



**UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN**

**Department of Social Development**

**Course Code: SWK5001W**

**A Minor Dissertation for the completion of a Master's Degree**

**Title: An exploration of the work experiences of taxi drivers in Cape Town: A study of  
Delft and Khayelitsha**

**Completed by: Milisa Kom**

**Supervised by: Dr Somaya Abdullah**

**Submission Date: 23 January 2024**

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

## **DECLARATION**

1. This essay is my own work, I know that plagiarism is wrong. Plagiarism is to use another's work and to pretend that it is one's own.
2. I have used the Havard convention in this work
3. Each contribution to, and quotation in, this essay from the work(s) of other people has been attributed and has been cited and referenced.
4. I have not allowed, and will not allow, anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his or her own work.
5. I acknowledge that copying someone else's assignment or essay, or part of it, is wrong, and declare that this is my own work.

<b>NAME &amp; SURNAME</b>	<b>STUDENT NUMBER</b>
<b>Milisa Kom</b>	<b>KMXMIL001</b>

## **Acknowledgements**

To God be the glory, honour and praise, without him this project would not have been possible, from its inception to its final stages I have seen his provision and grace manifest itself in different ways and through different people.

In isiXhosa there is a saying that says “Umntu ngumntu ngabantu” which directly translate to “I am because you are”. This I have seen through the help of different people in this project, some I have known for a very long time and others complete strangers. The first person that I would like to express my outmost gratitude to is Luyanda Wellem, who is a taxi driver in Stock Roads taxi rank. My friend, thank you for helping me navigate the rank culture and its different power structures. To the three main associations Codeta, CATA and Interchange and the rank managers thank you for granting me access to Palam, Mitchells Plain route and Site C ranks. To my participants, I cannot find the right words to express my gratitude. Thank you for entrusting me with your stories and sharing your work journeys with me, without you this would not be possible.

To my family and friends thank you for holding me down and for reminding me of myself when the going got tough. To my cousins (Nosisa Sphango, Iviwe Sphango and Alizwa Sphango) thank you for taking care of me in Cape Town during my completion of this project. To my mother Nonzukiso Kom you instilled in me my love for education from a very young age, thank you Mamnkabane for all your life lessons they carried me through this journey. To my brothers Dumisani Kom and Thembelani Tsibani I can never thank you enough for your unwavering support. To Sisanda Mtana, Zintle Kibi, Asiphe Sigcawu, Thulani Nevha and Sonwabise Mcata thank you all for being the wind under my wings. To my spiritual leaders and mentors Mrs Rooiland and Pastor ThankGod Chukwudi Okoro together with the church family thank you all for your prayers and support throughout, this win is for all of us. Lastly, to my supervisor Dr Somaya Abdullah, thank you so much for going above and beyond your supervision duties to help me realise my strength and light.

## **Abstract**

Studies have outlined both the good and the bad sides of the taxi industry, pointing out that while it makes a positive economic contribution to the country through employment generation, the industry is beset by challenges. Among these are reckless driving, the use of unroadworthy vehicles, and persistent violence and turf wars that lead to widespread animosity and loss of life. Although there are many minibus taxi drivers in South Africa, little is known about the experiences of these employees, as most of the information provided by existing studies is based on government records rather than on personal interviews with taxi drivers. The aim of this study is to explore the work experiences of minibus taxi drivers in the Cape Town area, with a focus on Delft and Khayelitsha. The study sought to gain insight on the work experiences of minibus taxi drivers, looking at their health, social and family life, challenges, and the changes they wish to see in the industry. Methodologically, this aim was achieved through a qualitative study that adopted a phenomenological approach, in which 15 minibus taxi drivers in Cape Town, specifically Khayelitsha and Delft, were interviewed. The sample was purposively selected based on certain criteria and was conducted at Site C taxi rank in Khayelitsha, as well as the section of Delft taxi rank for the Palam and Mitchells Plain routes. Data collected from the participants was analysed using two theoretical frameworks: Social Exclusion Theory and Crenshaw's Intersectionality Theory. The results of this study have shown that the taxi driving job involves negative effects on the health and wellbeing of minibus taxi drivers, resulting in their use of poor coping strategies such as unhealthy eating and substance abuse. In addition, the taxi driving job was found to result in a deterioration of social and family life as a result of long working hours. The job has benefits such as providing relatively easy, low skilled employment and access to regular cash. Lastly, the findings show that minibus taxi drivers are faced with challenges such as exploitative working conditions, poor pay, and exposure to violence, prompting many to seek better working environments and growth. The findings of this study could inform the development of better employment policies for workers in the taxi industry, and serve a guide to formalising processes in the taxi industry.

Keywords: Minibus Taxi Industry, Taxi Drivers, Informal Sector Economy, Unemployment

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements .....	i
<i>Abstract</i> .....	<i>ii</i>
<b>1.1 Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.2 Statement of the problem.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.2 Rationale and significance of the study .....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>1.3 Profile of the site of study.....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>1.4 The research questions .....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>The overarching aim of the study is to gain insight to the work experiences of the taxi drivers in Cape Town. Below are the main research objectives of the study.....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>1.5 The research objectives .....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>1.6 Main assumptions .....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>1.7 Clarification of concepts .....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>1.8 Ethical considerations .....</b>	<b>10</b>
1.8.1 Informed consent .....	10
1.8.2 Confidentiality .....	11
1.8.3 Voluntary participation .....	11
1.8.4 Anonymity .....	12
1.8.5 Beneficence.....	13
1.8.6 Avoidance of harm.....	13
1.8.7 Deception .....	13
1.8.8 Debriefing .....	14
1.8.9 Publication of findings .....	14
<b>1.9 Outline of the dissertation.....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>1.10 Chapter summary .....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b><i>CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW</i>.....</b>	<b><i>16</i></b>
<b>2.1 Introduction.....</b>	<b>16</b>

<b>2.2 Review of the literature .....</b>	<b>16</b>
2.2.1 Historical background of the minibus taxi industry.....	16
2.2.2 The effects of taxi driving on the physical and emotional wellbeing of drivers.....	17
2.2.3 The effects of taxi driving on drivers’ social and family life .....	19
2.2.4 Challenges faced by taxi drivers .....	19
<b>2.3 Theoretical framework.....</b>	<b>23</b>
2.3.1 Social Exclusion Theory .....	23
2.3.2 Intersectionality Theory .....	24
<b>2.4 Policy and legislation .....</b>	<b>25</b>
2.4.1 The National Development Plan 2030.....	25
2.4.2 The White Paper on National Transport Policy of 2021.....	26
<b>2.5 Chapter summary .....</b>	<b>27</b>
<b><i>CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....</i></b>	<b>28</b>
<b>3.1 Research design.....</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>3.2 Population and sampling.....</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>3.3. Data collection .....</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>3.4 Data analysis.....</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>3.5 Data verification.....</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>3.6 Limitations of the study.....</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>3.7 Reflexivity .....</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>3.8 Chapter summary .....</b>	<b>38</b>
<b><i>CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS.....</i></b>	<b>39</b>
<b>4.1 Introduction.....</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>4.2 The demographic profile of participants .....</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>4.3 Framework of analysis .....</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>4.4 Theme one: Job experiences and well-being .....</b>	<b>42</b>
4.4.1 Physical health deterioration.....	42

4.4.2 Psychological distress .....	43
<b>4.5 Theme two: The benefits of taxi driving work .....</b>	<b>44</b>
4.5.1 Financial convenience.....	45
4.5.2 Easy yet restrictive employment .....	45
<b>4.6 Theme three: Family and taxi driver relationships .....</b>	<b>46</b>
4.6.1 Taxi driver relationships in the workplace.....	47
4.6.2 Family relationships.....	48
<b>4.7 Theme four: Challenges faced by minibus taxi drivers.....</b>	<b>49</b>
4.7.1 Exploitative working conditions .....	49
4.7.2 Exposure to violence.....	50
<b>4.8 Theme five: Taxi driver ambitions and goals.....</b>	<b>51</b>
4.8.1 Desire for growth .....	51
4.8.2 Job security .....	51
<b>4.9 Discussion.....</b>	<b>52</b>
<b>4.10 Chapter summary .....</b>	<b>64</b>
<b><i>CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS .....</i></b>	<b><i>66</i></b>
<b>5.1 Introduction.....</b>	<b>66</b>
5.2.1 The effects of taxi driving on drivers’ physical and emotional wellbeing .....	66
5.2.2 The effects of the job on drivers’ social and family life .....	67
5.2.3 Challenges experienced by taxi drivers .....	67
5.2.4 Changes that taxi drivers would like to see in the industry .....	67
<b>5.3 Recommendations .....</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>5.4 Conclusion .....</b>	<b>69</b>
<b><i>REFERENCES.....</i></b>	<b><i>71</i></b>
<b><i>APPENDICES .....</i></b>	<b><i>78</i></b>
<b>Appendix A: Permission Letter to Codetad .....</b>	<b>78</b>
<b>Appendix B: Permission Letter to Interchange .....</b>	<b>80</b>

<b>Appendix C: Permission Letter to CATA and CODETA .....</b>	<b>82</b>
<b>Appendix D: Permission Letter for Palam Taxi Rank .....</b>	<b>84</b>
<b>Appendix E: Permission Letter for Mitchells Plain Taxi Rank .....</b>	<b>86</b>
<b>Appendix F: Permission Letter for Site C Taxi Rank .....</b>	<b>88</b>
<b>Appendix G: Consent Form .....</b>	<b>90</b>
<b>Appendix H: Interview Questionnaire.....</b>	<b>93</b>
<b>Appendix I - Ethics Approval Letter .....</b>	<b>94</b>

### **List of Tables**

Table 4.1: The demographic profile of participants .....	38
Table 4.2 Framework of analysis .....	39

## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Introduction**

The minibus taxi industry also referred to as the taxi industry is one of the biggest sectors in South Africa's informal economy, generating employment for a high number of unskilled and semi-skilled individuals in the country (De Lannoy et al., 2021; Gumede, 2015). Although the industry plays a crucial role in generating employment, little is known about the experiences of taxi drivers, the industry's main employees. This qualitative study explores the work experiences of taxi drivers in the Cape Town area, focusing on Delft and Khayelitsha. It examines the ways in which the taxi driving job affects various aspects of the drivers' lives, including their health, social and family life. This chapter provides background information on the study, including a brief history of the minibus taxi industry, a profile of the area of study, the study objectives and research questions, the study's significance, the main concepts used, and the research ethics applied. The chapter concludes with an outline of the study.

### **1.2 Statement of the problem**

The taxi industry plays an important role in alleviating unemployment in South Africa, a challenge common throughout Africa (Lone & Ahmad, 2020). Various reasons are mentioned for persistent unemployment in Africa, including the failure of both the public and the private sectors to create jobs, leading to a demand for jobs that surpasses the number of jobs available (Kitenge, 2020). In South Africa, unemployment is said to be one of the legacies of apartheid. The structures of apartheid oppressed and excluded the majority of South Africans from educational and economic opportunities. These structures are still evident in the post-apartheid era (Zimbalist, 2017). Issues such as high unemployment rates, poverty and inequality shape the development of the country to this day and affect citizens, despite attempts by the democratic government to reform the damage caused by the country's historical political and economic structures.

South Africa's democratic government introduced inclusive policies such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy, the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa

(ASgiSA), the New Growth Path (NGP) and the National Development Plan (NDP), all of which were attempts to redress the effects of apartheid in the country (Gumede, 2015). These policies were progressive to some degree, as the lives of South Africans have improved since they were introduced. For example, there have been improvements in terms of service delivery and social assistance provision, and noticeable growth in the GDP rates (Gumede, 2015; Zimbalist, 2017). However, these improvements have not translated into a total eradication of issues such as unemployment, inequality and poverty, which continue to characterise South Africa's development (Gumede, 2015).

The minibus taxi industry contributes significantly towards alleviating the developmental challenges mentioned above, by providing employment for unskilled and semi-skilled individuals. Fobosi (2013:52) states that the minibus taxi industry creates direct employment for those working in the industry, such as the drivers, and also has what he terms "knock-on effects", creating indirect employment for people such as street vendors, car washers, mechanics and car manufacturers (Fobosi, 2013:52). In the years 2016 and 2019, the minibus taxi industry was reported to have employed 400 000 and 600 000 employees respectively (Martin, 2021; Ngubane, 2016). These numbers prove the crucial role played by the minibus taxi industry in the country's economy and its contribution to improving the lives of South Africans. As when people are provided with employment opportunities, their living standards naturally improve.

The industry formed in the 1970s in defiance of apartheid laws and policies that were exclusionary to black individuals (Boudreaux, 2006; Fobosi, 2013). In the beginning, black taxi entrepreneurs were allowed to drive taxis under stringent conditions, such as the pass laws, which policed the drivers' movements. Because of the pass laws, taxi drivers were prevented from driving long distances (Boudreaux, 2006). The current South African taxi industry is comprised of the minibus taxis, making up a majority of the industry, followed by metered taxis and e-hailing services (Fobosi, 2013; Giddy, 2019; Ngubane, 2016). Despite the taxi industry's importance as an employer and contributor to South African society, limited information exists on the functioning and experiences of employees in this industry. The study explores the experiences of minibus taxi drivers in Cape Town, and the role of the minibus taxi industry in response to the unemployment challenge in Khayelitsha and Delft, two townships

situated in Cape Town. The resistance of the minibus taxi industry to exclusionary and oppressive systems is a common feature in both the apartheid and the post-apartheid contexts. In the apartheid era, taxi drivers fought against exclusionary and oppressive apartheid policies. In modern day South Africa, the industry fights against the exclusionary nature of the country's economy, which has resulted in a continuation of South Africa's high rate of unemployment.

Past studies conducted on the minibus taxi industry outline the positive and negative aspects of the industry. Some studies focus on the favourable contribution of the taxi industry to the country's economy through employment generation, pointing out that the industry provides growth opportunities to both the formal and informal sectors (Boudreaux, 2006; Fobosi, 2013; Mmakwena, 2022). Some studies highlight the challenges the industry faces, such as reckless driving, the use of unroadworthy vehicles, and persisting violence and turf wars amongst taxi owners (Boudreaux, 2006; Fobosi, 2013; Mmakwena, 2022). However, most information provided in these studies is based on government records and documents provided by the South African Transport Department and the City of Cape Town. Most of these studies exclude the personal element and have not involved direct engagement with the people who have the first-hand industry experience.

Therefore, this study introduces a unique perspective, as it provides information on the taxi industry based on the perspectives of taxi drivers who are direct employees in the industry. In this study, taxi drivers were approached to share their experiences as taxi owners' employees, in order to understand their lived realities. The researcher believes that taxi owners are at the forefront of addressing unemployment through providing employment to taxi drivers. Therefore, in investigating the contribution of this industry to employment, the researcher was concerned with the power of individuals and their communities to provide solutions to their own developmental challenges. The study is important, as it highlights that while the government has the power to shape the development of the country, ordinary people play a role in shaping industries such as the taxi industry. There is much to learn from people's lived experiences at the grassroots level. These experiences may be used to improve development processes and address unemployment.

## **1.2 Rationale and significance of the study**

This study on the minibus taxi industry is of importance as it provides insight into the work experiences of minibus taxi drivers, which does not form part of the focus of other studies conducted on the industry. The personal accounts of minibus taxi drivers allow for a deeper understanding of the realities and challenges faced by these individuals in their taxi driving jobs. Issues such as physical health challenges, poor coping strategies, social and family life deterioration, labour exploitation and exposure to violence are mentioned in this study as some of the challenges encountered by drivers in their work. This information can influence policies guiding labour practices in the industry and contribute to improvements in the working environments of these individuals. With improved policies, all stakeholders in the industry, including taxi owners and taxi associations, could be held accountable for the wellbeing of their employees. Information yielded by this study could also lead to the development of new approaches by the government to regulate and formalise the industry. It has been shown that some challenges in the taxi industry are a direct result of lack of industry regulation (Fobosi, 2013).

## **1.3 Profile of the site of study**

The study was conducted in the City of Cape Town, with a specific focus on Delft and Khayelitsha townships. Cape Town is the oldest city in South Africa and the second largest, following Johannesburg, with a population of 4.7 million people (Statistics South Africa [StatsSA], 2022). One of the main reasons for the constant growth of the city's population is its economic growth, leading to the migration of people from rural areas into the city (Ngxiza, 2011). In 2019, the Cape Town Central Business District (CBD) was said to be the city's main economic hub, providing over 200 000 jobs in sectors such as tourism, business, government functions and higher education institutions (Turok, Seeliger & Visagie, 2019).

The demographic make-up of Cape Town is different from that of other cities in the country, largely owing to the influence of the country's colonial and apartheid history. Cape Town is the only South African city in which coloured people outnumber black South Africans, a result of the high demand for coloured labourers in this city during the apartheid era (Turok, Visagie & Scheba, 2021). The apartheid government also implemented policies such as *Group Areas*

*Act, Act No. 41 of 1948*, which resulted in a racial hierarchy in which the various races were separated into different residential areas. White people were allocated larger areas close to amenities and economic activities, while black people were moved to the city's peripheries, and coloured people were allocated land between these two groups (Van Rooyen & Lemanski, 2020). These divisions served the purpose of separate development, which favoured the minority and disadvantaged the majority. Furthermore, services that were provided for white people were of high quality, unlike the services offered to people of other races, leading to differences in social class (Turok, Visagie & Scheba, 2021).

In the post-apartheid era, these divisions still characterise the city, and social stratification is one of the city's defining features. The majority of urban and suburban inhabitants are white people, belonging to the highest social class (Nqadini, 2000). Therefore, it may be said that even though the post-apartheid government has made changes in the policies, little has changed in terms of spatial segregation. Black people remain on the city's peripheries, with their areas characterised by poverty and hardship. Black individuals spend a lot of time and approximately 40% of their income on their daily commute to and from work (Ngxiza, 2011; Turok, Visagie & Scheba, 2021). Deep-seated inequalities remain a feature of the city. These divisions make economic inclusion, social progress and racial integration a dream for most city residents.

The study focused on two townships on the city peripheries, Khayelitsha and Delft, which Dyantyi (2020) refers to as "disorganised communities" because of their socio-economic realities. Khayelitsha was formed in the 1980s and is situated 30 to 35 km from the city's central business district, with a population estimated at 900 000 (Mguzulwa, 2022; Ngxiza, 2011). The area is dominated by Xhosa people, with some Sotho-speaking people. A constant influx of people seeking work has resulted in the formation of squatter camps, overcrowding and unhealthy living conditions in the old townships of Nyanga, Langa, Crossroads and KTC (Ngxiza, 2011; Nqadini, 2000). These areas, together with Khayelitsha, were set aside for the many migrants who moved into the city from different parts of the Eastern Cape. Most came seeking work opportunities, although some moved because of family-related reasons (Mguzulwa, 2022; Nqadini, 2000).

Khayelitsha township is referred to as Cape Town's "poverty trap", with an average household income of R1 600 per month in 2013 (City of Cape Town, 2013). The township has high unemployment, lacks economic development, and has limited service delivery, with informal housing making up 46.6% of shelters in the community (City of Cape Town, 2013; Ngxiza, 2011). As a result, Mguzulwa (2022) argues that the youth and many community members resort to anti-social behaviour such as alcohol and substance abuse. Many participate in criminal activities to sustain themselves.

Delft township differs in many ways from Khayelitsha, in that it has a different racial make-up, with 60 percent of its population comprising coloured people and 40 percent being black Africans, mostly Xhosa-speaking people (Shabalala, 2014). The township was formed in the late 1980s and early 1990s and is characterised mostly by Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) housing, which allows resident to receive slightly better basic services than in Khayelitsha. Most homes in Delft have electricity, piped water and flushing toilets (Good Governance Learning Network [GGLN], 2012; Millstein & Jordhus-Lier, 2012). Delft exhibits greater development than Khayelitsha, with the average household income estimated to be R2 928 per month in 2013, almost double that of Khayelitsha (Charman, Petersen & Piper, 2013). Delft suffers from similar developmental challenges to those of Khayelitsha. For example, in 2012 it was reported that 61% of people in Delft who had the potential to be economically active were unemployed (GGLN, 2012). Other challenges faced by Delft residents include poverty, a high crime rate and gang activity (Charman, Petersen & Piper, 2013; Dyantyi, 2020; GGLN, 2012).

Over the years many developments have been introduced in the two townships contributing to the improvement of their socio-economic conditions. For example, Mabusela (2023) mentions new developments in Khayelitsha such as the building of social amenities such as shopping centres, race courses, libraries, rehabilitation centres and businesses both formal and informal. Some of its formal businesses include tourist attractions such as the Lookout Hill which positively affects the economy of the township (Mabusela, 2023). Similar developments are also noted in Delft such as the building of new shopping centres, skills development centres and informal businesses even though these occur at a less dramatic level than in Khayelitsha (Soeker, 2022). It can therefore be argued that currently Khayelitsha is at a much better socio-

economic position compared to Delft unlike in the 2012 terms. Despite these new advancements in their development, unemployment and poverty are still prominent features of both townships (Mabusela, 2023; Bathembu, 2023). For this reason, the contribution of the taxi industry and the experiences of taxi drivers working in these areas were deemed worthy of investigation.

#### **1.4 The research questions**

- What is the impact of the taxi driving job on the physical and emotional wellbeing of taxi drivers?
- How does the taxi driving job affect drivers' social and family life?
- What are the challenges faced by taxi drivers in their line of work?
- What changes would taxi drivers like to see in their industry?

The overarching aim of the study is to gain insight to the work experiences of the taxi drivers in Cape Town. Below are the main research objectives of the study.

#### **1.5 The research objectives**

The research objectives of the study were as follows:

- to explore the effects of taxi industry work on the physical and emotional wellbeing of taxi drivers;
- to explore the effects of taxi driving work on drivers' social and family life;
- to explore the challenges faced by the taxi drivers in their occupation;
- to investigate the changes that taxi drivers would like to see in their industry.

#### **1.6 Main assumptions**

In a qualitative research study, the process of enquiry by the researcher is guided by a set of assumptions concerning the nature of reality and of research. These include assumptions about the relationship between the researcher and their area of interest, the role of values in the study, and the most appropriate methods for the study, all of which influence the answers to the research questions (Walters, 2001). In this study, the researcher assumed that a qualitative methodology would be most suited to exploring the taxi drivers' work experiences, enabling

an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon. The researcher also assumed that taxi drivers were the most appropriate individuals to interview regarding their lived experiences of the taxi industry. Furthermore, the researcher assumed that taxi driving work has some positive effects on the lives of taxi drivers, resulting in improved standards of living, enhanced family life and greater agency in being able to provide for their families' needs.

### **1.7 Clarification of concepts**

**Unemployment:** Unemployment refers to the state of being without work, despite the individual having taken the necessary steps to seek employment and having the willingness to work (StatsSA, 2023). In South Africa, the unemployment rate in the first quarter of 2023 was amongst the highest in the world, at 32.9%, an increase of 0.2 percentage points from the last quarter of 2022 (StatsSA, 2023). Various factors such as the persistence of apartheid-era spatial divides, the current structure of the labour market, which favours the highly skilled and excludes the unskilled and semi-skilled, and the dual nature of the education system all contribute to high unemployment rates in the country (Booyens, 2020; Dickens & Marx, 2020; Gumede, 2015; Leibbrandt, Ranchhod & Green, 2023).

**Minibus taxi industry:** The taxi industry is made up of unmetered minibus taxis forming a majority of the market and metered taxis, and e-hailing services (Fobosi, 2013; Giddy, 2019; Ngubane, 2016). The focus of this study is the unmetered minibus taxi industry, an informal transport sector that mostly operates using 16-seater minibus taxis (Mmakwena, 2022; Khosa, 1992). This business absorbs a significant number of semi-skilled South Africans, offering transport services to the wider South African community (Mmakwena, 2022; Khosa, 1992).

**Minibus taxi drivers:** These are the people employed by taxi owners to drive their taxis. Metered taxis are driven by cab drivers, and do not form part of this study. The responsibility of minibus taxi drivers is essentially the safe transportation of commuters to and from their destinations. In South Africa, minibus taxi drivers are responsible for the transportation of 65% of daily commuters (Boudreaux, 2006; Fobosi, 2013; Mmakwena, 2022). They work on daily targets, receiving payment daily from the owners based on a percentage of the money they make from trips undertaken on any given day (Khosa, 1992).

**Social exclusion:** This study takes a relational view of social exclusion, recognising that exclusionary processes caused by unequal power relationships operate in the economic, political, social and cultural dimensions (Fischer, 2011; Popay, 2010). The relational view is interested in the ways in which social exclusion occurs at various levels, including the individual, household, country and global levels (Popay, 2010; Silver, 2007). Exclusionary processes lead to a continuum of inclusion and exclusion, characterised by an unequal distribution of resources, capabilities and rights, in which certain individuals are denied the opportunity to be active participants in their communities (Popay, 2010; Kubeka & Rama, 2020). In this study, the concept of social exclusion is a lens through which taxi drivers are viewed, with a focus on the inclusion or exclusion they experience in different parts of their lives as a result of their occupation as taxi drivers.

**Informal sector economy:** The informal sector economy refers to economic units or businesses that are characterised by informality and involve informal wage employment, in which both the business and its employees are unregistered (Charmes, 2012; Institute for Economic Justice, 2018). Further characteristics of the informal sector economy are that businesses are untaxed, unlicensed and not statistically documented (Fobosi, 2013; South African History Online [SAHO], 2016). These businesses are run from informal premises such as homes, tents and pavements. Employees in this sector do not have social protection and written employment contracts, which makes them vulnerable to toxic working conditions and abuse from their employers (Fobosi, 2013). The minibus taxi industry forms part of the informal sector and the work of minibus taxi drivers is precarious. No formal contracts exist for employment in the industry, nor are there any standard formulae for payments (Barett, 2003).

**Minibus taxi association:** There are a number of minibus taxi associations that effectively control the minibus taxi industry, overseeing the whole operation of the industry (Khosa, 1992; Mmakwena, 2022). Minibus taxi associations decide who to admit into the business, their membership fees, their ranks and the routes they will travel (Mmakwena, 2022). The minibus taxi association also decides on punishments meted out to persons breaking the rules of the industry, hindering its functioning (Mmakwena, 2022). In the area of study, Cape Town, there are 102 minibus taxi associations. For the purposes of this study, the focus is on three

associations: Cape Amalgamated Taxi Association (CATA), Congress of Democratic Taxi Associations (CODETA) and Interchange, all prominent in Delft and Khayelitsha (Ahmed, 2004; Nelson, 2020).

## **1.8 Ethical considerations**

Research ethics are the ethical principles that researchers need to take into consideration when conducting research on human participants (Wassenaar, 2014). The aim of ethics in research is to protect both the researcher and the participants during the research process (Wassenaar, 2014). Apart from basic ethical research principles, national laws also guide the way in which research is conducted on human participants, with the *Protection of Personal Information Act (POPIA), Act No. 4 of 2013* being one of them. POPIA promotes the protection of human subjects in various ways, with the main purpose being to protect participants' personal information (Adams et al., 2021). The stipulations of the Act guided the data collection process, ensuring the protection of participants' personal information, and the proper storage, dissemination and accessibility of the data. Ethical clearance to conduct the study was obtained from the university ethics committee, and during the data collection process, the researcher made sure that all participants who took part did so willingly. Other ethical principles discussed below were also relevant to the study and were applied accordingly.

### **1.8.1 Informed consent**

Informed consent is a necessary condition to any social research. It is a process in which the researcher informs participants of the purpose and methodology of the study, and that their participation in the study is completely voluntary (Cresswell & Poth, 2018; Fouche, Styrdom & Roestenberg, 2021). Before the researcher received the informed consent of the participating taxi drivers in this study, they needed to negotiate permission from the three taxi associations, CATA, CODETA and Interchange, which govern the Site C, Palam and Mitchells Plain taxi ranks. The researcher drafted and submitted permission letters addressed to the associations and gave these to the taxi rank managers. Taxi rank managers were therefore the gate keepers in the study, leading the researcher to the minibus taxi drivers (Khosa, 1992). After the researcher had been granted permission to proceed with their study, they presented their study verbally to the taxi drivers, telling them about the purpose of the study and informing them

about the principle of voluntary participation, and their freedom to withdraw from the study at any time (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2014). After this, the researcher left the taxi drivers their contact details, so that those who were interested could contact the researcher.

Informed consent is obtained through written consent forms which include information on the researcher, their study, and the anticipated role of the participant in the study (Cresswell & Poth, 2018; Fouche, Styrdom & Roestenberg, 2021). The form also include the risks and benefits of participating so that potential participants are able to make an informed decision about whether or not to participate. It is crucial for the researcher to ensure that participants are psychologically competent to give their consent. In this study, the researcher issued consent forms to the participants before the interview process and explained what the form covered. The participants were then asked to sign and return the forms before interviews began (See Appendix G).

### **1.8.2 Confidentiality**

Another ethical principle followed in this study was confidentiality, closely linked to the principle of anonymity, as both are concerned with the privacy of the participants. The principle of confidentiality requires that the researcher protect participants by not sharing any of their personal information (Wassenaar, 2014). The researcher should avoid providing information that could potentially cause harm to the participants (Cresswell & Poth, 2018). In this study, the researcher observed this principle by keeping participants' information in a password-protected computer. In this study report, no information is given that might reveal a participant's true identity.

### **1.8.3 Voluntary participation**

Voluntary participation refers to the principle that potential participants have the freedom to decide whether or not to participate in a study. No inducements should be offered, and no coercion applied (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2014). This principle was upheld in the study in that only those who were willing to participate were included in the study. The method of finding participants helped to ensure this; the researcher gave a verbal description of the study to the taxi drivers and left them with their contact details. Thereafter, those were interested

in participating initiated contact with the researcher. The researcher then provided these participants with information on consent and their right to withhold consent. The researcher also clearly emphasised that participating in the study was voluntary and would have no effects on the taxi drivers' salaries or job security. This ensured that participants participated in the study of their own free will.

#### **1.8.4 Anonymity**

The principle of anonymity in research requires that researchers protect participants' identities and information during the investigation and in the study report. The researcher was open with the participants about who would have access to the information they shared, when the study report would be submitted to the university, and the extent to which information would be revealed (Fouche, Styrdom & Roestenberg, 2021). The researcher ensured that participants' responses were anonymous and that no identifying details could be traced back to them (Wassenaar, 2014). No identifying information about the participants is given in this report; instead, participants were identified with numbers, both during the investigation and in this report.

Furthermore, the privacy of the taxi drivers during the study was achieved through conducting the interviews inside the minibus taxis when no one else was present, which allowed for privacy and the protection of participants and their responses. The taxi drivers rotated participation while on duty, participating during breaks between trips. The breaks allowed sufficient time for the researcher to interview the drivers in conditions that were private and protected. The fact that the interviews took place in the drivers' comfort zones allowed them to feel comfortable during interviews. The researcher had alternative interview locations in mind in case distractions occurred during the interviews. For the Delft interviews, the Delft South Public library was a useful location, being within walking distance on both taxi ranks in Delft. For the Khayelitsha interviews, Moses Mabhida Public Library was the alternative location, also within walking distance of the taxi rank. However, these alternative interview locations were not used, as there were no major distractions during the interviews.

### **1.8.5 Beneficence**

Beneficence refers to the ethical principle of being open towards participants about the benefits that may be associated with participating in a study (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2014). Benefits vary, depending on the nature of the research and the phenomenon of interest. In this study, the benefits of participation included the contribution that participants could make to the taxi industry, with their lived experiences potentially feeding into positive changes in policies. Such changes could improve the industry and enhance the quality of life and working conditions of taxi drivers.

### **1.8.6 Avoidance of harm**

Conducting research with human subjects may lead to personal harm, whether physical or emotional, with the latter being the most prevalent (Babbie, 2010). It is the responsibility of the researcher to protect participants from harm during research. In this study, the researcher took precautions by fully informing the participants about the nature of the study. This avoided any potential negative effects, since potential participants had all the information they needed in order to make informed decisions about participation. Also, the researcher avoided asking sensitive questions, such as about violence in the industry, as these could have resulted in participants having to relive experiences of violence or deal with its aftereffects. This would have been a form of psychological harm (Fouche, Styrdom & Roestenberg, 2021). Since there were no physical activities in the research, there was no possibility of physical harm to the participants. Furthermore, the researcher ensured the safety of their participants by conducting the interviews inside the minibus taxis to ensure that only the researcher and the participant heard the information shared in the interview. Finally, the researcher validated the research process with the taxi owners to prevent participants from possibly suffering any repercussions due to their involvement in the study. Through these steps, the researcher minimised any risk in the study and therefore there was no need for counselling referral.

### **1.8.7 Deception**

Deception is another ethical principle, referring to conditions in which a researcher intentionally withholds information on the research from the participants, leading them to believe false information. Deception was not employed in this study as it is argued that it should

be avoided when conducting research (Wassenaar, 2014). Some researchers use deception to achieve certain goals in their research process (Fouche, Styrdom & Roestenberg, 2021; Wassenaar, 2014). The practice are unethical and should be avoided.

### **1.8.8 Debriefing**

Debriefing refers to a discussion held with a participant after their participation in a study, usually to assist them to deal with any emotions or thoughts that may have been stirred up during interviews, and also to assist the researcher to understand the participants' experience of the research process (Babbie, 2010). During debriefing, the researcher has the opportunity to detect and minimise any harmful effects that the research might have had on participants, and refers them to counselling if needed. In the study, debriefing was conducted at the end of each interview through a conversation between the researcher and the participant. In these conversations, the researcher gained insight into the participants' views of the study. The researcher also used this opportunity to double check the accuracy of the information they had received. In the debriefs with the participants, none indicated any negative effects of the interviewing process. Therefore, there was no need for counselling referrals.

### **1.8.9 Publication of findings**

The publication of findings is the final step in the research process, in which the researcher reports on the findings of their study in an objective manner (Fouche, Styrdom & Roestenberg, 2021). In this step, the researcher shares all the essential information about their research in a report of their findings, including the limitations of their study (Babbie, 2010). It is essential that the report maintains the anonymity and confidentiality of participants. In this study, the researcher provided an honest account of the findings, even where these contradicted the researcher's initial assumptions. The researcher retained the contact details of the participants to inform them of the final outcomes of the research, which is summarised for this purpose. A copy of the final report will be made available in the UCT library.

## **1.9 Outline of the dissertation**

**Chapter 1:** Chapter 1 introduces the study, providing background information on the taxi industry in South Africa. The chapter also presents the study's main aims, objectives and significance, and a detailed discussion on the ethical aspects of the study.

**Chapter 2:** Chapter 2 of the study discusses the findings of other researchers on the taxi industry, describes the two theoretical frameworks that underpin the study, and gives a detailed review of the policies and legislation that govern the industry.

**Chapter 3:** Chapter 3 discusses the methodology used to collect and analyse the data of this study.

**Chapter 4:** Chapter 4 presents the study findings, starting with a demographic profile of the study, followed by the framework used for analysis. This is followed a discussion of the themes that emerged from the data in light of the literature and the theoretical frameworks. Excerpts of interviews are presented to provide empirical evidence of the findings.

**Chapter 5:** Chapter 5 summarises the study, draws conclusions and makes recommendations.

## **1.10 Chapter summary**

This chapter has given background information relevant to the study, covering the South African minibus taxi industry, details of the study site, the study objectives and the research questions. The chapter has shown the significance of the research findings and their potential contributions to the taxi industry. It has defined key terms and indicated the steps taken to ensure that the study was conducted in an ethical manner.

The following chapter presents a review of the taxi industry according to the literature, along with a discussion on the two theories that underpin this study.

## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1 Introduction**

In South Africa, many studies have been conducted on the minibus taxi industry. This chapter provides a review of some of these studies, highlighting various elements of the industry. The review provides a historical background of the industry and its evolution in South Africa. It considers the physical and emotional wellbeing of taxi drivers, the drivers' social and family lives, the challenges that the taxi drivers face, and the changes taxi drivers would like to see in their line of work, since these aspects form the focus of the study. The chapter also discusses the two theoretical frameworks that underpin this study: Theory of Social Exclusion as described by Kubeka and Rama (2020) together with Kimberlé Crenshaw's Intersectionality Theory. Legislation pertaining to the minibus taxi industry is also considered.

### **2.2 Review of the literature**

#### **2.2.1 Historical background of the minibus taxi industry**

The minibus taxi industry emerged during the apartheid era in the 1940s and 1950s in response to inefficient transport modes that did not cater to the needs of black South Africans (Boudreaux, 2006; Khosa, 1992; Mmakwena, 2022; Nelson, 2021; Nkete, 2015). The apartheid government had policies in place to oppress black people and their businesses. The policies restricted the location, size, and type of businesses that black people could operate (Boudreaux, 2006; Fobosi, 2013; Khosa, 1992; Nkete, 2015). Black taxi operators were permitted to drive only within a three- to five-kilometre radius in the townships, with a maximum of five passengers per vehicle. They were also required to obtain trading permits that were prohibitive, since drivers needed to prove that they were employed and resided in the area in which they wished to drive (Fobosi; Khosa, 1992). Policies such as 'one man, one business' further restricted black entrepreneurs, limiting their revenues and potential for growth (Boudreaux, 2006; Fobosi, 2013; Khosa, 1992).

These policy restrictions led to many taxi drivers simply operating illegally. Taxi drivers established hidden routes that they used in secrecy to travel long distances, in defiance of apartheid prohibitions (Gibbs, 2014). On these clandestine trips, many people were transported from rural areas to urban areas, despite the influx controls that were in place at the time

(Boudreaux, 2006; Fobosi, 2013). In their secret operations, drivers had to be careful not to get caught by government officials, as this had repercussions such as assault, jail time, car confiscation and fines (Boudreaux, 2006; Ngubane, Mkhize & Olonfibiye, 2020).

The illegality of the industry continued until the mass deregulation of the public transport system in 1987 (Khosa, 1992; Martin, 2021; Nelson, 2021). Policies had already begun to change, and in practice the government was becoming less strict in its issuing of driving permits, resulting in the number of permits increasing from 7 093 to 34 378 between 1986 and 1987 (Khosa, 1992; Martin, 2021; Nelson, 2021). These changes in policies resulted in the exponential growth of the industry, making it the most dominant form of public transport in the country to this day (Gibbs, 2014; Martin, 2021; Nelson, 2021). The minibus taxi industry currently transports around 65% of public transport users per day, followed by buses at 20% and trains at 15% (Aropet, 2017; Martin, 2021; Ngubane, 2016). Despite the many challenges that exist in the industry, it remains the preferred form of transportation, with passengers stating that they prefer minibus taxis to other forms of public transport because taxis are more accessible. Other modes of transport require longer travel distances and times (Aropet, 2017; Ngubane, 2016).

The minibus taxi industry also makes a positive socio-economic contribution to the development of the country, by alleviating challenges such as inequality, unemployment and poverty (Fobosi, 2013; Martin, 2021). One of the ways in which the industry accomplishes this is through creating job opportunities for individuals in both the formal and informal sector, ensuring that more people are able to contribute to the economy (Fobosi, 2013). In 2019, the industry achieved R90 billion in profits and provided employment opportunities to an estimated 600 000 people (Martin, 2021). This shows the significant impact that the industry has on the country's economy. However, while the industry positively contributes to the economy, its informality has been found to be one of the reasons for the poor working conditions that prevail in the industry. These negatively affect employees' physical and emotional wellbeing (Fobosi, 2013).

### **2.2.2 The effects of taxi driving on the physical and emotional wellbeing of drivers**

Taxi driving is a demanding job, characterised by strenuous activities and high stress levels, which have a negative effect on drivers' physical and emotional wellbeing (Mabetwa et al.,

2022; Sekgala et al., 2023). One of the most notable characteristics of the industry is long working hours. Drivers report starting their day at 5 am and finishing work after 7 pm, resulting in an average of 14 working hours per day (Hadebe, 2012; Mmadi, 2012; Ngubane, 2016). The long working hours may be attributed to the dependability of the business on commuter availability. Peak operational hours are the early hours of the morning when people are travelling to work and the end of day, when people return home (Hadebe, 2012, Mmadi, 2012; Ngubane, 2016). The drivers have to make sure that they are at the ranks before passengers arrive, and they are only able to return home after they have delivered the last passenger to their destination.

In addition to the long working hours, taxi drivers report having no days off and typically work seven days a week (Fobosi, 2013; Mmadi, 2012). As a result of these conditions, taxi drivers suffer physical exhaustion (Mabetwa et al., 2023; Ramukumba & Mathiki, 2016; Sekgala et al., 2023). In order to cope, many employ strategies such as smoking and consuming stimulants such as coffee, coke and alcohol to help them stay alert and cope with the high demands of their work (Mabetwa et al., 2023; Ramukumba & Mathiki, 2016; Sekgala et al., 2023). The consumption of these products compromises their physical health, as they lead to the risk of developing metabolic disorders such as obesity, high blood pressure, cholesterol and cardiovascular disease (Mabetwa et al., 2022; Ramukumba & Mathiki, 2016; Sekgala et al., 2023).

The taxi driving job has been found to be highly competitive, forcing drivers to do everything in their power to rise above their competition. This has been found to have negative effects on their emotional and psychological wellbeing, as they are always in a heightened psychological state, causing some to suffer anxiety and depression (Davidson et al., 2020; Hadebe, 2012). One of the reasons for the high competition in the taxi industry is the commission-based salary structure, which varies among drivers and taxi owners. The income that may be earned by a driver varies from 15% to 25% of the daily amount derived from fees (Fobosi, 2013; Hadebe, 2012). This arrangement and lack of basic salary puts the drivers under pressure to make as much money as possible, leading them to break the rules of the road. Their driving is characterised by speeding, overloading and reckless driving, which places the lives of both the

drivers and their passengers at risk and increases the likelihood of road accidents (Hadebe, 2012; Ngubane, 2016). Drivers reveal that they are well aware of the road rules and how they are expected to drive, but given their work circumstances, they have to speed in order to survive (Hadebe, 2012; Fobosi, 2013; Ngubane, 2016).

### **2.2.3 The effects of taxi driving on drivers' social and family life**

The demanding nature of the job means that taxi drivers have limited time to attend to social and family engagements. As a result, many form friendships with driving colleagues, since they spend the majority of their time among fellow drivers (Mmadi, 2012). Very little time is spent at home. Drivers report leaving their homes at 4 am in their rush to reach taxi rank and obtain a good position in the queue. Some arrive home after 9 pm, once they have dropped off the last of their passengers (Fobosi, 2013; Mmadi, 2012; Sekgala et al., 2023). This does not give these drivers the chance to be with their loved ones, and so they become estranged from family members (Mmadi, 2012). Mmadi (2012) reports on a taxi driver's feelings of estrangement from his son and his sense of failure as a father as a result of his long absence from home. In another study, drivers stated that if they were able to find better jobs, they would leave taxi driving (Hadebe, 2012). Gibbs (2014) revealed that the separation of taxi drivers from their families was not a new phenomenon. In the 1970s, taxi drivers lived in hostels, visiting their rural homes only once in a while, yet they were consistent in sending money to their wives in the rural areas. Therefore, the taxi driving job has always resulted in limited engagement between taxi drivers and society outside of the industry.

### **2.2.4 Challenges faced by taxi drivers**

Most of the challenges faced by taxi drivers stem from the informal nature of the minibus taxi industry. The informal economy refers to businesses that are informal, unregulated, unregistered, unlicensed and characterised by self-ownership or family-ownership (Fobosi, 2013). The labour processes in these businesses are therefore not defined by the government, which means that there is no official scrutiny or regulation of such businesses (Fobosi, 2013). Therefore, hierarchical and exploitative working conditions result, and are a prominent feature of the minibus taxi industry (Gibbs, 2014; Mabetwa et al., 2022). Minibus taxi owners have been found to wield a great deal of power, as they set the daily targets and operational

conditions of the business. They often abuse this power, causing some of the challenges that minibus taxi drivers face (Hadebe, 2012; Mmakwena, 2022; Ngubane, 2016).

The most common challenge mentioned by studies is exploitative working conditions, in which drivers work long hours for very little reward (Boudreaux, 2006; Kerr, 2018; Mabetwa et al., 2022; Mmadi, 2012; Ngubane, Mkhize & Olofinbiyi, 2020). Ngubane, Mkhize and Olofinbiyi (2020) estimated the average minibus taxi driver salary to be around R16.41 an hour in 2017/2018, which translated to R787.73 a week. Taxi drivers state that their payment is too little to cover all their needs and that they often supplement their salaries with the extra money they are able to make after reaching the daily target demanded by their bosses, which ranges from R200 to R300 a day (Boudreaux, 2006; Fobosi, 2013; Ngubane, Mkhize and Olofinbiyi, 2020). Furthermore, the drivers report having unhealthy working relationships with the taxi owners, stating that they cannot complain about their working conditions or suggest ways to improve them, because they will be regarded as ungrateful and risk being fired. These unhealthy working conditions thrive because, given the informal nature of the industry, there are no labour policies in place for the protection of the drivers' rights (Hadebe, 2012; Mmadi, 2012). Thus, the industry is a capitalist institution that thrives at the cost of the drivers' wellbeing, with owners maximising profits by any means necessary, including the exploitation of their workers (Fobosi, 2013).

Another challenge that taxi drivers face is unsafety. Violence and turf wars are prominent features of the taxi industry, causing taxi drivers to fear for their lives (Martin, 2021; Ngubane, 2016). Gibbs (2014:433) refers to the industry as "fragile" and "murderous" because violent acts have claimed the lives of taxi drivers, owners and commuters (Boudreaux, 2006; Gibbs, 2014; Kerr, 2017; Ngubane, Mkhize & Olofinbiyi, 2020). Feuds in the industry are said to have existed for as long as the taxi industry has existed, since it is such a lucrative industry for owners. The first recorded taxi war erupted between registered and pirate taxi owners in 1960 (Khosa, 1992; Martin, 2021; Nqadini, 2000). In that year, pirate taxi owners killed some registered owners, using a strategy referred to as "death from the back seat". The name is self-explanatory, involving assassins who boarded the taxi like a normal passenger and shot the driver from the back seat (Khosa, 1992).

Different causal factors are reported for the current turf wars being experienced in the industry. One of the main causes is competition for territory, power and control between the various taxi associations (Boudreaux, 2006; Kerr, 2018; Khosa, 1992; Mmakwena, 2022; Ngubane, 2016). Major routes that bring in the most profits and sustainability are often at the centre of these wars (Mmakwena, 2022; Martin, 2021). Ngubane, Mkhize and Olofinbiyi (2020) attribute taxi violence to the deregulation of the industry in the late 1980s, which increased competition between taxi drivers. The authors believe that deregulation was a strategy used by the apartheid government to create enmity amongst black people. This was achieved through the issuing of many permits without any corresponding monitoring of how business transactions were conducted. This led to taxi owners fighting amongst each other. When these feuds erupted in black communities, apartheid law enforcement officials did not intervene, leading to destruction in these communities (Boudreaux, 2006; Mmakwena, 2022).

Many studies concur that apartheid policies contributed to the violence seen today in the industry. Gibbs (2014) raises an interesting point, arguing that taxi wars have in fact worsened in the post-apartheid era. With an increased prevalence of taxi wars, criminal elements have entered the industry, with some taxi operators adopting a mafia style of killing, making gangsterism one of the features of the industry (Boudreaux, 2006; Gibbs, 2014; Ngubane, 2016; Ngubane, Mkhize & Olofinbiyi, 2020). This is an interesting finding, because the policies introduced by the post-apartheid government are quite different from those introduced by the apartheid government, and yet violence persists. This raises the question of whether policies or the country's socio-economic realities are the real cause of the violence. It would appear that desperation to survive economically raises the stakes and heightens the competition for scarce resources. Furthermore, Ngubane, Mkhize and Olofinbiyi (2020) and Gibbs (2014) criticise the current government for holding on to physical apartheid structures after so many years of democracy. These old structures actively contribute to the perpetuation of poverty, inequality and unemployment and thus feed into and fuel violence in the taxi industry. This is evident when new malls are built and taxi operators quickly start fighting over the new routes opened up (Gibbs, 2014; Ngubane, Mkhize & Olofinbiyi, 2020). This requires that the government take steps to address the socio-economic realities of the country and better regulate the taxi industry.

The democratic government has made many attempts to address the challenges in the taxi industry. Amongst the different strategies tried was the formation of the National Taxi Task Team (NTTT) in 1995 (Fobosi, 2013). The NTTT was tasked with drafting regulations that would help formalise the industry. They introduced the taxi recapitalisation programme (TRP) (Fobosi, 2013; Mamabolo & Sebola, 2018). The TRP proposed reducing the number of minibus taxis that were unroadworthy to bring down the number of road accidents (Fobosi, 2013; Mamabolo & Sebola, 2018). Drivers were urged to turn in their old taxis for an amount of up to R82 000, which would help them to purchase new minibus taxis, further reducing the number of unroadworthy minibus taxis, which contributed to the high number of road accidents (Fobosi, 2013; Mamabolo & Sebola, 2018). In addition, the TRP proposed the replacement of the 16-seater minibus taxis with 18 to 35 seaters, in order to reduce the number of taxis on the road (Fobosi, 2013). However, these suggestions were totally disregarded by the taxi owners, who stated that they were not consulted when these decisions were made (Fobosi, 2013; Kerr, 2018). This indicates the need for the government to abort their top-down approach in enforcing regulations and forge partnerships with taxi owners to encourage transformation in the taxi industry.

### **2.2.5 Changes the minibus drivers would like to see in the industry**

The different studies conducted on the taxi industry revealed that the taxi drivers faced similar challenges. The studies concurred on the uninhabitable working conditions for taxi drivers characterised by exploitation and abuse, which can all be linked to the informal nature of the industry (Boudreaux, 2006; Fobosi, 2013; Kerr, 2018; Mabetwa et al., 2022; Mmadi, 2012; Ngubane, Mkhize & Olofinbiyi, 2020). In a study by Jefthas (2002:107) the drivers referred to their working conditions as being ‘unbearable’ and ‘difficult’. One of the reasons highlighted for these challenges in the industry was the unequal power dynamics between the taxi drivers and the taxi owners, often resulting in owners treating their drivers anyhow (Fobosi, 2013; Jefthas, 2002). The changes that the drivers proposed in the different studies promoted formalising the industry to improve their working conditions.

One driver in the study by Fobosi (2013) indicated that if the labour processes in the industry would be formalised their working conditions would improve. They further mentioned that this

would make it easier for the department of labour to intervene in their altercations with owners regarding the improvement of their work conditions. In other studies, the drivers also complained that the money that they were working for was too little, with some stating that it only allowed them the ability to put food on the table and therefore indicated their desire for the salary increase (Hadebe, 2012; Mmadi, 2012; Ngubane 2016). Again, this change can also be linked to labour regulations which often establishes and promotes the use of minimum wage and the wages that the taxi drivers get is said to be way below the minimum wage (Fobosi, 2013; Hadebe, 2012; Mmadi, 2012).

## **2.3 Theoretical framework**

Two theoretical frameworks underpin this study: Social Exclusion Theory and the Theory of Intersectionality. Each is discussed below.

### **2.3.1 Social Exclusion Theory**

Social Exclusion Theory is a theoretical lens through which the study seeks to explore issues of power in the minibus taxi industry. The theory sheds light on how power structures operate in the industry, affecting minibus taxi drivers and their experiences as employees. Kubeka and Rama (2020) define social exclusion as a multidimensional process that denies people opportunities to improve their lives. In their description of the theory, they state that the processes of social exclusion are manifested throughout different spaces and communities over time (Kubeka & Rama, 2020). Two dimensions of social exclusion are identified: distributional social exclusion and relational social exclusion. Distributional social exclusion refers to economic and structural exclusions, such as a denial of access to basic material goods that allow people to generate income and create livelihoods (Kubeka & Rama, 2020). The phenomenon includes having inadequate social rights, such as lack of access to health, education and housing, which limits people's functioning and potential in society.

Relational social exclusion refers to exclusion in social and cultural domains, in which people are denied opportunities for a fulfilled social experience (Kubeka & Rama, 2020). This form of exclusion leads to social disintegration and prevents individuals from participating fully in formal and informal social networks around them. Social exclusion creates inadequate social

support, leading to social isolation (Kubeka & Rama, 2020). Social exclusion also leads to unequal power relations and lack of access to resources, opportunities and capabilities, because certain groups are favoured over others (Kubeka & Rama). Both forms of social exclusion may be experienced at various levels, including the individual, meso and macro levels (Kubeka & Rama, 2020).

In South Africa, social exclusion is a legacy of colonialism and apartheid, which caused the inequalities and marginalisation that one may observe in every South African community today. The dominant exclusionary factors in South African communities are race, gender and class (Kubeka & Rama, 2020). This understanding is useful for this study, because the taxi industry is a response to the issue of South Africa's exclusionary labour market economy. The industry caters to the excluded group, providing them with employment opportunities. In a country in which racial and gender inequalities prevail, it is important to understand how issues of power play out in the male-dominated world of taxi driving, and the extent to which taxi drivers are affected by these realities. Therefore, Social Exclusion Theory was deemed a suitable framework through which to investigate and understand the experiences of taxi drivers.

### **2.3.2 Intersectionality Theory**

Intersectionality Theory, a term first coined by Kimberly Crenshaw in 1991, is also concerned with power relations between individuals. The theory shows how different aspects of a person's identity, such as race, class and gender, intersect to produce multiple oppressions (Crenshaw, 2017; Moolman, 2013). Crenshaw argues that history, social institutions and social contexts play a crucial role in shaping people's identities, since these are the domains in which social identities and social power are continuously contested (Crenshaw, 2017; Moolman, 2013). Furthermore, political and economic realities play a key role in various social processes (Moolman, 2013). Within an intersectionality framework, the government is viewed central, since it is responsible for legitimising the different social identities that exist through its legislation and policies (Moolman, 2013). The theory highlights the interplay between people's different experiences, showing that individuals do not exist as independent entities, but are shaped by macro forces around them.

Intersectionality Theory is employed in this study because it sheds light on the relationships that exist between different aspects of people's identity. The focus of this study is aspects of taxi drivers' lives – their health and wellbeing, their social and family lives, their challenges and the changes they would like to see in the industry. Intersectionality Theory provides a nuanced understanding of how the different elements of taxi drivers' lives interlink to produce their various oppressions and privileges. An understanding of their lives in light of Intersectionality Theory may help to pinpoint areas of concern in the drivers' lives, so that any intervention programmes introduced to assist them may be designed in a targeted way.

## **2.4 Policy and legislation**

Various policies and pieces of legislations have been introduced to address the unemployment challenges in the country and the issues that affect the taxi industry. The two most relevant are discussed below.

### **2.4.1 The National Development Plan 2030**

The National Development Plan was introduced by the South African government in 2012 with the goal of eliminating the country's developmental challenges by 2030. The policy highlights the successes of the democratic government and the improvements that have been made since 1994, which include massive changes in legislation to create an inclusive society, the formation of democratic institutions accessible to all South Africans, the extension of basic services to all, and stability in the economy (National Planning Commission [NPC], 2012). The policy also highlights the challenges that persist, undermining the development effort. The policy mentions that South Africa continues to be amongst the most unequal societies in the world, as seen in the high number of people still living in poverty, the high unemployment rate, and an education system that remains fragmented (NPC, 2012).

The policy seeks to create an inclusive economy in place of a fragmented one. It takes a capabilities approach in its developmental plans, stating that an inclusive economy would enable South Africans to live the lives they desire, and enable them to fully realise their capabilities (NPC, 2012). The policy acknowledges the fragile nature of the country's economy and suggests that to bring about changes in its structure, an inclusive approach is needed. It states that to achieve economic growth that is both rapid and inclusive, exports need to be

increased, investments need to be made in skills development, the cost of living needs to be reduced for the poor, and the regulatory burden on small businesses should be eased to make the labour market more accessible to the youth and the unskilled (NPC, 2012).

Moreover, the policy emphasises the need for the democratic government to work closely with the private sector to ensure investments and the creation of employment opportunities for South Africans. An understanding of this policy is helpful to this study, as it addresses the issue of unemployment in South Africa, the main factor that gave rise to the minibus taxi industry. The policy seeks to facilitate employment for the semi-skilled, which includes minibus taxi drivers, who are excluded from the formal economy. Therefore, if the government were to partner with the taxi industry, it is possible that more people would be employed and the industry would be formalised, which would help reduce the issue of exploitation and poor working conditions for minibus taxi drivers.

#### **2.4.2 The White Paper on National Transport Policy of 2021**

Another policy of relevance to the taxi industry is the White Paper on National Transport Policy of 2021, a revised version of the White Paper on National Transport Policy of 1996. The policy highlights the challenges that continue to characterise South Africa, such as poverty, inequality and unemployment. One of its aims is to enable transport services to create employment opportunities in an attempt to address these challenges (Department of Transport [DOT], 2021). It elucidates several key aspects of its overall vision, stating that the government needs to facilitate a transport system that results in equitable access to both economic opportunities and social services. It promotes the idea of inclusive growth that is both economically and environmentally sustainable and seeks to increase competition in the country's transport services nationally, regionally and globally, in order to create more employment opportunities (DOT, 2021). It states that one way to achieve these policy aims is investment in the country's road infrastructure. The policy is based on three principles: reducing unnecessary travel, promoting environmentally friendly ways of travelling, and improving the road infrastructure in ways that are environmentally sound.

The policy also highlights some of the challenges affecting the taxi industry, such as unsafety on the roads. One solution proposed is to increase the number of traffic officials on the roads to enforce traffic laws and safety. The policy also suggests improving road-user knowledge, skills and attitudes for better results in road safety. While the policy correctly identifies many of the issues that affect road users, its proposed solutions suggest that an expert approach was employed and that limited engagement took place with road users. This is evident in the fact that it does not discuss the causes of the problems faced, nor possible solutions proposed by road users. The policy nonetheless proved useful to this study, as it contributes to an understanding of what has already been accomplished concerning the taxi industry, and what is yet to be done to eradicate issues faced by taxi drivers.

## **2.5 Chapter summary**

This chapter has provided a review of some of the research conducted on the minibus taxi industry in South Africa. The review has provided historical background on the industry and discussed various elements of it in light of the goals of this study, which are to investigate the physical and emotional wellbeing of taxi drivers, their social and family lives, the challenges they face and the changes they would like to see in their industry. The chapter has presented and shown the relevance of Social Exclusion Theory and Crenshaw's (2017) Intersectionality Theory, which are used as a lens through which to view the work experiences of minibus taxi drivers. Two pieces of legislation relating to the minibus taxi industry have also been presented: the NDP 2030 and the White Paper on National Transport Policy of 2021. The chapter has provided a sound basis for understanding of the industry as a whole.

The following chapter discusses the methodology employed in order to investigate the phenomenon of interest – the lived experiences of taxi drivers into townships of Cape Town.

## CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### 3.1 Research design

A research design refers to the strategies and tools that assist the researcher to obtain rich insights into the phenomenon of interest (Cresswell & Poth, 2018; Ritchie, Spencer & O'Connor, 2003; Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2014). The research design selected and methodologies used are determined by the nature of the study and its particular goals and requirements (Cresswell & Poth, 2018). Various kinds of research design may be employed in research studies. This study employed an explorative research design, which is characterised by an inquiry to research that is specifically curated in a way that is broad-ranging, purposive, systematic and prearranged to maximise the discovery and understanding of the topic in question (Stebbins, 2011). This type of study is carried out for different reasons which include creating information in a topic that has been insufficiently covered, secondly exploratory studies are used to create a new hypothesis for a topic that has adequate information (Swedberg, 2020). In this study, it is used because there is insufficient knowledge on the taxi drivers' lives.

There is a variety of approaches of inquiry in research, for this study the phenomenological approach was used. The phenomenological approach was developed by the German philosopher Edmond Husserl as a framework for exploring subjective human experiences (Gaudet & Robert, 2019). Husserl believed that subjective human experiences may be distinguished from other natural phenomena and therefore needed to be accounted for in the human sciences (Gaudet & Robert, 2019). This approach is used when one seeks to understand the way in which different individuals experience a certain phenomenon. It is achieved by relating various participants' experiences of a phenomenon to one another (Cresswell & Poth, 2018).

In phenomenological research, the role of the researcher is to collect data from people who have experienced the phenomenon of interest firsthand. It is crucial that the researcher is aware of their own experiences, preconceptions and biases and takes steps not to dilute or influence the information they gather (Cresswell, 2018; Gaudet & Robert, 2019). With the phenomenological approach, participants are viewed as co-researchers in the study, as they have more knowledge than the researcher about the study topic (Robert & Gaudet, 2019). The researcher interviews

and observes participants and writes a description of their experiences, noting exactly what the participants experienced and how they experienced it (Cresswell, 2018). In this study, the phenomenon under investigation was the lived experiences of taxi drivers.

The study used the above mentioned approach together with a constructivist research paradigm. According to Kamal (2019) a research paradigm refers to patterns and set of beliefs that the researcher has about their study of interest. The researcher chose constructivism approach in this study because it fits with their study of interest and the realities of the taxi drivers that the researcher wanted to explore. According to this paradigm there are multiple realities, and these realities are constructed in people's social and historical backgrounds and are further interpreted by people (Cresswell, 2014; Kamal, 2019). The constructivist paradigm also argues that knowledge is built by the researcher and their participants, meaning that they are dependent on social interaction. Lastly, this paradigm uses various methods which make it easy to explore the realities of the chosen population, it looks at the various factors such as the social, cultural and historical factors and determines how these affects people's current realities (Kamal, 2019). This paradigm was useful in the study as it helped the researcher get deeper insights into the lived experiences of the taxi drivers they were studying.

### **3.2 Population and sampling**

The study population in research refers to the group of people in which the researcher is interested, with their characteristics and behaviours having the potential to provide useful insights in the field of enquiry (Fouche, Styrdom & Roestenberg, 2021). In this study, the chosen population was minibus taxi drivers working in the townships of Delft and Khayelitsha in Cape Town. More specifically, the population of interest was drivers working in one of three taxi ranks: Site C, the biggest taxi rank in Khayelitsha; Palam, one of the biggest taxi ranks in Delft, and Mitchells Plain, a small taxi rank in Delft that covers the route between Delft and Mitchells Plain. Since the entire population of interest would have been too large and time-consuming to interview, the researcher selected a sample from this population. A research sample is a smaller group of individuals that share the characteristics of the research population (Durdella, 2020; Fouche, Styrdom & Roestenberg, 2021; Ritchie et al., 2003). The researcher interviews the sample group to obtain answers to their research questions (Durdella, 2020; Fouche, Styrdom & Roestenberg, 2021; Ritchie, et al., 2003).

The quality of the sample plays an important role in determining the quality of the study. To obtain a good sample in qualitative research, various sampling strategies may be used. This study employed non-probability sampling, in which there is no randomness in the selection of participants and all members of the population do not have an equal probability of being included in the sample (Ritchie, et al, 2003; Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter 2014). Instead, participants are selected based on their potential to answer the research questions. This technique is helpful for qualitative researchers, as it helps them to select an accessible group comprising individuals who are knowledgeable about the phenomenon of interest (Fouche, Styrdom & Roestenberg, 2021; Ritchie, et al., 2003; Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2014). In this study, the researcher wanted to explore the work experience of taxi drivers. Therefore, the people best suited to providing answers were taxi drivers. For this, purposive sampling was ideal. Purposive sampling is a kind of non-random sampling strategy in which the researcher purposively selects participants for their study using specific criteria to obtain a sample that is representative of and relevant to their phenomenon of interest (Ritchie, et al., 2003).

In this study, participants were purposively selected based on certain criteria: They needed to be taxi drivers working in one of the three selected taxi ranks; they needed to have been in the taxi industry for at least a year; and they needed to be drivers employed by taxi owners. The exclusion criteria in this study included taxi drivers who worked in other taxi ranks other than those mentioned above, taxi drivers with less than a year of experience, those over the age of 35 and drivers who served as both taxi drivers and owners at the same time. The reason for this exclusion criteria is that the researcher needed participants, specific to Delft and Khayelitsha ranks as the study focused in these two locations. The researcher also wanted to interview people who have been in the industry long enough to have a good understanding of its functioning. Lastly, the researcher decided on the age of the drivers because of the higher unemployment rates in younger persons, in the first quarter of 2023 the unemployment rates of those in the 15-34 age cohort was at 44.7% (StatsSA, 2023). Therefore, the driver wanted to understand how these realities influenced the functioning of the industry and the role played by the taxi industry in rescuing these individuals from unemployment.

An application of these criteria enabled a sample that had the necessary experience of the phenomenon of interest. Other characteristics such as education background and marriage status were not considered. The sample for this study comprised 15 black South African men who resided in the Cape Town area, all under the age of 35 and all employed as drivers for over a year. The researcher had a sample of 15 participants, because at this number they had collected the data that they were looking for and at this point interviewing more participants would not produce any new information or themes. This point in research is known as data saturation, and it is said to serve many functions one of which is to signify the validity and credibility of a research study (Mwita, 2022). Mwita (2022) also argues that data saturation saves the researcher time from collecting information that contributes no added value to their research. The methods that researcher used in this study allowed them to gain enough detailed information from their participants allowing them to proceed to other steps of research.

According to Cresswell and Poth (2018), it is important for qualitative researchers to obtain permission to access the research site, which facilitates an easier data collection process. The taxi industry is organised in a hierarchy, with the minibus taxi drivers at the bottom of the organisational structure (Mmakwena, 2022). The taxi owners are at a level above the drivers, as they are their employers. The owners, in turn, are under the rule of the taxi associations, the power structures that manage the day-to-day functioning of the taxi ranks (Khosa, 1992; Mmakwena, 2022). The taxi associations themselves are also governed at different levels, with some operating at the local level, and others at the provincial level or national level (Mmakwena, 2022). In Cape Town, there are 102 taxi associations, with the three main ones being Cape Amalgamated Taxi Association (CATA), Congress of Democratic Taxi Associations (CODETA) and Interchange (Ahmed, 2004; Nelson, 2020). In the Western Cape, the taxi associations fall under a provincial taxi association structure known as the Western Cape Regional Taxi Council. At the national level, they all fall under the South African National Taxi Council (SANTACO).

To obtain permission to conduct this study, the researcher wrote a request letter to the three local taxi associations. Khayelitsha routes were all said to fall under the management of CODETA; therefore, to request permission of access for the Site C taxi rank, a letter seeking data collection permission was addressed to CODETA management (See Appendix A). The

Delft taxi ranks were affiliated with all three of the big associations, CODETA, CATA and Interchange. For the Palam taxi rank, the management constituted both CODETA and CATA, which meant that letters of permission had to be written to both these associations (See Appendix C). For the Mitchells Plain taxi rank operating in Delft, Interchange was the managing association, so a letter seeking permission was addressed to them (See Appendix B).

The researcher drafted the letters and hand delivered these to the main associations' offices (See Appendices A, B & C). The main office for CODETA is in Khayelitsha at Site C rank, the office for CATA is in Nyanga taxi rank, and the one for Interchange is in Bellville. After the researcher received approval from these offices, they proceeded to the different ranks with letters requesting permission from the rank managers (See Appendices D, E and F). The Palam taxi rank manager was approached first, followed by the managers of the Mitchells Plain and Site C ranks. Having been informed about the study, the rank managers signed the permission letters and led the researcher to the taxi drivers in each of the three ranks. The researcher explained the nature of the study to the drivers, leaving their contact details with them so they could initiate further contact if they wished to participate. Those who were interested called or WhatsApped the researcher to indicate their willingness to participate, after which the data collection process proceeded.

### **3.3. Data collection**

This study employed individual interviews as the data collection method. Individual interviews are a form of data collection in which the researcher has one-on-one conversations with each of the participants (Gaudet & Robert, 2019). In these conversations, the researcher plays the role of facilitator, using their skills to elicit in-depth responses to the research questions (Gaudet & Robert, 2019; Ritchie, Spencer & O'Connor 2003). The individual interviews were conducted in person, using a semi-structured interview guide as a data collection instrument (See Appendix H). Questions in the schedule were open ended. All were written in English and the interviews were conducted in English, although isiXhosa was used by some when they struggled to express themselves in English. This did not present a difficulty to the researcher, who understands the language.

The participants were allowed ample time to answer each of the questions. When responses were unclear, the researcher asked follow-up questions to probe for further details. Before the start of each interview, the researcher explained the study to the participants and presented consent forms to them (See appendix G). The consent forms contained information about the study, its purpose, and potential risks and benefits. The researcher went through the form with each participant, ensuring that they fully understood the contents before asking them to sign the form. After the signing of the forms, the interviews proceeded and were recorded.

Data recording forms part of the data collection process. The researcher may use an audiotape, video or any other recording device to record their interviews, with the permission of the participants (Fouche, Styrdom & Roestenberg, 2021). Data recording has many benefits: recordings give the researcher a full picture of what occurred during the interview, allowing them to focus fully on what participant say, without the need for note-taking (Fouche, Styrdom & Roestenberg, 2021). Having obtained the permission of participants, the researcher used a cell phone to record the interviews. This allowed the researcher to be fully present during the interviews without worrying about note-taking, and it also gave the researcher an accurate record of the conversation for later transcription.

### **3.4 Data analysis**

Data analysis is a step in the research process during which the researcher engages with the data collected. It is a bottom-up process, in which the data collected shapes the researcher's process of meaning making (Cresswell, 2014; Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2014). This step is part of the process of transforming data into findings (Fouche, Styrdom & Roestenberg, 2021). In this step, the researcher organises and sorts the collected data in order to determine the themes and categories that emerge from it and give meaning to it (Cresswell, 2014). In this study, the researcher used a software programme called NVivo developed by QSR International to assist with this step (Phillips & Lu, 2018). The researcher used version 10 of the programme, which aided in grouping of raw data into useful codes to be further developed into themes.

In qualitative research, different forms of data analysis may be used. In this study, the researcher made use of interpretive data analysis, which enabled them to remain close to their data and to interpret it with empathetic understanding (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2014).

Interpretive data analysis comprises five steps: familiarisation and immersion; coding; inducing themes; elaborating; and interpreting and checking (Cresswell, 2014; Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2014). The data analysis process starts with transcription of the interviews, including any notes that the researcher might have taken during the interviews (Cresswell, 2014). Once the researcher has the raw data in written form, they immerse themselves in it, reading and re-reading the transcripts. During this process, the researcher gains a general sense of the data and the story that it tells. This step allows the researcher to ascertain the tone, impression and credibility of their data (Cresswell, 2014; Durdella, 2020). Once the researcher has a general sense of their data, the coding process begins, in which units of data are ascribed codes according to the main ideas they express.

In this study the researcher used NVivo to assist with the coding process in data analysis. They uploaded the raw transcripts into the application, which made it easy for them to identify codes and the relationship between the different transcripts. After the codes were identified the following step in the data analysis is the identification of the main themes in the study, and these keep evolving as the researcher spends time with the data until they decide on the final themes to use in their study (Cresswell, 2014; Durdella, 2020; Neuman, 2014). The data analysis process concludes with an interpretation of the data findings. The researcher communicates their findings from the data they have collected and discusses lessons learned by using existing literature to support the findings of the study (Cresswell, 2014). More information on the specific themes decided on in this study and their discussion is found in chapter four which deals with the discussion of findings.

### **3.5 Data verification**

Data verification refers to a process in the research process in which the researcher proves the trustworthiness or the “truth value” of the data presented in the study (Neuman, 2014:84). This process varies according to research types and methods. For qualitative research to establish rigour or trustworthiness, the study needs to prove its credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Guba & Lincoln, 1981).

Credibility refers to the confidence that a reader may place in the findings. It may be achieved through prolonged engagement with the data, peer debriefing, and member checking (Guba &

Lincoln, 1981). Member checking refers to asking selected participants to go through their study findings to ensure that the data is an accurate representation of the phenomenon (Neuman, 2014). In this study, the researcher regularly confirmed the information that participants gave to ensure that they had grasped the correct information. In doing so, any misrepresentation was avoided in final report writing. The researcher also worked closely with their supervisor by reporting at every stage of their research. This was done to keep the research on track and minimise the chances of misquoting or misinterpreting participants.

Transferability refers to whether or not the study is transferable in other contexts (Guba & Lincoln, 1981). It can be achieved by providing thick descriptions of every aspect of the research, including location, atmosphere, the reactions of participants, and the bonds and boundaries established between the researcher and participants (Fouche, Styrdom & Roestenberg, 2021). Data transferability is useful for achieving rigour in research, as it allows the research to achieve external validity. In this study, both credibility and transferability were achieved by providing detailed and truthful information on all the processes of the research, both data collection and data analysis processes, and by ensuring that the report only reported on what had actually transpired.

Confirmability refers to the degree of neutrality in a study. To be judged confirmable, the study should be able to show that the findings were not influenced by the researcher's personal biases, motivations or interests, but were confined to actual realities reported by the research participants (Guba & Lincoln, 1981). Triangulation is also used in qualitative research to ensure the confirmability of the data. Triangulation refers to the use of multiple techniques in the data collection and analysis process, including triangulation of sources, methods and theories (Neuman, 2014). These techniques are used to ensure consistency in the study findings. In this study, the researcher used theory triangulation by making use of more than one theory to explain the findings.

Reflexivity was also used to achieve confirmability in this study. This refers to a process in which the researcher attends systematically to their own construction of knowledge, in order to enhance the objectivity of the research process (Amankwaa, 2016). This type of objectivity may be achieved through an awareness on the part of the researcher of their own biases and opinions,

and bracketing these, as far as possible, during the research process. These include their beliefs, values, perspectives and assumptions. This serves the purpose of ensuring that the findings are shaped by the participants and their lived experiences and not by the researcher's personal biases (Amankwaa, 2016; Fouche, Styrdom & Roestenberg, 2021). In this study, the researcher used a reflexive journal to document each of the decisions made during the research, and their reasoning. This was helpful for keeping track of their own subjectivity and raising and highlighting instances of possible clouded judgement. The researcher worked with their supervisor throughout the research process. Therefore, the supervisor was able to contest the subjectivities of the researcher when they were affecting the research process.

The last step in establishing data trustworthiness in qualitative research is to ensure dependability, which refers to consistency in the findings of the study (Guba & Lincoln, 1981). Dependability is ascertained by the extent to which a similar study conducted in the same context with the same people would generate the same results. To achieve dependability, the researcher needs to conduct an audit trail, which means keeping detailed written accounts of every step taken in the research process, from the start to the report of the findings (Lincoln & Guba, cited in Amankwaa, 2016). In their account of the various steps, they need to be transparent, which means including even the simplest mistakes they may have made in their research process. Dependability in this study was achieved by providing detailed accounts of each of the steps taken in the research. By working closely with their supervisor, the researcher was able to ensure that the raw data and the final findings corresponded closely.

### **3.6 Limitations of the study**

One of the limitations in the study was that the researcher often makes use of taxi services and has had multiple encounters with drivers as a passenger. Therefore, this might have influenced the research process, as the researcher might have approached the participants with preconceived ideas influenced by their previous experiences with taxi drivers. Furthermore, this might have resulted in an expectation of certain responses from the participants. Another limitation to the study is that the researcher is a young female and the industry in which the research was conducted is male dominated. This might have led to the withholding of certain information on the part of participants, based on the gender of the researcher. Another possible limitation to the study was the relatively young age of the researcher, at 25 years. Participants

might have undermined the researcher because of their age, and might have provided different answers if they were older. A further possible limitation is that drivers may have withheld information based on a fear that speaking about their experiences would land them in trouble with the owners.

To address these limitations, the researcher first had a conversation with participants about some of the common factors they had learned about the industry. This made the participants more willing to discuss their taxi driving experience, despite the various differences between the researcher and the participants. In addition, the researcher assured the participants that none of their information and experiences would be traced to them, since no identifying details would be given in the report. This helped to establish a relationship of trust between the drivers and the researcher.

### **3.7 Reflexivity**

During the qualitative research process, the researcher functions as the primary data gathering tool, as they are responsible for creating the research questions, and gathering and analysing the data (Durdella, 2020). Therefore, the researcher needs to be aware of their own subjectivities in relation to their phenomenon of interest, as personal subjectivities can have a significant impact on the direction of the study (Durdella, 2020). Gaudet and Robert (2019) therefore argue that to counter their subjectivities in qualitative research, researchers should be transparent about their data analysis. The researcher needs to acknowledge and discuss counterexamples and articulate and discuss the limitations of their study. It is therefore important for qualitative researchers to be reflective throughout the process of data analysis, taking note of their own subjectivities. This prevents personal bias and experience from influencing their decisions and judgements.

The issue of unemployment in South Africa is one that affects almost everyone. The researcher's interest in the study was sparked by witnessing people they know personally struggling to find employment over a period of many years. Some became unemployed after losing their jobs in the formal sector, while others had never worked and struggled to find employment despite their best efforts. The researcher has witnessed some of these individuals

being absorbed into the taxi industry, in which they have found jobs as taxi drivers. Therefore, the researcher was interested in exploring the role of the taxi driver in the taxi industry, their lived experiences, and the effect of the work on their health, social and family life.

### **3.8 Chapter summary**

This chapter has presented the methodology used in this qualitative study, discussing the research design, population, sampling method, data collection and analysis method, and steps taken to ensure the trustworthiness of the study. Taxi drivers from Delft and Khayelitsha were purposively sampled and interviewed in semi-structured interviews, with data analysed in light of the literature, the relevant documents and the two theories that underpin the study. The chapter concludes with an acknowledgement of its limitations and a section on the reflective processes undertaken by the researcher to ensure a bias-free study.

The following chapter presents and discusses the data as revealed by the semi-structured interviews.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the findings based on the research objectives. The first section of the chapter provides a demographic profile of the participants. This is followed by the framework of analysis, showing the themes and sub-themes that emerged from the data. A discussion of the themes follows, with excerpts from the interviews presented to support the findings. The findings are examined in light of the literature and the theoretical frameworks that underpin the study. The chapter concludes with a summary.

### **4.2 The demographic profile of participants**

Table 4.1 on the following page presents the demographic profile of the 15 taxi drivers who took part in this study.

**Table 4.1: The demographic profile of participants**

<b>Participant no</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Race</b>	<b>Experience (in years)</b>	<b>Taxi rank</b>
1	29	Black African	1	Delft (Palam rank)
2	35	Black African	14	Delft (Palam rank)
3	35	Black African	15	Delft (Palam rank)
4	34	Black African	16	Delft (Palam rank)
5	35	Black African	7	Delft (Mitchells Plain route)
6	29	Black African	10	Delft (Mitchells Plain route)
7	33	Black African	4	Delft (Mitchells Plain route)
8	34	Black African	17	Khayelitsha (Site C rank)
9	33	Black African	1	Khayelitsha (Site C rank)
10	28	Black African	2	Khayelitsha (Site C rank)
11	25	Black African	2	Khayelitsha (Site C rank)
12	30	Black African	4	Khayelitsha (Site C rank)
13	35	Black African	5	Khayelitsha (Site C rank)
14	33	Black African	5	Khayelitsha (Site C rank)
15	32	Black African	10	Khayelitsha (Site C rank)

The participants were purposively selected according to the criteria developed by the researcher for the purpose of this study. All 15 participants were black African men from various townships in Cape Town. The youngest participant was 25 years old and the oldest was 35 years old. Of the 15 participants, 11 were in their 30s, and four were in their 20s – one was 25, one was 28 and two were 29. In the 30s, one participant at 30, another was 32, three were 33, two were 34, and the remaining four participants were 35.

The participants presented with taxi industry experience of between 1 and 17 years. Six had worked for 10 years or more, and the remaining 9 had worked for less than 10 years. Two participants each had worked for one, two, four or five years, one had worked for seven years,

two had worked for 10 years and the remaining four participants had worked for 14, 15, 16 and 17 years respectively.

Four drivers worked at the Palam taxi rank in Delft, three worked at the Mitchells Plain taxi rank in Delft and eight worked at Site C taxi rank in Khayelitsha. The availability of the participants during the interview period slightly skewed the numbers in favour of the Site C Khayelitsha taxi rank.

### 4.3 Framework of analysis

Table 4.2 presents the framework used for analysis in the study, showing the five themes and ten sub-themes that emerged from the data.

**Table 4.2: Framework of analysis**

Main Themes	Sub-themes
1. Job experiences and well-being	Physical health deterioration
	Psychological distress
2. The benefits of taxi driving work	Financial convenience
	Easy but restrictive employment
3. Family and taxi driver relationships	Taxi driver relations in the workplace
	Family relationships
4. Challenges faced by minibus taxi drivers	Exploitative working conditions
	Exposure to violence
5. Taxi driver ambitions and goals	Desire for growth
	Job security

Five main themes emerged from the study findings, each with sub-themes. Theme one was job experiences and wellbeing, with two sub-themes: physical health deterioration and psychological distress. Theme two was the benefits of taxi driving work, with two sub-themes: financial convenience and easy but restrictive employment. Theme three was family and taxi driver relationships, with two sub-themes: taxi driver relationships in the workplace and family relationships. Theme four was challenges faced by minibus taxi drivers, with two sub-themes: exploitative working conditions and exposure to violence. Theme five was taxi driver ambitions and goals, with two sub-themes: desire for growth and job security.

Each of these themes and sub-themes is discussed below, with verbatim quotes supporting the findings.

#### **4.4 Theme one: Job experiences and well-being**

It was found that the taxi driving job had adverse effects on drivers' health. This finding was in line with other study findings on taxi drivers in different contexts (Adedokun et al., 2019; Davidson et al., 2020; Hadebe, 2012; Ramukumba & Mathiki, 2016). Participants revealed that the adverse effects were both psychological and physical. The drivers mentioned that their working conditions, which included long working hours inside the taxis with limited ventilation, contributed to their health concerns.

##### **4.4.1 Physical health deterioration**

The taxi drivers spoke of experiencing extreme fatigue which affected their overall functioning. One reason for this was their unregulated working hours. They reported waking up very early to go to work and returning home late in the evening. Working in this manner over extended periods of time led to limited and disrupted sleep, which affected them physically, as shown in the following comments :

*“Hey, sister! This work is so tiring, this work is hard, when you go to sleep you will only wake up during the time to go to work the following day.” (Participant 13, Age 35, Site C).*

*“Sister, my day of work looks like this: At the rank, the first car needs to be here at 4.30, am meaning that 3.30 I need to wake up to prepare myself for work. I*

*need to prepare my appearance for the day as I work with people. Then I will work the whole day and my day ends at 10.30 pm.” (Participant 8, Age 34, Site C).*

In addition to fatigue, taxi driving caused exposure to different illnesses, which increased participants’ risk of being physically sick. Airborne diseases were mentioned as quite prevalent, with TB and the Corona virus used as examples. The fact that drivers transported many people simultaneously in vehicles with limited ventilation and space increased their risk of contracting these illnesses. Two participants stated:

*“I once suffered from TB, and they noticed it in winter. They said that could be caused by the fact that we close the windows a lot in winter, and we don’t know how many people who get in the taxi are with TB. So, they are able to cough and spread it to everyone else in the taxi.” (Participant 6, Age 29, Mitchells Plain route ).*

*“With the passengers is that even when there was Corona, we were scared that we would get it from them.” (Participant 4, Age 34, Palam).*

A driver also mentioned his fear of contracting an airborne disease, suggesting that physical health challenges were not the only challenges affecting their health and wellbeing. Psychological distress was found to be another negative health consequence of the taxi driver job.

#### **4.4.2 Psychological distress**

Psychological distress was found to be a health challenge for almost all the participants. Other studies have made similar findings (Davidson et al., 2020; Hadebe, 2012). The psychological distress, which the drivers referred to as “stress”, was linked to various causal factors such as having to work with difficult and sometimes abusive passengers, fellow drivers and owners, and the need to work towards a daily cash target. Fluctuations in the business and increasing pressure on slow business days added to the drivers’ psychological distress, alongside harassment from traffic officials. The following responses confirm these experiences:

*“Sometimes it is stressful. We are not stressing about the stuff at home, but we stress when the business is slow. We do not know what we will produce to the owner and on the side, you also need to pour fuel into the car and you also need to have something that you will take home.” (Participant 15, Age 32, Site C).*

*“It’s very stressful, my sister, because when you wake up, the first thing that you think of is if are you going to be able to make the daily target.”  
(Participant 12, Age 30, Site C).*

Passengers seemed to contribute to the psychological pressure:

*“Yho! Passengers! There is that saying that the customer is always right. People do not know when to use that saying. You see, I am slim so when I am driving, they even undermine my driving. They will make comments like ‘Do you think we will make it to our destination when our driver is this slim?’ But if a big driver is driving, they will keep quiet, and they won’t tell him any of his mistakes.” (Participant 10, Age 28, Site C).*

*“Mentally? Yeah, you have to always be using your mind here. All the time passengers are causing us stress. They leave their houses with their own stresses, and they take them out on me as a driver. There are also the traffics. The passengers will rush us even though there are the traffics, but in all of that, we cope.” (Participant 9, Age 33, Site C).*

Despite the physical and psychological stresses reported by participants, many spoke of the benefits associated with the job.

#### **4.5 Theme two: The benefits of taxi driving work**

The greatest benefit mentioned by almost all taxi drivers in the study was the convenience of having cash at the end of every day. Participants also spoke of the fact that the job was easily accessible and yet also restrictive in many ways.

#### **4.5.1 Financial convenience**

Most drivers highlighted the financial convenience of the job, in that they had regular small injections of cash. The drivers mentioned that other than the salary they earned based on a percentage of daily targets, they also made extra cash that they could take home daily, allowing them to have ready cash when needed. Many expressed a sense of pride when they shared the amounts they were able to take home daily. Some boasted of the things that the money enabled them to do, such as joining stokvels and taking care of household necessities.

*“I go home with R500 and R300 daily, if I did not make good money. I get paid weekly. I have a stokvel that I am into. We take turns and pay each other R1000 weekly. I am not poor at all in my house with this money.” (Participant 4, Age 34, Palam).*

*“Because it is money that I make every day, the moment I come to work I know that when I knock off, I will at least have R100 or R150. This helps me to buy bread so that I can be able to make lunch for the morning until I get paid Monday.” (Participant 15, Age 32, Site C).*

All the taxi drivers mentioned that they were able to make extra money other than their commission-based salaries; however, the value of the extra money was not the same for every driver. Extra money ranged from as little as R100 to as much as R500, depending on the route and how busy the day was. The extra money received daily afforded some to live quite comfortably, and to take on extra financial responsibilities in their households. The extra financial responsibilities ranged from buying something as simple as a loaf of bread for lunch to paying for stokvels, depending on the amount of extra money received in a given day or week.

#### **4.5.2 Easy yet restrictive employment**

Another benefit was the informal and easy employment procedures in the industry, which the taxi drivers appreciated. However, they also revealed that employment in the industry occurs mainly through connections and familiarity. The drivers stated that those with connections in the industry were more likely to find employment than those who are disconnected or unknown. This creates hidden restrictions in the employment process.

*“We do not have interviews here. If you are known or there is that person who is known – most times people get hired through being known in the taxis. There is nothing if you are able to drive, because most people that we drive with in the taxis do not have licenses. As long as they are able to drive, they get hired.”*  
(Participant 6, Age 29, Mitchells Plain route).

*“Yho! The recruitment here is a hearsay. If you come here with your license, you are able to come to look for a job and you return home with a car.”*  
(Participant 15, Age 32, Site C).

The drivers appreciated the benefits that came with their work, but pointed out the restrictions that came with their work roles. Most said their incomes were in themselves restrictive, as there were some things they were not able to accomplish with the money they made. Drivers said the following:

*“No, my sister, we do those that we have the power and are able to do. We do not do the ones we do not have the means for. We are also in the corner.”*  
(Participant 2, Age 35, Palam).

*“Yeah, I am able to do things at home, but I do not think that there is a person who is sane who can say that this work is all that they want to do for their whole life. Here you work so that you are able to have something to eat, clothe yourself. You cannot build a home with the money that we make here.”*  
(Participant 6, Age 29, Mitchells Plain route).

#### **4.6 Theme three: Family and taxi driver relationships**

Various issues to do with social relationships were reported by the taxi drivers. The two sub-themes that emerged were relationships in the workplace and family relationships. Both positive and negative aspects of their relationships were reported on, with all relationships influenced by the nature of their work.

#### 4.6.1 Taxi driver relationships in the workplace

Taxi driver relationships in the workplace comprised relationships with colleagues, passengers and taxi owners. These relationships provided both positive experiences and a number of particular difficulties or challenges. When asked about their relationships with colleagues, reactions were mixed. On the whole, most seemed to be negative. A reason was offered by a participant:

*“It depends on how you are working, because you are able to make a lot of money and others make less money, so they end up being jealous of you and that makes you to not get along.” (Participant 12, Age 30, Site C).*

Another reason for the complicated nature of taxi driver relationships was the relationship that existed between the drivers and their taxi owners. The way in which the drivers related with their owners was not the same for all taxi drivers. Some mentioned that they had good relationships with their taxi owners and that they were understood and treated with respect. Both negative and positive aspects were highlighted by the two participants below:

*“Him and I we do not communicate, you see? It is my duty to know that I am just an employee, because what he decides, I have to do it. I cannot even advise him that I think we should do like this now or here we can do like this.” (Participant 8, Age 34, Site C).*

*“With my owner? (Sighs.) I do not know what I would say my challenge is. I work with a person that understand me, and he understands the reality of the business. because he has two cars. He is driving the other taxi, and I am driving this one. So, there are no challenges I face with him.” (Participant 6, Age 29, Mitchells Plain route).*

The same variability was apparent in the relationships that they had with their passengers. Some spoke of forming positive relationships with some passengers, to the extent that they even formed personal relationships beyond the driver–passenger relationship. One of the drivers referred to these as friendships. However, this was not the case for every driver, as many had negative relationships with their passengers and some said they had no relationship with them at all. These drivers tended to ignore their passengers and focus on their work to avoid any altercations.

*“Even them, you see, Killarney people are good people. We are transporting them every day, so we know each other. So, we end up being friends, we know them a lot that they are working in firms, and they end up even knowing our names.” (Participant 3, Age 35, Palam).*

*“Don’t tell me about passengers – they are rude! And they are always swearing at us. That is the only problem I have with them; they swear at us. Many people come here with that mentality that the taxi drivers are rude.” (Participant 6, Age 29, Mitchells Plain route).*

#### **4.6.2 Family relationships**

The Delft and Khayelitsha taxi drivers reported long working hours ranging from 12 to 15 hours per shift. These working hours were found to negatively affect their relationships with family members. The long hours reduced the quality time the drivers could spend with their families, resulting in alienation from family members, and deterioration of romantic relationships.

*“I do not have family time, and secondly, even the little time that I get to be with them, we do not understand each other because I understand the taxi rank lifestyle. Because here, firstly, we have our own way to talk and most of us are men and we just speak with each other loosely, you understand? And that now gets to be a challenge for me to have another language that will now accommodate people at home.” (Participant 8, Age 34, Site C).*

*“I won’t lie – with taxis and family you don’t have a lot of time for your family, because here we work seven days a week. You end up not having enough time at home. Even our wives complain, they do not get satisfied sexually. Because you come back home tired and all you want to do is sleep and wake up in the morning, going to the same job again.” (Participant 13, Age 35, Site C).*

*“It is very little. When you get home, the kids are already asleep. Almost every day you find the kids sleeping, unless that day you were able to make enough money early then you are able to knock off early and spend time with the family.*

*You even find your supper cold when you get home.” (Participant 15, Age 32, Site C).*

Despite the stress of some negative work and family relationships, quite a few taxi drivers appreciated the flexibility of the work and its positive effects on their relationship with their families.

*“There’s no work that can satisfy a wife. When you are at work, you are at work. But this job is better than other jobs because if I say I want to go home to check up on my wife and kids, I am able to do that.” (Participant 4, Age 34, Palam).*

#### **4.7 Theme four: Challenges faced by minibus taxi drivers**

In a country characterised by high unemployment rates, the taxi industry makes it easy for the semi-skilled to find employment, and thus plays an important role in reducing the unemployment rate in the country. However, all participants spoke of the serious challenges they faced.

##### **4.7.1 Exploitative working conditions**

The challenges prevalent in the taxi industry have been found to emanate mostly from the informal nature of the taxi industry (Fobosi, 2013; Hadebe, 2012; Mmadi, 2012; Ngubane, 2016). A common challenge mentioned by previous studies was the exploitative working conditions. This study made the same finding:

*“Mh-uhm, I would say, my sister, they give us pressure in terms of money, they want money, but there is no money. Because they are able to say that they want R1 500 and when you do not reach that target it becomes a problem.” (Participant 2, Age 35, Palam).*

*“Yho! They should give us offs because we work every day here. At least, if we were to be given off days to be with our families it would be better. If you don’t work you don’t get any money.” (Participant 9, Age 33, Site C).*

*“It's hours and they should also raise the money for drivers. That is the challenge that we are faced with here. Here the daily target started from R500 a day and the commission was 25% and now the daily target is R1000 and the commission is still 25%” (Participant 13, Age 35, Site C).*

#### **4.7.2 Exposure to violence**

Prior studies conducted on the taxi industry refer to the issue of violence (Gibbs, 2014; Mmakwena, 2022). The Delft and Khayelitsha taxi drivers corroborated this finding, with many expressing the understanding that their job could result in sudden death at any time. This idea was anticipated, accepted and prepared for from the very beginning of one's taxi driving career, as may be seen in the comments below.

*“It started a long time that here in the taxi rank people are killing each other. So to deal with the challenges that happen here you have to always be armed ... As you see me, I work in Parow, and I come and chill with the drivers of Killarney, and we get along, so should there be a fight, I have to know that I am always ready for it. Here in the rank, we shoot and kill each other, and I have to always be ready.” (Participant 4, Age 34, Palam).*

*“My friend, most of the people in the taxi rank say I am a junkie. More especially the taxi drivers. You know why? My friend, I cannot drive a car this big and not have something to back me up. I do have a gun in my car, so other people know that I have a gun in my car and others want to steal it. When there was the taxi war, we were told to carry our guns. They never returned to us and said we should now leave them.” (Participant 10, Age 28, Site C).*

Constant exposure to violence or the possibility of violence caused the drivers to be hyper-alert and always ready, with many feeling they needed to be armed to protect themselves. Even though the drivers mentioned that they had friends at work, they expected and prepared for the worst. The volatile nature of the business led to some taxi drivers wishing to achieve more in life and move on from being taxi drivers. Their personal goals and ambitions emerged as the fifth theme.

## **4.8 Theme five: Taxi driver ambitions and goals**

The Delft and Khayelitsha taxi drivers presented with varying experiences of their taxi driver work, which influenced their ambitions and goals. Their perceptions of their incomes influenced their desire for growth and to achieve greater things in life. They were appreciative of their jobs but felt that the role was limiting. They wished for greater fulfilment and compensation.

### **4.8.1 Desire for growth**

The majority of the taxi drivers mentioned that they wished to be more than taxi drivers in their future. Some wanted to secure higher paying work positions, whereas others wanted to own their own businesses. The unreliability and instability of taxi driver work, highlighted in previous studies, was reiterated in this study. Lack of security was one of the main areas of dissatisfaction, propelling taxi drivers to consider alternative means to earn an income. Comments were as follows:

*“I wish we could get paid through the bank. I personally deposit the money in the bank and at the end of the week when I am paid. Also, I wish that they could pay us monthly so that I am able to be seen by companies and other places that I have this amount of money, because getting paid weekly is not respected.”*  
(Participant 8, Age 34, Site C).

*“Sometimes, it happens that I have a deposit to buy this Quantum but ... I do not have papers that can help me to be approved to get that taxi and I do not have the proof that I would be able to afford it.”* (Participant 13, Age 35, Site C).

### **4.8.2 Job security**

It was found that although some participants wanted to be more than taxi drivers, some were content with their taxi driving work. The participant below was quite adamant that he had no desire to leave the industry.

*“Yes, I love this job. To such an extent that I would never go anywhere else, I will die here. There is not even a need for me to say that I will go and do a Code 14 driver’s license because I work here, and I will die here. It’s the end, it’s the end.” (Participant 4, Age 34, Palam).*

*“There is money here, it is a lot! but the only challenge is that you have to pay tickets, so the industry does have money...” (Participant 12, Age 30, Site C).*

There existed a link between the desires and goals of the taxi drivers and their perceptions of the money they made in their industry. It was noted that the taxi drivers who felt that the taxi driver income was inadequate were the same drivers who wanted to advance their positions from either being taxi drivers to being owners, or to pursue entirely different paths. Those who expressed that they earned a good income from the industry showed no desire to improve their lot in life.

#### **4.9 Discussion**

The findings of this study revealed a number of important issues related to the minibus taxi industry and the role of taxi drivers as employees in this informal sector.

The first issue is the important area of employee wellbeing in the taxi driver working environment. The findings show that taxi driver work exerts pressure on drivers’ psychological wellbeing and physical health, in that they suffer fatigue and risk exposure to or contraction of airborne diseases. One of the main causes of physical health concerns among taxi drivers was the long working hours, and confinement to small, overcrowded spaces in their vehicles, with poor ventilation.

Limited information exists in the literature on taxi driver working conditions and their effect on the physical health of taxi drivers. Sekgala et al. (2023) problematised this lack of research, highlighting that in South Africa, health care is a constitutional right to all, and there is a need for continued efforts to ensure that all people can access health services sufficiently (Sekgala et al., 2023).

Lack of information on the health of taxi drivers is an indication of the social exclusion that their work conditions perpetuate. In their discussion of social exclusion, Kubeka and Rama

(2020) state that social exclusion manifests itself through people's inability to access basic services such as health care, which affects people's functioning and role in society. The taxi industry and the taxi driving work role effectively excludes the taxi drivers from accessing health services, as they have no time to do so because of their excessively long working hours. This means that although taxi drivers enjoy the same rights as others do in theory, in practice they do not enjoy these rights, and cannot benefit from certain services. Job specifications such as "no work, no pay" increase their difficulty in accessing essential services, as time off from work means immediate loss of income. Silver (2007) mentions that an individual may be excluded in one part of their life and still be included in another part.

In this study, taxi drivers were included in the sense that they had employment but were excluded from many services as a result of their long working hours. They are also denied a subtler form of social inclusion, based on the perception of standing or value in society; as daily wage earners, with little time to mix with anyone outside of the taxi industry, they are unable to become respected members of society, and remain perpetually excluded from normal social and economic activities. In a study by Mmadi (2012), taxi drivers mentioned that when they were unable to go to work for any reason, their employers quickly found a replacement for them. For this reason, the taxi drivers made it their personal mission to avoid being absent, as many had lost their taxi driver work in this way. The taxi drivers highlighted that it was possible for the replacement taxi driver to be hired on a permanent basis if they made more money than they did on that one day. Circumstances like these made it difficult for taxi drivers to miss a day's work, even when they were unwell. Since the taxi industry is unregulated, there are no laws protecting drivers' labour rights, which is why minibus taxi employers are able to take advantage of taxi drivers.

Stressful working conditions contributed to the development of psychological distress. Stressors included the constant need to push to achieve daily targets, low income, and the pressure experienced when passenger demand was low, which led to the dissatisfaction of owners. These findings are prevalent in other studies on the mental health of taxi drivers around the world. For example, in an Australian study by Davidson et al. (2020), it was found that

commercial taxi drivers were five times more likely to experience psychological distress than the general population. The causes of psychological distress were identified as long hours, night shifts, low pay, lack of physical activity, and high competition in the taxi industry (Davidson et al., 2020). These factors are reflected in this research. Hadebe (2012) states that psychological distress has far-reaching consequences with regard to the day-to-day functioning of drivers, with some experiencing mood changes during their working hours and some reporting suicidal thoughts.

Some of challenges affecting the physical and psychological wellbeing of taxi drivers arise from the coping strategies they employ to manage their working conditions. Some researchers argue that taxi drivers' limited access to health services results in a negative relationship with their own bodies and personal health, shown in the ways they attempt to manage their stress and energy levels. Dysfunctional coping mechanisms include unhealthy eating behaviours and alcohol and drug use (Adedokum et al., 2019), some of which lead to health complications or death. For example, three studies report that unhealthy eating behaviours among taxi drivers contributes to their risk of developing non-communicable diseases such as obesity and hypertension (Mabetwa et al., 2022, Ramukumba & Mathiki, 2016; Sekgala et al., 2023).

Adedokum et al. (2019) highlight that taxi drivers only pay attention to the stress-relieving effects of the substances they ingest, and the immediate effects on their driving ability, since they mentioned only the short-term benefits. Many mention the value of certain substances in keeping them alert during long working hours and, in the case of smoking, in helping them to control their weight. The taxi drivers ignore the negative effects of these substances such as impaired driving performance, in which problem-solving skills and the sense of judgement are altered, leading to road accidents and deaths (Adedokum et al., 2019; Busari & Meko, 2016). In this study, similar responses were reported on the physical and psychological challenges faced by taxi drivers in their line of work.

However, an extra coping strategy reported by participants in this study and not mentioned by the international literature was reckless driving. This strategy is employed in response to the psychological worries that emanate from the time/money ratio. With reckless driving, taxi drivers are able to make as much money as possible. Reckless driving was therefore a strategy for coping with stressful aspects of the job. However, studies show that reckless driving can be a symptom of a greater underlying issue facing the taxi industry – the abuse and ill-treatment suffered by taxi drivers at the hands of their employers (Hadebe, 2012, Mmakwena, 2022; Ngubane, 2016). In a study by Molefe (2016) on taxi drivers in Stanger, it was found that minibus taxi owners set too-high targets for their taxi drivers, and that when drivers failed to reach these targets, they risked losing their jobs. This led to reckless driving, poaching of passengers and threatening of passengers into boarding taxis (Molefe, 2016).

The working conditions of the taxi drivers and the ill treatment they endured from their employers may be understood through the lens of Intersectionality Theory. Crenshaw (2017) and Moolman (2013) make the point that different elements of one's place in society result in different forms of oppression. The theory distinguishes between the different ways in which certain groups both exert and derive power by oppressing vulnerable, disempowered groups (Moolman, 2013). In this study, it is evident that minibus taxi owners form a powerful group, responsible for the simultaneous employment and oppression of the taxi drivers, who form a vulnerable group. Jefthas (2002) focused on conflict and violence in the taxi industry in the Western Cape, noting that the owners would often comment on how they did taxi drivers a favour by hiring them, and that therefore they had no right to complain. The taxi drivers simply have to accept such statements and embody their vulnerability through accepting their lack of power in order to keep their jobs. Taxi drivers in this study made it quite clear that they are at the mercy of their employers, without whom they have no work or income.

In the taxi industry, money plays a crucial role for all those invested in its profitability. Monetary value makes or breaks the relationships existing between the taxi drivers and their colleagues, as well as their relationships with their employers. The way in which the taxi drivers perceived their income differed from one taxi driver to the next. Some said that the taxi driver

income was sufficient, while others said it was inadequate. Hadebe (2012) highlights the factors that cause wage differentials among taxi drivers, based on her case study on the personal financial challenges of Umbumbulu taxi drivers in KwaZulu-Natal. She argues that one of the main reasons for wage differences among taxi drivers work is that they are remunerated differently, according to the decisions of their employers. Both the percentages and the methods used to calculate the daily pay varied for each taxi driver (Fobosi, 2013; Hadebe, 2012). Hadebe (2012) distinguished between taxi drivers who have no basic income and those who are remunerated with an agreed-upon portion of the money made daily, which varied from one taxi driver to the next. One group of taxi drivers earned a consistent amount each week, but this method was the least common form of remuneration in the industry (Hadebe, 2012). Others worked all week and handed over the takings to their bosses, except for the takings of one day, which served as their salary for the week (Hadebe, 2012).

The different payment methods used in the industry therefore result in different taxi driver salaries, with those who receive a set amount each week having far greater security than those who earn a percentage of daily takings. For the fortunate few, the slowness of business on any given day has no effect on their earnings, and therefore there is less incentive to speed and drive recklessly. In Hadebe's (2012) study, those who used a day's return as their wages would receive nothing extra from their bosses if business was slow on that day, so that means they sometimes went home with very little money. Therefore, these factors inevitably result in certain drivers receiving more money than others, which is reflected in the different levels of contentment regarding salaries and working conditions. Therefore, it is impossible to expect a shared experience from the taxi drivers, as each one's experience differs from others. This is why the phenomenon is best understood through the lens of Intersectionality Theory.

Moolman (2013) highlights the intersections of South African men, linking their political history with their gender, and showing their experience of different levels and forms of oppression. He argues that in South Africa, masculinities were forged during the urbanisation process, which produced masculine identities linked to the responsibility of providing for their families. Therefore, where an individual is unable to meet this expectation, their masculinity

and role in the family is challenged, leading to the experience of depression, as was found in the current study. The findings of the study are in line with those of Hadebe's (2012) study, in which Umbumbulu taxi drivers said that their income restricted their ability to provide for their families, in that they could provide only minimally (Hadebe, 2012). The taxi drivers mentioned being unable to provide their dependants with education opportunities and other necessities, and, as providers, they felt a lot of pressure and viewed themselves as failures when this was the case (Hadebe, 2012). Therefore, intersections in the taxi drivers' identities produced different levels of oppression.

In this study the social relations of the taxi drivers in the workplace seemed mostly negative. Other studies suggest that the competitive nature of the taxi industry is at the root of these negative relationships (Hadebe, 2012; Mmakwena, 2022; Molefe, 2016; Ngubane, 2016). Drivers in the current study indicated that they did not enjoy healthy relationships in the workplace due to greed and lack of trust, appreciation and respect. Mmadi (2012) corroborates this finding, stating that taxi drivers do not have a social life as they spent most of their time at work. The taxi drivers in the current study spent most of their time with taxi driver colleagues, with whom they had complicated relationships. Mmadi (2012) suggests that one of the main reasons for the many quarrels that break out among colleagues in the taxi industry is money and money-related lack of trust (Mmadi, 2012). Taxi drivers in Mmadi's study (2012) shared how their lives had changed since they became taxi drivers. Some stated that before being hired in the industry, they had been part of their communities, attending community proceedings as active contributors. However, this all changed when they found jobs as taxi drivers. This finding appeared to be true for the participants in the current study as well, as they spent far too little time outside of work to participate in community activities.

Hadebe (2012) posits that minibus taxi owners' greed contributes to the negative relationships drivers experience in the workplace, as their expectations and demands were unreasonable. Similarly, in their study, Jefthas (2002) states that the driver-owner relationship was strained as a result of unequal power dynamics between the two groups, with taxi drivers being at the very bottom of the hierarchy and therefore disregarded in every way. Jefthas (2002) further

mentions that issues such as lack of trust, fear and intimidation characterised these relationships. The employers were found to set very high targets for their taxi drivers, which led to taxi drivers regarding each other as competition and therefore fighting over passengers (Adedokun et al., 2019; Busari & Mekoa, 2016; Davidson et al., 2020; Hadebe, 2012; Ramukumba & Mathiki, 2016).

Furthermore, work demands in the taxi industry affect drivers' primary relationships, as they spend such long periods away from home. As in other studies, drivers in the current study were found to work 12 to 15 hours per day (Fobosi, 2013; Hadebe, 2012; Ngubane, 2016; Sekgala et al., 2023). Similar findings were reported by Mmadi (2012), who explored the relationship between taxi driver work conditions and family life among Limpopo and Gauteng taxi drivers. In the study, taxi drivers reported being unable to spend quality time with their families (Mmadi, 2012). As in the current study, taxi drivers arose very early, when everyone else in the household was asleep, and returned home at night when their family members were already in bed (Fobosi, 2013; Mmadi, 2012; Sekgala et al., 2023). This was found to contribute to the patriarchal and skewed family dynamics in South Africa, in which women carry the brunt of care work, resulting in what Mmadi (2012) refers to as single parenthood. The effective exclusion of taxi drivers from their own families was indicated in earlier studies, with Gibbs (2014) reporting that in the 1970s, taxi drivers stayed in hostels under the patriarchal authority of elders. The assumed role of the taxi drivers was to be breadwinners for their families in the rural areas, and they saw it as their duty to send most of their money home. Women at that time took on the traditional feminine role of being home makers, caring for the household and raising children (Gibbs, 2014).

The separation of taxi drivers from their families can lead to the perception among family members that the men are shirking their family responsibilities. The findings in this regard show how the taxi driver career may serve as a double-edged sword, answering the need for employment for semi-skilled workers while negatively affecting their family life and relationships. Because of their jobs, the taxi drivers are effectively socially excluded from meaningful participation in their communities and families. In Mmadi's (2012) study, some

taxi drivers expressed anguish when sharing their sense of estrangement from their families, admitting that they missed out on much of their partners' and children's lives. They also stated that should they be presented with better working opportunities that allowed them time with their families, they would not hesitate to leave taxi driving (Mmadi, 2012). This shows that taxi drivers endure harsh circumstances because of limited alternatives. The findings also reveal the low quality of life that is so often experienced by urban people with limited skill sets, and the oppressions they experience as a result (Fobosi, 2013).

Many of the taxi drivers' social relationships were found to be negative, although some formed positive relationships with their passengers, resulting in friendships. This finding was peculiar to the current study, as other studies report only animosity between taxi drivers and their passengers (Jeffhas, 2002; Mmadi, 2012; Ngubane, Mkhize & Olofinbiyi, 2017). In some studies, the taxi drivers complained about the rudeness, stereotyping and disrespect they were subjected to from passengers. In the Mmadi (2012:84) study, one of the taxi drivers argued that in the eyes of their passengers they were simply "hooligans", regardless of how educated and well-mannered they were. In some studies, the reverse is true; passengers complained about the rudeness of the taxi drivers. Some passengers stated that when they stood in defiance against the taxi drivers and their rudeness, they were intimidated with threats of violence (Martin, 2021; Ngubane, Mkhize & Olofinbiyi, 2020).

Furthermore, studies report that female passengers also suffer sexual harassment at the hands of taxi drivers, with the industry linked to the high rate of gender-based violence in the country, including femicide (Mmakwena, 2022; Martin, 2021). The violent and aggressive behaviour displayed by taxi drivers to their commuters, and their total disregard of the passengers' safety, may be seen as a symptom and a manifestation of the pressures and abuse that they received from their employers (Martin, 2021). Moolman (2013) asserts that when men are emasculated for various reasons, they find other ways to reclaim their power. In this case, the taxi drivers have limited power under the control of their employers and therefore might attempt to reclaim their power through exerting control over their passengers. At the same time, the fact that taxi

drivers enjoyed the company of some passengers and became their friends constitutes a new finding, shedding light on a hitherto unknown aspect of the taxi driving job.

Moreover, the study showed that the taxi industry serves as a powerful force in relieving the unemployment crisis in the Cape Town area, as it absorbs a high number of unemployed, semi-skilled individuals through its informal and uncomplicated employment procedures. The research findings show that the taxi driver career is a solution for many individuals facing unemployment. Taxi driver work provides inclusion for individuals who face being socially excluded and discarded by the mainstream economy. Mabetwa (2022) estimates the number of taxi drivers in South Africa to be between 200 000 and 300 000, which indicates a significant number of people who might otherwise have been unemployed. Fobosi (2013) refers to informal employment as a rescue from the poverty trap, since unemployment perpetuates poverty and its related issues.

The study found that there were some taxi drivers who had worked in the industry for a very short period while others had been in it for up to 17 years. A common aspect of the job cited by participants was how easy the employment procedures were for them, since applicants are not favoured or judged based on their number of years' work experience. Martin (2021) linked the simple employment process in the taxi industry with the low requirements, as no secondary or tertiary qualifications are needed to perform the job. On the other hand, in the formal sector, lack of education forms a barrier for these individuals, preventing them from securing formal jobs. However, even with this flexibility, getting into the industry was difficult for those with no connections in it; those who were known or had relatives in the industry were more likely than unknown individuals to find employment as taxi drivers.

The need for networking and connections in the taxi industry is also reported by other studies. Gibbs (2014:437) described the taxi industry as based on "ambiguous kinship", meaning that success in the industry depended on social networks, both for employers and their drivers. Gibbs (2014) states that in the dawn of the taxi industry, migrants who ventured into the

business hired their relatives and those whom they were closest to (Gibbs, 2014). Mmadi (2012:118) defined the informal nature of the relationship that exists between taxi drivers and their employers as “threads”, distinguishing between “thick” and “thin” threads to illustrate the connectedness of people to the industry. Those with “thick” threads of connection with each other are more likely to secure employment through referrals than those with “thin” threads.

Some taxi drivers in this study complained about the exploitation and abuse they experienced at the hands of their employers; a treatment associated with the informal nature of the taxi industry. The drivers reported that they were not happy with their working conditions, as they worked for long hours, had no paid leave and were underpaid. Fobosi (2013) argued that the informality of the taxi industry, and the lack of employment contracts, allows exploitation of drivers by employers, who are interested in maximising profits at all costs. They strive to minimise labour costs and totally disregard safety standards. In Jefthas’s (2002) study, taxi drivers argued that the owners paid them the bare minimum in order to achieve high profits and that they were the cheap labour that enable minibus taxi owners to generate wealth. Kerr (2017) corroborated these observations through a survey among taxi drivers, finding that the hourly earnings of taxi drivers were far less than the minimum wage, and that the hours they worked were longer than those allowed by labour regulations. Therefore, the taxi industry may be seen as an exploitative capitalist institution that thrives at the expense of its employees.

Furthermore, Mmadi (2012:123) found that drivers worked seven days a week without any leave. A driver in that study mentioned that when he asked for days off work, his employer replied, “You are tired of your job,” suggesting that he was ungrateful, and his job would not be there for him if he took time off. Therefore, based on the findings of the current study and most of those reviewed, it may be deduced that ill treatment and abuse of taxi drivers by their employers is a common practice in the taxi industry. One taxi driver stated that employers were “the law”, as no one questioned their power over the taxi drivers (Fobosi, 2013; Mmadi, 2012).

Studies distinguish between various types of violence in the taxi industry, which exists at the level of associations, as may be seen in violence between taxi drivers themselves, and at the levels of individual taxi drivers and their passengers (Jefthas, 2002; Kerr, 2017; Martin, 2021). In this study, the participants highlighted how their work exposed them to violence, which led to the decision to protect themselves with weapons such as knives and guns during working hours. Violence in the taxi industry has been linked to the issues of power, owner greed and fights over lucrative routes (Jefthas, 2002; Kerr, 2017; Mmakwena, 2022; Martin, 2021; Ngubane, Mkhize & Olofinbiyi, 2017). Violence has persisted in the taxi industry because those who threaten of violence benefit economically. This means that whichever association is known to commit the most violent acts towards others has the most power, which translates into greater work opportunities, control and money. This strategy is seen in both the associations and the minibus taxi owners, who use violence for economic benefit (Jefthas, 2002).

Violence in the taxi industry affects not only taxi drivers but passengers, their families, and the community at large (Mmakwena, 2022; Ngubane, 2016). Exposure to different types of violence in the taxi industry causes many commuters to experience fear and anxiety and to have a preoccupation with danger (Eagle & Kwele, 2021). This is mainly because innocent bystanders are often caught in the crossfire of taxi wars, with some sustaining injuries or being killed (Mmakwena, 2022; Ngubane, 2016; Ngubane, Mkhize & Olofinbiyi, 2017). In 2021, it was reported that 82 people died during the taxi war in Cape Town. Taxi drivers feared for their lives and many passengers were left stranded. Taxi drivers expressed being unsure whether the violence came from passengers or from rival groups (Mmakwena, 2022).

In a recent strike of SANTACO members against the City of Cape Town, minibus taxi owners complained about the unfair laws and regulations that resulted in many of their taxis being impounded. In the ensuing battle for control, there were negative repercussions for individuals, passengers and businesses (Bredeveldt, 2023; Ndenze, 2023; Swartz, 2023). Five people were killed as a result of that taxi strike and losses amounting to R5 billion were reported. The taxi industry itself lost R16 million for each day of the strike (Bredeveldt, 2023; Ndenze, 2023).

The strike also had adverse effects on enterprises; 38% of businesses reported that they were unable to continue with their daily operations, 72% of businesses reported a significant decline in revenue, and 19% witnessed a 50% drop in their daily income (Bredeveldt, 2023). This happened because people were unable to make it to work, having no transport alternatives. Most were not paid for the days they missed work (Ngubane, Mkhize & Olonfibiye, 2017). It was also found that the taxi strike made passengers more vulnerable to crime, as some individuals were forced to walk to work, falling victim to criminals (Swartz, 2023). Taxi drivers obviously suffered, as without work they did not receive an income.

The emergence of the taxi strike highlighted the vulnerabilities and oppressions to which the black majority in South Africa are still subject, almost 30 years since the demise of apartheid. Intersectionality Theory shows how some of the oppressions that affect people are systemic, operating at the macro level (Crenshaw, 2017; Moolman, 2013). During the strike, both black taxi drivers and passengers as a collective were disadvantaged and could not earn an income, which subjected them to further economic suffering. The strike amplified issues of race and class division in the Cape Town area, because while life came to a standstill in the townships, everything functioned normally in the suburban areas. Taxi drivers, at the bottom of the employment hierarchy, came off worst, even though the impounded taxis were not owned by them.

This level of instability in the industry has propelled some of the taxi drivers in this study to consider other ways of earning an income. Most wished for alternative employment in better paying work roles, or to be able to start their own businesses. This finding is similar to that of Mmadi (2012), whose study found that the taxi drivers desire more stable jobs with higher incomes. It is interesting to note that some of the Delft and Khayelitsha taxi drivers in the current study were content with their taxi driving jobs and found the money to be sufficient for their family's needs. Similar findings were reported in another study, where out of 15 taxi drivers interviewed, 14 stated that they were just working to place food on the table, while one stated that the future was bright in the taxi industry. This participant said there would always

be a need for taxis and therefore they would never run out of work opportunities, unlike certain jobs in other industries (Ngubane, 2016). The anomaly of some drivers being satisfied with their pay is referred to in Section 4.8.2, and by Hadebe in her (2012) study on wage differentials among taxi drivers in Umbumbulu (see page 53); it appears to be linked to the completely diverse pay structures applied by different taxi owners, with drivers expressing contentment receiving higher wages than those who are not content.

Most of the taxi drivers interviewed in this study wished to be minibus taxi owners, owning their own businesses and not working for another person (Ngubane, 2016). Other studies found that minibus taxi owners all started as taxi drivers. They saved money, bought themselves their own vehicles and hired other people to work for them (Khosa, 1992; Jefthas, 2002; Gibbs, 2014; Ngubane, 2016). This was the trajectory that most taxi drivers aspired to, stating that the taxi drivers' salary was just a means to an end. However, the taxi drivers argued that for them to achieve this dream, the informal system and weekly payments needed to change to a formal system and monthly salaries so that banks and other institutions would recognise them.

#### **4.10 Chapter summary**

This chapter has presented the findings that emerged from the study, grouped into five themes and ten sub-themes. The five themes were: work experience and wellbeing; the benefits of taxi driving work; family and taxi driving relationships; challenges faced by taxi drivers; and taxi driver ambitions and goals. Verbatim quotes were presented to support the findings made under each of these themes. The findings were then discussed in light of the existing literature and theoretical frameworks, namely Social Exclusion Theory and Intersectionality Theory. In the findings, the positive and negative aspects of the taxi industry were revealed. A notable finding of this chapter was that the payment structure of taxi drivers greatly affects their sense of wellbeing and security in the industry and may play a role in terms of their behaviour on the roads. Social Exclusion Theory allowed the researcher to understand the various forms of social exclusion experienced by taxi drivers as a result of their work schedules and salary structures. Intersectionality Theory revealed the power structures at play in the lives of taxi drivers,

showing that they worked in highly unequal power relationship with their bosses, exacerbated by the informal and unregulated nature of the taxi industry.

The following chapter provides conclusions and recommendations for future research on the taxi industry.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.1 Introduction**

The aim of this study was to explore the work experiences of taxi drivers in Delft and Khayelitsha. Four study objectives were outlined:

- to explore the effects of taxi industry work on the physical and emotional wellbeing of taxi drivers;
- to explore the effects of taxi driving work on drivers' social and family life;
- to explore the challenges faced by the taxi drivers in their occupation;
- to investigate the changes that taxi drivers would like to see in their industry.

Based on the findings of this study and its analysis, the following conclusions and recommendations may be made:

#### **5.2.1 The effects of taxi driving on drivers' physical and emotional wellbeing**

The study findings showed a negative relationship between taxi driver working conditions and the physical health and emotional wellbeing of taxi drivers. Exhaustion and exposure to airborne diseases had detrimental effects on the taxi drivers' physical health. Psychological distress was experienced as a result of the taxi drivers' employment conditions, such as long working hours and the relentless pressure to achieve daily targets in order to make an acceptable daily income. In response to these challenges, the taxi drivers employed coping strategies such as unhealthy eating habits, the use of alcohol and drugs, and reckless driving. These coping strategies provide momentary relief but have long-lasting detrimental effects on their health, as they are associated with cardiovascular diseases and early death. These findings highlight that taxi driver work compromises the wellbeing of taxi drivers, requiring them to live lives almost entirely centred on work. When sick, they cannot take time off work, which exacerbates their physical and psychological stress. Thus, the findings challenge the assumption that when an individual is employed, their quality of life automatically improves. However, despite these different challenges the taxi drivers in this study pride themselves in their ability to provide for their families, and this can be said to be their source of resilience.

### **5.2.2 The effects of the job on drivers' social and family life**

The study findings also found a negative relationship between taxi driver work and the drivers' social and family lives. The taxi drivers reported having strained relationships at work and in their families. Contributing factors were the competitive nature of the taxi industry and employer greed. Competition turns colleagues into enemies and employer greed perpetuates the oppression experienced by the underpaid, overworked drivers. The working conditions meant that drivers spent a lot of time away from family, resulting in feelings of alienation and estrangement from their family members. These working conditions destroy healthy family relationships and perpetuate patriarchal family structures, which adds to the burden of care experienced by women.

### **5.2.3 Challenges experienced by taxi drivers**

The entire structure of the informal taxi industry is a challenge to drivers, who occupy the lowest rung of the industry hierarchy. Working conditions are characterised by stress, animosity, frayed relationships, violence and the need for self-protection, although some taxi drivers reported more positive experiences, and spoke of forming friendships with colleagues and passengers. Working conditions were characterised by informality, exploitative conditions and exposure to violence. The taxi drivers reported being exploited by their owners as they worked long hours for very little remuneration. They suffered abuse from their employers and had no recourse to justice, as there are no labour laws to protect their rights. This allowed employers to use and abuse taxi drivers as they wished to. Finally, taxi drivers mentioned that the taxi driver work role involves risking their lives daily in the violence that characterises the industry. Taxi drivers accepted that they could die at any given moment. People's lives have been lost to the taxi wars and as a result, taxi drivers always carry weapons with them, such as knives and guns, for their own protection.

### **5.2.4 Changes that taxi drivers would like to see in the industry**

The unfavourable working conditions propelled most participants to desire something else; not necessarily a different industry, but a different role in it. Most aspired to own their own taxis,

as they wanted greater stability and job security work and higher incomes. However, they pointed out that for their dreams to materialise, changes were needed in the taxi industry. They expressed that they wished to be paid electronically and on a monthly basis, which would give them more financial stability and recognition by banks and other institutions.

In light of the research findings, the following recommendations are made:

### **5.3 Recommendations**

- Most of the challenges of working in the taxi industry emanate from the informal nature of the business. The government should formalise the taxi industry for improved functioning, which will lead to improvements in the taxi drivers' working conditions and quality of life. The process of formalising the industry will require partnership between different stakeholders such as the Department of Labour together with the Department of Transport and the taxi associations and management. This is crucial as in the past policies and changes that were introduced without consulting the taxi associations and management were totally disregarded.
- When the taxi industry is formalised, it will be possible to introduce labour laws that protect taxi drivers from exploitation, which they suffer at the hands of their employers. These laws could help to ensure that taxi drivers work normal hours and are paid a decent income based on their working hours. This would allow for enough quality time with their families and improve the overall quality of their lives.
- Also, formalisation would make it possible for taxi drivers to take normal leave and sick leave, so that they can form relationship with their own family members and participate in community life. This would help to building healthier, happier families, circling out to form a healthier society.
- The study findings highlight that the taxi drivers remain in the risky taxi industry because of lack of alternative means of employment, while some are working towards accumulating enough money to start their own businesses. Therefore, the government should find a way to create more employment opportunities, so that semi-skilled individuals have options other than taxi work. One way that the government can go

about doing this is to partner with independent entities that would be interested in investing in small businesses including private businesses and organisations.

- Funds should also be set aside by the government to nurture the taxi drivers' aspirations to become entrepreneurs rather than employees. Drivers know their industry well and have the potential to go further in the transport sector, with the right funding and training. Again, this could be achieved by partnering with successful businesses and they could contribute by injecting financial support to this cause and could also help with offering guidance and entrepreneurial training as well.
- Many drivers are ambitious and energetic and have proven that they can withstand harsh conditions. Some would therefore make ideal candidates for further development through entrepreneurial training. The government could work together with the private sector business owners, and NGOs that are focused on social economic development to hold workshops and seminars on how the taxi drivers could go about building successful businesses of their own. As taxi drivers transition into becoming employers rather than employees, their own prospects would be greatly enhanced and employment in the country would receive a much-needed boost.
- This study highlighted a complicated relationship that the drivers have with their families, the alienation and the added care burden it poses on women. This is something that can be explored further in research.

#### **5.4 Conclusion**

This study's main aim was to explore the work experiences of taxi drivers in Delft and Khayelitsha, two townships located on the peripheries of Cape Town. The findings of this study revealed crucial information regarding the work experiences of these taxi drivers. It was revealed in the findings that the taxi driving job played a crucial role in providing employment for the taxi drivers, who would otherwise be unemployed given South Africa's exclusionary labour market economy that favours the highly skilled individuals. However, even though the industry improved the lives of the drivers in this way for most part it negatively affected different aspects of their lives such as their wellbeing, social and family life as well as their ambitions and goals. The informal nature of the taxi driving job was at the core of the different challenges that the drivers encountered in their job. The long working hours were associated

with the deterioration of the drivers' wellbeing, meanwhile the exploitative working conditions compromised the drivers' social and family relationships. The owners were found to be the main culprits for the oppression suffered by the taxi drivers in the industry, but the use of the different theoretical frameworks revealed that some of the challenges the drivers faced were systemic and were a legacy of the country's historical past of apartheid.

## REFERENCES

- Adams R, et al. 2021. Discussions on POPIA: POPIA code of conduct for research. *South African Journal of Science*. 117(5-6): 1-12.
- Adedokun, A.O., Goon, D.T., Owolabi, E.O., Adeniyi, O.V. & Ajayi, A.I. 2019. On-site evaluation of smoking, alcohol consumption and physical inactivity among commercial taxi drivers in Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality, South Africa. *Global Journal of Health Science*. 11(2): 110-117.
- Amankwaa, L. 2016. Creating protocols for trustworthiness in qualitative research. *Journal of Cultural Diversity*. 23(3):121-127.
- Aropet, R. 2017. Southern African solutions to public transport challenges. Southern African Transport Conference.
- Babbie, E. 2010. *The basics of social research*. (5<sup>th</sup> ed.). USA: Wadsworth.
- Barret, J. 2003. Organizing in the informal economy: a case study of the minibus taxi industry in South Africa.
- Bathembu, L., 2023. Exploring Challenges Facing the youth not in employment, education, or training (NEET) under the Restrictions of the COVID-19 Pandemic: The case study of Khayelitsha Township. Master's Dissertation. University of Cape Town. Available: <https://open.uct.ac.za/items/c8a7951f-feb1-47f2-97d4-59e888d2d063>
- Boudreaux, K. 2006. Taxing alternatives: Poverty alleviation and the South African taxi/minibus industry. *Mercatus Policy Series, Policy Comment*, (3).
- Booyens, I. 2020. Education and skills in tourism: Implications for youth employment in South Africa. *Development Southern Africa*. 37(5):825-839.
- Bredeveldt, A. 2023. *Significant impact of taxi strike, estimated costs in billions, says WCG*. 26 August. Available: [capetownetc.com](http://capetownetc.com)
- Busari, D.A. & Meko, I. 2016. The burden of usage and attitude of alcohol consumption among taxi drivers. Perspectives on drugs, alcohol and society in Africa. *Proceedings of the 12th Biennial International Conference on Drugs, Alcohol and Society in Africa*. Abuja: Nigeria. 183-199.
- Charman, A.J., Petersen, L.M. & Piper, L., 2013. Enforced informalisation: the case of liquor retailers in South Africa. *Development Southern Africa*. 30(4-5): 580-595.

- City of Cape Town. 2013. City of Cape Town. 2011. Census, Suburb Khayelitsha. Available from:[http://www.capetown.gov.za/en/stats/2011CensusSuburbs/2011\\_Census\\_CT\\_Suburb\\_Khayelitsha\\_Profile.pdf](http://www.capetown.gov.za/en/stats/2011CensusSuburbs/2011_Census_CT_Suburb_Khayelitsha_Profile.pdf) [16 June 2014].
- Crenshaw, K. 2017. *Kimberlé Crenshaw at TED + animation* [Video file]. Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JRci2V8PxW4e> [2017, May 18].
- Cresswell, J.W. 2014. *Research design qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. London: Sage.
- Cresswell, J.W & Poth, C.N. 2018. *Qualitative inquiry & research design choosing among five different approaches*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. London: Sage.
- Davidson, S., Fletcher, S., Wadley, G., Reavley, N., Gunn, J. & Wade, D. 2020. A mobile phone app to improve the mental health of taxi drivers: single-arm feasibility trial. *JMIR mHealth and uHealth*. 8(1): 1-15.
- De Lannoy, A., Graham, L., Patel, L. & Leibbrandt, M., 2020. Why is youth unemployment so intractable in South Africa? A synthesis of evidence at the micro-level. *Journal of Applied Youth Studies*. 3(2):115-131.
- Department of Transport. 2021. *White paper on national transport policy*. Pretoria: Department of Transport.
- Dickens, L. & Marx, P., 2020. NEET as an outcome for care leavers in South Africa: the case of girls and boys town. *Emerging Adulthood*. 8(1):64-72.
- Durdella, N., 2020. *Qualitative dissertation methodology: a guide for research design and methods*. London: Sage.
- Dyantyi, N. 2020. *Exploring the functioning of families living in socially disorganized communities of Khayelitsha and Delft: a family resilience perspective*. Master's Thesis. University of Cape Town.
- Eagle, G. & Kwele, K. 2021. "You just come to school, if you made it out its by grace": young black women's experiences of violence in utilising public "minibus taxi" in Johannesburg South Africa. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. 36(15-16): 1- 22.
- Fobosi, S.C. 2013. *Formalisation, informalisation and the labour process within the minibus taxi industry in East London, South Africa*. Ph.D. Thesis. Rhodes University.

- Fobosi, S.C. 2013. The minibus taxi industry in South Africa: a servant for the urban poor. *Consultancy Africa Intelligence*, 2.
- Fouche, C.B., Styrdom, H. & Roestenberg, W.J.H. 5<sup>th</sup> Ed. 2021. *Research at grassroots*. Pretoria, South Africa: Van Schaik.
- Gaudet, S. & Robert, D. 2019. *A journey through qualitative research: From design to reporting*. London: Sage.
- Gibbs, T. 2014. Becoming a “big man” in neo-liberal South Africa: migrant masculinities in the minibus-taxi industry. *African Affairs*. 113(452):431-448.
- Giddy, J.K., 2019. The influence of e-hailing apps on urban mobilities in South Africa. *African Geographical Review*. 38(3):227-239.
- Good Governance Learning Network. 2012. Putting development at the heart of participation a civil society perspective on local governance in South Africa.
- Govender, R. & Allopi, D.R. 2006. Towards a safer minibus taxi industry in South Africa. *SATC*.
- Guba, E. & Lincoln, Y. (1981). *Effective evaluation: improving the usefulness of evaluation results through responsive and naturalistic approaches*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass
- Gumede, V. 2015. *Inclusive development in post-apartheid South Africa*. Vusi Gumede Academy and Research, Pretoria.
- Hadebe, S.E. 2012. *Personal finance challenges facing taxi drivers at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu-Natal: a case study*. Master’s dissertation. University of KwaZulu-Natal. Available: [Hadebe\\_Sibongile\\_Elizabeth\\_2012.pdf \(ukzn.ac.za\)](https://www.ukzn.ac.za/handle/10566/10000/1/Hadebe_Sibongile_Elizabeth_2012.pdf)
- Institute for Economic Justice. 2018. *Informal Economy Sector, IEJ, August 2018*. Available: <https://www.iej.org.za/stream-3-policy-brief-1-informal-economy-sector/#> [2024, January 15]
- Jefthas, D. 2002. *Regulation, conflict and violence in the South African minibus taxi industry: observations from the Western Cape*. Master’s Dissertation. University of Cape Town. Available: [Regulation, conflict and violence in the South African minibus-taxi industry : observations from the Western Cape \(uct.ac.za\)](https://www.uct.ac.za/handle/11362/10000/1/Regulation_conflict_and_violence_in_the_South_African_minibus-taxi_industry_observations_from_the_Western_Cape.pdf)

- Kamal, S. S. L. B. A., (2019). Research Paradigm and the Philosophical Foundations of a Qualitative Study. *PEOPLE: International Journal of Social Sciences*. 4(3):1386-1394.
- Khosa, M.M. 1992. Routes, ranks and rebels: feuding in the taxi revolution. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 18(1):232-251.
- Kerr, A. 2018. *Minibus taxis, public transport, and the poor*.
- Kubeka, K. & Rama, S. 2020. Reimagining intersectionality and social exclusion in South Africa. In *The Oxford handbook of global south youth studies*. Swartz, S., Cooper, A., Batam, C., Krouf Causa, L, Ed. New York: United States: Oxford University Press. 153-166.
- Mabetwa, E.M., Mokwena, K.E., Mphekgwana, P.M. & Modjadji, P. 2022. Metabolic syndrome and its components among taxi drivers in the City of Tshwane, South Africa. *Applied Sciences*. 12(3): 1-15.
- Mabusela, A.A.A., 2023. Food Security: An evaluation of food choices, household food consumption patterns and health implications: A case study of Khayelitsha in the Western Cape Province of South Africa. Master's Dissertation. University of the Western Cape. Available: <https://etd.uwc.ac.za/handle/11394/10408>
- MacroTrends, n.d. *South Africa suicide rate 2000-2023*. Available: [South Africa Suicide Rate 2000-2023 | MacroTrends](#) [2023, September 20].
- Martin, J.H. 2022. Exploring the affective atmospheres of the threat of sexual violence in minibus taxis: the experiences of women commuters in South Africa. *Mobilities*. 17(3): 301-316.
- Mamabolo, A. & Sebola, M. 2018. Contemporary transportation systems in South Africa: a challenging consequence to minibus taxi industry. *The Business & Management Review*. 9(3):564-573.
- Mguzulwa, S. 2022. *An exploration of 'Gurans' phenomena: The face of youth violence in Khayelitsha township*. Ph.D Thesis. University of Cape Town.
- Millstein, M. 2017. Rights, identities and belonging: reflections on the everyday politics of urban citizenship in Delft, Cape Town. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift-Norwegian Journal of Geography*. 71(4): 253-267.

- Mmadi, M.M. 2012. *Mobile workplace: work conditions and family life of taxi drivers*. Master's Dissertation. University of Pretoria. Available: [Mobile workplace : work conditions and family life of taxi drivers \(up.ac.za\)](http://up.ac.za)
- Mmakwena, M. 2022. Analysing the impact of taxi violence on commuters in South Africa. *Technium Social Sciences Journal*. 27(21):899-911.
- Moolman, B. 2013. Rethinking 'masculinities in transition' in South Africa considering the 'intersectionality' of race, class, and sexuality with gender. *African Identities*. 11(1):93-105.
- Mwita, K., 2022. Factors influencing data saturation in qualitative studies. *International Journal of Research in Business and Social Science (2147-4478)*. 11(4): 414-420.
- National Planning Commission (NPC). 2012. *National Development Plan 2030*. Pretoria: National Planning Commission.
- Ndenze, B. 2023. 'Taxi strike impact was significant' – cost estimate runs into billions: WC Govt. *Eye Witness News*. 25 August. Available: ['Taxi strike impact was significant': Cost estimate runs into billions - WC govt \(ewn.co.za\)](http://ewn.co.za)
- Neuman, D. 2014. Qualitative research in educational communications and technologies: a brief introduction to principles and procedures. *Springer Science+Business Media*. 26(1):69-86
- Ngubane, L., Mkhize, S. & Olofinbiyi, S.A., 2020. Taxi violence in South Africa: insight from Mpumalanga Township, Kwazulu-Natal Province, South Africa. *African Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies*. 9(3): 81- 104.
- Ngxiza, S. 2012. *Sustainable economic development in previously deprived localities: the case of Khayelitsha in Cape Town*. Cape Town: Springer. 181-195.
- Nqadini, M.P. 2000. *Development challenges in Khayelitsha: an analysis of related issues*. Doctoral dissertation. Stellenbosch University.
- Phillips, M. & Lu, J. 2018. A quick look at Nvivo. *Journal of Electronic Resources Librarianship*. 30 (2): 104 – 106.
- Ramukumba, T.S. & Mathikhi, M.S. 2016. Health assessment of taxi drivers in the city of Tshwane. *Curationis*. 39(1): 1-7.
- Ritchie, J., Spencer, L. & O'Connor, W. 2003. Carrying out qualitative analysis. In *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*. J. Ritchie, L. Spencer, & W. O'Connor, Eds. Sage. 78-79.

- Sekgala, M. D., Opperman, M., Mpahleni, B & Mchiza, Z.J.R. 2023. Sociodemographic and lifestyle factors and the risk of metabolic syndrome in taxi drivers: a focus on street food. *Frontiers*.
- Silver, H., 2007. The process of social exclusion: the dynamics of an evolving concept. *Chronic Poverty Research Centre Working Paper* (95).
- Soeker, I., 2023. (re) Constructing the way we build-Skills Development Centre in Delft. Master's Dissertation. University of Cape Town. Available: <https://open.uct.ac.za/items/b86335b2-3ff6-4ed0-8651-3cc3536ca5cd>
- South African History Online [SAHO]. 2016. A history of apartheid in South Africa, May 2016. Available: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/history-apartheid-south-africa> [2022, April 5].
- South African History Online [SAHO], 2016. South Africa's growing informal sector, February 2016. Available: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/south-africas-growing-informal-sector> [2019, August 27]
- Statistics South Africa. 2023. *Quarterly labour force survey*. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.
- Stebbins, R.A. 2011. What is Exploration?. In *Exploration Research in Social Sciences*. US: SAGE Publications. 7-20.
- Swartz, M. 2023. Crime sparked during violent taxi strike says minister of police. *CapeTownetc*. 17 August. Available: [Crime spiked during violent taxi strike says minister of police \(capetownetc.com\)](https://www.capetownetc.com/news/crime-spiked-during-violent-taxi-strike-says-minister-of-police)
- Swedberg, R. 2020. Exploratory Research. In *The Production of Knowledge Enhancing Progress in Social Sciences*. C. Elman, J. Gerring & J. Mahoney, Eds. UK: Cambridge University Press. 17-41.
- Terre Blanche, M., Durrheim, K. & Painter, D. 2014. *Research in practice*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cape Town: Juta.
- Turok I., Seeliger L. & Visagie J. 2019. *Restoring the core? Central city decline and transformation in the South*.

- Turok, I., Visagie, J., & Scheba, A. 2021. Social inequality and spatial segregation in Cape Town. In *Urban socio-economic segregation and income inequality*. M. van Ham, T. Tammaru, R. Ubarevicienne, H. Janseen, Eds. South Africa: Springer. 71-90.
- Van Rooyen J. & Lemanski C. 2020. Urban segregation in South Africa: the evolution of exclusion in Cape Town. In *Handbook of urban segregation*. S. Musterd, Ed.
- Walters, C. H. 2001. *Assumptions of qualitative research methods. Perspectives in learning*, 2 (1). Available: <http://csuepress.columbusstate.edu/pil/vol2/iss1/14>
- Wassenaar, 2014. Ethical issues in social science research. In *Research in Practice Applied Methods for the Social Sciences*. M. Terre Blanche, K. Durrheim, & D. Painter, Eds. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cape Town: Juta. 60-79.
- Zimbalist, Z. 2017. Analysing post-apartheid poverty trends by geo-type, 1997–2012: the understated role of urbanisation and social grants. *Development Southern Africa*. 34(2):151-167.

# APPENDICES

## Appendix A: Permission Letter to Codetad

### UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



---

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO UNDERTAKE RESEARCH (WITH TAXI DRIVERS  
AT – Site C TAXI RANK and Palam)

Dear Codeta,

My name is Milisa Kom, and I am a 2<sup>nd</sup> year master's student at the University of Cape Town in the Social Development Department. As a requirement of my degree, I am conducting research on the work experiences of taxi drivers. The study is entitled "An exploration of the work experiences of the taxi drivers in Delft and Khayelitsha"

The main aim of this study is to explore the experiences of taxi drivers including how their work affects their social and family life as well as daily challenges that they face. This will be achieved through interviewing a total of 15 taxi drivers from three taxi ranks Site C, Palam and Mitchells Plain taxi ranks. It is hoped that their views could contribute to understanding the taxi industry better and identify changes that could positively impact on it.

I am hereby seeking permission and your consent to interview taxi drivers from one of the taxi ranks that are under your management Site C taxi rank in Khayelitsha, this is to get their views and experiences on the matter as outlined above. I would like to conduct the study asap and the duration of the study will be 3-5 days depending on the number of taxi drivers I am able to interview in a day. Confidential face to face interviews will be conducted at the times suitable for the drivers and will be arranged with rank managers. Each interview should last for about one hour.

The proposed research has been accepted and verified by the Social Development ethics review committee and will be supervised by Dr Somaya Abdullah. Should you have any queries with regards to the study or need further information on it please feel free to contact my academic supervisor Dr Somaya Abdullah telephonically at 021 650-4219 or by email at [somaya.abdullah@uct.ac.za](mailto:somaya.abdullah@uct.ac.za)

Your permission and assistance in conducting the research would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Milisa Kom

## Appendix B: Permission Letter to Interchange

# UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



---

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO UNDERTAKE RESEARCH (WITH TAXI DRIVERS  
AT – Mitchells Plain Taxi Rank in Delft)

Dear Interchange

My name is Milisa Kom, and I am a 2<sup>nd</sup> year master's student at the University of Cape Town in the Social Development Department. As a requirement of my degree, I am conducting research on the work experiences of taxi drivers. The study is entitled "An exploration of the work experiences of the taxi drivers in Delft and Khayelitsha"

The main aim of this study is to explore the experiences of taxi drivers including how their work affects their social and family life as well as daily challenges that they face. This will be achieved through interviewing a total of 15 taxi drivers from three taxi ranks Site C, Palam and Mitchells Plain taxi ranks. It is hoped that their views could contribute to understanding the taxi industry better and identify changes that could positively impact on it.

I am hereby seeking permission and your consent to interview taxi drivers from one of the taxi ranks under your management Mitchells Plain Taxi rank in Delft, this is to get their views and experiences on the matter as outlined above. I would like to conduct the study asap and the duration of the study will be 3-5 days depending on the number of taxi drivers I am able to interview in a day. Confidential face to face interviews will be conducted at the times suitable for the drivers and will be arranged with rank managers. Each interview should last for about one hour.

The proposed research has been accepted and verified by the Social Development ethics review committee and will be supervised by Dr Somaya Abdullah. Should you have any queries with regards to the study or need further information on it please feel free to contact my academic supervisor Dr Somaya Abdullah telephonically at 021 650-4219 or by email at [somaya.abdullah@uct.ac.za](mailto:somaya.abdullah@uct.ac.za)

Your permission and assistance in conducting the research would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Milisa Kom

## **Appendix C: Permission Letter to CATA and CODETA**

### **UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN**



---

### **FACULTY OF HUMANITIES**

### **DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT**

### **REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO UNDERTAKE RESEARCH (WITH TAXI DRIVERS AT – Palam Taxi Rank)**

Dear CATA and CODETA

My name is Milisa Kom, and I am a 2<sup>nd</sup> year master's student at the University of Cape Town in the Social Development Department. As a requirement of my degree, I am conducting research on the work experiences of taxi drivers. The study is entitled "An exploration of the work experiences of the taxi drivers in Delft and Khayelitsha"

The main aim of this study is to explore the experiences of taxi drivers including how their work affects their social and family life as well as daily challenges that they face. This will be achieved through interviewing a total of 15 taxi drivers from three taxi ranks Site C, Palam and Mitchells Plain taxi ranks. It is hoped that their views could contribute to understanding the taxi industry better and identify changes that could positively impact on it.

I am hereby seeking permission and your consent to interview taxi drivers from one of the taxi ranks under your management Palam taxi rank in Delft, this is to get their views and experiences on the matter as outlined above. I would like to conduct the study asap and the duration of the study will be 3-5 days depending on the number of taxi drivers I am able to

interview in a day. Confidential face to face interviews will be conducted at the times suitable for the drivers and will be arranged with rank managers. Each interview should last for about one hour.

The proposed research has been accepted and verified by the Social Development ethics review committee and will be supervised by Dr Somaya Abdullah. Should you have any queries with regards to the study or need further information on it please feel free to contact my academic supervisor Dr Somaya Abdullah telephonically at 021 650-4219 or by email at [somaya.abdullah@uct.ac.za](mailto:somaya.abdullah@uct.ac.za)

Your permission and assistance in conducting the research would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Milisa Kom

## **Appendix D: Permission Letter for Palam Taxi Rank**

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



---

**FACULTY OF HUMANITIES**  
**DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT**

### **REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO UNDERTAKE RESEARCH (WITH TAXI DRIVERS AT -PALAM TAXI RANK)**

Dear Palam Taxi Rank Manager,

I am Milisa Kom, a 2<sup>nd</sup> year master's student at the University of Cape Town in the Social Development Department under the supervision of Dr Somaya Abdullah. I am conducting a study entitled "An exploration of the work experiences of the taxi drivers in Delft and Khayelitsha" to fulfil the requirements of my master's degree.

The main aim of this study is to explore the experiences of taxi drivers including how their work affects different aspects of their lives including their physical, emotional, social, and family life as well. It also looks at the as daily challenges that they face. It is my hope that their views could contribute to understanding the taxi industry better and identify changes that could positively impact on it.

I am hereby seeking permission and your consent to interview 5 taxi drivers from your taxi rank to get their views and experiences on the matter as outlined above. I would like to conduct

the study asap and the duration of the study will depend on the number of taxi drivers I am able to interview in a day but should not be more than 2 days.

The proposed research has been accepted and verified by the Social Development ethics review committee and will be supervised by Dr Somaya Abdullah. Should you have any queries with regards to the study or need further information on it please feel free to contact my academic supervisor Dr Somaya Abdullah telephonically at 021 650-4219 or by email at [somaya.abdullah@uct.ac.za](mailto:somaya.abdullah@uct.ac.za)

## **Appendix E: Permission Letter for Mitchells Plain Taxi Rank**

### **UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN**



---

#### **FACULTY OF HUMANITIES**

#### **DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT**

#### **REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO UNDERTAKE RESEARCH (WITH TAXI DRIVERS AT – Mitchells Plain TAXI RANK)**

Dear Mitchells Plain Taxi Rank Manager,

I am Milisa Kom, a 2<sup>nd</sup> year master's student at the University of Cape Town in the Social Development Department under the supervision of Dr Somaya Abdullah. I am conducting a study entitled "An exploration of the work experiences of the taxi drivers in Delft and Khayelitsha" to fulfil the requirements of my master's degree.

The main aim of this study is to explore the experiences of taxi drivers including how their work affects different aspects of their lives including their physical, emotional, social, and family life as well. It also looks at the as daily challenges that they face. It is my hope that their views could contribute to understanding the taxi industry better and identify changes that could positively impact on it.

I am hereby seeking permission and your consent to interview 5 taxi drivers from your taxi rank to get their views and experiences on the matter as outlined above. I would like to conduct

the study asap and the duration of the study will depend on the number of taxi drivers I am able to interview in a day but should not be more than 2 days.

The proposed research has been accepted and verified by the Social Development ethics review committee and will be supervised by Dr Somaya Abdullah. Should you have any queries with regards to the study or need further information on it please feel free to contact my academic supervisor Dr Somaya Abdullah telephonically at 021 650-4219 or by email at [somaya.abdullah@uct.ac.za](mailto:somaya.abdullah@uct.ac.za)

---

Name of the Manager

---

Signature of Manager

---

Date (dd/mm/yyyy)

---

Signature of Researcher

---

Date (dd/mm/yyyy)

## **Appendix F: Permission Letter for Site C Taxi Rank**

### **UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN**



---

#### **FACULTY OF HUMANITIES**

#### **DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT**

#### **REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO UNDERTAKE RESEARCH (WITH TAXI DRIVERS AT – Site C TAXI RANK)**

Dear Site C Taxi Rank Manager,

I am Milisa Kom, a 2<sup>nd</sup> year master's student at the University of Cape Town in the Social Development Department under the supervision of Dr Somaya Abdullah. I am conducting a study entitled "An exploration of the work experiences of the taxi drivers in Delft and Khayelitsha" to fulfil the requirements of my master's degree.

The main aim of this study is to explore the experiences of taxi drivers including how their work affects different aspects of their lives including their physical, emotional, social, and family life as well. It also looks at the as daily challenges that they face. It is my hope that their views could contribute to understanding the taxi industry better and identify changes that could positively impact on it.

I am hereby seeking permission and your consent to interview 5 taxi drivers from your taxi rank to get their views and experiences on the matter as outlined above. I would like to conduct

the study asap and the duration of the study will depend on the number of taxi drivers I am able to interview in a day but should not be more than 2 days.

The proposed research has been accepted and verified by the Social Development ethics review committee and will be supervised by Dr Somaya Abdullah. Should you have any queries with regards to the study or need further information on it please feel free to contact my academic supervisor Dr Somaya Abdullah telephonically at 021 650-4219 or by email at [somaya.abdullah@uct.ac.za](mailto:somaya.abdullah@uct.ac.za)

---

Name of the Manager

---

Signature of Manager

---

Date (dd/mm/yyyy)

---

Signature of Researcher

---

Date (dd/mm/yyyy)

## **Appendix G: Consent Form**

# **UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN**



---

## **FACULTY OF HUMANITIES**

### **DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT**

### **REQUEST FOR PARTICIPATION & CONSENT FORM**

**Dear Participant,**

I am Milisa Kom, a 2<sup>nd</sup> year master's student at the University of Cape Town in the Social Development Department under the supervision of Dr Somaya Abdullah. I am conducting a study entitled "An exploration of the work experiences of the taxi drivers in Delft and Khayelitsha" to fulfil the requirements of my master's degree. You are hereby invited to take part in the study. The interview session should only take about 30-45 minutes of your time, below are more details on the study.

**Title of Study:**

An exploration of the work experiences of the taxi drivers in Delft and Khayelitsha

**Objectives of the Study:**

- To explore the effects of the industry work on the physical and emotional wellbeing of the taxi drivers.
- To explore the effects of the job on one's social and family life.
- To understand the appointment procedures of the taxi drivers in the taxi industry.
- To understand the daily requirements of the job on the taxi drivers.
- To explore the challenges that the taxi drivers are faced with in their line of work.
- To understand the different changes that the taxi drivers would like to see in the industry.

**Please read the following and sign if you agree to participate in this study.**

**Research Procedures:** I understand that I will be participating in an interview process to explore the work experiences of the taxi industry employees. The interview will last approximately one hour and will be recorded with your permission using a digital recorder or by taking notes. The recording will be transcribed and the notes, the recorded information and the transcripts will be kept in a secure place. Once the research has been completed, this material will be only be used for academic purposes and the transcripts will be destroyed.

**Risks and Harm:** I understand that there is no anticipated physical harm to the participants during the study and in the case that there should be any emotional repercussions due to having participated in the study the researcher will refer the participants for counselling sessions. Furthermore, the researcher will validate the research process with the taxi owners to avoid the participants suffering any repercussions because of their involvement in the study.

**Benefits/Incentives:** I understand that this research will not benefit me directly and that I will not be paid for agreeing to do this interview. However, through my participation, the information gathered will provide important information on the work experiences of the minibus taxi industry employees.

**Participant's Rights:** I understand that I am free to withdraw from participating in this study at any time, without giving any reason and that there are no consequences should I decide not to participate at any stage.

**Confidentiality:** I understand that the interview process will be kept strictly confidential and that information will be available to the researcher and the supervisor. Extracts from the interviews will be included in the final research report without anyone being able to link my quotes to my identity. The final report will be examined by an external examiner and the findings will be made available to participating agencies. Under no circumstances will my name be revealed in the report or any other publications related to this research.

I understand that if at any time I would like any additional information about this research, I can contact the research supervisor Dr.Somaya Abdullah telephonically at 021 650-4219 or by email at somaya.abdullah@uct.ac.za

**I confirm that I have read this consent form or the researcher has read it to me and that the study has been explained to me. I voluntarily participate in this study**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Name of Participant**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Signature of Participant**

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date (dd/mm/yyyy)

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Signature of Researcher**

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date (dd/mm/yyyy)

## **Appendix H: Interview Questionnaire**

### **Interview Questionnaire**

**1. What effects does your work as a taxi driver have on your physical and emotional wellbeing?**

- 1.1 In what ways would you say your work as a taxi driver affects your physical health?
- 1.2 How would you compare your physical wellbeing before and after you started working as a taxi driver?
- 1.3 In what ways would you say the taxi driver job affects your emotional health?
  - Do you experience any distress or anxiety because of your job?
- 1.4 How would you compare your emotional wellbeing before and after you started working as a taxi driver?

**2. What effects does the job of being a taxi driver have on your social and family life?**

- 2.1 In what ways has your employment in the taxi driver job affected your ability to provide for your family?
- 2.2 In what ways has your employment as a taxi driver affected the financial wellbeing of your family?
- 2.3 How does your employment as a taxi driver affect your family relationships?
  - How does it affect the quality time you spend with your family?
- 2.4 How has your family life changed before and after your employment in the taxi driver job?

**3. What are the appointment procedures for taxi drivers in the industry?**

- 3.1 How were you recruited to become a taxi driver?
- 3.2 What qualifications were required for you to become a taxi driver?
- 3.3 What documents were needed before you were considered for the taxi driver job?
- 3.4 What screening processes did you go through before you were hired as a taxi driver?

**4. What are the daily work requirements for taxi drivers in the industry?**

4.1 What does your day of work look like in the industry?

4.2 How many hours do you work in a day?

4.3 How many breaks in between do you have and how are these decided?

**5 What challenges do taxi drivers face in their line of work?**

5.1 What are some of the challenges you have experience as a taxi driver with your bosses?

5.2 What are some of the challenges do you experience with the other taxi drivers?

5.3 What are some of the challenges that you have as a taxi driver with your passengers?

5.4 What are some of the ways that you use to deal with each of the different challenges mentioned above?

**6 What would you like to see change in the industry in relation to your work as a taxi driver?**

6.1 What changes would you like to see in the processes used to hire taxi drivers if any?

- What would you like to see change in the processes followed before one is hired?

6.2 What changes would you like to see in terms of the daily work that you do as a taxi driver?

- What would you like to keep or discard and change in your daily routine?

6.3 What changes would you like to see in terms of your income?

- What would you like to see change in terms of the methods used to pay the drivers?

6.4 What changes would you like to see in the employer-employee relationship in the industry?

- How can these relationships be improved?

**Appendix I - Ethics Approval Letter**

**UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN**



## Department of Social Development

University of Cape Town Rondebosch 7701 South Africa

Phone: +27-21-650-3483

E-mail: [taryn.powell@uct.ac.za](mailto:taryn.powell@uct.ac.za)

21 October 2022

*Student:*        **Milisa Kom (KMXMIL001)**

*Outcome:*      **ACCEPTED**

I am pleased to inform you that ethical clearance has been given by an Ethics Review Committee of the Faculty of Humanities for your study, *An exploration of the work experiences of taxi drivers in Delft and Khayelitsha*. The reference number is SWK-REC-2022-SR014.

I wish you all the best for your study.

Signed by candidate

Yours sincerely  
Dr Shanaaz Hoosain  
Senior Lecturer  
Chair: Ethics Review Committee

---

The University of Cape Town is committed to policies of equal opportunity and affirmative action which are essential to its mission of promoting critical inquiry and scholarship.