UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

School of Management Studies

EXPLORING NEW TERRITORY: AN INITIAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE POTENTIAL OF A FORMAL INDUSTRY CAPACITY-BUILDING PROGRAMME TO SHIFT VALUES AMONG CAPE TOWN PARATRANSIT OPERATORS

By

Camilla Elizabeth van Aardt

(VRDCAM001)

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Master of Social Science in Organisational Psychology

University of Cape Town

2018

Supervisor: Associate Professor Ines Meyer

COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works of other people has been attributed, cited and referenced.

Signature: C.E van Aardt Date: 29 January 2018

Acknowledgements

When I reflect back on this year, I can remember all the times I imagined how I would feel at this moment and finally I am here. The support that I had throughout the year has undoubtedly helped me persevere and push through all the long and lonely hours spent at my desk. I would like to extend my appreciation towards the Section of Organisational Psychology for their guidance and support, as well as my classmates and friends. Thank you to all the respondents who participated in this study. The stories and jokes you shared with me put a smile on my face during my late-night write-ups. Your valuable and unique contributions were essential to the outcome of this research. I would like to extend a most sincere thanks to my supervisor, Associate Professor Ines Meyer, for all her insights, encouragement and reassurance throughout the year. The support you gave me was more than I could have ever asked for. You believed in my study and inspired me to see it through. To my ODA colleagues, thank you for your wisdom, insight and direction. Thank you for accommodating my needs throughout this year and especially for helping me with my data collection, which I know was a challenge at times. Finally, to my parents, Mia and Andy, you believed in me and indubitably trusted and supported me – even when it seemed that everything was working against this study. I am so lucky to have had you by my side.

Abstract

Organisational Psychology's focus on the formal business setting has resulted in the discipline limiting its potential contribution to and relevance in broader society. To address this shortfall this study was conducted in the paratransit industry, which is the largest contributor to the informal economy in South Africa. It is based on the argument that by applying discipline specific knowledge, Organisational Psychology may have the potential to assist in transforming the culture in the paratransit industry, a culture which has been described as violent, aggressive and undemocratic. As culture can shift through industry-leader driven changes in values, the first step was to understand what values are held by leaders within the paratransit industry. The second step was to find ways in which to shift values. Using Schwartz's (1992) Theory of Basic Human Values as theoretical framework, this dissertation consequently served to surface the values among paratransit operators which may underlie the violent and aggressive culture in the Cape Town paratransit industry. Secondly, it sought to determine if value shifts may be achieved through formal business skills capacity training. To this end, the extent to which paratransit operators who had participated in such a training programme demonstrated different values to non-participant paratransit operators was assessed.

By employing a quasi-experimental post-test design participants (n = 46) and non-participants (n = 46) in a particular three-year capacity-building programme responded to Schwartz et al.'s (2001) Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ), which assesses the universal value dimensions stipulated by Schwartz (1992), as well as to additional scales assessing trust in the City of Cape Town (CoCT) and Transport for Cape Town (TCT). The sample valued universalism, benevolence, conformity and security – values that are not generally associated with violent, aggressive and undemocratic behaviour. Power, on the other hand, was neither valued nor not valued although it had been expected to be espoused strongly. The only result in line with expectations was that participants valued stimulation to some extent. Participants indicated trust in the CoCT and TCT. While training participants and non-participant paratransit operators did not differ significantly in the degree to which they espoused the different values and their degree of trust in the two transport authorities, the effect sizes for the differences in conformity, power, security, and universalism as well as trust in the two transport authorities were meaningful. It needs to be noted, though, that a number of limitations in the study design, particularly that no pre-intervention data was available, means that it is not possible to assess if the values of paratransit operators had shifted over the duration of the programme.

Consequently, one cannot be certain that such a programme is an effective means of shifting espoused values.

If, however, the values espoused by participants in this study are a reflection of reality, then paratransit operators endorse values that lend themselves to the formation of a non-aggressive and democratic culture. Organisational psychologists can assist in bringing about a positive shift to the operating culture of the paratransit industry by translating these value-conform behaviours shown towards drivers and by encouraging similar behaviour in their work and over time, these minibus-taxi drivers may shift their values and behaviours in turn.

From a theoretical perspective, the findings on the dimensionality of the PVQ in the sample suggest that even though Schwartz (1992) assumed the value dimensions in the Theory of Human Values to be universal, what *indicates* each of these value dimensions is context dependent. This calls into question the universal applicability of the PVQ as a measurement tool for these values. The relative endorsement of value dimensions in relation to each other, however, was found to be in line with Schwartz's (1992) assumptions.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Acronyms and Terms

BCEA	Basic Conditions of Employment Act
BVTA	Beacon Valley Taxi Association
BBBEE	Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment
CALTA	Caravelle Lentegeur Taxi Association
CfTS	Centre for Transport Studies *(at the University of Cape Town)*
CoCT	City of Cape Town
CODETA	Congress for Democratic Taxi Associations
DCS& TM	Department of Community Safety and Transport Management
EFA	Exploratory Factor Analysis
GABS	Golden Arrow Bus Services
JV	Joint Venture
KMO	Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin
LTO	Long-term Orientation
NHTS	National Housing Transport Survey
NLTTA	National Land Transport Transition Act (No. 5 of 2009)
PAF	Principal Axis Factoring
PCA	Principal Components
PCTOA	Park City Taxi Operators Association
PVQ	Portrait Values Questionnaire
SABTA	South African Black Taxi Association
SANTACO	South African Taxi Council
SMME	Small Medium and Microenterprise Economy
SVS	Schwartz Value Survey

TCT	Transport for Cape Town
TOCs	Transport Operating Companies
TRP	Taxi Recapitalisation Programme
UCT	University of Cape Town
US	United States
VOCs	Vehicle Operating Companies

1. Introduction

1.1 A call for broadening the focus of Organisational Psychology

In 2017, employment in South Africa grew by 144,000 jobs. This was, however, offset by an increase of 433,000 job-seekers thus driving the unemployment rate to 27.7 percent (Statistics South Africa, 2017). When only considering individuals employed in the formal economy this figure increases to almost 47 percent as the informal economy provides almost 2.4 million South Africans with incomes and livelihood opportunities (Rogerson, 2016; SALGA, 2017). This points to the key role that the informal sector plays in providing an income for South Africans as well as the economic development of the country. The informal sector is conceptualised as South Africa's lowest tier of the small, medium and microenterprise (SMME) economy (Rogerson, 2016). It is unregulated by the institutions of society and exists on the side-lines in a legal and social environment where comparable activities operate within a highly structured, regulated and legal framework (Charman, Petersen, Piper, Liedeman, & Legg, 2017).

Yet, worldwide, practice and research in Organisational Psychology are concentrated in formal business settings with the aim of aiding the economic well-being of organisations (Rothmann & Cilliers, 2007). Consequently, Organisational Psychology continues to serve an elite, urban-based clientele and does largely not assist in addressing the challenges of the poor and working-class who are predominantly employed in the informal sector (Augustyn & Cillie, 2008; Baker, Newell, & Phillips, 2014). Van Vuuren (2010) argues that, as a result, the discipline serves organisational stakeholders and not necessarily society at large. To address the need for Organisational Psychology to branch into the informal sector this study focused on the largest industry in the informal sector, that is the minibus-taxi industry (also referred to as the paratransit industry in the remainder of this dissertation).

1.2 The South African paratransit industry

The paratransit industry has emerged as a key role-player in many Sub-Saharan cities to meet the needs of commuters in the absence of effective formal mass transport services (Wilkinson, 2010). The term "paratransit" was first coined in the United States (US) during the 1970s. It has since been used to describe unregulated, unscheduled and informal public transport services

that complement scheduled mass public transport systems and services, hence the prefix "para", meaning "alongside" (Behrens, McCormick, & Mfinanga, 2015). The paratransit industry in South Africa is predominantly reliant on minibus-taxis that provide affordable and demand-responsive services to commuters (Gauthier & Weinstock, 2010; Thaimuta & Moronge, 2014). A paratransit operator may be the owner of one or more minibus-taxis that provide the public with transport services (Schalekamp, 2017).

In South Africa, the paratransit industry emerged in response to the absence of reliable formal public transport to serve the outlying townships which were established under the apartheid regime's system of segregation (Behrens et al., 2015; Woolf & Joubert, 2013). This led to minibus-taxis becoming and remaining the dominant mode of urban public transport up until today (Schalekamp, 2017). Minibus-taxis play a central role in the lives of thousands of people who rely on them for their daily commute to and from work or school and even as a means of long-distance transport between cities and across provinces (Transport for Cape Town, 2017). Table 1 shows the different modes of travel used to access services and public facilities and highlights the dominant role played by minibus-taxis, which account for almost three-quarters of all daily commuter transit trips (Statistics South Africa, 2014).

Table 1

Mode of travel used to access services and public facilities (Statistics South Africa's (2014) National Household Travel Survey (NHTS))

Mode	Service/ Facility (per cent within service facility category)										
	Food/ grocery shops	Other shops	Traditional Healer	Church	Medical service	Post office	Welfare office	Police station	Municipal office	Tribal authority	Financial services/ banks
Walk	17,8	54,2	9,2	47,3	31,4	22,2	13,0	23,1	16,5	16,1	13,8
Train	0,3	0,3	0,5	0,4	0,3	0,3	0,4	0,3	0,3	0,6	0,3
Bus	2,4	0,9	0,2	0,5	1,3	1,2	1,6	1,5	1,5	0,7	2,0
Minibus Taxi	49,7	19,7	4,4	13,9	33,3	29,4	34,0	35,8	35,9	8,1	49,4
Metered taxi	0,6	0,3	0,1	0,2	0,3	0,3	0,3	0,3	0,3	0,1	0,5
Car/ bakkie/ minibus	27,9	19,7	2,0	19,8	24,3	19,9	21,1	20,0	19,3	2,4	26,1
Truck lorry	0,2	0,1	0,0	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1
Tractor/ trailer	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1
Motor-cycle	0,1	0,1	0,0	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,0	0,1
Bicycle	0,2	0,2	0,4	0,2	0,2	0,3	0,2	0,2	0,2	0,3	0,2
Animal transport	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,1	0,0
Do not need to get there	0,7	4,3	83,0	17,4	8,4	26,2	38,1	18,5	25,6	71,6	7,2
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

In addition, Statistics South Africa's (2014) National Household Travel Survey (NHTS) found that 69 percent of the 51,341 households surveyed had made use of minibus-taxis during the calendar month preceding the survey. Accordingly, the paratransit industry is the largest contributor to the informal sector or what is colloquially referred to as the "second economy": a cash-based, self-regulating industry (Behrens et al., 2015; Neurmann, Röder, & Joubert, 2015).

The paratransit industry is frequently described as being part of the vibrant and energetic atmosphere that signifies post-apartheid freedom and the success of black enterprise. Unfortunately, however, the industry is also consistently characterised by a violent, undemocratic and often aggressive operating culture (Bähre, 2014; Dugard, 2002; Hansen, 2006). Despite post-1994 democratisation and the associated political liberties, violent feuds continue to define the industry (Wood, 2014). As in many developing countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, the paratransit industry in South Africa remains largely self-regulated despite government initiatives and attempts to upgrade and integrate the industry into formal public transport services (Neurmann et al., 2015; Schalekamp & Behrens, 2010). Bähre describes the industry as "a new morally ambiguous cultural genre" (p. 576). Specifically, it defines its own rules that have fostered an environment of dishonesty and exploitation in the name of market control. Dugard argues that the highly volatile, over-saturated industry fosters a culture of taxi violence as an effective means of informally regulating and controlling market share and domination. This often results in "taxi wars" that end in injury, bloodshed and death (Dugard 2002; Hansen, 2006).

Organisational Psychology has long engaged with the topic of organisational culture. It is understood to arise out of the underlying basic assumptions and values of its members (Schein, 1983, 1985) – or in this case, the members of an industry. Assumptions represent beliefs about reality and human nature that are taken for granted. Values are social principles, philosophies and goals that are considered to have intrinsic worth (Hofstede, 1993; Sinclair, 1993). These assumptions and values become visible and tangible in artefacts and behaviour (Hatch, 1993; Schein, 1985). For example, the level of formality (or informality) with which people interact within an organisational setting is an artefact that could represent the underlying value and assumption of conventionalism held by organisational members (Schein, 1985). Organisational leaders establish groups with the intent of achieving specific goals and successes that validate and reinforce the values held by these leaders (Hofstede, 1993). This, in turn, means that if

individuals' values change, organisational culture shifts (Branson, 2007; Smollan & Sayers, 2009). In order to understand the particular culture in the South African paratransit industry fully, and possibly effect culture changes in the future, it is thus important to understand the values that individuals working in the industry hold.

The first research question addressed in this study is thus:

What values among paratransit operators underlie the violent and aggressive culture in the Cape Town paratransit industry?

1.3 The particular context of this study

As there is widespread recognition that the paratransit industry plays a central role in moving people in and around cities, and serving the needs of the local economy (Schalekamp, 2017; Wood, 2014), in 2002 the City of Cape Town (CoCT) opted to make the paratransit industry a key partner for change in the development of new public transport services (Transport for Cape Town, 2017). The initiative was linked to a plan to develop the MyCiTi bus system (N. McLachlan & H. Schalekamp, personal communication, March 24, 2017).

MyCiTi was launched just ahead of the 2010 Soccer World Cup with a service between the Cape Town city centre and the airport and some inner-city services (Gauthier & Weinstock, 2010; Schalekamp & Jennings, 2017; Wood, 2014). Provisional contracts were signed with different service providers to supply these bus services. Simultaneously, the process of forming Vehicle Operating Companies (VOCs) that would operate MyCiTi routes began and paratransit operators on these routes were given a choice: (1) they could exchange their operating licences for financial compensation, or (2) choose to continue operating their minibus-taxis on their current designated routes. Most operators chose the compensation option (Transport for Cape Town, 2017). Following this, operators who took up the compensation option could either (1) use their compensation to invest in the VOCs or (2) leave the industry with their compensation. Deciding to form part of an operating company required a mind-set shift on the part of the affected paratransit operators (N. McLachlan, personal communication, April 20, 2017). As the paratransit industry has few features of a formal business entity, moving into formal VOCs required paratransit operators to see the short- and long-term benefits associated with transforming small and informal businesses into formal business operations (Schalekamp &

Jennings, 2017; Transport for Cape Town, 2017). Such benefits may include job stability and security, regulated work processes, efficiencies and sustainability. For this reason, capacity-building and engagement initiatives were initiated by the CoCT (N. McLachlan, personal communication, April 20, 2017).

In 2014 a Joint Venture (JV) was established to assist in establishing and managing the MyCiti N2 express route. The JV consisted of existing paratransit operators from Mitchells Plain and Khayelitsha and the formal operator entity, Golden Arrow Bus Services (GABS) whose routes would all be affected by this new bus service. It was agreed that the leadership in the paratransit industry in these two areas would identify individuals who had the potential to play managerial and operational roles in the future MyCiTi VOCs and they would then undergo a capacity-building programme (N. McLachlan, personal communication, April 20, 2017; Transport for Cape Town, 2015). Between 2014 and 2017, a number of paratransit operators from Khayelitsha and Mitchells Plain participated in this programme. The programme sought to develop their technical and business skills with the overall aim of equipping them with critical and abstract thinking skills (Schalekamp & Jennings, 2017).

The programme facilitators have mentioned that although it was not the programme's intention to shift participants' values, participants do seem to have shown notable shifts in some of their values (N. McLachlan & H. Schalekamp, personal communication, March 24, 2017). For example, the programme facilitators observed a shift from task-oriented beliefs and behaviour to relation-orientated behaviour since programme participants showed greater appreciation for and tolerance of their minibus-taxi drivers and other paratransit operators in competing associations (for further information on the specific shifts observed by the programme facilitators, see section 2.5 of this dissertation).

Although unintended these may be important shifts as they contrast strongly with the authoritative, aggressive and violent culture observed in the paratransit industry, as discussed above. As these value shifts were not part of the programme outcomes or goals, no baseline data is available. This makes it impossible to determine unequivocally if the programme brought about the change. However, systematic differences between participants in the capacity-building programme and a group of non-participating paratransit operators may validate the observations made by the programme facilitation team. They could provide an initial indication that the programme may well have been able to effect such changes. This is

of significance as it could highlight the potential of a capacity-building programme to shift espoused values. Furthermore, if value differences are found between the two groups, future similar programmes could be encouraged to determine participants' values prior to the start of the programme and at programme completion.

Therefore, the second question explored in this study is:

To what extent do paratransit operators who have participated in a business skills capacity-building programme demonstrate different values to those of non-participant paratransit operators?

1.4 Structure of the dissertation

The information presented above provides a brief overview of the paratransit industry in South Africa and outlines the specific context in which the study took place as well as the research questions. Chapter 2 will provide an overview of research and models related to organisational culture. Furthermore, relevant literature on the paratransit industry in South Africa is discussed culminating in the selection of Schwartz's (1992) Theory of Basic Human Values as the theoretical framework for this study. The literature review concludes with the study's hypotheses which were derived from an analysis of the values that may have shifted among paratransit operators who participated in the capacity-building programme. Chapter 3 describes the approach used to collect data, as well as the relevant scales, data analysis techniques and sample-relevant information. Following this, in Chapter 4, the results chapter, the results of the statistical tests which were conducted to test the hypotheses are set out. A concluding discussion relates the findings of this study to existing literature and details the limitations of the study, as well as implications for future research on the paratransit industry.

2. Literature review

This chapter begins with a definition and discussion of the concept of organisational culture. Following this, Schwartz's (1992) Theory of Basic Human Values is presented as the theoretical framework for this study. Thereafter, the business culture in South Africa's paratransit industry is briefly outlined to contextualise how values within the industry may have originated. The observed value shifts are then discussed. The chapter concludes with a presentation of the propositions that were derived from the literature presented.

2.1 A brief history of organisational culture research

As early as in the 1940s, the concept of organisational culture emerged in the disciplines of anthropology and sociology where some academics delved into organisational traditions and customs (Hatch, 1993; Oreg & Berson, 2011; Sosik, 2005). For example, Jacques (1951) studied the organisational culture in different factories in London. Yet, the application of the concept of culture to organisations by management scholars only started spreading widely in the 1980s (Hatch, 1993; Hofstede, 1993; Sinclair, 1993). This was built on the early work of some innovative thinkers, such as Edgar Schein.

2.1.1 Schein's Model of Organisational Culture. Schein (1985) articulated a conceptual framework for analysing and intervening in the culture of organisations in his book, *Organisational Culture and Leadership*. Organisational culture is a multi-layered phenomenon comprising three elements that exist simultaneously. On the surface are visible artefacts which are observable characteristics at the more superficial layer of an organisational culture. Underneath these artefacts lie espoused values, and at the core are basic underlying assumptions. Assumptions represent the often tacit and taken-for-granted beliefs about reality and human nature. Assumptions are guided by the most fundamental or inner level of organisational culture. Values are deeply entrenched and enduring social principles, philosophies, goals, and standards considered to have an intrinsic worth. Artefacts are the visible, tangible, and audible results of activity grounded in an organisation's fundamental values and underlying assumptions (Schein, 1983, 1985; Sinclair, 1993).

Schein (1985) argues that for an organisational culture to exist there needs to be a definable organisation. An organisation may be conceptualised as several people interacting with one

another to achieve a common or shared goal within their defined environment (Hatch, 1993; Hofstede, 1993). The founder or leader creates such a group and consequently the leader's personality and personal attributes influence and shape the culture (Oreg & Berson, 2011; Sosik, 2005). However, the culture is not evident or assumed (Smollan & Sayers, 2009). The group needs to overcome crises of growth and survival. Accordingly, it must develop coping mechanisms and learn to manage problems of external adaptation and internal integration (Hatch, 1993; Schein, 1985). Specifically, organisational culture is centred on the survival of the group (internal integration) in conjunction with the demands and constraints of its external environment (external adaption). Consequently, an organisation must adapt to changes in the external environment and subsequently internalise these adaptions (Schein, 1985). So, for example, if one were to consider problems of external adaptation and internal integration within the paratransit industry, a challenge would be changes to city sanctioned routes. Accordingly, paratransit operators would need to respond to these external changes by briefing their drivers and mapping out new routes (external adaptation) and subsequently incorporating these changes into the functioning of their fleet operations by, for instance, either increasing or decreasing the size of their fleet of vehicles (internal integration).

Once the way in which the organisation adapts to external changes has proven their validity by sustained success, these assumptions are integrated and internalised into the functioning of the organisation (Hatch, 1993; Schein, 2010). These techniques of external adaption are then taught to new members as the way to respond to and perceive similar problems and they thus become espoused values and underlying assumptions (Hatch, 1993; Schein, 1985, 2010). Schein notably argues that basic assumptions and the underlying values and social principles are central to understanding and changing a culture within an organisation.

Schein (2010) argues that in addition to the shared beliefs, assumptions and values, the following four elements must also be present to create an organisational culture – or in the case of this study, the culture of an industry:

(1) "Structural ability" – culture is the foundation for group identity and thus defines and holds the group together. Yet, this presents a challenge to culture change as cultural change involves unlearning as well as learning.
(2) "Depth" - culture is entrenched and thus members may be unconscious of it.
(3) "Breadth" - culture affects every organisational aspect, function and activity.

(4) "Patterning" - culture ensures the integration and coherency of group behaviours, values and rituals.

At this point it should be noted that while Schein (1985) conceptualised his understanding of organisational culture for organisations, its underlying concepts can also be applied to the "culture" of an industry (Chatman & Jehn, 1994; Hatch, 1993; Hofstede, 1993; Ogbonna & Harris, 2002). Both Chatman and Jehn as well as Ogbonna and Harris suggest that various processes, such as the way in which members socialise and the characteristics of an organisation's founder shape the content and intensity of values held by organisational members and that the same can be true for industry culture. For example, paratransit operators, interact with one another to achieve the common goal of providing unscheduled and informal public transport services to commuters that complement scheduled mass public transport systems and services (Behrens et al., 2015). Furthermore, the paratransit industry comprises of taxi associations which are organised bodies of operators. In terms of leadership within the industry, paratransit operators, each with his or her own personality and personal attributes, govern and oversee the running of their fleet operations as well as the different taxi associations. Consequently, as leaders within the industry, paratransit operators influence and shape the culture within these associations and the industry as a whole. In addition, like the culture within any formally recognised organisation, an industry has deeply ingrained underlying assumptions and values which manifest in terms observable industry-specific norms (Chatman & Jehn, 1994; Rooke, Seymour, & Fellows, 2004).

2.1.2 Criticism of Schein's model. Schein's (1985) Organisational Culture Model has been critiqued for being grounded in a static perspective. Accordingly, Schein places an emphasis on what artefacts and values reveal about basic assumptions and thus fails to consider how the processes linking assumptions, values, artefacts and symbols create a culture (Hatch, 1993; Hatch & Schultz, 2002). Consequently, Schein's model does not consider processes but only elements of organisational culture. In response to this limitation, Mary Jo Hatch built on Schein's model and developed the cultural dynamics perspective to explain and describe how the processes linking assumptions, values, artefacts and symbols create an organisational culture (Hatch, 1993; Hatch & Schultz, 2002). In addition, while Schein explored how culture could be changed, Hatch's Cultural Dynamic Model argues that stability and change are the outcome of the same process. Accordingly, the Cultural Dynamics Model reaches toward a more complex, process-based understanding of organisational change. However, Schein's

Model of Organisational Culture is still widely used today as it laid the foundations for thinking about organisational culture and introduced elements that need to be taken into account when considering organisational culture (Oreg & Berson, 2011).

2.1.3 Hatch's Cultural Dynamics Model. The Cultural Dynamics Model made two fundamental changes to Schein's (1985) Model of Organisational Culture (Oreg & Berson, 2011). Firstly, Hatch (1993) introduced symbols as a new element of organisational culture. From a symbolic-interpretive perspective, symbols represent conscious or unconscious associations with wider and usually more abstract concepts. For example, in the paratransit industry, owning multiple vehicles may be regarded as a status symbol or a sign of power and success. Secondly, while the now four elements of organisational culture (assumptions, values, artefacts, and symbols) are central to Hatch's model, Hatch also emphasises the process through which culture changes (Hatch & Schultz, 2002; Sosik, 2005). Specifically, as seen in Figure 1 below, Hatch introduced a bi-directional process through which cultural changes occur via the interplay of four clockwise (proactive) and anticlockwise (retroactive) influences. This shifted the attention from the four elements of culture to the relationships linking these elements of organisational culture – specially, the processes of manifestation, realisation, symbolisation, and interpretation that in turn explain the process through which culture changes are brought about (Hatch, 1993).

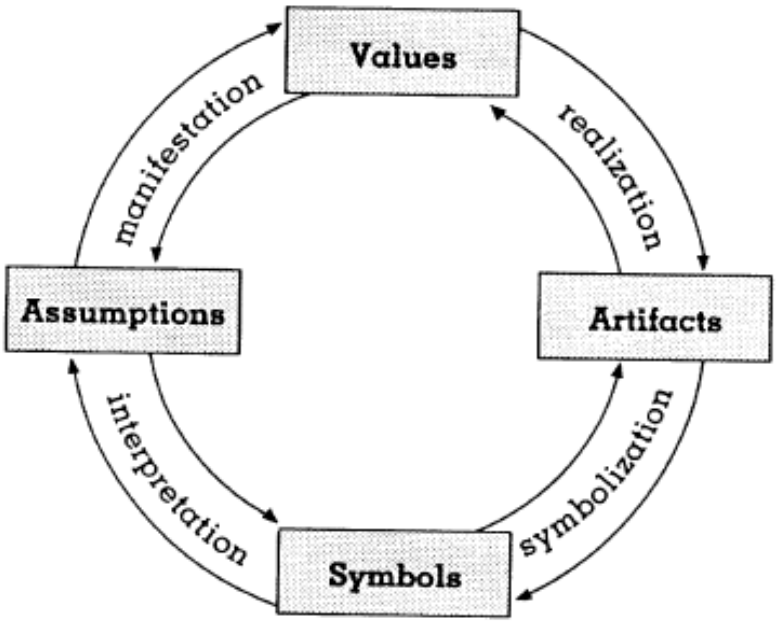

Figure 1. Hatch's (1993) Cultural Dynamics Model. Reprinted from "The dynamics of organizational culture" by M.J. Hatch, 1993, *Academy of management review*, 18(4), p. 660.

Firstly, manifestation occurs when specific values or assumptions are evoked cognitively or emotionally. Proactive manifestation takes place when assumptions are made visible in the perceptions, cognitions, and emotions of organisational members, whereas retroactive manifestation refers to the implementation of values manifesting and shifting assumptions associated with a particular organisational culture (Hatch, 1993; Hatch & Schultz, 2002). For example, if one were to consider the assumption that humans are lazy, in terms of proactive manifestation this assumption produces expectations of laziness which leads to perceptions of lazy acts. In terms of retroactive manifestation, the assumption of people's laziness leads to an organisational culture that values control to prevent lazy acts and to increase member productivity.

Secondly, realisation occurs when values are expressed in the outcomes of behaviour of organisational members, namely in artefacts. Proactive realisation transforms expectations into artefacts and thus values are made tangible. Retroactive realisation, on the other hand, occurs when artefacts support or subvert cultural values (Hatch, 1993; Hatch & Schultz, 2002). Building on the example mentioned above, an organisation could introduce clocks (changes in artefacts) to manage member productivity. Accordingly, in line with proactive realisation the expectation that humans are lazy is transformed into an artefact. In terms of retroactive

manifestation, the introduction of clocks could support a culture that values control or discourages laziness (change in value).

Thirdly, symbolisation translates artefacts into symbols, linking an artefact's literal meaning to its subjective meanings. Proactive symbolisation occurs when artefacts are imbued with meaning beyond their physical form and thus become symbols (Hatch, 1993; Hatch & Schultz, 2002). For instance, the introduction of clocks may become a symbol of control. Retroactive symbolisation occurs when the literal form of an artefact affects its symbolic meaning. For example, if the clock is seen as a symbol of control then members may be expected to work according to time increments rather than according to workload.

Lastly, interpretation links previous assumptions to possibilities for new symbolic understandings. Proactive interpretation occurs when symbols are contextualised in the broader cultural frame, whereas retroactive interpretation harmonises different symbols into a coherent framework (Hatch, 1993; Hatch & Schultz, 2002). In terms of the assumption that humans are lazy, the introduction and adoption of clocks may represent militant control.

2.1.4 A contemporary understanding of organisational culture. An informal and contemporary explanation or understanding of organisational culture is that it is "how things are done around here" (Martin, 2002, p. 3) and that it overtly and covertly shapes the behaviour of its members. Accordingly, organisational culture is often referred to as a system of shared meanings as it is influenced or shaped by members' beliefs, attitudes and value systems (Branson, 2007; Pizer & Härtel, 2005). Kabanoff, Waldersee and Cohen (1995) propose that organisational culture is substantially about values or what Branson (2007) terms "embedded codes" (p. 382). Values may evolve or shift over time or be deliberately determined and are thus viewed as guides to behaviour. Yet, the mechanisms and messages employed to inform or guide employee behaviour are often relatively subtle (Branson, 2007; Kabanoff et al., 1995). However, a shift in values is seen to be the foundation for successful organisational – or in this case industry - change (Smollan & Sayers, 2009). Thus, this study focuses on assessing values among paratransit operators rather than the remaining three elements of organisational culture that is assumptions, artefacts and symbols. The reason for this is that a shift in the industry culture can be achieved through a change in values that are held and espoused to by industry leaders (paratransit operators) (Kabanoff et al., 1995; Schein, 1985).

2.2 Values

2.2.1 The nature of values. There is general consensus that values are the basic deeply rooted or entrenched orientations and abstract motivations that are presumed to guide and explain a person's attitudes, norms, opinions and actions (Hatch, 1993; Schein, 1985; Schwartz, 2003). This contemporary understanding is built on the early work of Durkheim (1897) and Weber (1905) who stated that values are crucial for explaining social and personal organisation and change. In view of this, Schwartz argues that values can provide predictive and explanatory power in the analysis of individual attitudes, opinions and actions. Furthermore, values can reflect major social change within societies and across nations and thus predict the kind of attitudes and opinions a person or even a society are likely to hold and the actions they are likely to take (Schwartz, 2003). For instance, if a society values conformity then one is likely see restraint in their actions, inclinations and impulses, whereas if hedonism is valued then the desire for immediate gratification is likely to be normalised.

However, instruments employed to measure basic values often measure these using attitude-based questions rather than assessing the actual values themselves. In response to this gap, Shalom Schwartz (1992) proposed the Theory of Basic Human Values, a systematic theory outlining the content and organisation of individual value systems (see also Smith & Schwartz, 1997). Schwartz (1992) assumed that there were specific universal value dimensions which individuals subscribe to, to different degrees.

2.2.2 Schwartz's Theory of Basic Human Values. Schwartz (1992) characterises values as follows:

(1) They are beliefs that are directly linked to feelings. If a value is threatened individuals become aroused. They feel despair when they feel helpless to protect their values.
(2) Values determine which goals individuals see as desirable and motivate action towards achieving these.
(3) Values influence behaviour across situations, for example not only at the workplace or only in family life.
(4) People decide what is good or bad, justified or not, worth doing or avoiding based on the potential consequences of their espoused values. Values thus guide the selection and evaluation of actions, policies, people and events.

(5) Individuals prioritise values in ways which are particular to them.
(6) The relative importance of values to an individual guides his or her action in situations in which different values suggest different ways of action.

Schwartz's (1992) Theory of Basic Human Values outlines ten motivationally distinct dimensions of values (see Table 2 below). These are assumed to characterise an individuals' fundamental values. They have indeed been shown to be stable across cultures (Schwartz, 2012; Schwartz, et al., 2001). Schwartz derived the ten value dimensions from three universal requirements of the human condition: (1) needs of individuals as biological organisms; (2) needs for coordinated social interaction; and (3) survival and welfare needs of groups. Furthermore, Schwartz mapped these ten dimensions by considering the core values recognised in cultures across the world. This further supported the selection of the Theory of Basic Human Values as theoretical framework to guide this research.

Table 2

Value dimensions and definitions of the values outlined in Schwartz's (1992) Theory of Basic Human Values

Value dimension	Definition
1) Achievement	Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards.
2) Benevolence	Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact.
3) Conformity	Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms.
4) Hedonism	Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself.
5) Power	Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources.
6) Security	Safety, harmony and stability of society, of relationships, and of self.
7) Self-direction	Independent thought and action-choosing, creating, exploring.
8) Stimulation	Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life.
9) Tradition	Respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self.
10) Universalism	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature.

In addition to identifying ten universal basic motivational dimensions of values, Schwartz (1992) highlights the interactive or dynamic relationships between values. Schwartz assumes that actions in pursuit of any one value result in psychological, practical, and/or social consequences or outcomes that may conflict or be congruent with the pursuit of other values (Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz et al., 2001). For example, the pursuit of achievement values may conflict with the pursuit of benevolence values as seeking success for self is likely to hinder actions aimed at enhancing the welfare of others. Yet, the pursuit of achievement values may be compatible with the pursuit of power values since seeking personal success for oneself is likely to support and to be reinforced by actions aimed at enhancing one's own social position and authority over others.

The circular structure in Figure 2 below illustrates the ten universal human values and the degree to which they are in conflict or congruence with one another. The closer any two values are positioned in the circle, the more similar their underlying motivations are and the more distant they are, the more their underlying motivations are opposed (Schwartz, 2012; Schwartz et al., 2001). This structure can be summarised by two orthogonal dimensions (Schwartz, 1992). On the self-enhancement versus self-transcendence dimension, power and achievement values oppose universalism and benevolence values. Power and achievement emphasise the pursuit of self-interest, whereas universalism and benevolence involve a concern for the welfare and interests of others. On the openness to change versus conservatism dimension, self-direction and stimulation values oppose security, conformity and tradition values. Self-direction and stimulation emphasise independent action, thought and feeling and readiness for new experiences, whereas all of the latter emphasise self-restriction, order and resistance to change. Hedonism values share elements of both the openness to change and self-enhancement dimensions (Schwartz, 1992, 2012; Schwartz et al., 2001).

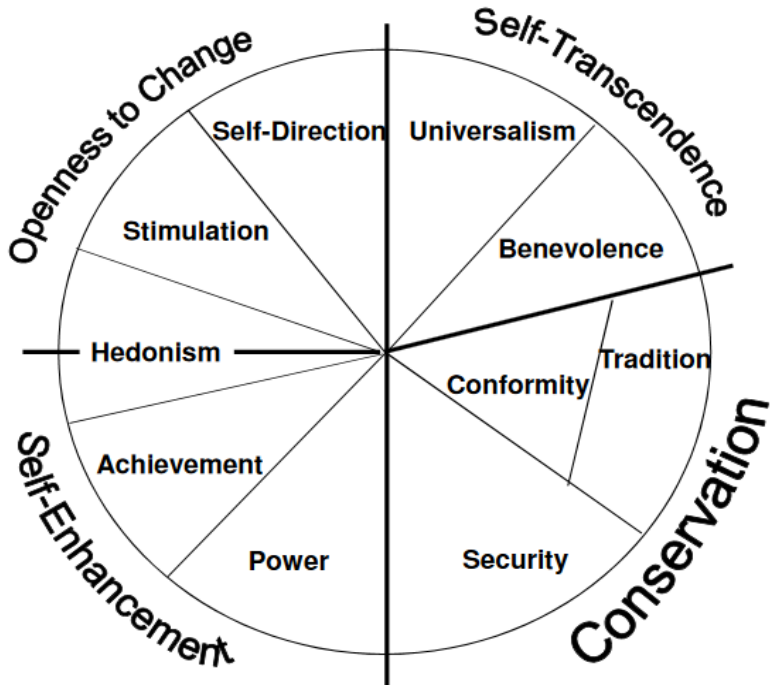

Figure 2. Theoretical model of relations among the values outlined in Schwartz's (1992) Theory of Basic Human Values. Reprinted from "An overview of the Schwartz theory of basic values", by Schwartz, 2012, *Online readings in Psychology and Culture*, 2(1), p. 270.

2.3 A description of the business culture in South Africa's paratransit industry

The paratransit industry in South Africa emerged because of spatial planning policies which forced the relocation of urban black populations to city outskirts, where access to public transport was limited (Walters, 2008; Woolf & Joubert, 2013). Consequently, an unregulated and informal paratransit network grew under the ownership of black[1] South Africans (Dugard, 2002; Wilkinson, 2010) in these areas in response to commuter needs and demands. Venter (2013) argues that South African government has historically viewed the paratransit industry and minibus taxis as "a problem to be solved" (p. 2) often resulting in hostile attitudes towards informal paratransit operators in attempts to marginalise and control operations. Accordingly, there is severe mistrust in the paratransit industry of government, city officials and other figures of authority, often resulting in poor cooperation and collaboration with external role-players (Dugard, 2002; Hansen, 2006; Venter, 2013).

A number of attempts have been made at national and local level to formalise and regulate the paratransit industry. Some of these include the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme (TRP), the National Land Transport Transition Act (NLTTA, Act no. 5 of 2009) and the most recent attempt by *WhereIsMyTransport* to map the minibus-taxi routes in Cape Town. Yet, these attempts have been met with active resistance and achieved little success (Bähre, 2014; Neumann et al., 2015). In view of this, Venter (2013) argues that a transformation and reform of the paratransit industry are unlikely to be achieved with a heavy top-down authoritative approach as employed in the past. Specifically, paratransit operators have experienced no benefits from attempts to formalise the industry. The industry thus continues to distrust the promises made by authorities and fight attempts at industry formalisation (Venter, 2013; Woolf & Joubert, 2013). This ongoing negativity on the part of external role-players and specifically transport officials from the CoCT and Transport for Cape Town (TCT) is often expressed in strike action, such as the recent march of more than 500 members of the South African Taxi Council (SANTACO) in the Capricorn Region of the North-West Province to the provincial Department of Community Safety and Transport Management (DCS& TM) to hand over a memorandum of grievances in response to the introduction of the TRP and high administration costs (Rachuene, 2017).

[1] In line with the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act (Act no. 53 of 2003, Section 9(5)), in this dissertation black individuals are defined as African, Coloured and Indian persons.

By 1989 around 50,000 minibus-taxis operated nationally, holding the majority share of the over-saturated commuter market (Behrens et al., 2015; Woolf & Joubert, 2013). According to Bähre (2014), this frequently resulted in violent battles between paratransit operators and taxi associations, competing for the monopoly over routes in so-called taxi wars. Operators who won exclusive rights to work in certain territories were met with conflict from competing operators resulting in what Khosa (1992) termed "machine gun conflict resolution" (p. 233). Bank (1990, as cited in Bähre, 2014) described an example of this approach as follows:

> *"The vehicles of the competing sides would be lined up in formation on a large open field. The leaders of both sides would then distribute weapons – guns, pangas and sticks – and as soon as everyone was prepared the signal would be given to attack. These "battles" always took a heavy toll, leaving dozens of taximen and gangsters either dead or seriously injured. The victors in every case were those who were able to hold their ground the longest"* (Bank, 1990, p. 83)

The violence peaked in 1996 when police statistics reported over 300 deaths and 600 injured, including civilian bystanders who were caught in the cross-fire (Bähre, 2014; Hansen, 2006). A quote from the former president of the South African Black Taxi Association (SABTA) highlights the deep-routed orientation towards competition within the industry:

> *"We are shooting ourselves in the feet! We are destroying ourselves! By the time the fight is over there will be no grass from which to gain sustenance, we will find the economic house forlorn. We will crumble under our weight"* (James Ngcoya, President of SABTA from 1994 to 1998, in Khosa, 1992, p. 239).

This culture of violent competition, drive for power and a lack of cooperation, conformity and tolerance of others still characterises the industry today (Bähre, 2014; Dugard, 2002; Hansan, 2008). Minibus-taxis continue to compete intensively among themselves as well as with formal modes of public transport, including scheduled busses and trains, as evidenced in the surge in taxi violence in March 2017 in Delft, Cape Town, for example (Isaacs, 2017; Koyana, 2017; Morlock, 2017). It resulted in the stoning of a Golden Arrow Bus, the main formal public transport bus service operator in Cape Town, in which the driver was injured, the fatal shooting of at two minibus-taxi drivers and numerous stabbings.

Venter (2013) hypothesises that the violence within the industry is mainly driven by the fear of paratransit operators to lose control of a competitive advantage in terms of market growth and domination. Booysen, Andersen and Zeeman (2013) argue that the highly volatile, over-saturated commuter market and the resultant unstable nature of the industry foster a drive for instant success and achievement where operators tend to place a limited focus on long-term planning. This, in turn, hinders the ability of individual operators to merge into efficient and effective larger operating units such as Transport Operating Companies (TOCs).

The paratransit industry is highly individualised and hierarchically structured. Individual owners are organised into associations which belong to "mother bodies" and provincial associations (Gauthier & Weinstock, 2010; Neumann et al., 2015; Shaw, 2006). Woolf and Joubert (2013) point out that illegal business transactions, exploitative labour practices and alliances with street gangs continue to define the industry. In terms of labour practices, Venter (2013) argues that taxi associations and paratransit operators focus on the protection of routes and ranks rather than representing or promoting the interests of members and drivers. Minibus-taxi drivers generally do not own their own vehicles, but lease them from operators. They must earn a particular sub-minimum to make the business viable. Drivers seldom receive fixed salaries, but are allowed to keep money earned above a basic daily minimum, which they pay to the vehicle owner (Booysen et al., 2013). This form of incentivisation encourages drivers to ignore traffic rules and regulations in order to collect as many passengers as possible to maximise the day's revenue (Neumann et al., 2015; Shaw, 2006; Woolf & Joubert, 2013).

Booysen et al. (2013) report that minibus-taxi drivers spend on average eight hours per day on the road and work an average of six days per week. Under the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA)[2], no employer may require or permit an employee who earns less than R89 455 per annum to work more than 45 hours a week, a limit which minibus-taxi drivers often surpass to meet income targets. Furthermore, the BCEA stipulates that an employee must have a daily rest period of 12 consecutive hours, as well as a weekly rest period of 36 consecutive hours. The extensive working hours of taxi drivers leave little time for rest which may result in exhausted drivers and which in turn endangers their own safety as well as that of passengers, other commuters and pedestrians (Booysen et al., 2013; Dugard, 2002; Hansen, 2006). In

[2] No. 75 of 1997: Basic Conditions of Employment Act as amended by Basic Conditions of Employment Amendment Act, No 11 of 2002

addition to exploitative and abusive labour practices, Venter (2013) argues that vehicle owners, that is paratransit operators, do not invest in the development of their drivers, thus suggesting practices that are neither person or relation-orientated nor suggestive of a high consideration for people.

2.4 Schwartz's value dimensions in South Africa's paratransit industry

While Schwartz (2012) assumes that each individual adopts or assumes different values, Schein (1985) found that individuals in organisations also share values, and that these shared values form an organisation's culture – or the culture within a business industry, such as the security industry, the mining industry, or in the case of this study, the paratransit industry. It is thus likely that paratransit operators may adopt particular shared values which underlie the culture in the paratransit industry. As discussed above, values are crucial for explaining social and personal organisation and change and therefore understanding the values held by the leaders within the paratransit industry is the first step in attempting to bring about a culture shift. Table 3 provides a definition of Schwartz's (1992) ten values and how they may align with the paratransit industry culture based on the characteristics of the industry as outlined in the previous section.

Table 3

Value dimensions and definitions of the values outlined in Schwartz's (1992) Theory of Basic Human Values and the expected level among paratransit operators based on the characteristics of the paratransit industry

Value dimension	**Definition**	**Expected level among paratransit operators**
1) Achievement	Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards.	Low to Medium
2) Benevolence	Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact.	Low to Medium
3) Conformity	Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms.	Low
4) Hedonism	Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself.	Low to Medium
5) Power	Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources.	High
6) Security	Safety, harmony and stability of society, of relationships, and of self.	Low
7) Self-direction	Independent thought and action-choosing, creating, exploring.	Medium
8) Stimulation	Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life.	High
9) Tradition	Respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self.	High
10) Universalism	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature.	Low

2.5 Value shifts observed among paratransit operators who participated in a formal industry capacity-building programme

Between 2014 and 2017 a number of paratransit operators from Khayelitsha and Mitchells Plain participated in a capacity-building programme that sought to develop business skills with the overall aim of equipping participants with critical and abstract thinking skills and abilities (Schalekamp & Jennings, 2017; Transport for Cape Town, 2015). The programme facilitators expressed that, although it was not the intention of the programme, participants seem to have shown notable shifts in some of their behaviour and values (N. McLachlan & H. Schalekamp, personal communication, March 24, 2017). These are:

(1) Greater appreciation for and tolerance of people (shift from task-orientation towards relation-orientation)

Examples: Paratransit operators established *WhatsApp* groups for their drivers, and set up weekly or monthly braais (BBQs) at operators' homes for their drivers to ensure collaborative decision-making and improved communication (McLachlan & Schalekamp, personal communication, March 28 2017).

(2) More restraint in actions, inclinations, and impulses which create short-term gains but hinder long-term business success (shift from short-term time orientation towards long-term time orientation)

Example: Some operators expressed interest in establishing a succession plan for their businesses and associations through the formation of TOCs to ensure a sustained position in the market as MyCiTi grows (McLachlan & Schalekamp, personal communication, March 28, 2017).

(3) Shift from a focus on control and dominance towards greater cooperation (shift from competition orientation towards cooperation orientation)

Examples: Some operators established new working networks across different taxi associations, as well as new business ventures among one another despite previous tension and competition (McLachlan & Schalekamp, personal communication, March 28, 2017).

(4) Increased trust in authority (notably in the CoCT and TCT). Example: Some operators openly and willingly engage with authority officials during MyCiTi expansion planning discussions (N. McLachlan, personal communication, March 28, 2017).

2.5.1 Shift from task-orientation towards relation-orientation. Literature and research concerning a person's appreciation and tolerance for people has predominantly been considered in leadership theory (Conger & Kanungo, 1994). The origins of this research can be seen in the work of Lewin (1939) and the Ohio State Leadership Studies (Molero, Cuadrado, Navas, & Morales, 2007; Yukl, 1999). According to Molero et al. this early work distinguished between two behavioural dimensions, namely structure initiation and consideration. The former is considered to signify task-oriented behaviours, while the latter denotes relation-oriented behaviours. The behaviours transpire on a continuum which is used to evaluate the extent to which a leader emphasises either work tasks or employee relations (Brown, 2003; Yuki, Gordon, & Taber, 2002).

Both McCleskey (2014) and Sosik (2005) suggest that a leader who is relation-oriented has the tendency to place his or her focus on the quality of the relationships formed with followers and thus demonstrates a higher consideration of people. Terms commonly used to describe person-oriented behaviours include: building mutual trust, participatory decision-making, supportive, democratic and people centred (Brown, 2003; Conger & Kanungo, 1994). In contrast, leaders who are task-oriented channel their effort and attention into ensuring task completion by defining and enforcing instructions and rules and thus demonstrate low levels of consideration, appreciation and tolerance of people (McCleskey, 2014; Sosik, 2005). Task-orientated behaviours are typically described as goal-achieving, autocratic and goal emphasising (Brown, 2003; Conger & Kanungo, 1994). Taking this into consideration, one could argue that the characteristics and related behaviours of a person who is highly relation-orientated may be the artefacts or visible and tangible outcomes grounded in what Schwartz (1992) defined as the universalism values and benevolence values.

Schwartz (2012) suggests that universalism values are derived from the survival needs of individuals and groups. Yet, these needs are not known until the individual or group encounter others beyond their primary group and become aware of the lack of natural resources (Schwartz et al., 2001). Consequently, the individual or group is likely to realise that the failure to accept

others who are different and treat them justly will lead to strife. In addition, it is probable that the individual or group will realise that failure to protect the natural environment will lead to the destruction of the resources on which life depends (Schwartz, 1992, 2012). In view of this, Schwartz's Theory of Basic Human Values suggests that universalism combines two subtypes of concern: (1) concern for the welfare of all the broader society and (2) concern for nature. Accordingly, universalism is characterised by an understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection of the welfare of all people and nature.

Benevolence values originate from the fundamental requirement for cohesive group functioning and affiliation (Schwartz, 1992). Schwartz (2012) suggests that the most vital and essential relations are within the family and other primary groups. For that reason, Schwartz's Theory of Basic Human Values suggests that benevolence values place emphasis on the voluntary concern for others' welfare and manifest in terms of helpful, honest and forgiving behaviours that promote cooperative and supportive relations.

2.5.2 Shift from a short-term to a long-term time orientation. Within any culture decisions are made with regards to how time is valued and evaluated (Bearden, Money, & Nevins, 2006). Accordingly, Bearden et al. argues that time orientation is a pervasive influence in many aspects of life. Hofstede's (1991) indices concerning long-term orientation (LTO) have predominantly been used to assess time orientation (Bearden et al., 2006; Minkov & Bond, 2015). LTO is a cultural value of viewing time holistically in which the past and future are valued rather than believing actions are important only for their effects in the short-term. In view of this, individuals who score high in LTO are seen to value planning, tradition and hard work for future benefit. Adding to this, Minkov and Bond describe how long-term orientated behaviours value life-long personal networks, self-discipline and do not expect immediate gratification. In contrast, short-term oriented behaviours value immediate gratification and achievement and place emphasis on individual or personal needs. These behaviours and actions are suggestive of the artefacts or visible, tangible and audible results, grounded in what Schwartz (1992) described as conformity values.

Schwartz (1992, 2012) suggests that conformity values stem from the requirement that individuals learn to inhibit inclinations that might disrupt smooth group functioning. Accordingly, like benevolence values, conformity values also promote cooperative and supportive social relations. However, conformity values promote cooperation to avoid negative

outcomes for the self while benevolence values provide a motivational base for such behaviour (Schwartz et al., 2001). Consequently, Schwartz defines conformity values as emphasising self-restraint in everyday interaction by employing and demonstrating obedience and self-discipline through the restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms.

2.5.3 Shift from competition orientation towards cooperation orientation. Exchanges within a group or organisation are more likely to be positive if a cooperative orientation towards the perusal of collective goals is adopted rather than acting in a way to obtain personal goals (De Cremer & Tyler, 2007). Accordingly, members of a group or who contribute to the group effort benefit the group. De Cremer and Tyler (2007) define these positive social behaviours as cooperation. Individuals with a cooperative orientation have a predisposition to bring people together in collaboration and are more likely to have contacts outside their social groups which they may draw on to support new knowledge and connect disconnected individuals. In contrast, Bullinger, Neyer, Rass and Moeslein (2010) suggest that individuals who have a competitive orientation are unlikely to engage in organisational citizenship behaviours or activities as they perceive the environment as competition. One could argue that there is a high possibility that cooperative behaviours are indicative of the visible, tangible and audible results, grounded in what Schwartz (1992) describe as power, achievement and hedonism values.

According to Schwartz (2012), any organisation or industry in this case requires some degree of status differentiation. This is guided by the work of Parsons (1951) who suggests that a dominance/submission dimension emerges within interpersonal relationships. Consequently, Schwartz argues that this social phenomenon enforces the need to treat power as a value. Value analysts, such as Allport (1961), propose that power values focus on social esteem and hence an individual's need for dominance and control over people and resources. On the other hand, achievement values stem from an individual's personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards that in turn generates resources necessary for individuals to survive and for groups to achieve their objectives (Schwartz et al., 2001). Furthermore, as is the case with power values, achievement values are related to self-esteem. Yet, achievement values emphasise the demonstration of successful individual performance, while power values stress the attainment and preservation of a dominant position within the more general social system (Schwartz, 2012). Hedonism values stem from the outcome or

product of power and achievement values. Hedonism originates from the need for and the pleasure associated with a sensuous gratification of oneself and is defined as pleasure, enjoying life and self-indulgence (Schwartz et al., 2001; Schwartz, 1992; 2012).

2.5.4 Increased trust in authority. Trust is a multidimensional mental state that reflects the level of confidence and assurance one has in another individual to act in a fair, ethical and predictable manner (McAllister, 1995). Wu, Wu and Wang (2016) further add to this understanding by highlighting the need to consider vulnerability. Specifically, the construct of trust includes a person's willingness to accept vulnerability based on positive expectations of another person's intentions.

Bigley and Pearce (1998) describe three perspectives that explain the construct of trust. The first perspective, guided by dispositional theories of trust, suggests that individual factors predispose a person to trust or distrust others. These dispositions inform behaviour in unfamiliar situations and thus, individuals who develop distrusting predispositions are more likely to avoid cooperative situations as they expect to be exploited. In an organisational context, members with a distrusting predisposition seek roles that have limited dependencies on others and are likely to resist change. The second perspective falls within the field of behavioural decision theory and accordingly views trust as a function of rational decision-making processes rather than personality characteristics. The final perspective is informed by institutional frameworks which emphasise the causal role of situational factors in fostering trust with emphasis being placed on the effects of organisational or institutional structures and processes. Situations that have been linked to trusting behaviours include those in which long-term interests were stressed through effective communication.

De Cremer and Tyler (2007) argue that trust can bring about productive and cooperative working relationships within organisations, as well as in the case of social problems and negotiation situations. Adding to this, Wu et al. (2016) argue that organisational members are more likely to obey the decisions made by authority if there is no fear of exploitation. Accordingly, individual expectations, relations, economic exchanges, social structures and ethical principles represent factors or elements that either foster or hinder trust.

These value shifts deduced from the observed behavioural changes in paratransit operators who participated in the capacity-building programme are summarised in Table 4.

Table 4

*Value dimensions and definitions of the values outlined in Schwartz's (1992) Theory of Basic Human Values, expected level among paratransit operators based on the characteristics of paratransit industry and the expected differences **(Δ)** between trained (t) and non-trained (n-t) paratransit operators*

Value dimension	**Definition**	**Expected level among paratransit operators**	**Expected Δ between trained (t) and non-trained (n-t) paratransit operators**
1) Achievement	Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards.	Low to Medium	t > n-t
2) Benevolence	Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact.	Low to Medium	t > n-t
3) Conformity	Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms.	Low	t > n-t
4) Hedonism	Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself.	Low to Medium	t < n-t
5) Power	Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources.	High	t < n-t
6) Security	Safety, harmony and stability of society, of relationships, and of self.	Low	-
7) Self-direction	Independent thought and action-choosing, creating, exploring.	Medium	-
8) Stimulation	Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life.	High	-
9) Tradition	Respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self.	High	-
10) Universalism	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature.	Low	t > n-t

2.6 Hypotheses

The first research question in this study, "*What values among paratransit operators underlie the violent and aggressive culture in the Cape Town paratransit industry?*" is exploratory and thus no hypotheses were tested. Table 4 provides an overview of the values on which, low, medium and high values are likely among paratransit operators. The second research question stated "*To what extent do paratransit operators who have participated in a business skills capacity-building programme demonstrate different values to those of non-participant paratransit operators?",* is based on the observations reported by the programme facilitators in the capacity-building programme the following hypotheses were postulated.

H1: Paratransit operators who participated in a technical capacity-building programme value benevolence more than non-participants.

H2: Paratransit operators who participated in a technical capacity-building programme value universalism more than non-participants.

H3: Paratransit operators who participated in a technical capacity-building programme value conformity more than non-participants.

H4: Paratransit operators who participated in a technical capacity-building programme value power less than non-participants.

H5: Paratransit operators who participated in a technical capacity-building programme value achievement more than non-participants.

H6: Paratransit operators who participated in a technical capacity-building programme value hedonism less than non-participants.

H7: Paratransit operators who participated in a technical capacity-building programme have more trust in the City of Cape Town than non-participants.

H8: Paratransit operators who participated in a technical capacity-building programme have more trust in Transport for Cape Town than non-participants.

3. Method

The first research question of this study assessed the degree to which paratransit operators espouse any of the value dimensions identified in Schwartz's (1992) Basic Human Values Theory. On the basis of the second research question, an initial investigation was conducted into the potential of a particular capacity-building programme to shift values among Cape Town paratransit operators. This chapter describes the research design and approach, participants and sampling techniques. This is followed by a detailed explanation of the measuring instruments used in the study, as well as the data collection procedure employed. This chapter concludes with a brief overview of the statistical analysis used to analyse the data.

3.1 Research design and approach

Once a research question or problem has been identified, the appropriate research methodology and methods need to be selected to guide the collection of information that will illuminate the problem at hand (De Vaus & de Vause, 2001; Wilson, 2014). In order to address the first research question, a descriptive design was used.

In order to answer the second research question, ideally, this study should have made use of a true experimental design to be able to determine if the capacity-building programme had caused a shift in the specific values among paratransit operators. This would require the random assignment of participants to an experimental and a control group for which data would have needed to be collected before and at the end of the programme (Farrokhi & Mahmoudi-Hamidabad, 2012; Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002). However, since the programme commenced in June 2014 and the potential shifts had not been expected by the programme facilitators, baseline data was not available. It was also not logistically feasible or possible to allocate participants randomly to experimental and control group. Accordingly, this study used a quasi-experimental post-test design, popularised by Campbell and Stanley (1963), to assess whether the programme may potentially have brought with it shifts in the considered variables. This means that participants were not randomly assigned to groups and no baseline data was collected.

Similarly to true experiments, quasi-experiments test causal hypotheses and share structural details such as the presence of a control group and pre-test measures. Yet, this type of design

lacks random assignment. Instead, assignment to conditions is by means of self-selection (Harris et al., 2006; Shadish et al., 2002). As group assignment was not randomised the two groups were unlikely to be completely equivalent (Farrokhi & Mahmoudi-Hamidabad, 2012; Harris et al., 2006). Thus a conclusion free from uncertainty cannot be drawn as to whether an observed effect would be due to the capacity-building programme or as a result of systematic differences or confounding variables between the programme participant and non-programme participant paratransit operators (Camilli, Elmore, & Green, 2006).

Shadish et al. (2002), however, propose that even in non-random designs the researcher still has considerable control over the selection and scheduling of measures and they are thus deemed appropriate for the testing of hypotheses that comprise differences between groups. Furthermore, non-randomisation minimises the reactive effects of experimental design arrangements such as the Hawthorn effect which hampers generalisability. Accordingly, non-randomisation improves the external validity of the design and the findings thus allow some generalisations about a population (Burns & Burns, 2008; De Vaus & de Vause, 2001).

As no baseline data was available a quasi-experimental post-test with control group design was the only design possible. Paratransit operators who participated in the capacity-building programme were compared to a group of paratransit operators who had not participated in the programme. The absence of a pre-test hinders one's ability to be certain that a change has occurred among the programme participant paratransit operators (Camilli et al., 2006; Harris et al., 2006).

When interpreting the results of a quasi-experimental post-test design, non-significant results would indicate, with relative certainty that value shifts among the programme participant paratransit operators are unlikely due to the capacity-building programme. However, if shifts are found in the programme participant operators then this would suggest that it is worth exploring the ability of a capacity-building programme to shift values. Hence, this would inform whether or not it should be recommended to collect baseline data about participants' values for future implementations of this or similar programmes.

Quantitative data was collected from respondents using a self-report, self-administered questionnaire that was distributed in hardcopy to paratransit operators who took part in the capacity-building programme. It was also distributed to the same number of paratransit

operators who had not been part of the programme at the end of the three-year capacity-building programme. Notably, the use of a questionnaire allows for both cost and time-effective data collection (Wilson, 2014).

3.2 Participants and sampling

In line with the two research questions, the sample comprised of two groups of paratransit operators predominantly operating in Cape Town Metro's South East.

The first group consisted of the 46 paratransit operators who had completed the CoCT's and TCT's capacity-building programme in June 2017. They held the following leadership roles within the industry: Minibus Taxi Association Secretary, Manager of Minibus Taxi Association, Founder of Minibus Taxi Association, Director of Minibus Taxi Association System Roster Clerk, Minibus Taxi Association Chairperson, and Treasurer - Board of Transport. The following criteria to select training participants were used by industry leaders, namely taxi associations' executives: (1) minimum educational requirement – matric or a particular number of years in the industry; (2) recognised by peers in the industry as displaying management and leadership capacity; (3) an interest in the transport industry; and (4) holding a leadership position within the paratransit industry. As part of the capacity-building programme participants completed courses that furthered their knowledge of the corporate environment and the public transport system in Cape Town. They also participated in job shadowing activities at Golden Arrows Bus Services (GABS) and MyCiTi VOCs (Schalekamp, 2017; Schalekamp & Jennings, 2017).

The mean age of participants at the end of the three-year capacity-building programme was 42.20 years (SD = 11.04, range = 22 - 66). This group consisted of 29 males and 17 females (refer to Table 5 below).

The second group consisted of 46 paratransit operators who did not participate in any of the phases of the capacity-building programme. Yet, unlike the first group, participants in this group had higher levels of formal education. Their average age and age range were similar to the first group (M = 42.97, SD = 12.40, range = 21 - 66). This group, however, consisted of 38 males and 8 females. Further demographic information is provided below in Table 5.

Table 5

Demographic data of study participants (N = 92)

Characteristic		Programme participant paratransit operators	Non-programme participant paratransit operators
Race	Black African	20	11
	Coloured	26	32
	Prefer not to answer	-	3
Gender	Male	29	38
	Female	17	8
Highest qualification	Grade 5	1	-
	Grade 6	-	1
	Grade 7	-	2
	Grade 8	-	4
	Grade 9	3	2
	Grade 10	5	9
	Grade 11	4	5
	Grade 12	25	13
	Other:		
	BCHD	-	3
	BSC	-	1
	National Certificate	3	3
	National Diploma	4	-
	Prefer not to answer	-	3

Matched sampling would have been preferable to select the control subjects (comparison group) with similar educational characteristics, gender and role in the paratransit industry (Rosenbaum & Rubin, 1985). Guided by this method, the sample would have been matched on the same characteristics used to identify capacity-building programme participants: (1) minimum educational requirement – matric or a particular number of years in the industry; (2) recognised by peers in the industry as displaying management and leadership capacity; (3) an interest in the transport industry; and (4) holding a leadership position within the paratransit industry as well as (5) geographic location (Mitchells Plain/ Khayelitsha), (6) gender, (7) race and (8) age.

However, the high level of mistrust, secrecy and the consequential guarded nature of individuals in the industry presented a considerable challenge to gathering data from paratransit operators who had not participated in the capacity-building programme. Specifically, the researcher had trouble in finding non-programme participant operators who would be willing to complete the questionnaire. Due to the challenge in reaching operators who had not participated in the capacity-building programme, the researcher did not have the luxury of selecting or picking out participants to form a perfectly matched group. In view of this difficulty, two non-probability sampling techniques, namely convenience sampling and snowball sampling were employed to recruit the same size sample as the treatment group (n = 46). These non-probability sampling methods use a part of the target population that is easily accessible, available and willing to participate in the study (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981; Farrokhi & Mahmoudi-Hamidabad, 2012).

Convenience sampling and snowball sampling methods are affordable, easy and subjects are readily available (Etikan, Musa, & Alkassim, 2016). Yet, in the study under discussion, an impediment to these sampling methods meant that the researcher could not ensure that the control group (non-programme participant operators) were similar to the treatment group (programme participant operators). In order to overcome this, the researcher included the following qualifying statement for the non-programme participant sample in an attempt to ensure that the control group would be as similar as possible to the treatment group in terms of an interest in continuous learning or ongoing professional development:

If you were given the opportunity to participate in a three-year capacity-building training programme that would consist of a series of short courses (+- 3 days a week) for three years where you would be taught computer skills, business management skills, and business writing and communication skills and be given on- the- job training and receive a monthly stipend of R5000, would you take part in this programme?

Furthermore, the shortfalls of convenience sampling and snowball sampling were weighed up against the benefits associated with undertaking this study. For that reason, it was concluded that the benefits were greater as the study presented a rare opportunity to access an underexplored field sample within a real-life research setting among a group that are exceptionally private and guarded in terms of their business practices and operations and hence their attitudes, beliefs and underlying espoused values.

Using convenience sampling, the control group was recruited by drawing on different contacts and acquaintances within the paratransit industry. Contacts were established via the Programme Office Manager for the N2 Express JV who is well acquainted with members of different taxi associations in Mitchells Plain and Khayelitsha. This resulted in a sample of 29 participants, predominantly operating in Mitchells Plain. It was therefore necessary to use snowball sampling to enhance the sampling pool and to reach the remaining 17 participants from various other associations operating in the greater Cape Town area. Using this method, six participants were recruited from Park City Town Operations Association (PCTO) in Hanover Park, six were recruited from two associations operating in Kenilworth and five were recruited from the Silversands Taxi Association (see Table 6 below).

The final sample consisted of 46 paratransit operators who had participated in the capacity-building programme (treatment group) and 46 paratransit operators who had not participated in the training programme (control group) ($N = 92$).

Table 6

Participant operating area and related minibus-taxi associations (both programme participants and non-participant paratransit operators (N = 92))

Operating area	Related minibus taxi Association	Number of programme participant operators	Number of non-programme participant operators	Total number of paratransit operators per operating area
Mitchells Plain	Plain Park Taxi Association	5	-	**44**
	Hazeldene Taxi Association	2	1	
	Caravelle Lentegeur Taxi Association (CALTA)	1	-	
	United Mandalay Taxi Association	1	-	
	Beacon Valley Taxi Association (BVTA)	3	10	
	Route 6 Taxi Association	6	2	
	Strandfontein Taxi Association	1	-	
	7th Avenue Taxi Association	2	-	
	Route 7 Taxi Association	3	-	
	Towns Centre Taxi Association	1	-	
	Delft Taxi Association	1	-	
	Century City Taxi Association	-	5	
Khayelitsha	The Congress for Democratic Taxi Association (CODETA)	15	11	**31**
	Mfuleni Taxi Association	2	-	
	Vuyani Kuilsriver Taxi Association	2	-	
	Westbank Association	1	-	
Silversands	Silversands Taxi Association	-	5	**5**
Hanover Park	Park City Taxi Operators Association (PCTOA)	-	6	**6**
Kenilworth	Nagels Taxi Association	-	3	**6**
	Hoffman Taxi Association	-	3	
Total		**46**	**46**	**92**

3.3 Procedure

Data collection commenced once the research proposal had been presented to and passed by the University of Cape Town's (UCT's) Organisational Psychology Section and the Commerce Faculty's Ethics in Research Committee. Additionally, both the N2 Express JV and the University of Cape Town's Centre for Transport Studies (CfTS) were approached to authorise access to participants in the capacity-building programme. Once clearance had been obtained, the researcher began the data collection process.

Due to the high level of mistrust and secrecy in the paratransit industry, as well as the difficulties associated with recruiting both the treatment group and control groups, data collection took place in three stages. The first two stages of data collection focused on the programme participants who had completed different aspects of the three-year capacity-building programme (treatment group). The third stage involved collecting data from a group of paratransit operators who had not been part of the programme (control group).

The first stage of data collection took place in June when the CfTS met with 22 of the programme participants for their final assessment of the programme. This group had just completed a business communication module conducted by the CfTS. This stage of data collection took place at the UCT's Graduate School of Business' satellite location at Philippi Village. Philippi Village was a familiar setting for the programme participants as they had participated in weekly seminars and training sessions on site. Furthermore, Philippi Village was easily accessible from the participants' different taxi association offices.

The researcher approached participants with a request to complete a questionnaire after each participant had completed their individual assessment with the CfTS staff members. Questionnaires were made available in hardcopy. Each questionnaire included a cover page explaining the objective of the study and informed participants about the anonymity of their identity and confidential nature of the questionnaire. Respondents were also made aware that their participation in the study was voluntary and that they were free to withdraw from the study at any point in time. The identity of the participants could not be linked to their responses as participants were not asked to provide their names on the questionnaire. The beginning of the questionnaire provided instructions about how to answer the questions. The questionnaire took on average 15 minutes to complete. During this stage of the data collection process the

researcher was present and could thus ensure that the questionnaires were individually completed at a private desk in the communal working area at Philippi Village.

Following this first stage of data collection, the researcher requested assistance from the Programme Office Manager for the N2 Express JV, to collect data from the remaining 24 programme participants. This group of programme participants was in the process of completing various apprenticeships and on-the-job training and could thus not be brought together in the same manner as the first group. The researcher provided the Programme Office Manager with hardcopy questionnaires as well as a clear briefing to ensure she was equipped to answer any questions or concerns that participants might have had.

The Programme Office Manager had worked with the operators over the three years of the capacity-building programme and had thus been able to establish a rapport with these participants. This allowed the Programme Office Manager to ask two key leaders in the minibus-taxi industry from Route 6 and CODETA to distribute the questionnaires to the remaining 24 programme participants. These participants were asked to complete the questionnaire at their respective taxi association month-end meetings. The questionnaires were collected and kept in a sealed envelope and returned to the N2 Express JV offices where the researcher collected them. All 24 of the returned questionnaires were completed. It should be noted that the researcher was not present when these remaining 24 questionnaires were administered and thus the conditions under which they were completed is unclear. It was not possible for the researcher to be present in person as taxi association meetings are private and confidential and thus outsider access to these meetings is restricted. However, the researcher did request that the questionnaires be completed individually without any time limits or constraints.

The third stage of data collection among the group of non-programme participants, took place between July and August. This group could not be easily accessed nor brought together in the same manner as the treatment group. Thus, hardcopy questionnaires were distributed to contacts within the industry to circulate among paratransit operators as follows:

- Using convenience sampling, one of the participants in the treatment group distributed questionnaires to paratransit operators who were members of the Route 6 Taxi

Association that had not participated in the capacity-building programme. This resulted in 24 control group responses.

- In order to enhance the sampling pool, it was deemed necessary to use snowball sampling. Using this method, the Programme Office Manager for the N2 Express JV asked a key leader in the CODETA to distribute the questionnaire among operators in Khayelitsha. This resulted in a further five control group responses.

- In order to further increase the sample size in the comparison group, a contact at the Kenilworth Taxi Association recruited six additional control group participants operating in the Sothern Suburbs and five from the Silversands Taxi Association operating in Century City.

- Finally, a contact at the University of Cape Town recruited an additional six control group participants from the PCTO Association in Hanover Park.

It should be noted that the majority of the study participants operate in Cape Town Metro's South East (Mitchells Plain/ Khayelitsha), however owing to the difficulty experienced in recruiting participants who had not participated in the capacity-building programme, 17 participants operate out of Kenilworth, Claremont and Century City, all economic nodes where commuters are heavily reliant on public transport such minibus-taxis. However, the fact that minibus-taxis may operate out of a particular area does not mean that they do not travel across all socio-economic environments in their day-to-day operations as they traverse the city. Thus, an assumption that the different places of origination is not of too greater significance.

However, six participants in this sample (control group) answered "no" which indicated that they would not be interested in participating in a capacity-building programme should the opportunity arise and were thus removed. To ensure an equal number of programme participant operators and non-programme participant operators the researcher recruited additional participants until six questionnaires that had answered "yes" to qualifying statement were retrieved. This "yes" response indicated that they would be interested in participating in a capacity-building programme should the opportunity arise. The researcher once again drew on the assistance of the Programme Office Manager for the N2 Express JV who asked previous

programme participant respondents from CODETA to pass on hardcopies of the questionnaire to other respondents within the association who had not participated in the capacity-building programme. This resulted in 11 questionnaires from CODETA in Khayelitsha. The six control group responses who had answered "yes" to the qualifying question were used in the study.

3.4 Ethical considerations

Participation in the study was voluntary and participants were informed that participation indicated consent (see Appendix A). Furthermore, participants were made aware that there was no direct risk associated with participation in the study or direct benefit and thus participants were not coerced into participating. To ensure that confidentiality was maintained, the data was only seen by the researcher and supervisor and only responses aggregated across all respondents in the control group and all respondents in the treatment group were considered. Additionally, participants were not required to indicate their name on the survey to ensure they were not identifiable. Each participant was offered the opportunity to be informed about the study results should they so wish. Due to some participants being suspicious of the study's intent the researcher and Programme Office Manager reinforced the fact that the study was not designed to intentionally deceive anyone and that the results would be used only for research purposes.

3.5 Measuring instruments

The data was collected using hardcopy questionnaires. The survey comprised Schwartz et al.'s (2001) Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ) and Tyler and Huo's (2002) four-item motive-based trust scale. Appendix B includes a copy of the administered questionnaire.

3.5.1 Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ). The paratransit operators' evaluation of their attitudes, beliefs and accordingly their espoused values was measured using the 40 item PVQ (Schwartz et al., 2001). The PVQ makes use of 40 short verbal descriptions of a person in respect of a goal, aspirations or wish he or she holds that in turn indirectly represents a particular value. These short verbal portraits are gender matched to the participant and accordingly there is a male and female version of the questionnaire. Answers were collected on a six-point Likert scale with 1 stating "*not like me at all*" and 6 stating "*very much like me"*. To further clarify the answer options, given the expected low levels of formal education

amongst the population of interest, thumbs up, “impartial" thumbs and thumbs down symbols were used above the ratings one, three-point five and six to help respondents who might not have been proficient in English. Stange, Barry, Smyth and Olson (2016) argue that smiley faces or thumbs up/ thumbs down can be an effective value-add for low-literacy individuals.

The development of the PVQ was guided by the basic value orientations measured by the Schwartz Value Survey (SVS) (Schwartz, 1992). However, unlike the SVS, the PVQ provides a more concrete and less cognitively complex task for respondents, thus ensuring the scale is suitable for use across a varied population including those with little or no formal schooling (Schwartz et al., 2001; Schwartz, 2003). The language was simplified to the point that eleven-year olds in Uganda, Canada and Israel could understand all scale items (Schwartz et al., 2001). It had also been validated in a large and diverse South African sample (n = 3,123), comprising different language groups (Schwartz et al., 2001). In view of these advantages, the PVQ was deemed suitable for the participants in this study as their education and literacy levels varied. In the PVQ participants must indicate the degree to which the described person resembles them.

The PVQ can be administered via face-to-face interviews, telephonic interviews, internet surveys, as well as self-completion questionnaires. The PVQ has been translated into 21 languages and found valid across 31 samples from 18 nations including the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Great Britain, Spain, Sweden and Italy (Schwartz, 2003). This was done by employing a multitrait-multimethod approach to assess the convergent and discriminant validity of the ten basic values which yielded good estimates of the theoretical structure of the ten basic values. Examples of items include “*It's very important to her to show her abilities. She wants people to admire what she does*” or “*She believes she should always show respect to her parents and to older people. It is important to her to be obedient*”. In the male version of the questionnaire, the term “she” was replaced with “he”.

3.5.2 Trust in authority. Tyler and Huo’s (2002) four-item motive-based trust scale was administered in addition to the PVQ to assess trust in authority. In De Cremer and Taylor’s (2007) research the scale had a Cronbach alpha of greater than .80 and was thus seen as reliable. The answer format is a four-point response scale that ranges from 1 “*agree strongly*” to 4 “*disagree strongly*”. However, as the PVQ scale made used of a six-point scale, the researcher used a six-point response format for the PVQ, too, in order to minimise any misunderstanding among participants when scoring responses. As some of the non-programme participants might

never have engaged with the CoCT or TCT, an additional response option of "7 - *I do not know*" was included in the response format only in the questionnaire for non-programme participants. The scale items are as follows: "*I trust him [/her]"; "He[/she] tried to do the right thing by me*"; "*He[/she] tried to take my needs into account*"; and "*He[/she] cared about my concerns*." To ensure the scale was applicable to this study "He/she" was replaced with "the City of Cape Town" and "Transport for Cape Town". Accordingly, the scale was administered twice, once referring to the CoCT and once referring to TCT.

3.6 Statistical analyses

The data was manually uploaded into the IBM Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), version 24, for analysis (SPSS Statistics, 2014). To prepare the data for analysis it was necessary to code the dataset based on contemporary statistical conventions. This meant that the variable type was set to numeric and nominal measures. Furthermore, value labels were set for the dependent variable "group". Following this, the dataset was cleaned to find and correct errors (Roberts, Anthony, Madigan, & Chen, 1997; Suter, 1987). Guided by the work of Roberts et al. the dataset was examined to check for response patterns, to determine whether it contained any unrealistic values such as a response of 10 on the six-point scale the and whether any non-paratransit operators had completed the questionnaire. Lastly, the dataset was examined to ensure that respondents had completed at least 75 percent of each of the sub-scales in the PVQ and the two Trust Scales. Notably, no datasets were removed. The validity of the scale was examined using exploratory factor analysis (Segars & Grover, 1993). Descriptive statistics and distributions were determined to describe the composition of the obtained sample and scales and the degree to which certain values were espoused in the sample. Subsequently, independent sample t-tests were conducted to determine if differences in values between the programme participant and non-participant paratransit operators existed.

4. Results

This chapter outlines the results of the statistical analyses performed on the data. Firstly, the psychometric properties of the measures are presented, including the dimensionality and construct validity of the scales used in this study. Following this, the relevant descriptive statistics are provided. This chapter concludes with a presentation of the statistical procedures used to analyse the first research question and hypotheses related to the second research question as outlined in Chapter 2.

4.1. Consistency and dimensionality of the values and trust scales

Reliability describes the extent to which a scale produces similar results or information under different circumstances (Gliem & Gliem, 2003; Roberts, Priest, & Traynor, 2006; Tavakol & Dennick, 2011). This can be determined by means of the internal consistency of a scale which is the relationship between participants' responses to the different scale items acquired from a single administration of the scale (Roberts et al., 2006). For example, if a survey has four items related to trust, the researcher would be concerned with whether participants answered each item in a similar way, or if there are some items where the replies are seemingly unrelated to the others.

The use of Cronbach's (1951) coefficient alpha (hereinafter alpha) is the statistical procedure commonly employed to assess the internal consistency of a measure using an interval scaled response format in almost all psychological and social science research (Roberts et al., 2006; Schmitt, 1996). Yet, while no other statistic has been reported more often as an index of the reliability of a scale, alpha has been subject to much misunderstanding (Cortina, 1993; Schmitt, 1996; Sijtsma, 2009). Specifically, confusion exists in terms of the true meaning and proper interpretation of alpha which consequently results in the misuse and limited usefulness of the statistic (Sijtsma & van der Ark, 2015; Tavakol & Dennick, 2011).

Both Cortina (1993) and Schmitt (1996) suggest that one reason for the misuse of alpha is that there is no real metric for judging the adequacy of the statistic. Specifically, while literature provides particular minimum levels of alpha (usually .70) as a rule of thumb to determine if a scale is reliable in a particular sample, this level is somewhat random and has no statistical foundation (Schmitt, 1996). Consequently, there are a wide number of different rules of thumb

for the interpretation of alpha. Kline (1999), for example, proposed an alpha value of .80 as appropriate for cognitive tests and a value of .70 for personality tests. Nunnally (1978) suggested a cut-off point of .50 as sufficient for psychological or social science measures or tests, whereas George and Mallery (2003) recommend the following rules of thumb: *"> .9 – Excellent, > .8 – Good, > .7 – Acceptable, > .6 – Questionable, > .5 – Poor and < .5 – Unacceptable*". In addition, Pedhazur and Schmelkin (1991) argued that these guidelines for interpreting alpha distract from what the value actually means within a specific research context. There is a tendency among researchers to use the value without taking into account scale dimensionality or other forms of construct validity of the measure which limits the understanding of the value (Pedhazur & Schmelkin, 1991; Trizano-Hermosilla & Alvarado, 2016). Instead, a high alpha value is often seen as evidence of scale unidimensionality (Bademci, 2014, Schmitt, 1996). Yet, internal consistency refers to the interrelatedness of a set of items whereas homogeneity refers to the unidimensionality of the set of items (Bademci, 2014; Cortina, 1993; Hattie, 1985; Schmitt, 1996; Tavakol & Dennick, 2011). Thus, while internal consistency is necessary for homogeneity, it is not sufficient (Green, Lissitz, & Mulaik, 1977). Specifically, the Monte Carlo study by Green et al. concluded that while alpha is a function of internal consistency, namely the interrelatedness of items, a set of items can be both relatively interrelated and multidimensional. Accordingly, internal consistency does not necessarily imply homogeneity (unidimensionality) (Bademci, 2014; Cortina, 1993; Hattie, 1985).

As alpha is based on the assumption that each item on a measure assesses the same latent trait, if multiple factors underlie the scale items, alpha may underestimate the reliability of the test (Hattie, 1985; Tavakol & Dennick, 2011). If, however, a construct is assessed by a large number of items the value of alpha will be inflated resulting in a distorted interpretation of the scale's internal consistency, too (Field, 2013). For instance, Cortina (1993) reported data from two scales which both had satisfactory alpha values of .80. However, the first scale consisted of three items with an average correlation between items of .57, while the second scale comprised ten items with an average correlation of .28. In view of this, the internal consistency of these two scales is considerably different, yet according to the alpha value, both scales are deemed equally reliable.

Typically, in psychological and social science research, the reliability of a scale is assessed first, followed by validity (Roberts et al., 2006; Schmitt, 1996). However, based on the

information outlined above, scale dimensionality was assessed using exploratory factor analysis instead of determining the scales' internal consistencies using alpha. Factor analysis unifies reliability and validity in the same statistical procedure. In addition to the inter-item correlations, which are relevant to determine a scale's internal consistency, factor analysis introduces explanatory latent variables (McDonald, 1999). As a result the issue of what the items measure in common, that is the scales' construct validity, is considered too (Sijtsma & van der Ark, 2015).

Factor analysis is a multivariate statistical method which assesses the dimensionality of a measure by clustering scale items to identify how many underlying theoretical constructs underlie the responses to the scale items in a particular sample (Cudeck, 2000; Fabrigar, Wegener, MacCallum, & Strahan, 1999). In addition to determining the number of fundamental influences or dimensions underlying a scale, the goal of factor analysis is to quantify the extent to which each item is associated with each underlying dimension (termed as the size of the item's loading on a factor) (Roberts et al., 2006). If items hang together as expected then this is an indication that the scale has construct validity (Cudeck, 2000; Fabrigar et al., 1999; Field, 2013).

Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) is one technique that can be used to uncover the underlying structure of a set of variables (DiStefano, Zhu, & Mindrila, 2009; De Winter, Dodou, & Wieringa, 2009). However, EFA is generally regarded as a technique for large sample sizes and accordingly, many early recommendations have focused on the importance of obtaining a particular minimum sample size for factor analysis to be appropriate (de Winter et al., 2009). For example, Guilford (1954) recommended a minimum sample size of 200 for reliable factor discovery, while Comrey (1973) categorised sample sizes of 50 as very poor and 1,000 as excellent. Other researchers focused on the ratio between the number of cases (participants) and the number of items. Here suggestions ranged from three cases for every one variable (Cattell, 1978) to 20 cases per variable (Hair, Anderson, Tatham, & Grablowsky, 1979). Yet later studies (Arrindell & Van der Ende, 1985) revealed that these early recommendations were inconsistent and impractical. Specifically, Arrindell and Van der Ende argued that in addition to sample size, high communalities, namely the extent to which an item correlates with other items, and a large number of variables per factor also contribute to factor discovery. Consequently, recommendations based on absolute sample size and cases per variable have slowly fallen away (De Winter et al., 2009).

As the sample size in this study was small it was important to consult prior research to check the minimum acceptable sample size. For that reason, De Winter et al.'s (2009) Monte Carlo simulation results were consulted. De Winter et al. determined the minimum acceptable sample sizes based on different levels of loadings (λ), number of factors (f), and number of variables (p).

The present study consisted of a total sample size of 92 participants and 12 sub-scales across the PVQ and Trust scales. Each sub-scale contained between three and four items resulting in a total of 48 items. It should be noted than in an ideal situation, 339 participants would have been needed if one factor analysis was to be run across all 48 items (De Winter et al., 2009). For this reason, each of the 12 sub-scales had to be considered individually. It was theoretically assumed that each scale should have one underlying factor. De Winter et al.'s simulations showed that if one were to consider λ greater than .40 in a unidimensional scale with six items an absolute minimum sample size of 102 would be necessary. As the maximum number of items per sub-scale in this study was four, that is less than six items, the study's sample size of 92 was considered sufficiently large. This is as the fewer the scale items, the fewer participants are required. Separate EFAs were thus conducted for each of the 12 sub-scales with λ of greater than .40 being considered significant.

There are a number of different EFA procedures (Field, 2013). While Principal Components (PCA) is the standard extraction method employed when using SPSS, it does not qualify as an EFA procedure as it does not consider latent variables but merely extracts uncorrelated linear combinations among variables and only identifies similar groups of variables (Field, 2013; Lani, 2017; Roberts et al., 2006). For that reason, Principal Axis Factoring (PAF) also called "common factor analysis" or "principal factor analysis" was used in this study (Field, 2013). According to Roberts et al. PAF is the preferred method specifically when factor analysis is employed to reduce data, as in the case of this study. Specifically, PAF is able identify the latent constructs that underlie observations and therefore allowed the researcher to identify the dimensions behind the variables of interest specific to this study (De Winter & Dodou, 2012; Lani, 2017).

Furthermore, to clearly understand and interpret the factors emerging from EFA, factors are rotated in such a way that items correlate the most strongly with one factor and the least with any of the other factors. When conducting a PAF, several rotation methods can be used, one of

which is Varimax Rotation, an orthogonal rotation procedure (Field, 2013; Lani, 2017). Varimax Rotation creates non-correlated factors instead of correlated factors (Costello & Osborne, 2005). Furthermore, Varimax Rotation returns factors that are orthogonal. Hence, this rotation method was employed in this study to avoid multiple variables from loading highly on a single factor (Brown, 2009; Costello & Osborne, 2005). Consequently, this technique simplifies the interpretation of factors (Brown, 2009; Field, 2013). In addition, guided by previous validation studies conducted by Schwartz et al. (2001) and Schwartz (2003) it was expected that the factors in this study would be independent from one another, that is, uncorrelated, which further supported the use of Varimax rotation. In contrast, if there had been theoretical grounds for supposing that the factors might correlate, then an oblique rotation, such as Oblimin Rotation would have been selected (Brown, 2009).

Data is suitable to be analysed via PAF, if it satisfies several conditions (Yong & Pearce, 2013). Firstly, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure, a measure of sampling adequacy, assesses how well suited the dataset is for factor analysis by measuring the proportion of variance among variables that may be common (Burns & Burns, 2008; Field, 2013). The lower the proportion, the less suited the data is for factor analysis. A rule of thumb for interpreting the statistic suggests that a value greater than .50 indicates that factor analysis would be appropriate while data revealing values smaller than .50 are not considered suitable for factor analysis (Burns & Burns, 2008; DiStefano et al., 2009).

Secondly, the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity tests if scale items correlate with each other. Consequently, if Bartlett's test is non-significant, it means that the items do not correlate and therefore cannot be part of the same factor (DiStefano et al., 2009; Yong & Pearce, 2013). To determine which factors to retain, Kaiser's (1965) criterion rule was applied. Accordingly, only factors that produced eigenvalues larger than 1.00 were considered significant (Kaiser & Caffrey, 1965; Yong & Pearce, 2013). Furthermore, items which loaded on two factors with a loading difference of less than .25 after rotation were considered as cross-loading and were removed from the analysis as it would not be possible to decide which factor the item was most related to (Cabrera-Nguyen, 2010).

Thirdly, to perform a PAF, the items in the dataset need to be approximately normally distributed and there should be no outliers (Field, 2013). Furthermore, a determining factor as to whether the data is suitable to be analysed via PAF is based on the assumption that there is

a linear relationship between the factors and the variables when computing the correlations (Gorsuch, 1983; Yong & Pearce, 2013). Finally, the data set should comprise of at least five to ten observations (respondents) for each item in the sub-scale under assessment (Gorsuch, 1983; Yong & Pearce, 2013).

The data showed suitability for PAF. Table 7 below provides the KMO values and Bartlett's test results as well as the structure of the 12 sub-scales employed to assess the espoused values and trust in authority among paratransit operators (programme participant and non-programme participant paratransit operators) based on PAF with Varimax Rotation and Kaiser Normalisation (see Appendix C for the individual item loadings of each scale).

Table 7

KMO and Bartlett's test results, Eignevalues, percentage of explained variances and the range of significant factor loadings for the 12 sub-scales used to assess value preferences and trust in authority among paratransit operators (procedure: PAF, Varimax Rotation)

Scale name	Number of items	KMO	Bartlett's Test of Sphericity		Eigenvalue	% Explained variances	Range of significant factor loadings
			Df	(x^2)			
Achievement	4	.55	6	* 70.80	1.90 1.20	47.00 30.22	.75 -76 .70 -72
Benevolence	4	.72	6	*42.23	1.95	48.85	.51 -.59
Conformity	4	.55	6	*58.42	1.85 1.11	46.46 28.96	61 – 77 .66
Hedonism	3	.57	3	*24. 57	1.59	53.16	.53 -78
Power	3	.66	3	*58. 46	1.95	65.00	.56 - .79
Security	5	.77	10	*121.98	2.69	53.88	.44 – 77
Self-direction	4	.54	6	*38.05	1.71	42.86	.50 -.97
Stimulation	3	.64	3	*40.72	1.80	60.14	.50 -70
Tradition	4	.62	6	*35.72	1.79	44.79	.58 – 66
Universalism	6	.81	15	*132.46	2.87	47.90	.53 -.71
Trust (CoCT)	4	.83	6	*265.45	3.25	81.30	.80 - .91
Trust (TCT)	4	.84	6	*286.62	3.33	83.24	.85 - .91

Note.* None of the tests were significant at the 5% level

Froman (2001), Raubenheimer (2004), Yong and Pearce (2013) and Worthington and Whittaker (2006) propose to only interpret factors with no fewer than three-items. The rotated factor solutions for the Hedonism Scale, Self-direction Scale and Tradition Scale indicated that less than three-items loaded significantly, that is with a loading of larger than .40, on the factor. Furthermore, all scales were unidimensional as expected, except for the Achievement Scale and Conformity Scale. In order to understand these results more thoroughly the wording of the items associated with each factor was considered.

4.1.1 Achievement Scale. Table 7 shows that the rotated PAF for the achievement items revealed two underlying dimensions with two items loading on each. The wording of the two items that loaded significantly on the first factor was: (1) "*Being very successful is important to him (her). He (she) likes to impress other people*" and (2) *"He (she) thinks it is important to be ambitious. He (she) wants to show how capable he is*". These two items share what Schwartz (1992) described as the achievement value, that is personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards. The two items that loaded significantly on the second factor were (1) "*It's very important to him (her) to show his (her) abilities. He (she) wants people to admire what he (she) does*" and (2) "*Getting ahead in life is important to him (her). He (she) strives to do better than others*". The commonality between the two items is a comparison between the self in relation to others. Consequently, these two items might thus be more indicative of the value of being dominant or superior rather than achievement. As each of the two factors only consisted of two items, it was not possible to consider achievement as a variable in this study.

4.1.2 Conformity Scale. Three of the four conformity items loaded significantly on the first factor while one item loaded significantly on the second factor. The wording of the three items that loaded on the first factor suggests a restraint in actions, inclinations and impulses, and thus conformity. The wording of the item relating to the second factor was "*He (she) believes that people should do what they're told. He (she) thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching*". This suggests obedience which may explain why this item was answered differently to the remaining three items. A PAF across the three items that loaded on the first factor confirmed unidimensionality (KMO = .55, Bartlett's Test of Sphericity: $\chi^2_3 = 58.42$, $p < .01$, eigenvalue of factor: 1.85; explained variance: 46.46%). All three items loaded significantly on the factor with factor loadings ranging from .61 to .77. This three item Conformity Scale was thus used to indicate participants' conformity values.

4.1.3 Hedonism Scale. Only two of the three-item Hedonism Scale loaded significantly on the underlying factor. The wording of the two items that loaded significantly emphasise having fun and enjoying life (non-material pleasures and desires). Yet, while the item that did not load significantly ("*Enjoying life's pleasures is important to him (her). He (she) likes to 'spoil' himself (herself)*) comprised of two components (1) enjoying life's pleasures and (2) spoiling oneself. The word spoil may have been interpreted as having a negative connation as it is associated with unhealthy self-indulgence. Consequently, some participants may have offered a different response to this item. As in the case of the Achievement Scale, factors with just two items should not be considered and thus hedonism could not be considered as a variable in the study.

4.1.4 Self-direction Scale. Only two of the four-item Self-direction Scale loaded significantly on the emerging factor. The wording of the two significant items: (1) "*It is important to him (her) to make his (her) own decisions about what he (she) does. He (she) likes to be free to plan and to choose his (her) activities for himself (herself)*" and (2) "*He (she) thinks it's important to be interested in things. He (she) likes to be curious and to try to understand all sorts of things"*, suggest freedom, choosing own goals, action-choosing and exploring and thus self-direction as defined by Schwartz (1992). In contrast the two items that did not load significantly are perhaps less noticeably associated with Schwartz's definition of self-direction. Specifically, the item "*Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him (her). He (she) likes to do things in his (her) own original way*" places emphasis on creativity rather than independent action-choosing and goal-setting and thus self-direction. The second item that did not load significantly (*"It is important to him (her) to be independent. He (she) likes to rely on himself (herself)")* is more suggestive of autonomous thought rather than independent action-choosing and goal-setting (self-direction). As in the case of the Achievement Scale and Hedonism Scale, factors with just two items should not be considered and thus self-direction could not be considered as a variable in the study.

4.1.5 Universalism Scale. One of the six universalism items did not load on the factor. A second PAF with a Varimax Rotation was run across those five remaining items to confirm unidimensionality once the sixth item had been removed. The KMO (.81) was good and Bartlett's test of Sphericity ($\chi^2_{10} = 115.42$, $p < .01$) was significant. Again one factor emerged (eigenvalue of 2.87) and it accounted for 53.99% of the variance. All the items loaded

significantly on the factor with factor loadings ranging from .53 to .71, thus confirming its unidimensionality without the sixth item. In addition, the wording of the five retained items was assessed. These items focused on equality, caring for nature and harmony. The item that was not significant ("*It is important to him (her) to listen to people who are different from him (her). Even when he (she) disagrees with them, he (she) still wants to understand them"*) comprises of two aspects (1) it is important to listen and (2) it is important to listen to people who are different from him (her). Consequently, some participants may have focused on the first aspect and may have focused on the second aspect thus leading to an overall response pattern that is different to the remaining scale items.

4.1.6 Tradition Scale. The item "*He (she) thinks it's important not to ask for more than what you have. He (she) believes that people should be satisfied with what they have"* did not load significantly on the factor underlying the Tradition scale. This item seems to suggest content rather than commitment and acceptance of customs, which Schwartz (1992) uses to define tradition. The remaining three items of the four-item scale refer to this definition of tradition. To confirm unidimensionality of the scale without this item a second PAF with a Varimax Rotation was run across the remaining three items. The KMO (.60) was adequate and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity ($\chi^2_3 = 26.16$, $p < .01$) was significant. One factor with an eigenvalue greater than one emerged (eigenvalue of 1.79), accounting for 54.44% of the variance. However, now only two items loaded significantly on the factor with factor loadings ranging from .58 to .66 and therefore tradition could not be considered as a variable in the study.

4.2 Descriptive and inferential statistics

In this section the descriptive sample statistics relating to measures of central tendency and distribution are presented.

The interpretation of the mean scores is based on a scale mid-point of 3.5 for the six-point scale. Thus, an average score of greater than 3.5 demonstrates that the measured value was espoused and that there was, for example, trust in authority, while an average score of less than 3.5 indicates non-identification with a particular value and for example, low trust in authority.

Table 8 highlights the values among the overall sample (paratransit operators who had participated in the capacity-building and those who had not been part of the programme) and thus provides insight into the first research question of this study (*What values among paratransit operators underlie the violent and aggressive culture in the Cape Town paratransit industry*?) The study participants indicated that they valued conformity the most with a mean score of 4.96. This is followed by a high inclination towards valuing universalism with a mean score of 4.92. Security was also indicated as highly valued among the study participants (M = 4.91) as well as benevolence (M = 4.90). These findings were all contrary to what had been expected. In terms of power, the study participants neither valued nor did not value power with an average value of 3.13 which is only slightly below the mid-point. However, it had been expected to be espoused strongly. The only result in line with expectations was that study participants indicated that they valued stimulation to some extent (M = 4.52). Contrary to what had been anticipated, the average scores for trust in the CoCT (M = 4.00) and TCT (M = 4.00) indicated that the sample had some trust in both authorities.

Table 8

Number of participants, mean, minimum and maximum ratings as well as the standard deviation for the scales employed to assess value preferences and trust in authority for all paratransit operators (programme and non-programme participants)

Scale	N	M	Min	Max	SD
Benevolence	90	4.90	3	6	.74
Conformity	90	4.96	3	6	.74
Power	92	3.13	1.33	6	1.11
Security	91	4.91	2.80	6	.78
Stimulation	91	4.52	2	6	.94
Universalism	A92	4.92	2.60	6	.75
Trust (CoCt)	83	4.0	1	6	1.21
Trust (TCT)	83	4.0	1	6	1.20

Note. N = Number of participants after listwise deletion of missing data; M = Mean; Min = Minimum; Max = Maximum; SD = Standard Deviation

Table 9 provides a summary of the descriptive statistics separately for the paratransit operators who had participated in the capacity-building programme and those who had not. The mean values suggest that paratransit operators who had participated in the capacity-building programme espouse the values of conformity, benevolence security, stimulation and universalism, with values ranging from 4.57 to 5.09. Power is neither valued nor not valued with an average value of 3.26 which is only slightly below the mid-point. The average score for trust in the CoCT and TCT indicated that the programme participant paratransit operators had some trust in both authorities.

With reference to paratransit operators who had not participated in the capacity-building programme, as in the case of the programme participant paratransit operators, benevolence, conformity, security, stimulation and universalism were indicated as being valued with values ranging from 4.47 to 4.91. However, power does not seem to be highly valued by the non-programme participant paratransit operators with an average value of 3.00. The average score

for trust in the CoCT and TCT indicated that operators who had not participated in the capacity-building programme had some trust in both authorities.

The skewness and kurtosis scores were used to examine the distribution of the data. Skewness measures the symmetry of a distribution or data set and the higher the absolute value, the greater the skewness (Field, 2013; Pallant, 2013; Rose, Spinks, & Canhoto, 2015). Kurtosis on the other hand, is a measure of the shape of the distribution in terms of its width and height and the higher the absolute value, the greater the kurtosis (Field, 2013; Groeneveld, & Meeden, 1984; Pallant, 2013). The closer skewness and kurtosis values are to zero, the closer the data points are to being perfectly normally distributed (Rose et al., 2015).

In order to determine how extreme either the skewness or the kurtosis values can be before a distribution needs to be considered non-normal the standard errors for skewness and kurtosis can be considered in relation to the skewness and kurtosis values for a scale distribution (Groeneveld, & Meeden, 1984). A value greater than -1.96 suggests that the population from which the sample comes is very likely to be negatively skewed and thus the left tail is longer than the right tail in terms of distribution, and has a negative kurtosis, meaning that the dataset has less in the tails than in the normal distribution (Field, 2013; Pallant, 201; Rose et al., 2015). A value greater than 1.96 would suggest that the population that the sample comes from is very likely to be skewed positively, indicating that the tail on the right is longer than the left tail and has a positive kurtosis, meaning the dataset has more in the tails than in the normal distribution (Field, 2013; Pallant, 2013; Rose et al., 2015).

As illustrated in Table 9 below, all the scales for the programme participant paratransit operators were considered normally distributed. The skewness values ranged from -.08 to 1.88, while kurtosis values ranged from -.13 to 1.44. Notably, the skewness in relation to its standard error for the Conformity Scale was 2.22 and thus outside of the ±1.96. Furthermore, as seen in Table 9, the scales for paratransit operators who did not participate in the capacity-building programme all fell within the ±1.96 limit for both skewness (range = -.51 - .40) and kurtosis (range = -1.11 – 1.44) when considering the respective standard errors in relation to the skewness and kurtosis values, suggesting little digression from normality.

Table 9

Number of participants, mean, minimum and maximum ratings, the standard deviation, the standard error skewness and skewness as well as the standard kurtosis and kurtosis for the scales used in this study for programme and non-programme participants paratransit operators

	Programme participant operators											Non-programme participant operators										
Scale	**N**	**M**	**Min**	**Max**	**SD**	**SE Skewness**	**Skewness**	**SE Kurtosis**	**Kurtosis**	**Skewness / SE Skewness**	**Kurtosis / SE Kurtosis**	**N**	**M**	**Min**	**Max**	**SD**	**SE Skewness**	**Skewness**	**SE Kurtosis**	**Kurtosis**	**Skewness / SE Skewness**	**Kurtosis / SE Kurtosis**
Benevolence	45	4.90	3	6	.80	.35	.-64	.69	.11	1.82	0.15	45	4.91	3.25	6	.67	.35	.-28	.69	.-62	.-80	.-89
Conformity	46	5.09	3	6	.72	.35	.-78	.68	.61	2.22	.89	44	4.82	3	6	.75	.35	.-40	.70	.-34	-1.14	.-48
Power	46	3.26	1.33	6	1.07	.35	.66	.68	.49	1.88	.07	46	3.00	1.33	6	1.14	.35	.11	.68	.-98	.31	1.44
Security	45	5.05	3.60	6	.64	.35	.-30	.69	.-52	.-08	.-75	46	4.77	2.80	6	.88	.35	.-33	.68	.-50	.-94	.-73
Stimulation	46	4.57	2	6	.97	.35	.-64	.68	.01	-1.82	.01	45	4.47	2.67	6	.91	.35	.-31	.69	.-79	.-88	1.14
Universalism	46	5.07	3.60	6	.67	.35	.-47	.68	.-70	-1.34	.-01	46	4.76	2.60	6	.79	.35	.-37	.68	.-30	-1.05	.-44
Trust (TCT)	43	3.98	1	6	1.20	.36	.-47	.70	.-04	-1.30	-.05	46	4.39	1	6	1.36	.35	.-18	.68	.-76	.-51	-1.11
Trust (CoCt)	43	3.94	1	6	1.17	.36	.-46	.70	.30	1.27	.42	46	4.21	1	6	1.23	.35	.14	.68	.-09	.40	.-13

Note. N = Number of participants after listwise deletion of missing data; M = Mean; Min = Minimum; Max = Maximum; SD = Standard Deviation; SE = Standard Error

Overall, on the basis of the second research question, the mean values depicted in Table 9 above suggest that paratransit operators who had participated in the capacity-building programme valued universalism, conformity and security more than non-programme participant paratransit operators. Both groups valued power, stimulation and benevolence similarly. Non-programme participants trusted the CoCT and TCT more than the paratransit operators who had participated in the capacity-building programme. The above is visually represented in the following radar charts:

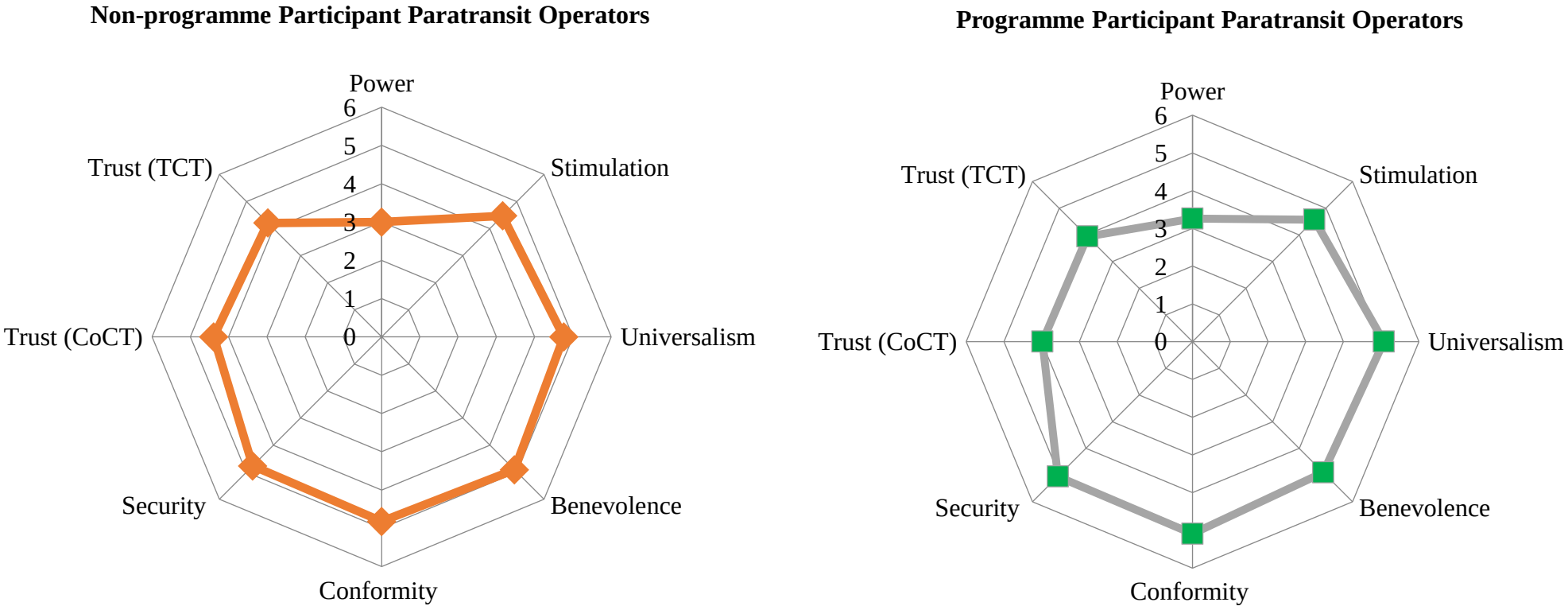

Figure 3. Radar chart representing the mean scores for the programme participant paratransit operators (n = 46) and non-programme participant paratransit operators (*n* = 46)

4.3 Hypotheses

Chapter 2 set out the following hypotheses:

H1: Paratransit operators who participated in a technical capacity-building programme value power less than non-participants.

H2: Paratransit operators who participated in a technical capacity-building programme value achievement more than non-participants.

H3: Paratransit operators who participated in a technical capacity-building programme value hedonism less than non-participants.

H4: Paratransit operators who participated in a technical capacity-building programme value universalism more than non-participants.

H5: Paratransit operators who participated in a technical capacity-building programme value benevolence more than non-participants.

H6: Paratransit operators who participated in a technical capacity-building programme value conformity more than non-participants.

H7: Paratransit operators who participated in a technical capacity-building programme have more trust in the City of Cape Town than non-participants.

H8: Paratransit operators who participated in a technical capacity-building programme have more trust in Transport for Cape Town than non-participants.

However, as discussed above, achievement and hedonism could not be considered as variables in this study and therefore hypothesis two and three could not be tested. Furthermore, for exploratory purposes the group differences in respect of the non-hypothesised dimensions, stimulation and security were tested.

Independent sample t-tests were employed to test for differences in the espoused values as well as trust in authority between paratransit operators who had participated in the capacity-building programme and those who did not participant in the programme. As a parametric procedure t-tests require a normal distribution of the comparison (i.e. dependent) variable in both groups considered in the test. This is as group differences are more likely to be significant if the data is not normally distributed, especially when group sizes are unequal (Field, 2013; Pallant, 2013). The skewness and kurtosis values in relation to the standard errors for skewness and kurtosis had indicated that the data was normally distributed across both groups, expect for conformity in the programme participant paratransit operator group (see Table 9 in section 4.2). As the data was skewed (not normally distributed) for the conformity dimension, the Mann-Whitney U test, the nonparametric equivalent for the independent samples t-test, was thus employed to test hypothesis six.

In the first six tests the dependent variable was one of the value dimensions (benevolence, conformity, power, security, stimulation, universalism) while trust in authority (the CoCT and TCT) were the dependent variable for the remaining two tests. Grouping (programme participant or non-programme participant) was the independent variable for all the tests. In order to avoid a Type 1 (false positive) error given that eight group comparisons were conducted, Bonferroni correction was applied. Specifically, when multiple statistical tests are conducted, the possibility of reporting a significant result when this is not the case increases, resulting in the phenomenon known as alpha inflation (Armstrong, 2014). The original alpha value for each test conducted is higher than expected. The Bonferroni correction is seen to be the simplest and most conservative approach to mitigate alpha inflation (Armstrong, 2014). Given that the number of group comparisons was eight, the results were considered significant at a p-value of .00625 instead of .05.

As the independent samples t-test also requires homogeneity of variances in the dependent variable in each group this assumption was tested using Levene's test. Table 10 below shows that equal variances were assumed for the value dimensions power, stimulation, universalism, benevolence, conformity and trust (CoCT). This indicated that the variances for programme participant operators are the same for non-programme participant operators. Unequal variances were assumed for the value dimension security and trust (TCT). For the values for which the variances in both groups were heterogeneous (security and trust (TCT)), the t-test adjusted for unequal variances was considered.

Table 10

Inferential statistics for programme participant paratransit operators and non-programme participant paratransit operators

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances				
				Adjusted t-test results	
Value	**F**		**P**	**t**	**Df**
Benevolence	.65	*	.42		
Conformity	.13	*	.71		
Power	1.11	*	.29		
Security	5.7	**	.01	1.71	82.49
Stimulation	.00	*	.98		
Universalism	1.76	**	.18		
Trust (CoCt)	.17	*	.67		
Trust (TCT)	3.8	*	.05	1.69	86.45

Note. *One-tailed t-test for hypothesised dimensions; ** Two-tailed t-Test for non-hypothesised dimension

As seen in Table 11 below, no significant differences were observed between paratransit operators who had participated in the capacity-building programme and non-participant paratransit operators in any of the variables.

In addition to determining the statistical significance of the differences their effect sizes were determined. This was done as the effect size is not dependent on the sample size, whereas, in statistical significance testing the sample size determines whether or not a difference is significant. With larger sample sizes smaller differences become statistically significant. For this reason, the American Psychological Association (APA) Task Force on Statistical Inference (Wilkinson & APA Task Force on Statistical Inference, 1999) recommends that reporting and interpreting inferential statistics as well as effect sizes is essential for good research as effect size is a more useful indicator of whether or not a difference is meaningful than statistical significance.

Cohen's d was used as the effect size measure for the scales expect for the Conformity Scale. Cohen's d statistic uses the standardised difference between the means of two groups to indicate the effect size (Cohen, 1969, 1992; Orwin, 1983; Shadish & Haddock, 1994; Sullivan & Feinn, 2012). According to Cohen's specification for one-tailed t-tests, an effect size of .20 is considered as "small," .50 as "medium," and .80 as "large". Accordingly, if the means values of the two groups do not differ by 0.2 standardised standard deviations or more, the difference is seen as trivial, even if the difference was found to be statistically significant (Orwin, 1983; Shadish & Haddock, 1994; Sullivan & Feinn, 2012). Conversely, if the effect size is greater than 0.2 there is a small effect in the sample even if the difference is statistically non-significant. The effect sizes for each value dimension range from small to medium with values ranging from .23 - .42. However, the differences between the two groups for the value dimensions stimulation and benevolence are so small that they should be neglected (d = .01).

Cohen's d is not appropriate for Mann-Whitney U test results as Cohen's d requires normal distribution and is based on means (Fritz, Morris, & Richler, 2012; Rosenthal, Cooper & Hedges, 1994). Accordingly, an alternative formula for calculating effect size was used for the Conformity Scale. Rosenthal et al. proposed the formula $r = z/\sqrt{N}$ (r: effect size; z: z value; N: observation number). This resulted in an effect size of .03. As in the case of the above mentioned value dimensions, Cohen's effect size estimate was used to interpret this score.

Table 11

*Schwartz's value dimensions and definitions, expected level among paratransit operators based on the paratransit industry culture, the expected differences **(Δ)** between trained (t) and non-trained (n-t) paratransit operators, the actual findings and Cohen's d for effect size.*

	Value dimension	**Definition (Schwartz, 1992)**	**Expected level among paratransit operators**	**Actual level among paratransit operators**	**Expected Δ between trained (t) and non-trained (n-t) paratransit operators**	**Actual fining**			**Cohen's d**
						t	**Df**	**P**	
H1	Power	Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources.	High	Neither valued nor not valued	t < n-t	1.12	90	.13	.23
H2	Achievement	Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards.	Low to Medium	-	t > n-t	-Not tested: Achievement Scale not valid -			
H3	Hedonism	Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself.	Low to Medium	-	t < n-t	-Not tested: Hedonism Scale not valid -			
H4	Universalism	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature.	Low	High	t > n-t	2.00	87	.04	.42
H5	Benevolence	Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact.	Low to Medium	High	t > n-t	.-07	88	.47	.01

Table 11

*Schwartz's value dimensions and definitions, expected level among paratransit operators based on the paratransit industry culture, the expected differences **(Δ)** between trained (t) and non-trained (n-t) paratransit operators, the actual findings and Cohen's d for effect size (continued).*

H6	Conformity	Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms.	Low	High	t > n-t	**.08	-	.08	.03
H7	Trust in the City of Cape Town	-	Low	Medium to High	t > n-t	.-88	86	.18	.36
H8	Trust in Transport for Cape Town	-	Low	Medium to High	t > n-t	-.1.69	87	.04	.31
*	Stimulation	Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life.	High	High	-	.53	89	.29	.10
*	Self-direction	Independent thought and action-choosing, creating, exploring.	Medium	-	-	-Not tested: Self-direction Scale not valid -			
*	Tradition	Respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self.	High	-	-	-Not tested: Tradition Scale not valid -			
*	Security	Safety, harmony and stability of society, of relationships, and self.	Low	High	-	1.17	89	.09	.36

Note. Bonferroni correction applied to alpha level; p crit <.00625; * non-hypothesised difference, **Mann-Whitney U test

Since significant testing results are the outcome of combined functions of several study features and the probability that the observed difference between two groups is due to chance, significant testing results are not necessarily useful indices of study effects. Consequently, effect sizes were considered in this research study to help understand the magnitude of differences found (Shadish, & Haddock, 1994; Sullivan & Feinn, 2012).

Thus, while the findings were not significant, the effect sizes for the value dimensions power, universalism, conformity, security, trust (CoCT) and trust (TCT) were to some degree meaningful and thus, while small, confirmed significant differences between the two groups. However, the differences between the two groups for stimulation and benevolence were so small that they should be neglected.

5. Discussion

This study was conducted as a response to the lack of Organisational Psychology research and theory in the informal sector, despite its key societal and economic role. The focus of this dissertation was the South African paratransit industry, which is the largest contributor to the informal sector in the country. The paratransit industry has been described as violent, aggressive and undemocratic. The discipline of Organisational Psychology and its specific body of knowledge may have the potential to assist in transforming this culture. Accordingly, in line with the first research question, the degree to which paratransit operators espouse any of the value dimensions identified in Schwartz's (1992) Basic Human Values Theory was assessed. The reason for this is that shifts in the industry culture may be achieved through value changes driven by industry leaders, in this case paratransit operators. This understanding has been guided by the work of Schein (1985). Schein's Model of Organisational Culture emphasises the role of the leader in shaping the culture of an organisation. Specifically, the leader's personality and personal attributes influence and shape the culture and for that reason the underlying values held by organisational leaders are central to understanding and changing a culture within an organisation.

The second step in bringing about a culture change is finding ways in which to shift espoused values. In the case of the paratransit industry this shift would be aimed at achieving a more tolerant, cooperative, democratic and trusting culture. One way in which existing values could be shifted is by exposing paratransit operators to new and different values. Accordingly, on the basis of the second research question, an initial investigation was conducted into the potential of a particular capacity-building programme to shift values among Cape Town paratransit operators. Systematic differences between paratransit operators having participated in the programme and non-participating operators would highlight the potential of such a programme to effectively shift espoused values.

This final chapter provides a summary of the main findings and discusses the implications of these findings on the basis of what is known about the socially salient and unique context of the paratransit industry. This is followed by an overview of the study's limitations and recommendations for future research in the paratransit industry and a discussion of the theoretical and practical contributions of the study. Finally, the overall significance of the study's findings is presented.

5.1 Espoused values of paratransit operators

The first research question sought to establish the values among paratransit operators which may underlie the violent and aggressive culture in the Cape Town paratransit industry. Study participants indicated that they strongly valued universalism. Universalism is defined as an understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection of the welfare of all people (Schwartz, 1992). Furthermore, on average, study participants strongly valued benevolence. Benevolence is defined as an appreciation for the preservation and enhancement of the welfare of those people with whom one is in frequent personal contact (Schwartz, 1992). These values form Schwartz's self-transcendence dimension (refer to Figure 2, section 2.2.2). Security was also highly valued among the study participants. Schwartz (1992) defines security as a valuing of the safety, harmony and stability of society, of relationships, and of self. In addition, the study participants indicated a strong inclination towards conformity. This means that participants value restraint and self-control in the case of their actions, inclinations, and impulses (Schwartz, 1992). Security and conformity both fall in Schwartz's conservation dimension. These results were unexpected as it had been anticipated instead that underlying the aggressive and violent culture in the paratransit industry would be relatively low inclinations towards universalism, benevolence, security and conformity (Dugard, 2002; Hansen, 2006; Venter, 2013).

As had been expected, stimulation was valued to some extent. Stimulation falls within Schwartz's openness to change dimension. Stimulation is defined as an appreciation for excitement, novelty and challenge in life (Schwartz, 1992). While it had been anticipated that power would be highly valued, study participants indicated that they were neither strongly inclined nor disinclined toward power. Power is defined as a drive for social status, prestige, control and dominance and falls within Schwartz's self-enhancement dimension (Schwartz, 1992). Participants trusted the CoCT and TCT equally. Possible explanations for each of these findings will be discussed below.

5.1.1 Discussion of the results related to self-transcendence values

5.1.1.1 Universalism and benevolence. It had been suggested that paratransit operators continue to compete intensively among themselves and with formal modes of public transport which does not suggest a sense of universalism (Venter, 2013). Furthermore, it had been

assumed that operators would not value benevolence. For instance, Booysen et al. (2013) described how the short-term leasing of vehicles and the target system suggests that operators may hold the view that their minibus-taxi drivers are expendable. Unexpectedly, participants valued universalism and benevolence. Both are self-transcendence values, which Schwartz (2003, 2012) defined as values that emphasise a concern and appreciation for the welfare and interests of others. The only difference being that universalism focuses on people and nature as a whole, while benevolence focuses on people with whom one is in frequent contact.

Ajzen and Fishbein's (1985) theory of planned behaviour provides a theoretical framework for understanding why, contrary to expectations, study participants may value universalism and benevolence. The theory purports that behaviour is guided by three considerations: (1) behavioural beliefs; (2) normative beliefs; and (3) control beliefs. Behavioural beliefs foster either a favourable or unfavourable attitude towards a particular behaviour. Normative beliefs refer to the normative expectations held by others and thus shape the motivation to comply with these expectations or perceived social pressures. Control beliefs refer to beliefs about the presence of factors that may facilitate or impede the performance of a particular behaviour and the perceived power of these factors. Both universalism and benevolence speak to positive characteristics such as understanding, appreciation of, tolerance for and the desire to protect the welfare of people. In contemporary South African society there is a concerted campaign to encourage people to espouse these values. Therefore, to be seen as unsupportive of these normative beliefs, is to fail to conform to what is regarded as "right". By extension, even if the paratransit operators may in fact value universalism and benevolence, they may feel forced to conform to the less altruistic normative behaviours expected by the industry. These behaviours are thus in turn influenced by control beliefs as these are not the norm in the paratransit industry (Booysen et al, 2013; Venter, 2013).

Alternatively, the study participants may have responded to the items employed to assess universalism and benevolence with their family members or association members in mind rather than broader society. Venter (2013) highlighted that the paratransit industry is close-knit and protective of those in its immediate environment. For example, parents are able to ask operators in their communities to ensure that the drivers drop their children off at specific locations rather than along the taxi route at no additional cost. As a result, study participants could have indicated an overtly positive or strong inclination towards universalism and benevolence.

5.1.2 Discussion of the results related to conservation values

5.1.2.1 Conformity. It had been argued that the specific paratransit environment, and in turn the operating culture of the industry, foster a drive for instant success with a limited value being placed on long-term planning for both paratransit operators and minibus-taxi drivers (Booysen et al., 2013; Dugard, 2002; Hansen, 2006), thus placing little value on what Schwartz (1992) labelled the conformity value. Schwartz conceptualised conformity as valuing restraint in actions, inclinations and impulses. In this study the conformity scale items represented two underlying dimensions, restraint and obedience to rules. While study participants valued conformity with regards to restraint in actions, inclinations and impulses, they did not value obedience.

According to Milgram and Gudehus (1978) conformity refers to a person's actions or behaviours that align to those of a certain group which is captured by the scale items for conformity. For instance, in the paratransit industry, the use of fear as an intimidation tactic to protect routes and keep competing operators off a particular operator's route is a common practice which is conformed to by operators. Obedience, on the other hand, refers to the act of following the instructions or directions of an authority irrespective of whether they are in line with one's own values which the obedience item denotes (Milgram & Gudehus, 1978). As the industry is an informally "regulated" industry, operators may value conformity to certain behaviours and actions as it is a way of stabilising the system in the absence more formal regulatory structures. However, obedience may not be highly valued since the paratransit industry does not foster submission or obedience to formal authority as seen in the active resistance towards initiatives such as the TRP and the NLTTA (Act no. 5 of 2009). The results may thus highlight the industry's obedience to informal rules set by the industry, paired with resistance to "outside" authorities and their rules.

An alternative explanation as to why paratransit operators valued conformity so highly may be a result of two influences that have been found to drive conformity. Duckitt (1988) and Toelch and Dolan (2015) suggested that the first driver of conformity is informal influences such as social cues. These provide individuals with information concerning behaviours that are deemed acceptable. For instance, in the paratransit industry tough street talk is used by the operators even though some of them have moved their homes to more affluent middle-class areas where

they would not use this kind of argot. The second driver of conformity is normative influences such as a person's desire to adhere to group norms and expectations to gain approval and demonstrate belonging to avoid rejection and reduce social tension (Duckitt, 1988; Toelch & Dolan, 2015). In the paratransit industry there are strict self-imposed rules as to what areas a particular taxi association's vehicles can enter. For instance, a Mitchells Plain minibus-taxi would not be welcome in Khayelitsha and a failure to conform would be met with a warning at best. The results may accordingly illuminate the industry's obedience to informal rules or influences set by the industry.

5.1.2.2 Security. Both Bähre (2014) and Booysen et al. (2013) stressed the high levels of instability and a lack of harmony within the industry which suggests a low value placed on security. Schwartz (1992) defined security as safety, harmony and the stability of society, of relationships, and of self. It is possible that the aggressive and violent behaviour which is shown in the industry is in fact a means to obtain security, in the form of secure market share and domination. While the manner in which this is done may not been seen as socially acceptable from an outsider's perspective, such behaviours would then be employed in order to maintain a sense of security and stability. Thus, the ultimate aim of such behaviour is to secure the survival of the industry and their businesses.

Alternatively, paratransit operators could value security so highly because they operate in such an insecure environment. Specifically, if a person has grown up in a safe environment, for instance a small rural town and know nothing but a safe environment, they may not value security all that much as they possibly will take it as a granted. Conversely, a person who grew up in an informal settlement may value safety and security because they do not have it which may highlight the industry's appreciation for safety and security.

5.1.3 Discussion of the results related to self-enhancement values

5.1.3.1 Power. On average, study participants seemed to be neutral about valuing power. In terms of Schwartz's (1992) Theory of Basic Human Values individuals who value security highly would not value power. In this way the results conform to the theory. A low value placed on power had not been expected, though, as Bähre (2014) had emphasised that the social context of the industry seemed rather to support social status and prestige seeking as well as control and dominance over people and resources.

Social desirability bias may be a possible explanation for this finding. Study participants may have avoided answering these items truthfully but instead answered in such a way that would be positively received by the researcher. Specifically, an agreement with the item "*It is important to him (her) to be in charge and tell others what to do. He (she) wants people to do what he (she) says"* might be seen to reflect badly and confirm the stereotype that paratransit operators are controlling and undemocratic.

In addition, the items used by Schwartz (2012) to assess this value could have been seen to touch on matters that operators are traditionally private about. For instance, operators tend to be evasive about how much money they earn and about their fleet size with both being indicators of wealth. Thus, when presented with the item "*It is important to him (her) to be rich. He (she) wants to have a lot of money and expensive things*" an operator may have chosen neutrality in their response rather than indicating complete agreement or disagreement.

5.1.4 Discussion of the results related to openness to change values

5.1.4.1 Stimulation. The paratransit industry is marked by the need to adapt to constant change such as attempts to impose regulations that threaten the status quo of the industry and threats by other formal and informal competing modes of public transport. This is in line with what Schwartz (1992) conceptualised as stimulation. As expected the study participants valued stimulation to some extent.

In terms of Schwartz's (1992) Theory of Basic Human Values, individuals who value stimulation would not place high emphasis on self-transcendence values (benevolence and universalism). Yet, paratransit operators valued stimulation, benevolence and universalism relatively highly. This may give credence to the assumption that study participants may have distorted their responses to the universalism and benevolence items.

5.2 Discussion of the results related to trust in authority

The reason for assessing the extent to which paratransit operators value trust in authority was that the relationship between the paratransit industry and authority officials has been notoriously chequered (Bähre, 2014; Booysen et al., 2013; Venter, 2013). This has fostered hostile attitudes, severe mistrust and a lack of cooperative behaviour between operators and government or city officials. Consequently, it had been expected that trust in the CoCT and TCT would be low overall. The findings suggest the opposite. Notably, trust in both authorities was found to be equally highly valued.

As the industry is dependent on the CoCT and TCT for the issuing of operating licences, study participants may have responded to these items positively out of fear that their responses would be given to the City and in turn be used to threaten prescribed routes, approved fleet numbers and possibly resulted in the impoundment of vehicles.

Alternatively, it could be that the sample was skewed in that only those operators who were interested in and saw the value in the capacity-building programme participated in this study. Therefore, they would have had a measure of trust in the capacity-building programme which was funded by and thus affiliated with the CoCT and TCT. Those operators who did not trust the capacity-building programme in all likelihood would have not wanted to participate in the study. This is particularly likely since the researcher had asked participants in the comparison group if they would participate in such a programme and only chose those who had said yes.

Overall, the findings suggest that operators in the paratransit industry do not espouse values which would condone violent, aggressive or undemocratic behaviour. If these results indeed reflect reality it is possible that the paratransit operators are required to conform to industry norms and behaviours, even though these are at odds with what they value. It needs, however, be considered that the actual behaviour which is used to characterise the industry as violent and aggressive is carried out by minibus-taxi drivers, not by operators. Paratransit operators may thus have limited influence in shaping the values of the industry as there are limited interactions between operators and drivers. Unlike in a clearly defined organisation it is thus possible that the culture in the paratransit industry is determined more by the personality and personal attributes of the drivers than the operators, even though operators represent the industry leadership and without doubt tolerate drivers' behaviour (Oreg & Berson, 2011; Sosik, 2005).

Future research within the paratransit industry may thus want to assess the drivers' espoused values.

5.3 The role of Organisational Psychology in shifting values

It has been suggested that the paratransit industry operates in an environment of dishonesty, violence and exploitation all in the name of market control (Bähre, 2014; Hansen, 2006). However, this study has shown that paratransit operators' value conformity, benevolence, security and have trust in authority. By translating these values into value-conform behaviours shown towards minibus-taxi drivers and by encouraging similar behaviour in their work, over time, these drivers may shift their values and behaviours in turn. Yet, in order for this process to work effectively, it is important to carefully select an appropriate approach.

One such approach is outlined in Fullan's (1999) Change Agentry Theory. Through the support and guidance of the organisational psychologist, the leader, in this case the paratransit operator establishes readiness for change among the drivers by identifying and creating four leadership capacities that are compatible with four organisational capacities (Beabout & Carr-Chellman, 2008; Fullan, 1999, 2000, 2006).

The first leadership capacity is personal vision and the organisational counterpart is shared vision building. This ensures that all organisational members have a broader vision that they buy into. While at present the goals of operators and drivers are not aligned, they may, for example, share the vision of safe communities where people can walk safely in the streets. Accordingly, it would need to be made clear to both the operators and drivers how their actions could have an influence on this. By operators showing restraint in actions (conformity) in their own behaviour towards their drivers or towards other operators (and the drivers need to witness this behaviour) drivers may start valuing restraint in action and be more restraint in their actions towards customers, other minibus-taxi drivers, commuters and pedestrians.

The second leadership capacity is inquiry into the way things are done and the organisational counterpart is organisational structure. This allows organisational members to internalise norms, habits, and techniques to ensure continuous learning. Using the example of creating positive shifts in behaviour through the positive value placed on restraint in actions (conformity), minibus-taxis drivers should begin to behave in such a way that conforms to the

beliefs of the operators. Specifically, drivers may begin to see the value of conforming to the rules of the road as the operators would reward this positive behaviour. For example, operators may implement monetary incentives if no traffic fines are incurred in the course of a month. This is reinforced by the third leadership capacity which is mastery and the organisational counterpart is building norms and practices of inquiry. This would allow the drivers to clearly understand and appreciate the outcomes of good driving.

The final leadership capacity is collaboration and the organisational counterpart is organisational development. This encourages the forming of mentoring and peer relationships and the development of partnerships. If the desired outcomes are achieved, that is increased restraint in actions among minibus-taxi drivers, both drivers and operators could help each other in attaining their individual and organisational goals.

5.4 The potential of a capacity-building programme to shift values

On the grounds of the observations made by the programme facilitators, concerning the paratransit operators who underwent a particular capacity-building programme, the second research question explored the extent to which operators who had participated in a capacity-building programme demonstrate different values to those of non-participant paratransit operators. The facilitators suggested that a shift from task-orientation towards relation-orientation had taken place. It was thus hypothesised that programme participants would value universalism which is characterised by understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and benevolence that is preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact (Schwartz, 1992) more than non-programme participants. Secondly, programme participants seemed more restrained in their actions, inclinations, and impulses which create short-term gains but hinder long-term business success. This led to the hypothesis that programme participants would value conformity more than non-programme participants. Thirdly, the programme facilitators noted a shift among programme participants from a focus on control and dominance towards greater cooperation. In view of this, it was hypothesised that programme participants would value power and hedonism less than non-programme participants, while achievement would be valued more than among non-programme participants. Finally, the facilitators commented that there appeared to be a greater trust in authority (the CoCT and TCT) among programme participants. Subsequently, it was hypothesised that programme participants would have more

trust in authority than non-programme participants. However, no significant differences were found between the two groups. Nonetheless, meaningful effect sizes were reported. There are four plausible explanations that could account for this outcome.

Firstly, as mentioned above, for reasons of social desirability participants may have concealed their real views in their responses because they were concerned that providing a truthful answer would reflect badly on them or reveal too much about them. They may rather have indicated those values they thought the researcher would see as desirable.

Secondly, it is possible that the high level of mistrust, secrecy and the consequential guarded nature of the industry could have influenced participant responses. During data collection some participants had been hesitant and questioned the intent of the study despite the cover page explaining the study's objective. Participants may have feared that the information gleaned from the questionnaire would be fed back to the CoCT or TCT. Tourangeau and Yan (2007) refer to this as threat of disclosure. In view of this, participants may have been concerned that the findings could disadvantage operators for instance when applying for new operating licences. As a result, the study participants may have misreported their responses, especially when answering items relating to trust in authority. This could have obscured any true differences between programme participant and non-programme participant operators.

Thirdly, the study comprised of a sample of 92 participants and thus this may not have been a large enough number to detect any true differences in the outcomes between the two groups (Fritz et al., 2015). This is especially likely as there were meaningful effect sizes for most differences (power, universalism, conformity, security, trust (CoCT) and trust (TCT)). However, the direction of the differences was not as expected.

Finally, a reason as to why no differences were found between programme participant and non-programme participant paratransit operators may be due to the measure used to assess participants' values. The PVQ (Schwartz et al., 2001) had been chosen as it was grounded in universal values postulated to be recognised by members of most societies, and it had been validated in South Africa. However, as mentioned in the results chapter the way in which Schwartz (1992) conceptualised some value dimensions and phrased certain items to assess the value dimension may not have resonated with participants given the distinct environment in which the paratransit industry operates. This is likely as the value sub-scales did not emerge as

intended in this study. For example, the achievement items were represented by two dimensions, one indicating personal success and the second indicating dominance/supremacy. Personal success refers to achieving one's own goals whereas dominance/supremacy refers to superiority in terms of authority, power, or status. Consequently, participants who gave a high score for the first dimension (personal success) gave a high score for the second dimension (dominance or supremacy), some a medium score and some a low score and consequently there was no pattern.

Similarly, Schwartz (1992) describes the hedonism value dimension as pleasure and gratification for oneself. The items used to assess this value place an emphasis on having fun and enjoying life. While many of the paratransit operators live in low socio-economic areas (Mitchells Plain/ Khayelitsha) they are in fact successful business owners and relatively financially well-off. Consequently, Inglehart (2000) suggested that a low socio-economic status does not encourage post-materialistic values and thus while the social context in which the operators live may aspire to affluence and material wealth rather than non-material wealth; the participants may value having fun and enjoying life. The wording of the two items that loaded significantly emphasise having fun and enjoying life (non-material pleasures and desires). Yet, the item that did not load significantly ("*Enjoying life's pleasures is important to him (her). He (she) likes to 'spoil' himself (herself)*) comprised of two components (1) enjoying life's pleasures and (2) spoiling oneself. The word spoil may have been interpreted as having a negative connation as it is associated with unhealthy self-indulgence. Consequently, some participants may have offered a different response to this item.

When defining self-direction, Schwartz (1992) uses terms such as freedom, choosing own goals, action-choosing and exploring. Yet, the item "*Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him (her). He (she) likes to do things in his (her) own original way"* speaks less to this definition of self-direction and more to creativity. Notably, creativity is at odds with conformity which was found to be valued by paratransit operators. Specifically, conformity provides stability while doing things in one's own way could mean "chaos".

Overall, as no systematic differences were found between paratransit operators having participated in the programme and non-participating operators, this suggests that such a programme may not be an effective means to effectively shift espoused values.

5.5 Limitations and recommendations for future research

The findings of this study provide a first insight into possible espoused values among paratransit operators predominantly operating in Cape Town Metro's South East. While the study aimed to assess whether a particular capacity-building programme may potentially have brought with it shifts in the considered values, the findings were not significant and therefore the potential of the programme to shift values among these operators could not be determined. Yet, meaningful effect sizes were reported which does support the need for further research into the potential of a similar programme to shift values. The following section summarises several suggestions that could be incorporated into future research endeavours to overcome some of the limitations associated with this study.

Firstly, with regards to the quasi-experimental post-test design no causal inferences could be drawn. Specifically, as no baseline data was available it cannot be concluded with certainty that the capacity-building did not have an influence on the values of paratransit operators. Thus it is recommended that if future programmes were to be conducted within the paratransit industry baseline data should be collected to determine participants' values prior to the start of the programme and at programme completion.

Secondly, the study employed self-report measures as these are cost-effective, easy to use and flexible. However, this method may have led to various common method biases (Kormos & Gifford, 2014). For instance self-report measures are prone to exaggeration. Participants tend to over report behaviours because of social desirability bias. Social desirability bias is a response bias that occurs when participants answer questions in a manner that will be viewed favourably (Kormos & Gifford, 2014; Tourangeau & Yan, 2007). Specifically, there is a distinct possibility (as outlined above) due to mistrust, power dynamics between the City (who the researcher was seen as affiliated with) and paratransit operators that participants distorted their response. An attempt was made to counter these biases by thoroughly assuring respondents' anonymity and confidentiality. In addition, as data was collected from two sources (programme participants and non-programme participants) it may have mitigated biases to a certain degree as programme participants and non-programme participants may have been more inclined to answer truthfully.

Thirdly, the study comprised of a sample of 92 participants; however, this may not be a large enough number to detect any true differences in the outcomes between the groups (Fritz et al., 2015). The sample, however, presented a rare opportunity to access a field sample within a real- life research setting among a group that is ordinarily private in terms of their business practices and hence their attitudes, beliefs and behaviours. For this reason, the research considered effect sizes which are independent of sample size. The effect sizes for each value dimension, that is conformity, universalism, security, power trust (CoCT) and trust (TCT), were meaningful expect for stimulation and benevolence fell below the acceptable specification.

Furthermore, in order to further understand and detect any true differences between the values held by paratransit operators and non-paratransit operators, it may be valuable for future research to include a third sample. The third sample should comprise of people who are similar to paratransit operators, namely live in the same area; have similar socio-economic and demographic backgrounds, but who do not work in the paratransit industry. This could highlight any values that are unique or specific to the paratransit industry. This could not be implemented in the present study given the tight time constraints.

Finally, where random assignment to treatment and control group is not possible, matched sampling is preferable to select control subjects. In this way, potentially relevant characteristics which may bring about differences between control and treatment groups are controlled for (Rosenbaum & Rubin, 1985). In this case, the control group could have been matched on the characteristics used to identify capacity-building programme participants: (1) minimum educational requirement – matric or equivalent or a particular number of years in the industry; (2) peer recognition of management and leadership capacity; (3) an interest in the transport industry; and (4) holding a leadership position within the minibus-taxi industry, as well as (5) geographic location (Mitchells Plain/ Khayelitsha), (6) gender and (7) age. While the recruitment of a closely matched sample had been planned for the high level of mistrust, secrecy and guarded nature in the industry presented a challenge to gathering data from paratransit operators who had not participated in the capacity-building programme. Consequently, matching was not possible. It is therefore suggested that future research allow for sufficient time to build rapport within the industry which may reduce barriers to accessing study participants.

5.6 Contributions of the study

This study provides an initial insight into the distinct cultural context and underlying values of paratransit operators and thereby contributes to theory and practice.

5.6.1 Theoretical contributions. As outlined in Chapter 2 the informal sector, and specifically the paratransit industry as the largest contributor to this sector, has been subject to particular historical, political, and cultural complexities that have influenced the organisational culture and thus likely the espoused values held by industry members. Yet, the PVQ employed to assess the espoused values among paratransit operators was not entirely suited to the social context of the paratransit industry. Schwartz (2012) argues that while the extent to which importance is attributed to values may differ among individuals and groups, it is assumed that these ten values are universal. The findings of this study suggest that participants did not necessarily relate to or were able to embody all ten value dimensions as the item content did not always relate to the definition of the value dimension in this particular sample given the particular context in which the sample finds itself. Specifically, the item content did not necessarily indicate or describe the values achievement, hedonism, self-direction and tradition in the context in which the sample finds itself and thus did not resonate with the participants. This calls into question the assumption that the PVQ is able to assess all ten values appropriately in all contexts. This highlights the importance of considering the contextual factors of study participants when applying concepts that have been developed in other context whether it is international, national or even in corporate (formal) contexts.

This study provides partial support for Schwartz's (1992) Theory of Basic Human Values. Specifically, the relative endorsement of value dimensions in relation to each other, however, was found to be in line with Schwartz's assumptions. Schwartz suggested that the closer any two values are positioned in the theoretical model of relations, the more similar their underlying motivations are and the more distant they are, the more their underlying motivations are opposed. In line with this assumption, the results suggest that the study participant's value self-transcendence values (universalism and benevolence) as well conversation values (conformity and security). Furthermore, study participants did not seem to espouse hedonism and self-direction values (openness to change values) as well as achievement and power (self-enchantment values) which provide further support for the relative endorsement of value dimensions in relation to each other.

However, this research contributes to the theoretical knowledge used to inform the values questionnaire (PVQ) by highlighting the value dimensions that had little relevance to the organisational (industry) culture within the paratransit industry, namely, achievement, hedonism, self-direction and tradition. This was done by assessing the wording of these items for what they had in common. The items were then considered in terms of the social complexities of the industry to identify how relatable item content was. Future research should therefore further explore the context specificity of the values espoused by paratransit operators. Basic assumptions, visible and tangible artefacts and symbols would best indicate particular values in a specific context (Hatch, 1993; Schein, 1985). This should be done in order rephrase these value dimensions to ensure that they are contextually relevant to the paratransit industry. In order to further explore the context specificity of the values espoused by paratransit operators, qualitative research methods could be drawn on. This would entail focus groups as well as one-on-one interviews with paratransit operators. Yet, the advantage of quantitative research is anonymity – which given the mistrust and secretive nature of the paratransit industry may be more appropriate.

5.6.2 Practical contributions. The findings suggest that paratransit operators, both those who underwent the capacity-building programme and those who did not, unexpectedly embodied values that do not accord with the violent and aggressive operating culture that continues to characterise the industry.

If these values are a true reflection and thus indeed espoused by the study participants, then these are the values that need to be translated into the behaviour displayed among minibus-taxi drivers. This is one way in which a shift can be brought about in the operating culture of the paratransit industry. At present the industry predominantly works with transport engineers and city planners who do have not been trained in understanding and guiding interpersonal relationships, both of which is crucial to change industry behaviour. This highlights one of the gaps that Organisational Psychology practice can fill in the paratransit industry. Specifically, organisational psychologists are able to develop people-centred, integrated and participatory interventions as means of bringing about change. However, the skills and knowledge of organisational psychologists are predominately focused on aiding the economic growth and development of South Africa's formal sector. Therefore, to produce knowledge and adapt practices to be appropriate in the complex and specific environment of the paratransit industry, the discipline needs to reposition its focus from the formal sector to that of the informal sector.

As the profession's role boundaries expand into the informal sector, the divide between the academic and the practitioner could be minimised. Specifically, practitioners could embark on programmes or pilot studies grounded on theoretical frameworks developed taking the particular context into account. The outcomes of practice could then be fed back to academics and thus be used to expand on, modify and inform theory.

5.7 Conclusion

Despite the key societal and economic role played by the informal sector in South African society, Organisational Psychology research and theory places little emphasis and focus on this sector. Accordingly, this study was conducted as a response to the lack of Organisational Psychology research and theory in the informal sector.

Guided by Schwartz's Theory of Basic Human Values (1992), the first research question set to identify certain values among paratransit operators that may underlie the violent and aggressive culture that continues to characterise the industry. This was done as the first step towards a culture change is to understand the industry culture and the underlying values held by leaders within the industry. The second research question asked to what extent paratransit operators who had participated in a specific capacity-building programme would demonstrate different values to those of paratransit operators who had not been part of the programme. The reason for looking at this distinction is that the second step in bringing about a culture change is finding ways in which to shift values to achieve a more tolerant, cooperative, democratic and trusting culture. One way in which existing values could be shifted is through exposure to new and different values.

Training participants and non-participant paratransit operators did not differ significantly in the degree to which they espoused the different values and their degree of trust in the two transport authorities. As no systematic differences were found a capacity-building programme may not be an effective means to shift espoused values. However, the findings of this dissertation challenge the perceptions about the social principles, philosophies, goals, and standards considered to have an intrinsic worth within the paratransit industry. Furthermore, the effect sizes for the differences in conformity, power, security, and universalism as well as trust in the two transport authorities were meaningful. It needs to be noted, though, that a number of limitations in the study design, particularly that no pre-intervention data was available, means

that it is not possible to assess if the values of paratransit operators had shifted over the duration of the programme.

However, the results suggest that for the most part espouse values that are at odds with violent and aggressive behaviour. This research has thus provided findings which can assist in understanding and potentially shifting the values and thus the violent and aggressive culture of the paratransit industry. This shift is desirable as the current means of informally regulating and controlling market share in the paratransit industry are often brutal and aggressive. Furthermore, the industry has few features of a formal business entity. This impedes the industry's ability to reap the short- and long-term benefits associated with formal business operations such as VOCs.

It is hoped that this study will be an impetus for more research to be carried out within the paratransit industry to inform how best to translate the values espoused by paratransit operators into the behaviour of minibus-taxi drivers.

References

Ajzen, I. (1985). *From intentions to actions: A theory of planned behavior.* In Action control. Springer Berlin Heidelberg.

Allport, G. W. (1961). Pattern and growth in personality. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Armstrong, R. A. (2014). When to use the Bonferroni correction. *Ophthalmic and Physiological Optics*, *34*(5), 502-508.

Arrindell, W. A., & Van der Ende, J. (1985). An empirical test of the utility of the observations to - variables ratio in factor and components analysis. *Applied Psychological Measurement*, 9(2), 165–178.

Augustyn, J. C., & Cillie, G. G. (2008). Theory and practice in Industrial Psychology: Quo vadis?. *SA Journal of Industrial Psychology*, *34*(1), 70-75.

Bademci, V. (2014). Cronbach'ın Alfası, Tek Boyutluluğun veya Benzeşikliğin (Homojenliğin) Bir Ölçüsü Değildir. *Journal of Computer and Education Research*, *2*(3), 19-27.

Bähre, E. (2014). A trickle-up economy: Mutuality, freedom and violence in Cape Town's taxi associations. *Africa*, *84*(04), 576-594.

Baker, L., Newell, P., & Phillips, J. (2014). The political economy of energy transitions: The case of South Africa. *New Political Economy*, *19*(6), 791-818.

Bank, L. J. (1990). The making of the Qwaqwa 'mafia'? Patronage and protection in the migrant taxi business. *African Studies*, *49*(1), 71-93.

Beabout, B., & Carr-Chellman, A. A. (2008). Change agentry. *Handbook of research on educational communications and technology, 9* (2) 619-32.

Bearden, W. O., Money, R. B., & Nevins, J. L. (2006). A measure of long-term orientation: Development and validation. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, *34*(3), 456-467.

Behrens, R., McCormick, D., & Mfinanga, D. (Eds.). (2015). *Paratransit in African cities: Operations, regulation and reform*. Routledge.

Biernacki, P., & Waldorf, D. (1981). Snowball sampling: Problems and techniques of chain referral sampling. *Sociological methods & research*, *10*(2), 141-163.

Bigley, G. A., & Pearce, J. L. (1998). Straining for shared meaning in organization science: Problems of trust and distrust. *Academy of management review*, *23*(3), 405-421.

Bijlsma, K., & Koopman, P. (2003). Introduction: trust within organisations. *Personnel Review*, *32*(5), 543-555.

Bollen, K. A. (1989). *Structural equations with latent variables*. New York, NY: Wiley.

Booysen, M. J., Andersen, S. J., & Zeeman, A. S. (2013, October). Informal public transport in Sub-Saharan Africa as a vessel for novel intelligent transport systems. In *Intelligent Transportation Systems-(ITSC), 2013 16th International IEEE Conference on* (pp. 767-772). IEEE.

Branson, C.M. (2007) Achieving organizational change through values alignment, *Journal of Educational Administration*, *46*(3), pp. 376-395.

Brown, L. (2003). A guide to monitoring and evaluation of capacity-building interventions in the health sector in developing countries. *Measures evaluation Manual Series*, *1*(7), 1-110.

Brown, J. D. (2009a). Statistics Corner. Questions and answers about language testing statistics: Principal components analysis and exploratory factor analysis—Definitions, differences, and choices. *Shiken: JALT Testing & Evaluation SIG Newsletter*, *13(1), 26-30.*

Bullinger, A. C., Neyer, A. K., Rass, M., & Moeslein, K. M. (2010). Community-based innovation contests: Where competition meets cooperation. *Creativity and innovation management*, *19*(3), 290-303.

Burns, R. P., & Burns, R. (2008). *Business research methods and statistics using SPSS.* SAGE Publications Ltd., London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, Singapore.

Cabrera-Nguyen, P. (2010). Author guidelines for reporting scale development and validation results in the Journal of the Society for Social Work and Research. *Journal of the Society for Social Work and Research*, *1*(2), 99-103.

Camilli, G., Elmore, P. B., & Green, J. L. (Eds.). (2006). *Handbook of Complementary Methods in Education Research*. American Educational Research Association.

Campbell, D. T., & Stanley, J. C. (1963). Experimental designs for research on teaching. *Handbook of research on teaching*, 171-246.

Cattell, R. B. (1978). *The scientific use of factor analysis in behavioral and life sciences*. New York: Plenum.

Charman, A. J., Petersen, L. M., Piper, L. E., Liedeman, R., & Legg, T. (2017). Small area census approach to measure the township informal economy in South Africa. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, *11*(1), 36-58.

Chatman, J. A., & Jehn, K. A. (1994). Assessing the relationship between industry characteristics and organizational culture: how different can you be? *Academy of management journal*, *37*(3), 522-553.

Cohen, J. (1969) *Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences*. New York: Academic Press.

Cohen, J. (1992). Statistical power analysis. *Current directions in psychological science*, *1*(3), 98-101.

Comrey, A. L. (1973). A first course in factor analysis. New York: Academic.

Conger, J. A., & Kanungo, R. N. (1994). Charismatic leadership in organizations: Perceived behavioral attributes and their measurement. *Journal of organizational behavior*, 439-452.

Cooper, S. (2014). A synopsis of South African psychology from apartheid to democracy. *American Psychologist*, *69*(8), 837.

Cortina, J. M. (1993). What is coefficient alpha? An examination of theory and applications. *Journal of applied psychology*, *78*(1), 98.

Costello, A. B., & Osborne, J. W. (2005). Best practices in exploratory factor analysis: Four recommendations for getting the most from your analysis. *Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation*, *10*(7), 1–9.

Cronbach, L. J. (1951). Coefficient alpha and the internal structure of tests. *psychometrika*, *16*(3), 297-334.

Cudeck, R. (2000). Exploratory factor analysis. *Handbook of applied multivariate statistics and mathematical modeling*, 65 (4), 265-296.

De Cremer, D., & Tyler, T. R. (2007). The effects of trust in authority and procedural fairness on cooperation. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *92*(3), 639.

De Vaus, D. A., & de Vaus, D. (2001). *Research design in social research*. Sage.
Field, A. (2012). *Discovering statistics using IBM SPSS statistics* (4th ed.). London: Sage

De Winter, J. C., & Dodou, D. (2012). Factor recovery by principal axis factoring and maximum likelihood factor analysis as a function of factor pattern and sample size. *Journal of Applied Statistics*, *39*(4), 695-710.

De Winter, J. D., Dodou, D. I., & Wieringa, P. A. (2009). Exploratory factor analysis with small sample sizes. *Multivariate behavioral research*, *44*(2), 147-181.

DiStefano, C., Zhu, M., & Mindrila, D. (2009). Understanding and using factor scores: Considerations for the applied researcher. *Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation*, *14*(20), 1-11.

Duckitt, J. (1988). Normative conformity and racial prejudice in South Africa. *Genetic, Social, and General Psychology Monographs*, *114*(4), 413-437.

Dugard, J. (2001). *From low-intensity war to mafia war: Taxi violence in South Africa, 1987-2000* (Vol. 4). Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.

Durkheim, E. (1897). *Le suicide: étude de sociologie*. F. Alcan.

Etikan, I., Musa, S. A., & Alkassim, R. S. (2016). Comparison of convenience sampling and purposive sampling. *American Journal of Theoretical and Applied Statistics*, *5*(1), 1-4.

Fabrigar, L. R., Wegener, D. T., MacCallum, R. C., & Strahan, E. J. (1999). Evaluating the use of exploratory factor analysis in psychological research. *Psychological methods*, *4*(3), 272

Farrokhi, F., & Mahmoudi-Hamidabad, A. (2012). Rethinking convenience sampling: Defining quality criteria. *Theory and practice in language studies*, *2*(4), 784.

Field, A. (2013). *Discovering statistics using IBM SPSS statistics*. Sage.

Fritz, C. O., Morris, P. E., & Richler, J. J. (2012). Effect size estimates: current use, calculations, and interpretation. *Journal of experimental psychology: General*, *141*(1), 2-18.

Froman, R. D. (2001). Elements to consider in planning the use of factor analysis. *Southern Online Journal of Nursing Research*, *2*(5), 1-63.

Fullan, M. (1999). *Change force: The sequel.* New York: Falmer Press

Fullan, M. (2000). The return of large-scale reform. *Journal of educational Change*, *1*(1), 5-27.

Fullan, M. (2006, November). Change theory. In *Seminar Series. A force for school improvement*.

Gauthier, A., & Weinstock, A. (2010). Africa Transforming Paratransit into BRT. *Built Environment*, *36*(3), 317-327.

George, D., & Mallery, P. (2003). *SPSS for Windows step by step: A simple guide and reference. 11.0 update* (4th ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Gliem, J. A., & Gliem, R. R. (2003). Calculating, interpreting, and reporting Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient for Likert-type scales. Midwest Research-to-Practice Conference in Adult, Continuing, and Community Education.

Gorsuch, R. L. (1983). *Factor analysis* (2nd ed.). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Green, S. B., Lissitz, R. W., & Mulaik, S. A. (1977). Limitations of coefficient alpha as an index of test unidimensionality1. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, *37*(4), 827-838.Groeneveld, R. A., & Meeden, G. (1984). Measuring skewness and kurtosis. *The Statistician*, *28*(1), 391-399.

Groeneveld, R. A., & Meeden, G. (1984). Measuring skewness and kurtosis. *The Statistician*, *33* (4), 391-399.

Guilford, J. P. (1954). *Psychometric methods* (2nd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Hair, J. F., Anderson, R. E., Tatham, R. L., & Grablowsky, B. J. (1979). *Multivariate data analysis*. Tulsa, OK: Pipe Books.

Hansen, T. B. (2006). Sounds of freedom: music, taxis, and racial imagination in urban South Africa. *Public Culture*, *18*(1), 185-208.

Harris, A. D., McGregor, J. C., Perencevich, E. N., Furuno, J. P., Zhu, J., Peterson, D. E., & Finkelstein, J. (2006). The use and interpretation of quasi-experimental studies in medical informatics. *Journal of the American Medical Informatics Association*, *13*(1), 16-23.

Hatch, M. J. (1993). The dynamics of organizational culture. *Academy of management review*, *18*(4), 657-693.

Hatch, M. J., & Schultz, M. (2002). The dynamics of organizational identity. *Human relations*, *55*(8), 989-1018.

Hattie, J. (1985). Methodology review: assessing unidimensionality of tests. *Applied psychological measurement*, *9*(2), 139-164.

Hofstede, G. (1993). Cultural constraints in management theories. *The Academy of Management Executive*, *7*(1), 81-94.

Isaacs, L. (2017). *Golden Arrow keeps an eye on Delft, Nyanga after bus stoned.* Retrieved from http://ewn.co.za/2017/03/24/golden-arrows-keeps-an-eye-on-delft-nyanga-after-bus-stoned

Jacques, E. 1951. *The changing culture of a factory*. London: Tavistock Institute.

Kabanoff, B., Waldersee, R. and Cohen, M. (1995) Espoused values and organizational change themes, *Academy of Management Journal*, 38(4), pp. 1075-1104.

Kaiser, H. F., & Caffrey, J. (1965). Alpha factor analysis. *Psychometrika*, *30*(1), 1-14.

Khosa, M. M. (1992). Routes, ranks and rebels: feuding in the taxi revolution. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *18*(1), 232-251.

Kline, P. (1999). *The handbook of psychological testing* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.

Koyana, X. (2017). *Western Cape Transport Department Concerned by spate of taxi violence.* Retrieved from http://ewn.co.za/2017/03/21/wc-transport-concerned-by-spate-of-taxi-violence

Lani, J. (2017). *Conduct and Interpret a Factor Analysis.* Retrieved from http://www.statisticssolutions.com/factor-analysis-2/

Martin, J. (2002) *Organizational Culture: Mapping the Terrain* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications).

McAllister, D. J. (1995). Affect-and cognition-based trust as foundations for interpersonal cooperation in organizations. *Academy of management journal*, *38*(1), 24-59.

McCleskey, J. A. (2014). Situational, transformational, and transactional leadership and leadership development. *Journal of Business Studies Quarterly*, *5*(4), 117.

McDonald, R. (1999). Test Theory: a Unified Treatment. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Milgram, S., & Gudehus, C. (1978). Obedience to authority. New York: Harper & Row.

Minkov, M., & Bond, M. H. (2015). Genetic polymorphisms predict national differences in life history strategy and time orientation. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *76*, 204-215.

Molero, F., Cuadrado, I., Navas, M., & Morales, J. F. (2007). Relations and effects of transformational leadership: A comparative analysis with traditional leadership styles. *The Spanish journal of psychology*, *10*(2), 358-368.

Morlock, M. (2017). *Warring taxi factions meet to discuss tension in Delft*. Retrieved from ewn.co.za/2017/03/23/warring-taxi-factions-meet-to-discuss-tension-in-delft

Neumann, A., Röder, D., & Joubert, J. W. (2015). *Towards a simulation of minibuses in South Africa.*

Nunnally, J. (1978). Psychometric methods. New York: McGraw Hill.

Ogbonna, E., & Harris, L. C. (2002). Managing organisational culture: Insights from the hospitality industry. *Human Resource Management Journal*, *12*(1), 33-53.

Oreg, S., & Berson, Y. (2011). Leadership and employee's reactions to change: the role of leader's personal attributes and transformational leadership style. *Personnel psychology*, *64*(3), 627-659.

Orwin, R. G. (1983). A fail-safe N for effect size in meta-analysis. *Journal of educational statistics*, *8*(2), 157-159.

Pallant, J. (2013). *SPSS survival manual*. 5th ed. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Parsons, T. (1951). Illness and the role of the physician: A sociological perspective. *American Journal of orthopsychiatry*, *21*(3), 452-460.

Pedhazur, E. J., & Schmelkin, L. P. (1991). *Measurement, design, and analysis*. Hillside.

Pizer, M.K. and Härtel, C.E.J. (2005) For better or for worse: organizational culture and emotions, in C.E.J. Härtel, W.F. Zerbe and N.M. Ashkanasy (eds), *Emotions in Organizational Behaviour*, pp. 335-354 (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates).

Phillips, S. W. (2013). Using Volunteers in Policing: A Force Field Analysis of American Supervisors. *The Police Journal*, *86*(4), 289-306

Raubenheimer, J. (2004). An item selection procedure to maximize scale reliability and validity. *SA Journal of Industrial Psychology*, *30*(4), 59-64.

Roberts, B. L., Anthony, M. K., Madigan, E. A., & Chen, Y. (1997). Data management: Cleaning and checking. *Nursing research*, *46*(6), 350-352.

Roberts, P., Priest, H., & Traynor, M. (2006). Reliability and validity in research. *Nursing standard*, *20*(44), 41-45.

Rogerson, C. M. (2016). South Africa's informal economy: Reframing debates in national policy. *Local Economy*, *31*(1-2), 172-186.

Rooke, J., Seymour, D., & Fellows, R. (2004). Planning for claims: an ethnography of industry culture. *Construction management and economics*, *22*(6), 655-662.

Rose, S., Spinks, N., & Canhoto, A. I. (2015). Tests for the assumption that a variable is normally distributed. *Management research: Applying the principles*.

Rosenbaum, P. R., & Rubin, D. B. (1985). Constructing a control group using multivariate matched sampling methods that incorporate the propensity score. *The American Statistician*, *39*(1), 33-38.

Rosenthal, R., Cooper, H., & Hedges, L. V. (1994). Parametric measures of effect size. *The handbook of research synthesis*, 231-244.

Rothmann, S., & Cilliers, F. V. N. (2007). Present challenges and some critical issues for research in industrial/organisational psychology in South Africa. *SA Journal of Industrial Psychology*, *33*(1), 8-17.

SALGA. (2017). South African LED Network: *Informal Economy*. Retrieved from http://led.co.za/topic/informal-economy

Schalekamp, H., & Behrens, R. (2010). Engaging paratransit on public transport reform initiatives in South Africa: A critique of policy and an investigation of appropriate engagement approaches. *Research in Transportation Economics*, *29*(1), 371-378.

Schalekamp, H. (2017). CfTS workshop: Technology and systems innovation, public transport and the minibus-taxi industry.

Schalekamp, H., & Jennings, G. (2017, January). Linking Higher Education and Practical Knowledge. (Volvo Research & Education Foundation (VREF) Research Brief No. 6).

Schmitt, N. (1996). Uses and abuses of coefficient alpha. *Psychological assessment*, *8*(4), 350.

Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: *Theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries*. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology.* New York: Academic Press, 25, 1-65.

Schwartz, S. H., Melech, G., Lehmann, A., Burgess, S., Harris, M., & Owens, V. (2001). Extending the cross-cultural validity of the theory of basic human values with a different method of measurement. *Journal of cross-cultural psychology*, *32*(5), 519-542.

Schwartz, S. H. (2003). A proposal for measuring value orientations across nations. *Questionnaire Package of the European Social Survey*, 259-290.

Schwartz, S. H. (2012). An overview of the Schwartz theory of basic values. *Online readings in Psychology and Culture*, *2*(1), 11-20.

Schein, E. H. (1983). The role of the founder in creating organizational culture. *Organizational dynamics*, *12*(1), 13-28.

Schein, E. H. (1985). *Organizational culture and leadership*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Schein, E. H. (2010). *Organizational culture and leadership* (Vol. 2). John Wiley & Sons.

Schreuder, D., & Coetzee, M. (2010). An overview of industrial and organisational psychology research in South Africa: A preliminary study. *SA Journal of Industrial Psychology*, *36*(1), 1-11.

Segars, A. H., & Grover, V. (1993). Re-examining perceived ease of use and usefulness: A confirmatory factor analysis. *MIS quarterly*, 517-525.

Shadish, W. R., Cook, T. D., & Campbell, D. T. (2002). Construct validity and external validity. *Experimental and quasi-experimental designs for generalized causal inference*. Houghtin Mifflin Company. Boston. 64-102.

Shaw, A. (2006). Achieving a pro-public transport agenda in South Africa–the challenge for middle income countries. *WIT Transactions on The Built Environment*, *89*.

Shadish, W. R., & Haddock, C. K. (1994). *Combining estimates of effect size*. In H. Cooper & L. V. Hedges (Eds.), *The handbook of research synthesis* (pp. 261-281). New York, NY, US: Russell Sage Foundation.

Sijtsma, K. (2009). On the use, the misuse, and the very limited usefulness of Cronbach's alpha. *Psychometrika*, *74*(1), 107.

Sijtsma, K., & van der Ark, L. A. (2015). Conceptions of reliability revisited and practical recommendations. *Nursing research*, *64*(2), 128-136.

Sinclair, A. (1993). Approaches to organisational culture and ethics. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *12*(1), 63-73.

Smith, R. A., Schwarz, G. E., & Alexander, R. B. (1997). Regional interpretation of water-quality monitoring data. *Water resources research*, *33*(12), 2781-2798.

Smollan, R. K., & Sayers, J. G. (2009). Organizational culture, change and emotions: A qualitative study. *Journal of Change Management*, *9*(4), 435-457.

Sosik, J. J. (2005). The role of personal values in the charismatic leadership of corporate managers: A model and preliminary field study. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *16*(2), 221-244.

SPSS Statistics, IBM. (2014). SPSS statistical software.

Stange, M., Barry, A., Smyth, J., & Olson, K. (2016). Effects of Smiley Face Scales on Visual Processing of Satisfaction Questions in Web Surveys. *Social Science Computer Review*, 1-11.

Statistics South Africa. 2017. *Work and Labour Force*. Retrieved from http://www.statssa.gov.za

Statistics South Africa. 2014. *National Household Travel Survey – February to March 2013*. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.

Sullivan, G. M., & Feinn, R. (2012). Using effect size—or why the P value is not enough. *Journal of graduate medical education*, *4*(3), 279-282.

Swanson, D. J., & Creed, A. S. (2014). Sharpening the Focus of Force Field Analysis. *Journal of Change Management*, *14*(1), 28-47.

Tavakol, M., & Dennick, R. (2011). Making sense of Cronbach's alpha. *International journal of medical education*, *2*, 53.

Transport for Cape Town (2015). *MyCiTi business plan update: Phase 1 and N2 Express*. City of Cape Town.

Thaimuta, J. M., & Moronge, M. (2014). Factors affecting the performance of matatu paratransit venture in small and medium enterprises in Nairobi County. *International Journal of Current Business and Social Sciences*, *1*(2), 1-17.

Toelch, U., & Dolan, R. J. (2015). Informational and normative influences in conformity from a neurocomputational perspective. *Trends in cognitive sciences*, *19*(10), 579-589.

Trizano-Hermosilla, I., & Alvarado, J. M. (2016). Best Alternatives to Cronbach's Alpha Reliability in Realistic Conditions: Congeneric and Asymmetrical Measurements. *Frontiers in psychology*, *7*.

Tyler, T. R., & Huo, Y. (2002). *Trust in the law: Encouraging public cooperation with the police and courts through*. Russell Sage Foundation

Van Vuuren, L. J. (2010). Industrial psychology: Goodness of fit? Fit for goodness? *SA Journal of Industrial Psychology*, *36*(2), 1-16.

Venter, C. (2013). The lurch towards formalisation: Lessons from the implementation of BRT in Johannesburg, South Africa. *Research in Transportation Economics*, *39*(1), 114-120.

Walters, J. (2008). Overview of public transport policy developments in South Africa. *Research in Transportation Economics*, *22*(1), 98-108.

Weber, M. (1905). 2002. *The Protestant Ethic and the "Spirit" of Capitalism and Other Writings*, 129-156.

Wilkinson, L., & APA Task Force on Statistical Inference. (1999). Statistical methods in psychology journals: Guidelines and explanations. American Psychologist, 54, 594–604.

Wilkinson, P. (2010). Incorporating informal operations in public transport system transformation: the case of Cape Town, South Africa. *Brazilian J. Urban Manag*, *2*(1), 85-95.

Worthington, R. L., & Whittaker, T. A. (2006). Scale development research: A content analysis and recommendations for best practices. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *34*(6), 806-838.

Wilson, J. (2014). *Essentials of business research: A guide to doing your research project.* London, UK: Sage.

Wood, A. (2014). Learning through policy tourism: circulating bus rapid transit from South America to South Africa. *Environment and Planning A*, *46*(11), 2654-2669.

Woolf, S. E., & Joubert, J. W. (2013). A people-centred view on paratransit in South Africa. *Cities*, *35*, 284-293.

Wu, X. N., Wu, X., & Wang, W. (2016). How do cognitive and affective trust impact process? outcome interaction? *Social Behavior and Personality: an international journal*, *44*(8), 1395-1407.

Yong, A. G., & Pearce, S. (2013). A beginner's guide to factor analysis: Focusing on exploratory factor analysis. *Tutorials in quantitative methods for psychology*, *9*(2), 79-94.

Yuki, G., Gordon, A., & Taber, T. (2002). A hierarchical taxonomy of leadership behavior: Integrating a half century of behavior research. *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies*, *9*(1), 15-32.

Yukl, G. (1999). An evaluation of conceptual weaknesses in transformational and charismatic leadership theories. *The leadership quarterly*, *10*(2), 285-305.

Footnotes

[1] In line with the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act (Act no. 53 of 2003, Section 9(5)), in this dissertation black individuals are defined as African, Coloured and Indian persons.

[2] No. 75 of 1997: Basic Conditions of Employment Act as amended by Basic Conditions of Employment Amendment Act, No 11 of 2002

Appendix A

Cover Letter for study participants who participated in the capacity-building programme

Organisational Psychology Masters Programme Research Project

Dear Sir or Madam

For my Masters degree in Organisational Psychology at the University of Cape Town I aim to learn more about the opinions of paratransit operators in Cape Town. I would also like to understand how the N2 Express Capacity-Building Programme has shaped your business practices.

I would be grateful if you considered participating in my study. It should take approximately 15 minutes of your time to answer the 48 questions provided.

All answers are anonymous. It will not be possible for me or anyone else to identify who you are. All data will remain confidential. Participation in this study is completely voluntary and you may withdraw from it at any point and without having to provide reasons. If you choose to complete and return this questionnaire you are acknowledging that you do so of your own free will. Permission for this study has been provided by the Commerce Faculty Ethics in Research Committee at the University of Cape Town.

If you have any questions or concerns or would like further information regarding the results of the study, you can contact me, Camilla van Aardt, at the following email: vrdcam001@myutc.ac.za.

Thank you for your participation.

Cover Letter for participants who did not participate in the capacity-building programme

Organisational Psychology Masters Programme Research Project

Dear Sir or Madam

For the research component of my Masters degree in Organisational Psychology at the University of Cape Town I aim to learn more about the values, beliefs and attitudes of paratransit operators in Cape Town.

I would be grateful if you considered participating in my study. It should take approximately 20 minutes of your time and you would be asked to answer the 48 questions provided.

All answers are anonymous. It will not be possible for me or anyone else to identify who you are from your answers. All data will remain confidential. Participation in this study is completely voluntary and you may withdraw from it at any point and without having to provide reasons. If you choose to complete and return this questionnaire you are acknowledging that you do so of your own free will. Permission for this study has been provided by the Commerce Faculty Ethics in Research Committee at the University of Cape Town

If you have any questions or concerns or would like further information regarding the results of the study, contact Camilla van Aardt at the following email: vrdcam001@myutc.ac.za.

Thank you for your participation.

Appendix B

The questionnaire used in the present study for the treatment group

There are no right or wrong answers in this questionnaire as I am interested in your opinion. Please ensure that you answer as honestly as possible. The first answer that comes to your mind without thinking too much is usually the most accurate, so try to answer each statement quickly. Your answers will **not** be shown to your colleagues.

After finishing the questionnaire, please place it inside the sealed box provided.

Below I briefly describe some people. Please read each description and think about how much each person is or is not like you. Put "X" in the box that shows how much the person in the description is like you.



	1 Not like me at all	2 Not like me	3 A little like me	4 Some-what like me	5 Like me	6 Very much like me
1. Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him. He likes to do things in his own original way.						
2. It is important to him to be rich. He wants to have a lot of money and expensive things.						
3. He thinks it is important that every person in the world be treated equally. He believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life.						
4. It's very important to him to show his abilities. He wants people to admire what he does.						
5. It is important to him to live in secure surroundings. He avoids anything that might endanger his safety.						
6. He thinks it is important to do lots of different things in life. He always looks for new things to try.						

7. He believes that people should do what they're told. He thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching.						
8. It is important to him to listen to people who are different from him. Even when he disagrees with them, he still wants to understand them.						
9. He thinks it's important not to ask for more than what you have. He believes that people should be satisfied with what they have.						
10. He seeks every chance he can to have fun. It is important to him to do things that give him pleasure.						
11. It is important to him to make his own decisions about what he does. He likes to be free to plan and to choose his activities for himself.						
12. It's very important to him to help the people around himself. He wants to care for their well-being.						
13. Being very successful is important to him. He likes to impress other people.						
14. It is very important to him that his country be safe. He thinks the state must be on watch against threats from within and without.						
15. He likes to take risks. He is always looking for adventures.						
16. It is important to him always to behave properly. He wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.						
17. It is important to him to be in charge and tell others what to do. He wants people to do what he says.						
18. It is important to him to be loyal to his friends. He wants to devote himself to people close to him.						

19. He strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to him.						
20. Religious belief is important to him. He tries hard to do what his religion requires.						
21. It is important to him that things be organized and clean. He really does not like things to be a mess.						
22. He thinks it's important to be interested in things. He likes to be curious and to try to understand all sorts of things.						
23. He believes all the worlds' people should live in harmony. Promoting peace among all groups in the world is important to him.						
24. He thinks it is important to be ambitious. He wants to show how capable he is.						
25. He thinks it is best to do things in traditional ways. It is important to him to keep up the customs he has learned.						
26. Enjoying life's pleasures is important to him. He likes to 'spoil' himself.						
27. It is important to him to respond to the needs of others. He tries to support those he knows.						
28. He believes he should always show respect to his parents and to older people. It is important to him to be obedient.						
29. He wants everyone to be treated justly, even people he doesn't know. It is important to him to protect the weak in society.						
30. He likes surprises. It is important to him to have an exciting life.						
31. He tries hard to avoid getting sick. Staying healthy is very important to him.						

32. Getting ahead in life is important to him. He strives to do better than others.						
33. Forgiving people who have hurt him is important to him. He tries to see what is good in them and not to hold a grudge.						
34. It is important to him to be independent. He likes to rely on himself.						
35. Having a stable government is important to him. He is concerned that the social order be protected.						
36. It is important to him to be polite to other people all the time. He tries never to disturb or irritate others.						
37. He really wants to enjoy life. Having a good time is very important to him.						
38. It is important to him to be humble and modest. He tries not to draw attention to himself.						
39. He always wants to be the one who makes the decisions. He likes to be the leader.						
40. It is important to him to adapt to nature and to fit into it. He believes that people should not change nature.						

Below are statements about you with which you may agree or disagree. State to what extent you agree or disagree with each statement by placing an "X" in the relevant space. There are no right or wrong answers, just respond as honestly as possible.



	1 Disagree absolutely	2 Disagree very much	3 Disagree a little	4 Agree a little	5 Agree very much	6 Agree completely
41. I trust the **City of Cape Town**.						
42. I trust **Transport for Cape Town**.						
43. The **City of Cape Town** tried to do the right thing by me.						
44. **Transport for Cape Town** tried to do the right thing by me.						
45. The **City of Cape Town** tried to take my needs into account.						
46. **Transport for Cape Town** tried to take my needs into account.						
47. The **City of Cape Town** cared about my concerns.						
48. **Transport for Cape Town** cared about my concerns.						

The additions made to questionnaire above (used in the present study for the control group)

								
		1 Disagree absolutely	**2 Disagree very much**	**3 Disagree a little**	**4 Agree a little**	**5 Agree very much**	**6 Agree completely**	**7 Do not know**
1.	I trust the **City of Cape Town**.							
2.	I trust **Transport for Cape Town**.							
3.	The **City of Cape Town** tried to do the right thing by me.							
4.	**Transport for Cape Town** tried to do the right thing by me.							
5.	The **City of Cape Town** tried to take my needs into account.							
6.	**Transport for Cape Town** tried to take my needs into account.							
7.	The **City of Cape Town** cared about my concerns.							
8.	**Transport for Cape Town** cared about my concerns.							

If you were given the opportunity to participate in a three-year capacity-building training programme that would consist of a series of short courses (+- 3 days a week) for three years where you would be taught computer skills, business management skills, and business writing and communication skills and be given on- the- job training and receive a monthly stipend of R5000 - would you take part in this programme?

Please circle your answer below: *YES* / *NO*

Operating Area: _____

Association: _____

Number of minibus taxi owned: _____

Age: _____

Gender: _____

Race: _____

Highest Qualification: _____

Appendix C

Table 12

Loadings of the four-item Achievement Scale (procedure: PAF, Varimax Rotation) (N = 92)

Item	Achievement	Dominance
It's very important to him (her) to show his (her) abilities. He (she) wants people to admire what he (she) does.	.72	
Being very successful is important to him (her). He (she) likes to impress other people.		.75
He (she) thinks it is important to be ambitious. He (she) wants to show how capable he is.	.70	
Getting ahead in life is important to him (her). He (she) strives to do better than others.		.76
Eigenvalue	1.90	1.20
Explained Variance (%)	47.00%	30.22%
Cumulative Variance (%)	47.00%	77.92%

Table 13

Loadings of the four-item Conformity Scale (procedure: PAF, Varimax Rotation) (N = 92)

Item	Conformity	Obedience
He (she) believes that people should do what they're told. He (she) thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching		.66
It is important to him (her) always to behave properly. He (she) wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.	.65	
He (she) believes he (she) should always show respect to his (her) parents and to older people. It is important to him (her) to be obedient.	.77	
It is important to him (her) to be polite to other people all the time. He (she) tries never to disturb or irritate others.	.61	
Eigenvalue	1.85	1.11
Explained Variance (%)	46.46%	28.96%
Cumulative Variance (%)	46.46%	75.42%

Table 14

Loadings of the three-item Hedonism Scale (procedure: PAF, Varimax Rotation) (N = 92)

Item	Hedonism
He (she) seeks every chance he can to have fun. It is important to him (her) to do things that give him (her) pleasure.	.53
Enjoying life's pleasures is important to him (her). He (she) likes to 'spoil' himself (herself).	-
He (she) really wants to enjoy life. Having a good time is very important to him (her).	.78
Eigenvalue	1.59
Explained Variance (%)	53.16%
Cumulative Variance (%)	53.16%

Table 15

Loadings of the three-item Self-direction Scale (procedure: PAF, Varimax Rotation) (N = 92)

Item	Self-Direction
Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him (her). He (she) likes to do things in his (her) own original way.	-
It is important to him (her) to make his (her) own decisions about what he (she) does. He (she) likes to be free to plan and to choose his (her) activities for himself (herself).	.97
He (she) thinks it's important to be interested in things. He (she) likes to be curious and to try to understand all sorts of things.	.50
It is important to him (her) to be independent. He (she) likes to rely on himself (herself).	-
Eigenvalue	1.71
Explained Variance (%)	42.86%
Cumulative Variance (%)	42.86%

Table 16

Loadings of the six-item Universalism Scale (procedure: PAF, Varimax Rotation) (N = 92)

Item	Universalism
He (she) thinks it is important that every person in the world be treated equally. He (she) believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life.	.67
It is important to him (her) to listen to people who are different from him (her). Even when he (she) disagrees with them, he (she) still wants to understand them.	-
He (she) strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to him (her).	.62
He (she) believes all the worlds' people should live in harmony. Promoting peace among all groups in the world is important to him (her).	.71
He (she) wants everyone to be treated justly, even people he (she) doesn't know. It is important to him (her) to protect the weak in society.	. 71
It is important to him (her) to adapt to nature and to fit into it. He (she) believes that people should not change nature.	.53
Eigenvalue	2.87
Explained Variance (%)	47.90%
Cumulative Variance (%)	47.90%

Table 17

Loadings of the four-item Tradition Scale (procedure: PAF, Varimax Rotation) (N = 92)

Item	Tradition
He (she) thinks it's important not to ask for more than what you have. He (she) believes that people should be satisfied with what they have.	-
Religious belief is important to him (her). He (she) tries hard to do what his religion requires.	.58
He (she) thinks it is best to do things in traditional ways. It is important to him (her) to keep up the customs he (she) has learned.	.48
It is important to him (her) to be humble and modest. He (she) tries not to draw attention to himself (herself).	.66
Eigenvalue	1.79
Explained Variance (%)	44.79%
Cumulative Variance (%)	44.70%

Table 18

Loadings of the three-item Stimulation Scale (procedure: PAF, Varimax Rotation) (N = 92)

Item	Stimulation
He (she) thinks it is important to do lots of different things in life. He (she) always looks for new things to try.	.69
He (she) likes to take risks. He (she) is always looking for adventures.	.50
He (she) likes surprises. It is important to him (her) to have an exciting life.	.70
Eigenvalue	1.80
Explained Variance (%)	60.14%
Cumulative Variance (%)	60.14%

Table 19

Loadings of the four-item Benevolence Scale (procedure: PAF, Varimax Rotation) (N = 92)

Item	Benevolence
It's very important to him (her) to help the people around himself (herself). He (she) wants to care for their well-being.	.59
It is important to him (her) to be loyal to his (her) friends. He (she) wants to devote himself (herself) to people close to him (her).	.51
It is important to him (her) to respond to the needs of others. He (she) tries to support those he (she) knows.	.59
Forgiving people who have hurt him (her) is important to him (her). He (she) tries to see what is good in them and not to hold a grudge.	.54
Eigenvalue	1.95
Explained Variance (%)	48.85%
Cumulative Variance (%)	48.85%

Table 20

Loadings of the five-item Security Scale (procedure: PAF, Varimax Rotation) (N = 92)

Item	Security
It is important to him (her) to live in secure surroundings. He (she) avoids anything that might endanger his (her) safety.	.71
It is very important to him (her) that his country be safe. He (she) thinks the state must be on watch against threats from within and without.	.62
It is important to him (her) that things be organized and clean. He (she) really does not like things to be a mess.	.77
He (she) tries hard to avoid getting sick. Staying healthy is very important to him (her).	.44
Having a stable government is important to him (her). He (she) is concerned that the social order be protected.	.68
Eigenvalue	2.69
Explained Variance (%)	53.88%
Cumulative Variance (%)	53.88%

Table 21

Loadings of the three-item Power Scale (procedure: PAF, Varimax Rotation) (N = 92)

Item	Power
It is important to him (her) to be rich. He (she) wants to have a lot of money and expensive things.	.56
It is important to him (her) to be in charge and tell others what to do. He (she) wants people to do what he (she) says.	.79
He (she) always wants to be the one who makes the decisions. He (she) likes to be the leader.	.71
Eigenvalue	1.95
Explained Variance (%)	65.00%
Cumulative Variance (%)	65.00%

Table 22

Loadings of the four-item Trust Scale (City of Cape Town) (procedure: PAF, Varimax Rotation) (N = 92)

Item	Trust (City of Cape Town)
I trust the City of Cape Town.	.88
The City of Cape Town tried to do the right thing by me.	.80
The City of Cape Town tried to take my needs into account.	.85
The City of Cape Town cared about my concerns.	.91
Eigenvalue	3.25
Cumulative Variance (%)	81.30%
Explained Variance (%)	81.30%

Table 23

Loadings of the four-item Trust Scale (Transport for Cape Town) (procedure: PAF, Varimax Rotation) (N = 92)

Item	Trust (Transport for Cape Town)
I trust Transport for Cape Town.	.89
Transport for Cape Town tried to do the right thing by me	.85
Transport for Cape Town tried to take my needs into account.	.91
Transport for Cape Town cared about my concerns	.85
Eigenvalue	3.33
Cumulative Variance (%)	83.24%
Explained Variance (%)	83.24%