THE IMPACT OF THE TAXI RECAPITALISATION PROGRAMME ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN TAXI INDUSTRY: A CASE STUDY OF GREATER MANKWENG TAXI ASSOCIATION IN CAPRICORN DISTRICT, LIMPOPO PROVINCE.

BY

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**Declaration**

I, Maijane Martha Baloyi, declare that this dissertation is my own original work, has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university, and that the sources that I have used have been fully acknowledged. This dissertation is submitted in fulfillment for the requirements for the degree Masters of Administration (Public Administration) at the University of Limpopo.
Abstract

The implementation of the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme was articulated by the South African government since 1999, with its estimated time implementation to start in 2005. As at the time of completion of this study the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme was still not absolutely completed. While 2010 was earmarked to be a year to remove all unroadworthy vehicles on the South African public roads, and that has not been completely achieved, especially in the rural areas where roads are not well tarred and constructed. This study investigated the impact that the implementation of the TRP has on taxi queue marshals, taxi rank- street vendors, taxi drivers and taxi-owners as well as their perceptions of the government’s Recapitalisation programme. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were used to collect data from the Greater Mankweng Taxi Association in Limpopo Province, Capricorn district and the Limpopo Department of Roads and Transport. The findings of the study, however differs in terms of the participants categories, but the general perception from the respondents is that the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme is not bringing substantial benefit to those it intends to benefit such as taxi operators, taxi drivers and the government revenue system. The street vendors who are indirect beneficiaries also do not see the impact of the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme on their business.
Acknowledgements

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Dedication

This study is dedicated to my daughter Katlego, son Thapelo Konoko David and my late father, Konoko David Baloyi (May his soul rest in the peace of Christ Jesus), whom I named my son after. Dad, your presence is highly missed and you will forever be in my thoughts and heart, and I intend to make you proud even when you are gone. I love you daddy.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1. INTRODUCTION

As South Africa continues to highlight the role of the public transport in its economic development, the taxi industry is by far playing an important role in the public transport system of the country. The industry thus far transports the largest number of public transport users in the country. The minibus taxi industry by far transports the biggest number of passengers on any given day, compared to both rail and bus. Minibus taxis are responsible for 65% of the 2.5 billion annual passenger trips in urban areas, as well as a high percentage of rural and intercity transport. Buses and trains account for 21% and 14% respectively of all public transport (Department of Transport, 2010). In spite of this competitive advantage, the industry has experienced violence, harassment and intimidation emanating from the need to dominate operations over routes considered to be lucrative (Cooper, Murdy and Nelson, 2010: 19). The violence that has dominated the industry has overshadowed the significant role played by the minibus taxi industry in the transport system. As more passengers and ordinary people are becoming victims of taxi violence, they look for alternative means of transport such as trains, buses and private cars, and consequently the industry loses its market (Mahlangu, 2002: 14).

In 1992 the National Taxi Task Team (NTTT) was set up by the National Department of Transport to investigate the causes and measures that can be used to end the conflicts, the team was set-up in Gauteng Province. After investigations conducted by the NTTT, it was reported that the current minibus taxi industry is not recognized by government and that it lacks economic empowerment, a formal structure and effective control of its operations (Memorandum, 1999). The task team recommended that the Minister of Transport should regulate and formalize the industry and work towards its economic empowerment. It is as a result of some recommendations by the NTTT that the negotiations between the government and taxi organizations (associations) was initiated, which ultimately saw all minibus taxi organizations agreeing to work together in the process.
The Government’s discussions led to the introduction of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme as a solution to the existing minibus taxi problems. The TRP ensures that minibus taxi permits get converted to Operating Licenses. The permit conversion process to Operating Licenses is meant to ensure that minibus taxi operators confine their operations to specific routes and stop invading routes used by rival associations (Fourie and Pretorious, 2005: 23). It can be argued that permits cannot be regarded as rights, but privileges and therefore no single association in the country can claim absolute route ownership. All routes are to be as belonging to the people of South Africa for usage. The minibus taxi industry renders a service for commercial gain, like any other business and should, therefore, comply with government regulation in this regard. The role of the industry is strictly that of business, and that of government is regulation. A taxi permit or Operating License gets issued to an applicant to render a service, but it remains the property of government (Ministry of Transport, 2005).

As part of Government’s intervention to improve the effectiveness of the industry since its de-regulation, the Taxi Recapitalization Programme (TRP) was introduced and implemented in 2005. Its purpose was to bring about safe, effective, reliable, affordable and accessible taxi operations by introducing New Taxi Vehicles (NTVs) designed to undertake public transport functions in the taxi industry (Cokayne, 2006: 12). Under a recapitalization plan, jointly developed by the Department of Transport, Trade and industry, Minerals and Energy and Finance, government promised to subsidize the existing taxi owners to help them buy the new 18 to 35 seat taxis. The plan includes taking the country’s fleet of 120000 minibus taxis off the road by the year 2015 and replacing them with larger, stronger, safer equipped with smart cards to ensure they stick to registered routes (Government Gazette, 2005).

Operators who wish to reduce their fleet by partly exiting and partly remaining were given a chance. For example, if an operator has five taxis and wants to surrender only two taxi vehicles and their permits but remain in the industry to continue doing business with the other three legally operating taxis, such an operator would then qualify for immediate R100, 000 for the two taxis to be surrendered and recapitalize the other three during the next phase of the roll out of the TRP. At the next phase of the roll out
the operator would still qualify to recapitalize the remaining three taxis by obtaining R50 000 per taxi to enable him/her to use the money as a deposit for the three New Taxi Vehicles (NTVs).

The second process is the ultimate recapitalization of the taxis belonging to operators who wish to replace their taxis with NTVs and using the R50, 000 per legal taxi as deposits to purchase the NTV. The first process (voluntary exit) is to be preceded by the registration of “intention to exit”. Applicants are not expected to hand in their taxi vehicles and permits, but are rather expected to go and register their intention to completely or partly exit. Applicants will then be called upon at a later stage to bring in their vehicles for actual scrapping once all the necessary supporting documents have been checked and verified. The taxi vehicles to be handed-in will be checked and confirmed for authenticity (Government Gazette no. 29421, 2006). The introduction of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme, however, is not considered beneficial to all affected beneficiaries.

2. PROBLEM STATEMENT
The Taxi Recapitalization Programme has led to government-created cartel of larger-scale taxi operators, because the subsidy to purchase new vehicles is not sufficient to cover replacement costs for struggling minibus taxi operators (Smith, 2005:1). Larger, wealthier taxi operators who are better able to absorb these and the other costs associated with the Taxi Recapitalization Programme will remain in the industry, while small-scale taxi entrepreneurs are driven out. Many people benefit directly or indirectly from the minibus taxi industry. The consequent impact of the implementation of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme has put some taxi owners and taxi drivers out of work, thus increasing the rate of unemployment. This should be troubling the South African economy with an unemployment rate of 4.3 million people (Statistics South Africa, 2009).
3. RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES

3.1. **Aim**
The aim of this research is to investigate the impact of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme on taxi drivers, taxi queue marshals, vendors at taxi ranks and taxi operators (owners) using the case study of Greater Mankweng Taxi Association in Limpopo Province.

3.2. **Objectives**
The objectives of this research are:

- To investigate the impact of Taxi Recapitalization Programme on the employment of taxi drivers in the Greater Mankweng Taxi Association.
- To investigate the impact of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme on the employment of taxi queue marshals in the Greater Mankweng Taxi association.
- To investigate the impact of Taxi Recapitalization Programme on the taxi operators (owners)
- To investigate the impact of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme and the businesses vendors at the taxi ranks in Mankweng Taxi Association.
- To determine the method and system that can be used to improve the running of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme without necessarily increasing the unemployment rate and getting people out of the taxi industry.

4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS
The research questions are one of the first methodological steps the researcher has to take when undertaking research. The research has five questions:

- What is the impact of Taxi Recapitalization Programme on the employment of taxi drivers of Greater Mankweng Taxi Association?
- What is the impact of Taxi Recapitalization Programme on the employment of taxi operators of Greater Mankweng Taxi Association?
• What is the impact of Taxi Recapitalization Programme on the employment of taxi queue Marshalls of Greater Mankweng Taxi Association?

• How is Taxi Recapitalization Programme affecting the business of the vendors at the taxi ranks of Greater Mankweng Taxi Association?

• What measures could be put in place to improve the implementation and the running of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme?

5. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Pretorius (2002: 4) indicates that any academic subject requires a methodology to reach its conclusion. It must have ways of producing and analyzing data so that theories can be tested, accepted or rejected. Mouton (1998:38) points out that the methodological dimension refers to the knowledge of how or knows how to do things. Mouton (2001:15) states that to satisfy the information needs of a study or research project, an appropriate methodology has to be selected and suitable tools for data collection and analysis have to be chosen. The study will use both qualitative and quantitative research approaches. A case study approach will be adopted; in this instance the case of Greater Mankweng Taxi Association.

5.1. Quantitative research

As it might be implied from the name quantitative, the researcher quantifies variables to the extent possible, partitioning it according to the various sources or causes. Mouton (1998:40) argues that quantitative study is an inquiry into a social or human problem, based on testing a theory composed of variables measured with numbers and analyzed with statistical procedures, in order to determine whether the predictive generalization of the theory holds true. The quantitative approach will include the use of techniques such as quantitative analysis of results obtained through questionnaire. A questionnaire will be distributed to minibus taxi drivers, minibus taxi operators, taxi ranks vendors and queue marshals within the Greater Mankweng Taxi Association areas.
5.2. Qualitative research

Qualitative methods, as the name indicates, are methods that do not involve measurement or statistics. The natural sciences have had such resounding success with qualitative methods. Qualitative methods are sometimes looked down upon as less scientific because of their nature of use and application. They have been in use in philosophy, sociology, and history for centuries (Beoree, 2005:1).

Beoree (2005: 1) indicates that qualitative research is a method of inquiry appropriated in many different academic disciplines, traditionally in the social sciences, but also in market research and further contexts. Qualitative researchers aim to gather an in-depth understanding of human behaviour and the reasons that govern such behaviour. Rajit (2004: 1) argues that the qualitative method investigates the why and how of decision, not just what, where and when. Hence, smaller but focused samples are more often needed, rather than large samples. Qualitative methods produce information only on particular cases studied, and any more general conclusions are only considered as hypotheses (informative guesses). Qualitative approach in this regard will use the interview technique to solicit information from the respondents.

The interview seeks to describe the meanings of central themes in the life world of the subjects. The main task in interviewing is to understand the meaning of what the interviewees say (Kvale, 1996: 2). The interview seeks to cover both a factual and a meaning level, though it is usually more difficult to interview on a meaning level. Interviews are particularly useful for getting the story behind a participant’s experiences. The interviewer can pursue in-depth information around the topic (McNamara, 1999: 1). In this study the interviews will be conducted with three members of the Mankweng Taxi Association board and two personnel members who issue taxi permits from the Limpopo Department of Roads and Transport.

5.3. Study area

The study will be conducted in Mankweng, Limpopo Province, and its focus is on the Greater Mankweng Taxi Association located in Polokwane, where the head office is.
According to the information from the association’s head office, the association has fifteen taxi ranks in and out of Polokwane area in areas such as Boyne, Mankweng, Ga-Mothapo, Ga-Molepo, Ga-MMamabolo, Solomondale, Makotopong and Dikgale. In all these areas there are 356 registered minibus taxis operating. The association provides transportation mostly to rural areas with poor road infrastructure. The major routes used by their minibus taxis in rural areas are unpaved, rocky and dusty. They are only two semi-urban settlements (townships) which are Mankweng and Solomondale. The two areas have tarred road and the traffic volume in both areas is high. The number of taxis belonging to Greater Mankweng Taxi Association has dropped, however, as from 2006, and this is one of the reasons that prompted the researcher to conduct research in this area. The drop of the number of taxis naturally increased the scarcity of transportation to and from these areas.

5.4. Population

Population study is a study of a group of individuals taken from the general population who share a common characteristic. This group may be studied for different reasons, such as their response to the Taxi Recapitalization Programme. The population of this study is 356 taxi drivers, 25 queue marshals, 250 taxi owners, vendors at taxi facilities, members of the taxi association, government officials and personnel.

5.5. Sampling strategy

The study will use both purposive and stratified sampling strategies. The purpose of sampling is to make generalizations about the whole (the population) which are accurate and which allow prediction. According to Mouton and Marais (1998:41) the key concept in sampling is representativeness. Sampling involves selecting a group of people with whom to conduct a study. The owners of taxis (with or without permits/operating license), taxi drivers, queue marshals and the management of the Mankweng Taxi Association are the possible respondents in this study.
5.6. Data collection methods

Data will be collected using the following techniques: questionnaires, interviews, focus group discussions and documentations. The researcher will use both qualitative and quantitative methods to collect both primary and secondary data. Primary data will be collected through questionnaires to be administered at the head office of the Greater Mankweng Taxi Association, the branches of Mankweng Taxi Association based in Boyne and Mankweng areas and the Limpopo Department of Roads and Transport. Secondary data will be collected through literature study on the topic.

5.6.1. Questionnaires

Questionnaires will be used to collect data in this study. The questionnaire is the most commonly used method of gathering information about use and users. Questionnaires are also easy to prepare, they are a less expensive way to reach more people, including people at living distances away. Depending upon the mode of distribution, this can be quickly done and data analysis can begin right away. The structured questionnaires will be distributed to the taxi drivers, taxi owners (operators), taxi queue marshalls and vendors at the taxi ranks of Mankweng Taxi Association (Polokwane), the branches of Mankweng Taxi Association based in Boyne and the one in Mankweng. Respondents will be participating voluntarily in completing the questionnaires.

5.6.2. Interviews

Interviews will be used to collect data with some selected samples of the respondents. The targeted group for the interview is the personnel that deal directly with implementation of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme.

5.6.3. Focus groups

Bryman, cited in Burnham et al. (2004: 109), argues that the focus group is a much more natural environment for sharing information and contributing to research than situations such as an interview in the street or alone in one’s home. Focus groups will be conducted with the members of Greater Mankweng Taxi Association in Polokwane, Limpopo.
5.6.4. **Documentations**

Documentation refers to the process of providing evidence or to the communicable material used to provide such documentation. Documentation also (seldom) refer to tools aiming at identifying documents or to the field of study devoted to the study of documents and bibliographies. Government legislations, books and journals relating to Taxi Recapitalization Programme, operating licenses and public transport at large will be consulted in order to compile an informed and factual study.

6. **Ethical considerations**

Mouton (2001:25) states that there are a number of key phrases that describe the system of ethical protection that the contemporary research establishment has created to try to protect better the rights of the research participants. The principle of **voluntary participation** requires that people not be coerced into participating in research. The researcher did not force or blackmail any respondent to participate in the study. She just introduced herself and informed the respondents about her study, and participants voluntarily took part in her study. Closely related to the notion of voluntary participation is the requirement of **informed consent**. Essentially, this means that prospective research participants must be fully informed about the procedures and risks involved in research and must give their consent to participate. Ethical standards also require that researchers do not to put participants in a situation where they might be at **risk of harm** as a result of their participation. Harm can be defined as both physical and psychological.

There are two standards that are applied in order to help protect the privacy of research participants. The researcher guaranteed the participants that there was no harm in taking part in her study as it would only take a few minutes to respond to the researcher and respond to questions that are not intimidating or harmful. Almost all research guarantees the participants’ **confidentiality** -- they are assured that identifying information will not be made available to anyone who is not directly involved in the study. The stricter standard is the principle of **anonymity**, which essentially means that the participant will remain anonymous throughout the study -- even to the researchers themselves. Clearly, the anonymity standard is a stronger guarantee of privacy, but it is
sometimes difficult to accomplish, especially in situations where participants have to be measured at multiple time points (e.g., a pre-post study). Increasingly, researchers have had to deal with the ethical issue of a person's right to service (Rajit, 2004: 18). The researcher ensured that no participant was named as an individual, hence the questionnaires did not have a space to fill in personal information except biographical information.

7. Data analysis

The most common analysis of qualitative data is observer impression. That is, expert or bystander observers examine the data, interpret it via forming an impression and report their impression in a structured and sometimes quantitative form (Creswell, 2003: 24). When analyzing data, one has to go through the process of identifying themes and describing what has been found during the observation and interviews. Once the questionnaires are completed, the readings will be done for the purposes of analysis. Rajit (2004: 15) states that data analysis is at the core of the aim as it enables one to drive a description on the essential feature of a specific experience. Data will be analyzed by means of Statistical Package of Social Sciences Programme where the response from questionnaires will be calculated. The data that will be obtained through interviews will be prepared and read. The descriptive analysis approach will be used to provide preliminary insight into the nature of the responses that will be obtained.
8. Significance of the study

The study will be significant in the following ways:

- The study will contribute to knowledge; it will be used by future researchers who wish to research on taxi recapitalization programme as well as taxi operating licenses and its impact on taxi industry/business. The future researchers may use the study as a source of reference for their studies.

- The South African minibus taxi is the dominant mode of public transport and it has a very important role to play in the economy, hence this study will prove that if the Limpopo taxi industry is improved, it will significantly benefit the Limpopo provincial economy, through employment and business development.

- The study will be helpful to the Department of Roads and Transport in the Limpopo Province and other interested provinces who can use the study as a reference to solve their problems. The Taxi Recapitalization Programme is an ongoing programme that can change a number of people’s lives, others for the good while for others the opposite would be the case. Therefore the departments may refer to this study to see the impact of the programme and perhaps heed the researcher’s proposed solutions.

- The taxi industry is a fascinating industry, and just like any other business industry has its own prons and cons, this study will disclose these aspects, thus assisting citizens who wish to join the industry to have an understanding of what lies ahead of them in the taxi industry.
9. DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

Operator: It means a public transport operator as defined in the National Land Transport Transition Act (2000), being a person carrying on the business of a public passenger road transport service.

Minibus Taxi: It means a motor vehicle which plies hire, is operated for reward. Kailey (2009: 23) define a taxi as a car driven by a person whose job is to take passengers where they want to go in exchange for money.

Taxi industry: This refers to the people engaged in a taxi commercial enterprise; "each industry has its own trade publications" the organized action of making of goods and services for sale (Gule, 2009).

Taxi marshal: a person who arranges passenger and vehicle-related procedures at taxi facilities. The term taxi marshal originates in the USA, the tradition of controlling traffic flow manually. Taxi marshals undertake a wider range of duties other than controlling traffic flow, duties such as reassuring public safety by providing control over the behaviour on the taxi stances (Nelson, 2010: 8).

Taxi Recapitalization Programme: this refers to an intervention by Government to bring about safe, effective, reliable, affordable and accessible taxi operations by introducing New Taxi Vehicles (NTVs) designed to undertake public transport functions in the taxi industry (Ministry of transport, 2005).
10. CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter 1: This chapter dealt with the introduction and background study. The problem statement, the research aim and objective, the research methodology and design, ethical considerations, data analysis, significance of the study and the chapter outline.

Chapter 2: This chapter will concentrate on the literature in the subject of the study. Literature in this chapter focuses on matters such as the history of the minibus taxi industry and the legislative frameworks governing the minibus taxi industry.

Chapter 3: This chapter focuses on the impact of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme on the South African minibus taxi operators, drivers and the locality in general. In discussing, this the researcher will work on literature cowing as aspects such as loss of employment and business in the minibus taxi industry, passenger safety and fare costs, road accidents and road safety. Lastly, the researcher will concentrate on its implications on the TRP.

Chapter 4: This chapter will focus on the design and method of the research such as population sampling, data collection and analysis.

Chapter 5: This chapter will concentrate on the research findings, presentation and analysis of the study. It will look at the impact that the programme has on various people and sectors, and then further analyze those findings and perform an educated interpretation of the situation based on the findings.

Chapter 6: This is the last chapter. The researcher will give recommendations based on all the information gathered. The researcher will then suggest solutions to any problems found.
11. CONCLUSION
Among the developing economies, South Africa is unique in its endeavour to provide public transport. The South African minibus taxi industry was spawned by informal black entrepreneurs during the darkest days of the apartheid era, and today flourishes more formally as an essential part of the economic and social existence. Therefore, the government found it necessary to introduce the Taxi Recapitalization Programme. While the intentions behind these changes seemed to be good, the consequences of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme were likely less positive. The Taxi Recapitalization Programme is, for example, a boon to some taxi operators and a real burden to others. Larger, wealthier operators are much more likely to be able to afford the costs of replacing their minibuses than smaller operators. And the local automotive industry, which will be contracted to provide the new vehicles, should also be quite happy. This study will investigate the Taxi Recapitalization Programme and address its failure and success. The next chapter will concentrate on the historical background of the minibus taxi industry as well as the current situation within the minibus taxi industry. In addition to that, legislation governing the minibus taxi industry will be consulted.
CHAPTER 2: THE SOUTH AFRICAN TAXI INDUSTRY AND THE LEGISLATION GOVERNING THE INDUSTRY

1. INTRODUCTION
The South African public transport system consists predominantly of rail and bus services that are subsidized by the government, and the minibus taxi service, which is not subsidized. These three modes of transport do not work in an integrated way and usually compete with one another for commuters. Ford (1989: 36) argues that the public transport system needs to be more convenient and affordable than private vehicle use in order to lure commuters away from their own motor vehicles. However, the majority of users of public transport in South Africa have no choice but to use it despite its shortcomings. Such need places a greater responsibility on national, provincial and local governments to ensure that public transport systems meet the needs of the communities they serve. Minibus taxi commuters account for over 63 per cent of public transport users for work, school and other purposes. Bus services account for another 22 per cent of public transport commuters. The remainder of commuters use trains (Department of Transport, 2010). The pressing challenge in the taxi industry is that many taxis are old, un-roadworthy and in bad condition, resulting in frequent accidents (Smith, 2005: 2). This state of affairs necessitates a reaction from the government to consider a remedial action that will reduce road accidents and related problems.

Since 2001, there has been an ongoing initiative driven by the National Department of Transport to formalize and regulate the industry by implementing the Taxi Recapitalization Programme. In rolling out the Taxi Recapitalization Plan (TRP), the government recognizes that the plan’s sustainability does not only lie in the scrapping of old taxi vehicles, which remains the primary and immediate goal, but also key to the success of the plan is the effective regulation, its integration into the public transport system, effective law enforcement and putting the safety of commuters first (Ministry of transport, 2005). This chapter will therefore present the history of the minibus taxi industry, the impact of the apartheid legislation on public transport in South Africa and the legislative framework governing public transport in the country.
2. THE HISTORY OF THE MINIBUS TAXI INDUSTRY IN SOUTH AFRICA

The taxi industry is one of the most lucrative transport and business sectors and an important pillar of the South African economy. The industry is increasing rapidly in contributing to the Gross Domestic Product in the country. In 2009 the industry contributed 8.9%, while for the three quarters of 2010 it contributed 9.1% (Statistics South Africa, 2010:37). The birth of this industry was a direct result of industrialization, which forced black South Africans from their traditional homesteads to the cities to look for work. The Natives Land Act of 1913 dispossessed the majority of South African people from their land and forced them into the urban labour market. Given this account, the taxi industry traces its roots from among one of the earliest business sectors that would later play a significant role in the economic development of South Africa.

The earliest history in this aspect tells that as more people moved to urban areas in search of employment, some were hired as horse-cart drivers and eventually accumulated sufficient financial resources to enable them to emerge as entrepreneurs within the taxi business. Therefore, with the increasing number of cart owners, competition became a component of the then underdeveloped transport industry, which comprised of wagons flooding taxi ranks or waiting stations. As Khosa (2001: 23) notes, the phenomenon of black taxis can be traced to the turn of the 18th century. The predecessors of the modern black taxis were horse-drawn cabs which emerged in the late 1800s. The history of the minibus taxi industry in South Africa can be traced back to the late 18th century. That may cover the period 1850-1913, 1960s to 1980s and the 1990s to date. Therefore, the description of the history of the minibus taxi industry in South Africa will cover at least three periods of the phases to the present time.
3. THE IMPACT OF THE APARtheid LEGISLATION ON PUBLIC TRANSPORT IN SOUTH AFRICA

The early 1950s was marked by political struggle in the history of South Africa. The public transport sector in that era of revolution could not enjoy comfort. Prior to 1940 taxis were not known, the taxi industry started immediately after the massive general strike of 1955, given the increased demands for public transportation (Khoza, 2003:2). The recruited Africans were separated according to tribe and race as various legal acts stipulated. This separation caused migrant workers to live far from the white 'suburbs', in jail-like barracks and locations. Group Areas Act 41 of 1950 forced physical separation between races, creating different residential areas for different races and led to forced removals of people living in "wrong" areas, for example Coloureds living in District Six in Cape Town, which was not designated for them (ibid).

The system of separate development created massive problems as far as public transportation was concerned. The separation meant that these groups were to make use of transportation to and from work daily, which was distant from where they lived. They used buses and trains as the preferred modes for transportation. It was by virtue of the fact that the prosperity of white supremacy in South Africa depended upon the labour of black Africans and, to a lesser extent, Indians, other Asians and Coloureds. According to Davenport and Saunders (1999:07) point out that the system also depended upon the migrant's cooperation with the system in a South Africa whose population in 1951 included:

- 8, 560, 003 African (Blacks)
- 1, 103, 016 Coloured
- 366,664 Asian and Indian
- 2, 641, 689 White.

Various segregation laws were passed before the Nationalist Party took complete power in 1948. The most significant were: The Natives Land Act, no. 27 of 1913 and the
Natives (Urban Areas) Act 16 of 1923. The former made it illegal for black people to purchase or lease land from whites except in reserves. This restricted black occupancy to less than eight per cent of South Africa's land, where there would not be any meaningful economic influencers. The latter act laid the foundations for residential segregation in urban areas.

Barret (2003: 6) asserts that apartheid spatial planning impacted directly on the public transport provided by buses and trains. Public transport became increasingly expensive for commuters and also for the state to provide the subsidies required. Increasingly, buses and trains operated at peak times only and routes became less and less flexible. The growth of the minibus taxi industry in the late 1970s was in large part a response to this. Initially the state acted to protect the existing transport systems, and prevented entrepreneurs from operating minibus taxis by refusing to issue road carrier permits (Moloantoa, 2006). It must be borne in mind that from the early 1960s onwards, urban African people were relocated, very often through forced removals, to reside in areas far from the commercial and industrial centres of all South Africa's cities. These relocations were part and parcel of the policy of apartheid, designed to keep racially defined groups separate.

3.1. The period 1800 to 1913

The Natives Land Act of 1913 dispossessed the majority of people from their land and forced them into the urban labour market. Given this account, the taxi industry traces its roots from among one of the early business sectors that would later play a significant role in the economic development of South Africa. As Khosa (1992: 40) explains, ‘the phenomenon of black taxis can be traced back to the 18th and 19th centuries. The predecessors of the modern black taxis were horse-drawn cabs which emerged in the late 1800s.

The principal centres of the wagon-and carriage-building industry were in the Cape Province at Wellington, Worcester, Paarl, Robertson, King William's Town and Queenstown (Starkey, 2002: 23). As more people moved to urban areas in search of
employment, some of them were hired as horse-cart drivers, and eventually accumulated sufficient financial resources to enable them to emerge as entrepreneurs within the taxi business. Therefore, with the increasing number of cart owners, competition became a component of the business. The story of public transport in South Africa began over 160 years ago, with the establishment in 1801 of a weekly post-wagon service between Cape Town and Simons town. In 1806 there was a similar service between Cape Town and Stellenbosch and in 1838 a post-wagon linked Cape Town with Wynberg and Swellendam. The vehicles were probably spring-less, tented horse-wagons.

The English type of stage-coach, however, was also to be seen on Cape roads. It had red wheels, a black-and yellow body and the royal arms on its doors. In 1844 the `Red Rover Royal Mail Coach' began to run from Grahamstown to Port Elizabeth (Ford, 1989:54). Another form of public transport, the hansom-cad was introduced into Cape Town in 1849, and flourished for the rest of the century. The cab was a two-wheeled, one-horse vehicle with the driver sitting up behind and communicating with the passenger through a hatch in the top of the hood. In 1850 a post-cart service was established between Durban and Pietermaritzburg (Ford, 1989:54). Passengers were sometimes carried in post-carts, but a journey in one of these fast and dangerously driven vehicles was a perilous undertaking. By 1858 frontier carts, as they were called, were running regularly to the north-eastern frontier. All post-carts were required to have waterproof `wells' or boxes and, although some were specially designed, most were probably modified Cape carts.

In 1860 John Dare started an omnibus service between Durban and Pietermaritzburg. He called his tented spring-wagon the `Perseverance'. There were, by this time, horse omnibuses in the streets of Cape Town exactly like their counterparts in London. After the discovery of diamonds, the strong, light wagons of the Inland Transport Company began to carry passengers from the Cape to the diamond-fields. Fourteen people rode in them, including the driver and two African assistants. The sides of the
wagons were open but canvas blinds could be drawn in bad weather. Ten wiry little Cape horses adorned with jingling bells hauled them, from the railhead at Wellington, through Bain's Kloof, Michell's Pass, Ceres, Beaufort West, Victoria West, Hopetown, and then over the Orange by ferry to Colesberg Koppie (Kimberley). The formation of other transport companies caused keen competition on this route.

The minibus taxi industry was then comprised of both black and white operators. White operators were in the majority, but the number of black operators gradually increased between 1900 and 1930. Khosa (1994: 17) points out that for many Africans in urban areas, it took between 10 and 20 years of working in menial jobs before they could afford a second hand vehicle to start a taxi business. It was during the early 1900s that segregative legal frameworks to govern the taxi industry were first introduced. For example, as Mileham (1993: 18) claims, in 1902 the Johannesburg council created two racially distinctive licensing categories whereby all black cabbies had their licenses relegated to second class. This meant that they could not transport whites and the scene was set for a racially divided transport mode. With the introduction of motorized taxis, taxi ranks were no longer used by horse-drawn cabs.

Barolfsy (1990: 29) notes that the first motorized taxi catering for black commuters was established in 1930 in Natal. A context whereby competition was contained and access was restricted in the taxi industry, which was now in the form of cabs, was created through the licensing system. Khosa (1994:20) states that “following recommendations of the Le Roux Commission the Motor Carrier Transport Act was passed in 1930 which introduced transport regulation on a scale unprecedented in South Africa: competition was stifled and transport monopolies were cited. The Act governed all transport related matters, and these ranged from goods and services to commuter transportation. The pillar of this Act was the transportation permit which regulated most logistical functions and services.” It basically, prohibited all goods and services transportation by road for
profit without service permits obtained from the Local Road Transportation Board (LRTB).

The Act specific stipulations as to who could own a public transport vehicle, which only carried about four passengers at a time. Meeting minimum requirements was impossible for the majority of black South Africans who wished to pursue business interests in the industry. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s black South African entrepreneurs were subject to a complex network of legal restrictions controlling the location, size and types of business they could undertake in urban areas. Some of these requirements included a documented and traceable residential history, backed by proof of employment for a considerable number of years in a particular magisterial district. The applicant also had to be in possession of a Daily Labour Permit in order to acquire a public transport permit. This was the framework of segregation, and then came the apartheid legislation, which prevented black urbanization.

Khosa (1994: 20) explains that only those who qualified for urban rights under the Urban Areas Act of 1945 were entitled to trading permits. To get a taxi permit, any applicant had to be in urban areas legally, be a registered tenant, be in possession of a Daily Labourer's Permit, and have a good employment record. This was part of the influx control system extended under the apartheid regime, to effectively segregate black people and to restrict their movement in urban areas. Therefore, it was almost impossible for most black South Africans to obtain permits from their nearest Local Transportation Board.

**3.2. The period 1960s to 1980s**

Ford (1989: 35) states that during the apartheid period, it was almost impossible for an African person to get a permit to operate a taxi. Public transport was dominated by government owned trains and by bus companies that received subsidies from the government. African people needed public transport more badly than other racial and ethnic groups such as whites, Indians and coloureds. Firstly, most black people were
too poor to own private motor vehicles. Secondly, starting in the 1960s, the apartheid government moved black people away from the commercial and industrial centres of the country’s cities and black people worked far away from the best job opportunities. But public transport was not convenient. It was expensive and it also operated only at peak times and along set routes (ibid).

Ford (1989: 34) states that the kombi taxi industry started in the late 1970s to meet the demand of people for transport. The introduction of the eight-seater mini-bus towards the end of the 1970s effected numerous changes within the taxi industry’s structure. Initially taxi operators were self-employed as they drove their own vehicles, but the introduction of new vehicles provided a quick route for operators to accumulate more capital and increase their eight-seater mini-bus taxi fleet. There was more responsibility for operators and assistance was needed as the taxi business expanded. With this in place, taxi operators also identified the need to unionize themselves as entrepreneurs. In 1960 they established National Taxi Alliance and this created considerable employment opportunities and changed the structure of the industry (Baralosky, 1990: 21).

Some of the new operators tried to use a loophole in the Road Transportation Act which allowed them to operate if they left one seat empty. But it was difficult to get the permits, so many operators worked illegally without permits. They were punished through fines or by having their vehicles confiscated (ibid). Local government also made life difficult for the operators, for example by closing taxi ranks. Pressure to allow kombi taxis came both from black commuters and from white businesses which wanted their workers to be able to travel to work cheaply and more easily.

During the 1970s the living conditions in townships were not conducive for the development and operation of business ventures. The system of government was detested and unemployment rates escalated largely. According to Mileham (1993: 37), high unemployment meant that economic opportunities had to be created outside the formal sector. This, coupled with the profitability of the taxi industry, encouraged many
new entrants. There was discontent, however, among all those affected by the unfavourable economic conditions resulting from the repressive apartheid system. There were evident signs of subversive moods, in townships, that could be triggered by anything into a violent reaction. The struggle in the mid-1970s centred on social, political and economic freedom of South Africa. Barolsky (1990: 23) concludes that, as a result of the township unrest, many bus companies withdrew their operations to the outskirts of townships to avoid their vehicles becoming targets of violent attacks. This left minibus taxis with an expanded market. As a result of political instability during the 1970s the government in an attempt to pre-empt public transport boycotts that could have been sparked by the 1976 Soweto uprising, saw to it that the Van Breda Commission of Inquiry into the Road Transportation Bill was established in 1977. McCaul (1990: 21) asserts that the Commission concluded that the transport industry had reached a stage of economic and industrial development which enabled it to move towards freer competition in transportation.

This meant that the apartheid regime, through gradual implementation of deregulatory policies, was prepared to allow black entrepreneurs to pursue economic interests in the industry. This was one of the few steps towards regulating the industry. As Sekhonyane and Dugard (2004: 16) state, the Commission’s findings reflected a neo-liberal shift in economic policy that resulted in generalized deregulation, commercialization and privatization, beginning in the late 1970s. In real terms the government was partly preventing a commuter exodus from buses to minibus taxis, which would have been perceived as a huge consumer boycott, without having played a legislative role. It was not in the interests of the government to lose a large number of commuters from the bus service to the taxis without affecting it through legal frameworks. It is in this context that the Van Breda Commission was established, in order to indicate and emphasize the “relevance” of the taxi industry. Basically, it was diverting attention from subversive bus commuters through relaxing restrictions and regulating the taxi industry.

According to Magubane (2003: 17) one of the signs of a policy-shift was, when an eight seater minibus kombi was legalized by the Road Transportation Act of 1977. Taxi
operators perceived, without knowing the long-term implications, that this was a step towards fully integrating the industry into future national transport policy frameworks. The introduction of the eight-seater minibus taxi marked the genesis and growth of an industry that would be instrumental in linking up most of South Africa’s commuter-transportation channels. It also meant the emergence of one of the country’s would be largest employers and functionally categorized transport sectors.

3.3. The period 1990s to date
From the late 1980s, un-roadworthy vehicles were a feature on public roads and violence escalated even further and claimed many lives. As for violence, it occurred both within long and short distance routes and between respective major associations. Dugard (2001: 11) maintains that during this period, disputes over rank space, poaching of passengers, undercutting of prices, and, the effects of deregulation emerged as the key components in the constitution of minibus taxi feuds. Dominant associations determined the operation of the taxi industry through force, as they consisted of a huge membership which injected a lot of money into the industry. As a result, local associations detached themselves from their weak regional federations in order to join these more resourceful federations. This, in turn, caused conflict and amounted to further violent confrontations in the minibus taxi industry.

As Sekhonyane and Dugard (2004: 24) state, although widespread and seemingly random, it was notable that the most persistent conflicts occurred between associations using long distance routes. Many of these conflicts were inter-provincial, involving long distance taxi associations such as the Lethlabile Taxi Organisation (LTO), the Federated Local and Long Distance Taxi Association (Felldta) and the South African Local and Long Distance Taxi Association (Salldta). Another defining feature of this increasingly sophisticated form of violence was the mutative nature of the associations and the tendency for smaller associations to change affiliates in favour of the more violent and financially stable ones (Khosa, 1992: 21).
In 1995 the post-apartheid South African government established the National Taxi Task Team. This body was formed with the aim of rooting out the problems that had led to taxi violence (Dugard, 2001: 13). In Dugard’s (2001:19) words, the National Taxi Task Team comprised a chairperson from the National Department of Transport, nine government officials from provincial departments of transport, ten minibus taxi industry representatives, and nine special advisors. The task team held approximately 36 public hearings between August and December 1995, meaning that it only took five months to determine the future of the taxi industry. In the following year the National Taxi Task Team issued its first report that recommended the re-regulation of the minibus taxi industry. This, however, was highly resisted by prominent taxi associations such as the National Taxi Alliance which it is believed was also instrumental in taxi violence. The body’s main concern was that consultation was minimal and most leading taxi federations were not part of the public hearings and regulation recommendations (Dugard, 2001: 13).

No sooner was the report of the National Taxi Task Team released than violence erupted again. This was also coupled with boycotts, strikes and other militant forms of action to oppose the regulation of the taxi industry. Dugard (2001: 14) asserts that, in April/May 1998 there was an increase in nation-wide taxi violence that was so marked as to raise suspicions that it was orchestrated. In 1990 taxi “wars” began in which different taxi owner associations fought over taxi routes. These wars resulted in the deaths of hundreds – possibly thousands – of owners, drivers and commuters over the following years. The taxi wars were not the only problem. Many operators worked illegally because the number of permits was limited. They often had to bribe government officials in the form of cash in order to be able to operate (Dugard, 2001:15).

Despite these problems, the kombi taxi industry became the most commonly used form of public transport. Today, about two-thirds of all public transport users in South Africa travel in kombi taxis compared to about one in five who use buses and one in seven who use trains. Today there are about 127 000 kombis operating in the country. About 90 percent of taxis are owned by black people – mostly men (Department of Transport
Annual Report, 2009/10: 47). This makes it one of the most important forms of black ownership industry/business in the country. Some of the taxi owners have registered with their provincial transport departments, while many others are still operating illegally.

In 2002, the Gauteng Department of Transport estimated that there were 16 000 unregistered minibus taxis in the province (Transport in Jo’burg, 2002). Today, minibus taxis are mainly part of the informal economy in South Africa. The informal economy is the part of the economy where businesses are not registered or where workers do not have secure contracts and benefits. Most workers in the informal economy work in businesses that are not registered (Fourie, 2003: 18).

The taxi industry has four categories of employment, namely the owner-driver, the fleet owner, the taxi driver and the taxi rank marshal. Most taxi operators begin their career by driving their own vehicles for a couple of years before they can afford a second vehicle. Then they employ a driver. As Khosa (1992: 12) asserts, the owner-drivers are entrepreneurs who enter the taxi business by driving their own vehicles on a particular route. By conventional taxi industry standards, new operators used to be assigned on less lucrative sections of operational routes. This means that they also received unfavourable treatment in relation to rank space.

According to Khosa (1992: 4) this is known as the internship system created by some groups of operators who have established dominance on particular routes. A new operator has to abide by an informal hierarchy enforced by existing operators. Once the owner-driver has enough money from their existing operation, they usually place a deposit for the purchase of another vehicle and employ a driver to operate the second taxi. This puts the former owner-driver in an advantageous position as he might even have an option of employing two taxi drivers or family members.

Majeke (2003: 62) mentions that the majority of drivers enter this industry out of desperation through lack of employment and they then find that working conditions in the industry are extremely harsh than they expected. For example, taxi drivers work from 5 a.m. in the morning to 9 p.m. at night, 16 hours a day, seven days a week and
operate in an environment where their safety is under threat because of hi-jacking and taxi violence. Taxi drivers, given the structure, political and economic history of the industry, have no employee benefits such as the Unemployment Insurance Fund, pension fund or maternity leave. From the late 1970s, the drivers hired by taxi operators had no benefits and were not protected by any legal framework such as the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (Act no. 75 of 1997) (Khosa, 1994). Furthermore, “many of the taxi drivers were employed on a casual basis. Even today, in the context of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, which forms a part of the legal framework, an improvement in the employment conditions of taxi drivers seems not to be a priority.”

The existing public transport systems found in South Africa, in many instances, do not meet the needs and requirements of its users fully. This is due to the fact that these systems are characterized by their often dispersed, non-integrated and uncoordinated nature. Similarly, from the perspective of many other role-players and stakeholders these systems are viewed as not being as efficient and cost effective as they should or could be. The South African government then introduced new legislative frameworks to deal with transportation in South Africa.

4. LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORKS GOVERNING PUBLIC TRANSPORT IN SOUTH AFRICA

Public policy should reflect, be conceived and executed in accordance with the public's interest (Hill, 1998: 72). Public interest groups include civil society organizations and interest groups. Diverse and competing interests should be provided with the opportunity to influence policy, in accordance with society-specific goals. Policy-making is an inescapable political activity into which the perceptions and interests of individual actors enter, through democratic institutional frameworks (Adam, 1997: 130). One of the central characteristics of democracy is plurality in the form of a multiparty system of government, the existence of interest groups, non-governmental organizations and other civil society groups. This is based upon the view that democracy is a form of institutionalization of continually conflicting interests (Adam, 1997: 130).
The capacity of particular groups to realize their interests through policy is shaped by the specific institutional arrangements of a democratic system. This norm specifically implies that multiple groups can be organized to promote their interests and to have institutionally guaranteed access to political institutions to influence policy. However, within the context of existing institutions that shape prior probabilities of the realization of group-specific interests, it appears that the opportunities of broader consultation may be swiftly declining in democratic South Africa (Adam, 1997: 133). The South African government has recanted various legislations to govern public transportation in the country. Those legislations include the National Land Transport Transition Act (Act no.22 of 2000), National Land Transport Act (Act no.5 of 2009) and National Road Traffic Act (Act no.93 of 1996). The application of this Act in the context of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme has an impact on the South African minibus taxi industry and the indirect beneficiaries of the taxi business such as hawkers, queue marshalls, taxi drivers, passengers and taxi operators. The discussion of these legislations will be as follows:


The purpose of the National Land Transport Transition Act (2000) is to provide for the transformation and restructuring of the national land transport system of the Republic of South Africa. The National Land Transport Transition Act (Act No 22 of 2000) (NLTTA) represents the most significant change in land transport policy and legislation in South Africa's history. It is based upon a change from a supply-driven to a demand-driven (or needs-driven) land transport system articulated in the form of transport plans (Smith, 2005: 1).

Several important supporting issues are, however, dealt with in the Act such as institutional restructuring, transport planning, formalization of the taxi industry, regulation of road-based services, regulated competition, new vehicle sizes and enforcement (Krynauw and Cameron, 2003:2). Krynauw and Cameron (2003:3) state that the possible impacts of these issues covered by the National Land Transport Transition Act
The National Land Transport Transition Act (Act no. 22 of 2000) on South Africa’s commuter needs to be based upon an identification and characterization of South African commuters, and this is taken from work done during the Moving South Africa (MSA) project which was completed in 1999.

The National Land Transport Transition Act (Act no.22 of 2000) provides for the Taxi Recapitalization Programme whereby taxi associations and their members are incentivized to register their permits and taxis with the provincial transport registrars. The standard uniform code of conduct binds members of registered associations to a wide range of issues relating to customer needs, which are designed to substantially improve the lives of the taxi commuters, such as include public safety, abiding by all laws, neat and roadworthy vehicles, sticking to designated routes and controlling and only using qualified drivers (Stanway, 2001:3). This formalization should assist in ensuring that taxi commuters receive an improved quality of service from operators and drivers.

The National Land Transport Transition Act (Act no. 22 of 2000) provides that an operating licence is a pre-requisite for an operator to operate public transport, and certain criteria are legal pre-requisites to obtaining an operating licence. One of these pre-requisites is for the operator to be registered for income tax. The Act further provides for existing permits to be converted to route-based operating licences and for special procedures for legalization for those operators that are currently operating illegally. Route-based operating licences are designed to allocate specific routes to specific operators, and by so doing, to reduce some of the existing turf wars over routes. In addition, the fact that new operating licences will have a maximum of five years validity will assist planning authorities to match supply to demand. Finally, the fact that operating licensing boards must issue operating licences according to the transport plans further cements the change towards needs-based land transport (Krynauw and Cameron, 2003:6).

In terms of the National Land Transport Transition Act (NLTTA) (Act 22 of 2000), the Minister of Transport must annually prepare a National Land Transport Strategic
Framework (NLSTF) for the country for a period of five years. The provincial and local governments are required to establish a public transport authority in terms of the NLTTA (2000). Transport authorities will help overcome the problems inherent in the currently fragmented transport system with the three spheres of government and with the range of public entities and private organizations responsible for the different sections in transport.

The Taxi Recapitalization Programme aimed at restructuring and developing the national taxi industry and was implemented through the National Land Transport Transition Act of 2000. According to Fourie (2003:56) the government did not include other associations within the industry, and as a result of the government’s action tension developed among associations, both at the local and national levels, as another federation, National Taxi Alliance, claiming to represent the interests of the taxi industry emerged.

The NLTSF must set out the national transport key performance indicators (KPIs). Every MEC of transport in a province must annually prepare the Provincial Land Transport Strategic Framework, which must, *inter alia*, set out the KPIs specified by the political head of the department. The KIPs are to be used to measure the performance of the provincial and municipal transport systems and administrations in the light of their functions and responsibilities in terms of the NLTTA.

In the National Transport Framework (2002-2007), the strategies have been grouped into general outputs and mode-specific outputs. The general outputs cover matters such as public transport, transport planning, transport authorities, operating license boards, public transport safety, public transport infrastructure and information systems. The mode-specific outputs cover aspects such as formalizing, regulating and recapitalizing the minibus taxi industry, bus contract, rail regulation and institutional arrangements. One of the objectives of the framework is to ensure proper and integrated transport plan; however, the current situation seems to oppose this objective in the sense that the modes of transport in the country are still not integrated and remain very much
competitive for the commuters. Furthermore, on the mode-specific output, regulating the industry is still a challenge for the government and the various associations.

4.2. National Land Transport Act, No. 5 of 2009

This National Land Transport Act (Act no. 5 of 2009) makes provision for land transport in South Africa. It states that the regulator must be established. In terms of section 20 (1) of the Act, the Minister of Transport must establish the National Public Transport Regulator, whose specialized knowledge, training or experience, taken collectively at least covers public transport, transport economics, accounting, auditing or actuarial sciences, tourism transport, and vehicle standards and specifications. It can, however, be argued that considering the value of political appointments in the public sector of the country, specialized knowledge of the individuals may not be a preference in such appointments.

The National Land Transport Act (Act no. 5 of 2009) further states that the National Public Transport Regulator must monitor and oversee public transport in the country in general and the activities of provincial regulatory entities in relation to their land transport functions. As far as the taxi recapitalization is concerned, the Act provides that the National Public Transport Regulator must receive and decide on applications relating to operating licenses. Each province in terms of this Act, must establish its own provincial regulatory entities. The functions of the provincial regular are similar to those of the national regulator except that the provincial regulator is restricted to perform those functions within one province only.

The scrapping of existing taxi vehicles is the primary aim of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme. The government aims to remove more than 10 000 old and unroadworthy vehicles (taxis) from the South African roads by at least 2015. The opportunity that the Taxi Recapitalization Programme offers is to invite the taxi operators who wish to exit the industry to voluntarily hand in their vehicles and permits. The government also launched a marketing communication campaign that embarked upon informing and
encouraging taxi operators across the country to register with the Operating Licensing Boards (OLBs) in their respective provinces. The Operating License Boards will register applications, evaluate them and verify the validity of the permit linked to the taxi vehicle. Taxi operators who hand in their old minibus taxi vehicles are offered a scrapping allowance of R50 000 (Ministry of Transport, 2005).

The Ministry elaborates that the scrapping of the unroadworthy minibus taxis should be compulsory, not a voluntary procedure. Vehicles should be re-assessed at specific periods of time for their roadworthiness. The compensation amount should allow the operator to place a deposit on a new minibus taxi vehicle to further encourage compliance with the requirements for the new vehicle as set out in the roll-out strategy for Taxi Recapitalization Programme.

4.3. National Road Traffic Act, No. 93 of 1996

As far as the Taxi Recapitalization Programme is concerned, the National Road Traffic Act, (Act no. 93 of 1996) regulates the conversion of permits to operating licenses and ensuring that drivers have driving permits. The aim of the Act was to make provision for people who could not convert their operating licenses in time such as those in prison, medical facilities or people contracted to work outside South Africa to access such services. The National Road Traffic Act, Section 32. (1) stipulates that no person shall drive a motor vehicle in respect of which an operator is registered on a public road except in accordance with the conditions of a permit (to be known as a professional driving permit) issued to him or her in accordance with the Act and unless he or she keeps such permit with him or her in the vehicle.

The National Land Transport Act (Act no.5 of 2009) complements the National Road Traffic Act (Act no. 93 of 1996) on traffic laws by providing for new vehicle sizes to be introduced on an incremental basis for the Taxi Recapitalization Programme as indicated in the table below:
**Table 1: New vehicle sizes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vehicle type</th>
<th>New sizes</th>
<th>1st October 2004/2006</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Motor car</td>
<td>1-8</td>
<td>1-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minibus</td>
<td>9-18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medi-bus</td>
<td>19-35</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus</td>
<td>&gt;35</td>
<td>&gt;46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: National Land Transport Transition Act (Act no. 05 of 2009: 65)

The new vehicle size came into operation with the new Act on 1st December 2000, and provision is made such that no earlier than October 2004, no new operating licences may be issued unless the vehicle sizes comply with those in the third column. In addition, not earlier than October 2006, no vehicles will be allowed on the road for public transport unless the vehicle sizes comply with those in the third column. This provision for new 18 and 35-seater minibus taxis will undoubtedly benefit all taxi customers, especially the urban poor. These benefits include safety, reliability and comfort (Government Communication Information System, 2004). While the legislative frameworks for regulating transport are in place, the successful implementations of such remain to be seen.

5. **REGULATING THE MINIBUS TAXI INDUSTRY AND LAW ENFORCEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA**

In 1996, the government of South Africa, utilizing the National Taxi Task Team's suggestions, decided that the only means of dealing with the minibus taxi industry was to regulate it. Regulation was supposed to be an all-inclusive process, whereby the majority of associations participated in the process from the stage of policy formulation through to implementation. The National Taxi Task Team recommendations were not based on the collective views and suggestions of the entire minibus taxi industry. Only a number of selected taxi associations formed part of its committee. This is regardless of the 36 nationwide public hearings that were held in the last four months of 1995 (Dugard, 2001: 6).
Responding to the perceived failures and problems of the re-regulation process, since 1999 the government has shifted its focus to restructuring the minibus taxi industry in terms of an ambitious recapitalization programme. All sectors of the public transport industry must be made to comply with the laws requiring public transport operating licenses, roadworthy vehicles and licensed drivers. The transformation of public transport services envisaged requires strong and concerted enforcement, political support and the necessary resources (Rothengatter, 2001:176). However, the enforcement of the legislation has been inadequately applied in many parts of South Africa for a number of years now and this has led to a situation where many public transport operators provide illegal transport and use vehicles of poor quality. There are problems in the minibus taxi industry that need to be addressed, but the Taxi Recapitalization Programme will consider and account for many problems, most notably problems related to poor law enforcement and industry regulation.

The National Land Transport Transition Act, no. 22 of 2000 (NLTTA), the National Land Transport Act, No. 5 of 2009 and the National Road Traffic Act, no. 29 of 1989, are the most important pieces of legislations regulating land transport. The purpose of the National Land Transport Transition Act (no. 22 of 2000) amongst others is to provide for the transformation and restructuring of the national public transport system for the republic. Regulated competition forms the basis for the public passenger in South Africa in the form of operating licenses (the authority to operate on the route), the operating licenses are only awarded in terms of the passenger transport plan of the department of roads and transport, while the purpose of the National Land Transport At, No. 5 of 2009 is to further the process of transformation and restructuring of the national land transport system initiated by the National Land Transport Transition Act (no. 22 of 2000).

In 2005, the Department of Transport publicly announced that the South African municipalities will take control of the minibus taxi ranks and their management. Taxi ranks and routes will no longer be under the control of taxi associations and bodies. A further non-commercial goal of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme as far as regulating the minibus taxi industry is concerned was management with a view of
improving road safety and decreasing violence. To date, the goal has not yet being achieved. In fact the situation is the extreme opposite of what was aimed at in terms of violence and road safety. Vehicle accidents are rising, particularly minibus taxi accidents. In the minibus taxi accidents report, most were the new vehicles as described in the National Land Transition Transport Act (Act no. 22 of 2000), Toyota quantums to be specific. Most of the reported accidents are fatal, given that quantums explode under impact though the researcher did not investigate or try to find out what causes them to explode, she believes that thorough research needs to be done on this issue. The table below illustrates the number of deaths caused by minibus taxi accidents in South Africa.

Table 2: Number of deaths and injuries caused by minibus taxi accidents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Deaths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Road Traffic Report for the Calendar Year (2009)

The table illustrates minibus taxi accidents. It indicates that in 2004 the death toll decreased, but as the years went by it increased. It should be noted that the TRP was implemented in 2005; from 2005-2009 the death rate has been increasing rapidly. It is instances like this that makes one question the government’s vision on TRP, since accidents are increasing. On the other hand, there is violence, which has always been a disturbing and concerning factor in the South African taxi industry ever since its establishment. It has been historically shown that the violence increases rapidly as the
industry develops. The violence surrounds issues such as lucrative routes (right of routes) and positions in the associations (i.e., chairpersonship). Below is a table, which illustrates the number of deaths and injuries that are attributable to minibus taxi violence.

### Table 3: Number of deaths and injuries caused by minibus taxi violence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Deaths</th>
<th>Injuries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Road traffic report for the calendar year (2009)

Law enforcement is a vital aspect, thus with regard to effective law enforcement, the Road Traffic Management Corporation (RTMC) has been tasked to finalize a detailed Business plan, aimed at strengthening the capacity of the state to enforce the law. Government then committed R2.5 billion over the next five years to increase its capacity to enforce the laws in relation to public transport. The National Land Transport Transition Act (no. 22 of 2000) part 18 deals with law enforcement and empowers the MEC of transport to designate the employees in provincial departments as public transport inspectors to monitor the compliance with the Act and assist with the investigation and prevention of offences.

### 6. CONCLUSION

This chapter dealt with the history of the minibus taxi industry and the legislative framework governing the minibus taxi industry. The South African minibus taxi industry’s R7.7 million policy (TRP) was initially designed to regulate, empower and develop the
industry and to integrate it within the broader national revenue system. This transformation included ending minibus taxi violence and reducing road accidents associated with competition over routes and unroadworthy mini-bus taxi vehicles. Innumerable lives have been lost due to minibus taxi violence, overcrowding and unroadworthy vehicles.

The government had planned to restructure the taxi industry through a new process of registering every taxi operator and allocating them, through taxi associations, specific routes. It also meant that an affordable and bigger-capacity taxi fleet would be introduced in order to ensure public safety. There have been serious challenges in the implementation of the TRP. No overall compliance has been achieved. This is a direct result of conflicting interests between taxi organizations as they disagree on key policy issues, such as the vehicle scrapping allowance, and the fact that TRP is seen to threaten jobs within the taxi industry.

The failure to transform and develop the industry led to a policy shift. Commuter safety is now the central feature of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme. Yet, despite this, commuter safety has been defined very narrowly. Violence, despite the implementation of a revised regulatory policy is still an inseparable feature of the minibus taxi industry. Government’s incapacity to devise effective measures to end taxi violence contradicts the policy objective of ensuring commuter safety. This means that the policy cannot achieve its objectives and will not achieve a public good of safety.

The minibus taxi industry, as a historically unregulated economic sector, needs an innovative public policy in order to address the historical characteristics that prohibit its transformation. The study looked at the challenges faced by the minibus taxi industry in response to the implementation of the recapitalization programme.

In this chapter the researcher noted that successful policy implementation requires interaction between government and its citizens, through creating an enabling environment for competing interests to influence policy-making decisions. Cloete and
Wissink, (2000:65) show that a link should be created in order for policies to reach their objectives. This link, otherwise known as the policy delivery system, does not only comprise government institutions and specialised activities within them, but also consists of a platform for the broader public to influence the direction of policy. The findings of this case study show that decision-making in the policy cycle should accommodate various target interest groups. Embracing broader participation is a necessity in achieving relevance, compliance, policy legitimacy and hence effective implementation.

Grindle (1980: 25) highlighted that public institutions must be responsive to the needs of policy beneficiaries because without a considerable level of responsiveness during implementation, public officials are deprived of information to evaluate programme achievement and of support crucial to its success. This is evident in terms of the Department of Transport and the Transportation Board’s approach to route application and operating licenses procedures. The taxi Recapitalization programme was formulated and implemented without thoroughly consulting the minibus taxi industry and the broader public. The objectives of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme, to regulate, restructure, formalise and integrate the taxi industry within the national revenue system and to empower operators did not materialise. The industry is still not formalised in practice, there has been no empowerment of operators and a failure of effective regulation promotes violence since there were only limited bargained decisions in the formulation of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme between the government and federal taxi organisations, therefore the government cannot claim successful implementation of the programme. Designing and implementing a policy that will address the challenges faced by the taxi industry requires an extensive understanding of the socio-economic and political context surrounding the industry.

In the next chapter, the study focuses on the impact of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme on the minibus taxi industry as a whole. The introduction of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme is said to have adverse impact on the existing taxi business and the indirect businesses benefiting from the current taxi industry. The next chapter will therefore explore such consequential impacts.
CHAPTER 3: THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TAXI RECAPITALISATION PROGRAMME ON THE MINIBUS TAXI INDUSTRY IN SOUTH AFRICA

1. INTRODUCTION

In a developing country such as South Africa, public transport is characterized by a number of peculiarities that are generally absent when compared to the public transport systems in first world countries. The first and foremost characteristic is the abundance of low capacity vehicles (16 seaters) in commuter services and the dominance of this form of public transport in the overall public transport sphere (Walters, 2001:1). Associated with this are issues such as vehicle maintenance, inter-association rivalry, industry sustainability and the fleet age profile. Public transport in developing countries is also generally characterized by a lack of adequate financial resources to fund operational subsidies, not that this is not an issue in developed countries, but it seems to be exacerbated in developing countries (McCaul, 1990: 38). On the other hand, most of the captive users of public transport are generally not in a position to contribute significantly towards the fare box due to low levels of income and unemployment.

A first rate public transport system is one of the critical building blocks of any world class economy. Even though South Africa boasts first rate road infrastructure in Africa, public transport has not yet received much attention (Fourie, 2003: 5). The South African government for many years has been experiencing pressure from a spectrum of stakeholders to improve the performance of the industry through some sort of reform or regulation. The government then introduced the Taxi Recapitalization Programme to regulate and formalize the industry. The Taxi Recapitalization Programme has some adverse consequential impact on the existing minibus taxi industry in South Africa. The consequences impact negatively on both the minibus taxi industry and those who indirectly benefit from the minibus taxi industry such as drivers, queue marshals and hawkers. This chapter will provide a holistic overview of the concept Taxi Recapitalization and the impact it has on the current taxi industry in South Africa.

In this chapter the researcher examines the impact of the implementation of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme upon competing interests, the main challenges faced by the minibus taxi industry and the processes followed in the formulation and
implementation of this policy. With this in mind, the researcher explores whether the Taxi Recapitalization Programme reflects the interests of all those it affects in a positive or negative way. The researcher will further explore whether the implementation of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme will solve the problems in the minibus taxi industry such as violence, unroadworthy minibus taxi vehicles and illegal operations. The researcher considers the discussion on these themes through the theoretical framework of public policy implementation.

2. THE TAXI RECAPITALIZATION PROGRAMME

The recapitalization scheme is a strategy which was developed by the government to deal with economic problems facing the taxi industry. Through the introduction of the New Taxi Vehicles in the Taxi Recapitalization Programme, Government has, for the first time, prescribed compulsory safety and other requirements to protect passengers, operators, pedestrians, motorists and other road users. The compulsory requirements are also meant to ensure passenger comfort. The following minibus vehicles have already been certified by the South African Bureau of Standards (SABS) (Ministry of Transport, 2007): Toyota Quantum, Nissan Interstar, Fiat Ducao, Mercedes Benz 308 CDI and Peugeot Boxer HDI. The new vehicles have to meet new standard regarding roll-over protection, safety belts for all passengers, commercially rated tyres, type 2A braking systems, speed governors and the introduction of anti tyre burst devices and other safety features to be eligible for the Recapitalization programme.

Government has also published regulations on colour coding. All mini and midi-buses operating in terms of an operating license shall be branded accordingly and that all mini- and midi-buses will be white in colour with the national flag on the sides; and aluminum plate denoting the provincial coat of arms and route number (as stated in the Government Gazette no. 29194 of 4 September 2006 – Regulation Gazette no. 8542). The Taxi Recapitalization Programme is an attempt by the South African government to regulate and formalize the taxi industry, reduce taxi violence and road accidents and collect revenue from the industry (Government Gazette no. 29194 of 4 September 2006 – Regulation Gazette no. 8542). In 1996, the government decided that the only means of dealing with the taxi industry was to regulate it. Regulation was supposed to be an
all-inclusive process, whereby the majority of associations would participate in the process from the stage of policy formulation through to the implementation phase. In 2001, Dugard set out the ambitious programme ahead, responding to the perceived failures and problems of the re-regulation process that since 1999 the government has shifted its focus to restructuring the minibus taxi industry in terms of an ambitious Recapitalization Programme.

According to Nadipha (2006:17) the most widely publicized and certainly the most ambitious Government intervention in the minibus taxi industry is the Recapitalization Programme. Through the Recapitalization Project, Government seeks to challenge head-on the problem of ageing fleet within the public transportation system. The Recapitalization Project represents a comprehensive re-engineering of the taxi Industry with two major outcomes such as the systematic introduction of safe and comfortable vehicles for taxi commuters through the scrapping allowance which will be an incentive for taxi operators to hand in, on a voluntary basis, their very old vehicles for decommissioning.

The Taxi Recapitalization Programme should not be regarded as a quick solution, though. Government has recognized that the sustainability of this and other interventions do not lie only in the scrapping of old taxi vehicles but should include all of the following: the introduction of safety requirements for the new taxi vehicles, effective regulation of the minibus taxi industry, effective law enforcement in respect of public transport, and empowerment of the taxi industry. The Human Sciences Research Council (2006) reports that the majority of South Africans support plans to replace the current taxi fleet with new and safe vehicles. Only 28% of commuters who regularly use the service were opposed to the Recapitalization Programme. About 50% of those opposed to the recapitalization plan did so in the belief that it would increase unemployment and result in higher crime levels. This policy is aimed at restructuring and developing the minibus taxi industry at large and was implemented through the National Land Transport Act (Act 5 of 2000). However, the government did not include other associations within the industry and this caused tension among associations both
at local and national levels, and another federation claiming to represent the interests of the taxi industry emerged.

The main objectives of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme are to have a taxi industry that supports a strong economy, puts the passenger first and meets the country’s socio-economic objectives. Government recognizes the critical role played by the industry, and endeavours to ensure its growth and sustainability. The Taxi Recapitalization Programme is concerned with the sustainability and effective regulation of the industry. It is a direct response to the recommendations of the National Taxi Task Team to consider specific interventions to turn around the minibus taxi industry.

Eight years after implementation and revision, the Taxi Recapitalization Programme has not achieved these goals, although the industry still supports the highest number of commuters in the country. The industry is still not secured because of numerous reasons such as reckless driving and violence in the industry. As a result of drivers’ reckless driving, road accidents are increasing rapidly. The implementation of the policy has become the main focus of competing interests. The impact of the implementation of the TRP has given rise to a variety of concerns by the minibus taxi industry and the public in terms of the policy’s intended objectives. By regulating the minibus taxi industry, the South African government aimed at assigning each taxi route to a particular taxi association in order to formalize and restructure operations. This was done through the registration of all taxi organizations (pirate and legal) and the conversion of a radius permit into a route-based operating license, and by frameworks to ensure that no taxi organizations were formed later on (Fourie, 2003: 31).

The government hoped that this would serve the following purposes: firstly, it was hoped that this would prevent the influx of more taxi operators into the industry. Secondly, it was envisaged that this would regulate anarchy and conflict over routes and function as a principal medium in ending taxi violence. Half of the taxi industry claims not to have a route-based operating license which makes it impossible to benefit from the TRP and other related programmes. In terms of the Local Government Review (2008: 28) the minibus taxi industry accounts for over 63% of public transport uses for
work, school and other purposes. The Local Government Review (2008:28) indicates that the pressing challenge in the minibus taxi industry is that many taxis are old, un-roadworthy and in bad condition, resulting in frequent accidents. The government's Taxi Recapitalization Programme is supposed to fix a set of problems that plague the South African taxi/minibus industry (Ministry of Transport: 2005). Taxi violence, unsafe vehicles, and bad driving habits among taxi operators combine to make the industry unpopular and, in some cases, unsafe. The changes mandated by the Taxi Recapitalization Programme will, presumably, go a long way towards creating a safer and less dangerous environment for the people in the industry, as well as for passengers and other drivers.

Taxi Recapitalization Programme is designed to shift the control over ranks from taxi associations to municipal authorities. By shifting the control of ranks, the government hopes to lessen the tensions that arise when one association attempts to monopolize a rank and keep away competitors. While the intentions behind these changes may be good, the consequences of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme are likely to be less positive because some taxi entrepreneurs are driven out. Hundreds of thousands of people work directly or indirectly in the business.

The implementation of Taxi Recapitalization Programme has put some taxi owners out of business and some taxi drivers out of work, thus increasing the rate of unemployment. And the local automotive industry, which will provide the new vehicles, should also be quite happy because wealthier taxi owners who are better able to absorb the costs associated with the Taxi Recapitalization Programme will remain in the industry and make use of their services in order to comply with the requirements of the recapitalization project (Cokayne, 2006: 6). The question as to who stands to win or lose from this policy remains difficult. One might think those in the automotive industry are more likely to win, while the taxi operators will incur more costs in replacing their old taxis with the new ones which are costly. The Taxi Recapitalization Programme, according to the government, is an innovative socio-economic policy which aims to regulate, empower and develop the minibus taxi industry while integrating it within the
broader national revenue systems such as taxation (Sekhonyane and Dugard, 2004:37). This was to be done through introducing bigger capacity vehicles, at a reduced price, and at favourable financing. However, this has not yet been achieved.

3. THE IMPACT OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME ON THE MINIBUS TAXI INDUSTRY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Grindle (1980:23), in her analysis of the importance of policy content in implementation theory claims that the interests of target groups and beneficiaries must be taken into serious consideration. The size and diversity of the target group plays a crucial role in determining the way in which policy will be conceived. In this case, the interests of the public include an end to violence, fewer accidents, lower fares, and spacious and roadworthy vehicles. One taxi association would apply for a certain route and get full rights to operate on it. The next thing another association applies for the same route and claims to be the legitimate operator of that route (Fourie, 2003: 34). Such creates confusion and conflict between and among rival taxi associations.

It is indeed the institution responsible for such issues that creates more violence as it grants operating rights to both associations. Violence is often inevitable. Unfortunately, commuters become victims as they find themselves in the middle of the crossfire during violence. And this means that the government has not established any means within the Taxi Recapitalization Programme’s network to address disputes over operational routes. The existence of a regulatory policy in any public realm should function to solve social problems. It thus follows that the implementation of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme has worsened operational conditions in the industry and has not been able to create peace. This constitutes a compromise of the safety of commuters.

Grindle (1980: 37) claims that a distinction should be made between programmes that provide collective benefits and those which encourage categorical demand during the implementation stage. The types of benefits a policy was set to effect should be uniform. A policy should not overlook aspects related to how the initial objectives or benefits should be reached, or rather distributed. For example, the Taxi Recapitalization
Program was formulated to end accidents that particularly involve minibus taxis due to the alleged unfit conditions of many of these vehicles and the conflict among various taxi rival groups. The negative impact of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme include loss of employment and business, safety problems and fare costs and road accidents.

To date, the minibus taxi industry is not fully regulated, hence systemic problems continue. The minibus taxi industry can be defined as an industry which is driven by profit from fares in which speed, reckless driving and overloading override concerns for the safety and comfort of passengers (Fourie 2003:54). It is an industry in which there is no protection against overloading and in which there are no rules to govern the suitability of vehicles to act as safe public transport. It is an industry in which competition for the more profitable routes often finds expression in violence (ibid). There are also problems in relation to the new vehicle specifications that have been introduced in the Taxi Recapitalization Programme. The conventional taxi vehicle that has functioned since 1987 in the South African transport landscape is the sixteen-seater minibus taxis (Hlengani and Furlonger, 2007:33), due to the small capacity of the new vehicle, taxi drivers are always under considerable pressure to meet their daily revenue targets which contributes to some accidents.

Vehicle capacity is an area of dispute between the government and the minibus taxi industry (Nandipha, 2006: 5). This is because there are three different types of taxis under the new programme. These are the thirteen, eighteen and the twenty-two seaters. They are: the Toyota Quantum, Inyathi, Foton, Bafo bus, Sprinter and Iveco. The problem with these vehicles is that they are expensive and the majority of operators cannot afford them. The reason behind the price tag is that their designs prioritize commuter safety, which is of great importance. Each vehicle has seatbelts equal to the number of commuters the vehicle is permitted to carry, advance brake system and also brings comfort to passengers (ibid).
3.1. Loss of employment and business in the taxi industry

The unemployment rate in South Africa was last reported at 25 percent in the first quarter of 2011 (Department of Labour, 2011). From 2000 until 2008, South Africa’s Unemployment Rate averaged 26.38 percent reaching an historical high of 31.20 percent in March of 2003 and a record low of 23.00 percent in September of 2007 (ibid). The labour force is defined as the number of people employed plus the number of unemployed but seeking work. The non-labour force includes those who are not looking for work, those who are institutionalized and those serving in the military (Haroon and Kanbur, 2006:471). The implementation of Taxi Recapitalization Programme has put some taxi owners out of business and some taxi drivers out of work, thus increasing the rate of unemployment. Boudreax (2006:4) argues that the Taxi Recapitalization Programme is a boon to some taxi operators and a real burden to others. Larger, wealthier operators are much more likely to be able to afford the costs of replacing their minibuses than smaller operators.

The Taxi Recapitalization Programme will harm small-scale taxi entrepreneurs. The requirement that owners turn in old vehicles and replace them with big, new minibuses will simply be too onerous for many current operators. Some legitimate taxi operators will go out of business and this will have an impact on people such as drivers who will lose their jobs, and vendors, whose livelihoods are tied to the minibus taxi industry will also be affected.. According to Walters (2001: 3) taxi groupings have expressed their concerns about potential job losses due to the right sizing of the industry, for instance less maintenance requirements, as the vehicles will be much newer than the present fleet, difficulties in working on advanced diesel technology engines.

Profitability is without doubt critical to ensure the survival of any business. The Moving South Africa financial model revealed that the minibus taxi industry is currently vesting only 40% of capital requirements for long-term sustainability (MSA, 1999: 19) and low profitability is the main reason for this low rate of reinvesting. Low profitability creates an impediment on the day- to-day performance of the industry as it influences maintenance of vehicles, quality of vehicle purchased as well as drivers’ salaries. In addition, the low
profitability of the taxi operation consistently leads to owners deferring or even ignoring essential maintenance, the use of cheap and inferior parts, alongside services undertaken by unqualified mechanics further result in the deteriorating condition of the country’s taxi fleet.

The implementation of the policy does not only kick out some taxi operators out of business, it also makes it hard for the vendors. As highlighted above, the taxi ranks are handed over to the municipalities to handle, maintain and control. The municipalities therefore, have built stalls for the vendors to operate there at a fee determined by the municipality (Khosa, 2006: 4). This becomes difficult for the vendors since they have to cut more from their profit to pay “rent-fee”. The legitimate taxi operators who will go out of business will not walk down alone, they will be accompanied by their drivers. Thus, the unemployment rate will rise. The queue marshals will have to be retrenched as well to maintain equity, as the association cannot have too many marshals with fewer taxis. The empowerment of taxi operators as stipulated to be an objective in the policy, has not yet been accomplished.

3.2. Passengers’ safety and fare costs

In the absence of a government subsidy for taxi fares, the Taxi Recapitalization Programme will almost certainly lead to a fare hike for passengers. New vehicles will cost more than R50 000, which means the operating expenses of all taxi owners will rise. These costs will more likely be passed along to taxi consumers. For some of these passengers, fare hikes will be unaffordable, and they will be forced to look for alternative modes of transportation: less convenient buses or trains and walking are possible options. But trains and buses run on schedules and that can be inconvenient (meaning people will pay more in "wait costs") and walking is dangerous. In 2003 alone, nearly 40% of all fatalities on South African roads were pedestrians. If a rise in taxi fares causes more people to walk, there’s a real likelihood that the number of pedestrian deaths will increase (Cokayne, 2006: 9).

The new taxi vehicles are costly, therefore the owners need enough cash to be able to pay the instalments, maintain the vehicle, pay the driver and most importantly make
profit. That is likely to result in taxi drivers driving recklessly because of the pressure from the owners to meet their daily quotas. The drivers then over-speed, overload and stop anywhere in an attempt to maximise their trips and passengers transported. Long working hours is also a problem in the sense that drivers tend to be tired, irritated and not alert. In this state they are a danger to all road users, especially the passengers they carry.

3.3. Road accidents
The biggest challenge for the Department of Transport is the restructuring of the public transportation system. In South Africa public transportation for the poor is often depicted through gory pictures of minibus crashes and bodies of loved ones scattered on roads. The South Africa public transportation system however, also represents a model of successful black economic self-empowerment. It is the only sector where blacks control an entire sector through their ownership of the taxi mode of transportation. The minibus taxi industry is today the most critical pillar of South Africa’s public transport sector (Department of Transport, 2009). Not only is it the most available mode of transport, it is also the most affordable to the public.

A minibus taxi industry-specific initiative as in the Taxi Recapitalization Programme was initiated to also address safety issues in the taxi business as part of public transportation responsibilities. Considering that there might be other potential causes to accidents, especially those involving minibus taxis, the government has confidence in the Taxi Recapitalization Programme’s commitment to accident reduction (Ministry of Transport, 2007). Taxi Recapitalization Programme promotes vehicle safety through law enforcement, whereby traffic officers randomly inspect minibus taxis. In addition, the new fleet’s design does not permit overloading which also causes accidents. In contrast, 48% of taxi operators and drivers are unconvinced about the effectiveness of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme in achieving this because the traffic officers who would be doing the random inspections are the same officers who are taking bribes from the drivers at the present moment (Fourie, 2003). Corruption is a disturbing factor in developing countries like South Africa and it delays development and sustainability.
The government claims that unroadworthy vehicles are the main contributor to accidents and loss of life in the industry (Road Traffic Report, 2009). This is claimed despite that there have been no studies conducted before to conclude whether or not this is actually the case. No consideration is given to the fact that taxi drivers are under pressure to reaching their daily income targets, which explains their questionable driving methods, intolerance of other drivers and total recklessness on public roads. The profit motive encourages the drivers to complete as many journeys as possible each day. With the decreased capacity in the new minibus taxi vehicles, drivers are under more pressure and their driving patterns possibly lead to more accidents.

Given all of these factors, it seems that there is no substantial attempt by the government through the programme to minimise taxi violence and the amount of road accidents, to increase revenue in the industry, and to empower and incorporate the taxi industry in economic growth and development initiatives through subsidising it (Mackay and Callie, 2010: 32). Instead, the policy seems doomed to failure as it is plagued with problems ranging from consultation, legitimacy, operating licenses, new vehicle maintenance, rank infrastructure, and payment plans to operators. The government does not heed calls for increased compensation and subsidies, nor address the issues around violence.

Even the taxi-rank mechanics employed by taxi associations or individual operators find it impossible to fix parts of the new taxi models. Hence, all new models have to be taken to the manufacturers for service. Because of these factors many operators do not comply with the Recapitalization Programme. They choose instead to retain their old models and to service their taxis themselves. Many of such taxis have been operating for more than ten years and therefore break down frequently and some are unroadworthy. This continues to contribute to accidents. Significantly, such operators remain outside the programme and are unregulated (Makae, 2009: 65).

The new fleet was introduced in response to this. However, accidents are also the result of driver speed to make daily remuneration targets. This is a direct result of a formerly
unregulated industry which still has unstructured labour conditions whereby verbal contracts are made between two parties upon employment (Khosa, 1994: 38). As mentioned earlier, taxi drivers have to ensure that they bring in a standard amount of cash to the taxi operator at the end of each day. The introduction of the new taxi fleet could reduce some accidents, but taxi drivers are under pressure, which accounts for some of their controversial driving methods. The point that there seems to be no substantial means of transforming and integrating the taxi industry under conventional labour systems will always come back to haunt the Taxi Recapitalization Programme (Boudreax, 2006: 13).

4. THE CHEAPER MINIBUS MODEL AND ROAD SAFETY

Another issue of great concern is the cluster of different mini-bus taxi models that co-exist in the transport sector. Ironically, keeping in mind that there are differences between transport systems and contexts, the countries that produce the mini-buses do not allow any of these models to be used as part of their own public transport system. They are created cheaply for the purpose of delivering goods and not people. These vehicles have been modified to meet the South African public transport requirements as far as the Taxi Recapitalization Programme is concerned. As a result, owners buy the cheapest models of the new fleet while they complain that, no one has assured them that these expensive vehicles are safe (Molefe, 2009: 13).

Molefe states further that commuters complain that, most of the space in the taxi is in the headroom. This does not help because there are no shelves for the luggage and no air circulates in the box. The majority of different mini-bus taxi models are not Taxi Recapitalization Programme specific vehicles. Their abundance has been affected by the South African transport industry’s model and a lucrative market. Initially, the government was supposed to arrange for a specific vehicle manufacturer to supply the taxi industry with a single vehicle model that meets the required safety specifications. This would have enabled the taxi industry to purchase vehicles at a comparatively affordable price, as there would be no competition in demand and supply scales.
Howlett and Ramesh (2003: 190) argue that policy designed to improve the safety feature of automobiles is easier to implement, yet this has not been easy in the context of the Recapitalization Programme. The government failed to negotiate with various automobile firms - due to what it perceived as the high cost of producing a Taxi Recapitalization Programme specific mini-bus taxi. Multiple models of mini-buses instead became available. What this suggests is a lack of vision in a long term investment for the public. On these grounds, the researcher does not conceive of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme as a policy that was designed for the public good as the government opted not to appoint, through a tendered system, an automobile firm to design and manufacture a Taxi Recapitalization Programme specific vehicle to serve the needs of the public. As the Taxi Recapitalization Programme has been implemented to improve public transport safety in the minibus taxi industry, it is equally important to consider whether new vehicle models contribute to the achievement of this objective. The model was based on a tendered process, where certain companies would be appointed to manufacture vehicles. It meant that a sole provider would be in place, in terms of manufacturing, and this would help in cutting down costs.

As a result of high prices from manufacturing Taxi Recapitalization Programme specific vehicles, different companies ended up producing their own models and included some of the safety features that vehicle specific to this programme would have (Makae, 2009: 29). This has raised a lot of concern about the durability and reliability of these vehicles as they have given operators various mechanical problems. Toyota stated that the government vehicle specifications, the requirements, are very expensive to meet and the price after these specifications will be very high (www.imperialtoyota.co.za). Magubane (2003: 43) states that thirty-four percent of taxi drivers contend that the safety and reliability features of these new vehicles are the same as the old models. The minibus taxi industry’s leadership, in supporting this maintains that government argued that due to the fact that fiber glass is stronger than most vehicles’ manufacturing material, a new taxi model produced with fiber glass will be introduced to the industry (ibid).
There are many specifications a Taxi Recapitalization Programme minibus taxis should have, they are about nine and include Advance Break System (ABS), seatbelts for all passengers, commercial 8 ply rated tyre of 14/185 or 14/195, reflective warning markings on the sides of the taxi and minimum seat size of 400mm (Ministry of Transport, 2005). Financial implications surrounding the production of these vehicles have made it impossible for the minibus taxi industry to embrace an innovative mode of transport. It turned out that producing these vehicles would be very expensive. Their prices would be very high compared to conventional minibus taxis.

The increased competition on minibus taxi manufacturing has left operators with no option but to purchase any relatively affordable vehicle, within the wider variety, in order to retain customers. Under this premise, Santaco asserts that the new taxi fleet, apart from being expensive and notorious for high levels of fuel consumption, are not that different from the normal Toyota 15-seater taxis in relation to safety. This suggests that, considering the competitive nature of the taxi business, commuter safety depends on the driver’s patience and willingness to obey traffic rules and vehicle safety features (Phillip Taaibosch, 2007).

5. IMPLICATION OF THE TAXI RECAPITALIZATION PROGRAMME

The implementation of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme in the South African taxi industry has various implications, such as the cost of the programme, affordability of the New Taxi Vehicle and making transport safe, efficient and affordable.

5.1. Cost implications of the recapitalization process

Arguably of more concern to government are the cost implications of the recapitalization process. As currently envisaged, to off-set the higher cost of the larger vehicles and to ‘sell’ recapitalization to operators, government contributes 20% of the cost of each new vehicle as a ‘scraping allowance’ for trading in or scrapping an existing taxi (Dugard, 2001: 16). Government has set aside R4 billion for this purpose, but the minibus taxi industry is not satisfied with this amount, proposing instead that government should provide a 20% up-front subsidy as well as a 30% scraping allowance (National Department of Transport, 2007). With over 100,000 taxis in the country, government is
concerned that this level of spending will exert substantial pressure on the fiscus, leading recently to suggestions that the programme might be abandoned if there is an expectation of an additional funding requirement above the R4 billion marks.

5.2. Affordability of the New Taxi Vehicle

There are also problems in relation to the new vehicle specifications that have been introduced in the Taxi Recapitalization Programme (Boudreaux, 2006: 4). Taxi operators complain that these new vehicles bring more problems than solutions to the industry. The number of seatbelts determines capacity, so the new vehicles cannot be overloaded. The new vehicles result in decreased capacity which, in turn, means that revenue collection has drastically decreased (Smith, 2005). This is compounded by increased costs of tyres, fuel and spare parts. Most operators attribute their reduced revenue to a lack of consultation on the programme and on vehicle specification in particular. In terms of purchase costs for the new vehicles the initial deposit ranges from R60,000 for a thirteen-seater and more for the eighteen and twenty-two seaters. The monthly installments are much higher than for the previous vehicles. Because the government only provides compensation in the amount of R50,000 for each scrapped vehicle it is very difficult for operators (especially small scale operators and those still paying for the old vehicles) to purchase new models (Fourie, 2008: 52). In addition, the fuel consumption of the new models is very high, spare parts are very scarce in the market and most operators have to use their buying power to import them. This is not feasible over the longer term. SANTACO has not managed to create and to maintain supportive business networks with major vehicle finance houses, fuel companies, and spare parts companies (Fourie, 2008: 49). Even the taxi-rank mechanics employed by taxi associations or individual operators find it impossible to fix parts of the new taxi models. Hence, all new models have to be taken to the manufacturers for service. Because of these factors many operators do not comply with the Recapitalization Programme. They choose instead to retain their old models and to service their taxis, themselves. Many such taxis have been operating for more than ten years, break down frequently and some are unroadworthy. This continues to contribute
to accidents. Significantly, such operators remain outside the programme and are unregulated.

Given all of these factors, it can be argued that there is no substantial attempt by the government through the programme to minimize taxi violence and the amount of road accidents, to increase revenue in the industry, and to empower and incorporate the minibus taxi industry in economic growth and development initiatives through subsidizing it. Instead, the policy seems doomed to failure as it is plagued with problems ranging from consultation, legitimacy, operating licenses, new vehicle maintenance, rank infrastructure, and payment plans to operators.

The government does not heed calls for increased compensation and subsidies, nor address the issues around violence. Some taxi operators’ point of view is that, the proposed scrapping allowance is not enough incentive to convert to the new system. At a cost of more than R300,000 for a new taxi, meaning maintenance leases of around R15,000 per month per vehicle, operators are demanding an equitable subsidy system, which when calculated should amount to around R10 billion per year. However, the treasury believes that this sort of subsidy is unaffordable. Despite the introduction of a revised Taxi Recapitalization Programme that began in the 2005/2006 fiscal year (and to function until 2014), taxi violence, operating licence-related problems and unroadworthy vehicles are still features of the industry today.

5.3. Making transport safe, efficient and affordable
Government has therefore taken considerable steps to regulate the minibus taxi industry in the best interests of public safety and to transform it into a more profitable business in which income is derived from a wider basket of income generating enterprises and not just fares (Nandipha, 2006: 10). Taxis are often seen as unsafe and operating in a way that is abusive to passengers. Minibus taxis are subjected to much more severe operating conditions than the average passenger car. Minibus taxis frequently operate at speeds higher than the limit to cut travel time in order to secure more loads or passengers, while operating at these speeds, usually overloaded, the
stopping distance of these vehicles change considerably from the design, usually resulting in fatal consequences. The pressure is on the driver to meet strict daily requirements of numbers, both in trips made and passengers ferried. This in turn impacts on his/her earnings. In the ultimate event of brake pad or lining replacement, the driver would purchase the cheapest available as this has a direct bearing on his wages. Because the minibus taxi industry has grown rapidly in the last decade in South Africa, numerous replacement brake pads and linings are available, which are manufactured locally or imported. Roadworthiness and driver attitude are the most important aspects to address in the effort to improve the safety of commuters in minibus taxis.

5.4. Quality and Safety regulation

The commuters usually do not have capacity to assess all quality and safety aspects of the minibus taxi they make use of every day. Clearly, the regulation to specific minimum levels of safety and service quality seem warranted. On the need for regulation, Majeké (2003:48) stressed that government is required to put processes in place that ensure that practices conform to the Labour Relations Act 66 of 1995 and Basic Conditions of Employment Act 75 of 1997. Regulatory restrictions on competition also reduces the incentive for taxi operators to be innovative and explore new ways of cutting costs and providing services to better meet users' needs. According to Fourie (2003: 70), in the absence of entry restrictions there will be a large number of minibus taxis. In this more competitive environment, fares are more likely to fall than to rise. This cost is borne most heavily on low income households. This takes the form of a prescribed maximum fare. In essence, the regulation is used to prevent undue fare increase that could otherwise arise in an environment where competition is constrained by entry restriction. In practice, the maximum prescribed fare usually becomes the norm for all taxis.
5.5. Permit conversion progress

The industry seems to have been very supportive of the permit conversion process, although a number of owners are skeptical as to what good reason the authorities have to push for changes. The Ministry of Transport (2005) has encouraged and confirmed that the permit conversion process will go a long way in resolving some of the problems facing the taxi industry in conversion from radius to route based permits. The Ministry further states that there has been an encouragement to those members of the industry who have not yet taken advantage of the window of opportunity to convert, and to do so before 30 November 2005. By 1st of December 2005, law enforcement strategy was ready to deal severely with operators who were found to be operating without the necessary Operating Licenses. Nevertheless, there has been an applause for those early birds for converting their permits.

5.5.1. The process of permit approval

Since the beginning of 2001, permits have been issued by the board to deserving taxi operators, subject to them providing the following information:

- A valid certificate of fitness
- Rank permits from municipalities
- Route details for each vehicle within associations.

The validity of such permits was extended over a six-month period instead of the usual three months. However, during that period prior to the launch of the enforcement drive, very few permits were uplifted by taxi operators due to one or more of the above reasons (Irin-news, 2006: 1). Of the few, which were uplifted by associations, very few were handed to operators by their chairpersons, mainly due to the fact that some of the chairpersons wanted payment for their services (Ministry of Transport, 2005). When the enforcement campaign started many of the vehicles, which were fined or impounded, were as a result of this oversight from operators and their associations. Firstly, upon realising this problem, many operators flocked to the board to try and arrange their
permits; this unfortunately created a huge logjam within the board. Secondly, many of the operators who wanted to uplift their permits came without the necessary documents for the uplifting of their permits. Other associations were not granted their permits by the start of the enforcement campaign because they were challenging each other in court over outstanding route claims and other issues (Ahmed, 1999:02).

6. THE CHALLENGES OF IMPLEMENTING THE TAXI RECAPITALIZATION PROGRAMME

The minibus taxi industry in South Africa has a vast number of challenges just like any other industry; among the challenges include, the question of who exactly represents the taxi industry in the country, consultation and violence.

6.1. Representation- Who represents the taxi industry?

South African National Taxi Council, which was formed in August 1998 as an industry-driven response to the government’s failed attempts to resolve taxi violence, has a democratically elected council and claims to represent the industry as a whole. However, shortly after it was formed, a rival association, the National Taxi Alliance (NTA), set up an office and it, too, claimed to be the mouthpiece of the taxi industry. Tensions between the two bodies erupted almost immediately and conflicts over representation continue to cause problems for the recapitalization process. The existence of two associations both claiming to represent and speak on behalf of the taxi industry significantly complicates government’s efforts to consult with and enter into binding agreements with the industry (Fourie and Pretorius, 2005: 17).

6.2. Consultation

The Taxi Recapitalization Programme’s implementation problems are largely rested on issues around consultation. The fact that South African National Taxi Council seemed to be the sole representative of the taxi industry meant that some of the recommendations of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme could not be accepted by half of the industry
(Nandipha, 2006: 13). According to Fourie and Pretorius (2006: 6) a variety of problems around the programme resurfaced, these included operational permits, route regulation, vehicle capacity, electronic fare collection which would include tax revenue collection and vehicle tracking. Basically, old permits were to be converted into route-based operating licenses and, no operating license was to be issued for longer than five years.

Taxi operators are given an amount of R50,000 to either purchase a new taxi vehicle or to leave the taxi industry upon the scrapping of their vehicles. Cokayne (2006: 19) points out that the National Taxi Association opposed the Recapitalization Programme’s R50,000 scrapping allowance for each registered taxi vehicle. Other problems occurred which ranged from vehicle financing issues, and the absence of subsidies proposed by the government, which taxi operators considered to be unfavourable and a means to sabotage the taxi business. Sicelo Mabaso, President of the National Taxi Association, argues that, ‘the allowance is insufficient for vehicles that are in the market. Their estimated retail is R25,000, an operator will pay R50,000 and be left with R20,000 to pay, minus the interest’. In a number of recent instances, violence has erupted because of organisations failing to reach consensus with regards to operational routes. The government fails to successfully address this, leaving taxi operators to solve this problem amongst themselves. This continues the circle of violence as no taxi organization is prepared to give up a lucrative route.

A new process of consultation with taxi operators and their representatives is necessary to determine who represents the industry and what their needs are. In the first instance, South African National Taxi Council’s dissatisfaction with the proposed 35-seater vehicle should be taken seriously. Not only does South Africa National Taxi Council represent tens of thousands of taxi operators, but the international experience of jeepneys in the Philippines, matatus in Kenya and trotros in Ghana suggests that smaller vehicles are optimum for informal public transport. The taxi industry is a key player in South Africa’s society and economy and should not be neglected. Government should acknowledge its vital role through adequate investment and by realizing a
A comprehensive and participatory Recapitalization programme. It is necessary that government engages meaningfully with taxi operators and makes sufficient funding available to properly formalize the taxi industry.

### 6.3. Violence

Many taxi drivers and commuters have lost their lives through violence. At this juncture, there are no legal frameworks governing or regulating routes. As such, the safety of the taxi industry leaves much to be desired and, if not improved, could pose a threat to the industry (Khosa, 2003). It is assumed that after an organization has applied for a route and is successful, following the assessment of the application for that route in relation to existing operators by an independent body, other taxi associations will recognize and honour the route arrangement. But, ironically, lucrative routes are always contested despite the existence of recognized operators and despite legal documentation that shows which association is legitimately permitted to use a route. Illegal operators in the industry have contributed to violence in the industry (Dugard, 2000: 34). However, formalization should eliminate ‘mafia-like’ territorial positioning by addressing the destructive competition issue. One of the aims of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme was to end violence, but it seems to be difficult taxi associations still fight over routes and ranks.

As reported by The New Age-TNA (23 June 2011) a 50-year-old minibus taxi owner was shot in the chest outside his house at Roerfontein village in Sekgosese outside Polokwane on Friday night. The police officer stated that in a separate incident, commuters were forced to use other means of transport to get to work following taxi violence between the Apel and Sekhukhune taxi associations on Monday morning. The two rival taxi associations are engaged in a dispute over routes, a minibus taxi believed to belong to the Sekhukhune Taxi Association was pelted with stones and damaged during the altercation. Two other minibuses belonging to the Apel Taxi Association were hijacked and one of them was found set alight a few minutes after it went missing on the same morning. It is clear from these events that violence in the minibus taxi industry needs serious and more attention hence, the Taxi Recapitalization Programme is
challenged to address it effectively, so as to avoid more deaths and injuries in the country.

7. Conclusion
Taxi violence is still an issue of great concern in the South African minibus taxi industry. Taxi organizations aggressively compete for routes, commuters find themselves caught in the cross-fire during taxi violence. This has led to many deaths. Public safety is constantly in jeopardy. Again, as has been pointed out in the discussion, the minibus taxi industry is notorious for being involved in road accidents because of the use of unroadworthy minibus taxi vehicles and as a result of overloading. In addressing the issue of commuter safety, the South African government has introduced a new minibus taxi fleet (with a variety of models) which many in the minibus taxi industry claim is more expensive and unreliable.

The public contends that the majority of new vehicles on the road are unsafe. Government offers a compensatory subsidy of R50 000 per voluntary scrapped unroadworthy vehicle, to help operators purchase a new minibus vehicle or in order to leave the industry to explore other business ventures (Government gazette no. 29421, 2005). Those in the minibus taxi industry claim that this amount is insufficient. In addition, there are conflicting views concerning the objectives of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme objectives by the two major taxi federations, Santaco and the National Taxi Alliance (NTA). In order to influence policy, the minibus taxi industry has engaged in countless strikes and protests against the Taxi Recapitalization Programme. These were followed by a legal case against the government, the outcome of which was in the industry's favour.

Public policy implementation is concerned with both the content of policy and the processes of decision-making and application of that policy. According to Grindle (1980: 25), the content of public policy is an important factor in determining the outcome of implementation initiatives. In the case of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme, a key question is: what impact the content of the policy has had upon the interests affected by
it and in their acceptance of it? Although implementation may be the main objective of an institution, its success largely depends on the implementation model employed, which constitutes the process. In the next chapter, the researcher explains in detail the research design and methodology adopted in the study.
CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

1. INTRODUCTION
Research is the process of gaining a better understanding of the complexities of human experience (Brown & Dowling, 2001: 7). The aim of the study was to analyse the impact of Taxi Recapitalization Programme on the taxi drivers, taxi queue marshals, vendors at taxi ranks and taxi operators (owners) using the case study of Mankweng Taxi Association in Limpopo Province. Through planned and systematic collection, interpretation and analysis of data, the emphasis was on inductive analytical strategies. Data were collected by means of structured questionnaires, interviews and documentations, and were captured and analyzed. This chapter, therefore, presents the research design and methodology employed in the study. The researcher provides insights and justification of the design, methods, sampling and data collection procedures followed in the study.

2. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY
The methodological design is the logic through which a researcher addresses the research questions and gains data for the study (Mason, 2002:30). Research methodology encompasses the complete research process: the research approach, procedure and data collection or sampling methods used (Mc Millan & Schumacher, 2001: 74). According to Cohen & Manion (1994: 39), the aim of research methodology is to understand the processes and not the product of scientific inquiry. The research employed both quantitative and qualitative approaches. Blaikie (2003: 47) states that quantitative methods are used when data have been collected in, or are soon converted into numbers for analysis, whiles qualitative methods are used when data are in words and remain in words throughout the analysis. A researcher who uses quantitative research employs experimental methods and quantitative measures to test hypothetical generalizations and also emphasizes the measurement and analysis of casual relationships between variables (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998).

On the other hand, qualitative research uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings (Patton, 2002: 39). Qualitative
research can be viewed as an umbrella concept that includes several strategies that are flexible combinations of techniques to obtain valid and reliable data (Meriam, 1998:5). The researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest. Proponents of this mixed methodology highlight the fact that the disadvantages of the one method is compensated for by the advantages of the other.

2.1. Population sampling

For this research study, the researcher chose the Mankweng Taxi Association, which is based in Limpopo Province under the jurisdiction of Capricorn District. The headquarters of the association are in Polokwane (Bok Street). The population of this study was taxi drivers, queue marshals, vendors at taxi facilities, members of the taxi association, government officials and personnel, both male and females. The accuracy of estimates of population parameters depends on the sample size, the general rule of samples is the bigger the better (Blaikie, 2003:165).

The researcher selected the target population by means of both stratified and purposeful sampling methods. Stratified sampling is a commonly used probability method that is superior to random sampling because it reduces sampling error. Stratified sampling is often used when one or more of the strata in the population have a low incidence relative to the other strata (Walonick, 1997: 7). The strata referred to include both males and females of all races as well as new and old taxi operators, drivers and queue marshals as well as respondents from the of 18 and above. As the researcher used both qualitative and quantitative methods, the sampling strategies were also two.

The purposeful sampling strategy for the collection of data was used because the researcher wanted to discover, understand and gain insight into the issue and therefore chose the sample that most fitted the study. The logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting cases with rich information for in-depth study to generate meaningful and relevant data that will enable the researcher to address the research questions and form grounded and sound arguments to support the findings.
2.2. Data collection

The researcher used both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Data were collected from the following techniques: questionnaires, interviews, focus group and documentations. Interviews are one of the most common forms of qualitative research methods and involve the construction or reconstruction of knowledge (Silverman, 2004: 140). The interview is an intense experience for both parties involved. The interview generates much information that can be used to provide insight of the respondents’ experience. Data were collected from the taxi rank across the Greater Mankeng Taxi Association area of jurisdiction, the head office of the Greater Mankweng Taxi Association (Polokwane) and the Limpopo Department of Roads and Transport. In the Limpopo Department of Roads and Transport, two staff members were interviewed individually. The interviewees were friendly and open-minded, allowing the interviewer to ask as many questions as she could. They even provided the challenges that they face as government officials when addressing the issues of TRP with the minibus taxi operators.

In the Greater Mankweng Taxi Association head office data were collected in the form of focus group. The focus group interview was held with four members of the association, who all seemed to be intrigued by the researcher’s topic and felt the importance to voice out their concerns as far as the Recapitalization Programme is concerned. The focus groups that ensued had advantages and disadvantages. Bryman, in Burnham et al. (2004: 36) argues that focus group is a much more natural environment for sharing information and contributing to research than situations such as an interview in the street or alone in one’s home. The researcher found that the taxi operators cooperative and had an opportunity to get different views from the group. This was because no one wanted to be left out, especially on questions relating to consultation, new vehicles, operating licences, issues which this programme should prioritize, violence and the overall financial implications of the programme. Their behaviour was in accordance with what Burnham had observed. All the participants had been in the industry for more than ten years. They were in a good position to share their experiences with the researcher. By sharing their knowledge and experience, a much
richer source of data was collected than from just the questionnaires. Gibbs (1997:1) argues that focus group research draws upon respondents attitudes, feelings, beliefs, experience and reaction in a way which would not be feasible using other methods, for example observations, one-on-one interview, or questionnaires.

Although the focus group was not the researcher’s intention, it came proved to be useful and appropriate. Thus, they were ideal, since the participants were giving their own opinion openly and listening to what their colleagues had to say and elaborated on certain issues. That deepened and refined many points of views. The researcher held only one focus group with the members of the Mankweng Taxi Association, which took place in their offices at Polokwane.

Qualitative research uses narrow and descriptive approaches for data collection to understand the way things are and what they mean from the perspective of the respondents (Mills, 2003:4). It should be noted that research questions are formulated to investigate topics in all their complexities. The respondents' perception direct their actions, thoughts and feelings, it is necessary to analyze the context and narrate the meaning they attach to particular processes, situations and events (McMillan & Schumacher, 2001: 396).

As it might be implied from the name quantitative, the researcher also attempted to quantify variables and to the extent possible, partition it according to the various sources or causes. Mouton (1998:40) argues that quantitative study is an inquiry into a social or human problem, based on testing a theory composed of variables measured with numbers and analyzed with statistical procedures, in order to determine whether the predictive generalization of the theory hold true. The quantitative approach will include the use of technique such as quantitative analysis of results obtained from questionnaires.

The structured questionnaires were distributed to the taxi drivers, taxi owners (operators), taxi queue marshalls and vendors at the taxi ranks in the Greater Mankweng Taxi Association (Polokwane), the branches of Mankweng Taxi Association based in Boyne and the other one in the Mankweng area (Turfloop), Ga-Mothapo and
the last in Polokwane next to Limpopo Mall. Respondents participated voluntarily in completing the questionnaires. Questionnaires were constructed for each group of respondents in accordance with the information that they logically could be expected to know, depending upon the position that they occupied in relation to the information that the researcher was seeking. For example, the taxi drivers were asked different questions to the taxi marshalls because the position that both groups occupied meant that their knowledge base of the industry was different. This enabled the researcher to ensure that the information that was provided through the questionnaires was valid, and further that the analysis was authentic.

The advantage of using questionnaires was that they were completed within a reasonable amount of time and probably cost-effective. The total of four hundred and ten (410) questionnaires were distributed, 200 for Taxi drivers, 150 taxi owners, 40 taxi rank vendors and 20 for queue marshalls. The 410 questionnaires issued, only 395 questionnaires were valid and captured, the remaining 15 were spoiled. Most respondents did not respond to all sections on the biographical information part, about 9 respondents did not provide their age group, and some taxi driver respondents did not provide their education level, whilst some respondents marked two options, and all these was disclosed on the frequency table after capturing the data.

The questionnaire were handed over to the respondents, some seemed honest in responding to the questionnaires and even showed interest because others would ask for clarity on some of the statements on the questionnaires, while others were aggressive and felt that their time was wasted on nothing that would not change their lives. Some of the respondents were illiterate, and as for these, the researcher read out loud for them, translating into Sepedi (their mother tongue) so that they could understand and be able to provide fair and honest responses with understanding, and the researcher would fill in the questionnaires on their behalf based on their response.

2.3. Data analysis
A large number of data was collected and had to be analysed and interpreted. Qualitative content analysis is the tool used by the qualitative researchers when they are faced with a mass of questionnaires to make sense of. When analyzing data one
goes through the process of identifying themes and describing what has been found during the observation and interviews. Once the questionnaires are completed, the readings will be done for the purposes of analysis. Data analysis is at the core of the aim as it enables one to drive a description on the essential feature of a specific experience (Berelson, 1952:146). Data were analyzed by means of Statistical Package of Social Science Programme, where the responses from the questionnaires were calculated. The respondents completed the questionnaires and the readings were done for the purposes of analyzing the data. The responses from the questionnaires were captured and analyzed by means of frequency table.

Data obtained through interviews were prepared and read. The descriptive analysis was used to provide preliminary insight into the nature of the responses that were obtained.

2.4. Ethical considerations

Mouton (2001:25) states that there are a number of key phrases that describe the system of ethical protections that the contemporary research establishment has created to try to protect better the rights of the research participants. The principle of voluntary participation requires that people not be coerced into participating in research. The researcher did not force or blackmail any respondent to participate in the study. Closely related to the notion of voluntary participation is the requirement of informed consent. Essentially, this means that prospective research participants must be fully informed about the procedures and risks involved in research and must give their consent to participate. Ethical standards also require that researchers not put participants in a situation where they might be at risk of harm as a result of their participation. Harm can be defined as both physical and psychological. There are two standards that are applied in order to help protect the privacy of the research participants. The researcher guaranteed the participants that there was no harm in taking part in her study as it would only take a few minutes of their to respond to questions that were not intimidating or harmful. Almost all research guarantees the participant’s confidentiality -- they are assured that identifying information will not be made available to anyone who is not directly involved in the study. The stricter standard
is the principle of *anonymity* which essentially means that the participant will remain anonymous throughout the study -- even to the researchers themselves. Clearly, the anonymity standard is a stronger guarantee of privacy, but it is sometimes difficult to accomplish, especially in situations where participants have to be measured at multiple time points (e.g., a pre-post study). Increasingly, researchers have had to deal with the ethical issue of a person's right to service (Rajit, 2004: 18). The researcher ensured that no participant was named as an individual, hence the questionnaires did not have a space to fill in personal information, just the biographical information. Interviews and questionnaires were other tools to used to collect data for this study, therefore the findings should be reliable and valid. *Reliability* refers to the fact that different research participants tested by the same instrument at different times should respond identically to the instruments (Mouton, 1998: 12). For the collected data to be regarded as *valid* it should provide reliable responses, this means that reliability is a precondition of validity (Mouton, 1998: 12). The study will be able to claim reliability and validity since data will be collected from people who are directly affected by the programme.

## 2.5. Limitations of the study

There were a number of inhibiting factors in carrying out this research. As Merriam (1998:20) states that the human instruments is as fallible as any other research instrument. The researcher as a human instrument is limited by being human, mistakes are made and opportunities are missed. The researcher is very much aware that her involvement with some respondents (family and friend taxi drivers and owners) in the study, this could cloud the interpretation of the data. Nevertheless, the researcher made an effort to ensure the maximum degree of objectivity within the scope of the study.

## 3. CONCLUSION

This chapter dealt with the research design and methodology of the whole study. The nature and methodology of the research was presented. Qualitative and quantitative methods were discussed and substantiation was given for deciding to use both methods for this particular study. The data analysis process was equally outlined and discussed. The researcher also took into account ethical considerations as well as the limitations of
the study. The next chapter focuses on the findings, analysis and the interpretation of
the data collected.
CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH FINDINGS, DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to present the data collected and analyze the results of the research conducted to investigate the impact and challenges of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme in Greater Mankweng Taxi Association. Data were collected through the following techniques: questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussions and documentation gathering. Questionnaires are easy to prepare, they are a less expensive way to reach more people, including people at some distance. The researcher mentioned in chapter one that the population of the study is huge, therefore it was not feasible to conduct interviews or focus group discussions with everyone involved, therefore the questionnaire method was the best alternative to address certain issues, such as the perception and the impact of the TRP on the taxi drivers, taxi owners, taxi queue marshalls and taxi rank vendors.

The other method used to collect data was the one-on-one interviews. The purpose of the interviews were to get information that was not possible to gather from the questionnaires and to get it from people who were not covered in the questionnaires, for instance the personnel of the Limpopo Department of Roads and Transport, who deal directly with the issues of the recapitalization of fleet. The researcher wanted to uncover about the process of recapitalizing a vehicle, to understand whether it is compulsory or not; all these were not going to be effectively obtained from the questionnaires. Another method was focus group discussion and the last one was the collating of documentations on the Taxi Recapitalization Programme. Thus, all data collected will then be presented and analyzed simultaneously.

2. DATA PRESENTATION

Data were collected across various participants in the industry such as taxi marshalls, taxi drivers, taxi rank vendors, taxi owners, members of the Greater Mankweng Taxi Association and the officials at the Limpopo Department of Roads and Transport. Among other aspects included in the collection of data are biographical information and
the perception and understanding of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme by the various participants. Data were collected across various participants within the taxi industry; therefore the analysis of data will be discussed per group starting with data obtained through the questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussions.

2.1. Questionnaires

The researcher ensured that the questionnaires were reflective of the broader minibus taxi industry to make sure that the information gathered, and the analysis done, was valid. The respondents thus consisted of a sample from the Greater Mankweng Taxi Association, comprising taxi operators, rank marshals, taxi drivers and taxi rank vendors. Data that were collected through the questionnaires will be analyzed in the following sequence: taxi marshals, taxi rank vendors, the taxi drivers then taxi owners.

3. TAXI MARSHALS

The Greater Mankweng Taxi Association has 25 taxi queue marshals. The researcher decided to issue questionnaires to the taxi queue marshals in order to figure out how the TRP has impacted on their work conditions and assess if they are benefiting from the programme or the programme actually costs them. The research sample of taxi marshals consists of 20 respondents across the Greater Mankweng Taxi Association area: Ga-Mothapo, Mankweng, Polokwane and Boyne. The questionnaires cover the biographical information, perception and perspective of the TRP as well as the impact of the programme. Data in this regard unfold as follows:

3.1. Biographical information

The data presented on biographical information will draw a picture as to which gender as well as age group dominates within the taxi marshals in the Greater Mankweng Taxi Association. Furthermore, their level of education and the number of years spent in the mini-bus taxi industry, particularly in Greater Mankweng Taxi Association.
3.1.1. Gender

The primary idea of gender analysis is to determine the number of participants per gender, thus finding out whether there is gender equity or whether one gender dominates the industry.

Figure 1: Gender

The figure above indicates that 100% all the participants (Taxi marshalls) were males. This is because the Greater Mankweng Taxi Association has not employed any female as taxi marshal. Gender equity still lacks within the association at a whole. Davis (2006: 1) argues that introducing gender equality is tantamount to changing an accepted cultural value, and like the apartheid legacy of racial discrimination, moving away from gender discrimination will take several generations before this new value has a comfortable fit in society. Hence, this industry being historically male dominated, the legacy still continues.

3.1.2. Age group

The purpose for probing age group was to determine the age group of taxi marshals in the Greater Mankweng Association. This will also assist in determining the reliability of the research findings.
The figure above indicates that the majority of the respondents were between the ages of 30 and 39, which constitutes 47%, followed by the age group which is between the ages of 30 and 39 with 33%, then the older ones 50 and above with 13% then the youth between the ages of 18 and 29 with the lowest percentage of 7%. The figure illustrates that most of the respondents were the older individuals, which might be a good thing considering Dhliwayo’s (2003:1) argument that most young taxi marshalls are short tempered and have their trademark “no-nonsense mood”. Commuters interrupting with questions about the destinations of taxis or where to get taxis to their destinations simply receive menacing looks and rude responses.

3.1.3. Educational level

The level of education of the respondents in their work environment is not that important since it is not a specialized area, but for the purposes of this research, the level of education might play a crucial role since it may determine the level of understanding of the concepts and higher chances of the research finding to be reliable.
Figure 3 indicates that the majority of the respondents did not pass their matric, ending their schooling between grade 8 and 11, thus constituting 54%, while those who have grade 12 account for 33%. The remaining 13% comprise respondents who did not attend high school, but attended between grades R and 7. In South Africa, the perception is that the taxi marshal occupation for illiterate or poor individuals. However, it should be borne in mind that the most salient characteristic of the pre-democratic South African education was the lack of access to education (Venter, 2001: 232). As the previous figure illustrates that the majority of the participants are old people, the majority of whom majority went through Bantu Education and hence were denied access to proper education. As a result, they settle for low income jobs which have no fringe benefits.

3.1.4. Years in business

The reason for this variable was to probe the period the respondents have been in the industry. This will help to see whether these individuals are progressing in the association, and whether the taxi recapitalization programme has had an impact in their long or short term services.
The figure above illustrates that 60% of the respondents have been in the industry as queue marshals for 5 years to 9 years, while 27% have been in the industry for 10 to 14 years. Those who have been in the industry for 15 years and beyond account for only 7%. This information reveals that about 94% of the respondents have been in the industry long enough, that is, more than 5 years. The researcher concludes that the information gathered from these individuals could be valid and reliable, since the majority of the respondents have been in the industry long enough to understand its challenges. It also indicates that it takes time to progress in the minibus taxi industry, as can be seen from these participants who have been occupying the same position for years.

### 3.2. Perception and perspective on the TRP

The researcher wanted to probe the perception and the perspective that the queue marshals may have on the TRP. This would assist in analyzing data to know if the respondents have knowledge of what they respond to. On perception and perspective of the TRP, the researcher concentrated on their knowledge and understanding of the programme, improvement of their employment conditions after the implementation of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme.
3.2.1. Knowledge and understanding about the TRP

The number of years in business means that the queue marshals have better understanding of the minibus taxi industry. Therefore, it is of utmost importance to determine if their level of understanding of the industry stretches as much as their understanding of the programme and its consequent impact on their employment.

Figure 5: Knowledge and understanding

The figure above supports the statement by illustrating that 53.3% of the respondents have knowledge and understanding of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme, while 46.6% of the respondents have no knowledge or understanding of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme. There is almost a balance of perception in this score. The likelihood is that those that demonstrate a low level of understanding and knowing the programme might have their response influenced by hatred of the programme because as queue marshals they have little to do with TRP or do not benefit from the programme.

3.2.2. The TRP considers the interests of the queue marshals

The queue marshals play a pivotal role in the daily operation of the taxi vehicles; they instruct, direct and assist commuters in the taxi rank. With this in mind, the researcher wanted to find out if their interests as queue marshals and their role in the industry are being catered for.
The figure indicates that 35% of the respondents feel that their interests are considered by government on the TRP, while on the other hand 65% disagree, indicating that their interests and existence were not considered in anyway when the TRP was initiated, implemented. One of the respondents even expressed his opinion stating, “The queue marshals are just the faces in the crowd. They are not even visible in the eyes of government”.

3.2.3. TRP is a good programme that will improve the taxi industry

Although the study shows that the queue marshals are not directly affected by the TRP, the researcher wanted to get their opinion on the programme for more than one reason, which is that they work directly in the industry and have first-hand experience on the day to day running of the industry, therefore they are in a better situation to tell if this programme can bring change or improvement within the industry.
The figure illustrates that 80% of the respondents think that the implementation of the TRP will improve the industry. The overall goal of the Taxi Recapitalization Policy initiated by government in 1999 is the replacement of the current ageing fleet that constitutes the bulk of the taxi industry with new vehicles that are safe and reliable. The programme also sought to ensure the sustainability of the industry as a business, as well as ensure its formalization and effective regulation (Moyake, 2006: 123), thus improving the industry as a whole. The remaining 20% believe that the recapitalization policy is not planned to develop nor improve the taxi industry, but rather to pave the way for government interference and for government to generate income as it now insists that taxi owners should pay tax.

### 3.2.4. The TRP considers queue marshals as stakeholders in the minibus taxi industry

The researcher posed this statement to check whether the queue marshals think or feel that they are part of the programme; whether they are considered important in the whole programme. Furthermore, the present researcher wanted to find out if their role in the industry is considered important enough for them to be part of the stakeholders.
A minority of 3% think that marshals are stakeholders in the minibus taxi industry. The total of 97% believes that they are not stakeholders in the industry. The majority of the respondents believe that they are not considered as stakeholders within the minibus taxi industry, taking into account that they were not consulted on matters concerning the programme at any stage. One may argue that this may be because they are not directly affected by the programme since they are not the ones to recapitalize the vehicles.

### 3.3. The impact of the TRP on taxi queue marshalls

Any programme that is implemented will naturally positively or negatively impact those who are involved either directly or indirectly. Therefore, the researcher wants to analyze the impact of the implementation of the TRP. The researcher looked at aspects such as improvement of employment conditions, empowerment of queue marshals, and job creation.
3.3.1. Improvement of the employment conditions

Queue marshals are employed by local taxi owner associations. They are responsible for indicating which taxi takes the next passengers at the rank, checking the tyres, and for taking passengers’ complaints. Queue marshals receive a fixed wage (Barret, 2004: 5). Therefore, the researcher wanted to find out if the TRP has improved their conditions, as they work with commuters and may often find themselves in problematic situations. Queue marshals work outside, but do not receive protective clothing.

Figure 9: Employment condition

The figure indicates that 43.3% of the respondents agree that the TRP has improved their work condition, while 57% disagree. This supports Khosa’s (2006: 15) statement that queue marshals will have to be retrenched to maintain equity. The association cannot have too many marshals with few taxis; some have, as a matter of fact, lost their jobs (Supra: 45).
3.3.2. The empowerment of taxi marshals

The introduction of the TRP was to uplift and empower blacks in the minibus taxi industry, therefore the researcher probed this variable to determine whether the empowerment the government targeted also included the marshals.

Figure 10: Empowerment

The bar graph indicates that 26.7% of the respondents agree that the Taxi Recapitalization Programme has empowered some queue marshals, but 73.3% disagree. This only shows that the taxi marshals have seen little or no improvement. The Department of Transport (2007) indicates that the Taxi Recapitalization Programme gives taxi drivers the opportunity to graduate to taxi operator status in their own right and participate in related economic activities. The taxi industry is widely lauded as the showcase of black capitalism. In his statement the government minister aimed to empower the taxi drivers, the question, however is, what about the queue marshals?
3.3.3. **TRP benefits queue marshals**

The researcher was prompted to include this variable because of the finding by McCaul (2001:100), who claims to have observed that queue marshals are open to bribes to taxi drivers and give them more passengers at the ranks than the legal limit. Therefore, the researcher wanted to determine if the TRP benefits the queue marshals, if they do then they might reconsider bribes from taxi drivers.

**Figure 11: TRP benefits**

The perception as per the bar graph above is that 60% of the respondents are of the opinion that the TRP is not beneficial to the queue marshals. Only 40% of the respondents are of the opinion that the programme is beneficial to them. The impression is that they do not gain anything from the implementation of this programme since they are indirectly affected by the programme.

3.3.4. **Job losses due to the implementation of TRP**

Williams (2011:1) argues that losing a job can be a traumatic experience for many people. Indeed, recent research shows that job loss for men is more stressful than divorce. But new insights show that people may be more resilient than previously thought. The researcher wanted to investigate if indeed TRP has caused job losses for queue marshals.
The figure above indicates that 80% of the respondents disagree that the implementation of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme has created job losses for queue marshals. Sixty percent strongly disagree, meaning the implementation of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme has not created job losses. The remaining 20% feels that the implementation of the programme has made some queue marshals lose their jobs. Indicated in literature (supra: 44) the TRP was expected to affect job losses mainly in the context of taxi drivers and taxi owners (operators).

4. TAXI RANK VENDORS

Taxi rank vendors sell different items at the taxi rank. They sell products such as fruits, vegetables, prepared foods, airtime, music cassettes and accessories. The Taxi Recapitalization Programme is a very broad programme. There is more to it than just the scrapping of the old vehicles. Issues such as the renting or selling platforms which are the responsibility of the local municipality, therefore the researcher found it appropriate to involve the taxi rank vendors as they are affected by the programme through the renting part of their business.
4.1 Biographical information

The biographical information consists of the gender as well as the age group of the respondents (Taxi rank vendors) in the Greater Mankweng Taxi Association. Furthermore their level of education and the number of years spent as a taxi rank vendor in the Greater Mankweng Taxi Association are noted as well as type of business they are involved in. The population size of the taxi rank vendors in the Greater Mankweng Taxi Association area is not known, because they are not registered with the association or any other organization as far as their operation is concern. Therefore, the researcher managed to issue forty questionnaires in different ranks across the Greater Mankweng Taxi Association area.

4.1.1: Gender

The aim of probing gender was to determine the sex that is in majority in the vending business. It has been often generalized that the vending business is dominated by females; therefore the researcher had to include this variable to weigh the gender equation in the Greater Mankweng Taxi Association.

Figure 13: Gender
The figure above indicates that there is almost a 50-50 participation from both males and females. The findings also dispute the generalization of females dominating the vending business. Therefore, the results obtained can be considered valid and reliable because they are not gender biased but show equity.

4.1.2: Age group

The researcher probed the age variable to determine the age category of the respondents in order to ensure the reliability of the research findings. Often in South Africa vendors are expected to be older. Will that be the case here?

Figure 14: Age

The highest percentage of the respondents is at the age group of 40 years and above. Therefore, their response can be considered valid because they are mature and most of them are there to really work as they are the breadwinners in their homes. Youth below 30 years of age constitute only 33% of the respondents. Some are matured and their contribution can be considered reliable.
4.1.3: Educational Level

The level of education of an individual often determines their level of understanding. The researcher probed this variable in order to determine the level of education of the respondents, thus determining their understanding of the programme.

Figure 15: Educational level

The pie graph indicates that only 9% of the respondents did not manage to get their high school education. They only went as far as the primary level. Sixty-seven percent actually passed their matric (Grade 12). Lack of job creation also plays a pivotal role. These individuals are unemployed, and hence they settle for a vending job at the taxi facilities in order to support their families. This level of education, made it easier for the researcher because most of the respondents could read and understand the questionnaires and respond without the help of the researcher. While, on the other hand the researcher had to read for some respondents who form part of the 9% who did not obtain any high school grade.
4.1.4: Years in business

The purpose of probing this variable was to determine the period the respondents have been vending. Thus important in assuming the reliability of the research findings.

Figure 16: Years in business

About 47\% of the respondents have been in the business, or rather have been selling in taxi facilities (ranks) for more than 10 years, and in actual fact 14\% of the 47\% have stayed in the business for more than 15 years. Only 34\% of the respondents are a little bit new in the business, they have less than 5 years of operation. This gives the impression that the respondents have been in the business long enough to know what is happening and to give reliable and valid information as to whether the TRP has an impact on the operation of their business.
4.1.5: Types of businesses

The aim here was to establish the type of business that the respondents do, and how those various businesses will be impacted by the TRP.

Figure 17: Type of businesses

The vendors in the taxi ranks sell a variety of products. The figure indicates the various things or type of businesses taking place in the taxi rank. Twenty-nine percent of the taxi rank vendors who took part in this study sell CDs and accessories (i.e., nail cutters, combs, key holders, ID book covers and many other things), and only 28% sell cooked foods (mini-restaurants). Those who sell fruits and vegetables account for 24%, and the remaining 19% sell different cellular networks’ prepaid airtime. This therefore indicates the high extent at which the taxi ranks sustains the viability of such businesses.

4.1. The perception and perspective of the TRP

The researcher wanted to be able to understand how taxi rank vendors perceive information on the TRP, more precisely how the TRP is impacting on their businesses as they are indirectly working in the taxi industry. The result in this regard unfolds as follows:
4.2.1: knowledge and understanding of the TRP

The researcher probed this variable to establish the knowledge that the vendors have about the TRP.

Figure 18: Knowledge and understanding

The figure illustrates that the largest percentage of respondents (66%) indicates that they have not heard about the TRP nor understanding of what it is all about; only 34% of the respondents seem to be having an idea. The perception here could be that the majority know about it, but not having anything to do with it since it is not affecting their business directly.
4.2.2: The TRP is a good programme

The aim of each programme initiated by an individual or an organization is to improve a certain aspect or life or the environment. Therefore, the researcher wanted to analyse if the vendors view the TRP as a good programme initiated by government.

Figure 19: Good programme

The previous graph on knowledge and understanding of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme showed that the highest percentage of the respondents did not know or understand the programme. The figure above indicates that the highest percentage does not consider the programme to be a good programme that considers the business interest of the vendors. Only a small percentage, 4.8%, think the programme is good and considers their business interests as taxi vendors, hence it can be assumed that the 4.8% are part of the 23.8% who said to know and understand the Taxi Recapitalization Programme.
4.2.3: Consultation

Government uses different tools to communicate, consult and get feedback from the public on policy issues. Consultation is one of the available tools for government to get feedback from the communities/citizens. Therefore, the researcher needed to find out if the taxi rank vendors were consulted.

Figure 20: Consultations

Just over 95% of the respondents feel that they are not considered to be stakeholders in the Taxi Recapitalization Policy as they were not consulted at any stage. Only a small percentage of the respondents, 4.8%, said they were consulted. This makes one wonder if indeed consultation took place, with so many people saying no consultation took place and only the minority claiming to have been consulted. The literature indicates (Supra: 54) that consultation was not effective altogether in the process of formulation and implementation of the TRP.
4.3.1: Loss of business

Taxi ranks are areas where minibus taxis, each capable of carrying more than 10 less than 36 passengers, are lined up for easy access by commuters travelling to different destinations. At such centres, passengers either wait for their initial transport or next connection (Bryan et al., 1988). As a result, there are short delays during loading, and during these times passengers buy food from nearby vendors (Bryan et al., 1988). The implementation of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme meant that taxi rank vendors have to be grouped at one corner at the taxi facilities and provided shelters by the municipalities to rent. The researcher wanted to establish if the renting of those shelters had a negative impact on the business of the taxi rank vendors.

Figure 21: Loss of business

More than 65% of the respondents indicated that the implementation of the TRP did not make some vendors go out of business. The researcher could not help noticing that most of the taxi rank vendors were not occupying the provided shelters, but randomly selling in and across taxi ranks. Also, not all taxi ranks visited by the researcher have been provided with such shelters, most were not sheltered, thus their food and all their...
products sold were exposed to direct sunlight for the entire morning and most of the afternoon.

4.2. The impact of the TRP on taxi rank vendors

Impact assessments are carried out to assess the consequences of individual projects to predict and identify the likely impacts of a programme (Catherine, 2005: 45). Thus, the impact is the process of identifying the future consequences of a current or proposed action. The “impact” is the difference between what would happen with the action and what would happen without it (ibid). Therefore, the researcher wants to present the impact that the TRP has on the taxi vendors, particularly on their day-to-day business. Hence, issues such as renting of platforms, safety of the vendors and profit are tackled in this study.

4.3.2: Safety

Raids against street vendors are not only an indictment of a South African government that won elections on a pro-poor ticket, but also a blatant infringement of the traders' constitutional right to earn a living (Petros, 2009). The researcher seeks to determine if it is safe to sell products at the taxi ranks.

Figure 22: Safety

About 70% of the taxi rank vendors disagree that the TRP has improved their working conditions that it is actually easier and safer now to sell at the taxi ranks. The taxi violence taking place within the industry, endanger the lives of not only the vendors but
commuters as well, because more often than not these fights are characterized by random shooting. Only 38.1% of the respondents feel safe to work in the taxi rank, whether is because of the implementation of the TRP or not is hard to tell. It should not be forgotten that more than 95% of these respondents have no knowledge and understanding of the TRP, therefore, the researcher feels that there is a need to be objective in respondents’ response and not link everything they say with the TRP.

4.3.3: Government recognize the taxi vendors

As in many developing countries, a policy decision has to be taken by local authorities to allow people to earn their living from street food vending in areas under their jurisdiction. It should be noted that most taxi/street vendors rely on the income they get selling their products; they have no other additional income. The researcher wanted to investigate if the government gives these vendors recognition, and if it considers them as part of the informal employment, and therefore provide them with some form of assistance.

Figure 23: Government recognition
More than 75% of the respondents felt that they are not given any recognition and even the implementation of the TRP did not create any platform for them to be competitive or at least to be recognized by the government as business people. The day-to-day running of their business has not changed in anyway. On the other hand, 23.8% of the respondents agree that the government recognizes them.

4.3.4: Profit in the business

The aim of every business person is to make profit in whatever kind of business operating, therefore, the purpose of this variable was to determine if the vending in the taxi rank has more profit ever since the implementation of the TRP.

Figure 24: Profit in the business

As the researcher highlighted before, that not all taxi ranks have the shelters and not all taxi rank vendors occupy the existing ones. Therefore, those who are occupying they strongly agree that these renting stations heavily impact negatively on their profit making. With the little they are making from selling to the commuters and any other passenger, they still have to deduct some for paying rent. Hence, this renting was imposed on them as they have highlighted the fact that they were not consulted as far as the development/establishment and implementation of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme is concerned.
4.3.5: Increased number of customers

The purpose of this variable was to determine if the increase number of commuters implies the increase in number of customers.

Figure 25: increased number of customers

The bar graph indicates that it cannot be automatically assumed that if the number of commuters has increased then the number of customers of the vendors will increase. Only 19% of the respondents claim that the increased number of commuters has increased their number of customers, thus making more profit than before the implementation of the TRP.
4.3.6: Competitiveness

The products and services provided by taxi rank vendors are not unique, which means there are competitors, therefore, the aim here, was to determine if the TRP has improved the taxi rank vendors to be able to compete with their competitors.

Figure 26: Competitiveness

This figure illustrates that 100% of the respondents disagree that they are now competitive to the nearby similar businesses (i.e., restaurants). They all feel that they are not yet a competition for the other businesses similar to theirs. The assumption is because the programme does not cater for the vendors, it will not improve their business’s status quo. The vendors are indirectly employed in the minibus taxi industry, therefore not everything around this industry will impact positively on them.
5. TAXI DRIVERS

A taxi driver is any person who drives a taxi and is paid to exclusively drive for someone else, though some taxi drivers are taxi owners, driving for themselves. In terms of the roll out strategy of the TRP, the taxi drivers are the second most affected parties by the programme, as media perceived that most their jobs were threatened by the introduction of the programme (supra:44).

5.1 Biographical information

A biography gives a detailed description of the respondents. A biography is more than a list of impersonal facts (gender, age group, educational level, and years in business), it also portrays the subject's experience of those events, presenting the subject's story, highlighting various aspects of the respondents including intimate details of experiences, and may include an analysis of the respondents.

5.1.1: Gender

The purpose was to determine the number of participants by gender, as well as to determine which gender dominates in the business. In the South African minibus taxi industry the perception is that taxi driving is a male job, since it is characterized by violence.

Figure 27: Gender
This figure illustrates that the majority of the respondents were males with 99%, whereas the opposite sex accounts only 1%. This is generally because there are few female taxi drivers as the industry is a male dominated one. Females are, however, slowly entering the taxi market. It is also significant that more males have access to their own vehicles than females, this can also be blamed on the legacy of apartheid as more women/females were oppressed in that era, and hence only few women are showing interest in the minibus taxi industry.

5.1.2: Age group

The purpose of this variable was to determine the age group of the participants. To have an idea of the age group dominating or running the minibus taxi industry within the Greater Mankweng Taxi Association.

Figure 28: Age group

The figure indicates that the smallest percentage of the respondents are elderly people or taxi drivers, who are 50 years old and above at 5%, followed by only 15% of those aged between 40 and 49. The largest percentage is, 41% which accounts for taxi drivers who are between the ages of 30 and 39, and then young people between the ages of 18 and 29 constitute 39% of the respondents. The age sometimes determines the level of experience, and given the figures, the researcher can safely conclude that
the findings of this research could be reliable since the highest percentage of the respondents is at a more matured age.

5.1.3. Educational level

In the taxi industry education is not really considered to be important, since the field is not a specialized one. This variable is important in assuming the validity and reliability of the research findings.

Figure 29: Educational levels

The figure shows that only 7% of the respondents obtained tertiary qualifications, of which 1% of the 7% obtained their degrees and the remaining obtained diplomas. The figure indicates that the highest percentage, which is 64 of the respondents, managed to get to high school level, while 29% of the respondents only have primary school education. As mentioned earlier, the taxi industry is not a specialized field; this could be the major reason why it accounts for low level of education, since educational level is not a prerequisite for one to obtain a job within the industry, particularly if driving taxis. The disturbing fact is that 1% of the respondents have a degree qualification, indicating that South Africa has a serious problem of unemployment.
5.1.4: Years in business

The researcher’s aim was to establish the number of years that the respondents have been giving service in Greater Mankweng Taxi Association.

Figure 30: Years in business

The figure illustrates that 86% of the respondents have been taxi drivers for five years and more. Only 14% are novice taxi drivers who have been in the taxi industry as drivers for less than five years. The researcher interpreted these figures as indicating that most people in the taxi industry spend most years of their lives driving taxis and not growing bigger within the industry. This is because of the expensive market entry pricing, if one wishes to own a taxi within the industry. The TRP as well does not make matters any better, since the new models required by government are more expensive (Supra: 52).
5.2. Perspective and perception of the TRP

Perception is the process of attaining awareness or understanding of sensory information (Babitski, 2010). In order to understand and describe the process of perception, the researcher had to gather all the relevant information: finding out whether the taxi drivers knew and understood the programme, whether they thought they were considered and whether they saw any improvement.

5.2.1 knowledge and understanding of the TRP

The TRP directly affect the taxi drivers, therefore, it is of utmost importance to determine if the taxi drivers do know and understand the programme. Their understanding of the programme might assist the viability of the programme as a whole and make the finding of this research valid and reliable.

Figure 31: Knowledge and understanding

According to the figure above, just over 27% of the taxi drivers who took part in this research have no understanding and knowledge of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme, which could mean that of this percentage their information may not be reliable. A percentage of 70.9 does know and understand the programme. Thus, the information gathered could be considered to be valid and reliable, since the majority of the respondents know about the programme and understand it. Compared to the taxi rank vendors and the taxi queue marshals, most of the respondents who are taxi drivers know about the TRP. This could be because they are more directly affected by the programme than the other two parties, who indirectly work in the industry.
5.2.2: TRP is a good programme

The primary aim of any business is profit making. The Taxi Recapitalization Programme as well considers profit making as the primary objective of the taxi owners. Therefore, the purpose of this variable is to detect if the taxi drivers also believe that the TRP consider their profit interests.

Figure 32: Good programme

This figure illustrates that 67.6% of the respondents agree that Taxi Recapitalization Programme is a good programme that puts their needs first than profit making for the owners. The figure indicates that just over 33.4% of the participants do not believe nor think that the Taxi Recapitalization Programme is a good programme because it does not put them first, but the profit making interest of the taxi owners. The perception here is that the TRP is a good programme, there could be at least two key reasons why taxi drivers believe that the programme is a good one. The first reason is that the programme has improved safety with the spacious design of the New Taxi Vehicles, the fact that every seat has a safety belt and the Advance Brake System (ABS). The second reason TRP is that it forces operators with old taxi models to regularly service and maintain them, thus giving taxi drivers fresh, comfortable and safe vehicles to drive and enjoy the work/drive.
5.2.3. The implementation of the TRP is a good action from government to improve the minibus taxi industry

The overall goal of the Taxi Recapitalization Policy (TRP) initiated by government in 1999 is the replacement of the current ageing fleet that constitutes the bulk of the taxi industry with new vehicles that are safe and reliable. The researcher wants to establish if the taxi drivers share the same sentiments with the government and if they see this.

Figure 33: TRP good action

The figure illustrates that 77.7% of the respondents have faith in the programme and believe that it will improve the minibus taxi industry. Moyake (2006: 124) asserts that the programme sought to ensure that the minibus taxi industry is sustainable as a business, and to also ensure formalization of the industry and regulation that is effective. However, 23.3% of the respondents do not believe that the TRP is a good action by government in their intention to improve the industry, rather what the researcher gathered is that some taxi drivers perceive the programme as the government’s master plan to intervene and solely control the industry.
5.2.4. The TRP considers the taxi drivers as stakeholders in the minibus taxi industry

The implementation of the TRP has been a big challenge in the industry, the researcher wanted to find out if the taxi drivers were considered as stakeholders within the very same industry.

Figure 34: Taxi drivers are considered to be stakeholders

Only 3% of the respondents believe that they were considered as stakeholders in the minibus taxi industry by the initiators of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme. A total of 97% believes that they are not considered as stakeholders in the industry. The majority of the respondents believe that they are not considered as stakeholders within the minibus taxi industry, taking into account that they were not consulted on the matters concerning the programme at any stage. One may argue that this may be because they are not directly affected by the programme, since they are not the ones recapitalizing the vehicles, but, on the other hand the fact of the matter is that the taxi drivers not only drive the recapitalized vehicles, they effectively drive the industry, meaning no taxi driver, no taxi industry.
5.3. The impact of the TRP on taxi drivers

The researcher wants to analyse what impact the TRP had on the taxi drivers, looking at issues such as working hours, safety and job creation. In this study (Supra: 42) it was indicated that TRP would impact negatively on the taxi drivers.

5.3.1: The TRP has improved the minibus taxi industry and is easier and safer to work in the industry

The set goals of Taxi Recapitalization Programme include the improvement of the taxi industry at large. The researcher tried to investigate if the goal is achievable and to establish if the taxi drivers feel safe working in the industry.

Figure 35: Safety

The data collected shows that over 58% of the respondents agree that the Taxi Recapitalization Programme has improved the minibus taxi industry and is easier and safer to work in the industry. The historical background of the minibus taxi industry as discussed in chapter 2 shows that the industry was full of violence; hence over 40% of the respondents feel that the incidents of violence still prevail within the industry. Other respondents, even though they constitute a minority of the respondents, the percentage is relatively high, at 17%.
5.3.2: The safety of the New Taxi Vehicles as opposed to the previous ones

The primary aim of TRP was to scrap out old taxi vehicles and replace them with the new sophisticated ones. Therefore, the purpose here was to develop an understanding of the different safety features of two vehicles (new and old), to establish if taxi drivers feel safer transporting passengers using the new model or the previous one.

Figure 36: NTVs are better than OTVs

The figure indicates that the majority of the respondents at 58.3% agree that New Taxi Vehicles are much safer to drive and transport people. On the other hand, 41.9% of the participants disagree that the New Taxi Vehicles are much safer to drive and transport people than the previous ones. The Ministry of Transport (2005) urged the operators to use the New Taxi Vehicle because of the safety features and due to the fact that this vehicles are made of fiber glass and puts the safety of the driver and passengers first. The ideology here is that the taxi drivers might be sharing the same sentiments with the ministry.
5.3.3: *Working hours*

In the roll-out strategy set out by the Ministry (2005) the working hours for taxi drivers are to be flexible and the drivers will also be entitled to an hour per day for lunch and work only for eight hours (excluding 1 hour lunch). This variable probes to prove if the set aims are achieved and are indeed being implemented.

![Working hours chart](image)

Figure 37: Working hours

The perception here is that some owners do adhere to the requirements of the TRP policy on labour relations, as 52.1% of the respondents agree to having liberty of working hours as promulgated by the Department of Labour. On the other hand, 43.8% claim that their bosses are not complying with the labour requirements, as they work for longer hours. The remaining 4.1% of the questionnaires were spoiled, either the respondents chose more than one option or cancelled.

5.3.4: *Creation of jobs in Greater Mankweng Taxi Association*

One of the aims the Taxi Recapitalization Programme, is to improve and create jobs within the mini-bus taxi industry across the country.
The perception here is that the implementation of the TRP has not in any way created jobs within Greater Mankweng Taxi Association. As the bar graph indicates, just above 70% of the respondents disagree, and only 38.8% agree to jobs being created in the industry. The literature has indicated that TRP has by far a negative impact on most aspects in the minibus taxi industry, hence employment creation being one amongst those aspects (Supra 44).
5.3.5: Pressure to generate income sometimes result in reckless driving

The taxi drivers are expected to generate enough income to pay the instalments for the New Taxi Vehicle, maintain it and get salary as well as make profit for the owner. The demands are high, therefore, the aim was to investigate if all these demands do put pressure on the taxi drivers, resulting in their driving recklessly because they are chasing after the customers.

Figure 39: Pressure to generate income

About 60.3% of the taxi drivers who took part in this study disagree that the implementation of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme has put more pressure on them to generate income and are forced to chase commuters for more money and as a result they drive recklessly - 22.7% strongly disagree. The researcher feels that this information cannot be considered reliable, because not all drivers would honestly admit to driving recklessly no matter what the reasons maybe. On the contrary, 49.7% of the respondents agree that the implementation of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme has put more pressure on them; they have to chase commuters in order to make more money to be able to pay the installments of the New Taxi Vehicles, and 23.4% strongly agree.
5.3.6 *Taxi driving is a professional job*

Improvement of work conditions for the taxi drivers in the mini-bus taxi industry was among the reasons for the implementation of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme. Thus, granting them annual leave and flexible working hours and registering them with the Department of Labour. The purposes of this variable were to determine if the taxi drivers are registered and if they leave and are treated as professionals.

Figure 40: Profession

![Bar chart showing responses to the statement that the Taxi Recapitalization Programme has improved their working conditions and made them professionals.]

More than half of the respondents, 60.5% to be exact, disagree that the Taxi Recapitalization Programme has improved their working conditions and are being made professionals. Only just above 39% of the respondents agree that their work is now improved and is more professional.
5.3.7: Job loss by taxi drivers

As mentioned earlier, one of the goals of the implementation of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme is job creation. The researcher wanted to find out if indeed it does that (create jobs) or the opposite. The intention is to establish if the implementation of the TRP has made some taxi drivers lose their jobs.

Figure 41: Job losses

The perception here is that the implementation of the TRP has made some taxi drivers lose their jobs. On the contrary, 39.7% of the respondents does not believe that the implementation of TRP has kicked some taxi drivers out of the industry. The literature, however, indicated that the implementation of this programme might have a negative impact on the employment rate in the industry. The literature suggested that the TRP was a serious threat in some way to the employment of the taxi drivers and taxi owners, hence the respondents have proved the literature to be correct.
5.3.8: The TRP has a positive impact taxi drivers’ jobs

The researcher was investigating whether the TRP has a positive impact on the jobs of taxi drivers; to understand if it has attracted more commuters and the taxi drivers are making quick a profit.

Figure 42: Positive impact

The figure above illustrates that 65.3% of the respondents disagree that the Taxi Recapitalization Programme has a positive impact on their jobs and helped attract more commuters and that they are making money. In-fact they claim that more pressure to generate income is on their shoulders, a situation which results in reckless driving and putting their lives and the lives of other road users at risk. A total of 34.7% agree that they make money quickly as a result of positive impact of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme.
5.3.9: More commuters

The New Taxi Vehicles have various safety features as requested by the government (Supra: chapter 3). The researcher wanted to find out if those features helped to attract more commuters.

Figure 43: More commuters

A considerable percentage, that is, 58.9% of the respondents disagree that the New Taxi Vehicles features has attracted more people to use public transport, and minibus taxis in particular. In contrast 41.1% of the respondents are convinced that the new safety features has attracted more passengers. The Ministry of Transport (2005) has indicated that there are many specifications for the New Taxi Vehicles (NTVs) including safety belts for each seat and Advanced Brake System. On the other hand SANTACO (2007) argues that the price of the NTVs is very high and that the taxi operators are somehow forced to go for other cheaper competitive vehicles with less safety features.
6. Taxi owners

The main objective was to investigate taxi-owners’ perceptions of the government’s Taxi Recapitalization Programme. More specifically the study investigates taxi-owners’ knowledge and attitudes towards this programme as well as the impact that they believe it has on their business and employment.

6.1 Biographical information

Biographical information serves many purposes. In this regard it will assist in categorizing the gender, age group, educational level of the respondents as well as the years spent in the taxi business. It could be an effective way to convey important information on the type of respondents that took part in the study.

6.1.1: Gender

The purpose for probing age group was to determine the age group of taxi owners in the Greater Mankweng Taxi Association. This will also assist in determining the reliability of the research findings.

Figure 44: Gender

About 95% of workers in the taxi industry are African. Less than 2% are women. Many of the women do administrative work for the taxi associations (International Labour Organization; 2003: 5). Violent and volatile, the industry is known more for creating widows than for empowering women (Mkhize, 2009), but that seems to be changing.
Women are now making important inroads into the industry. The pie graph illustrates that about 6% of the respondents are females and the whole 94% are males. This indeed proves that the minibus taxi industry is a male dominated business.

6.1.2: Age group

The researcher probed the age variable to determine the age group of the respondents. In order to ensure the reliability of the research findings.

The figure indicates that most of the participants are above the age of 40. The participants who are below the age of 40 accounts for 28.6%, and 50.6% of the respondents are between the ages of 40 and 49, while 20.8% are 50 years old and above. Thus, most of the respondents are matured and therefore the results can be considered valid and reliable.
6.1.3: Educational Level

Though there is no specific educational degree required to become a taxi owner, a candidate with a high school certificate or a graduate degree will always be useful within the organization. Hence, this graph indicates that 67.6% of the respondents have grade12+ level of education.

Figure 46: Educational Level

Just 3.9% of the respondents have only primary level education, whereas 28.6% have obtained their high school education even though they did not get their matric. Therefore, the researcher concludes that based on the level of education, the information obtained can be considered reliable and valid. Though it is generally acknowledged that the minibus taxi industry is not a specialized field, most of the participants are educated. This may be because some taxi operators do not necessarily rely on the industry as their main source of income, meaning that owners may be professionals in other-fields i.e. educators and police officers.
6.1.4: Years in business

Work experience is valuable in building a successful career which fosters the ability to assume greater responsibilities. This graph indicates that most respondents have been in the industry for a long time.

Figure 47: Years in business

The figure indicates that 32.5% have more than 15 years in the industry, while 37.7% have been in the industry for 5 to 9 years. Only 7.8% of the respondents have less than 5 years in the industry. The majority of the respondents have been in the industry long enough to understand if it is growing or falling, therefore the results could be considered valid and reliable.

6.2. Perspective and perception of TRP

The implementation context of policy is important, especially in ensuring that cohesion exists among all the affected parties. Understanding the environment where a policy is to be implemented serves as a basic foundation in establishing consensus amongst policy actors. With this in mind, the researcher wanted to determine how the owners in the Greater Mankweng Taxi Association perceive the programme, whether they appreciate it or not.
6.2.1: Knowledge and understanding about the TRP

People who are mostly affected by the TRP are the taxi owners, since they must recapitalize their own vehicles. The researcher posed this statement in order to evaluate whether the owners really knew what they were getting into by recapitalizing or whether they just did as instructed without understanding.

Figure 48: Knowledge and understanding

The pie graph above indicates that 56% of the respondents know and understand the programme, only 44% of the respondents have no knowledge and understanding of the programme. As indicated before in chapter three, the TRP’s implementation problems are largely rested on consultation. Therefore, it is safe to say that due to lack of consultation some respondents lack knowledge as well as understanding of the programme as it was not well presented and explained to them.

6.2.2. The TRP is a good programme

Memani (2008) argues that the TRP is not a good programme which “keeps our fellow brothers and sisters in debt”. He claims that more than 50 percent of the 13 000 taxi owners nationally who are part of the Recapitalization Programme are in arrears on
their instalments, which means they are failing to pay as agreed, showing that they are not making any profit. The researcher attempts to investigate if the owners in Greater Mankweng Taxi Association agree with Memani (2008).

Figure 49: Good programme

The pie graph illustrates that 65% of the participants disagree that the TRP is a good programme. Only 35% of the respondents feel that it is a good programme. It is anomalous for the government to claim success in regulating, formalizing and developing the industry, while there are so many inadequately addressed challenges, amongst others being the lack of faith on the programme by the major beneficiaries.
6.2.3. The TRP has improved the mini-bus taxi industry

The idea was to analyze if the TRP has made any improvements within the Greater Mankweng Taxi Association.

Figure 50: Improvements

Some 55.9% of the respondents indicate that TRP did not improve the taxi industry; only 44.1% see the change within the industry as a result of the implementation of TRP. TRP requires taxi owners to convert their old radius-based permits (which allow them to carry passengers anywhere within a particular geographic area) to route-based operating licences (which require the drivers to stick to a specific, pre-determined route). The hope here is that taxis will stop to take on and let off passengers only along these designated routes, lessening the problems caused by taxis picking people up and letting them off just about anywhere. This has at least reduced the taxi wars over routes.

6.3. The impact of the TRP on taxi owners

The impact of the implementation of the TRP has given rise to a variety of concerns by the taxi industry. The main intentions of the government’s recapitalization scheme are: bringing about comfort to commuters, promoting efficiency of the taxi service, promoting reliability of the taxi service, ensuring the safety of commuters and empowering the taxi
owners. Therefore, the researcher wants to analyze if these intentions are indeed feasible and if taxi owners are honestly empowered.

6.3.1. The costs New Taxi Vehicles (NTV)

The government has introduced the New Taxi Vehicles that must operate, therefore the concern is the cost of those NTVs. This variable helps determine if the NTVs are more costly as compared to the previous model.

Figure 51: Cost of NTVs

![Cost of NTVs Graph]

The pie graph indicates that 96% of the respondents strongly agree that the NTV are costly to pay and maintain than the previous ones. In actual fact all participants (100%) agree that the NTV are costly, not even a single one disagreed. The NTV costs R 249,950 cash. Toyota Quantum installments on this model is R7, 288/pm. The engine is in a much under stressed state of tune and should prove reliable for many years if looked after. The gutsy torque delivery with little lag means it feels more willing than the acceleration figures suggest and it is reasonably economical with it – certainly far more so than the petrol model. The Quantum offers a reasonable standard specification too, including an audio system, electrically operated front windows, air conditioning with rear roof outlets, ABS brakes, dual airbags and central locking. In contrast to minibuses of
previous years, every single occupant of the 14-seater Quantum gets a proper 3-point safety belt. The fifth row of seats can fold and the Quantum comes with a 5-year/90,000 km service plan as standard (Potgieter-sales person, 2011). All the good features provided means regular service and maintenance, which is one thing that the taxi owners complain about.

6.3.2. The scrapping compensation (R50 000) is enough

The government will give taxi owners a R50,000 subsidy towards the purchase of the new vehicles and old minibuses will be scrapped. However, this subsidy is unlikely to cover the full costs of purchasing a new minibus. So while some operators will put new vehicles on the road, others will continue to try to skirt the authorities, driving their old taxis (Boudreaux: 2006: 4). Hence, in Mankweng area there are many taxis that are old but still operating. Therefore, the variable intends to find out if the owners think that the compensation amount is enough for them to remain in the industry.

Figure 52: Compensation amount enough

The figure illustrates that 94.5% of the respondents disagree that the R50 000 is enough for them to stay in the business, just above 6% of the respondents feel that the compensation amount of R50 000 is enough for them to remain in the industry. In terms of the purchasing costs, the deposit for the NTVs ranges from R60 000 and more, and
the government only offers R50 000 as a compensation amount to use towards the deposit, and naturally it becomes difficult for operators to afford the government specified vehicle, hence they opt for imitations, and as a result compromise passengers’ safety.

6.3.3 The TRP is not a well thought of policy and cannot transform mini-bus taxi industry

The minibus taxi industry in South Africa has by far the largest market share in public transport. Despite all the difficulties that continue to plague the industry, there is evidence to show that the industry is increasing its market share against all other modes of transport. Despite its turbulent history and the fact that during the apartheid period it was unregulated, the minibus taxi industry is today the most critical pillar of South Africa’s public transport sector. Not only is it the most available mode of transport, it is also the most affordable to the public. Government has therefore taken considerable steps to regulate the minibus taxi industry in the best interests of public safety and to transform it into a more profitable business.

Figure 53: Well thought policy

The bar graph illustrates that 64.9% of the respondents agree that the TRP is not a well thought policy and cannot transform the mini-bus taxi industry. On the other hand, 35.1% disagree and think that the TRP is a good policy that will transform the industry. The taxi operators might be right on this aspect as they are the ones who work in the
industry and understand the dynamics concerning taxis as a mode of public transport. They have also been in contact with government officials on issues relating to this policy. Therefore their judgment could be trusted.

6.3.4. The TRP has a positive impact on business

The researcher here attempts to figure out if the TRP has a positive impact on the business of taxi owners and to see if the safety features of the NTVs have attracted more commuters.

Figure 54: Positive impact

The graph illustrates that 92.9% of the respondents strongly disagree that the TRP has a positive impact on their business, and if it helps attract more commuters. Only 7.8% agree that they now have more commuters as a result of the implementation of the taxi recapitalization. Grindle (1980: 36) in her analysis of the importance of policy content in implementation theory claims that the interests of target groups and beneficiaries must be taken into serious consideration. Therefore, taxi operators as one amongst the targeted groups, their interest should be considered, but they feel that the TRP has impacted negatively on their business.
6.3.5: The revenue collected during the month is enough

The aim was to establish if the money generated throughout the month is enough to pay the installments for the NTV, maintain it, pay the driver and still make profit. This will help in realizing if the business is still profitable and whether the respondents understand their business.

Figure 55: The revenue

![Pie chart showing revenue collection among respondents.](image)

The pie graph indicates that 96% of the respondents feel that the revenue collected during the month is not enough for them to maintain the New Taxi Vehicle, pay the driver and the installments. Only 4% claims that the revenue collected is enough. It can be concluded, therefore, that this industry is presently not profitable.

6.3.6 The TRP has no impact on the mini-bus taxi industry.

The idea was to investigate if owners see the Taxi Recapitalization Programme as another stunt by the government that will not change anything in their industry.
The graph above illustrates that 100% of the respondents feel that the TRP has brought change in the mini-bus taxi industry. The TRP was formulated to end accidents that particularly involve mini-bus taxis due to the alleged unfit conditions of many of these vehicles. The new fleet was introduced in response to this. Furthermore, fights over lucrative routes have been reduced by the introduction of conversion of permits to operating licenses.
6.3.7: The TRP reduced road accidents

The taxi industry fills a necessary gap; it is beset by problems of vehicle safety aggressive and poor driver behaviour - most notably lack of respect for all road rules, and for other drivers. The industry is also the site of on-going violence caused by competition between rival taxi owners. The vehicles are generally overloaded with passengers and goods. The long hours that drivers are forced to work result in fatigue, sleep deprivation and reckless driving. The TRP addresses certain issues that result in fatigue and others such as working hours, therefore, the researcher attempts to analyze if that has helped reduce the road accidents.

Figure 57: Reduce accidents

The figure indicates that 62.4% of the respondents do not believe that the TRP has helped reduce the accidents. One reason is that the taxi drivers themselves are not “recapitalised”. They drive new vehicles, but their behaviour remains the same and therefore cars still get involved in accidents. On the other hand, 37.6% believe that the TRP has helped reduce accidents. Many people have died on public roads as a direct result of unroadworthy taxi vehicles. A minibus taxi-industry-specific initiative as in the TRP was initiated to also address safety issues in the taxi business as part of public transportation responsibilities. Considering that there might be other potential causes of
accidents, especially those involving minibus taxis, some taxi operators have confidence in the TRP’s commitment to accident reduction.

6.3.8: Consultation

Public consultation is one of the key regulatory tools employed to improve transparency, efficiency and effectiveness in government. It involves actively seeking the opinions of interested and affected groups. It is a flow of information which may occur at any stage of development (ANC, Alli and Emery, 1994). Thus, the researcher probed this variable to determine if consultation took place between government and taxi owners.

Figure 58: Consultation

The pie graph indicates that 96% of the participants claim that they were not consulted on the formation of the TRP. The researcher then, concludes that the TRP is an imposed programme on the mini-bus taxi industry by the government. Although the government’s intention was to minimize the monopolistic practices within the taxi industry because monopoly in the taxi sector has led to a rampant abuse of drivers'
rights, with taxi associations fighting for routes. The programme will strengthen both government and association's powers, streamline administrative approval procedures and remove restrictions considered unnecessary.

6.3.9 Taxi violence

Violence takes many forms. From large-scale acts of terrorism to assaults on single individuals, violence is a defining force in shaping human experience. The Taxi Recapitalization Programme is an attempt by the South African government to reduce taxi violence. The variable will assist in determining if the government’s attempt to reduce violence is succeeding.

Figure 59: Violence

According to 83.1% of the respondents, the implementation of the TRP will not end violence. Thus, the TRP will not contribute to development of the minibus taxi industry because of the fights over lucrative routes. In contrast, 16.9% of the respondents contend that violence will end and the TRP will develop the minibus taxi industry. In South Africa the minibus taxi industry is known for a high rate of violence than any other industry; the fight over routes being the common reason across the nine provinces. The researcher wanted to reveal if the respondents do realise this problem and what do they perceive of the situation. The graph has indicates that indeed the violence is still
continuing so much so that the respondents do not see the TRP as being the solution to the problem at hand.

6.3.10. The TRP empower black business entrepreneur

South Africa’s policy of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) is not simply a moral initiative to redress the wrongs of the past. It is a pragmatic growth strategy that aims to realize the country’s full economic potential while helping to bring the black majority into the economic mainstream (Department of Trade and industry, 2010). The purpose of this variable is to determine if TRP indeed does empower black people.

Figure 60: Empowerment

The graph shows that 85.7% of the respondents do not think that the TRP will develop, improve and empower them as black entrepreneurs. Only 14.3% agree that they are developed and empowered by the TRP. The instability that prevails in the South African minibus taxi industry undermines the industry’s progress and success in reaching full formalization and empowerment and becoming a reliable business.
6.3.11 The TRP has downsized the number of operators in the industry

Although taxi operators come from different socio-economic backgrounds, by far the largest numbers were forced to enter the taxi industry as a survival strategy in an economically exploitative urban landscape. Most taxi operators are engaged in other business activities as well: liquor selling, coal mining, hawking and dry cleaning ventures. Although some operators managed to climb up the economic ladder, the majority either have left the industry or just managed to pull through. An average taxi operator has been in the taxi business for nine years. The average age of taxi operators is 42 years. A strong correlation exists between the number of years in the taxi industry and the size of business. Most taxi operators owning three or more taxis have been owners for more than ten years (Miller and Ferraira, 1990: 11; Riley, 1993:42). Therefore, the variable will determine if the number of operators have indeed been down sized.

Figure 61: Down sized number

The graph above indicates that 92.2% of the respondents agree that the implementation of the TRP has downsized the mini-bus taxi industry. People are no more working in the industry, while 7.8% of respondents oppose. The TRP has been considered by operators to be government’s way of reducing the number of operators in the industry, so that it can be regulated. Most operators were not able absorb the costs associated with the TRP, therefore, had no choice but to exit the industry all together. Then only few who were better able to absorb the costs remained in the industry.
7. INTERVIEWS

The interviews were used to obtain information from the government officials who deal with the programme directly. The information desired was about information that cannot be explained in the questionnaires. Interviews involve direct personal contact with the participant who is asked questions relating to the research problem. The unstructured interviews were used for this purpose. The issues that were addressed during interviews were issues such as, the process of recapitalizing vehicles, and the conversion of permits to operating licenses. The interviewees were asked almost similar questions, therefore their data will be presented and analyzed concurrently.

7.1. The process in place for one to be a legal operator

The respondents were required to provide information on the process of the TRP, for one to be considered as a legal operator. Minibus-taxi operators are required to be both registered with the provincial taxi registrar, and to hold a valid, route-based operating licence for each vehicle operated. Operators without operating licences need to apply for and obtain them. To this end the Special Legalisation Process was initiated in all provinces. Once, these processes are completed, existing valid permits issued need to be converted to route-based operating licences. Then that vehicle can operate and it is considered legal.

The other interviewees stated that they only deal with the issues of operating licenses as they pass through them to and from the MEC of roads and Transport, then the scrapping is handled by the provincial Registrar, while the conversion of permits begin at Lebogomo Complex for Capricorn District, that is the applications come to them from officials at Lebowakgomo. In short, they do not deal directly with the community/clients.
7.2 Conversion of permits to operating licenses

The significance of this question was to evaluate if indeed taxi owners acquire their operating licenses. Both interviewees said that the number of operators coming for conversion is rapidly increasing number, but what both interviewees acknowledged was that these taxi operators seem clueless of what is expected of them and they are only doing it because they are forced to and they do not even like to convert their permits.

Limpopo Province has so far converted close to 15 000 permits to operating licenses. The reason for conversion of permits to operating licenses is that, for one to recapitalizes, one needs to be in possession of operating license. The operating license indicates the route which the taxi uses, and is meant to do away with what used to be radius permits. With the operating license an operator is now able to purchase a new taxi vehicle which complies with the recapitalization regulations. It is already evident that no registered taxi operator is without an operating license or a document showing that the licence is being processed. Those who operate without operating licenses are not registered and need to approach the district offices of Roads and Transport to register and acquire an operating licence. The government’s aim is to see every operator concentrating on safely conveying the public legally than to spend valuable time and hard earned money on fines.

7.3. Compulsory Recapitalization

The researcher wanted to understand if it is compulsory for every operator to recapitalize their old vehicles. The respondents clarified the issue, and even gave the consequences of not recapitalizing an old vehicle. As long as a vehicle is in good condition that vehicle may not recapitalise. Therefore, the operators must ensure that what they are keeping on the road is a safe car, which would not be removed as unsafe or un-roadworthy by Traffic Police. If the police removes any vehicle and declares it unsafe they may impound it or discontinue it. If it is impounded, the owner may not get it back through payment of a fine and may even forfeit the scrapping allowance because he will no longer be entitled to apply for its scrapping.
7.4. South African Bureau of Standards (SABS) approved vehicles

The researcher further wanted clarity on vehicles that are approved by the South African Bureau of Standards (SABS) and also needed clarity on the issue of converted panel vans. In Mankweng there are a number of converted panel vans, therefore, the researcher deemed it necessary to investigate whether they are legal or not.

There are already new taxi vehicles that comply with the standards as approved by SABS. Not every new minibus complies with the requirements and it is therefore absolutely necessary that one confirms this with the dealers by asking for SABS approval certificate which indicates that the vehicle is a taxi Recapitalization approved vehicle. Only vehicles which are approved may be used for replacement of an old taxi vehicle. The systems of the Department of Roads and Transport may reject any vehicle which is not approved and this becomes costly for the operator who has already bought a non-compliant vehicle.

The respondents further found out that most operators do not double check if what they are buying is SABS approved or not, and when they are rejected they become arrogant and frustrated. “Sometime we feel threatened and unsafe, because these people (taxi owners) tend to believe that we are their stumbling blocks. They think because of us their things are not going smoothly, while we only observing protocol and requirements stated by the government. We often tell them we are just messengers and therefore do not shoot the messenger. If a person is buying converted penal van ensure that it has been approved by SABS and has an approval certificate or he will have difficulty registering it as a new taxi vehicle. It is advisable that taxi owners confirm if the vehicles they are buying are SABS approved”.

7.5. The specifications of the New Taxi Vehicle

Initially, companies were invited to bid for the manufacture of both new vehicles and new electronic management systems. However, after evaluating the four bids that were received, a steering committee concluded that the programme in its original form was neither affordable to the national fiscus nor profitable to the operators, Radebe (2005) points out that the Cabinet had supported the steering committee's recommendations,
that the bidders had been informed, and that the government would await their response. The new programme includes the introduction of specifications for the new taxis, with the focus on their safety aspects. This will allow taxi operators to acquire vehicles from any manufacturer that complies with the requirements. The department is also ready to advise operators on choosing the right dealers. The respondent said, “We are always readily available for our clients or they can contact the five districts or the provincial taxi council on advice of dealerships selling TRP approved vehicles”

The researcher then thanked the Limpopo Department of Roads and Transport’s two officials for their time and assistance. After a few weeks, the researcher conducted a focus group discussion with the Greater Mankweng Taxi Association board members.
8. FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Focus group research involves organized discussion with a selected group of individuals to gain information about their views and experiences of a topic. Focus group interviewing is particularly suited for obtaining several perspectives about the same topic. The benefits of focus group research include gaining insights into people’s shared understandings of everyday life and the ways in which individuals are influenced by others in a group situation. Problems arise when attempting to identify the individual view from the group view, as well as in the practical arrangements for conducting focus groups (Gibbs, 1997: 2). Good levels of group leadership and interpersonal skill are required to moderate a group successfully.

Focus groups are under-used in social research, although they have a long history in market research (Morgan 1988), and more recently in medical research (Powell & Single 1996). This update examines the value of focus groups as a tool for social researchers and considers their potential and their limitations.

8.1. The perception on the Taxi Recapitalization Programme

Many operators/owners started are in the mini-bus taxi industry as drivers almost 20 years ago. They now own a small fleet of minibus taxis that run across Mankweng area. They see no sense in the government implementing the Recapitalization Programme when it ignores issues such as roads and infrastructure in the poorer peripheral communities that taxis usually serve. Driving through rural areas such as Ga-Mothapo, Dikgale, Mamabolo and Molepo there is only one stretch of tarred road; the rest are dirt roads that make for a bumpy, dusty ride through the areas. One of the respondents even claims that the government is doing nothing about infrastructure.

Their concern was that the brand-new taxis have to go everywhere, in these bumpy areas, and that the road contributes to cars being worn out before their life-expectancy. There are problems in the taxi industry that need to be addressed, but the TRP has left many problems unresolved, most notably problems related to poor law enforcement. TRP of course has put bigger, new taxis on the road, but at a real cost to taxi riders and
small-scale taxi entrepreneurs. “It has not so far transformed bad and aggressive drivers into model operators. It has not ensured that taxi owners maintain their vehicles, neither has it stopped pirate taxis from operating. All of these issues require and demand improved law enforcement efforts—something the TRP does nothing to address. In actual fact, it makes things difficult for us as an association, because all these unresolved issues are our babies to take care of now. All it has created is tension and hatred so far” said the interviewee.

One of the respondents said angrily and arrogantly: “the government has called on us to scrap our vehicles, in return for a R50 000 cash allowance to buy a new vehicle. The R50 000 that they are offering is peanuts. It does not help. These new vehicles are expensive, they cost close to R300 000 and if your deposit is R50 000 that is a joke. They should have given us at least double the amount.”

In general, the association board members do not think that the TRP is a very good programme. They do not dismiss it all together though, and they think it has empowered some of members. The sense was that even though empowered, it is possible to quickly leave the industry out of failure to manage and operate the business effectively and efficiently. One individual at a later stage said, “Well, the TRP is not all that bad, yes, we see some of our brothers now are back in business. Some have been at home because their old wrecks were on breakdown and could not afford to fix them, and then they have recapitalized them. Now what’s left is for them to pay the installments for the New Taxi Vehicles. For those who are driving their own vehicles they might survive, but those who hired drivers…we will see. This industry is survival of the fittest, if one is not fit will one falls badly.”

8.2. Taxi industry and profit
After realizing that they are full of complaints, the researcher wanted to understand why they are still in the industry. Most operators entered this industry because of unemployment and had to drive taxis for other people. Then after some time they managed to buy their own kombis. Before the TRP operators claim to have been making money, but “Now this industry is no more just a profit making industry, but a service rendering business.” He also said the other baffling factor is that they have
been negotiating with the Government to give assistance to the industry financially and they have been reluctant to come to the front. He said, "They are subsiding other bus companies, we want them to do the same to our industry, and it is not for us but for our commuters. The taxi Recapitalization Programme has failed dismally. Since the start of the programme we have not benefitted anything but lost a lot. The taxis recommended by the Department of Transport, Toyota Quantum, Nyathi, Forton and Amandla are very costly and not sustainable. For instance, a Toyota Quantum is not good for the daily business but rather for touring". The colleague added, "The Nyathi and Forton are not strong; they don’t even last for a year. The government has stopped Toyota from manufacturing Super Ts and Zolas which were good taxis and good for the business. They are forcing everyone to buy Toyota Quantum, which is not a sustainable vehicle at all. We remain in this business because there are no better opportunities for us, we are already old and we are actually hoping that things will get better; the government will see the importance of subsidising us."

They all agreed that they are no longer making enough money to sustain their lives and those of their dependents. They even went further to say that they felt like the industry was no longer private but government owned, “We are government officials without incentives”.

8.3. The new entrants
The researcher wanted to know if there was still hope or future for the youth who are not yet in the industry but would like to operate in the near future. The Greater Mankweng Taxi Association has a joining fee of R80 000 for new members, as for their taxi drivers and queue marshalls they negotiate based on the years of service. The person needs to have a permit to operate. One member even said, “If you do not have a permit you cannot get an operating license and therefore when you cannot operate”. They all seemed to agree with him on that point.

8.4. Challenges faced by the association as a result of the recapitalization programme
The members of the association stated that because of the expensive New Taxi Vehicles, operators in possession of the permit practise fraudulent activities which
become very hard to prove. They say they use other people’s vehicles, people who are not members of the association. They do not adhere to the principles and protocol of taxi industry and promote piracy (illegal operation).

9. CONCLUSION
The chapter has analyzed and presented the research findings and results which were collected through the questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussion. The analysis covered the biographical information of the respondents to get their background, and then continue to analyze their views, experiences and opinions with regard to the impact of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme on the Greater Mankweng Taxi Association. The next chapter will summarize the study, conclude and give recommendations.
CHAPTER 6: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

1. INTRODUCTION

There are many challenges facing the taxi industry following the implementation of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme. The aim of this research as set out in the first chapter was to investigate the impact of the Taxi Recapitalization Programme on the taxi drivers, taxi queue marshals, vendors at taxi ranks and taxi operators (owners) using the case study of Greater Mankweng Taxi Association in Limpopo Province. In this chapter the researcher will give recommendations and conclude the research study. Recommendations are provided based on the gaps or loopholes identified when the research was conducted.

2. RECOMMENDATIONS

Considering the history of regulation of the taxi industry it is vitally important that government, in formulating policy to develop the mini-bus taxi industry, considers all stakeholders and non-stakeholders that may be affected by the policy. Policy goals should not exclude any actors, or immediate beneficiaries, within the implementation context and the impact of implementation should not produce more dissent over compliance. The implementation of the TRP has been met with strikes and boycotts by interests in the taxi industry. This is despite the claims made by the government that there was extensive consultation, bargaining and mutual decision–making with the taxi industry prior to implementation. The reason that the taxi industry uses protests is because a variety of crucial issues were overlooked in the original formulation of the TRP policy.

2.1. Consultation

The research findings revealed that the formulation of the TRP was not through a method of extensive and substantive consultation with all interest groups. In addition, the complete exclusion of federal taxi organizations such as the NTA and civil society more broadly has resulted in a policy which does not specifically represent interests of the members of the industry. Meyer and Cloete (2000:23) contend that broader public participation occurs through the involvement of different interests. In excluding broader interests and favouring Santaco as a supposed legitimate representation of both the
broader public and the taxi industry, government deprived itself of an opportunity to
gather diverse views and opinions on a public transport system policy that affects
everyone.

Fourie (2003:45) has argued that in order for excluded policy actors to participate and
pursue their interests in implementation they must engage in mass activities in the form
of protest marches and consumer boycotts. In response to exclusion in decision-making
processes where the majority of taxi operators were left out during the registration
process, taxi organizations across the country protested against the TRP. The taxi
industry’s protests were not only based on the lapsing of the registration period without
their knowledge, as they were not thoroughly consulted about all the dynamics
surrounding the process. Protest was also driven by a range of other issues too. These
included the new mini-bus taxi fleet, the Transportation Boards’ incapacity to grant
route-based operating licenses timeously, the negative implications of the TRP on jobs
for taxi drivers and the vehicle scrapping allowance. All these issues were led by the
Kwa-Zulu Natal taxi owners, who had found that the Department of Transport had
exceeded its rights to set dates for the scrapping of vehicles without due consultation
with stakeholders (Meyer and Cloete, 2000). As a consequence, the legal challenge
was filed by the National Taxi Alliance against the government. This was on the basis of
regulation, formalization and economic empowerment.

The public interest, in the formulation and implementation of the TRP, was pre-
determined as policy goals by government in the formulation and implementation
processes and the public was not afforded the opportunity to influence the TRP policy
through consultation. According to Lindblom (1968) majority rule is necessary to
democratic aspirations but, in the mediate sense, the majority cannot rule... they
delegate rule to proximate policy makers, who in turn should implement policies that are
in the public interest. For this condition to prevail a multiparty electoral system and
democratic institutions of government are essential.

In any sector, consultation and public participation strengthen the practice of democracy
by legitimizing the decisions taken. Elmore (1976) highlights that policy implementation
includes a complex series of bargained decisions indicating the interests of diverse policy actors. Considering the challenges in the taxi industry, it would seem that the public interest is neither central nor important to the TRP. Moreover, its main objective does not reflect any form of civil society engagement to address the concept of broader public/commuter safety, regulation and customer service. It could be claimed that relevant, insightful and innovative ideas as far as regulating, formalizing, developing a violent-free taxi industry and introducing a safer mini-bus fleet, are core interests that might have formed the TRP. Yet, this was not encouraged. There is no indication, despite the fact that the government argues otherwise, that the public was extensively consulted during the formulation of the strategy.

2.2. Government’s intervention to minimize taxi violence

Taxi violence remains a characteristic of both competition between operators and associations for lucrative routes and the challenges that operators face in accessing operating licenses. The main focus of the TRP on commuter safety through the method of safer vehicles has prevented the creation of a restructured and developed taxi industry. Taxi violence undermines the policy principle of commuter safety as people lose their lives in taxi violence as well as through accidents. A couple of months before the 2010 Soccer World Cup vehicle scrapping was still in a voluntary stage. This means that there are a considerable number of unroadworthy vehicles, illegal and pirate mini-bus taxis operating alongside those that are not.

According to Davies (2008:20), there might be about 160 000 illegal or pirate mini-bus taxis. The percentage of unroadworthy and roadworthy vehicles within the pirate fleet remains unknown as they are not registered in any public transportation system database. Passengers are at a great risk of using vehicles that might be involved in violence or accidents due to their illegal status within the industry. Defiance of public transport safety rules and regulations is thus still a feature of the taxi industry. Illegal operators flout vehicle fitness rules and other public transportation regulations. According to Cloete and Wissink (2000:36) regulatory policies specify rules of conduct
with sanctions for failure to comply. However, illegal operators do not comply with these rules, nor do they feel the impact of sanctions for a failure to observe policy protocols. As such, it is necessary to examine the dynamics of taxi violence and mini-bus taxi safety in a broader context of commuter/public safety.

Almost every mini-bus taxi rank has its own story about the horrors of conflict over routes. The carnage from the peak of taxi violence from the mid-1980s to the 1990s is remembered clearly by taxi leadership, operators, taxi drivers, rank managers and the public in general. Aggression is still a major feature of the way in which competition is addressed in the taxi industry. The government has not attempted to resolve violence by addressing its root cause – that of competition over routes.

In the absence of legal frameworks governing the usage of routes, corrupt government officials issued permits to more aspiring taxi operators. As a result, illegal taxi organizations were established and operated on occupied routes, resulting in increased competition and overtraded routes. This history of regulatory failure has implications today. Agreements cannot be reached between competing taxi organisations and competition remains a key element of violence. Taxi associations are not prepared to relocate from a lucrative route to avoid conflict as a method of improving commuter safety. The inability of the Transportation Board to effectively allocate a specific taxi association a particular route has created conflict.

The government, working hand-in-hand with the taxi industry, should establish some innovative programmes towards the minimization of taxi violence. This should comprise a system whereby federal taxi organizations such as Santaco and the NTA, together with the National Intelligence Agency, develop a Violence Investigation and Monitoring Committee across the country. It should be consist of local, regional and provincial taxi operators, drivers and members of commuter organizations. This setting should enable the identification and prosecution of the culprits of violence. It should be noted that although the study area is Mankweng, taxi violence takes place across the country, hence the researcher recommends the setting up of a committee for the entire country with branches in all provinces across various associations. A free telephone programme
for anonymous calls should be established in order to accommodate those who cannot publicly or openly report or testify to taxi violence.

2.3. Safe and uniformed mini-bus taxi

Another issue of great concern is the cluster of different mini-bus taxi models that exist in the transport sector. Ironically, keeping in mind that there are differences between transport systems and contexts, the countries that produce the mini-buses do not allow any of these models to be used as part of their own public transport system. They are created cheaply for the purpose of delivering goods and not people. These vehicles have been modified to meet the South African public transport requirements as far as the TRP is concerned (Dugard, 2001). As a result, owners buy the cheapest models of the new fleet while they complain that no one has given then assurance that these expensive buses are safe. Commuters complain stating that most of the space in the taxi is in the headroom. The majority of different mini-bus taxi models are not TRP specific vehicles, however. Their abundance has been affected by the South African transport industry’s model and a lucrative market.

Initially, the government was supposed to arrange for a specific vehicle manufacturer to supply the taxi industry with a single vehicle model that met the required safety specifications (Nandipha, 2006:6). This would have enabled the taxi industry to purchase vehicles at a comparatively affordable price, as there would be no competition in demand and supply scales. Howlett and Ramesh (2003:52) argue that policy designed to improve the safety feature of automobiles is easier to implement. Yet, this has not been easy in the context of the Recapitalization Programme. The government failed to negotiate with various automobile firms, due to what it perceived as the high cost of producing a TRP specific mini-bus taxi. Multiple models of mini-buses instead became available. The government should have opted to appoint, through a tendered system, an automobile firm to design and manufacture a TRP specific vehicle to serve the needs of the public and subsidise the taxi owners in buying the NTV.
Road traffic injuries are a huge public health and development problem, killing almost 1.2 million people a year and injuring or disabling between 20 million and 50 million more (Dugard, 2001:16). Both WHO and World Bank data show that, without appropriate action, these injuries will rise dramatically by the year 2020, particularly in rapidly-motorizing countries. Not only is 90% of the current burden borne by low-income and middle-income countries, but the increase in casualty rates will be greatest in these countries. It is clear that the economic impact of these injuries on individuals, families, communities and nations is enormous, costing countries of their Gross National Product. In addition, there is the heavy and tragic burden on those directly affected, physically and emotionally as well as on their families, friends and communities. Health facilities and their often meagre budgets are greatly overstretched in dealing with survivors of road traffic crashes.

Therefore, an important element in dealing with road safety is ascertaining the characteristics of the problem, as well as the policies, institutional arrangements and capacity within the country to deal with road traffic injuries. This includes an understanding not only of the volume of traffic deaths, injuries and crashes, but also of public transport users since they are mostly affected: in which geographic areas the greatest problems are found; contributory risk factors; what road safety policies, programmes and specific interventions are in place; what institutional structures are addressing the road traffic injury problem and what their capacity is as well as the standard safe vehicle to transport commuters. Intermediate outcome measures, such as mean speeds and rates of seat-belt wearing can also be useful, and these can easily be obtained through simple surveys.
2.4. Effective and efficient Permits and Route-Based Operating License Processes

The government has appointed Transportation Board to process permits into route-based operating licenses. This, however, has resulted in chaos, as taxi operators find themselves on the wrong side of law enforcement agents and fail to benefit from the TRP (Fourie, 2003). They are unable to produce documented proof that they are legitimate operations during disputes over route utilization, which serves to fuel taxi violence further. The Transportation Board’s inability to efficiently process the application of route-based licenses to restructure the utilization of routes signifies a deeper predicament faced by government institutions in implementing the TRP. If the industry was adequately and actively involved, from its inception, in every stage of the policy process, route encroachment, and its impact on violence, the situation would be better. Despite government’s attempt to regulate the mini-bus taxi sector it has fallen short of creating a relevant regulation approach in route allocation terms, and in an efficient route-based operating license and registration process. Grindle (1980:45) emphasizes that successful implementation depends on the creation of a policy delivery system in which specific policy mechanisms are designed and executed.

Therefore, the Transportation Board as an institution that caters for permit conversion into route-based operating licenses for taxi operators and route allocation to taxi associations, needs serious restructuring. Taxi operators and associations from all rural area and Townships in Mankweng have no choice but go to Lebowakgomo for route-based operating license queries or any matter that requires official attention. This overwhelms the institution as it deals with the provincial taxi industry’s various needs. The Transportation Board should be decentralized and it should have satellite institutions in accordance with regions, so that the provincial offices’ only involvement is to settle route disputes or broader policy compliance. This will serve to decrease the institutional pressure and assist it to deal with other important duties such as identifying pirate taxis for prosecution.
Operating licenses should have an eight-year life span that lapses along with the taxi vehicle to promote commuter safety and discourage taxi associations and individuals from feeling that they are entitled to the industry’s business opportunities without considering public safety.

2.5. Government to address labour Issues

As a result of the creation of the taxi industry bigger business opportunities exist alongside the industry that include catering and fruit and vegetable, and accessories enterprises for women-headed households. The industry absorbs a considerable amount of unemployed school-leavers and those retrenched from different economic sectors. Due to the evolution and success of the taxi industry, the owner-driver has been largely replaced by the employed taxi driver. Hence, as far as job creation is concerned, the taxi industry serves as one of the instrumental sectors in poverty reduction in South Africa. For example, the taxi industry is one of the biggest consumers of fuel, tyres, and spares. Therefore, it does not only transport the private sector’s working force but is also directly contributing to its revenue in a significant way. Despite this, labour conditions within the taxi industry have not evolved.

The employment of taxi drivers, who play a significant role in revenue collection and wealth creation for operators, is still largely conducted through verbal contracts. Taxi drivers do not have any employment benefits and the government, through the TRP, has not insisted upon the registration of taxi drivers with the Department of Labour. As a result, taxi drivers and queue marshals are not protected by labour legislation.

The effectiveness of the TRP in creating a safe transport service also depends upon how taxi drivers conduct themselves in the line of duty. If taxi drivers are still under the pressure of accumulating a standard amount of capital for taxi operators, then commuters’ lives are still jeopardised. Furthermore, the fact that the majority of taxi drivers have to work longer hours a day contradicts South Africa’s employment frameworks. These frameworks include the Labour Relations Act, the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, and the Land Transport Transition Act, which legitimise the implementation of the TRP and also stipulates the reformulation of labour practices
within the taxi industry. As a result, taxi drivers have no employment benefits or formal platform to raise their labour-related concerns.

Although the NLTTA calls for the transformation of labour practices in the taxi industry, it does not make it mandatory for taxi drivers to be registered with the Department of Labour. Therefore, this creates tensions in the working environment of the industry as taxi drivers fail to highlight problems associated with conditions of their employment, such as the shortening of working hours to eight as stipulated in the Basic Conditions of Employment Act; negotiating of wages by taxi owners and the taxi union; ending of unfair dismissal, and drivers not losing their jobs in the event of an accident. The compulsory integration of the taxi industry within the national labour frameworks will not only improve the conditions of workers, but will contribute to the public good by improving commuter safety. It will also contribute to an increase in government revenue collection from the industry.

2.6. Improving the taxi industry

The taxi industry is a private transport business sector which consists of taxi companies and local individual operators. They all fall under local, regional, provincial and national taxi organizations. The taxi industry transports 65-70% of South African commuters daily. The internal economic success of the taxi industry is due to irregular fares determined by the discretion of taxi associations rather than by a regulated procedure. In order to fully formalize the taxi industry, the government should subsidize commuters and institute a tenderized system. The government indicated that subsidizing the taxi industry requires restructuring and formalizing through the TRP. This would mean registering everyone, including pirate taxis in order to adequately devise fiscal mechanisms towards subsidizing the industry. No consensus has been reached yet along these lines.

As reliable and convenient the taxi sector is, in terms of providing transport, commuters still spend large percentages of their income on transport. For example, a subsidized bus fare costs about R12.00 a trip from Mankweng to Polokwane, while the same trip in a taxi costs R 15.00. Makae (2009: 138) claims that taxis make an untaxed 90% profit
compared to subsidized buses. Therefore, it is imperative that government eventually moves towards subsidizing commuters as another method of discouraging route encroachment and reducing conflict as well as to ensure proper public service. The South African government has, for some years now, overlooked the development of the taxi industry by providing no assistance in terms of subsidies. The taxi industry developed in an environment of slow economic growth and high unemployment (Fourie, 2003:29).

The public transport industry serves to meet wider objectives of socio-economic development. According to the Moving South Africa (MSA, 1998:18) document the following are the objectives set for the public transport: accelerated economic growth, increased trade, improved access to employment opportunities, and increased social integration. Therefore, a good public transport system is an essential cornerstone for a high performance country. Given South Africa’s drive for increased economic growth, employment creation and social integration, it has to be seen that public transport has the potential to accelerate all these processes. The MSA forecast has indicated that by 2020 the primary problem in the transport industry will not be road safety but rather congestion (MSA, 1999, 73). Therefore, the taxi industry will be instrumental in relieving and preventing congestion.

South Africa’s taxi industry has come a long way since its inception as a result of deregulation in 1987. However, as the title of Colleen McCaul’s book suggests, it has been *No Easy Ride* for taxi operators. Government investment and a reinvigorated, consultative, recapitalization process are needed to prevent the industry from sliding into anarchy and disrepair. The contributions of the taxi industry to employment and to South Africa’s economy are substantial and should be acknowledged by adequate government investment. At present, bus companies get an annual subsidy of R2, 1 billion from the Department of Transport, and rail companies receive R2, 4 billion. Yet taxis, which command at least 60% of the total commuter market, receive no subsidy at all.
Recapitalization has the potential to stimulate further economic activity in the transport sector as well as in the “web of survivalist activity” that surrounds taxi operations, and to create the basis for a stable, safe industry that could stimulate new sources of government revenue as the industry is formalized and brought into the tax net. Failure to invest in this critical industry is a short term financial strategy that could cost the government dearly in the long run.

2.7. Effective route-regulation and route based operating license system

The Transportation Board, which is the institution that caters for permit conversion into route-based operating licenses for taxi operators and route allocation to taxi associations, needs serious restructuring. Taxi operators and associations from all rural and urban areas in Limpopo have no choice but go to Lebowakgomo and Polokwane for route-based operating license queries or anything that requires government official attention. This overwhelms the institution as it deals with the provincial taxi industry's various needs. The Transportation Board should be decentralized and should have satellite institutions in accordance with regions, so that the provincial offices, only involvement is to settle route disputes or broader policy compliance. This will serve to decrease the institutional pressure and enable it to deal with other important work such as identifying pirate taxis for prosecution. Taxi associations should re-apply for the same routes they occupy every two years and one of the requirements for such an application should involve a revised list of registered taxi drivers, operators and vehicles, per taxi association

3. CONCLUSION

The impact of the taxi Recapitalization Programme as a public policy has shed some light on competing interests in policy implementation. The TRP failed to reach its objectives and this forced policy-makers to narrow its focus to one goal, that is, the scrapping of old fleets, which also does not appear to be fully achievable. It follows that a variety of aspects within the taxi industry need to be addressed in order for the aims
and objectives of policy to be achieved. Recommendations have to be made, before it is too late, in order for the impact of the policy to meet broader political, social and economic interests of the intended beneficiaries. Meyer and Cloete (2000:52) state that it is very, important to realize that policy change takes place before, during and after policy implementation. There appears to be a misconception that policy change only takes place after policy evaluation. As a matter of fact, policy change takes place throughout the policy life. Therefore, there is a serious need for TRP policy change to improve the mini-bus taxi industry for the benefit of the industry itself, commuters and the whole country at large.
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Annexure I

Dear Participants (Taxi marshals)

My name is Maijane Martha Baloyi a Masters in Public Administration registered student at the University of Limpopo. I am conducting a research, and the topic of the research is: *The impact of the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme on the South African Taxi Industry: A case study of Greater Mankweng Taxi Association.* The aim of the study is to investigate the impact of the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme on the taxi drivers, taxi marshalls, taxi rank vendors and taxi owners within Greater Mankweng Taxi Association. I plea with you to assist by completing the questionnaire. Please note that the information you provide will not bind you legally or any other way, but will only be used for academic purposes, hence you are not required to identify yourself, you remain anonymous. This is a voluntary task no one is forced or pressured to complete the questionnaire. Honesty is encouraged. Inside the questionnaire, please tick in the box to provide your answer.

Thank you.
1. Biographical information

1.1. Gender

| Male | Female |

1.2. Age group

| 18-29 | 30-39 | 40-49 | 50+ |

1.3. Educational Level

| Grade R-7 | Grade 8-12 | Diploma | Degree |

1.4. Years in business

| 1-4 Years | 5-9 Years | 10-14 Years | 15+Years |

2. Perception and understanding of the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme

2.1. As taxi queue marshall in the taxi industry you have knowledge and understanding about the TRP

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |

2.2. The TRP is a good programme that considers your interests as a queue marshal

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |

2.3. The implementation of the TRP is a good action from government to improve the minibus taxi industry

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |

2.4. The TRP considers you as stakeholders in the minibus taxi industry

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |
3. The impact of the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme

3.1. The TRP has improved the taxi industry and is easier and safer to work in the industry

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3.2. The implementation of the TRP has empowered some queue marshalls

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3.3. The TRP has generous benefits for taxi queue marshalls

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3.4. The implementation of the TRP has resulted in some queue marshalls losing their jobs

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Annexure II

Dear Participants (Street vendors)

My name is Maijane Martha Baloyi a Masters in Public Administration registered student at the University of Limpopo. I am conducting a research, and the topic of the research is: *The impact of the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme on the South African Taxi Industry: A case study of Greater Mankweng Taxi Association.* The aim of the study is to investigate the impact of the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme on the taxi drivers, taxi marshalls, taxi rank vendors and taxi owners within Greater Mankweng Taxi Association. I plea with you to assist by completing the questionnaire. Please note that the information you provide will not bind you legally or any other way, but will only be used for academic purposes, hence you are not required to identify yourself, you remain anonymous. This is a voluntary task no one is forced or pressured to complete the questionnaire. Honesty is encouraged. Inside the questionnaire, please tick in the box to provide your answer.

Thank you.
1. Biographical information

1.1. Gender

| Male | Female |

1.2. Age group

| 18-29 | 30-39 | 40-49 | 50+ |

1.3. Educational Level

| Grade R-7 | Grade 8-12 | Diploma | Degree |

1.4. Years in business

| 1-4 Years | 5-9 Years | 10-14 Years | 15+ Years |

1.5. Type of business

| CDs & accessories | Fruits & Vegetables | Airtime | Cooked food |

2. Perception and understanding of the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme

2.1. Vendors in the taxi ranks have knowledge and understanding about the TRP

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |

2.2. The TRP is a good programme because it considered your business interests as a vendor in the taxi industry facilities

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |
2.3. The TRP policy does not consider you as a stake holder, hence you were not consulted

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |

2.4. The implementation of the TRP has kicked some vendors out of the business because of the rent

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |

3. The impact of the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme

3.1. The TRP has improved the business conditions and is easier and safer to sell in the taxi rank industry facilities

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |

3.2. The TRP has created a good platform for your business in the industry and gave you recognition from government

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |

3.3. The renting of the stations created for you in the taxi rank a heavy impact on your profit making

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |
3.4. The implementation of the TRP has increased a number of commuters, thus increasing the number of your customers

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |

3.5. As a result of increased commuters you are making more money in the taxi facilities

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |

3.6. The TRP makes your business more competitive for the nearby similar businesses outside the taxi rank (restaurants)

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |
Dear Participants (Taxi drivers)

My name is Maijane Martha Baloyi a Masters in Public Administration registered student at the University of Limpopo. I am conducting a research, and the topic of the research is: *The impact of the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme on the South African Taxi Industry: A case study of Greater Mankweng Taxi Association.* The aim of the study is to investigate the impact of the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme on the taxi drivers, taxi marshalls, taxi rank vendors and taxi owners within Greater Mankweng Taxi Association. I plea with you to assist by completing the questionnaire. Please note that the information you provide will not bind you legally or any other way, but will only be used for academic purposes, hence you are not required to identify yourself, you remain anonymous. This is a voluntary task no one is forced or pressured to complete the questionnaire. Honesty is encouraged. Inside the questionnaire, please tick in the box to provide your answer.

Thank you.
1. Biographical information

1.1. Gender

Male | Female

1.2. Age group

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<td>18-29</td>
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1.3. Educational Level

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<td>Grade R-7</td>
<td>Grade 8-12</td>
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1.4. Years in business

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<td>1-4 Years</td>
<td>5-9 Years</td>
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<td>15+Years</td>
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2. Perception and understanding of the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme

2.1. As taxi driver in the minibus taxi industry you have knowledge and understanding about the TRP

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |

2.2. TRP is a good programme that puts your interests as driver first than profit making for the owner

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |

2.3. The implementation of the TRP is a good action from government to improve the minibus taxi industry

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |

2.4. The TRP considers you as stakeholders in the minibus taxi industry

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |
3. The impact of the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme

3.1. The TRP has improved the taxi industry and is easier and safer to work in the industry

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |

3.2. As a driver you work for 9 hours and have one hour lunch as requested by the roll-out strategy of the TRP

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |

3.3. The implementation of TRP has created more jobs for mini-bus taxi drivers in Mankweng Taxi Association

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |

3.4. The implementation of the TRP has put more pressure on you to generate income (to meet the expected amount for paying the New Taxi Vehicle installments) and sometimes result in reckless driving because you would be "chasing money-commuters"

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |

3.5. The TRP has improved your working conditions and made being a taxi driver a professional job (i.e. you are granted annual leave)

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |

3.6. The implementation of the TRP has put most drivers out of job

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |
3.7. The TRP has a positive impact on your job in the sense that it helped attract more commuters and you make money quick

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3.8. Many people use taxi's now more than ever because of the modern taxi safety features

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Annexure IV

Dear Participants (Taxi owners)

My name is Maijane Martha Baloyi a Masters in Public Administration registered student at the University of Limpopo. I am conducting a research, and the topic of the research is: *The impact of the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme on the South African Taxi Industry: A case study of Greater Mankweng Taxi Association*. The aim of the study is to investigate the impact of the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme on the taxi drivers, taxi marshalls, taxi rank vendors and taxi owners within Greater Mankweng Taxi Association. I plea with you to assist by completing the questionnaire. Please note that the information you provide will not bind you legally or any other way, but will only be used for academic purposes, hence you are not required to identify yourself, you remain anonymous. This is a voluntary task no one is forced or pressured to complete the questionnaire. Honesty is encouraged. Inside the questionnaire, please tick in the box to provide your answer.

Thank you.
1. **Biographical information**

1.1. **Gender**

| Male | Female |

1.2. **Age group**

| 18-29 | 30-39 | 40-49 | 50+ |

1.3. **Educational Level**

| Grade R-7 | Grade 8-12 | Diploma | Degree |

1.4. **Years in business**

| 1-4 Years | 5-9 Years | 10-14 Years | 15+Years |

2. **Perception and understanding of the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme**

2.1. As taxi owner in the mini-bus industry you have knowledge and understanding about the TRP

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |

2.2. The TRP is a good programme that shares the same goal (profit making) with you (taxi owners)

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |

2.3. The TRP has improved the mini-bus taxi industry

| AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE |
2.4. The New Taxi Vehicles (NTV) are much costly than the previous ones to pay and maintain

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2.5. The scrapping compensation (R50 000) is enough for you to remain in the industry

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2.6. The TRP is not a well thought of policy and cannot transform mini-bus taxi industry

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3. The impact of the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme

3.1. The TRP has a positive impact on your business; it helped attract more commuters (people use taxis than their cars now because of their safety and features)

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3.2. The revenue collected during the month is enough to pay the installments for the New Taxi Vehicle, maintain it and pay the driver salary

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3.3. The TRP has no impact on the mini-bus taxi industry, nothing has changed.

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3.4. You were consulted on formulation of the TRP

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3.5. The government's use of TRP has improved the management of the mini-bus taxi industry in South Africa

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3.6. The implementation of the TRP has ended taxi violence and promoted peace

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3.7. The TRP will develop and improve the taxi industry and empower you as black business entrepreneur

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3.8. The TRP has down sized the number of operators in the industry

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