It is therefore useful for observing the structuration of group identity, as well as establishing how group identity is realized through the interpenetration other structures, such as outgroups and institutional domains. This is made evident through motorcycle taxi workers’ strategic engagement of political authorities, law enforcement, as well as their use of protests to engage the perceptive and representational structures availed through Congolese mass media entities to recast their perceived prototypical social identities.

*The Social Categorization Link to Social Identity*

Groups’ identities and their presentations are in part guided by the attitudes, beliefs and perceptions of members within them (Hogg & Reid, 2006; Abrams, Hogg,
Hinkle & Otten, 2005; Oldmeadow, 2003; Licket et al., 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Tajfel 1974). This occurs through the ongoing reflexive process of in-group consultation for social orientation, as is thus essential for individuals to learn and embody group norms. This phenomena gives way to the groups’ differentiation and categorization of others who do not share their group memberships. Social categorization occurs when individuals [as a result of their group memberships] and groups construct and assign categories to outgroups with the aim to impose order over their “social environment” (Tajfel, 1974, p.69; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy & Flament, 1971). Consequently, stereotypical conceptions of outgroups prevail and constitute the primary method for identifying outgroup members, as well as distinguishing one’s in-group (Wang, Walther & Hancock, 2009; Hogg & Reid, 2006; Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy & Flament, 1971). These intergroup evaluations allow for the management of uncertainty (Hodson & Sorrentino, 2003), in addition to the assessment of the potential for competition (La Bianca, Brass & Gray, 2008) or change, which may threaten (Miller, Maner & Becker, 2010) or alter in-group goals, statuses or positions, and ultimately the fabric of in-group identity.

Such phenomena is possible as the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers may galvanize the social identities of the groups that reside in the places that they move to for work. This may be the case in instances where ethnicity drives political cleavages and associations, or whereby specific ethnic groups control certain areas of economic activity and production such as modes of informal public transportation. Thus, the migration of groups such as male Kasaïans or ex-combatants may be regarded as a likely concern for resource competition, resource scarcity and overall perceived resource insecurity in areas
of housing, land use, food availability and public commuter transit. The regular movement of those seeking motorcycle taxi labor into extra-regional territories throughout the DRC may cause shifts in the ethnic and demographic composition of the areas that they migrate to for participation in motorcycle taxi work. These dynamics may cause resident populations and local governments to categorize their growing presence as potentially threatening and destabilizing to existing socio-economic, political and cultural structures. Therefore, their mobilities are monitored, surveilled, and spectacled by the observing publics, governments, law enforcement and media entities in the cities and town that they transfer to assume work.

According to Cresswell (2006, p.4), “mobility” is represented … “based on ways…[that it] is practiced and embodied.” Social identity and social categorization are relevant to the examination of the outgroup perceptions, beliefs and attitudes that interact with the experiences of motorcycle taxi workers because these communicative phenomena structure the embodied frames, lenses and gazes through which motorcycle taxi workers’ mobilities, and related practices are understood, and represented. Social identity and social categorization influence a number of factors that impact the experiences of motorcycle taxi workers including: Others’ social constructions and discourses that illustrate Manseba and Wewa; how these groups represent themselves through their work; the legitimacy of their organizational endeavors; and their overall ability to practice in the country’s informal transportation sector.

This inquiry draws attention to the ways that factors such as inter-provincial migrations and daily spatial mobilities constitute embodied experiences, and affect social
identity representations of groups that engage in motorcycle taxi labor in the DRC. Social identity is a dynamic referent and byproduct involved in the processes of reflexivity and knowledgeability, which orient actors in their structured environments (Giddens, 1999; M. a. Hogg & Reid, 2006; O’Brien, Penna, & Hay, 1999; Oppong, 2014; Tajfel, 1974). It therefore serves the structuring of interaction, guides the identification of cultural characteristics and the specification of behaviors that define who the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers are. Social Identity Theory permits analysis of how and why the country’s motorcycle taxi workers create prototypical norms for group life and belonging. This is significant as the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers are an emergent group-as-phenomenon whose identities interacts on multiple levels with ethnic identities, club specific identity constructions, and an overarching identity prototype that is co-constructed among publics, authorities and other motorcycle taxi workers in the country.

Within this study, Social Identity Theory is used to examine how social identity is formed and deployed through the participants’ in-group and intergroup legitimizing constructions. This is achieved via the location and naming of relational structures, as well as the study of their interaction within structuring processes. Social Identity Theory is crucial for understanding how social actors employ their social identity with regard to prototypical ways of doing and knowing as a resource to gain influence amongst members within their group and outgroups. It works within this study to exemplify participants’ identity presentations and representations toward the management and structuration of identity driven behaviors and practices within the participants, as well as a means for public relations among outgroups.
Conceptualizing the Role of Structure and Structuration Theory in the Study

This section provides an overview of Giddens’ Structuration Theory to contextualize its phenomenological and analytical significance in the study of motorcycle taxi workers’ experiences in the DRC. It examines the ways that the mass media, and governmental entities interact to communicate policy and perceptual frames that structure motorcycle taxi workers’ experiences in the country. It also outlines the general structurational responses enacted by motorcycle taxi workers as they navigate constraints and opportunities over the control of their representations and work-life. Finally, the constituents and mechanics of structuration are described to preview elements of structuration that manifest in the research findings and analysis.

Overall, this inquiry applies Structuration Theory to examine the communication strategies enacted by members of an organization of motorcycle taxi workers in their efforts to structure legitimacy. It focuses on the ways that group members source and deploy modalities of structuration for two interrelated purposes including: (1) the maintenance of in-group and intergroup relations, as well as the (2) engagement, reproduction, and alteration of structures of domination, legitimation and signification toward the formation of routines premised upon structural modalities and structural properties.

Structuration Theory functions as a classification system for locating, discerning and detailing the rules and resources that the participants assume to establish and project legitimacy within, as well as beyond their organization. It is also supports the identification of the features, dimensions and conditions that warrant participants’
modalities of interaction in the negotiation of identity and power via structuring processes. Since identity and power are implicit in the daily labor routines and organizational endeavors maintained by participants, the structuration of such phenomena requires elaboration.

Furthermore, Structuration Theory emphasizes the power dialectic between the collective agency of social actors and the forces of institutions and social systems. It is therefore useful for attempts to understand how the organization’s leaders manage the multiple and competing social identities of its membership, as well as how mass mediated frames, public perceptions, and their embodied acts of daily spatial mobility contribute to the structuration of their identities as motorcycle tax workers.

Finally, Structuration Theory permits the examination of these phenomena through their manifestations and interaction among micro, meso and macro structures within participants’ social environments. In this context micro level structures are constituted by intrapersonal and interpersonal occurrences. Meso structures include those that work through, facilitate and emerge from intra and inter-group structuring processes. Macro structures encompass institutional domains that order policy, economics, national ideologies and socio-cultural representations.

Structuration of the Motorcycle Taxi Worker Problem in the Democratic Republic of Congo

In keeping with the mechanisms that produce moral panics, Hubbard, DeFleur, & De Fleur (1975) illustrate a process whereby structures of domination, legitimation and signification are engaged as social problems are constructed, elevated and managed
through public sentiments, mass mediated representations and bureaucratic interventions. This process invokes structuration between groups’ ideas at the macro [governmental authorities and mass media entities] and meso levels [publics] of social interaction. It is initiated through powerful and public groups’ identification, construal and expression of threats to their certainty, values, and socio-behavioral norms, whereby “existing structures” (Denham, 2008, p. 945) are challenged. As mounting numbers of motorcycle taxi workers in the DRC pose perceived vulnerabilities to security and public safety; and as the public levels concerns over their personal safety in the wake of the growing presence of motorcycle taxi workers, the country’s political entities react by co-constructing the motorcycle taxi worker problem.

The problematization of the motorcycle taxi worker is advanced through the co-action of political entities and mass media as, policy-makers accrue, “cases, information, and data” (J. C. Hubbard et al., 1975, p. 22) to substantiate their position and the mass media cast representations of them driven by information from authoritative entities (Denham, 2008). Thus, the DRC’s political entities enlist the mass media to illustrate the ways that motorcycle workers constitute a problem, bearing, “social influence” over public perceptions by, “reinforcing” and launching ideas about them through the media (Bandura, 2001, p. 286). This works to portray motorcycle taxi workers’ entitativity and activities as a salient social problem, which in turn captures and orients the public gaze toward the import of curbing motorcycle taxi labor. Such phenomena constitute signification processes that simultaneously legitimize political entities’ endeavors to exert power over the country’s motorcycle taxi workers, while justifying their efficacy, utility,
the perceived need for, and acceptance of “organizational structures” (J. C. Hubbard et al., 1975, p. 23) that produce institutional solutions through policies and sanctions that correct the motorcycle taxi worker problem, while affirming governmental dominance.

This is significant since Giddens (1995a, p. 337) considers the institutionalization of structures the height of structuration, as “social practices” beget structures that are socially pervasive, whereby they are legitimized, “followed or acknowledged by the majority of the members of a society” to become elemental and sweeping features within a social system. Furthermore, it specifies contexts for the ways that the DRC’s government collaborates with the mass media for informational framing and agenda setting to deploy policy interventions that generate and sustain governmental structures of domination. These phenomena also demonstrate governmental mechanisms for managing political legitimacy via the use of messaging and available mass media channels to garner support for their objectives, and represent the veracity of their authority through their attempts to reverse the motorcycle taxi worker problem. Finally, the underpinnings of these processes rest upon the role of meaning construction and the formation of signification structures, which impart “cultural definitions”, which interact with the perceptions, attitudes and ideas held by governmental authorities, mass media entities and publics.

*Motorcycle Taxi Workers’ Structurational Responses to the Realm Mass Mediated Representations in the Democratic Republic of Congo*

Giddens maintains that structures are interactive, as they engage with other structures for definition, survival and direction (Giddens, 1979, 1984, 1999, 2002;
Lizardo, 2013). This dynamic makes them mutable, porous and thus susceptible to change (Giddens, 2002; Oppong, 2014) through their behavior as transformative entities that bear the ability to change other structures (Archer, 2010; Bernardi, González, & Requena, 2007; Falkheimer, 2007; Giddens, 2002; Hoffman & Cowan, 2010; Lizardo, 2010; Mote & Whitestone, 2011; Mouzelis, 1989; O’Boyle, 2013). It is within this view that structures are said to simultaneously “enable and constrain” social action (Fuchs, 2003, p. 140; Seibold & Meyers, 2007, p. 315; J. Webster, 2009, p. 16), manifesting a “duality of structure”, which thrives via interaction between social actors, social structures, and social systems (Giddens, 1979, 1986; Morawska, 2011, p. 5; Parker, 2006, p. 123).

The interactions between the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers and the country’s governmental authorities constitute an, “emergent pattern” realized through constraints (Wicks, 2008, p. 372) and opportunities that generate structural reproduction and structural transformation through the process of structuration. Wicks (2008, p. 369) proposes that, “compliance and resistance are omnipresent in organizational life, both as behavioural responses to the constraining elements of structure, and as the stimulus for redefining [the] existing organizational practices,” evidenced in internal and external structures. As such, motorcycle taxi workers use the structural rules and resources available to them to advance their interests by reproducing cooperation structures and opportunity structures that help them to comply and resist the pervasive outcomes of governmental domination. Such rules and resources may be located in existing structures (D. P. Johnson, 2008a) including the country’s regulatory climate; the mass media; their
occupational knowledge domains; their relational networks; as well as a host of other assets that are accessible and useful to them. These rule-resource structures become viable and meaningful to the culmination of cooperation and opportunity through their application within interactions.

In accordance with the tenets of Structuration Theory interactions become sites for motorcycle taxi workers’ agentic fulfillment of their “needs and goals”, while they also structure the nature of their cooperation, as well as the breadth of their opportunity windows (D. P. Johnson, 2008a; McCurdy, 2012). In this case, cooperation structures are formulated by motorcycle taxi workers’ purposive show of their alignment with, and commitment to upholding prevailing “social rules” and governmental regulations through behavioral performances, as well as the strategic use of mass media resources in their efforts to establish certainty and “security” for public and powerful others’ perceptual fields (Heugens & Lander, 2009; Melenovsky, 2013, pp. 610–611). Thus, communicating “compliance” (Melenovsky, 2013, p. 610; Parsons, 1971, p. 24), accountability and diplomacy through situated interactions among others, as well as toward the gazes held by local mass media entities.

Cooperation structures work for the country’s motorcycle taxi workers as news broadcasts demonstrate practices such as their assistance of law enforcement entities with the capture of “fugitive drivers” (Radio Okapi, 2014n, online); their associational show of support for regional “peace” through public marches with political figures and members of the public (Radio Okapi, 2014h, online), as well as their public denouncement of insecurities fueled by acts of “rape” through involvement in planned problem-solving
meetings with local political authorities (Radio Okapi, 2013k, online). Such behavioral displays are laden with motorcycle taxi workers’ collective intent to reframe and thus rectify their mass mediated representation, recalibrate other’s perceptions and “evaluations” (Heugens & Lander, 2009, pp. 63–64) of them, in addition to fomenting the appearance of relationship-building among governmental authorities as means to structure their legitimacy.

These “symbolic performances” are simultaneously opportunity structures that enable the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers to usurp the utility and reach of the local mass media to direct their representations, transmit their perspectives, and enlarge their social capital. The country’s motorcycle taxi workers enlist opportunity structures, which enable them to “supplement”, “replace”, subvert and dislocate established paradigms and “frameworks” that contradict with or impede their ability to conduct work (Wicks, 2008, p. 372). According to Williams (2010, p. 443) opportunity structures evolve from, “constraints” to agency and organization, just as much as they are premised upon seizing moments in time or, “conditions” that beget “goals” and “change”.

With regard to the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers, opportunity structures are realized through expressive displays, manufactured events, and exploitation of socio-political resources availed through their social networks. These allow motorcycle taxi workers to co-opt the cycle-driven nature newsgathering and news production structures [concerning the need for dramatic, proximate, timely and appealing news] to vocalize their realities among the swirl of popular and political discourses that characterize and shape their work (McCurdy, 2012). The use of public protest has gained the DR’s
motorcycle taxi workers attention through mass media coverage, which enables them to wage grievances regarding their exposure to physical violence, authoritative corruption and abuses, robbery, and homicide (Radio Okapi, 2012e, 2013k, 2014n, 2014r). Their strategic, and thus inherently political (Mintzberg, Ahlstrand, & Lampel, 1998) use of public manifestations as a method for interacting with mass media agents, and subsequently reaching powerful and public actors helps them mitigate the negative impacts of unfavorable mass mediated messages with personal and humanizing accounts.

This can be seen as motorcycle taxi workers’ structured use collective action and media advocacy as a display of “micro power” toward the “the play of politics” (Mintzberg et al., 1998, p. 235; Sopranzetti, 2013), and the maximization of “political opportunity” (McCurdy, 2012, p. 249) for establishing legitimacy in the purview of mass media audiences and the public at large. Such practices offer opinionated onlookers alternative and preferred representations, which lend to their, “analysis, cognition and [re] learning” about motorcycle taxi workers’ experiences through the media (Bandura, 2001; Mintzberg et al., 1998, p. 236). Thus, reproducing representative frames that provoke affinities, empathy, and sympathy for them, while challenging contradictions and authoritative claims against their work-lives.

The structurational endeavors taken by motorcycle taxi workers throughout the DRC are significant to focusing on the phenomena that this study develops. The broad exemplification of motorcycle workers’ structuration from below foregrounds similarities in the experiences that warrant and orient the CMK’s structurational processes to lend
insight into how and why the club goes about structuring legitimacy through strategies of cooperation, communication and identity management.

*An Overview of Structuration Theory and the Significance of its Elements in This Study*

As the pioneering proponent of Structuration Theory Giddens’ work (Giddens, 1979, 1984), is the locus through which comparisons and assessments must be drawn to examine structure as it pertains to structuration processes. Structuration Theory asserts that structures guide and provide cues to action for groups of social actors (Blau, 1974; Giddens, 1979, 1986, 1999; Hoffman & Cowan, 2010; J. Webster, 2009). Through structuration social actors perpetuate and are informed by multiple intersecting structures by way of their continuous interaction with them (Stones, 2005a; Sunwolf & Seibold, 1998). Structures are animated via systems of interlinked and interrelated actions waged by social actors that participate in collective and cumulative social practices (Giddens, 1979, 1995b, 2002). Structures are frameworks through which social actors negotiate and reproduce punitive, productive and symbolic power (Dickie-Clark, 1986; Fuchs, 2003; Giddens, 2002; Joas, 1987; Stones, 2005a) in the creation, elaboration and enforcement of their routines.

Giddens’ approach offers that structures manifest through processes and institutions that yield and simultaneously emerge from the communicative construction of domination, legitimation and signification (Giddens, 1979, 1984, 1999, 2002; Leflaive, 1996) to manifest as the concomitant facilitators and byproducts of the structuration process. Although Giddens contends that such structures are intangible, virtual and paradigmatic with persistent manifestations, several scholars (See Archer, 1996, 2010;
Gregson, 1990; Lizardo, 2010, 2013; Stones, 2005b) point out that structures are only relevant to inquiry if they can be observed and expressed through concrete and perceptual realms at any given stage of their existence or development. These views are collectively applicable to the experiences of DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers as they are guided by and engaged in the reproduction of structures of domination, legitimation and signification. Such structures are ideational, interactive and perceptive in their presentations and thrive within an environment of attitudes, messages, policies and practices.

This notion acknowledges the agency of social actors within the structuration process without diminishing the interminable role of structures and their power over the nature of recourse and subversive strategies assumed via agentic endeavors (Bryant & Jary, 2014; Giddens, 1984, 2002; Mackrell & Nielsen, 2007; Mouzelis, 1989; Poole, Seibold, & McPhee, 1985b; Thompson, 1990). It also offers that structures endure over time and throughout distal space due to social actors’ involvement with their reproduction, transformation and institutionalization within socio-structural systems (Archer, 2010; Giddens, 1999; D. P. Johnson, 2008c; Poole et al., 1985b). Structures and social actors are products of expansive and intricate systemic environments, which host and bind the interdependent push-pull dynamic between structure and agentic social actors.

Structural duality cannot be analyzed without observing and understanding the modalities that exemplify, “interaction and structure” (Archer, 2010, p. 242). Structuration thrives via modalities and the interactions that reproduce, mitigate and transcend structures to condition the sources, dimensions, flows and outcomes of power. Agency or structurational power is derived through “instrumental and infra-resources” (See Rogers, 1974, p. 1425). “Instrumental resources … can be activated or invoked as a means of attempting to influence… to change the probability that a person or group will act according to another's preferences… [and function as] to reward, punish, or persuade.” However resource instrumentality can only be realized if the grounds for infra-resources are in place. Infra-resources are the “attributes, circumstances, or possessions” required for the fruition of instrumental resources (Rogers, 1974, p. 1425).
Though instrumental and infra-resources, structures possess three formulations of power: (1) “power-over” other structures and the properties comprising them; (2) “power-to” direct, transform and create other structures, as well as (3) the collaborative means to enjoy the use and creation of “power-with” social actors in the negotiation of structures (Boulding, 1990; Follett, 1951; Rowlands, 1997, p. 13). The forms of power evidenced through instrumental and infra-resources typify what Giddens terms “structural properties” (Giddens, 1979, 1986, 1995b, 1999, 2002), “modalities” (Giddens, 1979, 1984, 1999), “interaction” (1979, 1999, 2009, pp. 291–293), “structural principles” (Giddens, 1979, 1984), and “integration” (1979, pp. 76–79, 1999).

These interrelated concepts describe the nature of structuration by way of its creative, reproductive and systemic manifestations. Explication of these concepts is essential to understanding the mechanisms of structuration and their expressions within the CMK’s structurational processes. These phenomena are seen in the analysis of CMK’s interactions and expressions. They are identifiable at the micro, meso and macro levels of their structured and structuring experiences as they assist the articulation of structures, their meanings and their utility toward the structuration of legitimacy. In order to locate structure and Structuration Theory in the experiences of the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers it is essential to introduce the ways that structurational apparatus are defined and exemplified in a general context within the structurational experiences of the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers.
Structural Properties and Motorcycle Taxi Workers’ Engagement of Structure

Perhaps the most crucial aspect of the motorcycle taxi workers structurationalendavors in the DRC is the meanings and values that they assign to the structures that they reproduce and interact with. Structural properties essentialize, motivate, symbolize and bear the fruits of structure. They are the meanings behind the contents, sentiments, and attitudes, which order the character and capacity of structure to make possible the use, and perceived utility of structure for structuration processes (Giddens, 1979, 1986). The literature demonstrates that structural properties are evidenced in the nature of motorcycle taxi workers’ cooperation mechanisms, as well as in their exploitation of opportunities. Structural properties are the virtual elements that give way to the rules and resources, which inform and result from the cooperation and opportunity structures that motorcycle taxi workers create (Giddens, 1979, 1986, 2009). They are characterized by stores of knowledge, the collective memory, cultural artifacts, strategies, and mundane “ethnomethods” (Giddens, 1979, 1986; Randall, Marr, & Rouncefield, 2001, p. 39) which are “recursively organized” via modalities of structuration (Giddens, 1986, 1999, p. 127; Halbwachs, 1950). These features are evidenced in the motorcycle taxi workers’ practices of vigilantism, public protest, as well as their obeyance of, and attempts at challenging regulations. The DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers engage structural properties through their dispositions and perceptions toward mass mediated messages, regulations, and their behavioral responses to them, as structural properties are the virtues through which structures are formed, maintained and used by them.
**Modalities in Motorcycle Taxi Workers Structurational Processes in the DRC**

Modalities of structuration demonstrate social actors’ relationship to rules and resources as they interact with structures in their environments. They are the ways that social actors, as structural custodians achieve and maintain the capacity to partake in the structuration of their interests. Modalities of structuration are only evident via their utilization or engagement within interactions between social actors and structures, as well as among structures and social systems (Archer, 2010; Giddens, 1979, 1984, 1999; Stones, 2005c). Behavioral acts such as protest, assistance given to law enforcement, public address and media encounters are all strategic modalities that the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers use to interact with authority and message driven structures. Through this interchange the dimensions of structure are revealed through their deployment as modalities display the contents, applications and behaviors of the rules and resources in structuring processes. Modalities of structuration are the phenomena, which must be located and examined to name and describe the methods and strategies at work in the routines and daily experiences of groups of actors as they negotiate their place in society. It is through modalities of structuration that the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers reproduce, and attempt to transform mass mediated message frames and the perceptions, which have influenced them.

**Reflexive Monitoring and Motorcycle Taxi Workers Navigation of Structure in the DRC**

Reflexive monitoring is an unconscious, “learning process” that draws on routine and historical social facts to orient actors’ daily lives and mitigate the uncertainties of common social experiences (Fuchs, 2003; Giddens, 2009, p. 294). It is cardinal to the
innate behavioral practices and intentioned methods that actors perform in socialization processes (Giddens, 1979). Reflexive monitoring holds that actors are rational, intentioned and thus knowledgeable about their realities. Motorcycle taxi workers’ awareness and knowledge of ways to deploy modalities are an outcome of reflexive monitoring. In this they are aware that past applications of modalities such as protest, occurs in a particular way to produce certain results. Consequently, they defer to protest as a means to achieve certain outcomes, such as the resulting media coverage and subsequent governmental responses.

Giddens (1979) and Garfinkel (1996, 2004) point out that the spatiality of interaction, as well as the social settings that they transpire in are actively monitored and surveilled through actors’ reflexive engagements with them whereby they derive behavioral cues and guides to action. Through such mechanisms actors employ and develop awareness of their physical presence within spatial contexts. Thus, reflexivity interacts with embodied phenomena, as it informs actors emplacement and the casting of their bodily presentations with respect to their, and others’ perceptions (Giddens, 2009). Reflexive monitoring contributes the construction and use of knowledgeability, modalities and ultimately agency. The interactions between reflexivity, spatial awareness and embodiment may inform routine enactments of motorcycle taxi labor, as well as political strategies involving the spatial emplacement of many motorcycle taxi workers during protests.
Knowledgeability as Guides to Action for the DRC’s Motorcycle Taxi Workers

Knowledgeability is activated through shared, “memory traces” which are diachronically constructed, consulted and utilized by social actors to impart creativity, expertise and other forms of power as they interact within their environments (Giddens, 1979, 1986, 1999; Mouzelis, 1989). It is generated in part via the reflexive monitoring of social interaction (Elder-Vass, 2008; Fuchs, 2003; Giddens, 1986, 1995a, 1999; Stones, 2005c) and is substantiated through social actors that subvert, revise and sustain collective practices. A prime example of knowledgeability in action is seen via motorcycle taxi workers use of their shared experiences in the generation of behavioral performances that communicate desired ideas. This is especially relevant to their involvement in public addresses that denounce violent crimes and their participation in marches for peace. It is through knowledgeability that they are able to enact stores of tacit and representative information via the performance of social identity and the maintenance of collective organization (Wenger, 2010). Motorcycle taxi workers’ knowledgeability domains are presented in their deployment of agentic acts that challenge and simultaneously reproduce the roles that political and mass media systems bear in prompting the generation of their knowledge.

The Nature of Interactions in Motorcycle Taxi Workers’ Structurational Acts in the DRC

Interaction not only serves as a site for the unfurling of modalities but it also functions to aid the inspection of the conditions, circumstances and rationales that warrant the creation, modification and transmutation of structures (Dickie-Clark, 1986; Giddens, 1979, 1984, 1986, 1999; Haslett, 2013; D. P. Johnson, 2008d). Giddens
(Giddens, 1979, 1986, 1999, 2009) proposes various modes of interaction and their presentation at various socio structural levels in throughout cycles of structuration. He explicates processes such as interpenetration, dialectic of control, co-presence, presence, and integration as states of interaction among structures and their systems.

*Interpenetration*

Interpenetration is a constitutive process of structuration, as well as the result of the outputs of structures and systems as they, “adapt” to other structures and systems (D. P. Johnson, 2008a, p. 488). It can also be understood as negotiatory agreements drawn among, “pattern-maintenance system[s] and…societal communit[ies]...” (Parsons, 1971, p. 18). The system of interaction between the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers, governmental entities, mass media entities, the public and the perceptual frames that bind them in structurational acts are an example of an enduring and inherent process of interpenetration.

The mechanisms of mediation and contradiction regulate structural interpenetration at micro, meso and macro levels (Giddens, 1984, 1999). These intrinsic features of structuration direct interstructural power dynamics and the bearings of structures within systems (Poole et al., 1985b) to mediate [seek to attenuate the effectiveness, efficacy and trajectory of influence] the rules and resources of other structures. Mediation is the structurally innate and constant interaction that enables social actors to negotiate, reproduce or engender new structures (Archer, 1996, 2010; Giddens, 1995a; Poole, Seibold, & McPhee, 1985a; Poole, 2003).
Through such processes, social actors and structures work on each other to influence the conditions and products of structuration. It occurs through structural interplay whereby the manipulation of resources, and rule breaching serve structural adjustments for the articulation of structural outgrowths, diversions and priorities. Mediation involves the use of facilitative power via structural interaction and the deployment structural properties to simultaneously neutralize inter-structural capabilities while enlarging intra-structural agendas (Giddens, 1979, 1995a; Joas, 1987; King, 2010; Poole et al., 1985b; Stones, 2005c). It is a given in all areas of social and system interaction and is an imperative dynamic in the cycle of structuration.

As the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers develop counter-strategies through cooperation and opportunity structures they are naturally diminishing the quality, integrity and perceived efficacy of unfavorable mass mediated message frames, and potentially certain regulations. The rationale behind the acts that drive the motorcycle taxi workers’ cooperation and opportunity structures is to use them toward reproducing alternative views, and transforming or replacing dominant structures by putting forth representations that discredit them, make them unnecessary, ineffective and denote that they are may be misguided. Essentially mediation offers the country’s motorcycle taxi workers a means for recourse and the activation of agency.

Similar to mediation, contradiction is an axiomatic structuring process that works between social actors, structures and social systems. Contradiction emerges through mediatory processes to give way to structural overhauls and conflicts between social actors, structures and systems (Archer, 2010; Dickie-Clark, 1986; Giddens, 1979).
Contradiction evolves in two distinct manners (Giddens, 1979): (1) when status quo rules and resources, [structural properties and modalities] and their institutionalized modes of operation [structural principles] are thwarted by emergent structures and the work of social actors during structurational processes; and (2) when interstructural rules and resources form points of contention in an integrated system of structures. Contradiction foregrounds tensions in structural interpenetration by drawing attention to social actors’ structurational endeavors; exhibiting structurational constraints and opportunities, as well as revealing systemic vulnerabilities and the atrophy the of structural principles that order institutional rules and resources.

The cooperation and opportunity structures created by the DRC’s motorcycle taxi worker thus arise from, as well as pose an apparent contradiction to the domination, legitimacy and signification structures that governmental entities direct toward problematizing and shaping the regulatory environment that constrain motorcycle taxi workers’ practices. These structures help them communicate their willingness to uphold regulations, while augmenting and projecting the power that motorcycle taxi workers retain through counter-strategic performances. Such representations are contrary to mass mediated frames that work to complicate the identity of the country’s motorcycle taxi workers.

Dialectic of Control

The dialectic of control is implied in all interaction and is especially relevant [as an object of inquiry] in asymmetrical power relations (Fuchs, 2003; Giddens, 1979; Leflaive, 1996). It is through this dialectic conception that agency lends to
structurational possibilities. The concept explicates social actors' role in mitigating the absolution of power through their capacities to craft and source intentional and unintentional mental strategies in a multitude of contexts. This agentic dynamism is possible as the dialectic of control operates through a state of interdependence between social actors, structures and systems (Giddens, 1979). Although social actors' reproduction of the rules and resources availed through social systems is indicative of structural and systemic power over social actors’ experiences. Conversely, structures and systems depend upon social actors for their reproductive abilities and capacities [power], which in turn ensures structural and systemic dominance. The dialectic of control thus calibrates socio-structural relations to bolster forms of agency despite the degree and nature of structural and systemic constraints.

The role that motorcycle taxi workers play in availing public transportation services is a prime example of the dialectic of control that they bear within the system of interaction among governmental entities. This is the case as the Congolese public depends on them for their mobility routines. Thus, governmental entities, despite their attempts to regulate the presence and operations of the country’s motorcycle taxi workers, would be held accountable for their inability to continue offering such services. Additionally, the assistance that motorcycle taxi workers offer Congolese law enforcement officials denotes an interdependence through which motorcycle taxi workers deploy vigilantism as a means to structure the dialectic of control and ultimately a need for their presence.
Co-presence and Presence

Co-presence and presence are microsocial communicative phenomena premised upon embodied instances of spatio-temporal human interface and mediated interaction. They are involved in the creation and co-creation of meaningful frames and guides for action and contribute to the, “reflexive monitoring” performed by actors as they assume practices and relations in their physical environment (Giddens, 1984). Communication is learned and perceived through states of co-presence and presence, especially as it relates to stylistic and modal expression through the body (Giddens, 1984).

Co-presence is a requiem and outcome of social interaction (O’Brien, 1999; Thompson, 1990), the germinal source of collective consciousness, and the lynchpin of social integration (D. P. Johnson, 2008b). It is therefore fundamental to the formation of structures and systems within the context of structuration. Social actors are said to be co-present while amongst one or more others for the, “formation or enactment of encounters,” (Giddens, 1984) and, “routines” in social spaces and geographically defined locales. Ultimately, co-presence requires acknowledgement of others in socio-spatial contexts.

Presence examines actors’ awareness of their bodily existence within settings and the body’s role in imparting, as well as engaging the reception of communicative acts. It concerns actors’ conscientious display and presentation of their bodies toward others as a form of interaction. Presence is made meaningful through the perceptions of others, as well as the resulting interpretations and responses that inform the enactment of ones’ presence in specific contexts and situations. Moreover, presence functions along a
continuum of interaction as conscientious actors perform according to learned methods and practices that are observed, inculcated and revised through co-presence.

Through the nature of their work, the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers engage in routine cycles of co-presence and presence that causes their actions to undergo constant surveillance. However, motorcycle taxi workers also use their actions to attract media coverage and public attention. Their awareness of their presence and co-presence is demonstrated through their strategic attempts to appeal to the sensibilities of onlookers and interactants via processes and deeds that they enact through their cooperation and opportunity structures.

*Structural Principles in the Routines of the DRC’s Motorcycle Taxi Workers*

According to Giddens (Giddens, 1984, 1999) structural principles are persistent practices built on the most salient, structurally engrained rules and resources within a social system. Structural principles provide the basis for societal institutions to regulate their interaction within social systems, and among other structures (Fuchs, 2003; Giddens, 1984; Poole, 2003; Thompson, 1990). Saussure (Saussure, 1959) refers to structural principles as, “synchronic laws”, or institutions which develop and adapt to the conditions present along spatio-temporal trajectories to facilitate social and structural integration. The general overview of the literature on the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers is inadequate for determining the nature and presentation of structural principles in their routines. Outside of the context of their regular performance of commuter transportation there are no news reports or scholastic accounts that describe and analyze the structures
that the country’s motorcycle taxi workers reproduce and develop for the establishment of their legitimacy.

Integration as a goal of the Legitimizing Structures

The achievement of integration is an indication that structuration has produced autonomy within structures and systems, however such independence is upheld due to social actors’ rule and resource dependence. In such instances, “systemness” is attained as systems hold the capacity to generate the rules and means for orientation and self-regulation (Giddens, 1979, pp. 77, 106, 202, 1999, p. 129). Furthermore, through integration systems attain the ability to interact with other systems and structures to ensure that internal rule and resource needs are sustained through such interaction (Archer, 1996; Giddens, 1999; Mayer & Whittington, 1999).

As the country’s motorcycle taxi workers invent and reproduce mechanisms for interaction with the political, mass mediated and perceptual structures that ordain their work, they move toward greater and more elaborate phases of integration within the DRC’s public transportation system. However the nature of their present state of integration is generally only realized through their labor routines and interactions among actors that use and control their operations. Thus, it is only currently documented and observable via proximate encounters and performances of sociality. Broad study of the motorcycle taxi worker population is required to speak to system integration.

Integration progresses along 2 dimensions: Social integration occurs when structuration produces, “systemness,” among interactants via communication and co-present, routine contact (Archer, 1996, 2010; Blau, 1974; Giddens, 1999; Mouzelis,
System integration transpires once social entities experience a sweeping manifestation of knowledge and practices expressed by its members whom have not interacted with the source of these phenomena, or each other at any point in, time or space” (Fuchs, 2003; Giddens, 1999, p. 129; Mouzelis, 1997). Both are epitomized degrees of structuration whereby structures and systems composed of, “actors or collectives”, engage in practices that produce symbiosis and the continuity of systemic relations over time (Giddens, 1999, p. 129). Social and system integration is what is seen and experienced in large and small-organizations such as national governments, labor unions and various industries. Such institutions impart the notion that systems and their structures are in proper working order. Structurational attainment is premised upon degrees of integration among structures and structuration allows for the examination of structural integration within systems.

The DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers have yet to achieve system integration within the country’s public transportation system, as well as within their own right. There are no singular entities or governing bodies that coordinate their operations, functions and objectives. The experiences of the country’s motorcycle workers manifest differently throughout the provinces and cities that they conduct work in. Thus, their formation of communicative structures for cooperation and opportunity manifestation enable them to engage in the structuration of legitimacy as distinct entities with the shared goal of the desire to practice income-producing labor. At present social integration, as a local process may ultimately permit the country’s motorcycle taxi workers to enlarge their chances and grounds toward formal acceptance and place-making within authoritative
and political purviews to enable their formal integration into the country’s public transportation realm.

*Structuration Theory in the Study of Group Communication*

Group communication research has examined the role of Structuration Theory at the microsocial level, with attention to the implications of meso and macro-level influences on group decision making, rule development, work processes and organizational change. In particular it has been essential to the study of structural resource use among juries and computer mediated communication groups. For instance, Structuration Theory has been consulted to better understand deliberative processes amongst jury members within the contexts of how multiple existing structures impact upon groups’ development of argumentative systems to facilitate decision-making (Seibold & Meyers, 2007). It is also aids the examination of the conditions for, and extent to which members of juridical groups rely on, and draw from the external rules and resources of grand structures [social systems] versus those that they develop for the situational contexts entailed by way of judicial decision-making processes (Sunwolf & Seibold, 1998).

The nexus between computer mediated technology, human action and structure is the focus of group communication research involving Adaptive Structuration Theory [AST] (DeSanctis & Poole, 1994). This extension of Giddensian structuration, specifically examines the “duality of technology” (Cho & Lee, 2008), with regard to sociality and structuration processes among, “task” focused groups (Poole, 1999, p. 50), and in organizational change (DeSanctis & Poole, 1994). AST considers the impact of
structures that technologies impose upon actors, as well as those that emerge through actors’ engagement with technology (Cho & Lee, 2008; DeSanctis & Poole, 1994; Gopal, Bostrom, & Chin, 1992; J. Webster, 2009). Thus, it centers on the ways that technology imparts and constrains human agency through mediated interaction.

AST has provided theoretical guidance for work (Cho & Lee, 2008), which has found that prevailing socio-cultural structures impact the seeking and sharing of information in intercultural computer mediated learning environments. This lends to the notion that enduring socio-cultural structures inform the behavioral patterns and cognitive cues enacted by social actors to orient and condition the overall nature of interaction located in their structuring experiences. It has also helped to examine whether or not adoption of technology wages a deterministic role in the performance of workers’ routines in business organizations (See DeSanctis & Poole, 1994), with outcomes that demonstrate the dominance of existing work structures over those warranted through the incorporation of technology. It has also been instrumental in examining the uptake of computer mediated group support systems for collaborative work routines to show that workers’ prior routines and skepticism toward the outcomes of computer mediated group work were transformed over time with contact and subsequent familiarization of group support system technology (Gopal et al., 1992).

Structuration in the Study of Mass Communication

Within the realm of Mass Communication, Structuration Theory is applied to inspect intersections between social actors’ practices at micro and meso structural levels as they relate to the social, political, economic, and technological macrostructural
domains of media and communication environments. Structuration Theory has been sourced to identify the nature of mass media structures, as well as to articulate how and why such structures influence medium choice, media content exposure factors, and the dimensions of interaction among audiences and mass communication entities (Durham, 2005; Falkheimer, 2007; J. Webster & Ksiazek, 2012; J. Webster, 2009, 2010, 2011).

Several studies (Ruggiero, 2000) have examined how various structures impact the coaction between media and sociality to conclude that social actors’ media preferences and routines result from factors that are unrelated to their sentiments, inclinations or attitudes regarding program genres, media content or media platforms. Instead, meso and macro level structures such as media “content options,” the nature of media services provision or program schedules versus actors’ availability have been found to determine their exposure to mass mediated content (Cooper & Tang, 2009; J. G. Webster & Wang, 1992; J. Webster, 2009). Such studies exemplify the dynamic and persistent nature of structure as a counterbalance to individual agency.

Structuration approaches also draw attention to private and governmental structures that regulate information and communication flows, and thus the degrees and conditions of their interpenetration amongst publics as audiences. For example, the strategic mechanisms of information transmission and priming within non-linear media environments are said to direct public attention, while the array of media resources available to publics enable them to form repertoires and exact selections to navigate media environments (J. Webster & Ksiazek, 2012; J. Webster, 2010, 2011).
Additionally, research on public relations practice (Durham, 2005; Falkheimer, 2007; Ihlen, 2005; White, 2012) has compared and analyzed the features of Structuration Theory to appraise connections between communication flows, internal organizational operations, audience sense making, information efficacy and the role of power structures in public relations environments. These works call for more dialogic approaches involving multi-tier actors within public relations entities, as well as the inclusion of members of the public in the construction of communication. Falkheimer (2007) proposed the engagement of structuration in public relations to better understand the effect of multi-level internal operations in relation to their impact on organizational capacities for anticipating, transforming, and creating communication events. Other studies (Durham, 2005; Ihlen, 2005) address the role of structuration as a way to coordinate and learn from the roles of multiply situated actors and their representative power structures in public relations communications processes. Structuration is considered as a measure to assuage perceptions of public relations processes as contextually manufactured, exclusive and top-down responses to critical events rather than as sources of legitimacy, certainty and problem resolution (Durham, 2005).

Locating Meaning in Motorcycle Taxi Workers’ Experiences via Grounded Theory

There is only one other study (Kaka, 2014, online) that examines motorcycle taxi workers’ experiences in the DRC. This quantitative survey focuses on the, “socio-demographic and professional characteristics” of motorcycle taxi workers in the country’s capital city of Kinshasa (Kaka, 2014, online). However, this study offers little explication of motorcycle taxi workers’ experiences and the structures that they interact
with to conduct work. In contrast, this work employs Grounded Theory to locate, describe and analyze the meanings that are produced through, and for structures that order motorcycle taxi workers experiences as members of the CMK.

Grounded Theory is grown through ideas and questions that are informed by a “…systematic, explicit and accessible…” process of discovery (Charmaz, 2008, p.131; 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) in the examination of lifeworlds and the actors that make them meaningful. It serves to explicate and chronicle social and psychological phenomena as they occur according to the perspectives and interpretations of those whom experience them through their actions and interaction (Lal, Suto, Ungar, 2012; Aldiabat & Navenc, 2011; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). This is valuable to the interrogation of participants’ perceptual phenomena that interact with broader structures of sense-making and meaning-making for motorcycle taxi culture; the club’s specific culture, and well as micro-level individual socio-cognitive structures.

In keeping with grounded theorists lack of concern for testing or reproducing established theories that exist outside of socially situated phenomena, the study of the CMK’s structurational endeavors focuses Grounded Theory generation to introduce, “enlarge and refine” understanding of how emergent workgroups structure communication for the purposes of representation and empowerment (Matthias, 2011; Corbin and Strauss, 1998; 1990). Just as the study of structure and structurational phenomena warrant the study of routine structures; collectively enacted recursive practices, and social interactions, Grounded Theory generation relies on dialectical cycles of engagement between data collection and analysis throughout the life of a research
endeavor (Milliken & Schreiber, 2012; Charmaz, 1990) so that a coherent, dynamic and reflexive research structures evolve. As the circumstances that warrant motorcycle taxi workers experiences routinely change to transform their methods, Grounded Theory offers an open and responsive means for locating and assessing the interplay between CMK’s internal structures, external structures, and change.

The Grounded Theory process is steered by patterned data manifestations that allow researchers to elicit concepts from them, compare them, and construct theoretical statements about them with aim to finding and understand social meanings resident in actors’ experiences. It can be viewed as a structured and structuring method for inspecting, analyzing and reporting the features and contents of the social realm. My role as a researcher/analyst is to remain steadfast in my attention and receptivity to emergent concepts, while honoring how and why these concepts may relate toward theoretical trajectories. The generation of Grounded Theory is therefore ideal for engaging with the participants in a dialectical investigation of the communicative structuration of their work-life.

Two distinctive realms of Grounded Theory have contributed to studies that employ the approach toward the understanding of social phenomena: Glaserian Grounded Theory (Åge, 2011; Jennings, Kensbock, Junek, Radel & Kachel, 2010; Glaser, 2004); and Straussian Grounded Theory (Thai, Chog & Agrawal, 2012; Cooney, 2011; Walker & Myrick, 2006; Fernández, 2005). Grounded Theory studies may strictly adhere to either school of thought or employ offshoot, amalgamated renderings of the two. Contrasts are situated in paradigmatic stances (Cooney, 2010; Walker & Myrick, 2006;

Overview of Glaserian and Straussian Distinctions in Grounded Theory

Glaser (2004, online) contends that, “Grounded Theory is just focused on conceptualizing what emerges,” throughout the processes of field inquiry and data analysis to produce theoretically premised categories via the iterative comparison of their instances within raw data. The veracity of the approach is said to be resident in researchers’ commitment to theoretical emergence. It is presented as a purely inductive endeavor (Cooney, 2010, Glaser, 2004) that works to ensure that conceptual and theoretical revelations are not stifled by researchers’ “disciplinary stock categories” or deterministic programs (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2001, p. 162, Kendall, 1999, Glaser, 1978). Thus, it holds that researchers conduct literature reviews only after coding analysis is completed and that they are constructed in a body of work toward the close of the write-up process (Dunne, 2011; Jennings et al., 2010; Glaser, 2009; Glaser & Holton, 2004). Furthermore, the Glaserian approach espouses to be a non-descriptive method, whereby the goal of description cannot be ascertained and should not be attempted through its application (Glaser, 2012; 2004; 1992). Glaserian and Straussian Grounded Theory primarily diverge by way of axial coding (Fernández, 2005; Kendall, 1999). Glaserian Grounded Theory asserts that axial coding involves the description of categories based on

This is the major contention between these two perspectives, which rests upon the “paradigm model” (Kelle, 2005, online; Heath & Cowley, 2004, p. 145; Kendall, 1999, p.751) or “coding paradigm” (Breckenridge & Jones, 2009, p. 117; Fernández, 2005, p. 46; Kelle, 2005, online; Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p.13) that Straussian Grounded Theory employs to achieve axial coding (Glaser, 2004; Heath & Cowley, 2004; Kendall, 1999). Corbin and Strauss (1990) explain that this process entails looking for relationships between “categories” and their “sub-categories”, ensuring that these relationships actually exist in the data, developing additional categories and examining the data for their presence (p. 13). This analytical process requires researchers to determine how “…phenomena, their contexts, their causal and intervening…” factors and their outcomes are pertinent to categories that have been developed (Keller, 2005, online). Thus, Straussian Grounded Theory serves to “…explain as well as describe,” categorical emergence (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p.5), it calls for verification of theoretical developments through its process of categorical testing and the collection of new data using theoretical sampling as guidance for action (Charmaz, 1990). Once new data is obtained it is entered into the Straussian coding method [paradigm model/coding paradigm] and the cyclical process of analysis toward categorical development ensues (Devadas, Silong, & Ismail, 2011).

This study employs Glaserian and Straussian Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2008; Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1965; Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1998)
as a mode of structurational discovery and analysis in the engagement of the CMK. Since description is a primary outcome of ethnographic inquiry it important to this study to develop and uncover information, and to produce accounts of the CMK’s experiences. These descriptions can aid participants stated phenomena that constitute the data. As such, Grounded Theory methodology is mobilized when the CMK’s socio-behavioral phenomena are expressed via the connections made between concepts that inform theoretical frames (Glaser, 2012; Pahud, 2008). This study accomplishes the development of Grounded Theory through an iterative procedure, whereby I (1) typify protruding features of the data; (2) orient the gathering of [more] data that delineates phenomena pertaining to further categorical assignment; (3) use budding categorical designations as criteria for engaging relevant phenomena to support theory generation; (4) evaluate and discern the conditionality and reproducibility of the various categorical criteria (5) establish and verify relationships between categorical criteria; (6) note parallels to existing theory, and (7) recursively employ comparisons to determine the veracity of associations among variables and newly formed categorical criteria.

Grounded Theory like structuration involves an ongoing dialectical process of reflection for confirmation, orientation and the development of knowledge. It simultaneously allows for the bracketing and elaboration of the multiple truths and perspectives that arise in the participants social contexts. Thus, working through a duality of theory-building structure as it distills and enlarges lines of inquiry. Grounded Theory generation grants the this study with tools and participant driven conceptualizations for making statements about meanings that are resident within the data. It also assists the
establishment of directionality for investigation of CMK’s experiences in a reflexive manner.

*Ethnographic Multiplicity and the Study of the Comité de Motard Kisima*

Several ethnographic inquiries (Kemp, 1989; Rollason, 2012) that examine the phenomenological trends in social actors’ use of motorcycles for moto-mobility focus on some aspect of their representative embodied link to criminality and immorality. However, these studies do not examine the positions taken by those motorcyclists whom wish to confront, transform or stem such associations. Furthermore, a number of ethnographic studies (Esbjörnsson, Juhlin, & Östergren, 2004) on the communicative phenomena surrounding motorcyclists inspect in-group communication, in addition to communication trends between groups of motorcyclists. These studies do not focus on motorcyclists’ communication processes and their communicative needs beyond motorcyclist communities. It is as if motorcyclist communities exist in an ethnographic vacuum, where their communicative interactions with non-motorcyclists remain underexplored. The ethnographic engagement of the CMK is an attempt to examine multiple communication processes that include, as well as transcend the CMK and their motorcycle taxi driver networks. This is essential to examining the expanse and dimensions of their communicative experiences through interactions with the complex of communicative structures that bear upon their work-life.

Ethnography is premised upon experiential research where the researcher becomes immersed among a community of social actors through regular interaction that enables them to gain access to, observe and partake in their life-world (LeCompte &
The ethnographic process ideally helps researchers describe and narrativize the ways that social actors inscribe meanings to, and make sense of their environments. It compels researchers to interrogate the manifold circumstances and, “fragments” that produce and reproduce phenomena that pervade and form actors’ experiential domains (Biehl & McKay, 2012, p. 1223). It is through such processes and modes of thinking that I found the CMK’s desire to communicate beyond their club membership, as well as beyond the broader community of motorcyclists an emically derived and pressing concern. The crux of the ethnographic work and time shared with them centered on not only describing communication within the CMK, but also on observing and probing how and why CMK members communicate toward Others through formal and informal structures.

Although researchers engage with a community of social actors to understand the composition and nature of “sociality” that it reproduces it (Appadurai, 1997, p. 116; Heath & Cowley, 2004, p. 142), the ethnographic process should in turn inform and enrich researchers’ understanding of the multiple roles that they bear through their research endeavors (Linenberger, 2010). My experience with the CMK caused me to realize that I was researched and objectified as a curiosity and spectacle among the CMK and other actors within the communities that I engaged via inquiry. Ethnographic scholarship reminds researchers to accept that they might simultaneously assume the position of an insider and outsider to a community (Goulding, 2005, p. 300; Lyons, 1999; Roosth, 2010). Thus, the researcher must learn to own the fact that their culture, norms
and perspectives may constitute real and perceived differences that are reflected upon and considered by the interactants involved with the research process.

These sentiments summarize my realizations about my role and emplacement among the CMK as the research developed through a combination of my persistence and participants’ willingness to allow my engagement and interrogation of their work-life and domestic lifestyles. My experience among the CMK was one that progressed through the sharing of lifeworlds rather than the explicit and direct showing, or experiential relay through talk. As the concepts of Ethnography and structuration both call for the examination of “temporality, sociality and place” (Dewey 1938 as cited in Lal, Suto, & Ungar, 2012, p. 6), I developed my several structures or guides for which allowed me to shift and choose the roles that I enacted; activate stance taking within situated contexts, and interact with participants through numerous modes of communication. These helped me navigate the multiple and overlapping structures at play through participants’ perceptions of me, as well as those structures that I brought with me into the process. It helped me mitigate the distance of being an outsider, while accruing the merits of an invested outsider on the inside.

Ethnographic multiplicity serves as an ethos for this inquiry. It informed the assumptions that foreground my way of thinking about the task-experience of doing Ethnography among the CMK; about the presence and orientations that arise through interaction with the research process, as well as the analytical work and subsequent representations of the CMK that the study produces. Altheide & Johnson (1998) profess that “… good sociological accounts point out the multiplicity of meanings and
perspectives, and the rationality of these perspectives, within a context” (as cited in Lindenberger, 2010, p.18). It is for this reason that this work coalesces and draws on Structuration Theory, Social Identity Theory and Grounded Theory as paradigmatic frames for engaging the research process. Their distinct yet intersecting elements constitute foundational guides, and thus the bones for this study. It is also the reason why the examination of the interactions among micro, meso and macro level socio-communicative structures is significant to understanding CMK’s experiences.

With this in mind, the “open-ended” nature of Ethnography helped me engage and connect the “… multiple perspectives and multiple selves” that circulate amongst the CMK (Bell, 1999, p.18) to give light to the diversity that reflects reality in the social realm (Van Maanen, 2011). For instance, multiplicity resides in the theoretical approaches and research methods employed to interact with the CMK; the analytical lenses enlisted to extricate participants’ perspectives and expressions in the data, as well as the ways that the CMK’s experiences are narrativized through emergent accounts. Drawing on an array of approaches and methods, assisted me with seeing meanings to produce research questions, refine my assumptions (Van Maanen, 2011; Gasson, 2004) and enrich my process of observing, probing and documenting participants’ structures of interaction. Furthermore, as I adopted the mindset of ethnographic multiplicity, I saw its centrality in my capacity to be reflexive and attuned in order to identify and monitor what I experienced, what I was told, as well as how the CMK’s orientations shaped mine throughout the life of the study. Summarily, the approach to ethnographic multiplicity
helped me observe, describe and analyze the dimensions and structural complexities of
the multiple accounts and truths that warrant the CMK’s experiences.

Research Questions

Three questions guided the ethnographic and overall analytical process regarding
the development of Grounded Theory statements about the research phenomena.

RQ1. How do a group of motorcycle taxi workers negotiate their social identity among
the confluence of authority and popular perceptions?

RQ2. How do a group of motorcycle taxi workers structure their work-life in response to
their perceptions of mass mediated representations?

RQ3. What are the contents and functions of the structures that a group of motorcycle
taxi workers create for the enactment and legitimization of their work-life?
CHAPTER 3: OVERVIEW OF IRB PROTOCOLS, SAMPLING METHODS, DATA COLLECTION AND DATA COMPONENTS

Chapter three elaborates the study’s research methods and data components by outlining the Institutional Review Board (IRB) protocols employed, in addition to a review of the purposive sampling methods employed to make contact with, and designate research participants for data collection. These data collection methods include convenience sampling, snowball sampling, social network sampling and theoretical sampling. Next it describes sites and settings where data collection, interviews, and elicitation methods were engaged among participants. Data collection entailed the use of observation, participant observation, unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews, Go-along interviews and organizational mapping elicitation interviews. Finally it details the nature and purposive use of the data collected throughout the inquiry. The body of data is housed within transcribed interviews, photographs, organizational maps, jottings, fieldnotes, and video recordings.

Institutional Review Board Protocols for Participant Engagement

The verbal informed consent process was achieved in two primary ways to maintain adherence to IRB procedures: The first was through an organizational proxy during a formal event. The second was through the interpersonal interaction between the participants and myself. The first method involved my initial formal re-entry into the CMK’s social space. I met with the CMK Vice President during a scheduled meeting where I was presented or re-introduced to approximately 26 members [the ones that were willing and able to show up] at Maman Melanie’s establishment. During this event I sat
with the members and talked with them until, acting as an informed consent proxy, Papa Leki made an announcement about my return and intentions for research. He appealed to those present to assist me in any way that they could and informed them of the fact that I was conducting research for the sake of completing my academic studies. He also urged them to ask me questions. He explained that I wanted to use an audio recorder and take photos of them, or video in some cases. Papa Leki also told them that what they said during interviews would be composed into documents and used toward the completion of a, “grand livre” [big book in the French language]. I remember that at this time two members were unsure of why I was there and asked me [in Tshiluba] what I want to do in the club. Once I explained [in my best attempt at Lubumbashi Kiswahili] that I wished to do research about their experiences and communication practices, some members nodded and spoke with each other about it out loud, while others appeared visibly uncomfortable as they grinned in a sheepish manner. Some even silently dismissed themselves from the setting.

The second, and in my opinion, the most crucial way that I managed informed consent was through small talk and general engagement among the CMK members or other participants. Through the development of rapport and casual conversations I restated my research interests, became aware of participants questions about my interest in the CMK and informed members of how I would conduct research. I told potential participants that I would like to schedule a time and day to talk with them more about their work or opinions about the CMK. I always mentioned that I planned to record the discussion with an audio recorder and possibly photograph some aspect of our encounter.
I explained that after I record our discussion I would transcribe it and keep track of the transcription by safeguarding them in my computer drive so that they cannot be accessed, used or identified by anyone else. I told potential participants that they could tell me any name that they wished whether real or invented for the purpose of the interview. I also informed them that they could share as little or as much as they wished and that they could refuse to continue with discussions at any time if they chose to.

I explained that I was going to analyze all of the interviews that I collect and write about them toward the completion of a paper that will help me graduate and be made available to the public through libraries and through the Internet. I offered to share the completed work with them, as well as the audio recording and photos and assured them that if they had any questions or concerns that I would address them accordingly. I provided all potential participants and veteran informants with my local telephone number, which I inscribed on my academic business card and encouraged them to contact me for any reasons, including if they wished to have private meetings with me away from CMK settings. I also exchanged telephone numbers with those who wanted to offer their contact information to me.

Some participants learned of my research interests through fellow CMK members as they were not present at the formal meeting and had not spoken with me about the details of my research. In many cases these individuals approached me with questions or to make known their desire to share their inputs with me. Numerous socio-cultural and political variables influenced how participants were enlisted and furnished with information pertaining to the process and intentions of the study. Consequently, the
informed consent process did not involve the collection of signatures, reading protocol scripts or distributing leaflets about the research. Factors including the general political sensitivity of their work, participants’ perceptions and attitudes about being questioned by an outsider, participants socialization norms, issues related to language proficiency [mine and theirs] and literacy dictated the way that the research interactions were explained and initiated.

Purposive Sampling Methods

All forms of sampling employed in qualitative inquiry may be regarded as purposeful means (Coyne, 1997; Patton, 2002) for identifying and selecting participants, objects and phenomena for inclusion in the study. Purposive sampling focuses on a specific group of participants, objects and experiences with the intention that their inclusion can typify, essentialize and contextualize phenomena to guide the threads of inquiry (Patton, 2002; Sandelowski, 2008). More specifically it allows researchers to ‘hand-pick’ research participants that have specific and unique knowledge about phenomena based on their access, relations, role and/or expertise within a community or organization (Patton, 2002; S. L. Schensul, Schensul, & LeCompte, 1999; Suri, 2011; Teddlie & Yu, 2007). For these reasons, sampling bias is said to be inherently resident in purposive sampling processes (Tongco, 2007; Wong, 2008) However, Tongco (2007) argues that purposive sampling, “…contributes [to the] efficiency…” and subsequent “…quality of data…” that is collected (p.147). Researchers may address issues of sample “reliability and competence” by employing multiple purposive methods and performing post data collection “respondent validation” techniques (Sandelowski, 2008; Tongco,
This study employs multiple purposive sampling methods to inform the trajectory of data collection and provide nuanced answers to questions posed by the inquiry (Teddlie & Yu, 2007). Collectively, convenience sampling, snowball sampling, social network sampling and theoretical sampling are employed to identify and select the participants, as well as draw out the lines of inquiry that inform this work.

**Convenience Sampling through Captive and Volunteer Participation**

Convenience sampling is usually a first step to locating research participants in studies that employ Grounded Theory approaches (Oktay, 2012). It occurs as researchers select participants for a variety of factors including their apparent spatial and relational proximity to phenomena, obligations that commit them to the inquiry or their level of interest in the telling and representation of phenomena that inform the inquiry.

Convenience sampling transpires via the selection of participants through “captive” sampling (Robinson, 2014; Teddlie & Yu, 2007, p. 78) and “volunteer” sampling (Coyne, 1997; R. Johnson & Waterfield, 2004). Participants comprising captive samples are readily accessible and available for participation (Suri, 2011) or are engaged through structural commitments. Volunteer sampling enlists participants on the basis of their offers to be willfully involved with the research (Robinson, 2014). The nexus of these methods constitute the initial means by which I came into contact with the research participants.

The story of sampling the members of the CMK, as primary participants begins through my relationship with the club’s vice president and former encounters with the club’s members during my presence at their weekly club meetings from June to August in
2012. The club’s vice president is my uncle-in-law [Papa Leki]. I am married to his
nephew and thus our relationship presented the opportunity for me to learn about the club
during my first visit to the DRC. Through my presence at the CMK’s weekly meetings
Papa Leki, the acting CMK president in 2012, introduced to several club members. This
introduction was informal because my attendance at their meetings never came about
through any official or formal means for my research objectives. I simply accompanied
my husband and our son to visit Papa Leki at his place of work. However, the simple
visit, and subsequent visits in 2012 enabled CMK members to become familiar with my
presence and exchanging small talk in their space. It also saw the beginnings of
acquaintances between my husband and the members of the CMK leadership. I began
visiting with the CMK at their meeting place each week during scheduled organizational
meetings. In August 2012, I departed the DRC with ideas about working with the CMK
due to the discussions and contents of their weekly meetings. These ideas became the
basis for my dissertation proposal and my 2013 re-entry into the DRC with the intention
of conducting research among the CMK.

My re-introduction to the CMK in 2013 began with convenience sampling as I
made contact with the club’s vice president to explain my interest in conducting research
with club members’ assistance. I waged this decision due to the fact that I had prior
knowledge of the vice president’s social influence among the club members. The vice
president also communicated his enthusiasm about relaying and documenting the club’s
experiences during our previous exchanges. His gate-keeping role and desire to
participate granted me access to a range of members at the club’s Kisima station
headquarters. Such access began a process of snowball sampling, which offered me reach to ‘referred and preferred’ members throughout the club’s five stations.

*Snowball Sampling*

Snowball sampling is beneficial to researchers that seeks to learn the structure and purpose of organizations through social relations (Molina, 2006; Wong, 2008). It relies on the nominations of research participants that have been secured through some form of initial contact such as close relational ties with the researcher or any variety of sampling methods (Goodman, 1961; Oktay, 2012; Sadler, Lee, Lim, & Fullerton, 2010). The process for new participant identification ensues as participants within an established research sample suggest the involvement of specific social actors (Goodman, 1961) due to their familiarity with them, their social roles, specialized knowledge, skill sets, or access to certain resources. As participants name potential Others based on the nature of their qualifications or associations with them, the population of participants grows or snowballs.

*Social Network Sampling*

Qualitative social network sampling is similar to snowball sampling as it helps researchers locate participants through the referrals and preferences of members within their social network (J. J. Schensul, 1999). However, whereas snowball sampling aims to establish “…within ones social network, ‘Others’ who possess certain characteristics or tendencies”, social network sampling seeks to identify, “social actors who comprise the total relational structure maintained and experienced by…” participants (Matthias, 2011; Wong, 2008). It follows the recommendations of participants based on how and why
others are known or significant to them, but it also prompts researchers to interrogate how and why others are unrecognized and unremarkable to participants. It causes researches to seek out why certain actors are under or overrepresented due to their absence and presence within participants’ social networks.

Thus, is it may be considered a form of “…full relational social network…” sampling due to its inclusion of all members that form a “naturally occurring social network” (LeCompte, Schensul, Singer, Trotter II, & Cromley, 1999, p. 6). It allows researchers to mitigate respondent driven bias as it engages members within a social network regardless of participants’ expressed nominations, directives and exclusions (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981; J. J. Schensul, 1999; Wong, 2008). Therefore, its utility to research on relationships in groups transcends the purposes of snowball sampling since it does not solely rely on participants’ discretion (Matthias, 2011) Researchers may follow-up based on their observations, hunches and discoveries about social actors that go unnamed or overlooked by others in their networks. Summarily, social network sampling can help researchers unearth the relational and social contexts that participants construct through their interaction in “small groups” (LeCompte et al., 1999, p. 7).

Through social network sampling I gained access to social actors who shared their information about the CMK by elaborating their roles within or relationship to the organization. Some participants were not members of the group but offered their perspectival knowledge on the CMK. Social network sampling was helpful for enlisting club members and non-members that provided input about the ways that relational structures bears upon the CMK’s representations, interactions, and structuring endeavors.
It enabled me to explore the club’s internal operations and the ways that it interacts with external entities. Some of the participants engaged through this method, include market stall owners, PCR authorities and new CMK members. I engaged with social actors that aided my recognition and understanding of relationships, power dynamics, communication flows, group categorizations, subgroups in the CMK, formal and informal roles, boundary spanning phenomena, work processes, intrinsic organizational features and the overall structure of the group.

_Theoretical Sampling as a Function of Grounded Theory Emergence_

Fernández (2005) describes theoretical sampling as, “…a deductive activity grounded in inducted categories or hypotheses” (p. 54). Theoretical sampling transpires during the data collection and analysis phases of inquiry (Charmaz, 1990; Draucker, Martsolf, Ross, & Rusk, 2007; Glaser & Strauss, 1965; Goulding, 1999; Robinson, 2014). It is informed by emergent patterns in data, which are discovered through the constant comparison procedures that conceive Grounded Theory. Data are the basis for theoretical sampling rather than reporting and analyzing the observation of participants, objects and their interaction. Researchers use the features and dimensions of data-driven patterns to produce categories and concepts that embody them. Once data driven categories and concepts are evolved, theoretical sampling proceeds in a cyclical manner.

This process incorporates searching outside of the data for “confirming or disconfirming” instances and cases as measurement of categorical and conceptual integrity (Coyne, 1997, p. 627; Suri, 2011, p. 70; Teddlie & Yu, 2007, p. 82); comparing what the search avails with existing categories and concepts; refinement of all categories.
and concepts to form preliminary theoretical statements, and then returning to the data to compare refined theoretical developments to new data driven categories and concepts (Breckenridge & Jones, 2009; Glaser & Strauss, 1965; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Uhan, Malnar, & Kurdija, 2013). The search outside of the data entails the selective sampling of, “…people, institutions, documents, or wherever the theory leads the investigation (Teddle & Yu, 2007, p. 82).” Thus, the process of theoretical sampling warrants data collection through the repetitive interaction between researchers, data, participants and objects.

Theoretical sampling gave rise to categorical and conceptual leads that I used to engage participants through interviews and observation. It caused me to seek out places and artifacts to make sense of participants’ accounts. Throughout the inquiry these leads functioned as indicators that caused me to revisit social actors’ situations, routines, and settings. In such cases I conducted follow-up interviews; new interviews with new participants, posed new questions; replicated or varied my daily practices; formed new acquaintances; modified my data collection methods, and either abandoned or corrected misconceptions. The process assisted me with bracketing my impositions on the data and caused me to indulge in the directionalities offered through the data. Theoretical sampling was thus a reflective and interactive process that guided generation of conceptual constructs to produce a formidable Grounded Theory of the structuration of legitimacy for the CMK.
Overview of Spaces, Places and Settings for Data Collection

During my first week in Lubumbashi, Papa Leki, the CMK’s Vice President met me at my home where we discussed my interests in conducting research, his enthusiasm about my interests, and the best ways to go about working with the motorcycle taxi club. This meeting marked my initial engagement and re-entry into the CMK Manseba community. Thereafter the meetings and data collection methods that I employed were enacted through four different space and place based settings: at the CMK’s motorcycle taxi stations; at Maman Melanie’s; in the homes of club members, and aboard club members’ motorcycles.

The Stations: Kisima, Somika, Wantanshi, Nshinga and Avenue Kalemie

The CMK operates through five different taxi ranks or stations [See Appendix C], which enable the club to provide services for geographically isolated populations who reside further away from the infrastructural networks and grids that have been constructed by the City of Lubumbashi. These stations are situated within the sprawling Kisanga community, which borders the Katuba, Gbadolite, and Plateau Golf communities of Lubumbashi. Some stations border and serve newly settled and unsettled tracts of land that have been reserved for residential land use along the northern and eastern most outskirts of Kisanga. Collectively, the stations include: Kisima, Somika, Wantanshi, Nshinga/ Penga Penga and Avenue Kalemie. Each station functions as space and place-based domain for the club members as they use them through their work-right.
Kisima Station

The Kisima station is the club’s founding station, it was established in 2011 and functions as the site for the club headquarters. Kisima is the most coveted station amongst club members and also the most populous in terms of daily motorcycle activity. At present, it is the only station that is shared with other kinds of public transportation vehicles, whereby it serves as a depot for Dubai [rear and side-loading mini busses] activity, and traditional taxi cars. The station is simultaneously a thoroughfare for the community behind it, in addition to the home to a small informal market and a police station. Pedestrian traffic is just as common and crucial to the station’s custodians as is regular vehicular traffic. It rests along the border of Commune de Kisanga [Kisanga Community] and Commune de Katuba [Katuba Community] on Route Kipushi, a major international artery that connects the DRC to Zambia through a town called Kipushi. The remaining stations were founded in 2012 or 2013 and emerged to due to the CMK’s observed need for transportation services, as well as their desire to expand their operations for profit making.
Figure 3. View of the Kisima Station taken from Maman Melanie's

Route Kipushi Stations: Somika and Wantanshi

The Somika and Wantanshi stations are situated along Route Kipushi. Somika is approximately one half mile from the Kisima station and Wantanshi is approximately 17 miles from the City of Kipushi. The Somika station is the property of the Societe Minere Du Katanga (Somika S.P.R.L.), a copper and cobalt mining and processing plant. The club members employ a corner lot driveway entrance to the plant as their depot due to its location off of the main road. The Wantanshi station occupies the roadside property of the Radio Television Wantanshi (RTW) an inter-regional Congolese broadcast television and radio station. These two stations are most accessible to commuters that wish to travel to and from neighboring cities due to their location off of Route Kipushi and their proximity to the southwestern perimeter of Lubumbashi, the City of Kipushi and the political border between the DRC and Zambia [See Figure 1]
Figure 4. (left to right) Me and Papa Blaise and My son and Papa Leki on motorcycles at Nshinga station and the Panoramic view of the Wantanshi station, Wantanshi radio station building and signal tower in the background.

*Nshinga/Plateau Station*

Founded in 2013, the Nshinga/Plateau Station or simply, Nshinga is situated within a community that that lacks access to government supported road infrastructure. However, it is accessible by unleveled, ungraded and oftentimes uncleared paths, which are laden with boulders, physical depressions and flora. It is subject to flooding during the wet season, which strands residents in mud and pools of dirty water and delimits all forms of navigability. The paths cannot readily accommodate four-wheel vehicular traffic. The motorcycle transportation services provided by the CMK are currently the sole means of vehicular transportation available to Nshinga inhabitants. The Nshinga station is situated at a clearing between the termination points of main access paths, a communal market and a series of electric grid network high voltage transmission line towers [which do not provide electricity to any of the surrounding communities] that traverse several nearby communities. The club members established the towers as
physical markers to delineate the station grounds. The cables on the electrical towers [or any cables that carry electrical current] are called Nshinga in the local Lubumbashi Kiswahili language, thus the station was named Nshinga by the club’s leadership as a means for identifying and describing the station location.

_Avenue Kalemie Station_

Club members all call the Avenue Kalemie station is also called Karavia because it is situated near Route Karavia. It is also near an electric grid network of high voltage transmission line towers. It is the last station that the club formed and serves as a junction between the Kisima, and Nshinga stations. This station is situated within the Kisanga community and is accessible by four-wheel vehicular traffic.

_Maman Melanie’s_

Maman Melanie’s is a combined bar-restaurant-lounge-alimentation shop-boarding establishment in Kisima situated along Route Kipushi across the street from the CMK’s station headquarters. The establishment was formerly used by the club members for their weekly meetings and is currently used by them for socialization during breaks from their work routines where they eat, drink, and carry on conversations with one another. These interactions occur in three places: In an open-air concrete room, that is shielded from the sunlight by a mix of bamboo shades or orange and blue tarps that are fitted to the frames of paneless windows or lookouts that circumscribe three of the walls of the establishment. The walls are constructed of cinderblocks that have been covered with concrete plaster. Some of the walls are unpainted, some are painted white with red trim, and some have been painted a pale pink color with designs featuring random
splatters and splashes of blue or orange [meant as decorative touches I suppose]. In a closed-door room that contains sofas along the walls, a serving table for food service and small plastic tables, and at the rear of the establishment between enclosed pit-latrines, a block of hotel/rental dwellings and the rear wall of the of the open-air room. Local residents purchase soft drinks and food provisions such as sugar, bukari (cooked maize meal) or snack foods such as potato crisps from a small alimentation concession located at the front entrance of the establishment. At the rear of Maman Melanie is a block of single-occupant rooms that are inhabited by local renters. The entire establishment sits on a small lot that is owned by a local man who resides in a dwelling that is approximately 50 feet away from it. Most of the meetings and interviews that I conducted with members of the CMK were held in the open-air room or at the rear of Maman Melanie. The landlord and Maman Melanie became friends with me through my regular visits to the establishment. Their children played with my son, they helped me practice my local Kiswahili and I helped them open e-mail accounts during the time I spent with them.
At Home with Members of the Comité de Motard Kisima

On occasion members of the club’s leadership invited me to their homes to meet their families, show me their place, share their meals, and their stories. During the period of inquiry I visited the families of four club members. These visits usually transpired during Sundays or at the end of a workday. These were planned interactions that enabled me to reflect on potential questions that I could pose. Most of all the time I spent in the homes of these club members enabled us to relate to one another outside of the context of work and research. I played with members’ children, shared family photos with them, learned about their specific cultural backgrounds and exchanged stories with them about my life, how I met my husband, what my son does at school and my thoughts about Lubumbashi. Home visits allowed me to practice my Kiswahili abilities and have club members inform me of local slang as well as the particulars of Lubumbashi Kiswahili. I was able to see that the work that these members created for themselves as Manseba
helped them provide for their family members, build their residences and homes and their sustenance.

*Motorcycle Rides*

Motorcycle rides with members of the club’s leadership transpired for a variety or reasons on planned and unplanned occasions. Planned motorcycle excursions usually took place because either a member of the leadership or I decided that it would be important to tour a particular area to learn about their work and the physical features of the communities that they serve. These trips also included visits to governmental offices or meetings with their families at their homes. Unplanned rides happened at my request in an impromptu manner. In such cases I would ask to be brought to places and to meet with actors that were mentioned by participants during interviews or passing conversations-cum interviews. Both planned and unplanned meetings happened when it was most feasible or convenient for CMK leadership members to spare their time. They were primarily available to take me out on rides during their slower work spells; on Sundays when I visited their homes to share meals with their families or when I completed data collection at the Kisima station during the evening hours.

Motorcycle rides with the club members availed experiential opportunities that caused me to face many of the circumstances that bear upon Lubumbashi residents’ personal daily mobility. During the evening hours and on Sundays taxis and Dubais are sparse in the vicinities that the CMK work in and finding public transportation in these areas poses a challenge for those that reside in outskirt settlements. Furthermore, travel throughout many parts of the CMK’s service communities requires motorcycle
transportation due to the nature of vehicular path and road conditions. I learned that these factors also cause work-related tensions for CMK members as they struggle with balancing the income-generating opportunities that they create and maximizing the time that they spend with their families. Motorcycle rides were the most exhilarating experiences for me as they allowed me to take in through the senses what could not be understood through participants’ accounts. Although they were not a regular aspect of my engagement with the CMK, these experiences provided insight to the complexity of structural challenges and structured practices that the organization assumes through their work-life. Furthermore motorcycle rides became a site and activity for mutual trust building, which enriched each additional encounter with CMK members.

Data Collection Methods

The data collection methods include traditional ethnographic tools such as observation, participant observation, unstructured interviews, and semi-structured interviews. However organizational mapping elicitation interviews were useful for capturing participants’ detailed explanations and varied understandings of the CMK’s internal structures, as well as the club’s interactions with external entities. Go-along interviews were also necessary for capturing participants’ location specific and mobility-centric experiences.

Engagement with members of the CMK transpired over a period of 11 weeks from June 3, 2013 until August 16, 2013. During this time I visited with several members four to six times per week for scheduled and random meetings during the morning, afternoon or evening to collect data. I primarily met with members at the
Kisima station or at Maman Melanie’s across the street from the station. Visits to other CMK settings usually occurred during motorcycle excursions with the CMK. When I wanted to observe the station happenings, fraternize through small talk or be accessible to newer members I remained at the Kisima station. When meetings required privacy or escape from the natural sounds produced by street traffic, flows of people and station activity the club members met with me at the rear of Maman Melanie or at their homes.

Most meetings were held during weekdays, as this was the most convenient time to engage with the club’s members at the Kisima station. Weekends proved to be either impossible or ideal for our ability to meet. According to many of the club members Saturdays were considered a busy day or “shiku kazi sana” (CMK6M, 2013, p. 5). This meant that their work was demanding and they would be busy with transporting clients. Taking time out of a busy workday would result in financial loss and thus such meetings were impractical for some members. Sundays were “slower days” as some members took the day off or delayed their work until after their attendance at religious services during the morning and afternoon hours. Sunday engagement with club members allowed me more time to learn about the specifics of their organization and to accompany them on Go-along interviews. It also allowed me to engage with members in their homes. Therefore, I strategically met with four different club members in some capacity for 6 out of the 10 Sundays that transpired during my time in Lubumbashi.

Observation

Observation took place during a period of eleven weeks. Observation in the strictest sense transpired during my visits to the Kisima station. In this instance I made
pre-arranged and unannounced visits to the station. These visits transpired during various times of the day and afternoon and sometimes lapsed into the evening hours. Each period evidenced new information about club members’ work flow; passenger and pedestrian traffic flows; the characteristics of their clients; the ways that they coordinated transportation efforts with taxi drivers and Dubai operators; the nature of relationships among club members; manifestations of club members’ immobility in the station; socialization rituals; public demonstrations of conflict; conflict resolution strategies; members’ adherence to legal regulations; how social actors use the lot where the station is located; economic relationships; interactions between law enforcement and club members amongst other things.

Multisensory dimensions of observation enabled me to determine the rhythms of passenger traffic during the afternoon hours. The aroma of roasted cassava and peanuts wafted throughout the air at the station during the afternoon, this was usually an indication that local residents and commuters would soon arrive at the station to use it as a thoroughfare or transfer point to other modes of transportation.

*Participant Observation*

Participant observation transpired throughout the inquiry in two distinct ways: During interactions with club members and their families and during motorcycle trips with members of the club’s leadership. During visits with club members’ families I socialized through engagement in activities related to domestic life, work-life and child’s play. For instance, when visiting the homes of CMK members I went on for walks with their wives to buy soft drinks, onions, tomato paste or chili peppers at local shops and
markets; played kilako [a card game] with club members and their children; washed and shined motorcycle spokes with CMK members, picked and cleaned sombe [cassava leaves], mixed cement and clay for brick-making so that members could rebuild small home-based shops; participated in the replacement of a motorcycle tire, and applied fresh coats of paint to the exterior walls of a member’s home. These interactions allowed me to witness and experience how members go on as husbands, fathers, brothers, uncles, multitaskers and business managers. They also enabled me to hear from the CMK members’ significant others. These engagements often lead to discussions about their work, their relations with family and coworkers, their opinions, their communities, their weekly and far-off plans and their hobbies.

I took exploratory motorcycle trips with club leadership on the Sundays that they were available to accommodate me; during rush hour periods in the early evening after completing data collection amongst club members and for trips between club stations. I rode with club members on their motorcycles at least 4 to 5 days each week [mostly out of necessity]. Motorcycle trips with club members allowed me to discover and understand the ways that they conduct their work, how they wage decisions in traffic and how they manage traffic risks, how their role as leadership transcends their work routines, how they communicate with and regulate club members, how they interact with taxi drivers and Dubai operators, how members assist each other with mechanical malfunctions, their familiarity with the physicality of path and road networks, their knowledge of community sprawl, their preferences for work attire, and their overall role in providing transportation to geographically isolated communities.
As a participant-observer my body felt the toll of riding a motorcycle. I felt pain in my knees, lower back and hips. I was never a passenger on a motorcycle for more than two or three hours at a time, however each time I rode with club members I developed pain that resulted in ongoing soreness. Through my time spent riding on motorcycles in the Kisima and Kisanga communities I developed an accumulation of silt in my nose, throat and mouth, which caused me to experience a hoarse cough, sneezing and nasal congestion for almost the entire time that I conducted inquiry. The participatory experience availed how the work that club members perform may cause concern for their health. Openness to sensorial experiences enabled me to recognize these related phenomena, as well as how they may factor in to the interests and structuration endeavors that the CMK maintain.

*Unstructured Interviews*

Unstructured interviews were the result of planned engagement and unplanned circumstances [See Appendix D]. They were executed throughout periods of observation, during Go-alongs and while conducting multi-sensorial elicitation interviews and organizational mapping elicitation interviews. They were the primary means for documenting participants’ verbal and non-verbal expressions. An audio recorder was used in most instances of unstructured interviewing, including during scheduled interviews as well as during elicitation interviews. I deployed ‘how’, ‘why,’ and ‘can you give me a story about a time…’ questions to engage participants’ explications and reflections. Such questions sought to prompt accounts regarding their routines as well as the tacit modes of knowing and enactment that contribute to their lived realities.
interviews were interactive as they noted participants’ responses, reactions and noticeable
omissions as we held conversations. Interview questions sought elaboration of their
encounters with other social actors, as well as their relationship with inanimate objects
and spatial domain.

_Semi-Structured Interviews_

Semi-structured interviewing occurred for three reasons: (1) to collect primary
data from the club members to ascertain unrevealed information about their roles within
the club, as well as the club’s structures, activities and history. (2) They also served to
follow-up with members about data obtained through previous interviews, which
identified specific social actors, places, narratives or any other phenomena that required
clarification. (3) Concepts and categories produced through theoretical sampling were
introduced through questions that aimed to confirm or disconfirm their relevance to the
direction of the inquiry and advancement of theoretical statements. This process included
the use of _loose_ interview guides to ensure that I asked club members about specific
topics or to gain clarification about previous data as well as their input regarding
categorical and conceptual themes that the data presented.

_Go-along Interviews_

Go-along interviews permit researchers to witness phenomena as it unfolds
through social actors’ experiences within settings that are familiar to them. They are
inherently multi-sited as they rely on the interactions that occur as social actors move
throughout spatial domain. Go-along interviews are conducted as researchers shadow
social actors while they enact their daily routines in their communities (Carpiano, 2009;
Researchers may observe, interview and participate with social actors during the go along experience. This allows researchers to engage social actors’ perspectives, attitudes and experiential knowledge as they traverse their social and physical environments (Carpiano, 2009; Kusenbach, 2003; Matthias, 2011). Go-alongs draw on the tenets of symbolic interactionism, pragmatism (Jones, Bunce, Evans, Gibbs, & Hein, 2008; Kusenbach, 2003) and social constructivism (Carpiano, 2009) as means for understanding how and why social actors create, interact within and strategize via the spaces and places that they experience. Thus, Go-alongs warrant an ethnographic experience that facilitates the discovery of the features of environmental relationships, spatial occurrences and social nuances to guide data collection.

Go-alongs were essential to the motorcycle trips that I made with members of the club’s leadership. Through my observations and experiences aboard their motorcycles I was able to ask them questions based on their immediate actions and performances. I posed questions premised upon their interactions with others, events, social settings and material entities. I noticed and questioned their enactment of choice. I was also able to ask them about the evolution, chronology and progression of matters that they expressed. Some of these questions were about the communities we traveled through; other Manseba; the choices they made to navigate through traffic; their personal experiences with motorcycle injuries and accidents; their comfort, their repetitive motions, path and road conditions; how they operate their motorcycles; phone calls that they received; their
radio listening habits; their route preferences; why they cover and uncover their faces during trips; where they eat lunch and how they choose their roadside mechanics.

**Organizational Mapping Elicitation Interviews**

Organizational mapping elicitation interviews enable researchers to learn about the nature and constituents of the organizations that social actors belong to (Molina, 2006; Wang & Ahmed, 2003). This method is realized as social actors produce organizational maps while researchers elicit information about the structural, relational and spatial elements that they illustrate. Organizational maps function as organizational charts or organograms, as well as instruments for locating invisible aspects of an organization’s structural features (Wang & Ahmed, 2003), such as labor divisions, institutional structure (Molina, 2006; Wang & Ahmed, 2003). Thus, they allow researchers to elicit descriptive information about the formal and informal dimensions of social relationships, organizational processes, history, future orientations, the attitudes and perspectives of the members within the organization as well as how members create and mediate organizational structures and roles. Essentially they allow for the teasing out of meaning, intention and rationale within an organization (Molina, 2006; Wang & Ahmed, 2003). Organizational maps may be fashioned out of hand-sketched images or other symbolic configurations such as puzzles, pictographs or computer mediated graphic representations.

Elicitation interviews may be conducted while social actors create organizational maps; once the maps have been completed, or they may be conducted throughout the cycles of modification that the maps may undergo. Researchers may engage one or many
social actors to produce organizational maps. Once maps are created they may be circulated throughout the entire organizational membership body or they may be shared among an organization’s leadership. Such member checking procedures enable researchers to access members’ perceptions of the accuracy of the maps; gain clarification and details about organizational roles and structural components and enlist members in the creation of single consensually coherent map that they deem representative of the organization’s structures.

Organization mapping elicitation interviews were used during this inquiry to document the organizational structure of the CMK. Five members of the club’s leadership were asked to create their own maps or to contribute to maps that other leadership members devised during different elicitation interview engagements. The following leadership members were involved in organizational mapping elicitation interviews: Vice President, Treasurer, Security Coordinator [Willy], President and Secretary. These membership positions comprise the core leadership structure of the CMK. I asked each of the members to provide comments and insight about the integrity of maps that their colleagues produced.

The Vice President created the first map. I was able to ask him about each structure and role associated with it after he completed it. In a separate interview the treasurer commented on, and then added to the map created by the Vice President. The treasurer also created two original maps: the first documents the club’s entire structure and the second map relays the structure of the ASBL (Association Sans But Lucratif), a sub-unit non-profit organization that functions through the club’s existing operational
structure [this will be addressed at a later point]. I compared the three maps, cited their differences, and used them to follow up with the members that produced them so they could compare them and provide their insights on them. The Security Coordinator, Willy produced a map that detailed the functions of the security officials. He also commented on the maps produced by the Vice President and Treasurer. However, the President and the Secretary only offered comments on the maps produced by the Vice President and the Treasurer during interviews. The mapping process terminated during the last week of the inquiry with the club’s Vice President who devised a grand organizational map.

Figure 6. (left to right) Map of the ASBL structure created by the CMK Treasurer and an organizational map created by the CMK Vice President
The grand organizational map details the roles and entities that impact the internal and external functions of the club. The grand organizational map is composed of labeled index cards. The information used to label the index cards was obtained through interviews with the core leadership. The index cards feature the names and/or titles of individuals that are involved with the CMK core leadership, the local and provincial government, law enforcement, and the mass media. They also feature the names of organizational sub-units formed by the CMK. The information used to label the index cards was obtained from participants’ interview data. The Vice President was provided with blank index cards so that he may label them to include or correct information for the grand organizational map. During the mapping elicitation interview process for the grand organizational map the five organizational maps that were previously constructed by were shown to the Vice President so that he may compare and contrast their features, in the construction of the grand organizational map.

Overall, the facets of organizational maps were used to prompt participants and probe their responses during mapping elicitation interviews. The elicitation interviews availed information about the nature of the relationships that the club maintains with powerful entities and outgroups. It also evidenced intricacies of the CMK structure such as the ASBL sub-unit that functions within the club. Shared and ad-hoc roles such as the CMK “conseillers” and the “commission electorale” were also identified through the use of organizational maps.
Description of the Data Sources

The data include interview transcriptions; photographs of events, settings, social actors and artifacts; organizational maps constructed by participants during elicitation interviews; jottings that detail a number of my observations and suppositions; fieldnotes that describe my experiences throughout the research endeavor, and video recordings that were used to capture Go-along interview experiences.

Transcribed Interviews

A total of 43 interview transcripts were generated from the 31 unstructured interviews and 12 semi-structured interviews that were conducted. The interviews engaged the CMK core leadership, provisional leadership and regular members. They are also composed from the accounts offered by a member of the Police Routier Katanga [traffic police], Maman Melanie, a socialization and restaurant establishment owner; A female stall owner in the Kisima station outdoor market; two male CMK passengers with their children; the wife of the CMK treasurer, the wife of the CMK vice president and the wife of the CMK secretary. The 31 unstructured interviews included six go along interviews, one group interview, two paired unstructured interviews and five participant organizational mapping elicitation interviews. Of the 12 semi-structured interviews that transpired, two were paired interviews and three were participant mapping elicitation interviews.

As the participants were speakers of one or all of either the Kiswahili, French and Tshiluba languages, the process for transcribing the data progressed from audio recordings; to had written transcripts that corresponded to the range of languages spoken
to typed versions of the original written transcripts and finally typed transcriptions of the data translated to the English language. The translations were achieved with assistance from my husband/research assistant/Tshiluba and French language interpreter.

Photographs

Photographs documented all aspects of the fieldwork experience. They were especially useful for capturing the various settings and scenes that I experienced with interactants. This assisted with the recall of the various features and contexts that contributed to these spaces and places, which enabled me to fill my fieldnotes with even richer and thicker descriptions. Photography was also employed to document interviews and fleeting encounters, helping me place the faces and names of participants to audio recorded interviews. They were used to document the CMK’s organizational knowledge artifacts [See Appendices F and G], including official documents, motorcycle plates, and members’ driving licenses. Photographs were necessary during participant mapping interviews in order to document the processes and outcomes of data construction. Each of the mapping constructions aided the identification and matching of image-data with the accompanying audio recordings. This helped with grasping the organizational structure of the CMK and the facilitation of questions about the organizational maps that were photographed in semi-structured follow-up interviews. Organizational maps emerged as a distinct form data due to the production of photographs.

Organizational Maps

Five organizational maps were produced during the data collection process. They include the two maps created by the Vice President [an organizational structure map and
the grand organizational map]; two maps created by the Treasurer [an organizational structure map and a map featuring the ASBL structure] and one map created by the Security Coordinator, Willy [the CMK security organizational map]. With the exception of the grand organizational map [See Appendix K], each map was created on pages in my field notebooks. The grand organizational map was made of labeled index cards. These organizational maps worked to broaden my understanding about the CMK’s internal structures, as well as external entities that interact with the CMK. They serve as valuable referents about the CMK structure throughout the processes of data collection and analysis.

\textit{Jottings}

Throughout the fieldwork process, I created jotted notes [See Appendix L] comprising single words, lists, simple outlines, ideas, images, my eureka moments or any other bits of information that struck me as pertinent, remarkable and necessary to remember for further consideration. Jottings were made in a notepad that I routinely carried, on found pieces of paper, paper bags, torn off pieces of cardboard, juice box cartons, and anything that I could find that would permit inscription and portability. The content of these jottings helped with the recall of ideas, as well as connections that I made to field experiences and previously recorded data. I used them to enhance my fieldnotes and the process of theoretical sampling. Jottings took place during, interviews, periods of observation or at any point where passing thoughts and sudden ideas warranted documentation.
**Fieldnotes**

I composed fieldnotes after each encounter with the CMK, as well as when I perceived some aspect of my experience as particularly striking and relevant to the context of the inquiry. My initial fieldnotes were recorded by typing them into my computer [the first four days into the inquiry], however, the inconsistent manner in which electricity was available made it impossible to charge my computer battery. I decided to conserve the power in my computer battery to obtain Internet access rather than for composing fieldnotes. Thus, the majority of my fieldnotes fill a total of five composition notebooks. Fieldnotes were crafted to record anything that came to mind about my experiences with field interaction. I used them to describe places, scenes, smells, the dryness of the Lubumbashi air, members’ non-verbal performances and any other phenomena that struck me as pertinent for recalling and reconstructing mental images. I also compose fieldnotes while watching the news, as several of the nightly news reports featured, or related to some aspect of my inquiry with respect to Manseba and Wewa within and beyond Lubumbashi. I also used my fieldnotes as a source of guidance for constructing questions for semi-structured interviews. This enabled me to obtain public perspectives and prompt responses with members of the CMK, as well as the non-members that participated in the inquiry. Fieldnotes were composed through an alternating stream of thought vs. bracketing process. I first noted anything that came to mind and then reviewed the notes to bracket [literally] my feelings, thoughts and opinions within the raw description.
Video Recordings

Go-along interviews were documented using video recordings. The visual and aural elements of these interviews served to inform the descriptions and transcripts that comprise the data. Video recordings were especially useful for recalling settings and scenes, as well as for documenting conversations with participants. In total six video recordings captured Go-along interviews. Five of these interviews transpired during rides with members of the CMK leadership and one captured a walking tour of the Kisanga neighborhood that was led by Papa Leki’s wife.

Figure 7. Example of a video stills captured during a Go-along interview aboard Papa Willy’s motorcycle in the Kisanga neighborhood.
CHAPTER 4: REFLEXIVITY

This chapter provides a view to my experiences in the field through reflexive lenses. Although social identity, structuration, Grounded Theory and Ethnography all privilege reflection on the totality of human experience, I offer compartmentalized expressions of the ways that reflexivity oriented my interactions, perspectives, stances and identities during the field inquiry process. Through the illustration of phases and conditions of experience, I initially contextualize my re-entry into Lubumbashi and the lifeworld of the participants. Emphasis is placed on the unexpected as an element of ethnographic reality. Next I discuss my understanding of, and resignation to others’ perceptions and impositions upon my identity by way of their use of a culturally appropriate social referent. I proceed with the relay of my experiences with balancing the dualistic art of mothering and researching with my son in tow. I play devils’ advocate with the issue of female motorcycle taxi workers and Finally I share my experiences among the CMK members as we negotiated expectations, comfort, trust and the development of bonds through beverage consumption, meal sharing, movie viewing, and motorcycle rides.

Returning to Change

Going back to Lubumbashi was about more than going to do data collection. Although I had only been in Lubumbashi less than one year ago, I knew that I was returning to a world of change. Lubumbashi is experiencing sweeping changes due to a new and unprecedented wave of infrastructural improvements and industrial investments that are being made by foreign investors. The vast majority of Lubumbashi’s citizens
have no control over these changes but their proposed benefits fill the conversations of the city’s citizens in fantastic form. In spite of these structural factors Lushoi [people from Lubumbashi] invent ways to carry on with life and prepare for their futures. With this in mind it was no wonder that upon my return to Lubumbashi I discovered that the CMK underwent drastic changes, which dissected my plans for conducting research amongst the group.

My initial proposed research provided for me to attend weekly CMK membership meetings to collect data about the CMK leaders’ plans for developing an internal health and safety promotion campaign. This intended line of inquiry was based on my previous interaction with the CMK, during which, I witnessed the membership vote on, and make suggestions regarding the prospect of adopting health insurance programs for the club. Some members offered their inputs about the benefits of the insurance, while others registered their concerns about the affordability and veracity of the proposed insurance. The meeting was more of a discussion among members and the CMK leadership than a heavily protocoled event. However, this research plan could not be realized as the CMK Vice President informed me that all motorcycle taxi organizations in Lubumbashi were lawfully prohibited from convening in public or private outside of the scope of providing transportation services. This meant that local Manseba organizations could only assemble in their respective stations to load and offload passengers. The government of the City of Lubumbashi ordered the cessation of all Manseba membership meetings due to local acts of terrorism that were known to be committed with the transportation assistance of local Manseba.
With this news I was dumbfounded as I continued to learn more from Papa Leki about changes to the organization’s decision-making routines in lieu of meetings. He informed me that instead of gathering on a weekly basis CMK members communicate with each other as an organization in planned sub-groups of three or four members at a time, or while they are assembled in their Kisima station they, “spread the news around from mouth to ear” (CMK VP, 2013, p. 4, unstructured interview). For example, he explained that certain, “…members plan a time to socialize…” where they make their plans over drinks (CMK VP, 2013, p. 4, unstructured interview). They ensure that they limit the number of attendees to, “…no more than 10 or 15 members…” and they never attend these informal engagements with documents or paperwork that concern the organization (CMK VP-B, 2013, p. 9, semi-structured interview). Members now park their motorcycles at the rear of Maman Melanie or in the lots of the businesses adjacent to her establishment. This is done so their, “…motorcycles are not visible from the main road…” to patrolling law enforcement officers and military police (CMK VP Go Along, 2013). Papa Leki suggested that this was a precaution to ensure that the organization and its members are not accused of conspiring or violating local mandates that regulate their assembly.

Papa Leki’s accounts of the accusations made about local Manseba did not fit the image of the group of motorcycle taxi operators that I had come to know during my prior 2012 visit with them. However, with the recent and ongoing events in Lubumbashi and surrounding towns I understand the government’s position and desire to curtail anyone
and anything that they deem suspicious. I am unsure that they are going about it in a manner that makes sense for determining exactly who or what causes these events.

Papa Leki explained that the Lubumbashi government began to communicate the new terms of motorcycle taxi operation via local television and radio programs since late 2012. Thus, within the CMK, he and other members tune into these broadcasts on a daily basis to sift through them for updates regarding new rules or imposed changes to existing methods of operation for Manseba. Papa Leki explained that the broadcasts are, “one of the most important part of the day, like breakfast, lunch and dinner, we have to listen very well the time that we are working, then if we have the television we can run home to look on the television for the news for bikers” (CMK VP, 2013, p. 3, unstructured interview). He also suggested that levels of scrutiny placed on Manseba communities have surged throughout the DRC based on his understanding of news radio and sometimes television reports. He mentioned that,

…now listening to radio and looking to the news is different, it is also the job and not our enjoyment only, we have to do it…before we look to say if they say bad things about us, if they say we are dirtying the city; the things that are wrong and the things that make us all look bad…these days we look for how to go, if we turn left, go right, if we stop to do work at 18 if we stop at 19, if we can go in one part of Lubumbashi but not the other… we get our program on radio, on television and our work is following these bosses from the government, they give the laws for us (CMK VP Go Along, 2013).
Their work was no longer up for discussion on their own terms; their regular meetings were now a secondary factor in their work. They were also now illegal acts. The CMK were now working in wait for orientation from their government. The more Papa Leki shared about new ways of doing things, the more I wanted to know about how they managed to sustain themselves, how this impacted their organization, their lives and how this would impact my initial line of inquiry. I was aware that knowing and getting to see their situation meant doing things with and around the Manseba, being present and willing to be with them during their travels. Papa Leki offered to bring me up to speed over a family meal and visit to his home.

Papa Leki was recently married and had a 3 month-old daughter. He also rented a new house in Kisima, which he decided that I should visit along with my husband and my son [his great nephew]. This required me to travel with him on his motorcycle and called for one other motorcyclist to transport my son and husband. During my first week in Lubumbashi we met him at the Kisima station depot at 8 o’clock on a Sunday morning. The station was alive with the traffic of Sunday morning churchgoers. Papa Leki waited for us while on perched atop his motorcycle in the middle of the station. As we approached the station in our taxi I saw his eyes scanning my face. This was significant because I believe he was attempting to sense my level of commitment to what was about to happen, to his reality, to Manseba, to his work, to my research, and to my words. I was about to ride a motorcycle in Lubumbashi for the first time. The last time that he offered me a ride on his motorcycle in 2012 I declined in fear of the worst. Although still nervous about the _doom_ that awaited me, this time was different. It was different for me this time
because I knew that the motorcycle taxi ride was inevitable and necessary. I simply realized that if I wished to conduct research among the group, and about their experiences, I too had to experience the very instrument that permits them to make a living for themselves.

As Papa Leki peered at me his grin crept up into a smile. He said, “Okay Mama T.T. we go?” I dreaded the thought of riding a motorcycle for three [major in my mind] reasons: Papa Leki had a helmet for himself but there were no helmets for us to use; secondly, I remembered news reports from the previous year that I visited Lubumbashi, which preached that death-by-motorcycle was imminent. I also witnessed two serious motorcycle accidents during my previous 2012 visit to the city. One of the accidents occurred within a matter of seconds and literally less than 10 feet away from where I stood. I saw the injuries incurred by the motorcycle operator and his passenger as they bled from their head and hands while moaning and sprawled out like snow angels on the ground. Several onlookers picked them up by their dangling limbs, placed them into handcrafted wheel barrels [no ambulances or emergency medical services on call and this is normal] and carted off out of sight on a busy road.

I did not want to become those that I remembered. My flashback sent me through a spiral of worrisome thought – what if we get on these motorcycles and an accident follows? How would I live with myself if my son and husband get hurt, or worse? My son is so small his body would never withstand such an accident. What if I get hurt, who will care for my son? I don’t want my son to see his father or me in an injured state he would be devastated. What will I tell my family in the U.S.? If my son gets injured and is
in pain he would never forgive me. What kind of mother would I be if my son gets hurt on this motorcycle? If my husband is hurt what will we do here in Lubumbashi? If my husband is killed I will have no husband, my son will have no father. What will I do if this ride is the death of all of us?

With all of this in mind, and Papa Leki’s looming question in play, I looked at my husband, my child, and at Papa Leki’s hopeful stare, I let out a quick sigh and said, “Naogopa sana!” [I am very scared]. To my surprise, Maman Melanie, the owner of Restaurant Maman Melanie, shouted from behind Papa Leki, “Haina mambo, twende dadangu, twende.” [There is no problem, Let’s go my sister, let’s go]. I had no idea she was looking or listening to our private exchange. Then another young woman chimed in, “Ogopa nini?” [Afraid of what?]. My impatient husband said, “Toleka” [“Let’s go” in the Lingala language]. Then others whose faces I did not see got involved with the scene. I heard, “ukala!” [you sit in local Kiswahili], “uko sawa!” [You’re alright in Kiswahili]. I stood a grown woman with a group of onlookers coaxing me onto a motorcycle, I put so much on it that I spectacled myself. I felt childish and mildly embarrassed.

I was sobered by all of the attention so I straddled the motorcycle, lurched forward and held onto Papa Leki with my arms rigid and wrapped around the sides of his waist. He revved the motor and we peeled past a small crowd of Manseba and passers-by that formed to get a glimpse of the circus that I put on for them. With this, I heard a trail of cheers and whistles, some of the Manseba that we passed by cheered with their hands raised in the air. On route to Papa Leki’s home I looked through my sunglasses at curious sets of eyes staring back at me. Clouds of dust, and a Martian-like landscape of
crater-laden paths led the way. The experience was alien and I assumed that I looked alien to the residents and custodians of the neighborhoods that we zoomed through. As we entered Papa Leki’s compound, his wife greeted us at their door with their daughter, Eléni in bundled in her arms. She jokingly asked me, Ufanya kazi kama motard? [You work as a biker? In local Kiswahili].

Later that evening, as my son, husband and I prepared to mount the motorcycles to be transported to a depot where we could transfer to a taxi [this was the case as motorcycle taxis are not supposed to operate outside of specified areas, they are especially banned from the city center and central business district, where my home was located] to go to our home, Papa Leki said,
… see now, my place is here, my wife is here, Eléni is here now, you are climbing the bike now, we are not making meeting in the club, you come back to Lubumbashi and you find things all changed, but I am working for this and some things will change again… (CMK VP Go Along, 2013)

My ‘Bibi’ Label and Being ‘Bibi wa Darzé’

Bibi [pronounced bee-bee] is the Kiswahili word for wife or girlfriend. It is perhaps the most prominent label that was used to describe and introduce me during my initial encounters with Others, as well as when I was not present or engaged in conversations that involved me. For instance, if my husband introduced me to individuals that I was meeting for the first time, he presented me as, Bibi wangu [my wife]. His family and friends would tell others that I am, “Bibi wa Darzé” [Darzé’s wife]. However, in many instances my Bibi label preceded me and people knew who I was even though we had never actually met or they had never previously seen me. They knew that I was Bibi wa Darzé. This was also the case for my engagement with the CMK.

At Papa Leki’s compound I would often overhear his wife and cousins saying that I was, “Bibi wa Darzé” to their friends, church mates, home hair salon customers, motorcycle taxi drivers, and all other unmentioned actors that yielded the constant influx foot traffic into the compound. This would happen numerous times while I was present as people came into the compound to use the outhouse, the water tap, and to sell onions, bananas, used baby clothing, batteries, washing powder, peanuts, roasted sweet potato, scarves, shoes, flash drives or any thing else that could be carried onto the property and
sold. Each time I visited I noticed that everyone that entered was told that I was, “Bibi wa Darzé,” even if we were not formally introduced to each other.

My Bibi label was also used by my husband’s family and friends to assert their bragging rights over having a relationship with an American foreigner. In this case introducing me to someone or telling someone that I was “Bibi wa Darzé,” was followed by a story or a series of them. These stories would be about me in a nutshell—their telling of my biography; about my previous trip to the DRC; about my hair texture and length [because it is different from theirs]; about the time they watched me make vegetable soup; about the time I had malaria and lost weight; about my funny use of Kiswahili bora; about New York, its tall buildings and the subway [although they had never been there and really did not understand why a train should travel underground with passengers]; about my mother passing away while I was in Lubumbashi in 2012; or about some material item that I owned, or had given to them. I understood these Bibi wa Darzé story telling routines as their way of giving proof to others that their situation was different; not so Lubumbashi-mundane and also improved because they could speak of American-foreign things that others could not. These stories told others that they can’t know the real and imagined benefits of having a family member or friend-acquaintance that is an American foreigner.

Though not always the case, being called “Bibi was Darzé” literally came with a price. Once, as I walked on the foot beaten clay path along the façade of the groups of homes and businesses that led to Papa Leki’s compound, I heard a woman [because I never saw her, she was stealthy], yell out from behind one of the towering steel gates that
flanked the block of compounds, “Tina, kuja, Bibi wa Darzé anafika. Leta karoti, sakoshi mbili” [Tina come, Darzé’s wife arrived. Bring carrots, two bags]. I walked into the compound and in less than a minute a teenaged female came inside of the compound holding three [not two] bags of homegrown carrots for sale.

Another time, my husband, son and I walked across a road to enter an alimentation [local French term for small general shop] near the Kisima station, where I befriended the owner during my visits to the station. As I looked into the store window one of the shop owners smiled and waved at me while I heard her saying, “Bibi wa Darzé atalipa, uambie, atakupe,” [Darzé’s wife will pay, you ask, she will give you]. This was also the case with my research participants, If one of them saw my husband, son and me approach their station it was not uncommon to hear, “Twende, Bibi wa Darzé ni hapa” [Let’s go Darzé’s wife is here] or something to that extent. In such cases those who would respond to being summoned assumed that if they stuck around and talked with me they would receive beer for their trouble. This behavior changed when they realized that they would not receive anything from lingering around. They would tire of waiting and disappear into their work.

I grew weary of these scenarios and the latent meaning behind my Bibi label because in some cases it reminded me that I had the monetary means to pay for being the Other; and that culture dictated that I was Bibi wa Darzé and not Nakia; that it caused me to constantly assess its context and situational utility; that I had something that people wanted me to “give”; that people saw me as a privileged foreigner [because I am]; and that I had to deal with my privilege, just as those whom used the Bibi label to mean more
than ‘Darzé’s wife’ had to deal with it. My Bibi label objectified and monetized me, it rendered me exotic; kept me a distant object of study; and removed from local realities. It was a polite and acceptable way to actively *Other* me. Simultaneously, my Bibi label forced me to reclaim [because this is nothing new to me] the fact that I embody privilege. Even though I felt, and wanted to be *natural* in my surroundings, I am understood as the object of haves. Understanding these complexities, I just got on with the flow and order of things because in the end it is a fact. In Lubumbashi I am Bibi wa Darzé.

Mama T.T. Mwalimu Nangayi

As the mother of a curious and playful 6-year-old male child, I am fortunate to have experienced the challenging, yet rewarding task of field inquiry with-him in tow. During my time in Lubumbashi, and in addition to being ‘Bibi wa Darzé’ I was also Mama Titi [Titi’s mother, my son’s initials are T.T.]. These titles told me that being a wife and mother rendered my given name irrelevant, even if my name was known. My husband even began calling me Mama. When I was spoken to directly or called by someone I was Mama Titi. All of the CMK members that spoke with me called me Mama Titi [this was only after they retired ‘Bibi wa Darzé’]. My son’s presence reminded them, and me of the fact that I was Mama Titi. This was especially the case during interviews when Titi’s occasional boredom driven outbursts interrupted some of the richest, most intricate moments in the participants’ accounts, causing them to instruct me to attend to him. Such moments called for the over projection of my researcher stance, as some members would insist that we end the interview so that I could take care of my son.
Others would point out that I am doing, “too many things”. I assumed that in their opinion, the work associated with my research encroached upon, or distracted my ability to *mother*. Rather than send my son off with my husband or segregate him from the interviews that I conducted I felt it was important to keep him around. I noticed that his presence energized the dynamic between CMK members that were unfamiliar with me, unsure of my intentions or uncertain about becoming involved with the research. Instead of speaking with me, some members played with my son. Oftentimes, my son would be the initial topic of conversation, creating a genuine dialogue where participants could offer up stories about their children or young siblings. T.T. was a hit with the CMK, and a boon to my research interactions. Eventually, members jokingly moved from calling me *Mama T.T.* to *Mama T.T. mwalamu nangayi* [Mama T.T. my teacher-in the Lingala language]. The interviews started to become less of a procedure or formality and more of a gathering and time for the members vent or rehash events. Members showed up at the Kisima station asking, “T.T. wapi?” [Where is T.T.] or “Wapi kidogo?” [Where is the small soldier/child soldier]. T.T.’s presence seemed to create a relaxed and familial atmosphere when we came together at Maman Melanie’s or in the Kisima station.

As result of my observations, my approach to mothering and researching became one of enlistment. I literally enlisted my son to do things with, as well as for me while I conducted interviews. For example, I taught my son how to operate my backup audio recorder. He began recording interviews that I conducted. I realized that with this, he was less likely to become bored or interrupt the interviews. He also managed to record
the singing and conversations of his cousins or local children that he befriended when he slipped away to play with them. My son also took photographs of the CMK members, and the interviews that I conducted. T.T.’s presence in research scenes became less of an object of critical concern for the CMK and more so a feature of interest as he showed them the photos that he had taken on the I-pad or ate bukari with them at Maman Melanie’s. I asked the CMK secretary why he and others called me Mama T.T. na Mwalimu, he responded with (Fieldnotes W3-5-Maman Melanie, 2013), “You like your boy and your research too much that is why you teach your boy to do research so you can keep him near if you are working with us, that is good.” His words summed up my feelings about the experience of doing ethnographic research with my son. Essentially, mothering and field inquiry are [should be] both labors of love.

Impossible Work… For a Woman

The entire time that I was in Lubumbashi I witnessed only one female motorcycle taxi worker. I remember this rare moment vividly as I sat in the passenger seat of a taxi that strolled past the woman as she lurched forward while straddling the motorcycle with the visor of her motorcycle helmet flipped up to expose her face. I literally twisted my upper body toward the back seat while pointing and shouting, “look”. My husband and I kept our torsos rotated toward the car’s rear window to gaze at the woman as she waited to cross the incessant stream of road traffic that we just passed her by in. She seemed mythical, like I had seen a fairy. I felt like I discovered something that no one else cared about—a female Manseba in Lubumbashi. This was significant news for me but it was unusual and incomprehensible according to Papa Leki, Papa Willy and Papa Tshingu.
When I informed Papa Leki that I spotted a female Manseba, he was sure that I was mistaken. He shifted his forehead downward, shook his head from side to side, and repeated, “No, no, no, no, no”. My husband interrupted him, “Ya kweli, kuna motard femme” [really, there is a female biker]. Stewing in disbelief, Papa Leki shot back, “Wapi?” [Where]. I explained, “Mkenya karibu na plot ya Motard” [Mkenya nearby the biker station]. He replied, “Ni kweli? Est très très mystique” [Really? It’s very, very strange]. I asked, “What about women in your club? Will you get any women?” Papa Leki laughed out loud but did not answer me. I asserted, “No really, will you have women in the club”? All traces of laughter were sapped from his response as he stated, “Hapana” [No]. I asked him, “Hapana Kwa nini?” [Why not?]. His answer seemed to build up through a stockpile of forced thought.

I studied his face as he released an abrupt sigh followed by a verbalized list that seemed to put him in agony as he explained, “That is a problem, you are talking for a big problem Mama, that is making my head feel pain too much…You can’t do work like that with the lady on the bike there is too many problem for the sister or daughter or some person… this job is not for a woman it is dangerous, it is very hard for the body and very hard to think about many problems that you are seeing all day and to keep working after you get those problems… you can let a woman get on the bike but she will be in danger for her body, somebody can get, her, take her, then how can she beat a man? Women have other business to do but this business will make us suffer our head will just be hurting for the lady we will be scared for this lady every day, every time in the day…we can’t work with this problem, more problems because of lady members and we have
many problems so we can’t get a woman in this club Mama, in Mkenya I don’t understand what they want to do but we can’t get this responsibility.

Papa Tshingu stood by listening and chimed in… “This is not normal, the lady in the road is a big problem. Manseba we are coming from Mbuji Mayi, Kasaï and these places, the lady from these places come to Lubumbashi and they do work with their body for money, they sell their body to men, you can see them outside and in Gecamines, you saw them I know…my wife can think I am with this woman, police can see us like we are keeping women for working for us to give us money from selling the body, police can even do bad things to her, customers can do bad…in this job for security I know many women they are thieves, they are working with men to steal, to rob you and to cheat customers, they will see this club like a place for criminals…Women doing like this they are bad, they are not good and doing real work they are thieves and selling the body…

Papa Willy grinned in the background as Papa Tshingu spoke. I asked him, Willy “Unasema nini?” [What do you say?] He looked back and forth at Papa Leki and me and talked through a smile as he asserted, “A woman can do the work but Tshingu is right it is going to make a long story for us to explain and we will have to watch this woman carefully, many bandits use women for crime in this city…if you go to Mkenya market women will follow you to take your wallet but they are not working for themselves, they work with the shop owners, the men owning the shops and they organize to steal from customers…it can be the same for our work with bikes…I don’t say if there is a woman she is not clever for this work, she will be clever…only a clever woman can want this work but we can’t trust this person for many reasons and we can’t protect a woman doing
this work, we can’t be on top of her following her, guarding with our eyes ... that is more work for us and less customers for us... women have their work, this work is not good for them but a woman in our club it is very bad for us...This is not the way we can do business God knows this is true... I can’t think about that and in Mkenya those clubs getting a lady, they want their funeral. Papa Tshingu, said, “Yes, the woman can do this work but not in this club for us, that is our rule.” I asked, “You have a policy?”, he replied, “we do have it now, today we have it”.

It was obvious to me that a double standard informed their logic regarding their reasons for prohibiting female membership in the CMK. I was hearing that male Manseba constitute a hard working group of rightfully employed actors whom contribute to social good and deserve their lawful place in the provision of public transportation in Lubumbashi. Conversely, the very thought of female Manseba was a problematic anomaly. However, I understood the rationale behind this logic, even if it upheld a double standard. On the one hand their positions pigeonhole female Manseba as inherent criminals as if it is only women whom may be ‘up to no good ’for choosing to engage in this occupation. They automatically associated the idea of female Manseba with prostitution, theft, and using motorcycle taxi work as a front for socially deviant motives. Such criminal sentiments are also pressed upon the CMK and other Manseba by outgroups. In fact, the CMK leadership has made it an organizational mission to transform structures that cast them as agents of criminal proliferation in Lubumbashi. However according to Papa Leki, Papa Tshingu and Papa Willy, these notions were
perfectly relevant and indisputable truths as they relate to the advent of female motorcycle taxi workers.

The ‘word on the street’ was that women from Kasaï move to Lubumbashi neighborhoods to perform sex work. This may be part truth and part trumped up hysteria, the latter resulting from social categorization of non-provincials. However what goes unaccounted for in the popular chatter that circulates such information are the myriad of factors involving their uptake of transactional sex work [as well as the roles of local females in Lubumbashi’s sex work scene]. Instead any talk that I was privy to focused on moral arguments against the character of female migrants from Kasaï. With this, it was only natural that the concept of the female Manseba was a double whammy - deviant and vulgar in every way, complicit in criminal acts against others, as well as her own physical being and moral virtue. In this view female Manseba are the disembodiment of all that is right, appropriate, and wholesome for a Congolese woman.

This is one way of looking at it, but drawing myself into their perspectives I grasped a better understanding of their positions. I understand and witnessed many of the difficulties that they face so I get their defensible posturing against the idea of including females in their club. Their statements toward this matter were complex and more meaningful that any initial and default gendering arguments that one could easily fixate on without truly listening with an empathic ear. I listened to their accounts and I heard that they would not want to be responsible for, or enabling of the potential mistreatment and endangerment of female motorcycle taxi workers. This I assumed stemmed from their knowledge of possible dangers to female passengers and their fellow Manseba, in
addition to their roles as brothers, uncles, fathers, sons and men responsible for the care of the females in their lives. In their way, they expressed a genuine fear and anxiety over dangers that could arise from their inability to control and thus protect female bodies in an already quixotic and risky male-centric work climate. I also heard that because female Manseba would be a relative novelty, they would not want to be at the vanguard of promoting their appearance on Lubumbashi roads or at the controversial center of any attention for enlisting females. This I viewed as their way of thinking about remaining in the good graces of those political figures that they sought to convince of their right to work. Female members pose a socio-political, cultural and economic setback that they are not willing to entertain. Their resources, abilities and accomplishments could not be aligned with anything that could contrast their immediate goals and long-term aspirations. I understood that they did not want to chance compromising the CMK’s stores of built up integrity by exposing the club to women that could be perceived by outgroups as perpetrators of illegal activity.

Lubumbashi’s male motorcycle taxi workers represent a social nuisance, while female bodies on motorcycles are an unsavory and grossly odd assemblage. The CMK’s daily spatial mobility routines were already contested, and the notion of over-exposed females riding around straddling motorized machines seemed unfathomable. Their verbal contestation to the induction of female members was not just code for, ‘women have no place outside of their prescribed realms of work, play and routine practice. It was not a mere attempt to regulate women by excluding them, but a testament to the greater societal structures that bear moral, cultural, economic, and socio-political
jurisdiction over the movement and placement of female bodies in Lubumbashi and the DRC. Such institutional, ideological and cultural phenomena transcend their control. Ultimately the CMK is concerned with the survival and growth of their organization, anything that confounds or jeopardizes this trajectory is out of the question.

Male Manseba may arise from entry into new places and spaces; their personal will to make new connections, and their ability to retreat from those that inhibit or stall perceptions of successful employment uptake or social mobility-including parting ways with familial networks. In contrast females may not be able to partake in corporeal flight for personally motivated fulfillment without inquisitive onlooker gazes that wonder about their reason for departing familial networks. I realized that it is harder for females to create and enter socio-communicative labor networks that do not link them to some aspect of the family. In the DRC [an in other countries or locales] geo-spatial fixity may subject females and their families to increasing economic and social vulnerabilities [just as is the case for males]. With this I ask: At what point in time and under what conditions would female Manseba ever be an acceptable norm in Lubumbashi?

Drinking, Eating and Riding for Research

Planning to spend time with the CMK became an art and skill in improvisation and personality management [others and my own]. Making appointments to meet with specific CMK members meant that they would never attend our meetings alone, Papa Leki would find his way to our meeting and at least three other members would show up with a particular shine in their eyes that brimmed with expectations of free beer. After the third time [really the first but I let it side] this scenario played out I realized that I had
to find creative ways to make exclusive appointments with the organization’s members; manage, or basically limit Papa Leki’s attendance [by meeting with members without his knowledge] for meetings; and to ensure that those who agreed to meet with me retained the shine in their eyes [with or without beverages]. I did not want the prospect of alcoholic beverage consumption to become the basis for my engagements with the CMK members, however it helped them take their minds off of me [the researcher] and to fall back into their settings.

Drinking was an important social practice for the CMK members and it could only happen during a midday or early afternoon break from work when too many fares would not be missed and they had time to sober up before the next rush of commuters. Many of the members looked forward to meeting with me in order to have a valid excuse to extend their drink break. However, for practical reasons I realized that some members were reluctant to both take time out of the day for their drink-social break and to meet with me for interviews. The prospect of losing income for a meeting with me led the members to believe that other forms of compensation were in order [and understandably so] to compensate for lost time, especially if I wished to have a sit-down interview with them. Papa Leki informed me that I should never allow anyone to get more than one drink [this did not play well]. My husband-cum-research assistant handled how all drinks were ordered and paid for by asking the members what they wanted and communicating orders to Maman Melanie or her daughter.
Figure 9. (right to left) Papa Leki, a general member of 2 years and the CMK President during an interview over drinks at the rear of Maman Melanie’s.

After the second week of interviews I noticed that the participants showed up with their own drinks or they did not drink at all. Papa Leki informed me that he told the CMK members that my research was, “…not about drinks, it’s about the club and Manseba and the news about this work going to Washington D.C. and New York” (CMK VP Go Along, 2013). To my surprise more members began to approach me to schedule interviews. My husband would occasionally order a round of drinks but drink buying became so unpredictable that we soon had regular interviews and interaction with those CMK members that it made no difference to. These members just so happened to belong to the CMK’s core leadership. A few very outspoken members also offered their time and input for interviews and general conversation that became interviews.
Several members wanted me to meet with them at their homes to introduce me to their families and cook meals for me. They explained that they could spend more time talking and that they wanted to talk with fewer distractions. One day as I concluded a semi-structured interview (CMK Secretary, 2013a, p. 17) with the CMK Secretary Papa Blaise, he said, “You must come to my place, you will find my family, eat good bukari, then my time is free and I can talk better I don’t need to think about the bikes, the problem for PCR and if there is some trouble outside with the brothers…” The following Sunday my family and I met with Papa Blaise at his local taxi depot in the Gbadolite community. He and another Manseba shuttled us to his home. I was overwhelmed with the variety and amount of food that his wife prepared, two kinds of fish, Bitoyo and fried Thompson; three kinds of green vegetables, sombe, vibwabwa, and lenga lenga; two kinds of chili sauce, one with onions and the other with palm oil and tomatoes; and of course Bukari. I felt obligated to try and eat everything. I thanked his wife endlessly and she watched my eyes, mouth and hands the entire time that I ate.

I took advantage of this time to talk to his wife. I became curious about the participants’ female family members, especially how they perceived the occupation along with its benefits and constrains. She disclosed that she is thankful that Papa Blaise has employment and is able to make an income that is greater than any other time that she can remember. However she expressed anxiety about the potential dangers of his work. Since it is known that Manseba can be well paid, she feared that he would be injured or killed while working, or beaten, followed and robbed. She also worried that he would seek girlfriends or and maintain an extra-marital affair and that women would try to sleep
with him for money. Another grave concern for her was that he had become politically charged through his role with the CMK and she wished he would be less involved to avoid being accused of working against the government under the guise of motorcycle taxi work.

She also pointed out that she supports his work because it has helped her execute the spending of the family income beyond basic needs and rapidly contributes to savings for a bigger house. Most of all she wanted me to listen to her husband because she thought it would help him with stress as she suggested that he carries the issues of his occupation into their home. She suggested that their conversations often led to his work and that he developed a habit of shouting at the television when he disagreed with local policies or statements made about the Manseba on the news. With this information I sought to understand from Papa Blaise’s perspective how his work impacts his life at home and why he had internalized his work-life. Moreover, I decided it was important to pose questions regarding this issue to all participants going forward. I realized that the home setting and the experience of meal sharing within Papa Blaise’s space enabled him to express his personal experiences in a manner where he had emotional control over what was shared and how it was presented.

Meals became a significant factor in the development of relationships with the participants that granted me access to their experiences. Just as much as I wanted to know about the intricacies of their organization, I initially underestimated the value in doing so in a non-work environment. Meal sharing had an unexpected effect on the research; it drew other participants into the fieldwork. I assumed that this was the case as
I attended the homes of Papa Leki, Papa Blaise, Christoff, Papa Tshingu and Papa Romin for meals and my subsequent field experiences at the CMK station were met with invitations to home-cooked meals by others whom had not previously volunteered themselves for an interview or other types of interaction with me. Stepping outside of the work setting allowed for these CMK members to reflect more on the meanings that their occupation brings to their day-to-day life. It also enabled the candid provision of thoughts, opinions and analysis, which may not have had space to surface in a work-driven setting. This helped me discover lines of inquiry that I would not have known to examine or seek out otherwise.

Since I could not eat meals at everyone’s home and I wanted to extract myself as the focus of interaction among the CMK membership. I decided to eat at Maman Melanie’s and engage with whomever showed up at their discretion. I usually did this while my husband sat and talked with CMK members behind the establishment. I wanted it this way in order to reduce potential barriers to engagement with anyone that may have been reluctant to interact with me because of his immediate presence. I also hoped that becoming a fixture in a space that they usually frequented for downtime would make me more approachable, especially for those members that would normally glance at me from afar or avoid me altogether. I always ordered bukari na sukuma wiki [similar to a hardened version on a maize meal polenta with collard greens]. I also always made sure that I ordered chili peppers rather than a prepared chili sauce. My meal choice created a buzz, as several members were astounded that I could eat raw chili peppers. Many enjoyed the fact that I was capable of eating bukari correctly [with my hands and in
properly measured portions]. One member named Joseph, joked that he thought I only ate French and American foods and that he was surprised that I did not use a knife and fork to eat the bukari. I shared my food with him and he bought me a Fanta. After seeing each other on a more regular basis at Maman Melanie’s Joseph began to sit with me. We ate our meals together and talked about the differences and similarities between New York and Lubumbashi [This seemed to be Joseph’s favored subject, so I went with it and found out that he was interested in studying in New York]. He invited others to sit with us and such interactions became a regular weekly event.

Thereafter I ate at Maman Melanie’s at least two to three times per week, which unexpectedly turned into a situation whereby participants refused to let me pay for my meals, their meals or anything consumed during our interaction. Although we never discussed anything related to the context of the interviews during the course of meals. I learned about the personal stories, interests and concerns of the members that came to sit and eat with and the CMK colleagues during their lunch breaks. Some would ask me why I had not approached them for interviews and some volunteered themselves for interviews. Others told me that they just wanted to tell me what they thought about the government and their work but were not interested in being asked any questions about these issues. I saw this as progress, as barriers were diminished and some members established the terms of their participation either directly or indirectly. Some members sat with us without speaking but nodded their heads or laughed out loud at things that were expressed during these interactions.
On a few occasions interviews transpired after and during the meals or conversations that we shared. Many participants told jokes, stories about random issues and offered small [but interesting and humorous] talk. The meal sharing dynamic proved to be a natural and stress-free [some members expressed that they felt pressured to engage with me because they saw leadership doing so on a regular basis] means to ease my way into the comfort zone of many of the CMK members’ social space. Beyond the scope of research, the bonding that took place was necessary and began to spring forth in a more natural manner for everyone.

For example, usually during meals we sat in a group of about four or more people and looked at pictures that we stored in our mobile phones or carried on our persons to share among others. I often used my I-Pad to show a few movies that I purchased. One movie was *Beat Street*, an English language movie that did not have captions in a language that the CMK members could understand but nevertheless we watched and some even delayed work to finish the movie because they enjoyed the choreography and musical content. We also watched a documentary titled, *The Ambassador*; as well as the films, *Run Lola Run* and *The Brother from Another Planet* with French subtitles. On one occasion a CMK member named Paschal insisted that I watch a Congolese version of *Shrek* with the group. Members began to bring jump drives and USB sticks so that I could share media files with them. I saw the file sharing as an opportunity to show them how they formed a part of my inquiry. I started a practice of uploading the photos that I took of them and other CMK members onto their mobile phones. I also transferred audio files of their interviews onto their USB radios and flash drives. As a result a few
participants approached me to further discuss and clarify their statements, which were captured in the audio recordings. Some mentioned that they wanted to tell me *everything* because they saw that I was asking important questions. This led to scheduled interviews, which were essentially follow-up interviews.

I began to understand that my presence and the research was important to several of the CMK members because it allowed them to communicate to me, and in many cases each other about issues they knew and felt to speak on. It allowed them to have much-needed cathartic moments where they could vent occupational frustrations. Most of all several members wanted to create understanding about their work beyond its obvious service-related function. The meals sharing and in some cases the subsequent interviews provided the time and space for such communication. As several members started to share with me more openly and extensively over time I began to understand that many of them were satisfied that I took a genuine interest in their work and that I asked questions that connected their work experiences to other areas of their life beyond the physical practice of riding a motorcycle.

Their work is impactful beyond its ability to generate income and on the occasions that I took bike rides with the leadership members I was able to understand why beyond their service, they assumed an important role for community members. It appeared that even if they were not transporting customers, they were still offering services and engaging with community members to assist their needs. Since they are routinely mobile they interface with a high volume of actors that hail from other Manseba
communities, law enforcement, the mining sector, local politicians, teachers, traders and small shop owners, as well as other kinds of public transportation workers.

During a Sunday morning trip around Kisanga Papa Blaise and Papa Leki showed me that in addition to the provision of transportation, the CMK are carriers of information, problem solvers and guardians within their service communities. They also function as couriers of goods and items for market sellers and community members that cannot afford to pay full fares for their services.

On this particular day, I asked them to show me where people locate water, where the local clinics are and where their stations are situated just to get a better understanding of the community’s assets and infrastructure. I rode with Papa Blaise, while my husband and son rode with Papa Leki [yes they were overloading the motorcycle, again]. As we zoomed through the Kisanga community they were flagged down a few times by individuals that were talking in groups as they stood alongside business on the navigable dirt paths. Some individuals jutted out of their homes and called for them turn back as we raced by. In each instance, they were being asked about something within and beyond their communities. A woman that appeared to be middle aged ran out of her home while talking on he cellphone and toward our direction as we approached the corner where her plot was situated. She wanted to know if it would be safe for her son and her mother to be transported along the main road as she had heard rumors of a shoot-out between the military and rebels. Papa Blaise confirmed that military activity was ongoing in the Ruashi community and that she was safe to travel.
In another encounter Papa Blaise idled the motorcycle along a main corridor in the community so that we could take a break from the Go-along. A man approached him to ask him where he could find cheaper maize meal between the communities of Katuba, Gecamines and the City of Kipushi. To my amazement, Papa Blaise was able to direct him to four different locations. He then went on to explain to the man that he would be bringing maize from a seller in Kipushi within the next few days to the market near Nshinga. I asked Papa Blaise about how the man knew to ask him about this and he informed me that in addition to the fact that customers ask to be transported to purchase maize meal, many CMK members travel throughout these areas so the maize meal sellers and processors locate them to tell them about their prices and distribute their goods to other sellers through them to make profits on them before they spoil. He explained that they are oftentimes sent on paid errands to collect and deliver maize meal, as well as other goods such as “sombe” or “cocorico” [ground pumpkin seeds] for customers and sellers.

As we passed other Manseba Papa Blaise greeted them, sometimes he would stop and ask them where they were going or where they were from, he also stopped some of them to tell them that they needed to, “weka vilatu kwa panga bike”, [put on shoes for riding a bike] (CMK Secretary Go Along, 2013, p. 3), that they should decrease their travel speed, or that they needed to obtain, or update their motorcycle plates. He explained that this was necessary to ensure that Manseba do not harm others or themselves due to speed; to determine whether or not other Manseba organizations are
encroaching on CMK stations; and to make sure that the motorcycle operators are in fact members of a Manseba organization and not imposters or members of insurgent groups.

Figure 10. Papa Blaise and I en route to Nshinga station as he paused to question another motorcyclist about his affiliation, vehicle plates and footwear.

He assured me that the CMK and other Manseba have ways of confirming the identity of motorcyclists and that most times the identity of motorcyclists can be gauged through simple insider-outsider questions. Toward the end of our trip as we neared Nshinga, Papa Blaise drove toward a woman that he greeted by honking his horn. She motioned with her hands for him to approach her. She requested that he continue to Nshinga because he church-sister’s children awaited her arrival so that she could collect the fresh kalanga and manioca [peanuts and cassava] that she purchased from their mother. She offered to share the goods with him in lieu of paying him for his services. Papa Blaise declined to take any of the produce but informed her that she should meet
him in one hour at a nearby alimentation to collect her goods. I will never forget her response, “Mungu wangu uko muzuri” [My God you are good] (CMK Secretary Go Along, 2013, p. 5).

Her response reflected what I felt and knew of the CMK and other Manseba that I had encountered during my time with them. On this day, a day of supposed rest from work, I observed Papa Blaise and Papa Leki conduct another kind of work. They were busy with presenting themselves to me because of their roles in assisting me with research but they were also engaged with taking care, and being mindful of representing and relating to members of the community, as well as other Manseba. Through the many rides that I took with them, I observed their shifting and juggling of several roles and relationships. I witnessed phenomena that contrasted with, and overshadowed some of the unfavorable representations that circulated in media reports since I had been in Lubumbashi. I came to the conclusion that the CMK are informational assets within the community, they help people go on in their day to day routines by doing simple, but meaningful deeds and that they are generally concerned about the maintenance of their organization, its reputation and its place in ensuring the wellbeing of the communities that they serve.
CHAPTER 5: DESCRIPTION OF THE FINDINGS

This chapter reports the study’s initial findings as observed and detailed through the processes of ethnographic engagement, theoretical sampling and interviewing. It contains three sections that describe the CMK’s membership and organizational structures. It also relays the essential instruments and guides that the club interacts with toward the structuration of legitimacy. The first section offers a description of the CMK’s membership based on its demographic attributes. It examines membership according to motivations for uptake with the club, as well as important factors such as members’ ages; occupational histories; educational backgrounds; marital and parental statuses; ethnicities; linguistic presentations, and political leanings. The next section describes the composition and basic functions of the CMK’s organizational structures according to their engagement of the club’s core leadership, provisional leaders, informal leadership and general members. The last part of the chapter reveals the modalities that the CMK interacts with through their efforts to structure organizational legitimacy. It presents descriptions of the features and contents of these modalities, as well as the testimonies of CMK’s members and non-members to furnish expressions regarding the construction of these modalities as the club’s fiduciary role, communication strategy and leadership repertoires.

Characterizing the Comité de Motard Kisima’s Membership

The CMK membership is reflective of the general population of motorcycle taxi workers in the DRC. This section profiles the CMK membership according to the group’s compositional characteristics including the number of active members registered with the
organization; the purpose of members’ uptake with the group; as well as demographic features such as education, occupational attainment, marital and parental status, age, ethnicity, language use, and political associations. This information was accessed through participants’ statements during interviews, as well as the CMK’s registration [Acte D’Adhesion] and insurance [Informations Generale Confidentielles] documents.

**Membership Numbers and Motivations for Membership**

The (CMK) membership has progressively increased since the organization’s inception in 2009 from approximately 35 members to and estimated 130 to 140 members as of August 2013 (CMK President & CMK VP, 2013, p. 3) [Although I was never able to see or discern the total membership body in any particular place or station throughout the time I spent visiting the CMK stations. The most I have ever seen assembled at the Kisima station was 57 members]. CMK leaders and general members have affirmed a number of factors that contribute to the group’s expanding and fluctuating membership pool. Members described factors including: the growing public visibility of the CMK as well as other public transportation motorcycle taxi clubs in Lubumbashi and surrounding areas; members’ interactions with clients and community members that result in subsequent membership referrals; sudden occupational shifts made by existing public commuter transportation workers such as taxi drivers and Dubai operators that seek to capitalize on the availability, popularity and profitability of motorcycle taxi work; and a continuous influx of recently resettled, employment-seeking migrants hailing from the DRC’s Kasaï province.
The CMK membership pool consists of sustained members who have participated within the club for one or more years, as well as members that partake in the organization on a fleeting and intermittent basis. Variations in participation or commitment may arise as some members engage in motorcycle taxi work as either a primary or supplementary source of income. Furthermore motorcycle taxi work may be a stopgap solution to sudden unemployment or a means for maintaining employment as individuals manage their migrations to other cities.

Some members espoused their motivations for the uptake of employment with the CMK as ranging from the need for rapid income generation; “protection” from the possibility of ethnically motivated hate crimes (CMK6M, 2013, p. 3), the desire to become an entrepreneur and self-employed owner of a motorcycle; the desire for a flexible work schedule; the limited commitment required for membership rights, and urgent familial or medical obligations that necessitate a steady income. A few senior members offered their local political aspirations; motorcycle fleet ownership, and the need to acquire savings for future investments, such as the purchase of land and the financing of other business ventures as the cardinal aim of their prolonged engagement with the organization.

Educational and Occupational Description of Members

CMK members hail from a diverse range of educational and occupational backgrounds. Some are students, former students and graduates of secondary and tertiary educational institutions; others have worked in local and extra-regional mining industries; private security firms, or as Dubai conductors and four-wheel vehicle taxi drivers. For
example, the Vice president was a “miner”, “security guard” and trade school “student” prior to his membership with the CMK (CMK VP-B, 2013, p. 6).

Age, Marital and Parental Status Descriptions

The age range, marital status and parental status of the members also vary. The organization enlists members in keeping with the legal age requirement for motor vehicle operation in the country, thus the youngest members of the organization are 18 years of age. The CMK Vice President also reports that although not a founding member, the organization’s most senior member had his 58th birthday in 2013 (CMK VP & CMK Secretary, 2013, p. 20). Since 2012 the CMK has seen an uptick in the number of members under the age of 25. Few members are over the age of 45 and its senior membership ranges from the ages of 33 to 58. One of the CMK’s founding members is 54 years old. The organization attracts married and unwed males, fathers, and single heads of households. Several members are parents and husbands. Some of the unwed members are the sole breadwinners in their families with domestic obligations to siblings, members of their extended families, their parents or significant others.

Ethnic Composition, Linguistic Features and Political Affiliations

Relations among Manseba motorcycle taxi organizations are mired in longstanding ethnic, linguistic and political allegiances within and beyond the Katanga province. These issues are the residual by products of colonial and post-colonial disruptions to indigenous socio-cultural, political and economic structures, especially among the BaLuba ethnic representations (Colle & Overbergh, 1913; Polome, 1969). Throughout the DRC Manseba motorcycle organizations are primarily encompass
individuals that hail from the BaLuba ethnic group. The BaLuba-Kasaï and BaLuba-Katanga [commonly called BaLubaKat] are the two territorial BaLuba factions that encompass the country’s Kasaï Orientale, Kasaï Occidental, Katanga and Maniema provinces [See Appendices B and E]. The BaLuba-Kasaï hail from the Kasaï provinces, while the BaLuba-Katanga or BaLubaKat reside in the Katanga and Maniema provinces. The overwhelming majority of the country’s Manseba motorcycle taxi workers are BaLuba-Kasaï. This is also the case throughout the Katanga province, the city of Lubumbashi and within the CMK organization. According to the CMK’s Vice President, the majority of the CMK members are BaLuba-Kasaï, fewer members are BaLubaKat and only five members are known to have affiliation with the Kabinda-Basonge ethnic group (CMK VP Go Along, 2013, pp. 14–15).

The ethnic composition of the CMK influences the nature of language choice and use among its members. Tshiluba is the mother tongue for all BaLuba, however in Katanga the Kiswahili language is the lingua franca for BaLubaKat and generally other native provincial residents. In contrast, Tshiluba is the spoken language of choice in the Kasai region for BaLuba-Kasaï. Thus, members of the BaLuba-Kasaï ethnic representation that settle in Katanga to uptake in motorcycle taxi work employ Tshiluba as their primary language and use Kiswahili as a mediating tongue with ethnic outgroups. Although they are proficient with Tshiluba and Kiswahili, and are capable of using these languages interchangeably, they prefer to speak Tshiluba amongst themselves as a means to remain distinct from outgroups, and as a strategy for othering Katangan ethnic groups in the Manseba labor networks that they dominate. Furthermore, BaLuba-Kasaï are
readily identifiable among other Katangan ethnic groups as their pronunciation of words in the Kiswahili, Lingala and French languages is tinged with Tshiluba traits. These linguistic differences support BaLuba-Kasaï Manseba members’ self-categorizations and entitativity.

Political affiliations in the DRC correspond with ethnicity and this trend is evident within the CMK whereby ethnicity prescribes political association. The BaLubaKat have historically supported the local L’Union Nationale des Démocrates Fédérales (UNADEF), as well as its youth party JUNEFAC, which bear a dominant and visible presence in Lubumbashi. BaLuba-Kasaï members support the L’ Union pour la Démocratie et le Progrès Social (UDPS), the political party headed by Dr. Etienne Tshisekedi wa Mulumbaba a member of the BaLuba-Kasaï ethnic group and challenging candidate for the DRC’s upcoming 2016 presidential elections.

These political organizations are differentiated by their ethnic compositions, as the UDPS is made up of, and supported by BaLuba-Kasaï, while the proponents of the UNADEF and JUNEFAC parties are BaLubaKat. Thus, the CMK membership upholds socio-cultural obligations to their respective and opposing political parties. Collectively, language, ethnicity and political association have implications for relations amongst the DRC’s Manseba motorcycle workers at provincial and local levels. These issues are ever-present in the work-life of the CMK and other Manseba that work in Lubumbashi.

Description of the Organizational Structures of the Comité de Motard Kisima

The CMK is organized according to its core leadership, provisional leadership, informal leaders and general members. These classifications are not mutually exclusive
as they may overlap or be interchangeable due to members’ interactions within and outside of the organization. They correspond with members’ degree of power and social capital in the CMK. All members enjoy voting rights. Most members pay fees for the maintenance of the treasury, satisfying tax obligations and in some instances for the purchase of insurance coverage from Société Nationale D'assurances (SONAS), a governmental insurance agency.

Rather than viewing membership functions according to status or role based phenomena, the CMK President and Vice President maintain that the best way to describe the organization’s membership structure is through comparisons to the human body. In a paired unstructured interview (CMK President & CMK VP, 2013, pp. 13–14) the CMK Vice President suggests that, the, “…club is like a heart, it cannot work without the lungs, blood, brain, you see it is together, working together.” The president added,

“…in the club we are many but we are also one, like our body, if the kidney is dying then we have problem in the liver if the liver is dying we get another problem so we can say we need to all work and be together in this club to make it strong, to survive, we cannot care about we are better than this one or that brother because we are the members also, we have to be with one mind, I can do the things the general member is doing and they can do Leki’s things…we have to be open like this to make our club function.”

Core Leadership

Core leadership bears a mix of founding members, senior members, appointed members and elected members whom may or may not be subject to the enforcement of
routine fee payments associated with organizational membership. Usually members that have age-based seniority are absolved of their duties to pay organizational fees. Core leadership puts forth and partakes in organizational votes; orders and implements internal decisions; maintains official intergroup communication and presides over all official member engagements conducted by the organization. At present the CMK’s core leadership members are identified as the “President General” (President), “Vice President General” (Vice President), “Secrétaire” (Secretary), “Trésorière Générale,” (General Treasurer), two “Coordonnateurs de la Sécurité” (Security Coordinators), and a “Conseiller” (Counselor), which is a conditional role (CMK President & CMK VP, 2013, p. 17).

Provisional Leadership

In addition to core leadership the CMK also has a provisional leadership body formed of three ad-hoc committees: The ASBL Comité [ASBL Committee]; the Délégation pour la Comité Urbain [Delegation for the Urban Committee] and the Comité Électoral [Electoral Committee]. Although each committee serves a different function the roles that they enact may overlap. This is the case for the ASBL committee and the Delegation for the Urban Committee. Currently the ASBL Committee convenes for general decision-making and rule development related to the CMK’s daily functions and members’ obligations. It is the formally established non-profit entity, which permits the CMK to function as a registered motorcycle taxi organization under the laws of the city of Lubumbashi.
The founding document for the ASBL [June 22, 2012] indicates a seven-member committee, which includes the CMK’s “President General” [President]; “V. President General” [Vice President]; “Secrétaire”, [Secretary]; “Conseiller Technique”, [Technical Advisor]; “Conseiller Juridique”, [Legal Adviser]; “Trésorière Générale,” [General Treasurer] and the, “Trésorière Adjoint”, [Assistant Treasurer]. According to the admissions of the CMK’s vice president the ASBL Committee currently consists of the CMK’s core leadership members, excluding the treasurer and counselors.

The ad-hoc Delegation for the Urban Committee includes the ASBL Committee members in addition to the Président Urbain des Motocyclistes [The President of Urban Motorcyclists]. It assembles for three distinct reasons: Headed by the President Urbain, its primary function is that of a conduit for the mostly top-down flow of communiqués emanating from the offices of local or provincial government to the CMK’s core leadership. Secondly, it serves as a means for upward, and ordinarily reactionary, grievance-based communication from the CMK’s core leadership to the local news media. Finally, it operates as a platform for general communication originating with the CMK’s core leaders to the Mayor of the City of Lubumbashi and the Office of the Governor of the Katanga province.

Such communication includes the questions, observations or suggestions concerning a broad range of laws, enforcement, procedures and other phenomena that impact the greater population of Manseba according to city and provincial jurisdictions. Through the Delegation for the Urban Committee, and more specifically the boundary spanning role of the Urban President, the CMK schedules meetings with members of the
press and representatives from the offices of the mayor and provincial governor to engage in discussions; obtain work-related information; present personal testimonies, and express their concerns regarding how they are depicted in the local media.

Informal Leadership

Some members bear unofficial leadership roles including those that work as informants for the CMK or as mediators between the groups’ members. In some instances senior members are viewed as informal leaders within the organization due to their familiarity with the organization and their ability to enlarge the organizations social capital through prominent relational networks. In most instances informal leadership roles are ascribed through the unofficial nominations based on members’ seniority within the organization or their members’ ability to galvanize the interests and sentiments of members toward specific ends. The CMK’s informal leader may be regarded as natural leaders among group members.

General Members

The general membership body is assembled of a diverse mix of actors. According to the CMK Secretary, any member that has not accrued nine months to one year of registered membership within the organization is considered a new member, even if they have completed a probationary period (CMK Secr. & CMK Treas., 2013, p. 4). New members do not retain the right to assemble other CMK members for meetings, make executive organizational decisions and exact rule enforcement outside of the scope of an assigned role or task. Members that have been active within the organization beyond one year are considered regular members, while members with the longest history in the
organization are considered seniors. The senior membership distinction comes with seniority status privileges that regular or new members cannot possess. Additionally senior members may simultaneously wage influence over the affairs of core leadership and provisional leadership. In some instances, senior members are also seated as core and provisional leadership. Senior members may be relieved from penalty or sanction should they engage in cardinal offenses such as, “wearing mapata [slippers] and not shoes for riding with the front that is covered…” while operating their motorbikes or overloading with clients and failing to wear protective helmets (CMK VP & CMK Secretary, 2013, p. 17).

Some senior members abstain from paying fees or are not required to submit fees during established fee collection periods. They also have greater interaction with core leadership than do regular or new members. For instance, most new members have little to no interaction at all with core leadership beyond the initial intake process when new members enroll, or when quittance [fees] are collected by the security coordinators. Unspecified privileges may be extended to newer members who are viewed by CMK core leadership as having a positive influence over other members, or who demonstrate constraint during confrontations. Core leaders regard such actors as, “bantu bazuri” [good guys] whom can be trusted to take on more responsibilities for the group.

Modalities of the Comité de Mortard Kisima’s Schema for the Structuration of Legitimacy

The CMK engage in and develop prospects for their daily spatial mobility routines via structuring modalities that provide the means for their attempts at the
structuration of legitimacy. These modalities are realized through three primary mechanisms. (1) The CMK fiduciary role, (2) the CMK communication strategy, and (3) the CMK leadership repertoire. The fiduciary role reveals that the CMK employs capital facilities for the execution of organizational administration, as well as to contract symbiotic obligations between leadership and general members to ensure organizational functionality. The CMK communication strategy engages multiple levels and forms communication to direct organizational communication routines, facilitate communication with powerful entities and provide guidance for members’ presentations and representations. Finally, leadership repertoires are devised and deployed by the CMK to manage their organizational identity, as well as relations amongst membership and outgroups. It utilizes processes that aim to access, manipulate and transform actors’ perceptions, attitudes, beliefs and practices to strengthen the internal and external efficacy of the CMK. The contents, dimensions and enactment of these modalities are outlined according to participants’ accounts.

*The Comité de Mortard Kisima’s Fiduciary Role*

A fiduciary relationship is characterized by mutual trust and confidence in the competencies of actors to perform duties that satisfy their obligations to manage resources and produce desired outcomes (Batty, 2012; Frankel, 1983, 1989; Lydenberg, 2014). The CMK’s fiduciary role is a modality that manifests through capital facilities, which the organization uses to exact leadership. This role is employed by the CMK to maintain a duty-bound relationship with its members; and works via two rule-resource
components: (1) Organizational administration and (2) the mutual obligation to protect rights and abilities that permit the organization to function.

Through its administrative capacity the CMK bears power over the organization’s affairs, whereby it is authorized to function in the interest of all members. Mutual obligations contract the CMK leadership and general members to co-produce structures that support the uptake of lawful motorcycle taxi labor in Lubumbashi. Thus, the CMK leadership is formally responsible for securing the rights and benefits of membership for each registered CMK member; while, general members agree to observe and promote the CMK rules, as well as other structures that enable the organization to function.

*Capital Facilities in the Structuring of the Comité de Mortard Kisima’s Fiduciary Role*

To fulfill duty-bound obligations the organization produces and draws on facilities, composed of six forms of capital: financial, material, human, social, cultural, and intellectual capital. Each of them serve as either means or ends in the structuring of the CMK’s fiduciary role. They may be generated within the CMK at micro and meso levels, or through external macro level channels. The properties and utility of a single form of capital determines whether its occurrence is mutually exclusive or interactive with other forms of capital in the CMK’s structuring processes. Inspection of the activation and use of each of the six forms of capital is essential to: define their dimensions and contents; to indicate the contexts that warrant the CMK to consult and mobilize them for organizational administration; and to specify how they serve the CMK’s obligations to protect their rights and abilities to work.
Overview of the Comité de Mortard Kisima’s Capital Facilities

Financial capital is administered by the CMK treasury and consists of the income produced by the CMK through membership registration fees, membership dues and fines issued to members that violate organizational rules. It is also generated through investors that may offer funds to the organization in return for a stake in its fleet profits.

Material capital includes work-related property such as motorcycles, helmets, reflective vests, equipment and motorcycle parts. It also includes real property such as stations that the CMK secures through formal and informal means. Material capital that the organization may secure to distribute, rent, sell or use for its members to work. Material capital may be accrued through purchase or trade authorized by the treasury and is subject to temporary or definite confiscation should members violate organizational or governmental rules.

Human capital consists of embodied assets that CMK members utilize to perform as motorcycle taxi workers. It is evidenced through the application of the members’ skills and experiential domains. Human capital manifests through the achievement of labor at the individual and group level whereby the CMK’s independent and collaborative efforts affect the organization’s endeavors.

Social capital is used by the CMK to create and maintain relationships amongst the membership, and with outgroups that bear upon the development and circulation of resources that the CMK uses to sustain and advance the social, political and economic standing of the organization. There are three types of social capital that the CMK exploits: bonding, bridging, and linking social capital. Bonding social capital exists
among individuals and groups that enjoy a high degree of homophily, whereby their closely shared experiences are produced through the nature of their relationally proximate ties, such as family members (Baron, Field, & Schuller, 2000; Baum & Ziersch, 2003; Claridge, 2004b; Zhang & Steve, 2014). Bridging social capital occurs in relationships between outgroups that possess differing cultures or identities but share similar interests or desired outcomes through their interaction (Claridge, 2004a; Han, Han, & Brass, 2014; Zhang & Steve, 2014). Linking social capital is derived through relations among asymmetrical status groups where resources are shifted and transferred through interactions (Urwin, Di Pietro, Sturgis, & Jack, 2008). Each kind of social capital is generated through relationships between the CMK membership, as well as publics, law enforcement officers, governmental officials and other Manseba organizations. The CMK’s social capital is implicated through the organizational reputation; social identity and relationships that it engages to gain favor and exert influence.

CMK cultural capital is simultaneously derived from Lubumbashi’s greater Manseba culture and evolved from the culture produced by the CMK for organizational survival. It transmits the organization’s norms, history and goals through oral narratives, artifacts and activities that teach and demonstrate the rules and rituals of performance for work. CMK culture comprises dynamic staples of knowledge that help the organization to adapt to internal and external change. Cultural capital is resident in the CMK facts.

The CMK’s intellectual capital is produced through the breadth of its members’ experiences, which arise through their performance of work. It includes the individual and collective range of accrued wisdom and organizational memory that contributes to
the behavior and development of the organization. It manifests as both explicit and tacit knowledge that guides the future orientations of the CMK leadership and general members. The CMK uses its intellectual capital to produce the CMK facts, as well as procedures and structures for the administration of organizational leadership. The CMK’s intellectual capital is grown through communication amongst its members and outgroups to support its ability to thrive within, and transcend the bounds of its social, political, economic and physical environment. Intellectual capital is evidenced within the functions of the CMK’s financial, human, social, and cultural capital.

*Financial capital.* The treasury supports the organization’s existence and the needs of individual members as a source of financial capital. The CMK’s financial role helps the organization retain its members and serves a source for micro-lending, as members draw loans from the treasury to fund personal emergencies such as, funerals; repair or replacement of damaged motorcycles; assistance for food purchases due to prolonged illness; home repair and moving assistance due to fire damage; and loss of work due to bodily injuries that prevent motorcycle operation. The organization also seeks to exploit the investment and income generating potential of the treasury through plans to purchase motorcycles and equipment for resale and rental to club members. The organization’s administrative needs are served as they use treasury funds to certify their labor documents, mail the organization’s official records to governmental offices, and pay for the services of lawyers to conduct affairs that help them establish and maintain their right to operate.
In a semi-structured follow up interview the CMK Vice President divulged plans to use treasury funds to purchase, … new motorcycles and helmets for members…” He also explained additional ways that the organization’s purchase of bikes can aid members and generate profits for the organization. He stated,

… brothers can use the bike we buy for the club then pay small every day, they can pay until they buy it… the club can sell bikes to the brothers if they need it… this is what we want to do…(CMK VP-B, 2013, p. 4)

The proposed rental and rent-to-own and purchasing schemes exemplify the CMK leaderships’ intention to channel the organization’s financial capital to acquire material capital for individual members and the organization. The CMK Treasurer explained instances where financial capital warranted both administrative and protective duties to come to the assistance of a member whose house was destroyed, and whose children were hospitalized due to burn injuries suffered in a fire. In a semi-structured interview (CMK Acting Treasurer, 2013a, p. 2) he recalls that,

…we had to think together and fast because [CMK member] needed to help his family… We are the big in the club we have to show we are working to help him because some of us saw the house after it was burning we knew this brother will need something now… We have to stand for him. The President was in Maniema but Me, Leki, Blaise, Tshingu and Willy took brothers from the station to be the witness for the time we give the money …We went to Don Bosco [a local hospital] gave [CMK member] money for his house, money for food, money for the hospital for his children they got burned in the fire… we gave him almost
60,000 Franc [approximately $670 USD] but we make him sign the document for giving the money back with work and we tell him we will ask the other brothers if he can keep 10,000 Franc. Then we took his bike and keep it for him in the Kisima station police until he can work again...

The CMK leadership and members allocated financial capital in effort to protect human, social and material capital. In this case the CMK member that required assistance is both a human and social asset to the CMK organization, while the act of delivering his motorcycle to the Kisima station police served to protect the material means for his ability to work. Furthermore, in effort to protect the efficacy of the administrative capacity of treasury, the leadership provided the member in need with funds in the presence of non-members and required his acceptance of the loan through a written contract. This is a function to safeguard the organization’s financial capital and demonstrates the recursive, give and take role of financial capital within the organization.

The CMK Secretary offered an example of the club’s administrative and protective authorities over financial and intellectual capital as he outlined the expenses involved in processes for establishing and maintaining the organization through a formal paper trail. He details the process for drafting, certifying, and mailing the organizations documents as an ongoing financial expense to the treasury. In a semi-structured interview he discloses the costs associated with these processes by revealing that, The club will not survive if we cannot show that we have our papers for working, we have to make these papers to work with the Delegation and PCR…it is very expensive for everything we have to go to a computer to make the papers, we pay
for that café time to the computer for one hour can be 2000 Franc or more to print the document also; we pay for the advocate to bring our papers to the Hotel de Ville [The city magistrate court] to give them to the magistrate to get certified, that is 100 American, then 15 Franc for certify and 15 Franc for magistrate fee. Then we have to get our papers and send to the office for Mponyo, that is now money for DHL, it can be American 20 or 30 to send and to get it back it is money…it is like this for every document for the club then we have to keep the date fresh on our papers, so every month, every year, two or four times in the year we do this… (CMK Secretary, 2013a, p. 15)

Here financial capital is used to protect processes and status, which constitute intellectual capital as they comprise aspects of CMK facts and are used by the organization to ensure their permissibility to organize for work. These measures ultimately support the viability of the organization and its role in supporting the creation of financial capital.

During an unstructured interview other members spoke of the ways that their membership with the organization has helped their ability to earn regular income. In response to the question: “Can you think of any way that the club or a member in the club has helped you?” (CMK3Y, 2013, p. 7), a member of three years shared his account of motorcycle theft and the steps that the organization took to assist his continued employment. His story demonstrates the ways that financial capital is facilitated and protected by human, material, intellectual and bonding social capital with the CMK. He stated that,
… one day they [thieves] get my bike by force and now my problem was no bike, no money, how can I get food and medicine for my daughter…the Security organize a meeting with the leaders, Leki was President that time and Blaise, and the rest of the members decide they will organize to get me the bike for another brother if they not working… they organize with two brothers, one is working 13 to 18 [expressed in military time], one works only five until ten… I get their bikes and paid them when they not riding…I was able to make my routes, then I was good, that is one time they help me to keep my pockets…these brothers think different, they think open and they way they do this, they show they do things in another way that you can’t see in other clubs (CMK3Y, 2013, pp. 7–8)

In another example of the facilitation of financial capital through means the means of intellectual and bonding social capital a CMK member of six months touched on the fact that he decided to retain his membership with the organization because of their show of financial support to him when his motorcycle was damaged by a Dubai that backed into it in the Kisima station. In an unstructured interview he recounted,

… the reason I decided I can be with this club, I can stay is the time, three months ago the Dubai beat my bike in Kisima, the driver beat my bike down, the brothers saw it... they just said that guy have to pay but he only gave me ten dollars that problem was 40 dollars American for the mechanic…. the Security and the VP and Blaise made a meeting with me and with the other brothers they decide to help me to pay again the money to fix my bike…the treasurer gave the money but I had to make agreement and take a receipt to pay it back…if I did not pay it back
in two months they would get my bike in the station police… It is very good they help with money, we need help sometimes… (CMK6M, 2013, p. 5)

Expressing gratitude for the treasury in an unstructured interview a CMK member of two years claimed that the CMK’s treasury allowed him to survive during a period of injury that prevented him from working, he refers to the CMK’s mobilization of human, intellectual and bonding social capital to support his ability to be financially viable. He expressed,

… after I got hurt my leg was finished I was not feeling the leg… it was inside of the plaster so I cannot take it off for one month… I got beat by another Manseba he went in front of me then my bike went down after that time I was not able to push the bike… the members made a vote to open the treasury for me… they brought me money every week, they tell me they will make my papers for insurance, then they help to make my papers and go to collect my papers and my money for insurance, they bring me money for my pocket, they bring some food they give to my wife, the wife for Leki she bring some foufou to my wife… that money that help they give me if it was not there what can I do? What my family can eat? (CMK2Y, 2013, p. 22)

*Material capital.* The CMK’s material capital is produced and governed through interaction with their other capital assets including, financial, human, social and intellectual capital. Material capital supports the organization’s existence and the needs of individual members as it directly enables the generation of a financial capital. The CMK’s human, social and intellectual capital coalesces to ensure the availability and
utility of motorcycles, riding equipment and stations. These assets require monitoring, regulation and protective care, which the CMK members provide in keeping with their fiduciary responsibilities to the organization.

The CMK President elaborated on the challenges of protecting the CMK stations and motorcycles as he indicates that both can be subject to theft and misuse due to factors such as the behavior of CMK members, the public, as well as other Manseba organizations. He also stated that such resources exist and thrive due to the diligence of the CMK leadership. In an unstructured paired interview with the CMK Vice President he asserted that protection of these resources could only be achieved through effective management, as well as collaboration amongst CMK members, local law enforcement and local government officials. He specifically indicates the role of linking and bonding social capital in addition to intellectual and human capital in the protection of the organization’s material capital. He pointed out that,

…the bikes and the station makes our work, makes our money, makes us Manseba … If there is no bikes, no one will work, we have to keep the bikes safe and this is very difficult. For many of the members it can be difficult to understand what we are doing to keep the bikes good so people can work and get something in the pocket…we have to plan for safety, making the rules making the plan for keeping the bike in the station… then we have to catch people they are break the rules…there are rules for keeping bikes safe from thieves, rules for getting the bikes out of the road so they don’t get broken; rules for papers, Manseba we must keep papers to show we own the bike and we can push the
bike; rules for making the bikes look proper in the station so they do not stop people passing and the Dubai… then we have to keep the station right, no acting bad in the station to bring police then they close the station, if you let everybody get in your station and do their business they can push you out…then there are Manseba they want get your station to take money out of our pockets… So there are rules, there is the papers we get from the Burgomaster to keep the station Kisima, to get also papers from Moïse and Maire de la ville, then there is the way we have to work with the PCR and station police to keep the station and the bike safe...to watch over our station to watch our bikers we work together… (CMK President & CMK VP, 2013, p. 16)

The organization’s Security Coordinators mirrored the President’s sentiments and emphasized the role of intellectual, human and all forms of social capital in the maintenance of material capital. They also point out that their capacity to earn financial capital at the individual and group level is dependent upon the functionality of these other forms of capital. In an unstructured paired interview Papa Willy stated,

… we have to keep the brothers safe, we keep the club safe, we keep the bikes safe and the stations, this makes us work with many people in the club and out of the club just to organize safety…” Papa Tshingu added, “…then if we make the club safe we are helping ourselves to make money, we will eat…if we fail to protect the brothers then no fees will be paid or quittance paid to support the club, if we fail to make a plan to keep the bike good how will we ride them to make money? If we let thieves and other Manseba make their house in our station we
will lose our territory… We are called coordinators for security because this operation, this club we have, we have to organize to decide what to do and the people we work with to make it work good…(CMK Security Coordinators 1 & 2, 2013, p. 4)

The position that the Security Coordinators maintain is supported by their purposive practice of habit of lecturing the CMK membership about safeguarding their motorcycles to prevent theft, damage, personal injury, and to make members mindful of their duty to protect the organizations material assets, as well as their ability to earn a living. A member of two weeks mentioned that he received such advice on his third day of membership with the organization. Cultural, human, intellectual and bonding social capital are instrumental in their recommendations for protecting this member’s material assets. In an unstructured interview (CMK2W, 2013, p. 9), he said,

… these brothers and Security they tell me day three, ‘Manseba you are fresh and you need to make your eyes open if you want to keep your bike, then you have to push it nice don't go fast, don’t push it like you are racing, drive good so you don’t break the bike’…Willy tell me if you break your bike you also will break with no money you will suffer so be wise on the road to get the bike hit and make accident and follow your bike with your eye is you are not on top of it, these thieves in the road will get your bike if you fail to be careful, watch good.

In a similar account, a CMK member of 4 months said that he was briefed by fellow members about employing behavior that will assure that he secures and handles his motorcycle properly during periods of work. He was also advised about protecting
the station by refraining from, and performing certain types of behavior. They also inform him that that are monitoring him as a means to encourage his compliance with responsibilities to look after the organization’s material assets. Human, intellectual and bonding social capital are evidenced as members take on the duty of furnishing information to aid the protection of material capital. His experience was retold during a semi-structured interview (CMK4M SS, 2013, p. 3),

That day I begin in the club four or five people tell me they are watching me and I have to watch my bike because bandits will catch it if I am sleeping, they tell me if you are doing bad things in the station you will make this club look bad, don't do bad things keep your bike and keep the station proper, no garbage, no makelekele, keep bandits out…

When questioned about his position on the information provided to new members concerning their role in securing motorcycles and the stations, a CMK member of three years aired his approval. He lays out the practicality of educating members about the possibility of loss of property and income due to a lack of occupational vigilance. He also commented on detrimental behaviors that may compromise the CMK’s stature and threaten their right to occupy their station. His response summons attention to material assets, as well as the embodied nature of human capital as it impacts spatial and place-based bodily presentations. He correlates members’ actions in the station to the reputation of the organization. During a semi-structured interview (CMK3Y SS, 2013, pp. 6–7), he offered the following response to my question regarding the fairness and application of certain rules and security measures:
…the Security, the President, everyone that will give this direction is 100 percent right because we have two big parts to the club that are not the riders and not the money, we have the bikes and we have the stations, if they are lost we don’t have a club because those things give us the right to make the club, you can’t have a club without bikes and a place that you line up to stand and get clients…you have to make example for people that are thieves if they get the bike from your station or your member one time, two times, three times, another time then you are easy money for them…people don’t have to work if they can get your bike and sell it… we have ways to stop illegal bikes from selling and buying here in Lubum [local term of endearment for Lubumbashi], we work with the police, we work with other Manseba and we catch and beat the one who is doing this then we give them to police. Another problem is if you let your members take beer and whiskey and they are beating each other in the station, if they are getting on their bike and they are drunk then you will lose your station, PCR will stop you, Burgomaster will take back his license for your space… we work hard to keep our plots and our bikes good so we can do our work…

Additional discussions about material capital include working with local government toward the allocation of equipment for members and renting safety equipment to them to grow income for the organization, support work safety, and limit bodily injury. Members of the CMK leadership discussed these plans during a group interview whereby they expound on their desire to obtain,
…helmets, knee equipment, elbow equipment and the green coats for members…we want to give every member the helmet that is first but if we get change to rent other things like the knee equipment or the coats this is good to give the club small money… we just want people to look like riders this equipment is important…also we want to start a program with the government to get helmets, before the governor gave helmets for two days for free to all Manseba but that is finished…we want another program to collect helmets and give them to members it can help us… (CMK Group Interview 7 members, 2013, p. 20)

Human capital. Human capital is the primary source through which all other forms of the CMK’s capital assets are derived. Thus, through its reproductive and generative capacity it interacts with financial, material, human, social, cultural and intellectual capital. It is also the basis for the existence of the CMK. In the plainest sense human capital is the physical labor that the CMK members engage to generate personal and organizational income. The CMK’s human capital is enabled by the knowledge of the leadership and general members at the individual and group level. Individual members employ knowledge of Lubumbashi’s road and route infrastructure; traffic and road rules; the CMK’s rules and any knowledge and that may be useful or imperative for conducting work.

Individuals with various types of training, education and skillsets perform within the group to contribute toward: the maintenance and repair of motorcycles; accounting for the treasury; archival management; securing motorcycles; monitoring and ordering
station activity; creating and distributing information communiqués to the membership, the media and governmental entities; and negotiating between members and outgroups. The CMK membership selects individuals to assemble ad-hoc groups for specific tasks based on their abilities as well as, perceived and demonstrated knowledge including, the Electoral Committee and the Delegation pour la Comité Urbain. The CMK’s human capital produces and employs resources, which are simultaneously tangible and embodied in the realization of work.

According to the CMK Vice President, the organization functions due to the physical efforts of the membership that translate to work and the resulting financial windfall. In a semi-structured interview (CMK VP-A, 2013, p. 13) he maintains that members are a direct link to the financial viability of the CMK, which is crucial to the organization’s capacity to provide members with resources and support the processes required to make gains with political and law enforcement entities for their authorized practice of motorcycle taxi work. He also cites the memberships’ ability to produce financial capital as helpful to the administration of the treasury and the Delegation pour la Comité Urbain. He posits that,

Our members make this club proper but we cannot win if they do not get profit everyday… because we have the system for quittance and fees it gives the treasury money the club needs to do many things…we need members to work so we can have this quittance and pay the fees when they are supposed to it keeps the treasury up…these things help us to print our document, they help us pay the advocate, it gives us the change to help a brother that becomes hurt and if his
family members have died we pay for that funeral …all of the licenses and registration that we make, all of our papers that we make come from money and that money comes from the brothers riding everyday. The government only talk with us because we can send them the Comité Urbain, this Comité Urbain has a price, money we have to pay to make everything proper… to pay for their transport in town to pay them to leave work for the day to do meetings in the offices and with the media it is the treasury that helps this problem…because this job is a sacrifice, you must leave work for one or two days to do this job… The organization is working first because of the brothers and the money we put in.

(CMK VP-A, 2013, p. 13)

The CMK secretary explained the importance of his role in the organization and expressed his dualistic sense of responsibility as both a member of leadership and the general membership body. He believes that his role is essential to the club’s ability to operate. For example, in order to assist members with work-related circumstances the CMK secretary prepares, curates and circulates various kinds of information such as identification cards; member registration documents; news about the membership; work plans; changes to CMK rules or policies; as well as caveats for safety and security. During a paired unstructured interview he stated,

I am the secretary… I keep the order for the club papers and help the others that are leaders to make organization for the members, and I help to plan when we meet with the government and other bosses… I also write things for the club, like documents… they can be for the plan for the new rules, new ways to do our work
our policy, they can be about the rules for catching the thieves and keeping the bike good… we also make the membership contract and Acte D’Adhesions the members have to sign this contract and I keep it…this is good work it is helping the members…it is for making the club work… the proof that we are a club is in our papers… I organize all papers from the members when they join, these papers they will need them if they make accidents, for getting insurance and to prove their identity if the PCR give them problems… If there is not any person to organize these things for members and to make the club together then the club and the members will not get respect, it can be hard for them to work, they will not follow the rules and they will not know what to do if we don't document these things. (CMK Secr. & CMK Treas., 2013, p. 5)

A CMK member of two years explained how human capital serves members during periods of work as they instruct and back each other in situations that become difficult or potentially dangerous. His scenario relays the interworkings of human, social and intellectual capital in the protection and management of resources for the good of the membership. In an unstructured interview he retold a story about a time when CMK members assisted him in a multi-vehicle accident that occurred between himself, members of another Manseba group and two injured pedestrians,

Last year I make the accident it was not my fault I was following the law, two Manseba from Mkenya want to cross me to get the clients in the station… they hit me on the left side and the right side of my bike, we all hit two ladies standing on the side of the station. They wanted to fight me because they know I am not from
Mkenya station… I called Leki, then I told one man to get the police. First Leki send one Manseba to come to me from the Mkenya station, he ask me what is my story…the police came I show all my papers then six Kisima brothers came, they are all leaders, they told me to talk with the police, tell my story, then they negotiated with the Mkenya club about this problem… more Kisima brothers came together on the bikes, they brought our mechanic and one truck to carry my bike back to Kisima because it was broken… Blaise talked with the police, he gave police information for the Kisima station police and they agree to let me leave after some witnesses tell the story about the things that happened. My brothers really helped me with the bike because those Mkenya Manseba wanted to beat me but they organized with the Mkenya leaders, the police, some witness, the mechanic and the truck driver to fix that problem. I was happy they way they did things they knew how to finish that problem. (CMK2Y, 2013, p. 28)

The CMK President described the ways that the Delegation pour la Comité Urbain is an investment in leadership and ultimately the progression of the CMK’s goals. He refers to its members as fighters due to their role with presenting and bargaining for the interests of the CMK amongst powerful outgroups. In a paired unstructured interview the CMK president contended that,

It is possible that we have the strongest Manseba club in the city, we go to the big men to talk for what we want…the brothers in our Comité Urbain they know what they are fighting for, they know the risk and they know the way to talk…they are fighting yes because they are going against what the bosses say, Moïse and
everybody at Nyota at the other media places, they do not let them say bad things and if they are wrong the Delegation brothers are there to ask ‘what is the problem you have with us?’ They leave from the job for two, three days that means nothing for their pockets, they have to wait for us to collect money from the treasury to give them...this money is nothing like the money they get the time they climb the bike for work… they go to the Hotel de Ville, go to the Office for the mayor, to those radio and TV offices and they leave with some plan, something that we can use to make our club proper… like way to report on Manseba, way to correct the things the media say is not right, the way to contact the mayor and have the person ready to speak to Manseba… this did not happen before we make the Delegation. (CMK President & CMK VP, 2013, pp. 25–26)

The CMK’s growing membership is simultaneously equated to a gift and force that outgroups must contend with due to the organization’s efforts to assert their will to work amongst the government and Manseba outgroups. The Security Coordinator Papa Willy suggest that this is the case as the leadership encourages the membership to conduct work in a manner that promotes their legitimizing goals. In a semi-structured interview he affirmed that,

…the gift that the CMK has is the members, the leadership yes but also all members because as we get more members we are becoming like a wall that other Manseba, the PCR and those politicians have to cross when they think about this work of moto-taximen, we are making a voice that people can hear and we are doing these meetings and making noise to the government and push our members
to be seen like normal people that want to work so all of us, all of our time and our power we use to work is good for the club. (CMK Security Coord. 1, 2013b, p. 14)

Social capital. Social capital manifests through various relationships that CMK members sustain via strategic and casual interaction. For example, formal relations such as those produced by information dissemination and negotiation with intermediaries from governmental and media entities grant the CMK the ability to access crucial information required for structuring the organization. These relations also allow CMK members to register their concerns and partake in macro-level affairs that impact them through meso-level interpenetration. Social capital may also be developed through informal relationships that CMK maintains through routine and collaborative interaction amongst law enforcement officers, other Manseba groups, and members of the public. These dynamics contribute to the CMK’s efforts to seek favors; mediate conflicts; locate information resources and co-construct their identity. Like other forms of capital facilities, social capital is bound up in the reproduction and maintenance of financial, material, human, intellectual and cultural capital.

A member of three years explained how he developed modes of communication through relationships with local sellers and business owners, which he uses to obtain information about the activity of traffic police and motorcycle thefts. He describes how his transportation services and patronage are exchanged for information that grants the CMK leverage over the controls of traffic police as well as the ability to counter property
loss. In a semi-structured interview that exemplifies the interworkings of human, material, social and intellectual capital he reveals,

I have many people in the road, many friends I get in this work, I know all of the sellers in the market on this road and going to Katuba… they help me sometimes and I can help them with a ride or to bring some things for them to the shops… I ask about the traffic police stopping taxis and bikers for toll [bribes], if they see me they give me a sign like this [holding up his hand to make a sign by extending his left index and middle fingers horizontally while waving them in a rapid ascending and descending vertical motion] that is showing me the police are there to bother us… I ask also some people they have the business to look out for us Manseba, they do and we give them business in the road, if I need to leave my bike in front of their shop they don’t have the problem… it was two times some business near Machipicha tell us there is some thieves they know they are looking at the bikes people leave by the station to get a drink…then we tell those Machipicha Manseba, now we made the plan, we waited to see what can happen and after one week they tried to get some bike we left to trick them, we catch them and bring those thieves to national police, this happen now twice, so it is good to have many friend in our work. (CMK3Y SS, 2013, p. 6)

In a paired unstructured interview the CMK Vice President offers a view to the collaboration of human, material, social and intellectual capital as he suggests that obtaining a station in the lot where the police station is located has proven to help the organization become more disciplines and established. He also maintains that this
arrangement aids their ability to protect their property and develop genuine and amicable relationships with police officers. The CMK VP asserted,

...since we started here in Kisima we have become better because we have help from different places like the police, our station is also the station for police, we have our place in their territory… the Burgomaster give us this space here with police because he know it can help us, also the police can watch us…this is never a problem for us this is only helping us to be serious bikers because if we are not doing the right thing there are three kind of police here, they will catch us… We have the national police, road police and intelligence for Congo they are here also… These are the ones we decide to organize with to get all of our papers for the club, because they are here with us it better, we work better, we do smart things, we just tell them, ‘you sign for us to make this club proper’ and they agreed… now our success is growing. If we need something to the government we can ask for their support just to say that we are doing good things and we look at the law … these police they are good colleagues they will not allow people to come to our place to take our bikes and they stand for us if there is a problem in the city with rebels, we will not be blamed, they know us, they know we are just working and not making problems for the city. I take them if they need to go someplace and they keep us good here we cannot complain about these police…

(CMK VP & CMK Secretary, 2013, p. 17)

Similar to the testimony of the CMK Vice President, the nature of the relationship between the CMK and law enforcement authorities is presented by a member of two
years. His admissions point to connections between the relationship that they hone with
the law enforcement officers in their station and the organization’s human, social,
material, financial and intellectual capital. He suggests that being “clever,” and
partnering with the police has caused law enforcement to extend courtesies to them and
show respect for the organization. Social capital manifests through these alliances and
deeds. In an unstructured interview he states,

Our station is okay we have PCR, we have PNC and we have ANR at our station,
you cannot bother us, you cannot come to us and make makelekele...those police
and ANR they become our friends, they look for us…if I get a problem in the
road and I am in town or I am in Golf there I am calling to these PNC they talk for
me they stand for me and then my problem is finished…you have to be clever if
you are clever with these police they like you… for our club they like us too much
they see we don’t make problems and they see we are working with them, we
even take our brothers to them if they are not following the laws so they have
respect…these police help us to get our papers also they give the authorization
without problem, they said we can open the office next to their station also… they
are keeping our bikes nice if we have to bring for our members, also they watch
everything here and nobody will take our bike in the station…they help us find
our bikes if they are stolen also and we bring them thieves they catch them…I can
say that I am friend with two or three they are my friend we take beer together
when we are not working and one lives close by to the home for my sister so we
are talking every time after working. (CMK2Y, 2013, p. 16)
The CMK Security Coordinator, Papa Willy revealed bridging relationships that developed between the CMK and outgroup Manseba organizations. He underscores the ways these relationships are used to resolve discrepancies and assuage potential physical conflicts between the CMK and other Manseba clubs. In an unstructured group interview, (CMK Group Interview 7 members, 2013, p. 24) he elaborated on instances where their organization helped and benefited from meditational roles that the CMK leadership takes on. These circumstances warrant the CMK’s deployment of human, social, cultural and intellectual capital. The Security Coordinator Papa Willy explained,

This club is between two clubs, like on the map, we are between the Machipicha and the Katuba club, the main road that makes these clubs meet makes trouble for them they will argue, they will fight over space there and clients...If they make big fights there now, all of us Manseba look bad then if they fight with each other one day we will find them fighting us, no we don’t need this problem… After they had some fights we take our security team … we take Leki and we went to Machipicha first to talk to the president and security at that club to talk about that problem they had… They tell us the story and we ask them ‘what do you want to happen from this fight? Tell us what you fighting for’. They tell us about the places they want to keep and use for their last station and they don’t want those Katuba to break their stations for any reason… then we left them and talk with Katuba club we ask them, ‘What do you want to come out of this fight you are fighting?’…they want only to use that side of Machipicha as the last place for taking and leaving clients… We call the clubs Machipicha and Katuba clubs, the
leaders to our station, now we make them sit and we talk about this until they agree on the last place for Katuba riders … Today what you have in these routes is peace no fighting and we know the route agreement for both now if we see people they are doing wrong we also tell them. They respect us too much now they ask us for help with many problems for fighting with other stations now…

In an example of linking social capital at work, the CMK President explains how their relationship with the Kisima Burgomaster has expedited bureaucratic processes that determine the club’s operational status, thus making it possible for them to work in the Kisima station. In a paired unstructured interview (CMK President & CMK VP, 2013, p. 27) he spells out a number of ways that the CMK has actively used this relationship to capitalize on its benefits. He explained,

…the time we got the President Urbain, we already have this station and we have the Burgomaster that organize this for us… He help to get the title for this lot in the name for this club so when this happen we decide this man we have to work with him he help us… he is getting us position to be in the board membership for Kisima, if this can happen we can tell the community leaders, the local Kisima leaders our plans, this can help us get the office for the club… we report to the Burgomaster if we see there are riders from another club using the plot without making the papers now, he makes investigation then he can tell his bosses we need to develop this plot or we need to control it, this is good for him it makes it look like he is doing good work… he gives us the first notice about things in the community that we must be aware of. Like property complaints that some
business owners can make or some decision that the city has made that will change our work…I also take this information and tell other Manseba club, now they look at me and they are surprised I know this information, they say, ‘Di you know this from where? How you know the information it will become fact?’… then other clubs respect us because we get good information and we give to them before the news can say it…

*Cultural capital.* The CMK uses storytelling and nominations rituals as a means to enforce members’ compliance with organizational rules. Through the practice of storytelling members illustrate sanctions, consequences and behavioral expectations for the CMK membership. These stories are a component of the cultural stock the organization uses to maintain norms and produce desired behaviors. They also conduct informal nominations rituals whereby members are nominated for actions that are deemed favorable and unfavorable according to the organizations rules. Nominations are used to credit and chastise members during periods of rest and socialization amongst the members. They are a process that the organization uses to engage in self–criticism for illuminating internal contradictions and to address problems that linger within the organization. It serves to help members communicate about the issues in an open and non-combative manner and it also works for leaders to identify and gauge individuals’ work performance and character traits. The nominations ritual not only encompasses the use of cultural capital, it intersects with intellectual and bonding social capital to influence and instruct desired behaviors amongst CMK members.
The Security Coordinators confirmed their strategic use of organizational anecdotes in hopes of preventing behaviors that may be potentially injurious to individuals, as well as the reputation of the organization. They relayed a standard anecdote that they use with new members during makeshift orientation gatherings to encourage their use of helmets and appropriate work shoes. In a paired unstructured interview (CMK Security Coordinators 1 & 2, 2013, p. 10), Papa Tshingu stated that,

…I get the new riders, ‘I say if you are new you have to be at this place, this time we have to talk if you want to ride with this club…’ I tell them, ‘there are many things you need to be careful for, one is wearing the helmet and the other is wearing the proper shoes because one time a brother was with us for three months, he did not get his helmet, he refuse to wear proper shoes…then he get one rider, he is going to the side of Kipushi, he sees two other riders coming, they did not stop now he thinks he will make accident, he wants to stop the bike then he felt a big pain on top of the head…he stop the bike then fell on the dirt, the rider saw his client holding a pipe, the client beat him with the pipe, then the other two bikers get off the bike and run to them, he was believe they will help him but they start to get inside his pockets, they are thieves working together… the rider cannot fight, the head is bleeding, he cannot run, he is wearing mapata and the place they bother him is the sugar cane field they burn it now that plot is like glass to the feet, he start to run but they chase him, now the feet and head is bleeding… the police find that Manseba the next day in the field with no bike they think he
was dead.’ I finish that story and I say, ‘Protect your head, protect your feet, protect your pockets, protect your bike, protect our club.’

During an unstructured interview (CMK2W, 2013, p. 9) a member of two weeks recalled an encounter where two other CMK members in the Kisima station confronted him due to his failure to follow rules for positioning his motorcycle and wearing inappropriate shoes. His acts resulted in his nomination for poor judgment and failure to comply with rules for work attire. He acknowledges the nominations as a serious act but also admits that he understood the use of humorous chiding as a means for reminding him to observe the rules. His account expresses his sentiments as he explains,

… I was riding the bike and passing in front of the car in the road, then went inside in the station in Kisima, I stop the bike and get off, then [named CMK member] tell me ‘why you block our entrance, you know the rule you put the bike out of the entrance, remove it now!’, I start to move it then the other Manseba say, ‘Where is your shoes, why you don't wear shoes? You follow the rule you are not important more than others’… I was surprise and I think these people are doing the rules, not playing… in the lounge, later Leki start to say, ‘we have the nominations today’ they give nominations to some brothers for stopping the fight in the station then he give me the nomination, he said, ‘Today we have to nominate our new brother he is fresh and his nomination is for being fresh, not using his mind when coming into our station and blocking our entrance, and also we nominate him for having the latest style of shoes, his feet are covered in the
best’... I know already what they mean but I was laughing about this but I know they just want to show me these things you did are not okay.

In a display of the interaction between cultural and intellectual capital, the CMK Vice President provides the rationale for the nominations process. He explains that the CMK leadership uses the nominations to inform members that they are aware of their behaviors and to direct members’ attention to the consequences of rule infringement. He believes that this manner of censure is acceptable to members and serves as an impartial and effective teaching tool for the organization. He offers his view about this storytelling device in a semi-structured interview (CMK VP-B, 2013, p. 3) as he declares that,

… we give the stories and the award nomination because this is the easy way to tell big people they are doing wrong and remind them you are doing bad, or to show them that we are watching them, if they do good we see it, if they are forgetting the rules we see that also… we can’t be the father for big men, some riders they are big to us [older than us] okay if when they do bad we nominate them to tell them they are wrong, they understand, everyone has good times with nominations but they understand we are teaching them they are wrong and they have to follow the rules, even me I help make the rules but brothers can give me the nominations sometimes I forget or I do bad, it is for all riders in the club.

Contradictions within the organization are also brought to the fore by the nomination ritual as leadership members are singled out for their failure to uphold the organizations rules. In an unstructured paired interview the CMK Treasurer talks about
being nominated for failure to wear proper shoes and for his overloading of his motorcycle during work. He admitted that,

… okay I also did things that go against the rules, we get in this problem… the others saw me get one family in the bike in the Kisima station, the family was the mother and the two children then I took them… the next day in the social, they made the nomination, they say they nominate me for using the bike like a bus then they say you get nomination number two for having the best toes in the club and thank you for not stealing the treasury to buy your work shoes, that is when I remember I wear mapata, not the proper shoe. (CMK Secr. & CMK Treas., 2013, p. 12)

The CMK Secretary cited the titles and referents for some of the anecdotes that the organization uses as precautionary tales. These communicative devices have been created by the CMK leadership in effort to make members mindful of their role in constructing the organization’s reputation; demonstrating behavioral expectations; and the effects of rule violations. This demonstrates the use of story and narrative as intellectual and cultural capital. In a semi-structured interview he listed some of the stories them with brief descriptive summaries,

…we have Manseba and Makelekele, we say this to tell the riders that they must not bring the bad attention, they must not be fighting and making noise, my favorite is Paper and Peage Bandit, about the Manseba that don’t keep their papers good, and they try to escape peage by running from the leaders or running from the police but we get their bike and they have to pay… there is The Manseba
and the Boat like the one in the bible, Noah for the Manseba they are taking people and too many things on the bike, we have many… (CMK Secretary, 2013a, p. 12)

*Intellectual capital.* The CMK’s intellectual capital is evidenced through members’ familiarity and ruminations about the interworkings of the organization over time. It is an aspect of carries forth and emanates from the CMK’s reflexive monitoring and knowledgeable. In this regard it is produced via the memory and creativity of the organization, as well as members’ relations with extraneous structures. It is instrumental in generating all other forms of capital for the organization to guide the CMK’s rules, identity construction, problem solving strategies, as well as organizational programs and agendas. Collectively CMK leaders including the President, Vice President, Security Coordinators, Secretary, Treasurer, Counselors and the Electoral Committee coordinate the administration of resources to protect and generate the organizations intellectual capital. It interacts with the organization’s cultural capital, as it comprises domains of experiential and inherited knowledge that instructs the practices of the CMK at the group and individual level.

The CMK leadership consults the experiences of the organization’s most senior members to address bureaucratic hitches that may impede the organizations objectives. Some of the organizations’ veteran members have been employed as motorcycle taxi workers before the inception of the CMK and have founded the organization’s early rules and operational procedures. Therefore, their knowledge of the trajectory of local political structures and the actors that warrant them are essential to the CMK leaderships’
ability to proactively plan for its objectives and outpace other Manseba organizations in the process. The CMK President and Vice President explain the value of its senior members and their informal role in helping the organization’s ability to navigate political structures and compete with other Manseba entities in Lubumbashi. In a paired unstructured interview (CMK President & CMK VP, 2013, p. 18), the CMK VP affirms that,

The big [elders] in this club help to make it grow and help us get on top of the politics of Lubumbashi… they give us the old ways that nobody knows because they don't see them in the books, even the people in these offices don’t know the old ways to politics in Lubumbashi, many things are same from old times, the offices and politics work like in the times of Elizabethville…. only the vets know this and they save us our time, our gas, our energy, they make us go in the right place to get our things finished properly and fast… they had to do all of these things from when they first start to do this moto-taxi work so they know how it is … I don’t know these things but they know…

In keeping with this same idea, the CMK President posits that local outgroup Manseba organizations do not possess a historical frame of reference, as some of the CMK’s the senior members. He implies that senior members’ lived experiences and knowledge of the operations and processes, which administered the country’s first post-colonial government shapes their understanding of bureaucratic institutions that currently regulate labor. During the interview (CMK President & CMK VP, 2013, pp. 20–21) the CMK President adds,
The big show us things the other clubs don’t know, they are small to our club, this club is old, those small never saw these things, they don’t understand doing business with the rule from the old system from the time of Mobutu, our system is mixing old and new, it cannot forget the old yet so you find it is mixed…this is the reason the other clubs don’t build the right way, they don’t have veterans like us, they don’t beat the door for the proper people, they don’t know the people to talk to, our club was the first in Lubumbashi and our club has the first Manseba in Lubumbashi so this club gets this benefit, yes the big help us do more than the others, our club grows better and faster because of this…

The knowledge, skills and abilities of the CMK’s leadership members is discussed by the CMK Vice President as he weighs the importance of their contributions to the organizations capacity to engage in bonding, bridging and linking social capital. He elaborates on dimensions of human, cultural and intellectual capital in the production of communicative relations with the CMK general members, outgroup Manseba organizations, as well as governmental and media entities. In a group interview (CMK Group Interview 7 members, 2013, p. 23) he insists that the organizations range of competencies comprises intellectual domain, which grants the CMK flexibility to deal with authoritative structures and an edge over local Manseba outgroups.

…we put people in leadership that have time in university, they can do things the way those bosses want to see it, they know how to use computers and make the records the right way…. Christoff he studied for Library and accounting, he knows English…Blaise he can talk very good to the members to make them
excited, he gives inspiration, that ability is good for the club…he explains the laws and the decisions these bosses make so we know how to do our plans, he writes the things that we say in the meetings, when we sit with the media he can talk very strong, he is the person that talks in front of media, our liaison … we also get people for leadership that know our Manseba work, they know the things other Manseba do, they can sit and speak with any Manseba because if they look at each other they know they are the same…we get only people that are smart in the books but know how to talk to people and use their hands too…. other clubs don’t see these things are important and their members fight in the street, they have a problem in the office, they just depend to the Urban President to talk for them … they stay down…

According to the CMK Secretary, the organization’s use of ad-hoc bodies in the handling of decision making and elections helps it function efficiently and effectively. He explains that these intellectual products are supported by human and social capital, which assists the CMK in its ability to systematize decision-making and planning. He also assumes that governmental actors consider the CMK’s internal structures as a show of exemplary organizational competence. He shared these sentiments during a semi-structured interview (CMK Secretary, 2013a, p. 15), whereby he contends,

Because we made the ASBL and the Electoral Committee we work better and we are not fighting in the club for many things. Some clubs I know they fight for planning, they fight for voting but we work better and we can move fast to do our plans because we have our system and everybody have their role… we learned
that we cannot put all the members in this process…some members are here from long and some members go after three days, one week, one month … it is difficult to make everyone involved…Other clubs put all the members in their voting but we know it is not possible…this is helping the organization to grow fast and to prepare for all of those changes the bosses make for Manseba. The President Urbain knows that we have our system and the bosses look at our documents now they understand we are serious and good examples for Manseba that is the reason he uses us to speak for Manseba problems in front of the bosses…

The CMK Treasurer discloses the leadership’s awareness of the utility of the organization’s rules and the need to curate and tailor them as circumstances and structures dictate. In an unstructured interview he offers clarification about the ways that the CMK rules form intellectual capital via their flexibility and responsiveness to change and occupational demands. He mentions that,

…the rules keep the club fresh they make us proper because we keep making them, we are changing them every time there is a new law or a problem that we find with something that we did before…. We see how things work, if the rules do not help we change them, the very important rules do not change completely because they are for general problems like being professional, following the Code de la Route and how we act with each other, they also come from government rules…for example, we made rules for all members to follow when they register so they do not make problems for the club with terrorism… if a member does not follow, we know that person is trying to break the club and can really be a
terrorist…if you break these rules you must go out of the club and we also bring that person to police so they can know they are doing these things and we do not allow this….the rules help us to stay out of problems and help us to finish problems also… (CMK Acting Treasurer, 2013b, p. 21)

The CMK Security Coordinator, Papa Willy discusses the advantages of having skills to resolve problems and de-escalate situations with clients and outgroup Manseba organizations during the course of work. He suggests that the enactment of social, cultural and human capital informs the leadership’s intellectual capital and thus the ability to mitigate conflicts intelligently. He claims that the CMK leaders and senior members model behaviors for new members to instruct them on settling disputes without hostility and violent incidents. During a semi-structured interview (CMK Security Coord. 1, 2013a, pp. 14–15) he maintains,

The important thing we are doing is showing these brothers how to work with clients and how to get out of problems with other Manseba over the territory and the clients, the new guys that did not know this work before are fighting the most, they don’t know the best way to get out of arguments and how to change the story before it becomes beating…it is not about the character for the Manseba it is about knowing what to do to be okay with people and how to stay out of problems…we have some brothers in the club they get very angry very fast but they know what to do and what to say to stay out of a fight, we have brothers that have the very good character but they will be the first to fight because they don’t have a way to get out of problems if they become big… that is something that we
learn after the time we are working…we know how to work with people and some Manseba they don’t understand that is important for the club.

An example of intellectual capital aided by human and social inputs is illustrated by the CMK Vice President as he highlights the advantages of the specialized business knowledge and business networks that the Security Coordinator Papa Tshingu has. He connects the intellectual capital realized through Papa Tshingu’s expertise and planning with the creation of material and financial capital. In semi-structured interview, he states that,

Tshingu is good with business for transporting cargo, he did that business before he was riding… the time we will start to buy bikes for the club, Tshingu will be the person to do it, he was planning for this already and we talk in the club about this plan it sounds good…he knows the people to get them and we can buy from the Indians or we can buy from one Congolese man staying in Angola. Tshingu knows the people to do the papers for buying bikes, he knows about the taxes and registering the bikes with the government, he knows about sending the cargo on the train, we can get them by cargo and send a person to get the bikes, he knows the people to do the clearance for the freight, with his links we can do this plan faster than six months… this is a good program for us it can push us to do our bike renting for the club… (CMK VP-A, 2013, p. 18)

*The Comité de Mortard Kisima’s Communication Strategy*

The CMK communication strategy is a modality that is produced through the structuring of cooperation. It interacts with leadership and identity structures whereby
the CMK engages communicative routines that involve the seeking, consumption, sharing, analysis, control and creation of information via interpersonal, intergroup, intragroup and mass communication channels. As both norm and interpretive scheme it informs the behavioral and problem-solving practices of CMK members at the individual and group level. The CMK ultimately deploys its communication strategy to mitigate uncertainty and transform disempowering circumstances associated with their work-life. For instance, the CMK’s organizational rules, defensible accounts, facts, and knowledge artifacts [See Appendices F and G] are construed in part via the monitoring and rituo-instrumental appropriation of information and media resources. The CMK’s Communication Strategy includes the following: The CMK rules [Règlement D'ordre Intérieur de Motards]; internal boundary spanning roles; CMK facts and knowledge artifacts; local television broadcast viewing; local radio news broadcast listening, and embodied behavioral performances.

*Règlement d'Ordre Intérieur de Motards (The CMK Rules)*

The CMK rules are the recursively cultivated product of: (1) organizational compliance with governmental regulations; (2) core leadership’s monitoring and instruction of members’ behavior; (3) core leadership’s analytical responses to information obtained via radio and television broadcasts; (4) evaluation of information obtained via communication with outgroup Manseba regarding gossip, death notices, property theft, threats to motorcycle worker personal safety, as well as caveats regarding police and military activity.
The rules outline organizational history, membership obligations, legal codes for vehicular operation and work related procedures for accidents, insurance, interaction with law enforcement agents, security threats and treasury requests. They simultaneously function as a contract to ensure members’ understanding of their duty to abide by national, provincial and local laws. The CMK rules reside within an array of organizational documents, as well as within the shared, undocumented norms and practices sustained by the CMK members. The core leadership uses the rules to enforce authority over members, as well as to demonstrate members’ acknowledgement of the authority that the government holds over the CMK. In this way the rules serve as evidence of the CMK’s agreement to obey the law, as well as the existence of the enforcement of procedures and processes within the organization.

*Internal Boundary Spanning Roles*

Internal boundary spanning roles exist to negotiate conflicts or grievances that develop between CMK members. These roles are performed by leadership members, in addition to general members with an ascribed representative role within the organization. In such cases the representative groups are core leadership, counselors security coordinators and a few members with ascribed representative status roles. Core leaders such as the counselor [an ad-hoc role presently filled by the CMK vice president] and security coordinators assume these roles through their official capacities. Counselors mediate conflicts between general members and core leadership based on general members’ non-compliance with rules and the enforcement of decisions made by the treasury or security coordinators. Security coordinators manage members’ objections to
the collection of obligatory membership fees and the production of “quittance” (CMK Security Coord. 2, 2013b, p. 6), which proves that they have registered their vehicles. They also prevent and attempt to dispel physical altercations that occur amongst members. Their role is primary concerned with the relay of information, the facilitation of rules and censure, as well as the management of the CMK’s public performance.

Unelected members undertake an ascribed representative role to mediate conflicts that arise according to differences between members’ ethnicities, seniority statuses, and oftentimes members’ disregard for CMK rules.

**CMK Facts and Knowledge Artifacts**

CMK facts are a tangible and paradigmatic testament to, and product of the organization’s collective memory. They are constituted of the realities and identities that are shared by CMK members via an amalgam of historical, socio-cultural and communicative constructs. CMK facts are exemplified by accumulated information, knowledge and experiences that the organization engages in, creates, reconstructs and endorses to represent and transmit its work-life over time. CMK facts result from its members’ reflexive monitoring of phenomena produced through work. As a result members devise strategies and methods that evolve as resources and rules, which permit them to manage work-life. CMK facts are thus knowledgeability constructs that inform structural properties and the CMK’s structural principles. According to the CMK Secretary,

…the things that went before us, before me, before I am a member…from our first member, the things we did…the things brothers did in this club to make it …
anything we know about this club is just our facts, if we can say something happened and it is something we know and we understand this and we can look at this… if we make something to show that we are working to show we are the club, if people talk our story to radio this is part of the club, because history it does not change, it will be there after we are finished with the club, that is about our fact…

CMK facts may include organizational narratives; organizationally transformative formal encounters with governmental representatives; members’ appearances within locally televised news reports; organizational history; the CMK’s organizational structure; members’ organizational seniority status; externally imposed changes to the organization’s operations; the organization’s jurisdictional claims to work-stations; funerary events for deceased members or their immediate families; as well as members’ work related accidents, injuries or fatalities.
Figure 11. (left to right) The CMK leadership structure constructed by Papa Leki during an organizational mapping elicitation interview and Papa Leki and I verify my notes on the CMK leadership structure after the elicitation and mapping procedure.

They are evidenced through knowledge artifacts [See Appendices F and G], which are an ever-expanding collection of tangible records that document the organization’s history, milestones, challenges, processes and programs to date. They are compiled, revised and maintained by the CMK Secretary in consultation with the ASBL. The organization employs their knowledge artifacts to substantiate their claims to organizational legitimacy through their interactions with law enforcement agents, governmental officials, and its members.

The CMK’s knowledge artifacts [see Appendices F, G and M] include: (1) Règlement D'ordre Intérieur de Motards; (2) Acte D'Adhésion; (3) document de soutien à la mairie, de la Société Civile du Congo; (4) Conseil Mutuel des Taximen Motos- Comité requete en l'obtention de l'autorisation provisoire de fonctionnement; (5) Conseil Mutuel des Taximen Motos-Identification du service de l'opérateur; (6) Ligue des Taximen Exploitants Moto du Katanga carte de service; (7) Conseil Mutuel des Taximen Motos-
Accident, des Blessures et décès Formulaire d'inscription (8) Comité de Motard Kisima de l'adhésion Motard Formulaire d'inscription (9) plaques pour les numéro d'immatriculation de moto [plates for motorcycle registration number]; (10) plaques de moto vanité (vanity motorcycle plates); (11) Carte de Service (12) funerary programs; (13) photographs of members donning protective riding gear, and (14) an English language biographical academic paper about the CMK.

*Figure 12. Photograph of a Carte de Service*

**Television Broadcast Exposure and Information Engagement Routines**

The CMK core leadership conducts nightly viewing of local television news programs as a primary means for learning about governmental decisions and regulations that directly affect motorcycle taxi workers in Lubumbashi. They also require general members to remain abreast of televised news reports to ensure that they are informed and prepared to accept the enforcement of the directives that governmental entities hand down via these broadcasts. CMK core leadership asserts that consumption of local news programs is important for understanding the attitudes and experiences of the various
stakeholders that impact their work-life. Furthermore, the CMK leadership deems locally televised news reports as opportunities to communicate with governmental entities, publics, and law enforcement. It affords them, “a chance to get out [their] anger about the things that are not fair to Manseba so every person in Lubumbashi can decide what is right and who is right and not decide Manseba are just bad because of [their] work” (CMK Acting Treasurer, 2013b). Several members stated that they also watch locally produced television serials, as they have been known to contain characters and scenarios that portray Manseba realities. One such program is Erreurs Graves, a locally produced serial whose main character is named ‘Manseba’. The television program currently airs two times per week on Nyota TV, on Mondays at 8:45 in the evening and on Saturdays at 4:00 in the afternoon.

Radio News Broadcast Listening and Information Engagement Routines

In addition to their television viewing routines, the CMK core leadership listens to daily local radio broadcasts. They also suggest that general members listen to radio news programs at least two days per week to orient their understanding of the Manseba labor industry and the factors that interact with their work and practices. The CMK core leadership maintained that they prefer the news reporting of the local, “Mwangaza” radio station as it conducts follow-up coverage of news related to Manseba in Lubumbashi (CMK Group Interview 7 members, 2013). Generally, CMK leaders peruse all local radio station’s news programming to ensure that they have obtained a thorough understanding of any issues that may impact their work. Furthermore, CMK members assert that the Radio Okapi network distributes the most credible news radio broadcasts due to their
extensive national news coverage and feature stories on motorcycle taxi workers within
the country. Radio Okapi is also preferred as it provides analysis related to the impact of
national and provincial policies on the work of Manseba. It also considered neutral in its
presentation of such issues, especially pertaining the tone and language used to refer to
the demographics of populations engaged in motorcycle taxi labor within the country.

Through Radio Okapi news reports the CMK core leaders use information that it
learns about extra-provincial Manseba to compare and contrast their progress, grievances,
and to determine prospects for modeling inputs that it regards as favorable to its
organizational objectives and goals. For example in May 2013, the CMK president and
vice president commenced talks to consider working with other local Manseba to form,
what they call, “unités de négociation” [bargaining units](CMK President SS, 2013, p. 4).
Collectively CMK leaders and general members stated that they consume radio news
broadcasts more often than television news broadcasts, as radio broadcasts can be
consumed during their work hours. Members utilize their mobile telephones, bike
mounted radios, and necktie radios to listen to radio broadcasts while they await
passengers in stations and while they operate their motorcycles. Some members have
admitted to listening to the radio using headphones while during periods of vehicular
operation.
Figure 13. CMK Security Coordinator, Tshingu wearing a necktie radio for work.

Summarily, the information obtained from the monitoring of radio and television programs is used by CMK core leaders toward the planning of defensible accounts for media and government agencies; creating self policing strategies; member education about traffic safety; CMK rule revision and enforcement methods; the development of talking points for planned encounters with media representatives; preparation for convening the Delegation pour la Comité Urbain; methods for countering Manseba impersonators; procedures for ensuring members’ safety and response to threats; and the generation of internal programs or processes that respond to designated problems.

*Embodied Behavioral Performances*

The CMK consciously displays behavior that it sanctions as acceptable and appropriate in effort to influence perceptions and attitudes held by members of outgroups, including publics, law enforcement agents, and other Manseba motorcycle taxi operators. The designated sets of situated behaviors are constructed to communicate professional values that the CMK leadership assumes to be at par with the psychosocial and moral
values of the outgroups that they are accountable to through their work. Essentially, the behavioral shows are used by the CMK to manage intergroup relations. Thus, they support behavioral tenets of the CMK rules and contribute to the groups identity constructs in the production of the CMK facts. CMK behavioral performances are embodied in nature and arise through states of mobility and immobility that lend to members’ work-life endeavors. They are inscribed in the corporeal routines that CMK members enact as they use, congregate or arrange their motorcycles during periods of work. Therefore, these performances are implied in the relations that the CMK conducts with others that interact with, and observe them as they work.

Mobility performances transpire while CMK members operate their motorcycles (1) with or without passengers for work related transit; and (2) during members’ participation in spectacular funerary processions ['En colonne ou bien zanga’, meaning ‘in a line or else trot’] for fellow Manseba. Immobility performances occur whether or not CMK members make physical contact with a motorcycle while the motor is unengaged. Such performances are enacted when CMK members are seated upon their motorcycles as they wait for new clients, and operating handheld mobile phone devices in the presence of stationery motorcycles. These performances also pertain to members’ spatial proximity and arrangement among their motorcycles while they are not operating them during periods of work; and when CMK members’ unattended motorcycles are congregated in publicly viewable spaces.
Mobility Performances

Mobility performances occur while CMK members operate motorcycles with or without passengers for work related transit. The CMK vice president, president and security coordinators affirmed that several routine behaviors or measures are mandatory for operating motorcycles with or without passengers during work related transit. These pertain to CMK members’ personal presentation and adherence to traffic regulations to include: Wearing standard operating attire; operating motorcycles using both hands to steer the handles, and refraining from overloading the motorcycle with passengers; using excessive speed; racing with other motorists; maneuvering erratically and against the flow of traffic, as well as loading and offloading passengers along the undesignated places along roads.

Wearing standard operating attire. CMK members must wear standard operating attire to comply with requirements for the desired prototypical work uniform. The CMK prescribed uniform consists of: pants, a shirt with sleeves, socks, closed-toe shoes or boots, elbow pads, knee pads, a helmet and goggles or glasses if the helmet does not provide for eye coverage. The CMK leaders believe that its members should wear the complete uniform to look distinct from most other motorcycle transport workers in Lubumbashi. Furthermore, CMK core leaders suggest that members carry cloths to clean their clothing and motorcycles throughout the course of a workday.

CMK leaders insist that if members look uniform they will be considered “professional, respectful and organized” and that this will make it easier for them to conduct work as individuals. The CMK leaders believe that law enforcement and
members of the public will view them favorably and be less skeptical of them if they are seen wearing the standard uniform. They also believe cleanliness routines such as dusting off their shoes, pants, helmets, glasses and motorcycles will attract clients that desire to “ride clean and not get dirty on their trip.”

*Using both hands for appropriate motorcycle operation.* The CMK requires its members to use both of their hands to operate their motorcycles. CMK leaders assert that in addition to being a safety precaution and lawful motorcycle operation practice, it is also a way to show the public that the CMK values safety and avoids behavior that may potentially cause accidents. According to the CMK Security Coordinators this is important to the CMK efforts to counter public perceptions that all Manseba engage in, “grandstanding maneuvers” while transporting customers (CMK Security Coordinators 1 & 2, 2013). Papa Leki and a CMK member of three years demonstrated how some Manseba operate their motorcycles as they perform, “hand games” as a form of occupational competition (CMK VP-B, 2013; CMK3Y, 2013). The CMK wants to distinguish themselves from other Manseba motorcycle operators that may use one hand to steer their motorcycle while their other hand is on their waist, in their pocket, occupied with a mobile telephone or gripping the seat handle at the rear of the motorcycle (CMK Security Coord. 2, 2013a; CMK2W, 2013; CMK4M SS, 2013). According to the CMK Secretary (2013a, p. 10, semi-structured interview),

…this is the big complaint we hear, this is the second complaint for everybody about bikers, bikers never leave their hands on controls for the bike, they always
move them off the steering, people don’t want that, they can be scared about that…

_Refraining from overloading motorcycles with passengers._ A motorcycle is overloaded when more than two individuals occupy it. Although illegal, it is a common practice for Manseba motorcycle operators to overload their motorcycles with passengers. This is the case, as people need to travel together or Manseba wish to reduce travel time and increase profits by loading their motorcycles with passengers whose destinations lie along the same roads or routes. CMK leaders warn members against overloading their motorcycles to avoid arbitrary penalties, interference and targeting from law enforcement agents such as PCR. Furthermore they wish to ensure that overloading practices do not become a basis for inciting increased governmental scrutiny over Manseba affairs.

_Avoiding the use of excessive speed, racing and erratic maneuvering in traffic._ The CMK leadership fears that its members may be associated with injuries and fatalities resulting from the inappropriate use and operation of motorcycles. It has developed rules to penalize members that are cited by PCR officers and CMK leadership for speeding and racing with other motorists. They also instruct members to operate their motorcycles according to the rightful direction of traffic, and not to move in between vehicles in heavy traffic. The CMK leadership maintains that these practices are assumed to result from irresponsible judgment and impairment due to drugs or alcohol and therefore promote negative associations for all Manseba.
Figure 14. (right to left) A Dubai and CMK members idle in wait for passengers while PCR and ANR officers regulate pedestrian and vehicular flows into and out of the station.
Prohibiting unlawful passenger loading and offloading. It is common and practical for public transport workers that operate cars and motorcycles to allow passengers to board and alight their vehicles alongside roads that conduct vehicular traffic. This practice is unlawful according to the and subject to formal penalty from the PCR. The CMK leadership directs its members to abstain from this practice due to the risk of accidents or injury to passengers and motorcycles that may be struck by other moving vehicles. The CMK has entered guidelines for passenger loading and offloading in the CMK rules and orders the confiscation of motorcycles when these rules are not followed. These measures are taken to reassure law enforcement agents that the CMK leadership requires compliance with traffic law. The CMK security coordinator, Papa Willy stated that, “… any member caught making the customer climb off and on the bike in the road is playing with the relationship we [the CMK] built with PCR [law enforcement agents] will make them trouble our protocols because they will see us doing bad.”

En colonne ou bien zanga. En Colonne ou Bien Zanga [colloquialism for the words ‘in line or else trot’] processions are a reproduction of the traditional practice of funerary ceremonies in the DRC. They are subversive and cathartic shows of presence whereby Manseba clubs throughout Lubumbashi assemble on city roads en route to and from predetermined ceremonial sites. Unlike other behavioral shows En Colonne ou Bien Zanga funerary processions serve to transmit and celebrate Manseba culture rather than specific CMK culture. This performance serves a multitude of purposes, which aside from honoring the memory of deceased Manseba colleagues, is a significant intentional
display of Manseba fellowship, organizational viability, defense and Manseba cultural identity. During these events the words, “En Colonne ou Bien Zanga,” (CMK Security Coord. 2, 2013b, p. 11) are shouted by individuals that conduct the front and rear of the group involved in the procession to ensure that it proceeds in an orderly and uninterrupted manner among traffic. Although they may be disruptive to traffic flows the processions comprise an aspect of funerary logistics and are legally permissible without formal consent. Publics, law enforcement agents and other Manseba workers are the audiences for the En Colonne funerary spectacles.

These events are intentionally boisterous to draw attention to the deceased and the Manseba presence. Some participants jog alongside those that operate motorcycles. In some instances participants that operate motorcycles sound their horns, rev their engines and idle their motorcycles while revving them to ‘burnout’ their tires resulting in noise and smoke clouds from the burning tire rubber and dust dispersion. The motorcycle operators and their passengers may also perform tricks during the spectacle such as standing on the motorcycles as they are traveling in the procession. Some participants operate the motorcycles while facing backward on the motorcycle or with their feet and legs perched atop the steering handles. The motorcycles may be overloaded with passengers, and some passengers may stand on the motorcycles or straddle the shoulders of other passengers while the motorcycle is in operation.

**Immobility Performances**

Immobility performances occur whether or not CMK members make physical contact with a motorcycle. They transpire while members’ motorcycles are unengaged or
idle. Such performances are enacted when CMK members are seated upon their motorcycles as they wait for new clients, and operating handheld mobile phone devices in the presence of stationery motorcycles. These performances also pertain to members’ spatial proximity and arrangement among their motorcycles while they are not operating them during periods of work; and when CMK members’ unattended motorcycles are congregated in publicly viewable spaces.

Waiting for clients while seated on motorcycles. CMK Leadership imposes stringent guidelines for its members’ bodily positioning and behavior while they are seated on their motorcycles in wait for clients. If CMK members are seated on their motorcycles while waiting for clients they are required to communicate with each other and clients in low tones without shouting. They must also solicit clients using locally address acceptable terms and titles.

During an unstructured interview (CMK Security Coord. 1, 2013b, p. 5), the CMK Security Coordinator, Papa Willy mentioned, “…you speak to the client easy the way you speak for people every day, just normal, with respect, just soft, not speaking to them hard, saying, ‘you climb on my bike, you come here’… you can’t do this.” When addressing potential clients, Papa Willy suggested that use of greetings and referents such as, “mama”, “dada” [sister in Kiswahili], “auntie”, “Madame”, “oncle” [uncle in French], “papa”, “mukubwa” [big man in Lubumbashi Kiswahili], “di” [local vernacular for ‘friend’] are suitable and customary. He also mentioned that he encourages the membership to employ such terms through reminders and through correction when he may, “hear them they are going off with the mouth in the bad way.”
CMK members are prohibited from shouting at clients in effort to deter them from using the services of other competing CMK members or other Manseba organizations in general. For example, in a semi-structured interview the CMK Secretary stated that,

It can be difficult to be quiet, you are hungry, you need the money but we have to remember to keep our mouths and our minds out of trouble, not say the things, ‘you come to my bike that Manseba will crash you, that Manseba got the broken bike, you will get late, you will make accident’, we can’t talk like this you can make problem and you fight (CMK Secretary, 2013a, p. 8).

Members are also urged to wait with their helmets on their heads and their hands on their motorcycle handles in preparation to disperse once clients board their motorcycles. The CMK Vice President believes that, “…no person can say we are thieves and we are bothering people that pass if we look like we ready for work, we put our helmet and keep the position for riding, this is good for business…we look like we have the purpose for working” (CMK VP-A, 2013, p. 12)

During a semi-structured interview (CMK4M SS, 2013, p. 7), Another member of four months explained,

…we have to stay quiet on the bike, if we see some clients we can say hello, we can ask people if they want transport but we can’t drive to them, we can’t makelekele, they tell us this, Tshingu and Willy but it is true, you can see if you are making the people crazy they pass you, they pass in front and go to these others, they go to other bikers, you can hurt your money, that is a waste of time
and money, it is good to just wait quiet and calm, if the work is finished you can be less tired than the ones making makelekele also…

The CMK presence, mobile phones and stationery motorcycles. The CMK rules prohibit members from talking on their mobile phones in public while they are in possession of their motorcycles for work. This also applies to instances when the motorcycle engines are not running and the motorcycles are stationery. If CMK members use their mobile phones while they are in possession of their motorcycles during work they are required to park them in a traffic-free location and distance themselves from the motorcycles until they have finished using their phone. These procedures are the CMK leadership’s response to negative accusations that originate from local government sources and local news reports, which condemn criminal activity and reckless behavior perpetrated by the Manseba organizations that operate in the Katanga province. The accusations hold Lubumbashi Manseba responsible for spates of local terrorism; hit and run pedestrian deaths, a surge in reported commuter injuries and growing motorcycle worker deaths due to accidents caused by Manseba.

The CMK leadership penalizes members that are witnessed using their cell phones in the presence of their stationery motorcycles. They have coordinate with local police to fine members or temporarily confiscate their motorcycles if they fail to comply with this procedure. The CMK leadership enforces these sanctions to deter and disassociate themselves with the undesirable behaviors, which broadly characterize Manseba motorcycle taxi operators in media accounts and governmental claims. This is the CMK leadership’s efforts by to counter representations that have caused military
police or and local law enforcement to accuse Manseba, and specifically CMK members of using mobile phones to coordinate or commit acts of terrorism. They also seek to shield the organization from blame that its membership simultaneously operates their motorcycles while talking on mobile telephones. The CMK President summarized these issues as they relate to the organization’s use of mobile phones and motorcycle operation in a semi-structured interview (CMK President SS, 2013, p. 5). He explains,

We make the rules to keep time for mobile phones when you get away from the bike…we cannot give police and soldier the chance to say we are like Mayi Mayi and these rebels damaging the city, to say we bump people because we talking on the mobile… we don’t know how to drive our bike…we don't want to mix in that problem for people shooting and bombing the country on the bike…that is not for us, we only do our work…but now we get that problem, they see us like bandits…we can’t give the bosses one chance to say we are hitting people in the road because mobile is in our hands… we don't want them to say we look like terrorist because we use the phone, because we talking and riding near to town from Route Karavia, from Kipushi, from these places near Zambia…It is our problem to control this thing now and the rules show every member the price, if you do this mistake, you lose…

In keeping with the procedural requirements for mobile phone usage, some members create routines that help them adhere to the rules to model behavior for other CMK members and to avoid penalties. For example, Security coordinator, Papa Tshingu relayed his routine for using his mobile phone during periods of work to ensure that he
does not inadvertently use it and invite unwanted suspicion or criticism. In a group interview (CMK Group Interview 7 members, 2013, p. 19), he stated,

Before I work I call my wife then, I call Willy and Leki to know if there is something special for the program for the club… I get to the station and I look at my phone to see if I get a call. If someone call me the time I ride the bike I go in one of our station or I can get in the side of the road… I tell the others this is how they must do if they want to stay away from problems here… If the soldier catch you it is problem for your money, for the club they will trouble us. They can also lie about this so you have to be alert and make your plan for using the phone off of the bike.

The CMK leaders believe that modeling behavior and making examples of members that neglect the rules is an effective way to promote compliance. The CMK Vice President offers a story that captures his way of reinforcing the procedures within the organization. During a semi-structured interview (CMK VP-B, 2013, p. 4) he states,

…we cannot let the members forget the rules and they must learn the cost for doing bad… The time I see one Manseba is talking with the mobile I find the police to help me then we get his bike, we get his license and we can give the fine if that Manseba is making trouble and shouting with me. I tell that Manseba, ‘your bike is with police for 3 days, you bring the money then you get it after 3 days’… I will tell that Manseba to get to the police before lunch, then many members are there. When that Manseba is around to get the bike I tell all Manseba to come with me and this Manseba when we go to get the bike… they
see the Manseba is paying the fine and the we get that bike because that one made a big error a mistake that can give all of us damage… I tell them, ‘this Manseba did not work for 3 days and he have to lose money because he was talking on the mobile with the bike’… this plan works for us because people don't like to lose money and they even laugh about the one that get that trouble… It is hard for me but the mobile can give us a problem that we will not have a change to make better.

A CMK Member of 6 months confirmed the details of the Vice Presidents account. He explained that during his third week of membership in the CMK he was had his motorcycle seized by the CMK Security Coordinator Papa Tshingu. He was aware of the rules that prohibited his use of his cell phone at the Wantanshi station. In a semi-structured (CMK6M SS, 2013, p. 2) interview the participant recalls that,

…the bike it was standing, it was not going but I sat on the back and … my back was to the road, this was to Wantanshi station, then after minutes passed I was talking and Tshingu put his bike in front of my bike. I did understand what is happening… he tell me ‘Manseba you violate the rule, this is not time for talking, you wait’… he just take one metal from his bike then put on my wheel then I understand this one is security CMK… then he call Leki…he arrive with Christoff, then Leki just say we catch you, give the key or police they will come…I give the key, then Christoff take my bike and I go to police on the bike for Tshingu… Police get my bike, my license and then the captain tell me to write my name and I can take my back on Thursday after I pay…These days you can’t
see me on the phone if I am with the bike I get inside the market or another place but not outside to be with that problem again (CMK6M SS, 2013, p. 2).

In a group interview participants explained that the mobile phone restrictions and the stated procedures for using them aid them in discerning their members from other Manseba or Manseba imposters. Mr. Romin, a CMK member of 3 years said (CMK Group Interview 7 members, 2013, p. 24) that he encountered,

…a man who look like our brothers but I can see he does not know our rule, we have a rule for the mobile… I tell him he will be caught with his phone then he say what is the problem to use the phone… I think that he is different, he does not sound okay, something is not okay… then I ask him, ‘did the Counselor call you today about the meeting’, he tell me ‘yes’, then I ask him ‘what is your station’, he just tell me ‘Wantanshi’…I tell him ‘no di’ and he climbed his bike fast and went fast in the direction to Kipushi… I find police and tell them about this guy, the police catch him again in Wantanshi they bring him to Kisima station, we beat that guy he was a thief but he act like he is Manseba, they arrest him because they find the guy taking the vegetables and the money from people in one small market there near by Kipushi.

Motorcycle arrangements in public spaces. One way that the CMK leadership attempts to manage the organization’s reputation and representations in the purview of the public, governmental officials, and law enforcement is through the intentioned arrangement and display of their unattended motorcycles in public spaces. The CMK Secretary explained (CMK Secretary, 2013b, p. 9) that the rules for the club tell us that,
“…as bikers you must take care of your bikes by maintaining them, controlling them outside and riding them only if you are sober, you are not drunk ...”. Members are regularly reminded to park their bikes in straight lines alongside the walls of buildings. They are not permitted to obstruct entrances to driveways, markets, transport stations or thoroughfares used by pedestrians and motorists. Furthermore, members are instructed to arrange their motorcycles in compact clusters rather than randomly scattered arrangements in stations, designated vehicle lots and clearings used by businesses for vehicle parking. The CMK Vice President instructs members to assemble their motorcycles according to what he calls, “formation,” “lines,” and “colonies” (CMK President & CMK VP, 2013, p. 15). The CMK leadership initiated these practices to demonstrate that they are organized, and to ensure that the organization is not regarded as disruptive or a public nuisance. The statements made by the CMK participants denote their awareness the how their motorcycles function as representative extensions of their identities, as they work to impose order over the way they and their motorcycles appear to others.
Figure 15. (left to right) CMK members in Kisima station waiting for fares according to the club’s rules for public presentation and an example of the CMK members’ motorcycles arranged outside of Maman Melanie’s in compliance with the CMK rules for the performance of immobility.

The CMK Security Coordinator Papa Willy explained his understanding of how members of the public and law enforcement may perceive Manseba based on the spatial arrangement and placement of motorcycles fleets in public spaces. In a paired interview (CMK Security Coordinators 1 & 2, 2013, p. 3) he claimed,

Every time I get in the station I put my bike to the side, if there are many of us in a place I make sure all the members know they have to do the line, if they are not able to make the line then they make colony… If I am inside of a place I go out to check if the bikes are looking good…I will call them, ‘Manseba, go out, make your bike in the line’ if the bikes are not okay…In my place I live the Manseba keep the bikes very bad they are mixed, some are fine but most keep their bikes in the bad place… people don’t like that, I don’t like that and the PCR are on top of their heads every times… we work for people, we work with the police we have

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to make them see us different, not like those Manseba making problems with the bikes. Making the bikes okay is very easy so we have to do that every time… not keeping them like we drop them and we don’t care, when people look to out bike they see us, if it is looking bad them we are look very bad.

The Security Coordinator, Tshingu explained that the nightly television news program, *Mambo Toka* devotes time to complaints about how, “Manseba leave their motorcycles in the road and in the front of the businesses and stop cars from going up and down, so people are getting angry about this it make is making traffic in the road bad.” (CMK Security Coordinators 1 & 2, 2013). Thus, aside from their observations and interactions with the members of the public and law enforcement, media representations also work to inform the CMK’s practices involving the handling and spatial arrangement of their motorcycles.

This is illustrated through an unstructured interview (PCR Kisima, 2013, p. 2) with a PCR officer that shares his views regarding the positive aspects of the CMK compared to other Manseba clubs. He explains that he also looks at the news and thinks about the CMK whenever he is exposed to information that portrays Manseba in either positive or negative light. When I asked him, “Are the Kisima station Manseba like other Manseba in Lubum?”, he replied,

…every person is different but if the group is bad because you see they do things to break our laws, you see every person in the group is just the same, all bad… If I check Mwangaza I see the Manseba do smart things they make a plan to fight against these bandits, I think about these ones I am with here in the station, they
are good people, but these others you see they report about they are all over Katanga making problems, in the road making accident, we will catch them, we don’t want them… they are not like the ones in Kisima they are Manseba but they having discipline better than other Manseba… the bikes are not a problem in the station, other Manseba they get the bike bumped because they put them in the bad places, there is no sense to how they organize in the station and inside the station the traffic makes problems… They make it better for people to pass to the road the way they put the bike in the station here so it is easy for our job, then they don’t make people crazy.

These sentiments were echoed by an off duty Dubai operator during an unstructured interview (Dubai Operator Kisima, 2013, p. 6) he explained that,

…These Manseba are calm, we are working good with them, talk about the Manseba from Machipicha and you can’t make the Dubai go in and out of the station if you are not shouting to them, they put their bike in the place where we need to make the Dubai sleep in the station to take our clients… Here in Kisima you can work with them they know to make money because they keep the bike on that side and we are here we bring money for each other, and there is not a problem for parking the Dubai…

In a paired semi-structured interview (CMK President & CMK VP, 2013, p. 17) the CMK President reviewed the myriad reasons that the CMK sanctions the placement of the members’ motorcycles including, the prevention of theft and damage, avoiding
public nuisance accusations, as well as working with business owners and other public transport workers in a way that is mutually beneficial. He infers that,

… keeping the bike in a colony is better because the bike wont get beat by the others passing in the car and bike and it can be harder to steal if they are near each other… but it is good to do because people will look at the bike and say, ‘they are serious, these Manseba are together’…they are not choking our roads, they are not making us walk around and keeping us out on the road with their bike… if we keep the bikes together we can be okay with those Dubai they need us but they don’t need us in their path for going and coming in the station, also these shops they need us but only if we keeping a place open for their customer to get in to buy things…

Furthermore, researcher fieldnotes (Fieldnotes W4-2-Kisima, 2013, p. 3) describe the scenes that I observed at the Kisima station on my weekly trips as it pertains to the assembly of the CMK’s motorcycles. On my fourth week I indicated that,

… the motorcycles look like they were strategically placed and orderly like the other times I show up but this time they are alongside the wall, even if I visit the station without telling them or Papa Leki, the motorcycles look organized or just not randomly placed [and not like up the road in Machipicha and that madness in Katuba where it looks like a ball of motorcycles so there could be something else to it since it looks deliberate] like a dealership lot almost on some days, but today they just looked like two tight identical rows along the wall, different style but
still contained [in the middle of what looks like disarray in the rest of the station to me...]

_The Comité de Mortard Kisima’s Leadership Repertoires_

Leadership repertoires ultimately contribute to identity management for the CMK. They comprise a modality through which interpretive schemes [the CMK’s and Others’] are tapped to consult, create and inform interactive signification processes. Such processes are bound up in the assumed body of perceptions, attitudes, beliefs and practices that are co-constructed by the CMK, Other Manseba groups, the public, and authoritative figures. The processes work with the CMK’s fiduciary role and communication strategy to exact the structuring of legitimacy for the organization. The CMK leadership, including the President, Vice President, Secretary, Treasurer and Security Coordinators engage this signification process to warrant the organization’s members to partake in and observe practices that substantiate the CMK’s capacity for leadership. First, they direct in-group activities that are deemed meaningful to the cultivation of desired behaviors amongst group members. Such behaviors are ordered to convey group discipline and cohesion to CMK members, and to act toward the judgments of watchful publics. Secondly, the CMK manufactures a gatekeeping and information-sharing role that enables them to maintain relations with peer and powerful outgroups. Together, these methods characterize the functionality of the CMK’s leadership repertoires.

The CMK’s leadership repertoires involve members’ cognizant performance of skillsets and the use of information assets to facilitate interaction routines with leaders of
Manseba outgroups; law enforcement officers; publics; and the local media. The CMK executes leadership repertoires to manage their organizational identity. It is intended to promote learning for its members and to groom the perceptions of powerful and peer outgroups that the CMK engages with. For the CMK the importance of leadership repertoires rests in their observability by outgroups and the assumed relational benefits that the CMK’s gains through their performance. Ideally it is in this regard that the CMK performs leadership repertoires to promote and protect their identity.

The CMK produces leadership repertoires through three distinct practices: a new member orientation process; the sharing of information with the leadership of Manseba outgroups and powerful entities, in addition to the assignment of tasks to members. Each of these constitute communicative routines that the CMK wages to manage how outgroups perceive and interact with them. They are performed to supplement and counter mass mediated information created to depict and inform the greater Manseba community.

Orientation of New Members

Orientation of new members occurs through an induction process that engages them with seasoned CMK members, the leadership of Manseba outgroups, law enforcement officers, and local business owners. Through this experience CMK initiates are presented with and placed in situational contexts that reflect routine experiences faced by the CMK. This process is orchestrated to model and prompt expected behavior; to demonstrate possible means and ways for resolving and delimiting work related conflict. It also functions as a drill and test period whereby the CMK rules and operational
procedures are enforced and inculcated through peer learning, peer-evaluation and reprimand. The orientation process works to involve all members via reflective, corrective and cooperative activities. These activities are structured to engage newcomers in the multiple roles, processes and conditions that order the CMK. New members are positioned to partake in bonding, bridging and boundary spanning activities in order to gain exposure to the nature and utility of the CMK’s internal and at-large relational networks. The objective of the orientation process is to groom members that are trustworthy, independent, diplomatic, collegial, analytical and ultimately invested in the organizations, well being and representation toward the structuring of legitimacy.

A CMK member of two weeks recounts his orientation experiences, which he confirmed were ongoing at the time of the unstructured interview he explained,

Tshingu tell me today you will come with me and Leki for your lunch, we have to do some business… they bring me to Katuba and I meet the President for the club and I meet one Papa for security…they made me meet one member he is only working 4 days, they tell us you people are colleagues now… The President in the club tell me good luck and to keep my eyes open…I greet all of the leaders there that day and some members that work for a long time…they tell me to remember the name for the president and the security for that club because one day I will say the names if I get a problem. (CMK2W, 2013, pp. 8–9)

In a paired unstructured interview (CMK President & CMK VP, 2013, p. 16) the CMK Vice President elaborated on his routine for acquainting new members in his organization with local shop owners and the leadership of Manseba organizations that
operate in locations close to Kisima. He relays the importance of acquainting new members with business owners to demonstrate the need to maintain mutually beneficial relations with them. Furthermore he points out the value of building social capital and vetting the character of incoming members by introducing them to the leadership and general members within Other Manseba organizations. He provides the following rationale:

I like to bring our new Manseba around the routes and to meet the mamas and papas in the shops they can help each other with something, giving food for the ride, giving a place if they need to sit… I take them to the clubs that are near by us -Mkenya, Katuba, Machipicha- I make them see the leaders for those clubs they meet each other, they meet some security and some other members… they know each other sometimes, also sometimes they are coming from the clubs that I bring them to… this way Manseba can tell me if they know that person, they can say ‘yes this is a good person, no this man is trouble’… we make them meet it is better for them to get around this place if they get in problem in their place, the leaders they can know them, then they can know if that one is lying also.

A member of four months detailed his first week with the CMK, where he was introduced to law enforcement officers in the Kisima station. He explains the occupational benefits of maintaining a relationship with police officials. In an unstructured interview (CMK4M, 2013, p. 5) he recalled,

Willy and Leki get me the time I start with the club they take me in the police station and they show me the police they are for the road and Congo police for the
nation, then I meet two police for intelligence, they ask me many questions I
thought I was in problems but they want to know me, where I come from, why I
want to do this work, the police for intelligence he knows my uncle and my
father, they were in the school in Mkenya… I bring them some drink and
sometimes popcorn from the sellers because they can’t leave the station every
time… They give us the warning if they know military police are bothering riders
so I like those police they are good for use, they watch our station and we can get
help when we have a problem in the road.

A traffic police officer that is assigned to the lot, which is shared by the CMK’s
station expresses his satisfaction with the CMK leaders’ routine for introducing and
prompting relationships between CMK members and the Kisima station police. He also
declares his support for the CMK. In an unstructured interview (PCR Kisima, 2013, pp.
3–4) he offers his opinions about the CMK’s operational methods.

These Kisima have a good mind, they think good… some Manseba like only to
make makelekele and to make profit if they help these rebels bombing and
shooting, they steal from the passengers too, but these Manseba try to do right, to
make money the right way… They are intelligent the boys that are leading know
you will not do anything in this country if you do not know people… they bring all
of the workers to us to see if they are good, if they can be a criminal we will find
out… they make us know them and this is the right way to work, we can see who
is doing right and doing wrong, we help them many times in problems with other
police because we know they are good… because they know us and they make
their workers know us we work together, they also catch their workers when they are going too fast and if they do not have registration, they bring them to us…I see these Manseba don’t want trouble, they want work…The time they bring us the new worker we tell them the laws we tell them the things that will make police catch them and we tell them to get us if they have problems.

A stall owner in the small market that shares the rear side of the Kisima station plot talked about the ways that the CMK President and Security Coordinators ask for her help with surveilling new members during their initial periods of membership in the club, as well as how knowing the CMK members helps her business. In an unstructured interview (Kisima Stall Owner, 2012, p. 2) she mentioned,

I have more than one year in this station and I know many of the Manseba working here they are not any problem for me they help me, no one can bring trouble to me here, they keep my business strong and help with watching for problems with thieves…. Papa Leki and Tshingu and Willy tell me they will make me meet all of the new workers in the club and I must watch them to see if they are really working or if they are coming to make problems…they are worried about the problem for Mayi Mayi, they want to know if these people are bringing those Mayi Mayi or if they are doing strange things that bring problems to the club…Willy said that I am the eyes for the club in the market…I am okay to help them they are good they give me business, they are kind to me, so we are together…
A CMK member of 3 years explains how he assists new members become familiar with rule compliance and traffic laws by teasing and drilling them during the course of their orientation with the organization. He explains that his intentions are to test their knowledge and temperament and to provide guidance. In a semi-structured interview (CMK3Y SS, 2013, p. 7) he reveals that,

I give problems to the new members they have to see the bad side before they can enjoy their pockets here, Leki and the Security know if they bring the new members to me I will make them do right…I am like the owl watching them then if they make one mistake I become like the soldier, I tell them to say the rules and to tell me what we should do to them if they don’t follow rules…I tell one guy, ‘where is your shoes, why do you ride with funny shoes, where is your ear phones how can you leave the ears open?’ I am pushing them to see if they become angry fast…I make them take me on the bike, we around and I tell them about the stations so they know what is going on… They have to get help from us we are senior with more experience we can help them to stay out of problems and mistakes…

*Information Sharing and Gatekeeping*

The CMK Security Coordinator, Vice President and President regularly consult with the leadership of outgroup Manseba to disseminate and share new information that impacts work-life. This is done for the purposes of ensuring that positive intergroup relations are maintained between the CMK and other Manseba organizations. It is also intended by the CMK’s leadership to position the organization in a boundary spanning
role whereby they function as information brokers between outgroup Manseba organizations and macro-level socio-structural entities such as the media, governmental officials, and law enforcement. The CMK core leadership uses their privileged position through the Delegation pour Comité Urbain to provide insight to Other Manseba regarding processes, key actors and the regulatory environment that impacts the Manseba community. They are cognizant of the leverage that informational assets gives them over other Manseba groups, as well as how they may be perceived as leaders both to Manseba organizations and the macro-level entities that interact with for informational gain.

In a semi-structured interview (CMK VP-B, 2013, pp. 11–12) the CMK Vice President infers that the CMK’s practices of furnishing outgroup Manseba with information and engaging governmental entities regarding Manseba issues causes some of their Manseba peers to perceive the CMK leadership as liaisons and spokespersons. He explains,

If I get new information about our problems in the road for military police, PCR or if I find information about the complaints that the government, Lubumbashi government is making about Manseba I tell the President and the Vice President in those clubs because this way they know I am telling them something that can help, it can push them, they can see we are getting information that can make us stronger because we can all prepare to go in front of the government and the media about it….also if we can prepare like this the organization for all of us is better, they have to give us respect, government and those Manseba they give us respect…because people will be afraid to go in front of government with that
voice, we do it…us here, me, Wazo [the CMK President], Blaise, Willy, Tshingu, we do it because we look like the speakers for these clubs and that is good because that is what we do, we are talking for other clubs too… They know if we sit to the meeting for the Comité Urbain, we speak our problems, but our problems are Manseba problems, so we speak with one mouth, only one tongue…with any information if you share it you have to be responsible for it...I get only good information, I check my information, so I take it and share it with the other clubs.

During a paired unstructured interview (CMK Security Coordinators 1 & 2, 2013, p. 8), the CMK Security Coordinator, Papa Willy supported these claims where he explains that outgroup Manseba expect to receive news from Security Coordinators and other CMK leaders as they believe that they have access to exclusive and recent information about Manseba affairs,

…there are times the security from Machipicha we are talking, we are taking a drink, they ask me about the meeting they say, ‘Did you sit with Kalenga or anybody from the city, what about city registrations? … if I say there was no meeting they will not believe me…they think I am hiding things….they just come to us for information because we make already that job, we are going to them every time we hear the new things that we know will happen or the new things that will change and we tell them about it now it becomes like our job, they see us like the messenger.
The CMK President attested to the purposive use of information that the CMK leadership obtains to shape relations with Manseba outgroups. He admits that with new information he has an advantage over other Manseba organizations and that this dynamic helps to maintain the CMK’s reputation in the eyes of his Manseba peers. During a paired unstructured interview (CMK President & CMK VP, 2013, p. 21) he suggested that,

…we have a job that no one has given to us and we are not paid for that job, but the way we get news it is like money for us… we also make meetings more than other clubs … we get time to talk with the bosses in the middle, not the big bosses and when they give us news or if they make a decision about a problem we can hold that news for ourselves, we can tell a person in the media about this and we can go back to our place and give that news to other Manseba… we decide to give that news to other Manseba and they give us respect, we know more than they know, we are in meeting more so they follow us for news... we go together, Leki, Tshingu and we tell the chiefs in Katuba, Machipicha, Mkenya, we tell them any news… we want to keep things like this we are ahead they know we are serious about our business and they give this club too much respect because we don’t wait for news we go get it, we make the bosses tell us something… they like us for that they see us like we have some way to talk with bosses, so they wait for us to give news… this way is good.

CMK Security Coordinator Tshingu proclaimed that the CMK has assumed a responsibility that has enlarged the group’s social capital as they provide outgroup
Manseba with the details of meetings and decisions. In a semi-structured interview (CMK Security Coord. 2, 2013a, p. 5) he insisted that,

We made our plan to give news to the other Manseba and we know if we give these people they want to know how we get it, when we can tell them again… these Manseba and government people they know we are doing good things we are keeping the peace, we are giving the Manseba what they want, they want to know everything that is going on in these offices about Manseba, what the government decide and what is happening in these small meetings, the information they cannot get from the radio, from television… they know we can tell them what they want to know, also the government knows this so they see us like we are helping their work…Now the bosses in these offices don’t play with us they give us a chance if we want to speak with them and the Manseba here they give us respect in the road…

During a semi-structured interview (CMK Secretary, 2013a, pp. 16–17) with the CMK Secretary, he recounted his last trip to the Katuba station whereby he gave the station leadership notice of an upcoming meeting with representatives of Lubumbashi’s law enforcement community concerning newly enforced rules for motorcycle taxi workers throughout the city. He recalled,

…I made a quick meeting with the Secretary and President from Katuba station, I called them then I went to sit with them and tell them about in one month we have the meeting with these PCR about new rules for going in some locations and getting clients in some locations… I know they were waiting to hear about this
meeting because there are Manseba they are arguing with PCR about this… they thanked me for the news and told me to bring more if I can get it before the next meeting…

Ad-hoc Role and Task Assignment

The CMK assigns ad-hoc roles to members toward the completion of simple tasks to make them responsible for aspects of managing and protecting the organization. These roles involve role and task shifting where leadership requires members to rotate specific duties with aim to instill organizational awareness, as well as comprehension of the foundations and intricacies inherent in managing the organization. They also entail the enforcement of rules and administering punitive measures for the violation of them. Leadership intends that members learn technical and administrative skills to contribute to the organization’s needs.

In an unstructured interview (CMK2W, 2013, p. 2), a two-week member of the CMK details the duties that Papa Leki assigned to him through his recollection of his first week of membership with the organization. He expresses concern regarding the serious nature and outcome of the duties that he was tasked with. He also believes that his assignment was meant to show him the consequence of infringing upon the club’s rules. He explained that,

Leki ask me to look at the number plate for all the bikes in the station at lunch time, he tell me to write the number for the plate that is old more than 1 month…I find only two old number plates, then he tell me to take that paper to Willy or Tshingu. I bring to Willy and he tell me to bring that document to PCR in the
station… after lunch Willy show me a paper for last month all of the bikers that
don’t have the proper number plate, he tell me to look on my paper and the paper
from last month to see if I find the same number plate… I find one number plate
is the same that person did not pay registration for number plate and his bike is
having the old registration …Willy say that is violation to the rules and he tell me,
‘now you see we have to take this bike to the police and this brother will not get
anything for his pocket until he is getting the new number plate’… I was worried
I can make a problem there for that Manseba, if I take his bike he can try to fight
me… I see in my first days these Manseba can’t let you break the rules they are
serious…I feel shy about that job he give me but he tell me all the brothers have
to take some job…

A CMK member of four months spoke of his support for task assignments as he
explained that the tasks give him a sense of belonging and ownership over the clubs
affairs and progress. He approves of the methods used by the leadership due to the way
that they encourage interaction with other members and involve participation regardless
of their time within the organization. In a semi-structured (CMK4M SS, 2013, p. 7)
interview he claimed,

the way we are doing things is good for learning about the other members and the
way things are working in the club…I was very surprised in my first three weeks
they tell me to do things that are important so I think they are making me learn
good things and they are different from another club I was the member in…

Tshingu tell me to work with him and Christoff the time they are getting the
quittance, he tell me to hold the quittance after we collect from the brothers we sit
down and he tell me to count all the money, then Christoff count, then he count.
They write it in one book, then Tshingu sign, then Christoff then they ask me to
sign. Then they tell me to go tell all the people in the station how much quittance
they collect for today. This was different for me, then after some brother they ask
me who I am and we talked, so I like the way they did things for me when I was
starting, but this is the way all new members are doing also, then you learn about
the club, you have to know your brothers, they make you know them, because you
take care about the club….it is your club…it is my club so I will stand for it…

The CMK Vice President articulated his reasoning in support of the leadership’s
decision to allow the club’s newest members to assume important responsibilities through
task assignments. He maintains that through role and task assignments members are
empowered to take part in the direction of the organization, while being groomed to
develop and defend its integrity. He explains that the methods they use encourages
favorable perceptions and good relations between the CMK and the traffic police. In a
semi-structured interview he argues that,

…we are making good workers that will fight for the club…this makes new
people see how we do things and understand that with our money we are together,
we are not stealing, we also give them jobs to brothers and also the new brothers
that show if you do not take care about paying fees you will get problems because
it is the rules...in our club we people can see we are organized, the PCR and these
police here [pointing at the police station in the lot that the club shares with them]
can see like we are serious, when they see we are making our members
responsible, when they know if somebody is breaking the laws and not doing the
rules in this club we will catch their bike and bring it to them until the member
does the right thing, they don’t bother us, if we get in problem they speak for us,
they look at us like a business not a small boy club…other brothers see that every
person in the club knows what is going on and how things work, also the new
members, if you do not do right all of the brothers know and they know how to
report you to make you do right...these things we do make all the members think
about the club and they fell like they have some control in this club. (CMK VP-A,
2013, p. 14)

The CMK Security Coordinator shared his observations regarding the
effectiveness of task assignment in the organization. He explains that members’ sense of
accountability as well as their understanding and acceptance of rule violation has
improved due to their engagement with tasks. He also suggests that members monitor
and curtail their behavior to consider the impact of their actions on the reputation of
organization. In an unstructured interview (CMK Security Coord. 1, 2013b, p. 3) he
expressed that,

Fighting and arguing about things in the club went down, the time we decided to
make all members do some jobs like this we see people change because now they
understand to make this club strong is not easy and to make this club strong
means you have to act like you are clever... if members do not like something that
happen, if they are mad because they don’t have quittance to give or if we get
their bike, they do not go angry fighting in the station because they know they are wrong, all the members will tell them they are wrong they have to make things right…that means they are seeing to fight in the station and shout if they are mad is bad for all members because police will be in the problem and we are getting shame for being like small…with these jobs they get more understanding about this work and they do things better than before.

In keeping with the statements made by the CMK Security Coordinator, the CMK Treasurer conveyed his approval for task assignments, especially as it relates to matters of the treasury. He offered that the tasks build trust among members as they become familiar with how the treasury works and understand the dimensions of its purpose for the club. He also insisted that as members work with the treasury they understand that they are equally subject to the consequences of failing to remit fees. He views their involvement with the treasury as a means for imparting, behavioral expectations, discipline and organizational awareness. In a semi-structured (CMK Acting Treasurer, 2013a, pp. 1–2) interview he stated,

The jobs members get to work with me and I show them things for my job is helping the club, it helps to make members trust us with the money, they see how the money is there, how we keep it and how it must go to many things for the club they can trust that we are being the same for everyone, no one is special, if your quittance is not paid, you understand you will lose the bike until you pay… most of these people here for a long time can become more angry than new members, they believe they are senior so they get special treatment, when the new member
is doing these jobs it reminds old members that they have to follow the rules and
the laws for the also... these jobs are good for the treasury and they keep the mind
right for work you will think before you break the rules because everyone will see
it... if these things are doing well inside the club, members are helping with the
jobs it is better for us to make our place in front of the government, in front of the
police we look like masters, like bosses so they have to sit with us because we
show them we are very organized inside the club, these small jobs are for that to
support that big job that the leaders have...

A two-year member of the CMK professed that the organization has changed as
role and task assignments generate a greater sense of camaraderie and collaboration
among the members, as well as a general sense of concern for the organization. He is also
aware that the enactment of assistance through task and role shifting is observable by
outgroup Manseba organizations. In an unstructured interview (CMK2Y, 2013, p. 29),
he mentioned that,

things changed...because members put all of their mind to the club and they can
see the work is important when we work together not only one person care about
his clients and his bike and me, I only care about my things, because they ask us
to help with small work...like me last week they ask me to bring the brother his
bike broke in the road near Karavia route, they tell me to bring him and then I
must go to bring the mechanic so he can get help, then they tell me to do this
because that brother was new and he does not have any help also the security they
were handling business on the other side...we give the other Manseba inspiration
they can be jealous because they help each other but after bargaining for money and fighting… we show them to behave like this is how the big club, the proper club is going.
CHAPTER 6: ANALYSIS OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

This chapter describes how the research findings are analyzed according to categorical and thematic development via Grounded Theory. It examines how the analysis of the findings factor into the CMK’s structuration of strategies of leadership, cooperation and identity management. The research questions that direct this inquiry are engaged through the analysis to provide views to how structuration occurs in the CMK’s use of modalities [the CMK’s fiduciary role; communication strategy and leadership repertoires], and the interactions that manifest them as they reproduce structures [of domination, legitimation and signification] that negotiate their identity among the realm of mass mediated representations, public perceptions and polity that structures their work-lives.

The chapter proceeds with a review of the process of refinement employed through the location of trends and features in the data toward the development of representative and meaningful theoretical statements that progress Grounded Theory formation. Secondly, a presentation of the findings as constructed through the Grounded Theory approach is achieved by parsing the structural concepts of (1) leadership, (2) cooperation and (3) identity management. Next, the findings that informed the conceptual categorization of their structural properties will be outlined relative to the CMK’s structuring endeavors. This is relevant to the formation of Grounded Theory as structural properties encompass the meanings and rationales that social actors ascribe to, and derive from structure.
Finally, the analysis will situate the CMK’s structuring endeavors within the context of the cardinal components of Giddens’ Structuration Theory to illustrate how the CMK’s modalities, interactions, and structural properties lend to the construction of legitimizing structures. In keeping with the interpretive courses of both Grounded Theory and Structuration Theory the analysis resumes through the interrogation of participants’ accounts. This is realized through inspection of their relationships, perspectives, attributions, and interpretations. The process is also progressed by examining participants’ roles and visibility in the engagement, construction, and reinvention of structures for the purpose of structuring legitimacy.

Categorical, Conceptual and Thematic Development Toward Grounded Theory

The ATLAS.ti™ hermeneutical software application was employed to materialize the development of Grounded Theory based on the formulation of three salient structural phenomena within the data. These were established through the coding [See Appendices H, I and J] of what this inquiry refers to as themes, meso-categories and micro-categories. The coding and thematic development process was performed iteratively until the three significant structural attributes [leadership, cooperation and identity management] evolved to form a coherent Grounded Theory. The meso and micro categories abstract data depictions of how the CMK invoke strategic responses to their work-life experiences. These categorizations were utilized to realize the dimensions and features that inform three significant structural phenomena via the procedure that will be outlined.
Thematic Development

The initial phase of the analytical process produced three thematic structures including the CMK’s fiduciary role, communication strategy and leadership repertoires. These concepts were employed to name or assign labels to the structural modalities evidenced in the data. They were developed through the consultation, and close reading of data driven meso-categories. For instance, the theme ‘CMK’s fiduciary role,’ was established through the comparison, contrast, merger and reframing of the following statements, which formed through the evaluation of meso-categories: (1) Leading by the performance and enforcement of stated and understood responsibilities; (2) Member obligations and rights as mutual contract; (3) Guarantees to organizational benefits and outcomes of membership resources; and (4) Faculties and norms that ensure members’ formal capacity to work.

Elaboration and Refinement of Meso and Micro Categories

Meso-categories are extensive in nature and also comprise the contents of micro-categories. For example, regarding the theme: ‘the CMK’s fiduciary role’, meso categories such as, ‘functional needs and the production of administrative roles’, ‘club treasury as a sustainable source of investment’, ‘protective role of the treasury’, ‘obligatory behavioral codes and sanctions’ and ‘mutual duty to protect club honor’, ‘access to personal benefits through club resources’ to name a few, were informed by micro-categories. Essentially, meso-categories ramp-up and coalesce the elements of micro categories into broader statements about the data.
Micro-categories that were enlisted in the articulation of the meso-categories include, ‘timely payment of dues’, ‘helmet rule’ ‘saving for motorcycles’, ‘helping brothers with papers,’ ‘alleviating hardship’, ‘punishment’, ‘rule infraction’, ‘upholding rules’, ‘respecting the club,’ ‘member rights’, ‘club housekeeping for functionality, ‘member responsibilities’, ‘protective role of the leadership,’ ‘confiscation of motorcycles,’ ‘unspoken rule of quittance’, and ‘imposing fines’ to name a few. These categories were substantiated by quotes derived from participants’ statements, researcher fieldnotes, coding memos, jottings, as well as the content of research artifacts obtained from participants such as formal documents [See Appendices E, F, G, H, I, and J].

**Conceptualizing Leadership, Cooperation and Identity Management Structures**

The research findings relay the structural attributes of (1) leadership, (2) cooperation and (3) identity management through their exemplification within participant accounts and documented phenomena that constitute the data.

**Description of the Leadership Structure**

The CMK’s leadership structure enables the organization to acquire, maintain and shift power-over, power-with and power toward their work-life circumstances. Within the context of Structuration Theory the CMK’s leadership structure is a structure of domination. It interacts with other structures within and outside of the CMK toward this end. The CMK leadership structure is realized through the enactment of the organization’s fiduciary role, which is the modality for the leadership structure. The leadership structure is characterized by two structural properties including advocacy and opportunity. These structural properties simultaneously result from and contain rules and
resources that ordain the leadership structure. The rules and resources of the leadership structure are the CMK’s capital facilities. These are made real, visible and notable through the interactions of the CMK’s fiduciary role within structuring processes.

**Structural properties of the CMK leadership structure.** Structural properties of the leadership structure manifest as advocacy and opportunity. Each of these structural properties essentialize the leadership structure according to its perceived and intended purposes or roles toward the CMK’s structuration of legitimacy. Advocacy may generally, be defined as social actors’ use of communication methods to influence popular and powerful attitudes, perceptions, behaviors and political domains toward the acceptance, or transformation of a particular agenda (Givel & Spivak, 2011; D. Hubbard & Ramsbotham, 2007; Wallack, 1994). It progresses through collective action, the application of actors’ specialized knowledge and power derived through relational networks. In the wake of disempowering circumstances advocacy facilitates opportunities for representation, recourse and ultimately empowerment.

Opportunities, “… are comprised of specific configurations of resources, institutional arrangements and historical precedents for social mobilization…” (Kitschelt, 1986, p. 58) that may involve upward and . They may dictate or guide the routine choices and strategies that actors consult to partake in and transform their daily experiences. Opportunity can engender the activation of actors’ resources toward innovation and solutions for immediate or enduring change. Through their capacity as equalizing and destabilizing phenomena, opportunities prompt “interaction”, “tension”
(Oleksiyenko, 2013, p. 346) and “conflict” (Jarvenpaa & Välikangas, 2014, p. 67) within and across structures.

Summarily, both advocacy and opportunity emerge through and beget structures. According to Malloy (1999, p. 268), “advocacy structures” engage “… social movements…” with governmental institutions and other opinion makers. Opportunities are structured and structuring, thus “opportunity structures,” enable and inhibit agency due to their breadth or limitations (Kitschelt, 1986; Williams, 2010). Through comparison, filtering and redefinition of the data, three themes abound toward the conceptualization of advocacy. Similarly, three themes prevailed to conceive of opportunity. These data driven trends were evidenced with respect to accounts, affirmations, and acts representative of leadership. Furthermore, they essentialize the structural properties, which ordain the CMK’s rules and resources for leadership. Advocacy themes include (1) representing the membership to powerful outgroup entities (2) minimizing members’ uncertainty and (3) galvanizing members toward group objectives. Opportunity themes concern (1) connecting members to existing and untapped resources (2) creating the grounds for encounters with powerful entities (3) locating novel means for maintaining employment within a mercurial work environment.

Description of the Cooperation Structure

The CMK’s cooperation structure facilitates their ability to produce and regulate the flows and applications of information within and beyond the organization. It is achieved through the CMK’s ability to maintain power with its members, in addition to its power to negotiate power over information assets that aid the organization’s
legitimacy-seeking aims and warrant its ability to function. As a structure of legitimation, it interpenetrates intragroup and intergroup structures to manage and promote organizational legitimacy. This is achieved via the CMK communication strategy, the modality by which the cooperation structure manifests through structural interaction. The cooperation structure is composed of the two structural properties of representation and self-surveillance. Both are the culmination of the rule and resource elements that constitute the cooperation structure. These rules and resources also serve as the contents of the CMK communication strategy.

*Structural properties of the CMK cooperation structure.* Representation and self-surveillance form the structural properties of the CMK’s cooperation structure. Together, they are the constitutive phenomena for the CMK cooperation structure, and they contribute its functionality in the to organization’s legitimizing objectives. Representations are sensorial and figmented *image* constructions that embody ideas (Fürsich, 2010) and memory (Valencia, Momoitio, & Idoyaga, 2010). As it relates to the CMK, representation is premised upon the depictions, projections and memories that the organization interacts with as they manage the co-construction of their social identity. Representation is assumed by the CMK’s organizational presentations; the products of local [and national] socio-cultural knowledge, as well as messages that emanate from mass mediated content. The CMK’s organizational presentations work to inform its members, as well as outgroup entities. Congolese socio-cultural knowledge domains hold historical implications for the contemporary relations and perspectives that contour the CMK’s embodied experiences. Congolese mass media entities relay messages that
construe and compete with the identity that the CMK enacts through work-life. The CMK’s appearances are thus linked to the representations that array them, and dictate the organization’s efforts to monitor and surveil them.

Self-surveillance is a form of “internalized”, “observation” (Phillips, 2012, p. 1766) and regulation whereby actors ensure their conformance to the “rules and values” of social norms via the monitoring and manipulation of their cognitions, expressions, and appearances (Vaz & Bruno, 2003, p. 275). It is a mechanism that actors partake in to, “… prove to others that they are legitimate…” and cognizant of the force of their authority (Phillips, 2012, p. 1767). Foucault (1977) offers this phenomena as the positioning of the human body as the locus and reflection of “regulatory mechanisms and relations”(McMahon & Penney, 2012, p. 158). It informs the modes and manifestations of organization among individuals and collectives in their ordinary routines as they are, “permanently conscious” that they interact within visible and perceptible spaces (Phillips, 2012, p. 1766).

The CMK evokes self-surveillance as a means to instill compliance with the regulatory demands of governmental and law enforcement entities amongst the membership. This approach also serves to transmit the CMK’s desired social identity presentations to outgroups through bodily acts and insinuated body-object performances in public spaces and places. Representation and self-surveillance reproduce and produce structures. Representation of the self and Others is structured by a system of shared meaning that informs the beliefs and perceptions that actors possess (Lofland, 1969), and thus interacts with their sense-making and relational structures. Accordingly, self-
surveillance structures the embodied and emplaced experiences of actors as it imposes order over the physical and mental spaces of sociality.

The ideas of representation and self-surveillance were developed through a repeated process involving the juxtapositioning and elaboration of data into concepts that were coalesced to produce themes that describe the CMK’s experiences. Three themes presented in the manifestations of representation and two evolved toward the framing of self-surveillance. These phenomena protrude from the admissions, practices, and settings that encompass the body of data illustrative of cooperation. They also typify the structural properties that give way to the rules and resources for the CMK’s cooperation structure. Representation themes involve (1) deployment of organizational communication assets to relay information to the membership and external entities; (2) appeals toward popular perceptions via the use of interpersonal encounters among the public, as well as (3) the enactment of strategic public routines that function to detract from and rectify dominant mass mediated portrayals of motorcycle taxi workers. Self-surveillance themes concern the CMK’s (1) establishment and enforcement of mutually reinforcing rule-sets to satisfy the requirements of authoritative outgroup entities, and (2) the inscription of geo-spatial rules upon the bodies, social spaces and material property associated with the organization.

Description of the Identity Management Structure

The CMK identity management structure supports the organizational cultivation of camaraderie, collective action and resource allocation toward the production of internal and external relational frames. Such acts are conducive to the CMK’s capacity
for producing signification structures toward its legitimizing aims. Through interaction it serves intra-organizational synergy and inter-organizational bridging. Thus, the CMK exploits power within the membership for materializing power over organizational identity, as well as power to liaise between authoritative and similar outgroups for the reinforcement of legitimacy. The modalities of the CMK leadership repertoires are deployed through its management of members’ work related interactions, and its coordination of inter-organizational information flows among powerful and peer outgroups. The identity management structure is distinguished by the structural properties of solidarity and interagency. They are representative of the rules and resources of the identity management structure, and simultaneously serve as the rule and resource features of the CMK leadership repertoires.

**Structural properties of the CMK identity management structure.** The CMK engages the structuration of identity management through the structural properties of solidarity and interagency. Solidarity develops from relationships between group members that arise from and function for collectively, “enacted” attempts to subvert common constraints to agency (Mccarthy & Swilling, 1985, p. 35). The CMK membership derives solidarity through relational assets that mitigate social, political, economic and geo-spatial challenges to their work-life. Within the CMK solidarity is evidenced through the performance of internal regimens that draw on members capacities to develop intra-organizational ties, as well as overall organizational effectiveness. These activities instruct CMK members, while constructing identity frames for on-looking Others. Solidarity is crystallized within the CMK through processes of social
identification, whereby members derive personal “value”, reward and protections through their purposive group membership (Tajfel, 1974; Willer, Flynn, & Zak, 2012, p. 120). It is premised upon the use of the CMK’s wholesale assets in service of group members’ needs, and ultimately the maintenance of intragroup relations. Thus, solidarity contributes to the CMK’s internal ecology, and serves to mediate the lenses through which the organization is perceived via inter-entity relations.

Interagency pertains to actors’ strategic use of power between entities for their interdependent interests (Gittell & Weiss, 2004, p. 127). Through interagency, the CMK assumes a privileged position as they broker resources and “manage interdependencies” among outgroup Manseba, dominant entities, and their organizational interests (Berardo, 2009; Gittell & Weiss, 2004, p. 127). The CMK conducts interagency by furnishing insider-information, which mediates contradictions produced via asymmetrical organizational relations between Manseba groups and authoritative entities. This allows the organization to maintain their perceived instrumentality in the production of intergroup knowledge resources. As the CMK provides peer and powerful outgroups with information, they link otherwise disconnected entities by satisfying their inter-organizational knowledge requirements. The CMK thus enlarges their social capital and their efficacy as important interagency actors.

Solidarity and interagency engages structures within and between groups. Solidarity implies structural interdependence, unity and cohesion amongst actors, which develop social identification through a resource “exchange structure” (Willer et al., 2012, p. 120). Interagency is enacted by the CMK as the organization bridges, “structural
holes” through the establishment of knowledge driven collaborative links that function to transact information with and between outgroups (Berardo, 2009; Burt, 2004, 2008). The constructs of solidarity and interagency progressed due to the iterative association and teasing-out of data into concepts to activate the thematic frames that summarize CMK phenomena. Two themes resulted from the concept solidarity and two unfolded through notions of interagency. Participants’ statements, actions, as well as the lot of situated contexts that form the data give way to constructions of identity management. These phenomena simultaneously characterize structural properties that produce the rules and resources of the CMK identity management structure. Solidarity is constituted by (1) members’ regimented interactivity and coordination for the production of organizational needs, as well as (2) organizational allegiance building through knowledge sharing and teamwork. Interagency transpires through (1) the CMK’s management of inter-organizational tensions via the construction of knowledge resources, and the (2) maintenance of organizational salience among peer and authoritative groups by channeling information resources between them.

*Analysis of Leadership, Cooperation and Identity Management via Structuration Theory*

The analytical process moves toward the articulation of a Grounded Theory statement via the situation of the CMK’s structural properties within the context of Structuration Theory. The aggregate parts and interworkings of structure can only be understood through the structural properties that give them meaning and form. Their inspection is thus imperative for understanding how the CMK’s structuring endeavors impart meaning and order to the structures that they reproduce to carry out their work-
life. This section of the analysis specifies structurational phenomena based on the instances and statements pertaining to the CMK’s structural properties. This will achieve the location of modalities; contradiction, mediation; dialectic of control; co-presence; presence; reflexive monitoring, and knowledgeability within the data that constitute the structural properties of the CMK’s legitimizing structures.

**Advocacy and Opportunity in the Structuration of Leadership**

In an unstructured interview (CMK Secretary, 2013b, p. 12) the CMK Secretary, Papa Blaise expressed his intentions to influence attitudes, and encourage partnerships among governmental and media entities in effort to advance the growth of the CMK. He specifically cites his unofficial duty to “push” for the club, as well as being offered a “chance” through an informal speaking role that involves communicating on the behalf of the club’s objectives and experiences. He suggests that the club’s prospective aim to secure additional stations is an opportunity that can be supported through organizational evidence and mass mediated appeals that promote the club’s experiences.

…because now Lubum government see the way we are doing, to show we are growing from last year, and before last year the club has grown, you see we are better now… If we can make the club up with all of the documents the Mayor’s office can see them, I can show that proof, I can push to present to them… I am working inside the club, going to those offices just to push for keeping our stations, getting the new stations, we can even get more partners for helping us to stand to the mayor, also Moïse [referring to the Provincial Governor of Lubumbashi]… then we can get a station in the place they are starting to build.
near Kipushi, we can get our hand to it before another club…we have our connections at Wantanshi radio, we met at Hotel de Ville with one man from Wantanshi, one man from Nyota and these are the media partners we keep… I am the one I speak for the club, Leki is there but they make me to speak our problem because I was the speaker inside the club three years ago. We can get more time for speaking if we talk with those bosses from media, the Wantanshi manager gave us a chance, he say, ‘you can give us the interview’, now we are planning, we are to do report for the month, every month just tell what we see, the problem for us, the problem for the stations… this can be good for Lubumbashi Manseba then people can see the problems and they can look at us to know we are serious to fight for making the club up.

The CMK’s Secretary states his desire to promote partnerships that support the club’s aims to secure stations. He also speaks of his ability to represent Manseba issues. His account illustrates mediation processes that are achieved through co-presence, reflexive monitoring, and knowledgeability. The CMK’s fiduciary role engages modality assets including social capital, intellectual capital and the CMK artifacts. For example, social capital is exemplified as he suggests that the club, “get more partners for helping [them] to stand to the mayor” and that the club has “connections”, which are “media partners” to the organization.

The CMK’s intellectual capital and the CMK communication strategy are invoked in two ways. First, the secretary contends that “all of the documents” that the club has secured, which function as pertinent CMK artifacts, “can make the club up” and serve as
“proof” that he can “present” to influence attitudes that permit the CMK to extend and sustain its stations.

Secondly, the CMK’s role as a representative for the club reflects intellectual capital as he states that, “I am the one I speak for the club … they make me to speak our problem because I was the speaker inside the club three years ago.” It is through his knowledge and experience that his role-superiority is assumed. Similarly his knowledgeability is accounted for through this statement due to his means to draw on his record of experience as the speaker. Thus, through reflexive monitoring, he retains the experience and capacity to function as a representative speaker for the club.

In an example of the CMK core leadership’s use of organizational advocacy the organization’s president and vice president provide an account of their involvement in attempts to protect the organizational identity and interests through involvement in talks with the representatives of mass media entities and the local government. They describe a meeting whereby they set forth organizational platforms and spoke on behalf of the wider Manseba population in Lubumbashi in response to mass mediated news reports that suggested local Manseba’s collusion with the transport of insurgents into Lubumbashi. During a paired interview (CMK President & CMK VP, 2013, pp. 8–9) they elaborated the details of the meeting, it’s immediate impact and their hopes for its role in granting them space to communicate Manseba perspectives within the local mass media realm. According to the club president the CMK,

… All of Lubumbashi, all Congo can see problems from news, if people see one report is bad they say we are bad, Manseba, all of them are only bad, so we are
bad too … after Mayi Mayi came here bikers from Lubum, the government, the media, this person, that person just want to point to us because we are in Lubumbashi but we are going to Kipushi border, we go to Kasumbalesa…they bring the police to us, military, right here to us and there [pointing toward the Kisima station] … our work was going down for almost one week… people shouted to us, [Papa Leki interrupting], Yes its true, its right, like that… [President resumes] We catch that problem, turn that problem, because we are angry to the media, to the mayor, they don’t come to us to first to see if it is true they only talk we are helping Mayi Mayi… other clubs got problems too so … we get more strength, we got strong so government sit with us to talk… [Papa Leki interrupting] That is the time we made this meeting with media… we tell them five points we want, it must happen…because we are doing this the right way…if we want to say we are angry to government, we go to are going to them right… We ask government to make Manseba organization official, not only us, all; we ask for meetings to happen about this problem so they can stop these people talking in the street bad about us; we want to make a group with representatives from the club, the province, the media and the city for Manseba to help to control Mayi Mayi and others coming to make trouble…we want our real news about our complaints to get on the news, not only problems government, then we want the journalist to be smart, to be honest and not just to try to make crazy news.

In this case, the CMK leaders’ exposure to mass mediated news reports that they deem harmful to Manseba identity activates their reflexive monitoring. According to the
CMK President the knowledgeability accrued in this process enabled the CMK leaders to “catch that problem, turn that problem”. He also asserts that through a dialectic of control, Manseba sentiments “got strong so government [was compelled to] sit with [them] to talk.” He suggests that the CMK leaders mediated the relational dynamic between Manseba groups, the local government and media entities, whereby CMK leaders, “tell them five points [they] want, it must happen”. Through this process the collective concerns of Manseba groups was employed to make demands and assuage organizational contradictions that emerged through the messages contained within mass mediated news content.

A member for three years stated the reasons that drive him to remain with the CMK despite his plans to purchase his own motorcycle through the organization. He speaks of the CMK’s ability to, “make noise” and their access to business-related resources that he intends to partake of to develop his personal business interests. In an unstructured interview (CMK3Y, 2013, p. 12), he shared his business plans and explained the ways that the CMK helps his move toward them.

…I decide to start my own business, I will get my bike next year, the club knows about this plan… I will get the bike from the club, I can buy a new one or old one that is working good…they are helping me. After I get that bike I will get one worker to it ride for the club, I will not be finished with CMK…I have to stay with this club, you can be independent in this business but it is wise to work together …These brothers, the officers for the club, they know things well, how to “make noise,” then the Mkubwa [referring to a person with an authoritative
rank or title] have to talk with them because they know in the community, in the city, they are making things good for people… The government already see us we are here…these brothers are smart they know how to make business, how to speak with people, they can give me the connection…there is not problems I learn the business in this club now the club can give me insurance for my bike for my business… they share with me all of the information to get my bike so I know I have to stay with this club for some time, they will make it easy for me when it is time to be independent. Until Manseba get all of the rights I like to stay in the club to make my business.

According to this member, the CMK’s fiduciary modality assets support his personal endeavors to acquire material and financial capital for acquiring a motorcycle to work independently. Furthermore, the organization’s ability to avail social capital is “helping” him and that the club, “can give [him] the connection”, as well as “share…all of the information [that helps him] to get [his] bike”. In addition, the club’s intellectual capital, knowledgeable and ability to mediate the contradictions inherent in relations with authoritative entities are seen as incentives that are useful as they maintain a dialectic of control whereby the CMK leaders’ capacity “to make noise” provides that “the Mkubwa [powerful actors] have to talk with them because they know…the CMK are making things good for people”… “in the community”. Similarly, a CMK member of six months explained that the club enabled him to obtain the proper documentation for motorcycle operation without the threat of corruption due to the social capital that the CMK has among the community of PCR in Kisanga and neighboring communes. In a
unstructured interview (CMK6M, 2013, p. 17) he speaks explained how he was surprised by their ability to rapidly marshal resources without any expecting recompense.

…I worked in Katuba and Machipicha before but my carte [referring to a his driving license] was old, it was finished… to get another was difficult, the club leaders in Katuba never help for that problem they ask me for peage, the PCR ask me for peage… I went to Blaise, he say I can work with CMK he will get the new carte no problem… I did not believe that… three weeks they made the carte for me….They don’t ask for peage then they bring me to the office to show how to make it, they speak to the chiefs for me, I did not have to speak… I see they know the PCR in these locations, they know the people working in the offices, they respect Blaise and Leki, they have respect… When they don’t ask me for peage I know they really want to help me, they gave me a chance to work, that time I needed money fast so I respect them, they get respect also all the PCR know them and they stand for you if you have a long story…the PCR if they find you are with CMK they leave you they don’t bring problems… in this club you have a chance you will get your money because they fight for the members...

The CMK’s knowledgeability and fiduciary modality imparts social and cultural capital that facilitates his ability to exact human capital through the performance of labor. The club’s social capital served him when the leadership members helped him obtain a “carte” de service, as well as when they brought him, “to the office to show [him] how to make it”. He appreciated the fact that, “they speak to” powerful actors for him and that he “did not have to speak”. He also mentions their ties to “the PCR” and the fact that,
“they know the people working in the offices”, which indicates to him that the CMK leadership warrant, “respect”. He notes the club’s cultural capital through his insinuation that the leaders were inclined to “fight for the members” because they “help for [his] problem” without asking for “peage” whereas his prior club “never help”. Overall he views their use of fiduciary modalities as means for mediating corruption, bureaucracy and authority to enable income-generating opportunities.

In a semi-structured interview (CMK2Y SS, 2013, p. 5) a member of two years cited financial windfall and the CMK’s assistance with bureaucratic process in his efforts to secure land for building a house as a major incentive for his continued membership with the CMK. He also offers his views regarding the CMK’s significance in availing the membership with political resources including members’ specific requests for assistance with the explanation of labor processes and policies that impact their personal lives. He recounts the transformation of his initial attitudes regarding the club, and contrasts them with his present sentiments.

I came to this club, I know people they say the money is good because you can make the trips in Kipushi…things were good but I think in my first month to seven months I was angry I think the money is good but the brothers were giving too many rule… the end of last year my family need to move from my place, my wife want to buy a plot to build, we have that money to build but no plot, no license for the plot… I can’t build and the place on this side, the good place is difficult to find… because in this area you need permission from the Burgomaster, I need to move from my place fast…Leki heard me talking with one
brother about my problem, he tell me, ‘Di, if you know the place you like to build already, if you need to meet with the Burgomaster I can call him and you can get him on his time’. He tell me he can help but the Burgomaster will want to know if my fees are paid for the Kisima station and if my cadastre license [permit from Lubumbashi cadastre, which allows mining and building in the city] the and other documents are right. So now I understand the way they make people crazy about those rules for fees and license. Leki gave me the number for Burgomaster but we call him together, in two days I meet him in his office and in six days I get my license for the plot. Leki and the Burgomaster sit and explain to me everything the documents I need and the things I need to register the plot. I can go to the Burgomaster for that help also…Leki did not have to help me but if he can help me just like that then his mind is good, and business with him will be good, so now I see the CMK like we are family, they club help me make life pass easy.

His account relays the ways that modalities of structuration mediate internal and external structures. He benefits from the structure that the CMK has created through its fiduciary role as the club’s social and cultural capital enables him to gain access to financial and material capital. He acknowledges that although, “the money is good,” club leadership, “were giving too many rule(s)” which posed an initial contradiction to his established work methods. However, his attitudes were transformed as the club leadership employed its social capital to help him access the, “Burgomaster” so he could obtain a “license for the plot” of land that he wished to purchase. This exemplifies the mediation of his internal structures through interpenetration with the CMK’s fiduciary
role. Additionally, he points out that the CMK Vice President, “did not have to help” and that “his mind is good, and business with him will be good”, as the club can help him “make life pass easy”. This is a testament to the CMK’s cultural capital and operational methods for engaging the membership.

The CMK Security Coordinator, Papa Tshingu explained that he is aware that members, “run to” the club for its ability to help them with financial security, bureaucratic and administrative connections, protection and representation. During a group interview he outlined his observations as the major reason that he and other members, “…want the club to work” (CMK Group Interview 7 members, 2013, p. 9).

I can say every man coming to us is here because they know that we have a good history, the new people hear about this history and they run to us from other clubs, from other work… the way we work in this club is clean, we take away any problem if the members get them and move the problems out of the way for members before they can get them… the way we organize is to make everyone go to their house in the night with money, after a man works here for one week, he can see he gets more inside his pockets than other work, than other clubs…our routes are the best because they are in the place where competition is not there also we can take long routes to the borders…it is simple, we are making their pockets happy, their wife is happy, they eat well…life becomes better with money for living but we put our heads in the fire for these brothers, we knock to the door for Munene [literally big people, however, referring to important people]…no person will trouble our member if the PCR know they are with CMK, that
business is good, if there is anything to the government, we can eat meat with them they give us that respect… no Mwizi, no client can bring a problem here to us, to our brothers because they see we are drumming for them…

Papa Tshingu’s insights indicate that in many instances aspects of the CMK’s fiduciary modality works to attract new members and retain existing membership. In this case he contends that the CMK’s cultural and financial capital lends to their reputation, as people, “run to [the CMK] from other clubs” because they “hear about” their “good history”, that “the club operates in a, “clean” manner, as well as the fact that members “get more inside [their] pockets than [with any] other work, [or] other clubs”. He also offers, the club’s material and social capital as attractive assets. For instance, he mentions the fact that their, “routes are the best”, as they form exclusive territorial, and thus material capital for the club. He also suggests that the CMK leadership prevent and “take away any problem” that members encounter as proof that the CMK is a viable and competitive motorcycle taxi club. He illustrates a dialectic of control between the CMK and governmental entities as he refers to the club’s ability to be co-present with them as the CMK leadership is able to “knock to the door” and, “eat meat with” governmental actors that “respect” them.

The CMK treasurer expressed that the club works in ways that compensate for his personal demeanor and that it allows him to learn and apply his training in away that is personally and financially rewarding. He stated his desire to engage in leadership roles with the CMK has translated into business relationships external to the affairs of the club.
In an unstructured interview (CMK Acting Treasurer, 2013b, p. 12) he relayed the experiences that illustrate his point.

…for example, like me I am a person if you find me here, I am in my books, I am quiet, I am a mathematician by practice so I do things for the club with numbers, this is better for me because I am not like Leki, like Blaise they are the speakers they speak to people in the club, in the government, they go in front of the media but I can’t do this. These things they are doing are very important for the club…you can’t find other clubs doing these things…this club is different for this, we have our talent and we do them to make the club grow and stay good… But I learn the way they do things and I learn the way our talent works together so if I have to do some things they are doing, I have the idea, I know it…the talent I use here other people know I am doing these things… there is one boutique owner on route Kipushi I am doing the accounting for her she pays me… she knows I do this in CMK, she is the client for Willy [A CMK Security Coordinator], because she trust him, she gave me a chance… then she tell another man in town that I can help his business… Willy help to get me more jobs.

The CMK Treasurer relays his use and production of knowledgeability, as well as the CMK’s fiduciary modality as it involves his creation of intellectual and human capital through work that positions him to do “things for the club with numbers”. He also pays respect to the club’s intellectual and cultural capital, as well as the knowledgeability that other core leaders bring to the organization. He attests that, “they do things and I learn the way our talent works together”. Finally, he calls attention to his use of the CMK’s social
capital in a case where “Willy help [him] get ... more jobs” as a means for creating
greater access to financial capital and thus personal gain.

In a semi-structured interview (CMK VP-A, 2013) the CMK Vice President declared that the club’s mass media coverage stemming from the Lubumbashi mayor’s restrictions on Manseba meetings has attracted members from other local clubs that are seeking membership in an organization that can gain public and political attention. He recalled two scenarios whereby members from local communes visited the Kisima station to ask him if they can be included in the club.

…after we went to Nyota we speak about that problem to the radio we saw too many people coming to us for work. Many came from the other clubs, some came from Mbuji Mayi and some graduated from secondary… one time four of them come here to us, they ask for me, Blaise they ask for Tshingu also, saying the same story, ‘we hear about you from the radio, we want to be with your club’, ‘we hear you talking good things for Manseba’, ‘we need to be with this club the President has courage’ [in this sense, courage is a local colloquialism that denotes perseverance] … they know we make people listen the problem for us… we tell straight to the journalists and the government that we do not stay quiet about the way they accuse us… these brothers want people to talk about their problem with work too… then they see a change, they see the mayor talking different to us… answering the questions we ask us… another time they come to Maman Melanie they sit with us they ask us many things about the time we go to Nyota they say
The remarks provided by the CMK Vice President illustrate how the club’s fiduciary modality produces cultural and social capital. It simultaneously demonstrated how the club’s knowledgeability presents a dialectic of control that allows the CMK to navigate relations with powerful actors. This is the case as he claims that members of other Manseba clubs seek membership with the CMK due to the club’s leadership’s ability to “make people listen to the problem for [Manseba].” This characterizes a dialectic of control, as well as social capital that arises through the CMK’s inclination to, “tell [things] straight to the journalists and the government” and produce “a change” in the way that the “mayor” interacts with Manseba. He also mentions that cultural capital resides in the CMK’s reputation, as the club is known for “talking good things for Manseba” and that fact that the “President has courage”.

A CMK member of two weeks corroborated the vice president’s position, as he asserted that the reputation that the CMK has for helping their members, as well as the attention that they generated for Lubumbashi Manseba through local radio engagements cause him to seek out Papa Blaise for a meeting about the possibility of his membership. In an unstructured interview (CMK2W, 2013) he discussed his reasons for joining the CMK.

I made a plan to speak to Blaise, I was growing with Blaise and I know he was big inside the club for Kisima bikers. I hear Blaise on the radio, he was smart and I did not know that Kisima bikers operate like this, they impressed me and some
bikers from Mkenya I was working with also think they are clever… I know Joseph [referring to a general member of the CMK] is a member, a brother here he was working two months but he tell me the Kisima bikers are proper…they not taking fees for the pocket they pay the fees for the station and they are strict but they are making their brothers fat …Joseph never got a problem he tell me it is less stress in Kisima club, normal stress from doing the riding for work… If they are going in front of the government and making their story, they get that position and other clubs cannot get that position, they are doing things like professional, they know they system, so I am here two weeks in Kisima and I am all over this side of Kisanga and I am better now, money is coming, work is good…

Although a new member, he is able to name dimensions of the CMK’s fiduciary modality as pertinent factors for his membership with the club. He refers to the CMK’s knowledgeability, intellectual capital and cultural capital as a means for mediating a dialectic of control among powerful actors as they, go, “in front of the government,” and do, “things like professional (s)”. He infers that they, the CMK enjoy an achieved status and “position” because they “know the system” and thus their knowledgeability adds value to the club. Furthermore, he alludes that they are “strict” and “proper” as they do not take “fees for the pocket”, a feature of their cultural capital, which gives them integrity and contributes to their ability to make “their brothers fat”, and thus ensure access to financial capital for their members.

CMK Security Coordinator Papa Willy mentioned that the leadership works to, “open the gate” for the membership by sharing information and helping them meet key
people. He claimed that most members realize they need the CMK for these reasons and that this causes members to form an insular bond amongst each other. During a group interview (CMK Group Interview 7 members, 2013, pp. 21–22) Papa Willy asserted that,

…we give the members things they need because this helps all of the club, if you are working together you can help each other, this is not the problem…if you know something, it is in your head, its free, we can give each other help. We already talk about this, this is our program, like our policy in the club, if we have a brother and that brother need something we can give, this is not a problem it is simple, then they can understand that we respect them also…we “open the gate” because this makes the brothers work better together, we don’t have to worry about problems from competition and brother becoming jealous… all the brothers know that the leaders are very close but they don’t worry about this because if we have something important we don’t keep it, we tell the members to share what they can it can only be good for profit… a brother will need to get important papers for working or for their own business and we can help with that connection to the right people in the offices if we know them…this is best because our work only happens because of people, because we know people in the offices, because we work with them so we have to keep this going… but the brothers they leave it in the club, they don’t like to share with the other Manseba they don’t trust those Manseba sometimes so they only keep the things we know inside…that is not our policy but this is a good policy for security.
Papa Willy demonstrates knowledgeability as he summarizes the utility and meaningful function of elements of the CMK’s fiduciary modality. He suggests that the club’s intellectual and cultural capital enhances social capital among its members. In this instance, he states, “if you are working together you can help each other…if you know something, it is in your head, its free, we can give each other help”. He also states that, the club, “open(s) the gate because this makes the brothers work better together and that the club can offer, “connection(s) to the right people in the offices”. These statements infer that social capital, cultural capital and intellectual capital are mutually reinforcing. He also speaks to the productive role of the club’s intellectual capital whereby it aids with access to social and potentially financial capital among outgroups. He equates the CMK’s intellectual capital with being, “good for profit” as well as members’ personal gain as he insinuates that the CMK’s knowledge can “help” members with securing “important papers for working or for their own business.

In a paired unstructured interview (CMK President & CMK VP, 2013) the CMK President talked about how he thinks the CMK and other motorcycle taxi clubs are symbolic for social mobility and change in Lubumbashi. He explained how he thinks the CMK members feel like they are a part of something, “big” because they are witnessing the growth of the club and benefitting from it at the same time.

All of the brothers know some things are getting more, becoming good for us, the things that don’t get better, we have to work on this to change it, other Manseba also. Things that are good for us they are working because we work hard, not just riding to make money but we put our mind to change the things that are making
us stay down. All the members see that we are not only about the riding, they know they go home with money after they finish their work because we do the work in the club and we bring our work to the mayor, to the cadastre, to the province… They see this is changing the club and changing the way bikers work in Lubumbashi… they feel they are in big things, they see the change happening fast…it feels good for the mind, this is good…this is making them work more and they are working with each other. I am the president for the club but the brothers are leading with their work… they see themselves like leaders…They are feeling that change in their life, they buy the house, they send all the children to school, they buy food for their house and the house for their sister and mom…they know this work, this club help them to do this and the when the club is growing up they are growing up with the club…our members are growing, we get more every week it is difficult to see us lose members… the club is their way up so they keep it nice…

The CMK’ fiduciary modality, mediation and knowledgeability are made explicit in the CMK President’s statements as he attests that the club employs intellectual and cultural capital to mediate disempowering circumstances for its members. He professes that the transformative capacity of the club’s knowledgeability is the manifestation of its intellectual and cultural capital in the production of social, financial and material capital. For instance he suggests that members benefit, as, “they go home with money because the leadership “work(s) hard” and engages with powerful entities such as “the mayor…cadastre and province” through the use of social capital. He also alludes to the
CMK’s work ethic as the outcome of the CMK’s stocks of cultural and intellectual capital, which contributes to the club’s members’ ability to produce financial and material gains as members, “buy the house” educate their children, “buy food” and provide material resources for their relatives. Finally, he addresses the CMK’s cultural capital as a contributing factor to members’ identity whereby they “see themselves like leaders”.

*Representation and Self-surveillance in the Structuration of Cooperation*

The CMK Secretary explained that as a means to be prepared to show their compliance with the rules for operating motorcycle taxi stations the core leadership maintains copies of organizational documents that may be presented to PCR, military or any other authority that they may encounter. He explains that this helped him and other members of the CMK evade the confiscation of their motorcycles by military police. He also suggested that he wishes to develop relations with the local authorities that relieve him from having to carry “evidence of the club’s good faith.” In an unstructured interview (CMK Secretary, 2013b, p. 16) he stated,

The situation is better than before with PCR and soldiers, now they don’t expect us to be doing bad, just working but we want to be ahead…we take the copy of all the document for the organization and we keep in the jacket or we put in the seat for the bike, if we do this we can show them if the stop us they can get our proof that we work here with the paper that we need… we use that for evidence of the club’s good faith, it is our only way to make sure they don’t take our bike and they know we have permission to be near the route to Kipushi. They can still get
our bikes, they do get them, but we have our documents to get them back
easy…not only me but Blaise also it take me out of problems when the carte is not
enough proof for soldiers…we want to look together, so this can be one way…if
there is one time in the future that we can go around without these documents
then I will be happy because our work will make that happen…

The CMK Secretary points out the ways that the elements of the CMK
communication strategy interacts with its fiduciary modality as members realize the need
to possess and produce organizational knowledge artifacts during encounters with law
enforcement authorities. In this instance the CMK’s knowledge artifacts are
governmental documents, which denote social and financial capital. The CMK secretary
exemplifies how “the document(s) for the organization” are crucial to organizational
presentation as these assets prove “the club’s good faith” to authoritative actors such as
the “PCR” and “soldiers”. The CMK organizational artifacts serve to mediate power
relations and maintain a dialectic of control among the CMK and law enforcement
entities. This is evident as he explains that the “documents” manage co-present
interaction as they, “take [him] out of problems” by preempting the arbitrary use of
authority and communicating legitimacy by granting “permission” for geo-spatial
presence and the ability to ensure that law enforcement officers, “don’t take [his] bike”.

A CMK member of four months confirmed that he experiences challenges that
conflate with his performance as a motorcycle taxi worker. He contends that since he is a
member of the BaLuba Kasaï ethnic representation he must remain vigilant as not to be
provoked into fights and “get caught in traps” set by individuals that target him for
robbery and hate crimes. He asserts that he has to measure his reactions to snickering and ethnic slurs used by some of the actors that he engages. He claims that this is an issue that the CMK addresses without trying to incite tensions and has provided members with instructs to de-escalate and, “put the back of the head” to acts, as well as to leave their motorcycles or leave without pay if they are faced with threats to their safety. In a semi-structured interview (CMK4M, 2013, p. 3) he revealed that,

…I am new here in Lubumbashi, it can be these people from here they can look to me and see I am from Mbuji Mayi but it is hard sometimes if people shout to me and they want to fight me, they tell me in Swahili ‘Wewa nakupika’ [Manseba-you I’ll beat you], Mwanetu, toka kule! [Slang for cousin in Tshiluba, get out of here] ...they say other words but I will leave it out…it is because I am from Kasaï, they say here in Swahili ‘Sayar’, that is the name for us, you know our history here for Katanga and Kasaï BaLuba it is problem… now I am to the place for them, the BaLuba Kat so I have to look with all my eyes, my ears my mind to see how things are going. They will take my money if am not fast I catch one man trying to go in my pocket for my coat, it was a big problem because he call his friends they want to chase me…How can I work like this, I can see that man tomorrow… Willy and Tshingu they tell us just look to the left if they say things to you don’t fight, you don’t’ shout back, because one time you will be alone and you will be in trouble… Leki say you must put the back of the head those problems and to jump the bike if people start to come for us, we must not get hurt... they tell us to stay on top of these problems, to be down, behave like men...
with rules and think about the club, we have our principles and the brothers also
because small trouble can be big… this is hard for me because I can find my
brothers from home if I need to fight back but they tell me I will know how to do
things better after time passes…

This member’s statements relay his consideration of his presence and his role in
structuring an embodied behavioral performance to mediate socio-spatial contradictions
during co-present interactions with ethnic Others. He underscores the fact that since he is
“from Kasaï” his presence poses a symbolic and ideological contradiction in places that
he conducts work whereby he is deemed an Other to members of the “BaLuba Kat”
ethnic representation. He consults aspects of the communication strategy regarding the
rules for behavior in public and the CMK leadership’s advice to guide his behavioral
presentation. Contradiction arises as he contemplates the CMK security coordinator
instructions to, “look to the left… don’t fight…don’t’ shout back…” versus his inclination
to find [his] brothers from home if [he] need(s) to fight back as he seeks to mediate his
presence in a spaces that may be claimed by ethnic Others.

Mr. Romin a senior CMK member of three years made light of the ways that he
upholds the club’s rules for the presentation of motorcycles, as well as the his positioning
on them or any time the motorcycles are present. In a group interview (CMK Group
Interview 7 members, 2013, p. 5) he admitted that his seniority in the organization causes
him to be lax with certain rules. However he also acknowledges that he feels pressured
into modeling the expected behavior since he a senior member within the club.
...if I am with my bike I act like it is my wife, its my lady I have to touch it nicely, hold it here, hold it on the sides, like the hips [members laughing out loud], two hands, not one, she likes both hands…we need to use both to push the bike, then if we get excited we even keep our shoes [members laughing out even louder]…I have to hold her the right way, don't' be bad to her because people they watch me…I tell the members like this, if I need to remind them to do things on the bike, they have to do it like they are professional not joking and playing, I can make them laugh about it… I have to make them see that I am also doing this the same way…they look at me, yes [nodding his head while looking at me] if I am wrong they say ‘Romin watch your bike’, my problem is the telephone, I know it is my problem…My wife call me all the time she calls every time I take one breath [members laughing] so I have to get that call, but when she call me I tell her listen Mama I can’t talk to you now I have to hold my second wife on her hips [members laughing loudly]. The story I give you is to say we got our responsibility even if it make us take more energy, we have to think on it… to do right because new brothers look on us then they follow us if it is wrong or good, if we do good they go to the road to do good, and bad, if we do bad they can only do like us…they are the bonobos in the club [members laughing] so we show that we keep the rules for us, for the other members and for those people they want to point to us from outside to say we are demons [members laughing out loud]…if we do the right way, riding by the law then PCR always give respect, they see like you have that respect also…
In his account, Mr. Romin personifies his motorcycle to narrate the modality of the CMK’s communication strategy for embodied behavioral performances, as well as the club’s preferred enactment of presence and co-presence among motorcycles. His admissions exemplify the culmination of reflexive monitoring and the resulting knowledgeability, as explains how behavioral performances are simultaneously mediated by the CMK’s rules, outgroup perceptions, as well as his status as a senior member because, “new brothers look on [senior members] then they follow [them] if it is wrong or good”. He also suggests that failure to “show that [the CMK] keep the rules” may activate the perceptions of, “those people they want to point to [the CMK] from outside to say [they] are demons”. His statements express his awareness of the fact that he is co-present among in-group and outgroup Others as he interacts with his motorcycle.

In an unstructured interview (CMK2Y, 2013, p. 31) a two year member of the CMK conveyed anger regarding radio and television broadcasts that reported local and regional Manseba conspired with Bakata Katanga secessionists for a second time… He also suggested that the most recent reports make vague and unsubstantiated claims about a recent string of robberies and attempted rapes that may involve Manseba or Manseba impersonators. As a result he claims that he has altered his routine for carrying passengers to undeveloped areas where foliage is thick. He described his personal protocol for carrying both female and male passengers to specific places in order to ensure his safety, as well as the comfort of his passengers. He explains,

…the way they say Manseba are with Bakata, I can go crazy because it is only journalists, no real investigation about the local clubs, they don’t say this club or
what club but all Manseba in Lubumbashi, now the PCR, national police and the soldiers are on top of our heads, the clients are scared… Only Mambo Toka [A segment during a nightly news broadcast which translates to ‘go away problems’] say they don’t know what is the truth to give us the chance to show we are not bandits but only normal workers… One lady, my client she say to me, ‘if I get your bike you will kill me or take me to my place?’ I am angry, we have to put a white flag to the bikes now… I start to tell all ladies, ‘sister if you want to get on my bike I can take you to the depots not to your place or the big roads, I only want you to be safe’… I don’t know if it is working but I am doing this so my client don’t get scared… One lady she jump the bike and throw the money to me the time I was taking her to that side in back of route Karavia… I went over potopoto [mud] slow, then she jumped. I am picking my fare from the potopoto and there is one man looking at me like he wants to hurt me… Also there are some men they think we can be thieves… if I take them in the night they tell me if you try your games Manseba I will beat you, but I did not do anything, I only want to make my money… now I tell any man coming on my bike, ‘I can only take you to depot or to the road near your house for my safety and for your safety… they don’t care, some say just go straight to my place… I never go to any place there is any bush that is not smart and the customers they get scared… I just want to do my work, I don’t want my clients to see me like a thief or a rebel…

This member’s routines result from his response to mass media messages that mediate the embodied behavioral performances that he employs to order his presentations
and the enactment of co-presence among his clients. He cites contradiction between the mass mediated social identity prototype espoused to represent Lubumbashi Manseba populations, and that which he seeks to present to onlooking publics. For example, he claims that as a result of news reports clients may think that, he “will kill” them and that he is trying “games”, while he “only want(s) to make money”. The relational circumstances resulting from the mass media environment engages him in a process of reflexive monitoring, which informs his knowledgeability for the mediation of these circumstances. He achieves this through a presentation structure and the management of co-presence among clients. For example he claims that he, “never [goes] to any place there is any bush [because] that is not smart and the customers they get scared.” He also only limits his travel to “the depots” and “big roads” to thwart the possibility that clients may perceive him as a “thief or a rebel”.

The CMK Security Coordinator claimed that he advises the members to refrain from stopping their motorcycles alongside the road for emergency repairs or parts replacements. He suggested that roadside motorcycle and car mechanic lots are penetrated by rebels and thieves and should thus be avoided by members. He suggested that if he needs to visit such places he does so in the company of national police officers just in case a problem ensues. He also suggests that he learns about bike thefts and ‘new bikers in town,’ through these places and that this information helps him inform his members to be cautious with their movements, to guard their motorcycles and to identify possible thieves or rebels. In an unstructured interview (CMK Security Coord. 2, 2013b,
pp. 19–20) Papa Tshingu provides his account of the socio-spatial complexities of roadside ‘mechanic plots’.

…the plot for mechanics are more than you think, if you see it you think it is only people fixing their bikes but so many things are there. I do not want any of my brothers in those plots, they are not good for the business...if they want to fix their bike we call our mechanic and they come to us they fix our things…only if they have the emergency, only if the tire is finished, the engine is finished something that is keeping their bike still…that is the time they can go there but I tell them you get your bike there and you call us so we can come with the police to watch… too many times you hear those Mayi Mayi are working with those people in the plots, we cannot take a risk with these plots…Then if you go there the bikes can be stolen and the people making the bike good are thieves, if you are with people in this plot the police can catch you… if I go there or if Willy is there, any of us we take one police from our station, they can see what is happening and they can say we are good if something is happening and there is an attack from people that were in there fixing the bikes for rebels… like this is the right way it make our work easy with less stress and bothering from PCR… in these plots, you will find ‘new bikers in town,’ and they can be bandits… I hear many things from people about these places, we have our guys listening there they tell us if the bikes are stolen, if there are new people that may not be Manseba… I tell the brothers to watch their back, watch their side, watch for thing that are not right and keep the bikes safe because there can be trouble in the city… We don’t need those places
and we don’t want police and soldiers to see us there they can think we are doing illegal things…

This illustrates how space and place works to mediate the structuration of CMK behavioral performances. Papa Tshingu’s narrative articulates the ways that the CMK consider geo-spatiality as it concerns their presence and co-presence within particular settings and locations. He explains that, “plots for mechanics” are “not good for business” and that he does not “want any of [the CMK members] in those plots” as they are known sites for “thieves” and “bandits” and function as settings for behaviors that contradict the CMK’s desired embodied behavioral performances. He claims that he only engages in co-present appearances with law enforcement in these sites as means for mediating negative connotations that may be associated with Manseba presence in mechanic plots. Reflexive monitoring has enabled him to develop knowledgeability, which orients his recommended regimen for interaction in these sites. He informs CMK members that they should only be present in mechanic plots, “if they have the emergency”.

During his two weeks of membership with the CMK, a club member discusses his confusion and desire to better understand the rationale behind many of the club’s rules for using and parking motorcycles in public. He believes that the CMK enforces these rules more than others and that the price for breaking them, ‘will cost your day of work if you are not careful’. In an unstructured interview (CMK2W, 2013, p. 15) he proclaims, …I know I have to follow the rules they give, this is no problem but I don’t know sometimes I am breaking those rules, they are many and they grow everyday…I
don’t understand what is happening when I did something wrong, one time Blaise
tell me, ‘you, you want to go join the market?’ but I did not understand, then one
brother tell me, ‘remove your bike away from the market’….he told me that I put
the bike next to the table for one sister she is selling… Another brother tell me
that we have to keep away from the market so we cannot block the customer for
the sellers, then we can’t be there because if somebody is stealing they can say it
is us because our bike is too close… another brother told me yesterday that Willy
said rebels like to be next to the markets with bikes because they stay there to plan
and to get things they need before they go in and out so we have to stay away…I
understand those things protect us but the club I was in before we don’t even
think for these problems we just get our money. Willy and Tshingu told me that
they can move me from the club if I am breaking the rules. They tell me every
Manseba in this club will watch me because I am new… I see now work is good
with this club with some rules they make me look professional, then it help me
feel better about talking with PCR…One brother tell me if I don’t keep the rules
‘it will cost your day of work if you are not careful’… the rules are good but I
need some time to know more about them…

According to his sentiments, this member functions in a state of liminality due to
the recency of his membership and thus his ignorance of the features of the CMK
communication strategy that regulate the organizations embodied behavioral
performances. He expresses contradiction between the CMK’s rules and the nature of the
structures that he is used to in “the club [he] was in before. In this case the CMK’s
mobility and immobility routines are mediating those routines that he is accustomed to. Furthermore, he maintains that he “don’t know sometimes [he] is breaking those rules. His limited scope of knowledgeability interacts with the CMK’s intellectual and cultural capital, as his colleagues and CMK leaders reinforce the CMK rules and communications strategy through their co-present surveillance of his routines. They inform him of the sanctions that result from his failure to enact the CMK’ prescribed performance of geo-spatial presence.

In response to a series of news reports on motorcycle accidents involving area Manseba, the CMK Vice President shared his plans to inform the Security Coordinators that they must encourage the members to operate their motorcycles cautiously. He also explained that the funerals for these accidents would happen during the upcoming week and that he will advise the members not to participate in the En colonne ou bien zanga festivities that comprise the normative funerary traditions. Instead he recommends that members only attend the funerary services, ride with other funeral attendees in lorries, or refrain from using motorcycles for public spectacles until after the week of funerals comes to an end. In an unstructured interview (CMK VP, 2013, p. 36) he asserts that,

… if you see the news these days there are four Manseba they in the accident, all died so for our community we have to make the funeral, they are not our brothers in the club but they are our brothers in service… The Manseba will make En Colonne because this is what we do, we go out and show people the way bikers do things, we have our culture… the problem is the En Colonne it is also causing accidents, some Manseba can get hurt, they also get killed in En Colonne… to go
out and be in *En Colonne* now is not good for us. If the brothers here go, they will start together from Kisima station then they travel and join other clubs to escort the funeral. I told Willy and Tshingu that they need to give our members advice about going to ride safe if they go … I don’t want them to go to the funeral that way they can ride with the lorry, they can go another way, in the trucks but if they rent bikes to be in *En Colonne* it is not looking good for us here … first we have this funeral, four funerals sister in five days we lost four Manseba from accident… we don’t want to give reality to those reports we see to television, we want to go in the road free to make work… we know Manseba make accidents but for our club we don’t want to be doing tricks that so people can just say that we are like those Manseba killing people and killing themselves…

Papa Leki’s position stems from the contradiction created between the *En Colonne* tradition and mass mediated reports on the accidents involving motorcycle taxi workers. He explains that the CMK, “don’t want to give truth to those reports” and that participating “in *En Colonne* now is not good”. However he attests that, “this is what [Manseba] do, we go out and show people the way bikers do things.” His concern is for the CMK’s presentation and co-presence among other Manseba, as well as the CMK’s co-presence among outgroup onlookers whom may form opinions based on the performance of *En Colonne*. This is an example of how mass mediated representations mediate the behavioral practices, and intentions of the CMK in their efforts to present themselves in a manner that communicates their desired identity.
In Lubumbashi from the middle of April and until the week of Independence Day media coverage focused on past and present rebel attacks in Katanga (See Kavanagh, 2013; Radio Okapi, 2013c, 2013h). In particular rebel activity was reported on the outskirts of Lubumbashi, rumors of rebel attacks, military action against suspected rebels, and rebel sympathizers filled the news. Papa Blaise discusses his anxiety about the news and what he feels it means for the CMK and their activity in the Kisima station on Independence Day [June 30]. He specifically addresses what he thinks the CMK will not be able to do in and around the Kisima station as a pre-caution to deter negative attention, as well as to ensure the safety of the club’s members. During a paired interview (CMK Secr. & CMK Treas., 2013, p. 14) Papa Blaise divulged his intentions to,

… think about a plan for the members to work, they [referring to the Lubumbashi and Provincial government] are saying they will make a city curfew, then they say they will trouble Manseba too much… in this area for Kisanga we can get problems they will control us too much… this time it is not the police or the soldiers we know, they brought new soldiers, they brought military police, they are even from other countries, Banyamulenge also… they talk to us bad so there is no chance to work nice here… I don’t know what can happen in the station, they don’t let us pass, I told Willy and Tshingu that we have to let all the brothers know about a program… I think we can’t even show to Kisima and we can only pick up inside Kisanga near Golf… If they see us on route Kipushi they will see us like Bakata that is my worry… This is bad it is coming to end of month people they will be paid but we don’t have freedom to take them even to Wantanshi…
Even the way we are here meeting can be a problem if the soldiers at La Bohème [a local gas station situated at the fork between route Kipushi and route Kasumbalesa] decide to come down. Many brothers are scared because they don’t want to be picked just for riding, they think these soldiers can take their money also because we don’t know them… I gave my plan for all brothers to wear only shirt with buttons, no jersey, no kikwembe [traditional Congolese African wax print textile] only office shirt, then they have to do everything in the books, shoes, helmet, everything perfect, this is not time for playing with the law… These days I tell brothers no cell phone anytime not even if the bike is parked, even keep the cell phone far… everybody need to be smart, I see yesterday if I do like this those soldiers stay calm … This morning there was firing in Mkenya and Katuba in the morning and I hear there was firing in Ruashi yesterday, so if there is a problem it is coming near… I need that money but we can’t work the club is down, we can’t move now from this station…

Papa Blaise espouses that the upcoming Independence Day is creating a work environment that constrains the club’s operations and presence. His anxieties are a product of his reflexive monitoring of past events and interactions that have transpired between motorcycle taxi workers and military personnel in Lubumbashi. He offers a course of action that consults embodied behavioral performances that guide mobility and immobility. He suggests that the CMK’s lack of familiarity with the recently embedded military personnel compromises the club’s social capital and is primarily concerned that authorities, “will trouble Manseba too much” and that “soldiers can take their money”.

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Drawing on the CMK Communication strategy, his knowledgeability enables him to contemplate possibilities for the performance of labor and their implications for the security and identity of the CMK membership. With the CMK’s presence and co-presence in mind, he devises a “plan” that involves re-routing their service, restricting activity in “Kisima” and near “route Kipushi”, as well as informing CMK members to don, “only office shirt(s)” and “do everything in the books”.

CMK Security Coordinator, Papa Willy shared his concern about enforcing order in the two stations that extend into Kisanga from route Kipushi, he explained that since they are not visible from the road, they are more challenging to monitor. He also mentioned his concern for the possibility that non-club members could be confused with CMK club members due to the location of these stations and the absence of demarcations that designate where they begin and end. He explained that he has seen other motorcyclists at the station and has approached them out of concern for their behavior, security threats and suspected station imposition.

…Kisima can give us a lot of work but the stations that I worry for are Penga Penga and Avenue Kalemie… they are out there alone they are far and we can’t watch them like the ones on route Kipushi…if I go there I can find bikers but I don’t know all of them some I know them they are our brothers from the club, the bikers from the club across golf… there are some I don’t know them they can be from another town or they can be the people that bring us problems. We try to do something to watch the station but our business is about moving so nobody want to stay there…we ask some Mamas from the market to watch for us and they tell
us if something is strange, we give them rides and we bring them things they need
for that help they give. Also there is no start and no finish to these stations like the
others so they can be at the station and we can’t say if they are there or not for
other reasons… If we can’t watch these station my problem is thinking about
those bandits in the area, they can hurt business, they an hurt us…all of the
brother in the club they don’t know each other so we have our system for
checking identity we just ask some questions and we can know...if that person is a
Bakata or these other Mayi Mayi that is another problem… We don't want riders
to go in that station to act crazy with the people there. We can’t be everywhere
but we hope this station does not become out of our control, I want to show we
are strong to watch it so everybody will know to be good in this station.

Papa Willy’s account shows how the club employs the CMK communication
strategy as a modality to gauge the integrity of actors that are co-present within
designated CMK stations. It also demonstrates the ways that the CMK’s expected
presentations function as indicators of membership authenticity in the club’s geo-spatial
domain. Furthermore his account illustrates the ways that the perceptions and gazes of the
public are complicit in mediating the club’s behaviors and performances.

The CMK Treasurer compared his experiences of going to Kipushi with that of
“going to work in the mines”. He claims that the trip pays well but the checkpoint and
problems associated with insurgents make it problematic. He expressed that he does not
want to be seen making repeated trips to Kipushi although he gets several fares that
request carriage to the city. He is concerned that frequent trips to and from Kipushi will
make him, “look like a rebel or a smuggler of minerals”. In an unstructured interview (CMK Acting Treasurer, 2013b, pp. 29–30), he disclosed a,

…problem with the Kipushi route, not a problem with the money or clients but only a problem for people looking at me go there and come back inside Lubumbashi…it looks like I am one of the rebels and I don’t want to look like a rebel or a smuggler of minerals… they check us at Kirimansimba [A Congolese Kiswahili compound word, lion’s mountain, which refers to a military checkpoint between the cities of Kipushi and Lubumbashi] and the questions they ask us can be bizarre because they just want money or to take our things…I know that I have to keep discipline because those FARDC [The Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo] they are becoming angry very fast, without reason just to trouble you…it is like going to work in the mines, you go to make your money but your money will just stay there, you come home with no money, then they check you too much…they get the direction from the president and Katumbi Chapwe [the provincial governor of Lubumbashi] so they feel free to do all the thing they want…If they see you are a biker and you are going to the border city you are in problems they can put you inside prison for no reason… I don’t want those problems, the way the news and government make everybody see Manseba these days is just giving those border soldiers power.

Through reflexive monitoring and knowledgeability of the contexts of co-present interaction related to travel to the city of Kipushi the CMK Treasurer, expresses his discomfort with “people looking at [him] go there and come back inside Lubumbashi”.

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He associates a mobility routine between these two cities with, appearing to be “a rebel or a smuggler”. His statement evidences the contradiction that emerges between the CMK’s desired identity and the identity constructs held by authoritative outgroups that bear the capacity to constrain their work-life activity. The combination of outgroup perceptions and the imposition of geo-spatial mobility controls thus mediates his routines for traveling to Kipushi.

In a semi-structured interview (CMK4M SS, 2013, pp. 10–11) with a four month member of the CMK, he mentioned that he has considered ways to foreground his Manseba identity versus that of his Luba-Kasaï identity. He professed that this is important for working in Lubumbashi and being able to tolerate the tensions created by ethnic cleavages that, “can be something big one day and nothing the next day”. He claimed that he tries to avoid contact with the youth contingent of the UNAFEC [Union of Congolese Nationalist Federalists], a Luba-Katanga political organization that is known to engage in the intimidation of members of Luba Kasaï ethnic representation residing in Lubumbashi. He believes that he can behave in a particular manner that reduces the chance that he will be confronted by individuals whom bear animosity toward, “Kasaïen”. He declared that,

…being from Kasaï is not a big problem, this is my country…but when I came here for work it becomes more important it can be something big one day and small the next day… you don’t know how it will be when your get up out of your bed in the morning… I had some problems with the UNAFEC, because I am Manseba I have support from the Kasaïens but when these UNAFEC want to
make problems, they can make it difficult for you to get money. One time they put rocks in front my bike and in back my tires, then they said, ‘Sayar help us with some Primus’, I just tell them ‘di you can give me Primus I am a visitor’, I was bad for saying this, they went angry, they tell me, ‘We know you are Sayar, you are the visitor now you come to our place with nothing for us, we have to send you back’… I was trying to start the bike, I want to leave but nothing happened I look down they are pushing rocks to my tire so I can’t go. Then I just go I don't want trouble with you I am just trying to get home, one man tell me, ‘the road for Mbuji Mayi is there, leave your bike that road is bad for bikes, give the bike to me and go to your home…There is another Manseba they hear this problem now they come to end that story… These problems happen to my brothers too but we just work to go around it… We say to each other, we have to do something about this… We just stay together, if we know the places those UNAFEC like to stand we go away from there… I speak with Tshiluba only if I am with others and we all speak Tshiluba, if I speak Swahili I say only few words with my customer, but Luba Kasaï are strong here, if we are together they don't bother, that time I can show off I am Kasaïen. Also Willy tell me never start fighting, never shout at them just go on your bike, just be smart Manseba, in the road you are Manseba…

His story is telling of his reflexive monitoring of the co-present relational dynamics that impact social identity and thus the enactment of presence for BaLuba Kasaï Manseba in Lubumbashi. He claims that his ethnicity constitutes an issue that is,
“big one day and small the next day” and that “problems” related to ethic identity, “make it difficult to get money”. Local political contingents foreground the geo-spatial contradictions related to their presence in Lubumbashi. Through his accrual of knowledgeability he suggests that he “work(s) to go around it”. However with knowledgeability that he gains through such encounters, he realizes that a dialectic of control exists as, “Luba Kasaï are strong [in Lubumbashi] if [they] are together [UNAFEC] don't bother, [so] that time I can show off I am Kasaïen”. In effort to mediate the potential for conflict with his customers he admits that he, “say(s) only few words”. Thus, restricting his ethnic presentation and mediating inter-group contradictions that shape identity relations associated with Manseba and local BaLuba Kat communities.

Several CMK members spoke of the importance of wearing proper clothes, however a member of nine months discussed how his routine for keeping up his appearances tends to attract passengers, as he believes that he earns more than many of his fellow colleagues because of it. He outlines a routine for grooming himself and maintaining his bike. He opened the group interview, (CMK Group Interview 7 members, 2013, p. 3) with his account,

…some brother think it is too much work to look proper, because all day we are riding in potopoto and dirt, you can see we are in a place where dirt goes in the air…the air is sticking in your clothes, even you wear the helmet, your hair and face are dirty, inside your eyes you find dirt, every day… I don’t think about this because the day I wear my office clothes I get more money than my Yaya [local colloquialism for my people] here… [other members shouting and laughing].
like to clean my shoes, every time, the brothers don’t do this they complain the
dirt and dust is coming again. They laugh at me because I work with a white shirt
and use my office clothes for working. I clean the potopoto out of my bike, for
the mamas you have to do that they can’t climb your bike if they look at dirt, they
don't want to sit in dirt, they will tell you also clean your dirty bike… I am not
going to lose money because I don’t want to clean my shoes more than one time
in the … If people see me cleaning they go to me and they like it, they think I
have respect, they see I will take them on a good ride, not running in dirt…then
they see me like I do business, I’m not a bandit, I can’t be a bandit if I am wearing
my business suit, that is my idea.

His statements demonstrate the mediating confluence of popular, mass mediated
and governmentally sanctioned representations, as he manifests knowledgeability of the
embodied nature of his work through his reflexive monitoring of the co-present
interactions among publics. He states, “I can’t be a bandit if I am wearing my business
suit,” which reveals his intentioned construction of presence to mediate popular social
identity representations and the attitudes that interact with them. His “idea” about the
construction of a subversive presentation is also transferred to the motorcycle that he
operates for work as he explains, “I clean the potopoto out of my bike... the mamas …
don't want to sit in dirt…” He rationalizes his decision to present himself wearing “office
clothes” and performing his “cleaning” routine because he does not want to “lose
money”.

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In an example of solidarity Papa Leki describes a plan that the members agreed upon to secure motorcycles for those that wish to purchase them versus those that wish to rent them. He contests that it works well for all club members because those that seek ownership are aided by the purchase of the motorcycles which they can also use to rent to fellow members. Those that assist with the purchase of motorcycles will be able to use the motorcycles for a specified amount of time without payment of rental fees in order to recoup their money. He explains that members that did not contribute to the purchase of new motorcycles for their colleagues will still receive a rental discount that rivals anything that they would pay to external renters on a daily, weekly or monthly basis. In a semi-structured interview (CMK VP-A, 2013, pp. 3–4) he illustrated the club’s plan, …last month we decide on the plan to get bikes for brothers in the group, I want another bike and Oliviér [pointing to another member] wants a new bike but to get that money to pay all one time is hard for some of the brothers…Brothers want to go to others to buy, they want bikes fast with a good price … we see new brothers buying the bikes they are used they are without the right documents, we are afraid of this because these bikes we can be stolen… we do not want to get stolen bikes in our club, that is not how we want to do this if they catch one bike that is stolen it will look like we are thieves… the new brothers coming down from Mbuji Mayi they need money so they will buy those bike because they have a low price, we have to show them this is not the way to do things…we made a plan, we will make this plan a program to the treasury, it will be for all members not only some,
any member that can participate, also if there are members that don’t want and
can’t participate they can get a chance also to use the bikes… we ask all brothers
that want to buy to make a contract with the club first… that contract we make it
with the club, the brothers and the national police… if brothers need a bike but the
money is not there we first ask them if they can put any deposit… $100 dollars
American is good, $50 American can be good also… if there is no deposit money
it is not a problem we go by the contract… we tell that brother to ask the ASBL
and one committee we plan to make for treasury, we will make the governors for
the treasury to collect the deposits, It will be governors of investments for the
treasury… brothers need to sit with ASBL and the board to tell the club they want
to start this program… after they tell us, they get the contract, they get also all of
the directions for how to do pay the members back and how they have to use the
bike… we put in the contract they cannot use the bike for bombing and for bandit
work… they have to do collection from brother from the club to get investors,
that collection if it is not the right money the club will put some money until it
will be enough every month… we buy the bike after there is the right money…. When the bike is here that member need to start to pay back so he will need to
rent that bike to pay money back. He can let brothers that help to give money for
investing to buy the bike to use it for free until they make that money back for the
time we have to agree because they can’t use the bike for too many months for
free… if there is the brothers they did not give money they can rent the bike for
the low price… the price must be low than the other prices from all of Lubumbashi
and Kipushi…this is one way to know that the brother will get money from that bike to pay back… The brothers can use the bike after they own it inside the club for renting…we will all get something and all members will get a change in this program… the brothers like this program and the brothers agree about it.

Papa Leki’s account shows how the CMK address members’ interests with a sustainable response. It demonstrates the engagement of three modalities of structuration. The leadership modality is evidenced through the CMK’s agreement to form the, “governors of investments for the treasury”, a responsive entity that serves to mediate the club’s concern that “new brothers [are] buying the bikes…” which may be “stolen”. Papa Leki notes that the formation of this entity can “show them this is not the way to do things”. Furthermore, it serves a fiduciary role that helps all members acquire the motorcycles as a form of material capital with the promise of attaining financial capital through its income bearing potential. The communication modality is also invoked as Papa Leki maintains that the CMK does not want, “stolen bikes in [their] club”, an effort to maintain a legitimate fleet to ensure that the CMK does not, “look like thieves”.

Overall, this is a rational attempt at co-present interaction and intra-organizational support through the creation of an internal entity that functions to mediate acts that may present a contradiction to the CMK’s desired identity. The CMK’s plan for securing and investing in motorcycles is a solution to an emergent contradiction, as well as a mechanism for structuring an enduring leadership through the use of the club’s facilitative modalities.
Blaise the CMK Secretary provides testimony regarding an informal program that the CMK membership has developed to assist its members with emergency childcare in the event that their family members [including their extended families or neighbors] are not able or available to help them with their small children while they and other members of their household attend to their priorities. He exemplifies the ways that he has used this arrangement on two occasions whereby his wife became ill and he was obligated to work to be able to afford her medical treatment and medications. His account demonstrates solidarity that extends to the personal engagement of relational resources beyond the scope of the CMK and work related tasks. In a paired interview (CMK VP & CMK Secretary, 2013) he explains,

… I had the that problem the time my wife was sick she had a problem in the stomach… to sit it was difficult she need to get surgery for that complication… that time was bad my family are to Mbuji Mayi, her family is to Mbuji Mayi, then we have family in Mkenya but they can’t keep my children, they have to work, sister we are working here for food so my family was not there for that story… the brothers decide to help if the things like this happen, I told Leki I am in trouble I cannot work because my children are there but my wife is in Don Bosco [a Lubumbashi area hospital]… They say we will talk with the brothers today and we will be to your place in the night… They tell me, ‘get the children ready I will meet you to your house to bring them to my place, my wife she can keep them the time you are working … I get that help and the brothers made a fast bank for me they ask all members to help with that…they tell me they choose Christoff and
Leki to take the wife to make the pouponnière [day care] for me. Then everyday brothers, come to my place to bring bukari and money, Like Christoff then a small [new] brother, then after every day the same, they make that plan for me they say they made crèche committee for my problem… Leki come to my place with Christoff, we take my children to Leki’s place, the wife for Leki say she will help me to keep them I need only to bring the small things for them and to get them out of school each day… she keep them for more than two weeks then my wife she came home… all the time that I bring them I thought I am feeling good because they stand for me, I can pay for the hospital and the medicine and to buy makala [coal] for the house…

Papa Blaise describes the CMK’s interaction with their leadership modality as they have engaged members in the formation of a spontaneous committee to assist him with his unexpected hardship. In this case, the CMK leaders assembled the makeshift committee to mediate disempowering circumstances among the membership. Papa Blaise expresses his ability to subvert hardship whereby; the CMK leaders “stand for” him during his inability to participate in his work routine. This also exemplifies the CMK’s intentioned performance of co-presence for the alleviation of challenges to members’ income bearing ability, as well as the interaction of the CMK’s leadership and fiduciary modalities.

The CMK President and Vice President spoke about their role in working with the Burgomaster for the Kisanga commune and officials at the Lubumbashi cadastre in order to sit-in on meetings regarding a change in the process for the issuance of station plot...
permits. They revealed that they were seeking information that concerned drastic
table of station accumulation for Manseba. Papa Leki, the CMK Vice
President relayed a staged plan that he devised with the core leaders to inform other
Manseba about the changes. He explained the rationale behind notifying selected
Manseba clubs versus others based on a desire to ease the monopolization of station
acquisition and thus thwart conflict among Manseba groups in the Mkenya, Katuba and
Kamolondo communes.

…the time we start to go with the Burgomaster to listen about the cadaster we did
not know they will talk the story for making the new program for giving permits.
Now you get a permit after you apply, you pay, you make your connection, the
permit will come…they will give a permit after the new plan only three times
every year… that is the problem because if you don’t make your plan for the plot
you can't do the business the way you like, then you have to have the money to
pay one time for all the plot you want to get …For our club this is fine but some
clubs can fight because they are next to each other. Manseba in Mkenya and
Kamolondo can get a problem if they apply for the same plots then one club is
getting more plots than other plots they will try to control too much that area…
this is giving those Mkubwa to the office all of the control also then you will see
they can ask for peage to give more stations in another time in the year… we
decide first we tell the brothers from Kamolondo because they have less stations
there because the UNAFEC are heavy in those communes… Katuba have the
most after us in Kisanga…we leave them for last…we tell them about this change
for the station like this, first Kamolondo, after Mkenya, last we give Katuba. After we tell one station about this we tell them they have to make their lips strong, don’t pass that news so they can get priority in the plots... They go with us on that, they like that, we are helping them.

The CMK Vice President espouses that the CMK engage a leadership repertoire through co-present encounters with powerful and peer actors as means to mediate the dissemination of information and thus the potential for competition among Manseba outgroups. Here the leadership modality functions to mitigate power dynamics in relations between Manseba outgroups and Governmental authorities. In this case, the CMK seek to maintain a dialectic of control through their regulation of information, which they hope to use to limit or mediate the role of government in the collection of “peage”. They also aim to deploy information in effort to mediate the likelihood that “some clubs can fight because they are next to each other”. Papa Leki attest that the CMK uses this role to garner social capital as they bridge relationships and outgroups believe that the CMK is “helping them”.

According to the CMK treasurer, the club’s ongoing attempts to encourage all of its members to buy into purchasing accident insurance has increased the number of members that have applied for and sustained insurance within the previous seven months. He attributes this change to two factors, a plan that the members voted on to purchase insurance in groups of 12 to 15 members at a time so they receive a discounted and untaxed price from SONAS, as well as and the influence of other members that provide information and explain the benefits of the insurance package that they have bought into.
In a semi-structured interview (CMK Acting Treasurer, 2013a, p. 23) he articulated the reason that the uptake of insurance in the club has advanced in the club’s aim to, “have at least 30% of the members with insurance all of the time”.

…we never expect members to start to pay for insurance like now, before it was a big problem for us, we try many ways to tell them this insurance can help them and the family if they make accident… after we talk with SONAS we know we can make the group program for insurance…it will give more people to get it…if we make a group with 12 to 15 members to get insurance, it is a cheaper price also they take off the tax from that price…we made the calculation for the club so it is better… In the first two months there was it can be five members they did it but the others did not want it, after that time we ask those members to talk about the insurance with the other members, they like that because it is like they are showing they are special… now we see we have 34 members with this insurance, that time we feel nice because the ASBL we talk about this and say it is good to have 20 % or 30% of the members with insurance… we have at least 30% of the members with insurance all of the time now… These brother push the insurance, they tell other brothers, ‘me, I have insurance why you don’t pay the money Di, get insurance’…we can’t say that they will keep this insurance but I know the package is good so they are able to pay it and the brothers if they get it they are telling the other brothers that it is a good program… One brother is talking for that in the club, he get that job for talking about the insurance because he is going in SONAS with his documents he knows SONAS like we know about it.
The Treasurer’s testimony implicates the interaction of the CMK’s reflexive monitoring and knowledgeable in the club leaders’ efforts to mediate co-present interactions between CMK members and law enforcement. For example, he states that “insurance…is better for [the club because] “police they leave [the club’s members] if they see [they] have carte SONAS.” It is also telling of how the CMK sources the benefits of co-presence via the ad-hoc role assumed by members in the promotion of insurance among their fellow members. This is seen in the Treasurer’s claims that if, “brothers…get [insurance] they are telling the other brothers that is a good program…” and that “One brother… get that job for talking about the insurance because he… know about it”. These are strategic acts that are sanctioned by the CMK leadership as the encourage members’ conformance to the uptake of insurance.

An example of the CMK’s involvement within a mutual communication process between mass media entities and the local government is evidenced through the monthly meetings that include the Urban President, the ASBL and two representatives from Nyota TV. These meetings enable the CMK to present club specific, as well as general Manseba concerns regarding Manseba representations. The CMK President discusses the outcome of a particular meeting whereby the CMK was pegged to convene media allies in each commune that will inform journalists of events and incidents that Manseba are involved in. This was determined to be a middle ground to ensure that televised broadcasts feature more comprehensive content related to the lot of Manseba issues rather than content that is narrowly related to crime. In a paired semi-structured interview (CMK President & CMK VP, 2013, p. 12) the CMK President affirmed that,
…the meeting was good, that day was good because we did not walk away with nothing, we came to talk but we did not expect they wanted us to do something for them…the way they tell us it is easier for them, for all of us if they communicate with one group to represent the Manseba about this…they wanted us to get all the municipalities, all the clubs in the municipalities and tell them to choose some people or one person to do that job, to call the station, they will give us a person, to call that person any time there is some news we have…because we tell them the problem for us Manseba is the news is only for accident we make, accident we died, accident we kill people, we help those fighters, we steal from the mamas, we beating, we catch the thieves, all that news is the one people they hear, they see it…we tell them because we don’t want them to come around, we can’t help them if they don’t say all of the things not just all of the bad…We only want to know that they will change that problem to the job they give us, if we make these Manseba know they can call the Nyota to tell them about other things all of the news, also when they bother us, the police the soldier then they will like that…if we call them, they come they get their news, they say they will make a video of the problem when they come and they can come fast…we told the Presidents for the clubs in all municipalities Lubumbashi, Ruashi, Kamolondo, Mkenya, Kampemba, Katuba…all then we call the agent at Nyota and give the phone number, name all information to them…we have the systems now we are calling them and they are coming for news…also this is making the other stations come to us for that system. The Manseba they say this is the best
way for the story to get out for us, if it is not like this then we have to make protest.

The CMK President’s characterizes the club leadership’s awareness of the dialectic of control that they achieved through co-present interaction with mass media entities. His remarks affirm that through such interaction, “[the CMK] did not walk away with nothing” because the television broadcaster “wanted the [CMK] to do something for them.” He also states that the CMK would not “help them if they don’t say all of the things not just…news…for accident [that Manseba] make.” His statements also indicate his understanding of the value of their knowledgeability of Manseba affairs toward the maintenance of this dynamic. For instance, he mentions that, “…we have the system now we are calling them and they are coming for news… also this is making the other stations come to us for that system.” Thus, this arrangement is seen by the CMK as a chance to mediate the contradictions that impact Manseba representations. He comments that, “We only want to know that they will change that problem… if we make these Manseba know they can call the Nyota to tell them about other things all of the news”. He infers that he views this “system” of information sharing and gatekeeping as a means to engage in the mediation of the existing newsgathering and reporting processes.

A member of nine months mentioned that he is part of a group of CMK members that maintain a riding-pool to help other members collect their rental motorcycles so that they can conduct work. He suggests that many members offer to help pick up their colleagues as it saves them the hassle of looking for clients on their way into work. This arrangement is mutually beneficial as those members whom receive assistance contribute
a small payment for fuel each week that they receive assistance, while the payment is cheaper than an actual fare. In an unstructured interview (CMK9M, 2013, p. 31), he explained why this service works for him as other members that do not have either their own motorcycles or access to one within proximity to their residence.

…in all of the areas there are members even there to Ruashi, we live far but we come in Kisima, the money is better here…I don’t have my bike, I rent from a man in Katuba, I stay in Mkenya…I go there with taxi and I can take Manseba also…when I start with this station they tell me if you don’t have a ride you can wait for some brothers they will get you at the market in Mkenya, they live in Mkenya or they are renting in Mkenya, they are the one coming for their time to work…Leki tell me if I get a ride with them I can pay small money on each Friday only to give something for fuel… That time I see there are four or five brothers they rent their bike in Mkenya but they work with me in Kisima station, I make my plan with them they take me to the place I rent my bike then I to come to Kisima for work… Many brothers like this because if you don’t have a bike and you live in Mkenya and that side, Kamolondo it can be difficult to get the people you trust there… many UNAFEC they can trouble you if you are Manseba, they know we are Kasaï… It is not more money than the ride I pay for with another Manseba… If you don’t have your own bike you will have to depend on renting but if you can get to the people from your station and save some money then that is very smart.
This member cites the benefits of the CMK’s ad hoc task assigned to members that transport him to the Kisima station as it assists members with support through co-presence within designated pick-up sites which according to him mediates the possibility of, “trouble” from encounters with “UNAFEC”. This also elucidates the interaction between the leadership modality and the fiduciary modality as the task of, “wait[ing] for some brothers,” is realized through the social and cultural capital maintained among the CMK members.

The CMK Security Coordinator, Papa Willy recalled his involvement with the establishment of a complaint board for Manseba. He explained how the board was established early in 2013 due to Manseba grievances and protests pertaining to the ban of motorcycles in certain parts of the city. Papa Willy alleges that Papa Leki assigned him and Papa Tshingu to this position in February 2013 due to the fact that they have insight regarding Manseba security issues. He also claims that the Lubumbashi Mayor’s office sought to assemble a complaint board composed of Manseba from Machipicha and Kisanga because of their proximity to the city center [in the case of Machipicha] and the border towns [in the case of Kisanga]. Papa Willy believes that the CMK’s established connections to the Burgomaster and the Urban President, through the Delegation pour Comité Urbain, gained them the exclusive position as representative intermediaries between the Manseba community and mayoral officials that regulate the complaint board. In a paired interview (CMK Security Coordinators 1 & 2, 2013, p. 22) he recount that,

There was too many Manseba angry, they wanted to understand why the government did not want them to eat food, they are working just to have money
for bukari [maize meal] but they want to stop this service, the people, the clients they also become angry because they can’t get around fast, they can’t be free to the choice for bikers… They started that story in the office for Sanguza about, Manseba don’t know code de la route’ [traffic laws] and we are dangerous in those places… Also in some place they want only those petita… We came in the streets, all the Manseba they came in the streets so they can hear us because they see us all the time they see us on the bike but now they had to hear us… The mayor wanted to run from this problem but they had to move fast so they say they will make a committee, a board for us to say our problem and they can look at us and we sit and decide how to fix the problems… [Papa Tshingu interrupting] complaint board, complaint board for the Manseba and the city of Lubumbashi… [Papa Willy continues] They tell Kalenga that they want somebody to work with them from Manseba community to talk about keeping us calm, they wanted somebody that knows about us, Manseba. They put that to the leaders that communicate with us, we also hear from the Burgomaster that give us Kisima location… Leki and Kalenga made that program for us to be in that board because we meet Kalenga for our Comité Urbain, the Bosses there know we can do good to fix problems from Manseba business out of our meetings… we are talking to them about what Manseba, what we want, what is our idea about this problem, what is the next problem, we can tell them anything about Manseba… They want us to tell Manseba that we need to make meetings and process for complaining… we have to make them go to the national police to make complaints and we have
to take that complaint to Hotel de Ville after. Before we just try to make
appointment with the office for the mayor but no one will speak to
Manseba…now we will get our time, we take that responsibility…but they have
to hear us, they already know what we can say because the same problem we get
is the one that gives pain in the heads of every person in Lubumbashi and also the
country…

The security coordinators’ describe how interagency, co-presence and their
accumulated knowledgeability allow them to mediate the communication processes
involving peer Manseba and powerful actors. They contend that they maintain a dialectic
of control as authorities, “had to move fast…to fix the problems” that ensued due to the
culmination a “story” that Manseba communities consider as misrepresentations, which
threaten to “stop” their occupation. Their role in mediating the communication “process
for complaining” enabled them to, “sit” on “a board,” as authorities sought, “somebody
that knows about…Manseba”, thus their knowledgeability facilitated interagency among
their Manseba peers and governmental actors.

In an example of the complaint board at work in the interest of the Manseba
community, Papa Blaise provided an account about the frustration that they expressed
with the process for reporting motorcycle thefts. He claims that the complaint board
brought about a swift change in the way motorcycle thefts are reported and resolved in
Lubumbashi. He attributed the rapid response of the local government and local police to
the uptick in crimes committed within and around Lubumbashi with the use of
motorcycles within the past two years. In an unstructured interview (CMK Secretary, 2013b, pp. 33–34) he stated that,

One of the worst things that can ruin us here is when the bandits, these gangs they catch our bikes… we have good network in Lubumbashi for it so if they get it we tell other Manseba, those Manseba will look out for it…so they are fast to steal the bikes and take them to the mechanic to put them in pieces and make them again with another bike, like the mix some parts…they steal your bike and you don’t have too much time to get it back they can also leave to the borders and sell it in Zambia they do this too, you must be fast to get it back…the problem for us is police they tell you to make your report but they say it will take seven days for them to do any filing and investigation to open the case…You have to make report with police to protect your club, to protect your bikes… All Manseba they can’t wait for seven days that is time and that is salary they made the meeting with the board, they made that complaint with that board, Willy and Tshingu are the people they control that. That meeting they bring us the end to that problem…all of the complaint you can make at the local station, the waiting is finished they move fast, even helping to catch the thieves, they let us get those thieves, we bring them in the station…the panic for the police and the mayor is the problem for the Mayi Mayi and the guerillas they want to be in control of Katanga, they use motorcycles and stealing them to do their business…that is why we have our problems this day because they do that …the government want to get Lubumbashi clean so they help us with that decision so we can be fast to catch
thieves…if they can’t allow us then some Manseba can put the eyes down if they see thieves are doing bad, they need our help in this problem, so they listen to us…

The Secretary’s highlights the CMK’s interaction with the club’s leadership modality as they materialize their knowledgeability via co-present mediation in the reproduction of the process to “do…filing and investigation to open the case” for making a “report” for motorcycle thefts in Lubumbashi. He states that the significance of the CMK’s co-present mediation during meetings helped Manseba and authorities, “bring…the end to that problem” where the existing process that required Manseba to, “wait for seven days” constitutes a contradiction to Manseba’s desire to, “be fast to get [their motorcycles] back”. The Secretary’s statements indicate that a dialectic of control precipitated a resolution as the “government want to get Lubumbashi clean… so they help us … so we can be fast to catch thieves…if they can’t allow us then some Manseba can put the eyes down if they see thieves are doing bad.” Thus, the CMK secured the new process on the behalf of the greater Manseba community through their leadership modality.

During a group interview (CMK Group Interview 7 members, 2013, p. 26), Mr. Romin made passing remarks about a, “vegetable farm” that the CMK have to another member. When I asked him to tell me about the farm, he and other member laughed. Mr. Romin went on to explain that he was referring to micro scale gardens that the members keep outside of the homes, in their yards or places within their compound where they have aerated the soil for planting staple crops including cassava, pumpkin and
collard greens. He clarified his statements by informing me that some of the female relatives of the club members grow vegetables that they share and trade, especially when a member may experience a sudden hardship or need for the vegetable. He also suggested that some of the members that have access to plots of land that can produce a reliable source of produce should begin selling them within to club members on a regular basis. Mr. Romin elaborated,

…no Sister our farm is not that one like that you see if you go to Kipushi and Cité de Jeune [A local agricultural secondary school] We have the house farm, city farm, the sister and the wife is growing the vibwabwa [pumpkin leaves] and ngai nagi [hibiscus green] in the back of the house… My wife she is planting for vibwabwa and sombe [cassava leaves] we are doing this to my place for more than two years, we give to our family but they grow very good more now so we have them for selling, she give to her small sister and she takes them in the market to sell… The other here, the sister is selling the peanuts and celery, we bring them here for selling sometimes also if there are too many. There is the time the brothers here they are sick the wife is sick, the money is a problem… I tell my wife to give the vibwabwa its too much, we give if they need it…He [pointing to a member that is not involved in the interview] give some rape [leaves] one time our brother is in accident we bring to his family, they need it… Leki put us on this job, we can help brothers with this…we are doing this because it is making sense for us…small help is help… then the way we have too much vibwabwa we can
make money, we can sell this, brothers they can sell them in the club, we can but
this for the low price.

Mr. Romin’s account intersects the CMK’s leadership modality with its fiduciary
modality in that it depicts the enactment of unofficial roles and tasks and the
manifestation of social capital, cultural capital, as well as material capital among the
CMK. Reflexive monitoring and knowledgeability are evidenced though the
understanding of the needs of the membership as it relates to the “help” that the CMK’s
“farm” offers them. This is made known through Mr. Romin’s assertions that the CMK
is “doing this because it is making sense for [them].” He also suggest co-presence
during times of need as, the CMK “bring [produce] to [members’ family]”, should “they
need it”. This exemplifies a productive practice for material and cultural capital, by
which members can “give” or “sell” produce to each other. The assets produced through
the CMK’s efforts serve to mediate disempowering circumstances that cause CMK
members to become, “sick” or incapable of conducting routine work.

In a conversation about Manseba culture, the CMK Vice President Papa Leki
discussed the importance of the *En Colonne ou Bien Zanga* as an expression of Manseba
culture. He explains that it can be “vulgar”, fun and inappropriate but that it gets
attention for Manseba communities and reminds the authorities and the public that the
Manseba have strength. He mentioned that the “struggle of Manseba is inside the En
Colonne” and that the complaint board and the media has seen “the case about En
Colonne” more than once due to the fact that the Lubumbashi government has tried to
restrict this specific Manseba public displays. He relays his experience as a sit-in on the
complaint board during the Manseba “fight for culture” in their attempt to prevent the local government from requiring a permit for the En colonne ou bien zanga. During a semi-structured interview (CMK VP-B, 2013, p. 13) he shared his insight about the En colonne ou bien zanga and the ways that he negotiated for the Manseba to protect this Manseba cultural display.

… the only time we can be out to ride our bikes and the police and soldier don’t bother, I can say they can be afraid to bother is for the En Colonne… Sometimes I don’t go to En Colonne because they can be like a bad party too much makelekele [noise] but if it is my brother my friend I go there I’m in the front…here if somebody is dead we go in the road, En Colonne is giving respect for our brother that is a worker, if the government does not understand that En Colonne is not only about Manseba noise, it is about our culture in Congo then they are not using their mind… they [referring to the government] don’t see u like citizens but we are pushing the city, we help people and they give us problems to work like normal people, like police and like teachers, for the public, we are working for the public, we are doing good for the public, but government does not pay us the salary… I went in that meeting for talking about this problem the government for the mayor say they will make us get permit to do En Colonne…all Manseba we know if it works like this then we can’t do our program… that time is for us we can free to our roads… we can be vulgar but the struggle of Manseba is inside the En Colonne they have to leave us, give us something… the way I talk in that meeting straight to that problem I tell them, ‘if you take En Colonne from us like
this the brothers will come in the road in all the commune… if this is the problem for you then no person in Congo can die because En Colonne is the funeral, you can’t get permit for your people dying…” The people in that office they just left that story…they make that decision to leave our things because we fight for culture…I went to tell these President to the club for Machipicha then Katuba after that the brothers made En Colonne and the next day again...

Papa Leki’s explanation of the En Colonne is telling of the ways that it is an obtrusive instrument for the performance of Manseba presence and co-presence. Through reflexive monitoring he has developed a bifurcated position on the En Colonne performance that is premised upon the contradiction that it poses for the identity that he wishes to project for the CMK. For example he states that En Colonne, “can be like a bad party” and “vulgar”. However he also describes it as being “about our culture in Congo” and mentions that the “struggle of Manseba is inside the En Colonne.” This represents the role of the En Colonne as a product of knowledgeability and reflexive monitoring, as well as a source for mediating relational dynamics between Manseba and powerful actors. It functions as a dialectic of control as he infers that, Manseba, “can be out to ride [their] bikes and the police and soldier… can be afraid to bother [them].” This positions the En Colonne as a viable instrument for the CMK to ensure that the authorities to, “make [a] decision to leave” or abandon their contemplation of requiring Manseba to, “get [a] permit to do En Colonne”. Although it is primarily a feature of the CMK communication modality, Papa Leki used it as a dialectic of control through his ad hoc role in negotiating with governmental actors.
In an unstructured interview (PCR Kisima, 2013, p. 8) a member of the PCR assigned to the Kisima station spoke about how CMK leadership members such as Papa Willy and Papa Leki provides him with information about the, “feeling in the road for Manseba” and have “eyes to the road” for potential threats and any phenomena that may appear unusual in the locations that they work at. He specifically noted the utility of the CMK for observing activities along their route beyond the Wantanshi station and toward the direction of Kipushi. With the information that he obtains from the CMK leadership shares with the officers from the national police and the DRC’s national intelligence agency whom are also stationed at the Kisima station.

…we work together everyday we see each other if we are in the station…I don’t worry about this group, I know they will do good, they are like that… they help us in the station we get help and we can give them help if they are riding…mostly we are asking them if you see something and this is not the way you think it must be, you tell us because it can keep you out of problems…they know all the things for riding, riding is the job for them they can see many things, if I look I can find the same problems, somebody is not right, somebody is doing things and they are illegal they can see it fast because they are not in one place they are in many places in these locations… The way it goes I tell Willy because he is security and Leki also he is opened this station so they keep things together, I tell them you have to record in your mind, with your eyes, ears all the things you see and all the things you hear to give me the feeling in the road. I need to know who is moving, where they going and coming from…my work here is not about traffic in the road
but everything on the road not only the cars and trucks, all thing moving here because this is the big road, this is the road that Kabila used to take Lubumbashi from Mobutu so the people and the things moving here are very serious... I report to the others in the station here the national police and the intelligence agency, we share that report, all information we use to stop problems from coming inside Lubumbashi for us it is good if they keep their eyes to the road...

The PCR’s sentiments describe a relationship with the CMK that is stipulated by daily spatial co-presence and the interaction of manifest knowledgeability. He states that they, “work together everyday...in the station.” He also demonstrates awareness of the nature of the CMK’s routines and presence as he professes that, “they are not in one place they are in many places.” The law enforcement officer also expresses a need and reliance upon the CMK’s capacity for reflexive monitoring and the knowledgeability that it reproduces for his role. For example he points out that, “riding is the job for them they can see many things... I tell them... give me the feeling in the road...I need to know who is moving, where they going and coming from.” He implies relational reciprocity in that, “they help us in the station we get help and we can give them help if they are riding.” The relationship is primarily one that resides within the CMK’s leadership modality as it is premised upon the seeking and sharing of information assets that serve both powerful authorities and the CMK that aim to employ it to mediate Others acts.
CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study was developed in response to the need for scholarly research on the structures that contribute to mass mediated representations and perceptions that prevail to impact the labor routines of motorcycle taxi workers in the DRC. It is guided by three research questions:

RQ1. How do a group of motorcycle taxi workers negotiate their social identity among the confluence of authority and popular perceptions?

RQ2. How do a group of motorcycle taxi workers structure their work-life in response to their perceptions of mass mediated representations?

RQ3. What are the contents and functions of the structures that a group of motorcycle taxi workers create for the enactment and legitimization of their work-life?

The phenomena that this inquiry relays is specific to a club for a group of motorcycle taxi workers in Lubumbashi, the DRC’s economic capital. However, it reflects a growing research initiative among international governance agencies concerned with the role of mass media in the embodied experiences of social actors in the continent of Africa. It also demonstrates the growing interest in the confluence of social, political and economic factors that impact public transportation as it relates to daily spatial mobility and the lived experiences of Africa’s inhabitants. Through the application of Structuration Theory this dissertation examines the ways that mass media representations, popular perceptions, and social identity interacts with the legitimizing structures that a group of motorcycle taxi workers reproduce to enact their work routines. It specifically captures the motorcycle taxi workers’ perceptions of mass media
representations, while elaborating their embodied, intergroup and organizational communicative responses to them.

The research findings evidence two significant phenomena: (1) The Comité de Motard Kisima (CMK), a motorcycle taxi worker club, reproduces legitimizing structures through the creation and use of modalities that incorporate a fiduciary role, communication strategy and leadership repertoires. Additionally, (2) legitimizing structures function to convey leadership, cooperation and identity management through structural properties that confer social significance and meaning to them. The discovery of the CMK’s modalities is significant as they constitute the operational frames and supports that the club consults and deploys through their interactions with governmental authorities, mass media entities, law enforcement agents, members of the public, and other motorcycle taxi workers.

Through engagement with these modalities and by virtue of structural properties, the CMK strives to subvert, manage and detract from representations transmitted via mass mediated news reports, as well as to inform the perspectival gazes, attitudes and dispositions maintained by the actors and entities that co-construct the phenomenological environment through which they perform motorcycle taxi labor. Ultimately the CMK uses their fiduciary role, communication strategy and leadership repertories as modalities in the structuration of leadership, cooperation and identity management structures to support the legitimacy of their motorcycle taxi clubs.

This chapter offers a synthesis of the findings and thematic developments that inform the identification of legitimizing structures to underscore the theoretical and
practical import of this study. It is organized into three segments. The first discusses the meaningful interactions between the CMK’s modalities and structural properties with respect to their formation of legitimizing structures that engage mass media representations, perceptions, and social identity constructs. The second reviews the practical implications of locating modalities of structuration and structural properties in the examination of group processes for constructing legitimacy. The last section provides a discussion of conclusive statements regarding the future of motorcycle taxi workers in the DRC and Lubumbashi in particular.

Legitimacy as a Representation and Outcome of Modalities and Structural Properties

Legitimacy is conceived through actors’ belief that authority is, “entitled to be obeyed” through willful acknowledgement and support (Tyler, 1997, p. 323). The CMK reproduces three legitimizing structures: The leadership structure, the cooperation structure, and the identity management structure [See Appendix N]. Each structure contains a unique set of modalities and structural properties, which enable the club to negotiate the realm of mass mediated messages, perceptions and social identity constructs that impact the their work-life. The CMK’s modalities are both virtual and tangible [which are in no way mutually exclusive factors] assets that are simultaneously facilitative and generative of the ways and means that the club engages to negotiate their experiences. These modalities can only be understood or observed by way of what the CMK members do, as well as how they act toward, within and because of situations and circumstances. The CMK’s structural properties are solely paradigmatic attributes that the CMK bestows upon the legitimizing structures to name them, describe their
functional utility, and their productive outcomes. Structural properties essentially tell us why the CMK’s modalities are significant and meaningful in their efforts to form legitimizing structures. Therefore an examination of this interaction is essential for understanding how the CMK’s structures work to construct legitimacy.

The piecing together of the ways that the CMK structures legitimacy proceeds with a discussion about legitimacy as it is evidenced in the interactions between the CMK’s modalities and structural properties. The statements that guide this discussion are derived from the analysis of the leadership, cooperation and identity management structures, which is contained in Chapter Five. This analysis reveals three trends: (1) structural properties of advocacy and opportunity are implicit in the structuration of leadership through the CMK’s fiduciary role; (2) structural properties of representation and self-surveillance are implicit in the structuration of cooperation by way of the CMK’s communication strategy; and (3) structural properties of interagency and solidarity are implicit in the structuration of identity management via the CMK’s leadership repertoire. The following composite discusses legitimacy in relation the CMK’s modalities and structural properties.

Legitimacy in the Modalities and Structural Properties of Leadership

The threads that hold the CMK’s leadership structure together to make it significant and qualify it as an integral source of guidance and utility are the ideals of advocacy and opportunity. Members’ expressions denote that advocacy and opportunity are materialized through interaction with the club’s fiduciary role via the CMK’s: Account giving for citizenship; transformation and growth; active inclusivity; and proven
integrity. These virtues are presented by the membership through their discussion of intensioned acts, processes, and the engagement of perceptions that allow them to interface with the mass media and governmental authorities to manage the representations, at-large perceptions and identity constructions that cause them concern.

Account Giving for Citizenship

Using mass mediated radio broadcasts and government meetings as platforms, the CMK leadership curates “normalizing” accounts (Beelitz & Merkl-Davies, 2012, p. 103) premised upon their reflexive monitoring and “analysis of experience” (Scheffels & Schou, 2007, p. 165) as they seek to open a dialogue to talk about the contexts that implicate Manseba organizations in “legitimacy-threatening” situations (Beelitz & Merkl-Davies, 2012, pp. 105–106). These events although irregular, enable the CMK to address misinformation, restructure or spin prevailing narratives and attempt to realign the course of their reputation. Members collectively expressed comfort and confidence in the CMK leaders’ abilities to engage with the government and mass media during co-present interaction such as meetings or interviews. They offered the leadership’s ability for producing verbal accounts that deflect and diffuse perceived unfavorable representations to re-create, as well as promote Manseba stories and entitative narratives. Since account giving is a task that is limited to the leadership or provisional leaders, it allows the CMK to promote controlled information about the broader Manseba community.

The perceived benefit of such accounts is centered upon their ability to generate empathy and sympathy for Manseba, “problems,” to address, correct and “turn” misconceptions of them; to humanize Manseba, and to remind opinionated publics that
Manseba are upstanding members of the society whom wish to partake of its benefits through motorcycle taxi labor. Account giving serves to challenge and reverse the notion that Manseba are insurgents and, “bandits,” that wish to abstain from, rather than advance and prosper in Congolese society to be, “good citizens”. Account giving for citizenship enables the CMK leadership to transmit meaningful experiential constructions, and interpretations that recreate depictions of the Manseba and their work.

The notion of citizenship concerns the CMK’s program to “resist, transform [and] mask” (Sanchez, 1997, p. 549) the identities that have been ascribed to them by outgroups and media messages so that they may represent themselves through work, as well as regain, “citizen-ownership,” over their bodies [in spaces and places] to enjoy the, “rights and privileges,” of citizenship (Kratochwil, 2001; Sanchez, 1997, pp. 549–550). These accounts essentially present Manseba as citizens and offer defense of their citizenship.

Transformation and Growth

Legitimacy may be associated with a process, set of rules or outcomes that accommodate or promotes change (Candler, 2001, p. 360; Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002). The CMK leadership’s ability to create an environment that charters new assets and opportunities for its membership is associated with the process of legitimization via the creation of a “revitalized” and “restructured” (Chakravarthy & Gargiulo, 1998, p. 440) work environment through “institutional entrepreneurship”(Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002, p. 425). This not only causes the membership to view the CMK leaders as competent, effective and legitimate (van der Toorn, Tyler, & Jost, 2011), but it encourages members to “buy-in” (Gunn, 2014, p. 267) to the legitimation structures that avail particular new
or improved resources and opportunities. Several perspectives emerged to relay that the CMK facilitates, represents or produces transformation and growth. Members provided accounts about the ways that the CMK leadership avails access to processes, social actors and material resources that have impact upon their personal affairs, as well as the club as a whole. Members offered that the CMK facilitated their ability to pursue entrepreneurship, become “better”, “make life pass easy”, become landowners, and benefit from the financial windfall of using, “talent” skills and expertise obtained through formal education. In such instances the CMK functions as a vehicle to support members’ abilities and capacities to create and work toward their personal options for transformation and growth. Other members suggested that the CMK’s reputation projects transformation and growth as they are known for conducting business in a manner that maximizes members’ profits; they can “show” that the club is “growing from last year” and is “better now”; and that they are “changing the way that bikers work in Lubumbashi,” are representative facets of the club that make it a viable organization. Legitimate authority may also be gained through perspectival transformations among the CMK membership whereby the club’s procedures or rules become salient, meaningful or appropriate to them through their need to adopt and apply them in practice. For example, some members claimed that their attitude toward the club changed due to their exposure to the rationale of the methods that the club employs, whereby they were “angry” about the imposition of club rules but “now understand the…rules”. Transformation and growth is thus seen an introspective view to the ways the CMK has engaged a particular
mindset, aided personal aspirations and circumstances, as well as reaped rewards or merits that can be perceived and deployed beyond the club.

Active Inclusivity

Active inclusivity may be associated with the “legitimacy of engagement” (Gunn, 2014, p. 266) whereby CMK members perceive the leadership to be transparent, forthcoming with information, and impartial with the distribution of the club’s resources. Furthermore legitimation yields to the “reciprocity of opportunity” (Buck, 2008, p. 353) as the CMK enables members to wage their inputs to maximize their participation in CMK’s affairs, thus affording the leadership the opportunity to enact authority. Members offered their views on the club leadership’s practice of helping and teaching other members, sharing information, and ensuring that the club’s benefits are accessible to all members as an essential factor in their positive sentiments’ toward the club. Some members voiced appreciation for the ways that the leadership, “share” so that they can “learn the business in [the] club”. Inclusivity in this sense relates to the role of the leadership in enabling members to be stakeholders and bear ownership over the affairs in the club. It also pertains to collaborating with other members despite the absence of knowledge or skills; giving members “a chance” to shift between and alternate responsibilities, as well as using members’ specific abilities when necessary and required by the club. Leadership stances toward general members are premised upon engagement and encouraging members to see “themselves like leaders.” The notion of active inclusivity is built upon members’ desire to have their individual needs or concerns matter within, and served by the club, as well as having a sense of certainty about their
place in, and ability to contribute to the club. Furthermore, members’ use of interpersonal referents such as, “the brothers” which indicates a sense of camaraderie, and is indicative of their perceived feelings of being included in the club through supportive relational ties.

Proven Integrity

The CMK leadership ensures that the club upholds, “sociopolitical regulatory legitimacy” by complying with the required laws, procedures and credentials to satisfy the expectations of governmental authorities (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002, p. 418). Through the nature of their practices they maintain a reputation which reflects the integrity of their operations and thus functions to help them acquire and convey the club’s legitimacy to powerful entities, the membership, and peer outgroups (Desai, 2008, p. 594). Legitimacy in this sense is derived through the perceived likelihood for success and serves as a resource for the support of the CMK’s organizational integrity. Members suggest that the CMK maintains an elevated status among other Lubumbashi Manseba clubs as it has demonstrated that it distinguished by “clean” internal practices and the ability to engage with authoritative figures because of its ability to “show” and offer “proof” of how it operates. The club’s integrity is also retained through its members’ ability to generate income as significant evidence that they can provide for themselves and their families. The integrity of the club, is thus substantiated by the efficacy of its processes for conducting work through the membership, “like professional[s]”, as well as its ability to engage with outgroup entities, as “other clubs cannot get that position”. This is relevant to members as it indicates the CMK leaders’ are knowledgeable, accountable
and viewed as “serious” actors in the purview of powerful and peer outgroups. This lends to the members’ social identification and entitativity whereby, “they only keep the things [they] know inside” of the CMK. Proven integrity concerns members attitudes and beliefs about the way outgroups view the CMK; the way they perceive the CMK’s processes work to realize benefits, as well as the pride and confidence that members derive through notable distinctions between the CMK and other Manseba clubs based the CMK’s accomplishments, social capital and perceived status. Members see the CMK as an important and successful Manseba club and thus consider themselves a reflection the club’s proven integrity.

Legitimacy in the Modalities and Structural Properties of Cooperation

The system of practices and symbolic attributes that substantiate the direction and instrumentality of the CMK’s cooperation structure manifest through constructs of representation and self-surveillance. Members relay aspects of these constructs as they are observed via interplay with the club’s communication strategy to include: Criminal disembodiment and diplomacy. These ideas emerge through members’ expression of the performances, relationships and attitudes that permit them to engage with mass mediated content, authoritative entities, and publics to mitigate the representations, dispositions, social identity frames that impact them.

Criminal Disembodiment

The CMK members perceive that their legitimacy is felt, internalized, communicated and rendered perceptible to others through their corporeal presence. Thus, through the performance of their mobility routines they exercise cognitive and
interactional strategies to maintain a “façade of propriety”, or feigned legitimacy (Cresswell, 1999, p. 179), whereby they ensure that their bodily presence is legitimized through interaction by countering any potential for disruptions and offenses to their embodied identity. In such instances legitimacy is embodied and resident within the CMK’s group consciousness. The CMK members judge their array of assigned and internalized methods according to the ways that they facilitate engagement with their affective work environment. As it pertains to the CMK legitimacy may be determined by “affective” factors, which produce a spectrum of “positive or negative feelings” that the club’s members wage to judge, frame, and perceive their experiences (Haack, Pfarrer, & Scherer, 2013, p. 636). Thus, the efficacy of the CMK’s designated rules for the performance of work are perceived or evaluated by the way members feel, or are made to feel as a result of their application and performance.

Members conveyed consensus with the CMK leaders’ implementation of occupational behavioral guidelines for the enactment of presence and co-presence in public places and spaces. They revealed that the CMK leadership’s consistent modeling, reinforcement and demand for lawful obedience, as well as prescribed public interaction enabled them to maintain positive encounters with law enforcement and publics. They perceive benefits of compliance as instrumental to the positive nature of their encounters with authoritative outgroups whereby “respect”, “calm” and Others’ “good” expectations characterize these exchanges. Members believe that the CMK’s record and reputation gained through adherence to guidelines for behavioral performances, helps them to diminish and shed perceived criminality. They attest that the CMK’s performative
groundwork has been laid to “make [their] work easy with less stress and bothering from [traffic police]”. Members articulated that they “feel better about talking with [traffic police]”, “work is good” and that authorities do not, “expect [them] to be doing bad, [but] just working”. Members perceive the efficacy and resulting effectiveness of the CMK’s behavioral practices as a factor in their positive work morale and the ability to, “show” that they are “not bandits but only normal workers” so that they can “go in the road free to make work”. Thus, the CMK’s suggested practices for countering negative perceptions simultaneously shape members’ perceptions that such practices are helping them to disembody criminality.

Diplomacy

The CMK members perceive their mindful attempts to prompt and recalibrate the interactional conditions that shape their experience as a means to and reflections of diplomatic legitimacy as they, “mediate estrangement” and build, “social relations” (McConnell, Moreau, & Dittmer, 2012, p. 805). Members cited leaderships’ advice and adoption of work practices for promoting the “principle” of preventative diplomacyxviii as an essential factor in their ability to profit from and function in an amicable, accommodating and “free” work climate. Such benefits enable them to dispel fear, create tolerance [for Manseba], and avoid ethnically motivated altercations. The leadership’s advice to, “stay on top of these problems” [my emphasis] and, “to be down”, is deemed useful in work as members believe that they are competent with managing situations and the ensuing attitudes through which outgroups perceive them. Furthermore, it causes members to feel a sense of belonging to the club and accountability to its reputation as
they are expected to, “behave like men with rules and think about the club.” Their sentiments denote a sense of control and the ability to shape their work experiences, whereby they, “don’t give reality to those reports [they] see to television.” Members expressed that their discretion and judgments may play a role in ensuring that their, “client[s] don’t get scared” and that they enact approaches that are akin to, “put [ting] a white flag to the bikes,”. Members perceive that the rewards emerging from practices toward the virtue of diplomacy, are both achieved through and impactive of their interpersonal work experiences. Diplomacy in this sense is both an outcome and means for the management of interactions with outgroups. The notion of committing to and employing diplomatic practices thus imparts members with a sense of agency, and influence for the club, as they believe that they, “got [their] responsibility [to behave diplomatically] even if it make [them] take more energy”.

Legitimacy in the Modalities and Structural Properties of Identity Management

The CMK identity management structure is an essential site of regulation and practicality due to the ideals of solidarity and interagency. The members’ declarations indicate that solidarity and interagency emerge by way of engagement with the CMK’s leadership repertoire to avail: story-making, as well as the notion of a Manseba movement. These virtues are relayed by the CMK via their testimony to the engagement of relationships and perspectival domain that guide interactions with mass media and government to intervene in the representations, stances and social identity scripts that influence their work-life.
Story-making

The CMK leaders perceive that the bottom-up flow of information from Manseba communities to mass media entities is a viable means to promote and control media messages to ensure that they coincide with the interests of the greater Manseba community. The CMK considers the story-making process a legitimate means for simultaneously disseminating information about Manseba, as well as releasing representations that legitimate Manseba work. Unlike account giving, story-making introduces and offers Manseba driven narratives and news into discursive space to prime and frame representations that focus on their agendas, grievances and daily mobility routines.

The members registered their conviction in the CMK leadership’s competence for drawing in the media and redirecting public attention toward news that Manseba deem important to their social and mass mediated experiences. Story-making in this instance facilitates their aim to create news and information, rather than reacting to or redressing it as a means of re-presenting and reframing Manseba narratives. It is both a facilitative and productive means for acknowledgement and the mainstreaming of Manseba affairs. The CMK members appreciate the leaders’ role in bringing honor to their stances and insights, as they assert that they “will get [their] time” to make news. Members assume a sense of social significance beyond their daily routines through the leadership’s efforts in that they are able to show that they, “are pushing the city” and contribute to, “culture in Congo”. Story making is about visibility and freedom of expression for the CMK. It is about having a place in the public sphere to broaden exposure to, rather than tamp down
the complexities of Manseba representation. It enables the Manseba to register their complaints that transcend their work and speak to experiences that “…gives pain in the heads of every person in Lubumbashi and also the country”.

*A Manseba Movement*

A group’s “perceived illegitimacy” may cause them to engage, “pro-social” behaviors and dispositions to incite situational and social change through “collective protests and social movements” (Weber, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2002, p. 449). In such instances, social identity is activated and becomes strategically salient to foment collectivistic acts toward the generation of social mobilization and attempts at organizational legitimacy (Kreiner, Ashforth, & Sluss, 2006). Hence, the attainment of organizational legitimacy depends on entitativity and group cohesion.

The CMK members maintain a position of support for the leadership’s creation of, and demand for platforms to advance the idea of Manseba presence, co-presence and social mobility in Lubumbashi. In their view, the club’s organizational interests serve to connect to and influence the cultural, political and economic affairs of other Manseba communities. Members project a sense of a pride and display consciousness regarding the possibility of mobilizing a Manseba movement because they know that the government, “leave[s] [their] things because [they] fight for culture.” They relay understanding and praise for the methods that the leadership employs to ensure that, “any member…can participate”, in the programs and activities that the club generates, as well as its intentions to assist, “the new brothers coming down from Mbuji Mayi” that wish to become Manseba.
Members view the leadership’s ability to manage relations between Manseba groups indicative of a way to get beyond corruption where officials demand, “peage” from them. The impetus for a Manseba movement is located in the CMK’s awareness of the power that the Manseba retain as when they “make protest,” and that “police and soldier[s]...can be afraid to bother [them]” when they perform “En Colonne”. Furthermore, they express that they are, “doing good for the public”, as they provide crucial services, while the government is reliant upon them to “get Lubumbashi clean” by “catching thieves” although the government does not “pay [their] salary”. These factors are put forth as the CMK provides their rationale for the makings of a Manseba movement.

Practical Implications for Locating Meaning in the Modalities and Structural Properties of Group Legitimizing Processes

Some notable observations made throughout the process of analysis and synthesis concern the location of meaning in the CMK’s modalities and structural properties as it relates to the club’s conceptualization and structuration of legitimacy. These observations may be useful to researchers or practitioners tasked with evaluating the efficacy of organizational structures, as well as groups’ processes for meaning construction in their efforts to institute legitimacy. Collectively, they concern members’ understanding of the rules as the basis for structural legitimacy; the superiority of organizational identity as a salient legitimizing factor for the club, as well as the dynamic and symbiotic relationship between rules and structural properties in legitimation endeavors.
CMK members tended to make distinctions that expressed disagreement with, or apprehension toward certain rules, thus indicating a contradiction between their individuated interests and the intentions of the CMK, as communicated through the election of particular rules. However, members indicated that despite their stances, they maintained that such rules were efficacious and useful for the club because they understood them and their practicality toward upholding a particular objective for the club. Therefore, members sidelined personal preferences or inclinations for club specific methods or applications of the rules. Although contradictions arose between members’ individual interests and the club’s rules, members enlisted and deferred to them, as they were deemed necessary and thus appropriate for use in situations, or as a general measure of engagement within their environment. This coincides with Suchman’s (1995, p. 573) assertion that, “organizations are legitimate when they are understandable, rather than when they are desirable.” Thus, the legitimizing endeavors of the CMK remain at the fore of members’ positionality toward the performance of work. This also implies that members negotiate the meanings of rules according to the CMK’s organizational identity, and therefore adapt to, or fall in line with the club’s norms and values through work. Thus, the CMK’s organizational identity becomes a salient instrument for members’ work routines and leads to the second observation that members demote or isolate their social identities for the uptake of the CMK’s organizational identity through work-life engagement.

Although members may bear associations within the CMK based on social identity, based on the fact that the majority of the membership includes members of the
BaLuba Kasaï ethnic representation, such allegiances are not a salient factor for membership within the CMK. This is the case as members’ social identity is not a salient interactional resource for the club. Instead, members’ interactions with outgroups are guided by, or enacted through the prioritization of the CMK’s organizational identity. Organizational identity is realized through the CMK’s shared, “system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions that determine appropriate organizational activities” (Bridwell-Mitchell & Mezias, 2012, p. 191). The CMK’s organizational identity is club property, as it is generated through membership within the club versus social identity may which draw on members’ external group affiliations for orientation and salience. The CMK’s organizational identity is thus a legitimizing structure and simultaneously representative of the CMK’s legitimacy. Members are guided by the structural virtues of representation and self-surveillance and therefore cooperation with opinionated outgroups is ideally achieved via the communication of the manufactured or club specific CMK organizational identity.

Whereas the CMK organizational identity is embodied by performative rules as scripts for presence and co-presence, social identity may be used divisively by members during work and is not privileged toward the structuration or management of an acceptable and legitimate club identity. Additionally, the CMK’s purposely delimits social identity during interactions, as it may not serve the legitimation of interagency or bear relevance to the achievement of a Manseba movement. Thus, the location of rules and assets for the construction of organizational identity, as well as the ways that identity functions as a resource guided by the virtues of structural properties is telling of a group’s
conceptual frameworks for legitimacy. It also informs researchers of the way legimitation is perceived through the performance of organizational identity work in interaction.

Legitimacy may be conceptualized as a structuring mechanism in that it is both constraining and enabling, thus as an organization changes its rules or values which constitute and “define legitimacy,” also change (Dowling & Pfeffer, 1975, p. 126). This demonstrates a symbiotic and recursive relationship between an organization’s modalities and structural properties. In such instances legitimacy is conceived as virtual attributes that define structure and order the realization and use of the modalities in interaction. However the reverse can also be maintained as modalities are construed, developed and deployed to generate legitimacy. Such phenomena are seen in the structuring endeavors of the CMK as they adapt to, as well as adjust the parameters and essential meanings of participation within the club.

For the CMK, their previous weekly meeting events [See Chapter 3, p. 113] constituted a participatory legitimation process, whereby the club’s leadership authority was decided, stipulated and progressed. Members voted on issues and offered direct input toward the construction of the club’s rules and operations. Their participation meant that they contributed to the development and maintenance of internal processes. At present, the governmental regulations that prohibit the CMK’s ability to conduct meetings caused the CMK to recalibrate its meanings for and production of participation within the group. Prior to the regulations on their ability to congregate, participation was significant to internal relations, and viewed as the incorporation and involvement of
members’ sentiments and ideas toward the formation of internal cohesion. The CMK’s current understanding and projection of legitimizing participation has been transformed from an intragroup endeavor to a project for intergroup relational maintenance. As such participation means that members take on the appropriate and prescribed behaviors to conduct presence and co-presence among external actors.

For the CMK leadership, participation is achieved through cooperation and identity management among external entities, which are viewed as legitimizing structures for participation in the socio-political realm that orders the CMK’s work-life. Furthermore participation may now be viewed as a top-down, rather than bottom-up process of communicative interaction among the CMK, as they participate toward the construction of legitimacy through the show and performance of outwardly acts that are constructed to communicate conformance and citizenship to outgroups. The CMK’s modalities and conceptual virtues of participatory legitimacy are transformed by and thus tied to structures, which are external to the club.

The Future of Motorcycle Taxi Clubs in the Democratic Republic of Congo

During the time that the initial field inquiry was conducted for this study the CMK estimated that its membership increased by one one-third within less than a span of nine months (CMK President & CMK VP, 2013, p. 4). The literature similarly revealed remarkable rises in the influx of motorcycle taxis in several Congolese cities, including Kinshasa, the country’s political capital. The appeal of motorcycle taxi labor may rest in the fact that it satisfies a growing national demand for inexpensive public transportation; motorcycle taxi workers are known to be the premier earners among the country’s public
transportation workers; it requires little to no investment or start-up capital; it requires little skill or education beyond the legal ability to operate two-wheel motorized vehicles; motorcycle taxi clubs constitute viable receiving communities whereby migrants can become members of thriving networks of socio-political and financial capital, and motorcycle taxi labor provides a gateway to rapid entrepreneurship.

There appears to be no end in sight for this trend as new actors engage in the uptake of motorcycle taxi labor as a rational means to partake in an in-demand and profitable industry that becomes accessible through membership within motorcycle taxi clubs. Motorcycle taxi clubs are, “the new kid on the block” in the realm of the DRC’s informal public transportation sector. They are also undoubtedly resource laden social, economic and political organizations that challenge the country’s traditional income generating practices and opportunities for upward social mobility.

Motorcycle Taxi Clubs as Social Enterprises

As social entities, motorcycle taxi clubs serve to enlarge their members’ social capital and provide social support that may not be available or attainable through other relational means. The benefits of membership in motorcycle taxi clubs avails assets to actors, which transcend the resources that exist within familial networks [even within the context of the extended family that works to comprise social networks in many African cultures] and create support for progress and the mitigation of disempowering circumstances in areas where governments do not, are unwilling, or are unable to. This is especially the case in instances where motorcycle taxi clubs provide social protection and representation, as evidenced within the CMK and its membership composition of
actors that hail from the BaLuba-Kasaï ethnic contingent. Examples of social protection and social support among the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers are also observed in the literature on the greater motorcycle taxi worker population, as well as the accounts of the CMK and as they express solidarity through their interactions with members of the public, law enforcement or military personnel via *En Colonne ou Bien Zanga* performances and protests (See, Radio Okapi, 2012a, 2012h, 2013k, 2014n, 2014r).

Motorcycle taxi clubs also prove to bear access to inter-regional social networks as actors migrate between provinces in search of employment. These may be positive factors for the Manseba and Wewa communities in the DRC, however they may cause alarm amongst the government as motorcycle taxi clubs may be viewed as emergent political entities or fronts for political opposition and insurgency.

*Motorcycle Taxi Clubs as Political Entities*

The DRC’s motorcycle taxi clubs have evolved a unique capacity to engage in political negotiations and to win political compromise among local and regional governments. Many have assembled formal regional organizations to register their collective grievances and secure inputs to regulations that impact their work. Organizations such as, the Association of Taximotos and Cars (ATAMOV); Association of Motorcycle Drivers Ituri (ACOMOI); and the Association of Motorcycle Taxi Drivers Ituri (ATAMOU) represent initiatives formed by motorcycle taxi clubs in the country’s eastern regions, where local chiefs, mayoral officials and rebel groups impose regulations on motorcycle taxi labor.
The swelling presence of motorcycle taxi clubs in local and provincial political arenas may be attributed to their relative growth, as governmental authorities cannot overlook the number of motorcycle taxi clubs throughout the country. The nature of the work performed by motorcycle taxi clubs warrants routine interpersonal contact with members of the public within and throughout urban, peri-urban, and rural areas in the country. This makes them a vehicle for information and keepers of extensive geo-spatial communication networks. News reports demonstrate that the DRC’s politicians realize the political value of the social networks and lines of communicative influence that Motorcycle taxi clubs bear. Therefore, governmental concerns about the nature of the political motivations and associations held by motorcycle taxi clubs compel political entities to forge collaborations with them. The lingering and present threat of political insurgents infiltrating motorcycle taxi clubs causes alarm within political circles and summons keen attention to their affairs and concerns. Out of fear that these groups may be co-opted by rebels and secessionist, the DRC government and law enforcement are driven to maintain close working relationships with them.

Politicians and motorcycle taxi workers are forming alliances, especially in the country’s eastern regions where longstanding resource conflicts jeopardize the livelihoods of regional inhabitants, and ordain the work-life of motorcycle taxi workers. In the wake of the DRC’s upcoming presidential election in 2016, motorcycle taxi clubs may become a strategic asset in the campaign efforts of local politicians that seek to promote their political agendas. Thus, potentially repeating a trend witnessed during the country’s first multi-party presidential elections in 2006 when motorcyclists were hired to
forcibly amass votes and political support for candidates. This exemplifies patron-client relations as an emergent feature of the interaction among governments and motorcycle taxi worker communities and they engage in give-and-take relations that support their mutual interests.

In Lubumbashi, the waxing political relevance of motorcycle taxi clubs is exemplified through the formation of designated bargaining blocs tasked with maintaining regular communication between local politicians and motorcycle taxi clubs. Elected officers such as Sylvain Kalenga, the President of Urban Motorcyclists, coordinates the communication between the city’s motorcycle taxi clubs, local politicians and media representatives. Additionally, focus on the rise of motorcycle taxi clubs in Lubumbashi creates an interesting political dynamic, as the majority of the motorcycle workers in the city are BaLuba-Kasaï, while Lubumbashi is an ethnic and political stronghold for BaLubaKat. Motorcycle taxi clubs may induce a shift in the power dynamic in Lubumbashi as BaLuba-Kasaï accumulate financial, social and material capital in Lubumbashi. With this in mind it may appear that the bureaucratic challenges faced by Lubumbashi motorcycle taxi clubs stems from possible attempts to bar the participation and advancement of BaLuba-Kasaï actors in BaLubaKat domain.

The DRC’s national infrastructural development policies may be at odds with the objectives of motorcycle taxi clubs. As the national government seeks to build and revamp road networks and roll out formal public transportation fleets throughout the country, the role of motorcycle taxis in the country’s public transportation sector becomes precarious. A Study on the success factors of a public transportation system in
Lubumbashi (Crouzier, 2013, p. 16) claimed that in the wake of attempts to develop the public transportation sector in the city, “It is considered not realistic that the Manseba can provide sufficient (sustainable) transport capacity to provide for Lubumbashi’s transport needs”. Furthermore, national efforts to introduce, 55-seater “Mercedes Benz buses” to “Lubumbashi” (Reuters, 2013) under the National les Cinq Chantiers (Jansson, 2011) are part of initiatives to diminish the role of informal transportation services, and namely that of motorcycle taxis. There is a disconnect between the DRC’s trade policies that enable the importation and subsequent sale of motorcycles in the country and its public policies which seek to albeit prevent their operation as a form of paratransit within the country. At present the primary groups that purchase and use motorcycles as a means of service provision are international aid agencies and motorcycle taxi workers. International aid organizations distribute medicines and deliver health care to remote populations by way of motorcycle, however these activities are unrelated to the income bearing opportunities for the large and rapidly advancing number of actors that seek routine employment through the use of motorcycles. As Asian importers meet the rising demand for motorcycles in the DRC, governmental regulations work to limit the practical use of motorcycles for income generation through public transportation. Despite governmental efforts to reconstruct and reclaim the public transportation sector it appears that motorcycle taxi clubs and the labor force that these entities create will remain steadfast and actively engaged with the provision of public transportation to remote and ordinarily inaccessible areas throughout the country.
Furthermore, the political and thus social esteem that motorcycle taxi clubs have accrued positions them among the ranks of public servants whereby they simultaneously meet a dire social need and demand, while assisting the capacities [really compensating for governmental incapacity] of local and regional governments. Should motorcycle taxi clubs be ordered to cease operations, the economic toll of income loss would cause far-reaching detriment and disrupt the daily spatial mobility routines of publics that have come to depend on them for the maintenance of their livelihoods, as well as access to civic resources, political processes and economic activity.

*Motorcycle Taxi Clubs as Economic Entities of Opportunity*

Motorcycle taxi clubs offer unemployed and underemployed males [usually] a quick and steady means to garner productive and socio-communicative resources that enable them make profits rapidly and satisfy their basic needs. They also allow members to invest in alternate channels of opportunity and income generation thus functioning as ladders to other lines of employment, and even entrepreneurship. Motorcycle taxi work, and membership within a motorcycle taxi club is viewed as a financially viable and prosperous form of employment. The implications for the permissibility, sustainability, and economic success of motorcycle taxi clubs are far-reaching beyond those employed within its ranks, or the families and households that they provide for. Motorcycle taxi clubs factor into the country’s thriving system of clientelism and the culture of peage or bribery. The profits generated by motorcycle taxi workers supplement the incomes of law enforcement officials and bureaucrats to create an order of interdependence among
them, whereby powerful and authoritative actors have a direct stake in their sustained success.

Furthermore, motorcycle taxi workers assist with monetary circulation within and outside of communities the communities that they operate in. This is evidenced as they facilitate access to commercial sites for customers; distribute goods to shops and informal markets; purchase goods from shop owners and market sellers, and assist with the monitoring of prices and the availability of goods throughout the places that they traverse (See, Farm Radio Weekly, 2011). They assume an unofficial role in the facilitation of supply chains for small businesses, especially as it relates to the sale of staple goods and produce. This was evidenced during a Go-along excursion with Papa Blaise whereby he expressed knowledge of the prices and availability of local staples but also involvement in the transport of such goods between the cities of Lubumbashi and “Kipushi”.

Motorcycle taxi workers also provide a reliable stream of income for sellers in more remote markets in Lubumbashi’s newer settlements as they purchase from and bring customers to these sites. In newer settlements, some open markets have assembled in sites where motorcycle taxi stations are present and motorcycle taxi clubs seek to operate and establish stations near markets. These phenomena fall under the radar of the literature on public transportation, infrastructure and informal distribution networks in the DRC although they illustrate the ways that motorcycle taxis create and facilitate economic survival structures in the country. Until the government and private sectors can offer employment alternatives that can surpass the benefits of motorcycle taxi labor, this line of
work in Congolese society may be one of the most accessible and viable income-bearing options [for males] within the country.

Future Research on Motorcycle Taxi Workers in the Democratic Republic of Congo

This study was conducted to complement the extant research on the Democratic Republic of Congo with the aim to provide a snapshot of a group of motorcycle taxi workers’ attempts to create and seize opportunities via their engagement of communication and media resources that advance their pursuit of social mobility through routine daily spatial moto-mobility. It is a turn to narrativize positive and hopeful phenomena that is negotiated though the will of ordinary people in the City of Lubumbashi and overall, the Democratic Republic of Congo.

There is a need for qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods studies on the motorcycle taxi workers in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Collectively these studies should complement and transcend the aims of the extant research on motorcycle taxis as a form of informal public transportation in the DRC. What is known about motorcycle taxi workers is derived through second hand knowledge stemming from the absence of interpersonal and ethnographic interaction among these groups; journalistic reports whereby the methods of inquiry go unspecified; and institutional data that is gathered for purposes other than the inspection of motorcycle taxi workers’ knowledge, attitudes, practices and needs. Future research must incorporate a range of approaches and actors to gain a better understanding of the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workforce within the context of communication and media studies.
Communication Ecologies of Motorcycle Taxi Workers

in the Democratic Republic of Congo

It is imperative to study motorcycle taxi workers’ communication ecologies in order to understand the nature and dimensions of communication and media that are both salient and insignificant to their communication practices and needs. Using an ecological approach to the discovery of communication phenomena in the work-life of the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers means that all aspects of their work-life sociality must be assessed for their communicative import. This includes human communication, media exposure and media creation patterns, as well as their usage of particular media technologies and media channels.

Such efforts may ultimately allow governmental entities and non-governmental organizations to exact strategic communication among motorcycle taxi workers in the DRC. Drawing on the communication ecology approach may also enable concerned entities to better understand the socio-communicative networks that motorcycle taxi workers engage to conduct daily business activities; how they negotiate work and domestic affairs; the ways that they cultivate their organizational structures; the methods they consult to access and create opportunity structures; and how they manage risk, conflict and organizationally pervasive change.

Awareness of the dimensions, benefits and challenges of these phenomena are important to any efforts to work with and regulate the country’s growing motorcycle taxi workforce. It is also crucial for understanding how they impact the communities that they
are embedded within, and the greater effect of their presence within Congolese society over time.

*Internet Based Communication, Information and Communication Technology and Motorcycle Taxi Workers’ Experiences in the Democratic Republic of Congo*

At present the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers do not enjoy a self-determined Internet presence. Although the Internet bears content that depicts and represents the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers in online publications, including institutional reports, news aggregation sites, blogs, and the local journalistic content of international governance agencies; the information and stories that these sources convey do not emanate from motorcycle taxi workers’ agendas or perspectives. Given the increasing development and installation of telecommunication infrastructure in the DRC, studies should investigate how this may change motorcycle taxi workers’ involvement in accessing, monitoring and structuring their Internet presence. Additionally, as Asian commercial trade avails cheaper and accessible information and communication technologies such as smart phones, tablets and other Internet accessible devices, research should seek to examine the interaction between these phenomena and motorcycle taxi worker’s engagement of the Internet.

There is a need for mixed-methods studies to gauge motorcycle taxi workers’ patterns of access and exposure to the Internet, as well as the forms of content-especially news media, Congolese governmental resources and social media platforms-that they might engage via Internet use. Assuming that as Internet services become more affordable and accessible, studies should interrogate whether or not the Internet will be
considered an increasingly important and mundane aspect of communication and organization among the country’s motorcycle taxi workers.

Medium Effects Studies would gain from employing uses and gratifications, functional analysis, agenda setting and social learning approaches to inspect how Internet based communication impacts the ways that the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers represent themselves; organize at local, regional and national levels; conduct civic engagement and manifest political participation. This would assist with building upon stocks of knowledge about which mass media platforms are engaged by motorcycle taxi workers, the purposes associated with such engagement and potentially the nature of observable outcomes.

Social media research can help us locate and understand the social media presence of the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers, especially as it relates to discourses that respond to and emerge from the framing and reframing of motorcycle taxi workers’ work-life identity/ies, perceptions and representations. Such inquiry can capture data that originates from motorcycle taxi worker clubs, labor organizations, governmental entities, non-governmental agencies and Congolese publics. Ethnographic inquiry, as well as metrics and dimensions analytics can be used to examine the private and public social media phenomena within, between and beyond for motorcycle taxi workers’ respective organizations.
Motorcycle Taxi Workers as a Popular Culture Phenomenon in the Democratic Republic of Congo

Although the DRC’s motorcycle taxi workers have endured unfavorable mass mediated representations, they are an integral feature of the daily, lived experiences of the average citizen in the country. This is evidenced via the inclusion of motorcycle taxi worker storylines, caricatures and social typifications in the content of popular music, music videos and television serials. Congolese television shows, and in the social labeling of people as, “Manseba”. Research should examine how mass media contributes to popular culture’s ownership and construal of a Manseba identity and what this may imply for the experiences of the country’s motorcycle taxi workers. Two-Step Flow and Reverse Two Step Flow studies can be used in conjunction with Social Network Analysis to better understand the directionality, sources and channels of communicative influence as it pertains to the popular culture manifestations of motorcycle taxi workers.

Congolese musicians have started depicting and referencing motorcycle taxi workers in their work. The popular Congolese Rumba musician, Werrason features motorcycle taxi workers in his music video, Block Cadenas (WerrasonVEVO, 2014), where he hails a motorcycle taxi that transports him to a village to partake in festivities. In appreciation, Werrason pays the motorcycle taxi worker $100 USD and then magically disappears from his position on the rear seat of the motorcycle. Cutaway shots feature the motorcycle taxi worker returning to the village with a fleet motorcycle taxi operators.
to look for him. They perform choreographed dances as they sit on their motorcycles and stand in untidy horizontal rows.

Figure 16. Video stills from musician Werrason's *Block Cadenas* music video depicting motorcycle taxi workers in the DRC. Source: (WerrasonVEVO, 2014)

Similarly, Congolese musician Fally Ipupa’s music (2013, Track14) lyrics for his song, *Power 001* references motorcycle taxi workers in the Lingala language. During the song a rapper says, “…Bato ya moto makolo ekomi boye moto moto; Bato ya moto makolo ka boye moto moto, Patrick kaka boye moto moto…” […] People walking, the
motorcycle is coming, moto moto; Motorcyclists, the pedestrians are coming, moto moto; Patrick, the motorcycle is coming, moto moto…\textsuperscript{six}. Other Congolese musicians have also incorporated lyrics about motorcycle taxi workers in their songs and the presence of the workers in their music videos. The trend of popularizing motorcycle taxi workers through mass mediated culture is also seen in televised dramatic productions in the DRC. The popular comedic serial, \textit{Erreurs Graves} features its main character, Manseba, who dons an all red costume comprising pants, a long sleeved button-up shirt, suspenders, red sunglasses and a hat fashioned from a pair of inverted infant’s pants. Going by the pseudonym, Serge Manseba, the popularity of the actor’s antics and his caricature of a middle aged, melodramatic and disgruntled father are widely popular in Lubumbashi. The character’s popularity has thrust the actor into his more recent and successful career as a local musician in Lubumbashi.

\textit{Figure 17.} (left to right) Video still of Serge Manseba character in an episode of \textit{Erreurs Grave}, source: (Lady Lubambula, 2014) and a video still from Serge Manseba’s music video debut, source: (Lubumbashi Ma Ville KATANGA RDC Développement, 2014)
A mix between the character portrayed on *Erreurs Grave* and the nature of mass media representations may contribute to the uptick of the popular use of the word, ‘Manseba’ as a common social referent in Lubumbashi. During my time in Lubumbashi, I witnessed several instances of people calling, their children, siblings, friends and strangers, ‘Manseba’ as a term of endearment that seemed to simultaneously to denote their embodied behavioral shows of mischief and humor. This may indicate the emergence of a social type that is informed by a combination of social interaction and mass media exposure in the DRC.

Research should track the development, reproduction and requirements for the usage and assignment of the appellation as means to contribute to the existing work on social types in the realms of interpersonal, intergroup, intercultural and group communication processes. This may be achieved through ethnographic engagement, content analysis and interviews that are unstructured and semi-structured in nature. Akin to studies that have sought to understand the social-anthropological underpinnings of the naming of sickness, sickness symptoms and individuals that experience them, this inquiry would be essential to scholars and practitioners interested in understanding meaning making, sense-making and cultural re-appropriation processes as it pertains to the cultural and socio-communicative practices of socio-cultural typologizing, naming and framing, and stereotypification. These lines of inquiry may provide insights for all stages and levels of strategic communication.

Popular references to motorcycle taxi workers must be examined to determine how these socio-communicative phenomena translate to the receptivity, legitimacy and
overall popularity of motorcycle workers in the country’s political and business arenas. This work has established the significance of motorcycle taxi workers as conduits of information and the custodians of growing socio-communicative networks. This naturally begs the following questions: Might they also be opinion leaders and influencers within and beyond the communities that they serve? Given their efforts to cultivate a Manseba Movement and politicize their affairs, will motorcycle taxi workers hold political traction beyond their clubs and organizations to engage the Congolese citizenry? Will Manseba and Wewa seek political candidacy in the near future? Social Network Analysis should be conducted to track the social influence among motorcycle taxi workers, specifically as it pertains to how they act as opinion leaders, bridges and boundary spanners to exert their influence and connect motorcycle taxi workers with outgroups.

*Understanding and Harnessing Mass Mediated Media Messages and Frames Depicting Motorcycle Taxi Workers in the Democratic Republic of Congo*

Media Studies should specifically interrogate the sources, subject matter and devices involved with constructing messages and managing discourses that are transmitted via traditional and new media in the representation, framing and appraisal of the country’s motorcycle taxi workers. The perceptions held by Congolese publics, motorcycle taxi workers, and entities tasked with overseeing their functions must be surveyed to inform the policies and practices that direct motorcycle taxi worker organizations and governmental agendas. Content Analysis must be consulted to provide the analytical baseline needed to understand messaging, perceptions of messages and the
methods inscribed in the construction of mass mediated messages. Together with survey outcomes, the findings of Content Analysis can be used to develop and assess the efficacy of strategic communication programs; address communication gaps; identify the opportunities that reside within various channels and forms of communication; and to locate misrepresentations carried via mass mediated messages and frames.

Limitations and Challenges to the Research Process

The study involved participants from a single motorcycle taxi worker club and actors that have direct contact with them. Although attempts were made to conduct interviews with and at times observe the interaction between the members of the Comité de Motard Kisima and members of outgroups such as PCR, customers, and stall owners that share space on the grounds their station headquarters; perhaps the nature of the relationship between the motorcycle taxi club workers and these outgroup participants gave way to biased input and perspectives, as they maintain some degree of familiarity and routine engagement with them. Further inquiry must rectify this issue and get past the relational ties held between motorcycle taxi workers and the community members that they interact with to limit possible issues with response bias. It may likely be the case that those that take the most adversarial stances concerning Manseba are those that have fleeting or irregular interactions with them. The attitudes of such actors must also be factored into research findings in effort to determine public perceptions and sentiments regarding motorcycle taxi workers.

Regrettably I was unable to conduct interviews with local politicians and female motorcycle taxi workers. In the case of making contact with local politicians, this
process is one that required resources that I was not willing to avail to individuals that were able to arrange meetings with local politicians. It seems as if the middlemen that grant passage to local leadership require monetary compensation and seek to intrude upon the research through their request for details about participants and the course of the inquiry. I was unable, unwilling and ethically forbidden to offer the monetary compensation or the particulars of the participants that I conducted inquiry amongst to the ‘fixers’ involved with arranging contact with local political figures. If possible I would recommend coordinating such engagements through an academic organization or non-governmental entity that operates in the DRC.

The relative scarcity of female motorcycle taxi workers rendered it literally impossible to gain their perspectives. As previously mentioned, I only witnessed one female motorcycle taxi worker during my entire time in Lubumbashi. Going forward, it is important to locate and include female motorcycle taxi workers in any inquiry that seeks to understand and produce knowledge about motorcycle worker organizations. Their nature of their membership in motorcycle taxi clubs must be examined for any specialization and unique roles that they may bring to them.

Conclusive Remarks and Reflections

This work offers a view to the citizens of the DRC that is little known and under-researched. It provides insights that contest popular notions that they are a broken and besieged people that require the intellectual assistance of Others to transform their circumstances. Above all this study shows the importance of bottom-up and participatory communication strategies in the negotiation and realization of sustainable and pluralistic
social change. Research in the DRC should seek to document and understand the efforts and progress made by ordinary citizens that engage mass media and communication at all levels toward these ends.

This is especially pertinent with the coming 2016 presidential elections in the DRC. Mass media and socio-communicative networks stand to play a primal role in the behaviors and strategic responses that citizens wage toward authoritative entities, as well as the electoral process and its outcomes. Hopefully the people’s communicative strategies can play a positive role and promote a peaceful climate for protecting and progressing a legitimate electoral process. I hope that the peaceful, complex and dynamic communication strategies that the CMK are structuring can be a model for other Congolese groups and organizations that seek a legitimate and a rightful place in the social, political and economic affairs of their country.
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APPENDIX A: POLITICAL MAP OF THE 54 COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES OF AFRICA

APPENDIX B: MAP OF THE PROVINCIAL REGIONS AND REGIONAL CAPITALS
OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO AND SURROUNDING COUNTRIES

Source: (2013) MOS Mapopensource.com;
APPENDIX C: PARTICIPANT MAP SKETCH OF CMK STATIONS AND SURROUNDING AREA

Source: (2013) Papa Leki, Papa Tshingu, Papa Blaise, PCR Ilunga; CMK Artifacts
APPENDIX D: UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE

Interview Transcript: June 23, 2013, Interview with Papa Leki nyumbani

TITLE: Interview with Papa Laki at my house
DATE: June 23, 2013
LOCATION: City Center, Lubumbashi, DRC
AUDIO DURATION: 39 mins., 25 secs.

PARTICIPANTS: Papa Laki, Manseba Vice President [VP] LANGUAGE: Kiswahili, French, Lingala, English
Principal Investigator [PI]

I 0:00:00 0:00:23 [PREVIOUS CONVERSATION UNRECORDED]. Manseba, you understand, now are 8 Manseba, now they come more, more Manseba they become there then there are more small by small they come there they start working there.

That's why the way they are changing even.

VP 0:00:23 0:00:30 Mishyuwe ilema foto ali bambika la foi passe nili poteyaka mu ile biri poteyaka
I 0:05:15 0:05:16 Any question?

I 0:05:17 0:05:31 Yeah I want to know, you guys use what to communicate with one another, phone, mobile phone, what is the best way you communicating all of you?

PI 0:05:33 0:05:42 Suvient kumenye kule mune d'communicaka mwebote mune d'communicaaka na ma telefon ubilena ma Motorola

VP 0:05:43 0:05:06 Hapana, tuko vile sa tuko na tumika mu arret tuko paka ba motard. Tusha ku famiyana kila muntu anezi kw a na numero ya Fulani bon mon suryin mabanda kwashi akikata ata pane kule anenda ata telephone bon duvuran kwu kapeto ine nitooska essence inaashua uni tumiyeko un litre, muna pata muntu moya anendii agressse ukulebe neni kombanisha paka ma telefon tuko nama numero kila muntu tuko paka.

I 0:08:07 0:06:28 Now they have number for everybody then they're using only cell phone even someone get even the problem somewhere, they will just call, 'I get the problem somewhere please just help me,' even accident, even if the tires break, even the steering they will just call. They have their at each other.

VP 0:06:28 0:06:32 Ndiyo soldier en ka de problem bana mu aggresse tumencia shebote

I 0:05:32 0:06:34 Everybody have the number for everybody they are using cellphones

PI 0:06:40 0:06:44 Do you use SMS also? Ask him

I 0:08:47 0:06:50 Message ma message nayo mune tulizaka

VP 0:08:50 0:06:56 Suvient message hapana paka kwita parquet message utajikya motard eku mumio asta taka

I 0:08:57 0:07:12 Message sometimes they are not using they are just use the call because the motard, sometimes if you send the message it can be he's driving now if you send the message he can't see, if you call then he can know.

PI 0:07:39 0:07:51 What types of media are important for Manseba? Hat types of media do the Manseba use for information for themselves to organize themselves [TAPE ROLLING]

I 0:08:46 0:06:56 Ana uliza asema media ile munekaza nayo ndio ya communication yenu ndio ya organization par example kuko ata problem ya miting muna fuya lwanga miting. Vile pataka information par example mu jurnal muna pata message, bon juya ku yi pibili ku ba motard bingine muna lwanga miting dje?

VP 0:08:01 0:10:29 Hmm... Parque mu vilie ya Lubumbashi uwa kwana salon historie vile ya Lubumbashi salon ma motard iranjaka mu 2010 inkuya internet ni mu 2012 bana i autorité tuwa kuya na association de taxi moto de Lubumbashi. Ile association tuvo na commute urban ya yulu president shebote na motard bote ule ndio eko en direcete muna na ba autorité akiongo esa mmbona. Ana tama muna autorité muna base sa mu arret ya Katuba pa foye, arret ya Mauchpisha, arret ya kule ku Kisanga, arreya ku kasapa inner cite, arret yaku Tchaco, donc ba President bile beko na gere ma arret. Bate motard ou moto ena pita paka ku television. Maire petetra anu interdire ile mamba sa iyi minakone bina ya iheueh bari yame niku television banal et information ku television bantu bana shikya population e ba motard banashikaia maire ariema sa vilie ba motard muno tumike bushikhu ba militar beko ne milamba beko na mi uwa mukate kai 20 heures dejan ina pita ku television parceque bantu bote beko na angariya television ni television ndio loko endirect mamba ya mimanda ma document loko na pita ku ba president ba ma arret
Okay the organization for Manseba it was start from 2010 from 2012, no it's the time they accept. The government just give them the law now you can work but they was start from 2012 they was not law [legal] no Manseba can work but from 2012 they give them chance. Now the media for them it's come by the chief of Manseba. There is a chief of the whole Manseba from Lubumbashi, he's the one.

PI
0:11:25
0:11:28
Where is he? What is his name?

I
0:11:29
0:11:30
Ana ikalaka wapi Chief wana Manseba

VP
0:11:31
0:11:36
Ana ikalaka paka umu mu Lubumbashi, Monsieur Kalenga

I
0:11:36
0:11:38
Mr. Kalenga

VP
0:11:41
0:11:43
Kalenga ndjo eko na dirig Emma urbain

I
0:11:41
0:12:19
That is the Chief for the urban committee for Manseba. The urban committee for Manseba is Mr. Kalenga. He's the one that get the message, other message is coming from the TV like the mayor you can say the day he was pass the TV there was a problem for Manseba they can't work from 18 [6 o'clock pm] they have to stop.

PI
0:12:20
0:12:24
So they watch the news, ask him if he watches the news

I
0:12:25
0:12:28
Un twata die ile bari semaka kokata 18 heures?

VP
0:12:28
0:12:28
Oui

I
0:12:29
0:12:44
Yeah he was watching the news. Now from them if they check the news they find that message from the TV. Now the one who see will come with that news morning time on the public where they're working Manseba then they announce.

PI
0:12:45
0:12:52
Who is that person? Ask him

I
0:12:53
0:13:09
Ule ana kuyaka na message saville unona kutelevision ndjo susa banaanza ku publie mu bote ba famille Manseba nani ndjo ana kuya ku publier.

VP
0:13:09
0:13:21
Ku television ni autorite yemon a ata sema ba tesa kutosha message ban a kaburning ba journalist bata sema ku television ouibien Marie yemonona ana pite ku television. Kama kuko ma question ya ju interview ba President bale betu ndjo bana comente.

I
0:13:22
0:13:26
Ule ont anoona ku television anonon sa bale ba takuya mu station?

VP
0:13:26
0:13:30
Bo Ndjio bata diegue bantu bata kuya tonesha shiye ba President ndjo tu tonesha ba motard.

I
0:13:31
0:13:42
They are making some people delegation for people they come to tell like Papa Leki then Papa Leilo tell the Manseba

PI
0:13:34
0:13:51
What is the title for that person? You ask

I
0:13:52
0:13:55
Bale bana kuyaka kuleta ile ma message kwen mu bale itaka ba nani?

VP
0:13:56
0:13:57
Ni ba delage

I
0:13:57
0:13:58
Delegation

PI
0:13:59
0:14:00
Delegation of what?

I
0:14:00
0:14:01
Manseba

VP
0:14:02
0:14:04
Delegation ya Comité Urbain/ Delegation pour la Comité Urbain

I
0:14:04
0:14:06
Delegation of Committee Urban

PI
0:14:34
0:14:40
The person for the delegation, that person, that is their job?

I
0:14:45
0:14:46
Bole bide legation baile ndjo kai yabo.

VP
0:14:46
0:15:06
Oui, ndjo kai yabo paroquake tuko organize chaque tour chaque motard ana itaka 500 Franc mu 500 Franc muko makuta tata tumaka kwa comité urbain ndjo ya fonctione ya burea na ingine ina bakuya mu cake yetu ya arret ndjo yak u en fonction en cam de problem tana sadyana donc chaque motard obligatoire.

PI
0:15:06
0:15:17
And the delegation is come from where? Who's the person that choose that delegation? Is it Manseba or some authority?

I
0:15:16
0:15:20
Ile delegation ile ninani an choise

VP
0:15:21
0:15:26
Paka shebenyewe ba President ba mu ma arret bale ba yulu
I 0:15:26 0:15:36 Is the President from the all of station because the station is not only one there is Kienaga station, Katuba station.
PI 0:15:36 0:15:37 So all Manseba stations?
I 0:15:38 0:15:43 Yeah they have their President now those President is the one that choose the delegation
VP 0:15:43 0:15:47 Bo bote nipaka ba motard hakuna bantu ba bule hakuna ba sivile hakuna ba bule
PI 0:15:47 0:15:50 So each station chooses one?
I 0:15:51 0:15:53 Station yote ma sholeire moyo
VP 0:15:54 0:16:04 Oui, bon traffixanty bantu bana polibe minapendy ninkuye President w abo motard bon shebote tuns mu vote she ba President ndio paka vila
PI 0:16:05 0:16:09 How many stations are ther for Manseba in Lubumbashi, does he know?
I 0:16:10 0:16:12 Vous avez combien des station en Lubumbashi?
VP 0:16:15 0:16:20 Pour le moment, fois passé tukiyaka tussah kupita 27 apa sasa tusa kupita tena tuku kuma tente quelque
I 0:16:20 0:16:35 Last year, there was passing 27 now right now it's come even 30 something because Lubumbashi is big, there is more corner, motard is everywhere
PI 0:16:42 0:16:59 Where can I go to get, or is ther official documentation of these types of things like the number of stations, number of people that are working as Manseba, is ther any place I can go for that information? Records?
I 0:17:13 0:17:28 Kuko fwaali ile anezi kupata ile document ile ma papie yakusema ile record yaku sema que ba Manseba beko ma group ngapir?
VP 0:17:28 0:17:29 Committee?
I 0:17:30 0:17:40 From committee urban, committee urban you can get you'll iknow even Manseba they're how many Manseba how many President for Manseba.
PI 0:17:41 0:17:47 Where is this place? Where do I find these people the Urban committee delegation?
I 0:17:48 0:17:49 Urbain committee delegation ni wapi?
VP 0:17:50 0:17:57 Niko meni beko paka mu maire sasa banesha ku ba kaburiya nureau ya sasa il faut ni dienfome
I 0:17:57 0:18:03 Then they have a new office he have to make information he have to know where they are

**TAPE ROLLING WHILE INTERVIEW NOT IN PROGRESS**

VP 0:28:09 0:29:35 Shiku kwenda kwal Ku meni kwal Ba Chief il faut ni vale bien sasa miko na nkoensi na creavit main shina na diro na bilato shina ne bilato miko ney o nkoensi mikonayo main nahina njo bilato bya kuvala niabo nkoshi yangu ndio ya kwenda kule ku vile il faut bilato, kochi, bilato bya muzuri tunenda kwa ba shifu mwenye kulala muzuri. Manseba ninini? Okay Manseba ni Oncle. Oncle muki kasai kile kya kwetu ku Kasai okay, okay Oncle, Manseba niko sema Oncle ariana koliza asema Manseba ni nina mina monsasha asema ni oncle.
I 0:29:36 0:29:37 Manseba is uncle

**TAPE ROLLING WHILE INTERVIEW NOT IN PROGRESS**

PI 0:36:20 0:36:53 Who makes the rules, how they decide, who makes a decision in the group, how you manage your work?
VP 0:36:54 0:37:05 Mbele mu selonol yeti ta Congo tule na code de la route ilo ne twangariya shebote na ba chauffeur na ba motorcyclist ilo ne twangariya shebote.
I 0:37:06 0:37:34 The first for them is like 'code de la route' the way to walk in the road is from country first for everybody's vehicle, the rules.
VP 0:37:34 0:37:36 Iko mbele mu payi yeti njo mule muko droi ya kupata permiti yetu juva kupata code de la route
PI 0:37:36 0:37:49 Is there somewhere I can find those? Ask
I 0:37:39 0:37:42 Kuko fwaali unezi na pata ile yote ma route code de la route
VP 0:37:49 0:37:51 Un il faut kuyi tafuta
I 0:37:51 0:37:52 We will look for that
VP 0:37:53 0:37:54 Bane Ujishaka muma mikanda eupit
I 0:37:55 0:37:55 They're selling them around somewhere
PI 0:37:58 0:37:59 Is that what it's called, the official name is what?
0:38:00 Code de la route
0:38:05 François added ma reglement tukusa na reglement d'ordre interieur yaba motard
0:38:10 ile ni association ndjo insa itaka.
0:38:10 Now the rules they have the rules for motard reglement.
0:38:18 0:38:25 Donc ile ni association yetu yaba kubwa. Parquet maman ekao na anjika
François bien donc iyi sa kitabu yetu ile ba kubwa ile ba Chief baritvanjika ndjo ya
kusema kama una penda kwingi ya mu association yetu uata iyi tunapenda
ivi ukuyi iyi ushikuyi iyi, ile niba kubwa njdo banai eta ndjo ile tuko na ita
reglement d'ordre interior mu François.
APPENDIX E: MAP OF MAJOR REGIONAL LINGUISTIC AND ETHNIC REPRESENTATIONS IN THE DRC

J'ai l'honneur de saisir explicitement votre autorité dans le but de vous exprimer ma préoccupation ci-haut émargée.

En effet, rien ne me serait de vous cacher l'appréciation positive ainsi que de l'estime que les décideurs de la société civile du Congo (SOCICO) ainsi que la population active ont manifesté vis-à-vis de votre entretien avec les taxi-motos dans la salle de réunion de l'Hôtel de Ville.

Vu déjà les quelques actions policières de bravoure contre-action : arrestation des bandits armés taxi-motos de COMUT, nous, la grande famille de la société civile, par la présente, vous rassure son soutien indéfectible aux actions positives du Gouvernement dans l'entité où vous avez autorité.

Veuillez recevoir, Monsieur le Maire, nos mots d'encouragement exprimant notre soutien au pouvoir en place.

Pour SOCICO,
Mgr Evêque IKOMBI MOPONDA

Source: (2013) “Pour classement Kisima-Somika”, CMK Artifacts
Source: (2012) “Pour classement Kisima-Somika”, CMK Artifacts
APPENDIX H: EXAMPLE OF CODES AND CODE LINKS

NWV: List of Code-Code Links with comments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Link Type</th>
<th>Target</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASHEL roles</td>
<td>is part of</td>
<td>role enforcement problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADMIN roles</td>
<td>isa</td>
<td>AD = CC LEADERSHIP ROLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADMIN roles</td>
<td>isa</td>
<td>CDI = ASHL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASHEL association</td>
<td>isa</td>
<td>CDI = ASBL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>supports</td>
<td>INTERGROUP COMM. FUNCTION</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Comm. CHANNEL</td>
</tr>
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<td>supports</td>
<td>Mutual Comm. Process</td>
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<td>Mr. Karagwa/Pres. Urbanan</td>
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<td>INTERPERSONAL COMM. FUNCTION</td>
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<td>isa</td>
<td>Comm. CHANNEL</td>
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<td>CHIEF de QUARTER</td>
<td>results from</td>
<td>Information Sharing</td>
</tr>
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<td>is cause of</td>
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<td>CDI = ASHL</td>
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<td>CHIEF de QUARTER</td>
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<td>supports</td>
<td>TOP DOWN COMMUNICATION</td>
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<td>is property of</td>
<td>BOUNDARY ROLE of CMK</td>
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<td>AD = CC LEADERSHIP ROLE</td>
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<td>is part of</td>
<td>Delegation for the Comm. Urbanan</td>
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<td>works with</td>
<td>ELECTORAL COMMISSION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDI = ASHL</td>
<td>isa</td>
<td>CMK FACTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDI = ASHL</td>
<td>works with</td>
<td>CMK Comm. Structure</td>
</tr>
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<td>CMK FACTS</td>
<td>works with</td>
<td>NORT MEDIA</td>
</tr>
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<td>CMK Comm. Structure</td>
<td>supports</td>
<td>LEADERSHIP STRUCTURES</td>
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<td>CMK Comm. Structure</td>
<td>supports</td>
<td>COOPERATION STRUCTURES</td>
</tr>
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<td>CMK FACTS</td>
<td>is property of</td>
<td>CMK IDENTITY STRUCTURES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMK FACTS</td>
<td>is property of</td>
<td>ADMIN ROLES</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX I: EXAMPLE OF CODES AND CODE LINKS

| MASS MEDIA | ALTERS-IMPACTS | STRUCTURING LEGITIMACY |
| MASS MEDIA | supports | Information Seeking |
| MASS MEDIA | ALTERS-IMPACTS | Self Policing |
| MASS MEDIA | ALTERS-IMPACTS | Role of TV in CMK rules |
| MASS MEDIA | ALTERS-IMPACTS | Media Routine |
| MASS MEDIA | ALTERS-IMPACTS | CMK FACTS |
| MASS MEDIA | ALTERS-IMPACTS | CMK Gen. Members |
| MASS MEDIA | ALTERS-IMPACTS | CMK RULES |
| MASS MEDIA | ALTERS-IMPACTS | SECURITY |
| MASS MEDIA | works with | MAIRE |
| MASS MEDIA | ALTERS-IMPACTS | MOISE KC |
| MASS MEDIA | ALTERS-IMPACTS | National Rules/Regulation [Road & Traffic] |
| MASS MEDIA | works with | TOP DOWN COMMUNICATION |
| MASS MEDIA | works with | VIGILANTISM |
| MASS MEDIA | works with | POLICE |
| MASS MEDIA | is property of | MODALITIES |
| MOBILE PHONE [role] | supports | Information SHARING |
| MOBILE PHONE [role] | is property of | Comm. CHANNEL |
| MOBILE PHONE [role] | is associated with | PREFERENCE [Comm] |
| MOBILE PHONE [role] | is property of | Media Use |
| MOBILE PHONE [role] | works with | TV [local Lubum] |
| MOISE KC | is part of | PROVINCIAL GVT. |
| MOISE KC | is part of | National Rules/Regulation [Road & Traffic] |
| Media Consumption | is part of | Media Routine |
| Media Consumption | is property of | Media Use |
| Media Consumption | supports | Self Policing |
| Media Consumption | supports | CMK Comm. Structure |
| Media Routine | supports | Information SHARING |
| Media Routine | supports | COOPERATION STRUCTURES |
| Media Use | is property of | CMK Comm. Structure |
| Media Use | is cause of | RADIO OKAPI |
| Media Use | supports | CMK IDENTITY STRUCTURES |
| Media Use | supports | COOPERATION STRUCTURES |
| Media Use | supports | LEADERSHIP STRUCTURES |
| Media Use | supports | Self Policing |
| Mr. Kalenga/Pres. Urbahn | is property of | Comm. CHANNEL |
APPENDIX J: EXAMPLE OF CODES AND CODE LINKS

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<th>COMMUNITY</th>
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<tr>
<td>CMK IDENTITY STRUCTURES</td>
<td>is a</td>
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<td>CMK PRES.</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>CMK RULES</td>
<td>supports</td>
<td>LEADERSHIP STRUCTURES</td>
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<td>CMK RULES</td>
<td>is associated with</td>
<td>CMK FACTS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMK RULES</td>
<td>is associated with</td>
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<td>CMK STATION/PLACE</td>
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<td>supports</td>
<td>routine embodiment</td>
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<td>supports</td>
<td>PLACE &amp; PERFORMATIVE ROUTINES</td>
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<td>CMK STATION/PLACE</td>
<td>supports</td>
<td>Self Policing</td>
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<td>CMK STATION/PLACE</td>
<td>supports</td>
<td>Information SHARING</td>
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<td>supports</td>
<td>Information Seeking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>is part of</td>
<td>GENERAL PUBLIC</td>
<td>COMMUNITY</td>
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<td>CMK STATION/PLACE</td>
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<td>CMK VP</td>
<td>works with</td>
<td>CMK PRES.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CMK VP</td>
<td>works with</td>
<td>SECRETARY</td>
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<tr>
<td>CMK VP</td>
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<tr>
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<td>is part of</td>
<td>CMK ASBL</td>
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<td>is associated with</td>
<td>ADMIN. ROLES</td>
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<td>AD HOC LEADERSHIP ROLE</td>
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<td>is cause of</td>
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<td>CMK VP</td>
<td>supports</td>
<td>INFO [Manseba Lubumb.]</td>
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<tr>
<td>CMK VP</td>
<td>works with</td>
<td>Mr. Kalenga/Pres. Urbain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>supports</td>
<td>LEADERSHIP STRUCTURES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COOPERATION STRUCTURES</td>
<td>supports</td>
<td>STRUCTURING LEGITIMACY</td>
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<td>Co-Pollicing</td>
<td>is property of</td>
<td>Law Enforc. INTERACTION</td>
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<td>is cause of</td>
<td>PREFERENCE [Comm]</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX K: CMK GRAND ORGANIZATIONAL MAP

Source: (2013) Researcher Photograph
APPENDIX L: EXAMPLE OF JOTTINGS

Source: (2013, July 13) Researcher Jottings

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APPENDIX M: ACTE D’ADHESION

REPUBLIQUE DEMOCRATIQUE DU CONGO
CONSEIL MUTUEL DES TAXIEN-MOTOS
« COMUT »
Sèlection administratif : 10, Av. Cuvier Q. Kafubu C/Kamemba
Tél.: (+243) 811891887 ; (+243) 99255352 ; (+243) 99 328 9770
E-mail : samut2012@yahoo.fr ; comut2012@gmail.com
LUBUMBASHI

ACTE D’ADHESION

De Monsieur :
Fils de :
Lieu de naissance :
Territoire :
Province :
Etat – Civil :

<table>
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<tr>
<th>N°.</th>
<th>NOM, POST-NOM ET PRENOM</th>
<th>LIEU DE NAISSANCE</th>
<th>DATE DE NAISSANCE</th>
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<tr>
<td>05</td>
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Au Conseil Mutuel des Taxiens-Motos

Il est convenu ce qui suit :

Article 1 : Le concerné est pris en qualité de membre effectif.
Article 2 : La cotisation est fixée à FC ...................... par jour, soit $ .............. par jour.
Article 3 : La présente adhésion est à durée indéterminée et prend effet le 16/06/2012.
Article 4 : Le concerné perd la qualité de membre lorsqu’il va en l’encontre des statuts et du Règlement d’Ordre Intérieur de l’Association.
Article 5 : Le membre doit s’abstenir du retard ou du non cotisation sans motif valable, excédant 07 jours.
Article 6 : Les soins médicaux et pharmaceutiques seront donnés aux membres de la famille du concerné de seconde par suivant les limites et conditions fixées par les statuts et le Règlement d’Ordre Intérieur de l’Association.
Article 7 : L’Association se réserve le plein droit d’exclure avec immédiat en cas de manquement portant atteinte au lien ou à un membre du Conseil de gestion.
Article 8 : Pour le cas non prévus par le présent acte, les parties déclarent se référer aux statuts et au Règlement d’Ordre Intérieur.
Article 9 : Le membre de seconde part en signant le présent acte, déclare avoir pris connaissance des statuts et du Règlement d’Ordre Intérieur qui régissent l’Association.

Fait à Lubumbashi, le 16/06/2012

Pour l’ASBL COMUT

TSHUNGU MWEHU Pierre
Président General

Source: (2012) Acte D’Adhesion. CMK Archives

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APPENDIX N: VISUAL MODEL OF THE COMITÉ DE MOTARD KISIMA’S STRUCTURATION OF LEGITIMACY

**STRUCTURING LEGITIMACY**

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<thead>
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<th>LEGITIMATION</th>
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<td>Identity Mgmt.</td>
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<td>- Opportunity</td>
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<td>- Advocacy</td>
<td>- Solidarity</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
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<td>CMK Communication Strategy</td>
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<td>Leadership Repertoires</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERACTION [observable]</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consultation &amp; Application of Capital Facilities</td>
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<tr>
<td>Performance of &amp; Resignation to Routines &amp; Rules</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brokering intragroup &amp; intergroup relationships</td>
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</table>
A determination has been made that the following research study is exempt from IRB review because it involves:

Category 2 - research involving the use of educational tests, survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior

Project Title: From Mbuji Mayi to Manseba: A Formative Glimpse into the Communicative Ecology of Lubumbashi’s Manseba Public Transport Worker Community

Primary Investigator: Nakia Mariah Matthias-Tshikuna

Co-Investigator(s):

Advisor: Roger Cooper

Department: Media Arts and Studies

Jo Ellen Sherow, MPA
Office of Research Compliance

Date 5-21-13

The approval remains in effect provided the study is conducted exactly as described in your application for review. Any additions or modifications to the project must be approved (as an amendment) prior to implementation.
ENDNOTES

i  Daily Spatial Mobility is an interdisciplinary conceptualization of routine mobility that is discussed by Aharon Kellerman (2012) at length in his work, Daily Spatial Mobilities: Physical and Virtual. It examines the role of routine mobility in the life-activities and communicative practices among social actors.

ii  See (Eric, Shouyu, & Qin, 2010; The World Bank, 2013), which detail plans for the prioritized implementation of public transportation in Kinshasa’s Bas-Congo province through the introduction of busses and redrawn bus routes

iii  See (Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Kinshasa, 2013, 2014a, 2014b; Kikayabinkarubi.net, 2014; Radio Okapi, 2014g; Ray, 2006; Reuters, 2013; TATA Motors, 2011; The Hindu Business line, 2013)

iv  The Government of the Republic of Congo has been actively pursuing a program of infrastructural and social development that includes the provision and operation of public transportation via private-public partnerships. This is in part an objective of the Le 5 Chantiers, a reconstruction, revitalization and development agenda implemented under the Administration of President Joseph Kabila. See

v  Internal administrative zones function as distributional and operational areas for international governing agencies such as the UNHCR, MUNUSCO and other similar organizations.

vi  See (Cabinet du Président de la République-GRN RDC, 2004; GRN RDC, 1978) for versions of the code de la route.

vii  Kinshasa is an exception to this modality as it is both the country’s capital city and one of the nations 11 provinces. Thus, it is official a city-province.

viii  The French word ‘peage’ directly translates to the word toll in English. However, in this sense the word is used as a common terminology that describes a cultural practice of bribing law enforcement and public officials whom expect payment in order to permit citizens to conduct their social, economic and political pursuits.

ix  The names Manseba and Wewa are words within the Tshiluba [also Ciluba and Kiluba] language that originate with members of the DRC’s Luba ethnic representation. The word Manseba is Tshiluba for, “mother’s brother” (Reefe, 1981, p. 72) or uncle and Wewa means, “you” (Radio Okapi, 2011, online). It is unclear as to why motorcycle taxi workers are called Manseba, however it is known that “Wewa” is commonly employed by Tshiluba speakers to gain others’ attention and has become a popular referent for these groups. See (Crouzier, 2013, p. 16; Radio Okapi, 2011, 2014i)

x  See (Radio Okapi, 2010b, 2011)

xi  Borrowing from Pinch and Reimer’s (2012) work on Motorcycle Mobilities, the term Moto-Mobility simply refers to the use of Motorcycles for the enactment of geo-spatial routine mobility.

xii  Motorcycle taxi workers are known to earn daily wages that can halve the total monthly salary of police officers as well as other types of publicly and privately employed individuals. They are top earners in the realm of informal public transportation with reports indicating that they can earn anywhere from $20 USD to $40 USD per day (Lamb et al., 2012). This is compared to the average monthly income of individuals, which can range from $50 to $70. Reports also indicate that they can earn from $10,000 USD to $45,000 USD year (Kaka, 2014).
The cost of licenses and registration fees may be fixed however, corruption and acts of clientelism may cause for variation in the prices of these official documents. In the case of the CMK, the Vice president noted that the cost of acquiring a license for operating a motorcycle is $25 USD or the equivalent in Congolese Francs. The CMK’s regular quittance fees range from $7 USD to $8 USD on a monthly basis.

The concept of fields of perception is premised upon Merleau Ponty’s (Merleau-Ponty, 2005, pp. 18–21) examination of, “perceptual fields” which are bound up in the phenomenology of experience as it relates to “things”, “spaces between things”, and “truth” as actors go about their realities.

During the months of March to August 2013, Lubumbashi experienced a rash of invasions by militia members that were Mayi Mayi-Bakata Katanga or other Mayi Mayi groups. These invasions occurred throughout the duration of my time in Lubumbashi and contributed to an increased presence of Congolese national military police and hired military police from Rwanda, Angola and Libya. Military personnel such as rank soldiers were not allowed to post or be seen on the streets of Lubumbashi due to fear that several of the Mayi Mayi militia members were impersonating members of FARDC (See Radio Okapi, 2014p). The March invasions were widely documented and reported throughout local and international news media outlets, especially within the realm of business news. See (Bakumanya, 2013; Kavanagh, 2013; LeKatangais & Dieudonne, 2013; Radio Okapi, 2013c, 2013d; U.S. Embassy DRC Kinshasa Consular Affairs, 2013; United States Embassy Kinshasa-Democratic Republic of the Congo [Warden Information], 2014) To date Mayi-Mayi invasions and seizures of Katangan towns has become a major concern for the DRC and international governing agencies. See (U.S. Embassy DRC Kinshasa, 2014; United States Department of State, 2014)

See the growing body of work related to the role of mass media in the experiences of ethnic minorities, Albino populations, victims of rape, victims of sexual censure and harassment, homosexual communities and transportation workers in various African countries.

The notion of preventative diplomacy derives from the United Nations’ conceptualization of a series of intentioned actions performed, proactively, consistently and preemptively to deter, assuage and transform conflict or disputes among entities or actors. (See, United Nations, 2011)

The word, ‘moto’ is a common colloquialism for motorcycle or motorbike in many Bantu languages throughout Africa.
