



***'Sho't left'*: Understanding the factors influencing public transportation mode choice
with a focus on minibus taxis and MyCiTi in Dunoon, Cape Town**

by

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Dineo Mogotsi

11 February 2024

Preface

The title of this paper is '*Sho 't left*': Understanding the factors influencing public transportation mode choice with a focus on minibus taxis and MyCiTi in Dunoon, Cape Town. '*Sho 't*' is a shorthand version for short. '*Sho 't left*' is a South African minibus taxi slang, used to indicate to the driver that you want to jump off at the next left turn. Incorporating the term '*Sho 't left*' in the title is a playful nod to the common language used by minibus taxi passengers in South Africa. The concept of '*Sho 't left*' offers valuable insights into passenger desires, highlighting the importance of flexibility, spontaneity, and social connections in transportation. Furthermore, it highlights that transportation plans must extend beyond mobility concerns and need to actively address the physical, social, and economic boundaries imposed by historical inequities.

This research explores the factors influencing public transportation mode choice in Dunoon, Cape Town, with a particular focus on minibus taxis and MyCiTi. While the study centred on these two modes, interviews were also conducted with individuals utilising other forms of public transportation, including Golden Arrow (conventional bus).

The names of the interviewees have been anonymised.

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He who has begun a good work in me shall see it to completion (Phil 1:6). To God be the glory.

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To George, my love, thank you for being my steadfast sounding board, a haven for me to share my thoughts and heart for this complex public transport space. Your patience as I grappled with these challenges has been truly remarkable. Thank you for loving me in a way that makes me feel seen and heard.

Lastly, to my late mother, I am because you were. Thank you for making hard choices that shaped me into who I am today. This dissertation is a testament that your dreams were valid, and I dedicate it all to you.

Abstract

This research explores the factors influencing public transportation mode choice with a focus on minibus taxis and the MyCiTi bus rapid transit system in Dunoon, Cape Town. The research aims to understand the advantages and disadvantages of each mode. Despite the long-standing concerns about minibus taxi drivers' conduct, road safety, overloading, and vehicle conditions, minibus taxis remain a critical part of South Africa's public transportation system, serving approximately 15 million passengers daily.

The research was conducted in Dunoon, a township in Cape Town in the Western Cape province. The study employed a qualitative data collection methodology involving semi-structured interviews and participant observation. Thematic analysis, a technique for identifying and interpreting recurring themes within the data, was used to analyse the gathered data. Two theoretical frameworks, paratransit, and bus rapid transit guided the study's investigation.

The study's findings indicate that affordability, accessibility, time, safety, and ease of use are all significant considerations for passengers. Minibus taxis emerged as the most popular mode of public transportation in Dunoon due to their speed, affordability, convenience, flexibility, social cohesion, and lack of viable alternatives. This contrasts with the MyCiTi bus service, which, despite its punctuality, lags minibus taxis in popularity due to longer travel times, route limitations, overcrowding, communication issues, and payment system glitches.

The study concludes that a hybrid transport governance model, combining care-based and efficiency-driven values, such as social cohesion, offers the most sustainable approach for enhancing commuter journeys in Dunoon. Furthermore, the study suggests that the National Transport Survey should incorporate aspects such as social cohesion and accessibility to measure passenger satisfaction rather than solely focusing on aspects informed by scheduled formal transport. By acknowledging the socio-economic role of minibus taxis in urban transport ecosystems, this research contributes to the discourse on integrating paratransit services like minibus taxis into formal public transportation frameworks, ultimately supporting more inclusive and sustainable urban transport policies in African cities.

Keywords: Paratransit, Bus Rapid Transit, Hybrid Transport Model, passenger's choice, public transport

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List of Acronyms

BRT - Bus Rapid Transit

CoCT - City of Cape Town

DOT - Department of Transport

GPS - Global Positioning System

n.d. - not dated

NDOT - National Department of Transport

NTA - National Taxi Alliance

NTTT - National Taxi Task Team

SA Taxi - South African Taxi

SANTACO - South African National Taxi Council

Stats SA - Statistics South Africa

TCT - Transport for Cape Town, precursor to TDA

TDA - Transport and Urban Development Authority

TRP - Taxi Recapitalisation Programme

‘SHO’T LEFT’: UNDERSTANDING THE FACTORS INFLUENCING PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION MODE CHOICE WITH A FOCUS ON MINIBUS TAXIS AND MYCITI IN DUNOON, CAPE TOWN

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and rationale

This study aims to explore the factors influencing public transportation mode choice with a focus on minibus taxis and the MyCiTi bus rapid transit system in Dunoon, Cape Town. This chapter serves as the introduction to and background of the study. It discusses the issue at hand, outlines the research objectives and aims, and highlights the principal research questions.

Public transportation is an essential component of urban infrastructure development in all countries as it facilitates many economic, societal activities and enables cities to function. In South Africa, public transport is the dominant mode of transport for accessing jobs, health, education, and social activities at large (Mtizi 2017). The industry is divided into three categories which encompass the different modes of transportation: 1) the traditional passenger rail system operated by the Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (PRASA) and the Gautrain high-speed rail, which runs between Johannesburg, Tshwane, and the Oliver Tambo International Airport; 2) the subsidised and unsubsidised commuter bus industry which includes the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system in Cape Town (MyCiTi), George (Go George!), Johannesburg (Rea Vaya) and Pretoria (A Re Yeng) 3) Paratransit is another player in the public transportation landscape, the minibus taxis which are 16 and 22 seater vehicles and “*amaphela*” is a term in isiXhosa which mean cockroach in English, are a form of paratransit normally in the form of a Toyota Cressida or modern Toyota Avanzas in Cape Town (Aropet 2017; Mthimkulu 2017; Rink 2022). According to a report by SA Taxi (2022), 73% of South Africans use public transport.

The apartheid regime’s spatial planning legacy still shapes South Africa’s public transport system today. Between 1952 and 1994, planning deepened inequality by directing resources to specific groups, resulting in enormous hardship and a burden on the economy (Turok 1994:243). Racial segregation was enforced through the Natives Land Act (No. 27 of 1913), displacing many from rural to urban areas (Baloyi 2013:343), and the Group Areas Act (1950). Transport was designed for daily labour use. The emergence of the South African minibus taxi industry took place during the late 1970s in response to the growing urban black workforce's

needs, which experienced a remarkable expansion during that period (Fobosi 2013; Luthuli 2020). The minibus taxi industry was a focal point of popular struggles and tensions because of disagreements about ownership and affordability (Khosa 1995).

The South African government has had ongoing attempts to regulate and formalise the minibus taxi industry to address issues such as aggressive driving, unroadworthy vehicles, competition of routes, overloading vehicles, and violence among owners, all of which affect commuters. In 1995 the government formed the National Taxi Task Team (NTTT) to enhance the minibus taxi sector's performance, improve road safety, increase profit margins, and stop disputes (Fourie 2003). New legislative frameworks were introduced to deal with transportation in the country such as the National Land Transport Transition Act (Act no. 22 of 2000), then later the National Land Transport Act (Act no.5 of 2009) was introduced. The main objective of the National Land Transport Transition Act (Act no. 22 of 2000) was to provide for the transformation and restructuring of the national land transport system, therefore it regulates and governs the transportation of passengers for reward, for example, awarding permits and operating licences, regulating competition, and overseeing registration. This means that the Act does not apply to the transportation of goods or passengers when no fee is charged for transportation services. The Taxi Recapitalization Programme (TRP) was another initiative started in 1999 to formalise the minibus taxi industry, replacing unroadworthy vehicles with safety-compliant ones (Fobosi 2023).

The adoption of Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) in South African cities was a gradual process marked by international collaboration and learning. Following a dedicated workshop in 2006, South African cities embarked on study tours to Bogota, Colombia, to gain insights into BRT implementation. These visits, coupled with internal workshops, played a pivotal role in shaping the BRT strategy for South Africa. In 2007, the Cabinet approved the Public Transport Strategy in South Africa, the strategy introduced the Integrated Rapid Public Transport Network (IRPTN) to improve mobility, accessibility, and space transformation, aiming for more inclusive, sustainable and productive cities (Tsetetsi and Mariette 2016). The main outcome of this strategy was the introduction of BRT systems in several South African cities (Merkert et al 2017). For example, in Cape Town, minibus taxi operators were formed into vehicle operating companies (VOCs) that would negotiate 12-year contracts with the City for BRT branded MyCiTi (Schalekamp and McLachlan 2016). The initial rollout of Cape Town's BRT system involved replacing minibus taxis on designated routes.

The contextual background of the study is discussed in Chapter 3, the overview traces the history of minibus taxis and the introduction of the BRT in South Africa.

1.2 Research problem

South African cities offer a diverse range of public transportation options, including traditional buses, which may vary in name across different regions. For instance, in Cape Town, Golden Arrow Services, a privately operated company subsidized by the city, provides bus services on various routes. Additionally, unconventional buses including Bus Rapid Transit (BRT), the other public transport option include rail (Metrorail), and minibus taxis as mentioned above. However, there's a lack of research investigating the factors that influence passenger preferences when choosing a specific mode. In terms of minibus taxis, the prevailing narrative often displayed in the media and academic work has portrayed it as problematic and very informal, with mafia-like behaviour, unroadworthy vehicles and unsafe road behaviour contributing to its negative perception (Dugard 2001; Moloto 2021; Ngubane 2016; Morapedi 2017; Matlala 2021; Sekhonyane and Dugard 2004). Various researchers, transport economists and urban planners have proposed further formalisation to solve the challenges that are faced in the minibus taxi industry (Baloyi 2013; Browning 2006; Ngubane 2016). As referenced above, a wide range of government policies and initiatives aimed at formalising, legalising, and enhancing the operations of the minibus taxi industry are extensively documented. The National Taxi Lekgotla 2020 declaration call said, 'We call upon all stakeholders and all sub-sectors within the industry to forge a compact aimed at transforming the industry into a formalised and professionalised economic sector that delivers world-class services to a majority of commuters within the Republic' (NDOT 2020). In addition, the government has also focussed on promoting alternative forms of public transport, such as BRT. While MyCiTi (the name given to the BRT in Cape Town) has seen significant growth in ridership since its launch in 2010, it still faces challenges in fully capturing the market share of public transport in Cape Town. As a result, the purpose of this research study is to examine the factors influencing public transport mode choice with a focus on minibus taxis and MyCiTi. To investigate this, I used Dunoon, a low-income area in Cape Town, as a research site.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The objectives of this study are to identify personal factors that influence passengers' public transportation mode choice in Dunoon and their experience using this mode of public transportation (MyCiTi or minibus taxis).

Dunoon is a township in Cape Town in the Western Cape province. It was established as a Reconstruction Development Programme (RDP) housing project that began in the early 1990s. Initially, people from Dunoon relied solely on minibus taxis and Golden Arrow (a transport company owned by private company but are subsidized by the City of Cape Town for operation of various routes and service) bus services to get around. However, in 2014 the MyCiTi was launched in Dunoon (MyCiTi 2014). With the extension of the main route (T01) along Blaauwberg Road, Dunoon residents could now travel directly to Table View or to the Civic Centre station in central Cape Town. The setting of Dunoon is discussed in further depth in Chapter 4 of the dissertation.

1.4 Research question

The overarching research question for this study is: what are the factors influencing public transportation mode choice with a focus on minibus taxis and the MyCiTi bus rapid transit system in Dunoon, Cape Town?

1.4.1 Sub questions

- i. What are the factors that influence the decision of passengers to choose a mode of public transport?
- ii. What are the advantages/disadvantages of their chosen mode of public transport?
- iii. What are the economic and social implications of using minibus taxis as a primary mode of transportation?
- iv. What can be learned from this case study in terms of understanding and intervening in other contexts involving the following public transport mode, minibus taxis/paratransit or MyCiTi?

1.5 Research approach

This study was conducted using qualitative methods focused on a case study technique, including a literature review, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation, to

investigate factors influencing public transportation mode choice with a focus on minibus taxis and the MyCiTi bus rapid transit system in Dunoon, Cape Town. Yin (2003) defines case studies as empirical investigations of situations in specific environments where the relationship between the situation and environment is unclear. Using qualitative research allowed the researcher to gain a comprehensive understanding of people's lived experiences, particularly in a cross-cultural context. According to Ponterotto (2005), qualitative research is considered valuable for exploring deeper insights into people's experiences that quantitative approaches, relying on measurement theory, might overlook. Each method used was chosen based on their practicality for addressing each research question. Refer to Chapter 4 of this study for a detailed examination of the methods, their deployment, and the challenges the researchers encountered.

By focusing on this specific case study, the dissertation will contribute to the existing knowledge on public transportation in Dunoon and elsewhere in South Africa, and provide valuable insights for policymakers, transportation authorities, and stakeholders involved in improving and optimising public transportation systems in similar contexts.

1.6 Significance of the study

The study places significant emphasis on public transportation, specifically focused on paratransit and BRT, as an integral component of its conceptual framework. Both these terms are discussed further in Chapter 2. The significance of paratransit services in this research study lies in their unique characteristics and their role within the transportation landscape.

The term “paratransit” refers to an unscheduled and flexible form of public passenger transportation that uses small to medium-sized buses (Behrens, McCormick and Mfinanga 2016). Paratransit services complement more formalised public transport systems, although they are often framed as the binary opposite of more formalised services. The paratransit sector plays a crucial role in providing transportation options, particularly in areas that are underserved by formal transport services. Understanding the dynamics, advantages, and disadvantages of paratransit services is essential for comprehending the complex transportation ecosystem and addressing the needs of diverse populations, especially those in low-income communities.

This study aims to contribute to ongoing discussions regarding the role of minibus taxis within formal public transportation systems. While often viewed as informal modes of transport,

minibus taxis are integral to the social fabric of African cities. Beyond their primary function, they foster social cohesion and economic activity. Simone (2004 cited in Agbiboa 2020:181) states that paratransit services are ‘a platform providing for and reproducing life in the city’; this is because the services are embedded in social networks, which are an essential component of African cities informal infrastructure. These vehicles foster social interaction and serve as gathering places for individuals from diverse backgrounds. By understanding the social implications of minibus taxis, policymakers can develop more effective strategies for integrating them into broader urban transportation systems.

On the other hand, the importance of BRT in this research study lies in its role as a formalised and regulated mode of public transportation. BRT systems are typically implemented with the objective of improving the efficiency, reliability, and overall quality of public transport services. As such, BRT provides a valuable context for examining the impact of transport formalisation on passengers. BRT systems often come with dedicated infrastructure, predefined routes, fixed schedules, and standardised fare structures, which can have implications for passengers’ travel experiences and perceptions (Cervero 2013).

Analysing the factors that influence passengers’ mode choice and their experiences using both paratransit (such as minibus taxis) and BRT systems provides a valuable opportunity to examine the trade-offs between formality and informality in public transportation. It allows for an evaluation of the impact of formalisation on the overall quality of transportation services.

The selection of Dunoon, a township located within the West Coast corridor, was significant in this study. People staying in the West Coast corridor historically relied on Golden Arrows and minibus taxis as their sole public transportation options. Today this corridor is one of the busiest routes of the MyCiTi. Therefore, examining a township located in this area was deemed essential for this study.

This research study contributes to evidence-based policy recommendations and can potentially help inform policymaking processes and identify opportunities for improving the overall transportation experience for passengers.

Having relied on minibus taxis for my daily commute throughout my life, this study holds personal significance to me. I am driven by a desire to comprehend the minibus taxi industry and how it can continue to improve its service for commuters. The minibus taxi industry is a predominantly black-owned industry, regarded as a flagship of Black economic empowerment

(KZN Minister of Transport 200:3 cited by Ngubane 2016). Despite the passage of time, the quality of service provided to commuters has remained largely stagnant, i.e. it has not improved over time. While the minibus taxi industry has shown its ability to respond to the market and fulfil the needs of its users regarding travelling from one place to another, it is crucial to recognise that this ongoing continuity also highlights the existing disparities within our public transportation system such as spatial inequalities, unequal distribution of resources, quality of services, infrastructure disparities, lack of integration and infrastructure investment.

1.7 Limitations of the study

It is important to note that the study's scope was limited to Dunoon particularly, focusing on understanding the factors influencing passenger public transportation mode choice in Dunoon and their experiences using this mode of public transportation, and its findings may not necessarily be generalisable to other South African cities or contexts. However, the insights gained from this focused investigation can still provide valuable information and contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex dynamics influencing passengers' mode choice decisions in public transportation systems.

I faced several challenges throughout the fieldwork period. Firstly, identifying and accessing a study site in Cape Town. I initially wanted to use Khayelitsha, but the MyCiTi in that corridor was not working and I was unfamiliar with the area. My supervisor and I eventually decided to use Dunoon, but I was still unfamiliar with the area and had difficulty gaining entry. Secondly, I also do not speak isiXhosa, the main language spoken in Dunoon, which made it difficult to communicate with potential participants. Thirdly, during the interviews, I had to transcribe interviews from isiXhosa to English, which was time-consuming and challenging. Finally, I also found that recruiting female participants proved challenging due to time constraints related to household responsibilities and concerns about the study's purpose and implications. Most participants in the study were males, although that was not the initial intention of the study. Chapter 4 deals with these issues in more detail.

1.8 Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation is structured into seven chapters, each addressing different aspects of the research. Chapter 2 introduces the conceptual framework, encompassing concepts such as public transportation, paratransit, and BRT. In Chapter 3, a comprehensive review of the historical development of the minibus taxi industry and BRT in South Africa is provided.

Moving forward, Chapter 4 outlines the geographical location of Dunoon, the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of its residents, and assesses the local public transportation system. This chapter also details the research design and methodology employed in the study. It discusses the population sample, data collection techniques, and analysis methods utilised. Furthermore, the chapter addresses the significance and relevance of the study. Chapter 5 is the participant observation account of the researcher's experience using minibus taxis and MyCiTi to and from Dunoon. This chapter also provides an account of the first entry into the community, researching a site like Dunoon and the experience of using minibus taxis and MyCiTi. Chapter 6 delves into the findings, presenting the identified themes for the case study and incorporating relevant quotes from the collected transcripts to support the analysis. Chapter 7 has a detailed discussion and analysis of the findings derived from the semi-structured open-ended interviews. It further explores and examines the themes that emerged from the analysis of the transcripts, providing a comprehensive exploration of the research outcomes. Lastly, the chapter concludes by discussing the potential contribution of the study and directions for future research.

1.9 Summary of introduction

This chapter provided an overview of the context of the study, highlighting the evolution of the minibus taxi industry in South Africa, its problems, the impact it has had and the introduction of the BRT system. The discussion centred on the core of the dissertation as articulated through the background, the aim, the objectives of the study and the research approach used.

A literature review is presented in the next chapter, as well as a conceptual framework that underpins the research, including the key concepts of paratransit and Bus Rapid Transit (BRT). The literature review examines relevant scholarly works and research studies related to the topic of public transportation, specifically focusing on the factors influencing passengers' mode choice decisions.

CHAPTER 2: PUBLIC TRANSPORT, PARATRANSIT AND BUS RAPID TRANSIT

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a review of the literature on public transport, paratransit, and bus rapid transit (BRT) to understand the factors that influence the choice of mode of transportation for passengers. The chapter draws on literature from urban studies, development studies, transport studies and sociology to develop a theoretical understanding of the key themes in relation to this research.

The literature review in this study begins by examining public transport as a conceptual framework. This is crucial because it illustrates how paratransit, which is one of the main research concepts, has gradually been incorporated into the definition of public transport in the academic literature.

Subsequently, the review delves into the discussion of paratransit. In this study, the significance of paratransit services lies in their distinctive characteristics and their role within the broader transportation landscape. Paratransit services do a great deal to complement formalised public transport systems, although they are often falsely framed as the binary opposite of more formalised services such as bus, train and BRT. The term is also utilised to explore the specific form of paratransit used in South Africa, known by the widely recognised name “minibus taxis”.

Additionally, the review also focuses on BRT. Its importance in this research study stems from its function as a formalised, regulated mode of public transportation and a competitor for minibus taxis in South Africa. The concepts of paratransit and BRT in this context together help in understanding how commuters experience informal transport (paratransit in South Africa is referred to as minibus taxis) versus formal transport.

Public transportation is a system of vehicles that facilitates the movement of people from one place to another, and its definition has expanded over time to include paratransit services. Public transportation, also known as public transit or mass transit, can be defined as a system of vehicles such as buses and trains that operate at regular times on fixed routes and are shared by strangers without prior arrangement, with each mode having various characteristics (Interconnect 2019). Salazar (2015) also defines public transportation as institutional transportation, which consists of planned or scheduled transportation services that both public

and/or private companies can provide. The term ‘mode’ describes various methods of moving people and/or goods. Public transportation aims to facilitate the movement of people from one place to another, whether in cities or rural areas, including providing access to employment, education, retail, health, and recreational facilities, as well as the ability to travel for all residents who cannot or do not want to use private cars (Interconnect 2019). The various types of public transport found in cities typically include buses, trains, trams, and shared taxis, such as minibus taxis (White 2016). Paratransit services are normally included when referring to public transport, even though these frequently lack designated routes or stops. In the past, the definition of public transportation did not include paratransit services because they were not considered formal or regulated. However, it has become clear that paratransit services are essential in providing transportation for many people, especially in cities of the global South (Jaiswal, Manoj and Tiwari 2022).

2.2 Different types of public transport mode

This sub-section provides an overview of various public transportation modes in cities. The purpose of this section is to delve into the details of bus, commuter rail, and shared taxis, as these modes form the foundation for the main concepts of the study, namely paratransit and BRT. However, it is important to note that individual taxis in the form of cars, motorbikes and bicycle taxis will be excluded from the discussion in this section. Individual taxis are excluded from the study to help maintain a consistent framework for comparability and in-depth analysis of the characteristics, benefits, and challenges of both BRT and paratransit.

2.2.1 Buses

Buses are one of the oldest and most widely used modes of public transportation. In most parts of the world, over the years, bus ownership has generally shifted from being managed by individuals to state management (Conserve Energy Future n.d.). Some of the features of buses as a mode of public transport are that it is easy to establish or modify, the basic service requires the purchase of vehicles, garage and maintenance facilities, and route management (Conserve Energy Future n.d.). It can typically carry a capacity of around 60-100 people, depending on the size. In terms of flexibility, buses are easy to use as they have clear designated stopping points where passengers can readily discover them. They are the most cost-effective mode of public transportation for lightly travelled lines (Conserve Energy Future n.d.).

2.2.2 Commuter rail trains

Trains can be made up of a locomotive pulling passenger coaches, electric multiple units, or diesel-powered self-propelled multiple units (Conserve Energy Future n.d.). Commuter rail transports passengers between the centre and outskirts of a city. Among the primary characteristics of commuter rail transportation are that stations are typically two to five kilometres apart and have capacities ranging from 400 to 5,200 people per hour, thus providing more seating and less standing room than light rail or bus rapid transit (Eastern Corridor project 2013).

2.2.3 Light rail or trams

Light-rail transit (LRT) is a type of rapid transit system that uses electric-powered single cars or short trains to transport passengers on fixed rails (Teodorović and Janić 2017). The term light refers to the system's lighter passenger capacity, not the physical weight of the vehicles. LRT systems originated from traditional streetcar systems, but they have been redesigned to operate at faster speeds and carry more passengers over greater distances in metropolitan areas (Transportation Policy Research Centre 2016). The LRT service frequency is adjusted to demand and varies during peak and off-peak hours, ranging from a maximum of 12 departures per hour (every 5 minutes) to 4 departures per hour (every 15 minutes) during the day and 1 to 2 departures per hour (every half or full hour) at night (Teodorović and Janić 2017).

2.2.4 Shared taxis

“Shared taxis” is an internationally recognised term describing a taxi service that enables multiple customers to share the use of a taxi, either for the entirety of the trip or just a portion of it (Teal 1980 cited in Lopes, Martinez, de Almeida Correia and Viegas 2014). Shared taxis are referred to by different terms in different places. In their inception, they did not include minibus taxis but only four- or five-seater vehicles. But as demand increased, so did the size of these vehicles, with many now able to comfortably accommodate 10-22 passengers. Over time, the new concept of urban shared taxi services expanded to include paratransit, which encompasses a variety of modes of public transportation that can be shared, including minibus taxis. The emergence of taxi-based public transit-served the following functions: to meet the growing demand for demand-responsive transit as a local transit mode and to address the unfavourable financial conditions of the taxi industry (Teal 1980 cited in Lopes, Martinez, de Almeida Correia and Viegas 2014).

2.3 Factors that may influence travel mode choice

According to Matas (2004), 'the public transport environment is dynamic and even interactive' (cited in Polat 2012). Public transport is a combination of alternative transport modes, different types of passengers, travel frequencies and different travel purposes. The availability of numerous public transportation choices gives users the flexibility to choose between them, which adds to the dynamic and interactive nature of the system. Hauer (1971) argued that 'public transport demand is time dependent'. The morning and evening hours are generally when public transport demand is higher and more concentrated, whereas the rest of the day is when it is less concentrated. Demand is highest in the morning and evening when people are leaving for work and school and subsequently returning home. During the day, public transportation becomes less concentrated because for the remainder of the day, people commute to shops, leisure, to go to the clinic, look for employment and visit their families or friends, among other things. Furthermore, different people have different expectations of public transportation services based on travel time and purpose, so demand varies (Sam, Adu-Boahen and Kwaku 2014). The availability of alternative transport modes is a factor in public transport demand (Polat 2012). Individuals may be more likely to adopt alternative modes if they provide greater flexibility, shorter travel times, or more personalised experiences. A range of factors, such as infrastructure development, urban planning, government laws and technological breakthroughs, frequently influence the availability of alternate means of transportation.

Commuters or passengers of public transport are rational when choosing travel modes likely to satisfy them (Sam et al 2014). There are many factors that affect the use of different public transportation services, including fare, travel time (including walking distance and accessibility of transportation, waiting times, and in-vehicle travel times), service quality, comfort, availability, and costs of alternative transportation methods, travel time, destination, and lastly the degree of reliance on public transportation (Polat 2012; Popuri et al 2011; Del Castillo and Benitez 2012; Sharma 2019; Alam, Nixon and Zhang 2019). According to Sam, Adu-Boahen and Kwaku (2014), the perceived safety and security of a transport service provider by travellers may also play an active role in the decision of which service provider to use. Additionally, a further consideration is income level; people in lower income brackets tend to prefer using public transportation compared to those in higher income brackets (Bajracharya, Shrestha and Skotte 2017). According to Stats SA (2020), the primary factors influencing a household's transportation choice in South Africa are travel cost, travel time, and flexibility.

‘In 2020, travel cost emerged as the highest priority nationally (30.8%), surpassing travel time (23.3%), while flexibility was mentioned by 11.9% of households’ (Stats SA 2020:96).

According to Grava (2002), factors affecting the mode choice can be divided into two broad categories: vehicle aspects and traveller aspects. Vehicle aspects include characteristics of the vehicle itself, travel cost, travel time, comfort, easiness to use transportation mode, prestige value of a mode transport, security, and safety. Traveller aspects are social and economic conditions, travel point of view through mode characteristics, policy and facility and surrounding environment, and trip purpose (Grava 2002 cited in Dewi 2010).

The concept of convenience in public transportation is a multifaceted and intersects and overlaps with numerous factors such as distance, cost, time, comfort, reliability, and safety. Convenience refers to the ease, suitability, and user-friendly nature of using a particular mode of transportation. A well-planned transportation system that considers commuter needs can improve public transportation's convenience and attractiveness.

In this study, seven factors will be employed to analyse public transportation. These factors are distance, spatial urban structure, travel cost, time, comfort, reliability and safety.

2.3.1 Distance

Commuters consider distance when choosing a mode of public transport, including both walking from their origin to the transportation stop as well as the distance from the public transportation stop to their next destination. In a study done in the United States, it was found that a substantial proportion of home-to-work trips are outside of walking distance, particularly in low-density areas, making it necessary to use motorised transportation for daily commuting (Ding et al 2017; Yang and Diez-Roux 2012). Yang et al (2012) state that in the United States 400 meters is the average walking distance that Americans will walk rather than drive and this has been used as the acceptable walking distance in studies. As such, the distance between the origin and destination is a significant factor that many commuters take into consideration when choosing a mode of public transport. Studies have found that the increase in distance between home and the job location is positively correlated with an increase in public transport use if a reliable service is available and accessible (Chng et al 2016). Commuters also consider the walking distance to the stop where you can access public transport to your next destination (Daniels and Mulley 2013).

2.3.2 Urban spatial structure or land use pattern

Land use decisions have a profound impact on transportation planning and implementation, yet this factor is often overlooked. The arrangement of land use within a city plays a crucial role in shaping the travel patterns of its residents. The proximity of different land uses, such as residential areas, commercial districts, and essential social infrastructure, significantly influences how people travel within the city (Sharma 2019). Land use decisions directly impact on transportation planning and implementation, affecting the cost, duration, and traffic volume of transportation projects (A &M Texas Transportation Institute n.d.). Cities exhibit diverse urban structures, from low-density suburban areas to high-density, transit-oriented developments. These distinct urban configurations give rise to varying travel patterns, influencing trip lengths, modal preferences, and congestion levels (Reilly 1996 cited in Sharma 2019). Effective land use planning, particularly compact development with accessible amenities, fosters the adoption of sustainable transportation modes like walking and cycling. Research shows that compact urban designs encourage shorter trip distances, reducing reliance on private vehicles and promoting environmentally friendly transportation choices (Sharma 2019). The physical characteristics of a built environment, including building density, significantly influence travel behaviour. Conversely, lower-density, more spread-out developments often necessitate private vehicle use due to longer trip distances and limited access to alternative transportation options. Mixed-use developments, which integrate residential, commercial, and recreational spaces within a single area, offer the potential to maximise the utility of trips. By combining multiple destinations into a single journey, mixed-use developments can reduce the overall need for travel, promoting more sustainable transportation patterns and contributing to a more vibrant and interconnected urban environment (Sharma 2019).

2.3.3 Travel cost

A passenger's decision-making process while selecting a public transportation mode can be strongly influenced by the cost of transit, i.e. passengers usually favour less expensive forms of transportation (Bresson et al 2004). When considering travel expenses, there are a lot of socio-economic aspects that could influence passengers, these may include, income, age and occupation, household size, education level and gender (Aderibigde and Gumbo 2022). Travel costs are also critical to providing public transportation services because they are the primary source of income for operators (Sam et al 2014).

2.3.4 Time

Time spent travelling is one of the key elements that influences the selection and utilisation of one public transportation option over another. Travel time is important because passengers cannot increase the time spent travelling indefinitely (Golob et al 1972 cited in Polat 2012). Travel time comprises ‘a number of components inside the public transportation frame’, with the three essential elements of travel time being walking (or access) time, waiting time, and journey (in-vehicle) time (Polat 2012:1216). Horn (2003) states that ‘for a typical public transport user, the price includes many of these cost components including access times to service points and final destinations, waiting times at stops and interchanges and travel times at vehicles which in its entirety influence the travellers’ assessment of public transport services’ (cited in Polat 2012:1216). Given modes that have the same cost and comfort, passengers usually choose the quickest modes of transportation (Litman 2014; Meng, Rau and Mahardhika 2018).

2.3.5 Comfort

The level of comfort that a mode of transportation offers can also be a deciding factor in the choice of public transport mode. According to Sam et al (2014), although comfort is important, the degree of comfort may differ from one passenger to another based on the journey time, journey purpose and passenger type. Comfort in a public transportation mode positively affect demand, meaning that if people feel comfortable in a mode, they are likely to repeat using the mode, whereas this is unlikely if they are uncomfortable (Polat 2012). In addition, overcrowding is a factor that might affect comfort and whether the travel experience is unpleasant or uncomfortable. Aspects of comfort that a vehicle should provide include seating arrangements, leg room, and general vehicle cleanliness (Sam et al 2014). Neumann et al (1978) state that there also are physiological factors that may also form part of comfort which may affect the quality of the travel experience such as noise, vibration, ventilation, glare, odour and seating arrangement.

Comfort at the bus station or minibus taxi rank can also play a critical role in the passengers’ journey experience. Some of these factors used in assessing comfort may include access and connection, wayfinding, direct customer service, layout of the station/rank (ease of internal movement), platform conditions and aesthetics (Hale and Miller 2013). Furthermore, covered

walkways between stations and direction or location information can make it easier to find bus transfers and where to go when using minibus taxis (Chowdhury, Ceder and Schwalger 2016).

2.3.6 Reliability

The degree of reliability of a public transport mode is a significant determinant of preference. According to Dewi (2010), reliability in public transport involves consistency of performance and dependability. In addition, it implies that the service provider provides the service correctly the first time and keeps its promises. Passengers should be able to rely on those services and see that they are long-term and available on a regular basis. The degree to which scheduled services adhere to their advertised schedules is one of the most obvious indicators of reliability (Sam et al 2014). Longer waiting periods caused by public transport services arriving late and excessive in-vehicle times caused by traffic has an impact on reliability. Service frequency and capacity play crucial roles in determining the reliability of public transport services. Insufficient capacity, in terms of the number of vehicles or seats available, can lead to the services less being reliable for passengers. Inadequate capacity may result in situations where passengers are unable to board due to limited space, causing delays and inconvenience.

2.3.7 Safety

Ceccato, Gaudalet and Graf (2022) define travel safety as ‘safety conditions experienced and perceived by public transportation (PT) users along their trip’. Vehicles that are underserviced or not maintained may also be the reason for passengers not feeling safe. When utilising public transportation, individuals often encounter the need to wait at designated transport nodes such as bus stations, taxi ranks, or train stations. This waiting period is inherent in the process and may require individuals to either walk to these transport nodes for pick-up or wait at the designated location until the arrival of their desired mode of transportation. A risk of crime can lead to people avoiding public transport and looking for other travel alternatives, as everyone who travels has a basic need for feeling safe (UN-Habitat 2019).

2.4 Paratransit

The concept of paratransit services offers valuable insights into the unique attributes of the minibus taxi industry and the specific role it plays in the broader transportation landscape. Specifically, this research delves into the examination of paratransit services in South Africa, commonly referred to as “minibus taxis” a recognised terminology that distinguishes it from

the previously used descriptor of “informal transport”. By exploring this specific form of paratransit, the study aims to understand what factors influence commuters to use this mode of public transportation and how it is experienced by commuters.

According to Behrens, McCormick and Mfinanga (2016:1), ‘paratransit is a term conventionally used to describe a flexible mode of public passenger transportation that does not follow fixed schedules, typically in the form of small to medium-sized buses.’ Additionally, Gwillian (2002) defines paratransit as a publicly available transportation that is outside the traditional public transportation regulatory system. The prefix ‘para’ means ‘alongside’ and it is attached to ‘transit’ which is the American term used for public transport (Behrens, McCormick and Mfinanga 2016; Lave and Mathias 2009; United States, Department of Transportation, 1981:1). Paratransit services in global South countries such as Kenya, South Africa and Tanzania, among others, are usually provided at a far larger scale than buses for the general population, often by weakly regulated or illegal operators within the informal sector. Due to this, the service in the developing world is sometimes referred to as informal transport (Cervero 2000). It is important to note that most paratransit services, even the ones that are regulated and formalised, emerged as informal and unregulated (Behrens, McCormick and Mfinanga 2016). However, paratransit operates not in the void of governance, but rather in an environment of ‘adaptive infrastructure and governance’ as Rink (2022) argues. This approach exemplifies a dynamic interplay between formal regulations and informal practices, characterized by a constant negotiation and adaptation of rules. Despite their unregulated beginnings, paratransit services can contribute positively to urban mobility, as argued by Woolf and Joubert (2013). While these services are often associated with chaos and criminality, a people-centred approach reveals a more complex reality. The term paratransit has been introduced to move away from the term ‘informal transport’ because these services are often neither provided by informal businesses nor unregulated.

The term ‘paratransit’ is restricted to only public transport modes where passengers neither own the vehicle nor determine the vehicle’s routes, service times and occupancy and it excludes the for-hire mode (Behrens, McCormick and Mfinanga 2016). These forms of public transport mode are referred to differently in various countries; typically, small buses are called *dala dalas* in Tanzania, *matatu* in Kenya and Uganda, *cars rapides* in Senegal, *danfo* or *molue* in Nigeria, *trotros* in Ghana, *gbakas* in Cote d’Ivoire, *chapas* in Mozambique, *minibus taxis* in

South Africa (Kumar 2011(a); Jennings and Behrens 2017:4; Rink 2022). All of these falls under the category of paratransit.

In terms of the operating characteristics of the paratransit industry, the size varies in each city based on various aspects, including the presence and utilization of other transport modes, the physical extent of the city, and population density (McCormick, Schalekamp, Mfinanga 2016). Ownership in the paratransit industry typically encompasses a diverse blend of individual ownership, partnerships, and the involvement of small, to large companies and transportation management cooperatives that own vehicles and act as franchisers (McCormick, Schalekamp and Mfinanga 2016). The paratransit daily operations usually are the responsibility of the owners who hire and manage crews, or sometimes owner-drivers, and operator associations. The main role of operator associations includes managing the rotation of vehicles on routes and managing the ranking facilities (Cervero 2000). The driver, who usually does not own the vehicle, is typically hired to drive the whole day to pick up commuters to and from wherever they are going along specific routes. The driver is usually paid either according to a set quota system or the percentage of the takings. The quota system entails that the paratransit owner requires a certain amount of money daily and the driver can keep the rest of the money after reaching the daily quota (McCormick, Schalekamp, Mfinanga 2016), while the percentage system means that the driver is paid a certain percentage of weekly or monthly collections (Mahlangu, 2002: 32; McCaul, 1990: 89).

The subsequent section discusses the advantages offered by the paratransit industry.

2.4.1 Advantages of paratransit

Paratransit services have several advantages as a form of public transport. Cervero and Golub (2007) state that, unlike formal public transport, paratransit services are better able to “respond quickly to changing markets” and are “more in-tune with their passenger’s demands” (p. 448) (cited in Rayle 2017). Additionally, Cervero and Golub suggested that, compared to formal modes, paratransit services tend to be less planned, less scheduled, and more flexible, with smaller vehicles, often cash-based, and provided by small-scale, private entrepreneurs. The use of smaller vehicles allows paratransit operators or drivers the ability to offer higher frequency services and can more easily ‘manoeuvre in crowded city streets’ (Cervero and Golub 2007: 448). These are some of the advantages that paratransit services can provide to a significant population in many developing countries. This essential service allows many of the urban

population to commute to work, school, shopping, a clinic or hospital or travel from one location to another, for example, to visit relatives.

Market responsiveness

According to Cervero (2000), paratransit services' inherent flexibility allows operators to alter schedules, routes and operating practices to respond to the constant shifting market conditions, making paratransit attractive to passengers (Rahman 2022). The business owners of paratransit respond quickly to new demands for service, such as adaptable routing in peak/off-peak hours and the ability to reach city outskirts and informal settlements. This allows them to cater to many diverse passenger markets within a city (Behrens, McCormick and Mfinanga 2016; Lesteven and Boutueil 2018). As Cervero and Golub (2007) put it, the business owners are 'consummate gap fillers.' This type of transportation tends to arise from a lack of government oversight and formal private-sector provision (Rayle 2017). In addition, by taking context into consideration, such as the needs of different commuters, the choice of vehicle, and the fare structure, paratransit operators can cater to a broad range of commuters from different backgrounds, from poor to middle classes (Lesteven and Boutueil 2018). Moreover, the small-scale individual ownership structure of paratransit not only enables prompt responses to change in demand and passenger requirements but also fosters the development of an adaptable and flexible operational approach (Jennings and Behrens 2017; Salazar 2015).

Source of employment

The paratransit sector plays a significant role in providing employment opportunities for a diverse range of individuals. Cervero (2000) says that it "often a gateway to urban employment". This includes both those who have not completed formal education and those who hold higher education qualifications (Lesteven and Boutueil 2018). The paratransit sector often generates enough income to get people established until they can land a better job. Furthermore, it offers employment prospects to residents of townships and immigrants, making a valuable contribution to poverty alleviation and empowerment within low-income populations (Behrens, McCormick and Mfinanga 2016). By creating job opportunities, the sector thereby contributes to alleviating poverty and empowering low-income populations (Cervero and Golub 2007). Due to the influence of local social and political factors on transportation development, paratransit's reliance on labour makes it a valuable source of income for many people in urban areas and an opportunity to be their own boss (Lesteven and

Boutueil 2018). Although it is important, particularly for low-income populations, the paratransit industry is frequently overlooked even though it plays a crucial role in connecting job centres with disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

Financial viability of paratransit services

The financial aspect of paratransit services is characterised by relatively low costs, primarily attributable to the inexpensive nature of service provision, which means that it is relatively easy to enter the industry. Business owners in the paratransit industry often rely on self-financing. These owners typically acquire relatively affordable second-hand minibuses due to affordability constraints (McCormick, Schalekamp and Mfinanga, 2016). Moreover, the paratransit industry is characterised by small firm sizes, informal business practices, and managing a limited number of drivers without administrative staff, thus overheads are low (Rayle 2017). This management approach extends to financial management, where cash transactions are favoured over traditional accounting practices, contracts, or regular payments (Rayle 2017). Consequently, the upscaling of fleets becomes challenging as it necessitates more elaborate driver monitoring and operational management (Rayle 2017).

Small vehicles

Business owners in the paratransit industry are not only able to minimise operational costs and forgo administrative staff, but they can also afford to operate much smaller vehicles than formal public transport. Gwilliam (2008a) asserts that the utilisation of small vehicles offers distinct benefits, as they are well-suited for the market and responsive to customer demand. This is because they can offer higher frequency service and can more easily ‘manoeuvre in crowded city streets’ (Rayle 2017: 4). Furthermore, smaller vehicles often enable faster travel speeds and shorter headways due to quicker passenger boarding, as there are fewer passengers (Gwilliam 2008a). Given the demand for increased speed and frequency, passengers are often willing to pay higher fares, effectively allowing for a premium pricing strategy. This means that passengers pay the dictated fee stated by the minibus taxi association, and there is no consultation with passengers about the fee.

Accessibility

Public transport accessibility is defined as ‘the quality of transit serving a particular location and the ease with which people can access that service’ (Joyce, Dunn 2009). According to

Olsson, Friman and Lättman et al (2021) accessibility can be defined as access to public transport systems, or as access to destinations reached by public transport systems, or both. The idea of accessibility, in contrast to mobility, which only refers to the capacity to move about, reflects how people experience travelling in cities because accessibility considers the transportation infrastructure, the location, and potential destinations (Rayle 2017). Cervero and Golub (2007) argued that informal transportation that can operate without much government involvement may provide better accessibility than formal public transport.

Social cohesion

Social cohesion is an important, but often ignored aspect of paratransit. Manca (2014:1) defines social cohesion as ‘the extent of connectedness and solidarity among groups in society’. Furthermore, this concept ‘identifies two main dimensions: the sense of belonging of a community and the relationships among members within the community itself’ (Manca 2014). Paratransit owners frequently serve the communities they come from, filling a void left by government neglect in transportation infrastructure and services (Rayle 2017). This creates a significant role for them in providing mobility options to underserved markets. Indeed, a relational or familial aspect often exists between passengers and paratransit business owners or drivers, particularly in cases where they reside within proximity to each other. This can be attributed to drivers or owners being neighbours or even relatives of some of the passengers (Woolf and Joubert 2013). These relationships cultivate familiarity, trust, and a sense of community within the transportation service, impacting the dynamics and interactions between all parties involved. However, often, these also cause problems, especially for minibus taxi owners, as discussed further in Chapter 5.

This social cohesion aspect of the paratransit extends to relationships between passengers themselves. Paratransit passengers are likely to be neighbours and may even use the service at the same time daily (Rayle 2017; Handy 2011). This makes it easy for them to develop strong relationships and a sense of familiarity with each other (this also applies to buses and trains). Over time, they may become acquaintances and be able to easily detect when a passenger who normally travels in their slot is not present. This type of social cohesion may be beneficial to passengers as it can create a sense of community among passengers, which can help them feel connected to each other and their community.

2.4.2 Disadvantages of paratransit

The paratransit sector has many advantages for its commuters and business owners such as providing flexible, convenient, and affordable service in the paratransit industry. However, the literature has also linked this form of transportation to a variety of other issues, such as poor safety, pollution, poor service quality, poor customer service, exploitative labour practices, discrimination, and even violence (Cervero and Golub 2007; Finn 2012). Moreover, the informality of the service tends to foster unfavourable operating practices such as lack of coverage in certain zones and times, ambiguities in fare setting and collection, and on-the-street competition for passengers (Cervero and Golub 2007; Klopp et al 2019). Below, I discuss the following issues in more detail: bad labour relations; lack of customer service; and lack of maintenance of vehicles.

Bad labour relations

Paratransit operations are sometimes associated with unfair labour practices. The business owners often save money by avoiding the costs associated with employment regulations, such as paying workers minimum wages and worker benefits and complying with workplace safety standards (Marcouiller, de Castilla and Woodruff 1997; Bargain and Kwenda 2009 cited in Rayle 2017). This is a problem that continues to prevail in many developing countries where there is an abundant labour supply and weak regulatory regime and where small business owners often avoid complying with labour regulations (Cervero and Golub 2007).

Lack of customer service

Both paratransit drivers and owners frequently compromise the balance of quality and quantity, prioritising their own personal profitability (Salazar 2015). As a result, the sector makes technical and organisational decisions that are frequently regarded as detrimental to the public transportation system, for example, oversupply in certain parts of the city and disruptive competition among operators (Salazar 2015). All of this has led to poor customer service and at times resulted in violence in the industry. The notion that competition fosters improved customer service is often touted as a conventional belief. However, the way minibus taxi associations regulate minibus taxis in South Africa often limits consumer choice. At minibus taxi ranks, passengers typically queue up and board the first available minibus taxi rather than selecting from a range of options. This contrasts with areas without minibus taxi ranks, where

minibus taxis pick up passengers from random locations, engaging in direct competition for customers due to the absence of designated pick-up points.

The quota system, in which drivers keep whatever fare revenue remaining after paying the owner the agreed daily rate, also contributes to poor customer service and rewards reckless driver behaviour (Jennings and Behrens 2017).

The way in which drivers behave at times during the commute can be unlawful, e.g., crossing the traffic lights when it is not their turn to move, driving on the yellow line and overtaking other vehicles in a dangerous manner so that they can get to the front. The drivers may speed and even get in front of and fight with other drivers stating that they arrived first at busy pick-up points (Cervero 2000). This kind of behaviour maximises personal gain, especially in the quota system, but can have a negative impact on passengers. According to Cervero (2000:7) this is a classic “collective action dilemma,” in which private motives conflict with the larger public interest.

Lack of maintenance of vehicles

Paratransit business owners typically underinvest on maintenance of their vehicles. Jennings and Behrens (2017) claim that this is because the paratransit sector has low profit margins and high risks. Additionally, according to Jennings and Behrens (2017), vehicles are routinely kept in service for longer as owners cannot afford to buy new vehicles or maintain the ones they have.

All these issues have a detrimental effect on passenger safety. This is demonstrated by the frequent occurrence of unsafe operations, a refusal to adhere to transportation policies, traffic safety regulations and more general legal requirements (Jennings and Behrens 2017).

As mentioned previously, Bus Rapid Transit has been one response to the challenges faced by the paratransit sector. The next section is a review of literature on BRT.

2.5 Bus Rapid Transport (BRT)

The Bus Rapid Transit system (BRT) has been adopted by many city governments as an alternate mode of public transportation. This is due to several factors, including the mounting transportation challenges arising from the burden of expanding urban populations and the rapid increase of motor vehicle numbers. Consequently, the outcome has been overwhelming traffic

congestion, prolonged commuting times, environmental pollution, and perilous road conditions. The idea for a Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system began in 1937 in Chicago, but the full system was not implemented until 1974 in Curitiba, Brazil, by then mayor Jaime Lerner. This system was called the ‘Surface Metro’ (Dakshinya 2020; Khumalo and Ogra 2018; Yusuf and Allopi 2010), The operation of this system quickly became the world’s first BRT. Wright and Hook (2007) highlight the significant cost advantage of BRT systems compared to LRT and Metro systems, with BRT typically costing 4 to 20 times less than LRT and 10 to 100 times less than Metro systems. This cost-effectiveness is a major factor driving the adoption of BRT systems. Levinson, Zimmerman, Rutherford and Eric (2003:12) defines the BRT system as ‘a flexible, rubber-tired form of rapid transit that combines stations, vehicles, running ways and information technology elements into an integrated system with a strong identity’. Furthermore, it is also defined as ‘a system of mass transportation that provides a faster service than available alternatives, mostly with a mean speed of 50 km/h or more and with a dedicated right of way’ (Iles 2005:25–26).

The earliest BRT systems emerged in the 1970s, with BRT Curitiba in Brazil leading the way in 1974 (Galicía et al 2009). By the turn of the millennium, BRT systems had expanded to other cities, including the TransMilenio in Bogotá, Colombia (2000), TransJakarta in Jakarta, Indonesia (2004), and Transantiago in Santiago, Chile (2007) (Galicía et al 2009). The 1990s saw a surge in BRT implementation, with Quito (Ecuador) and Los Angeles (USA) joining the ranks (Ernst 2005 cited in Adewumi and Allopi 2013). South Africa followed suit with the introduction of Rea Vaya in Johannesburg (2009) and MyCiTi in Cape Town (2010) (Adewumi and Allopi 2013; Plano 2020). By 2005 there were 70 such systems around the world, and by 2016, 204 cities around the world had adopted BRT (Adewumi and Allopi 2013; EMBARQ 2016). In the next section, I will discuss why the BRT was introduced.

2.5.1 Why was it introduced?

The establishment of Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) systems in South Africa, aimed to supplant paratransit services through a structured approach of transforming existing operators into corporate entities (Jennings and Behrens 2017). This involved gradually integrating them into contracted BRT-operating enterprises, thereby facilitating their inclusion within an interconnected network of transportation services. The introduction of BRT systems often necessitates a transformation of the existing transportation landscape, potentially involving the integration of informal transportation modes to improve accessibility. BRT’s development was

driven by the transportation challenges faced by low-income communities and disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Notably, these communities often bear most of the negative transportation externalities within urban areas. These externalities include long commuting times, high exposure to pollutants, and a high risk of traffic accidents (Oviedo, Scholl and Innao 2019). Additionally, social exclusion resulting from a lack of affordable and effective transportation, has made it difficult for people to access jobs, services, and marketplaces (Oviedo, Scholl and Innao 2019). Poor people frequently reside on the outskirts of cities, which means that getting to employment possibilities requires them to make the most transfers and travel the furthest (Oviedo, Scholl and Innao 2019). The objective of implementing BRT is to establish an accessible and cost-effective public transportation mode. Therefore, BRT networks are intended to address inadequacies in existing transportation systems, such as under-resourced, inefficient, and fragmented transport that lack regulatory oversight (Rayle, 2017).

2.5.2 Different types of BRT

There are two broad categories of BRT, the high-end BRT and ‘BRT-lite’ (Cervero 2013). The high-end BRT metro-quality service has the following features: ‘an integrated network of routes and corridors; enclosed, high-quality stations; pre-board fare collection/verification; frequent and rapid services; modern, clean vehicles; branding and marketing; and superior customer service’ (Cervero 2013:2; Mason 2016). The metro quality of the high-end BRT refers to the similar features it has to light rail or metro systems, such as being convenient, reliable and faster than usual bus services (Mason 2016). This type of BRT can be found in places like Bogotá, Colombia, and Guangzhou, China. Other features that high-end BRTs have been innovative technologies such as automated vehicle location for real-time management and dispatching, preferential signal treatment for buses at signalised intersections, and real-time dynamic passenger information systems (Cervero 2013).

‘BRT-lite’ does not provide fully segregated busways and usually has simpler bus shelters instead of stations (Cervero 2013:2). The level of service, such as the presence of dedicated right of way for operating buses and larger station platforms and boarding areas, distinguishes high-end from BRT-lite (Cervero 2013). However, any typical BRT has the following features, whether high-end or BRT-lite: brand logo; greater distances between stops and stations than traditional bus services; bus stops with raised platforms and same-level boarding and alighting; vehicles that are quiet, have high capacities and intersection treatments to reduce traffic congestion (Cervero 2013).

2.5.3 Advantages of Bus Rapid Transit systems (BRT)

BRT systems have numerous advantages, including travel time saving, comfort, safe and positive environmental impacts (Institute for Transportation and Development Policy 2007). The following section breaks down the advantages of BRT.

Travel time saving

High-quality BRT services increase travel time reliability in addition to reducing overall travel time. According to Carrigan et al (2013), there are three BRT design elements that help speed up passenger boarding and reduce travel time, such as level boarding, pre-paid boarding, and multiple doors. Level boarding refers to the station platforms being level with the bus floors in which there are no bus stairs to walk up or down; pre-paid boarding entails fares being paid off-board the buses, usually at the station entrance and lastly the multiple doors design element means having multiple, often wide, doors for boarding. All these design elements of the BRT system help to minimise delays. Additionally, segregated busway lanes for BRT services separates buses from mixed traffic which has an impact on commercial speed (Carrigan et al 2013). The traffic signal management being differentiated for BRT buses approaching also help reduce delays.

Several studies (Hidalgo and Yepes 2005; Lleras 2003 cited in Cervero 2013) revealed that in Bogota, the initial phase of the BRT cut travel times for low-income commuters by 18 minutes per journey, compared to a 10-minute reduction for the middle class. This was because poor commuters previously used to travel using paratransit services which took longer to arrive at the destination and middle-class people used to travel using private vehicles which would result in them being stuck in traffic for long periods. With BRT, in-vehicle travel times are usually shorter, including wait times and transferring times, resulting in shorter door-to-door trip times for both poor and non-poor people (Cervero 2013).

Comfort

The overall BRT experience considers the comfort of passengers both during waiting and transferring times. Cervero (2013) states that BRT is highly rated by the residents of various countries; for example, in Istanbul, 58 percent of residents who were surveyed indicated that they were very satisfied with BRT services, and passengers on the full-service Orange Line in

Los Angeles rated BRT as comparable to the Los Angeles Golden Line light rail transit (LRT) in terms of comfort and convenience (Yazici et al 2013; Cain et al 2009 cited in Cervero 2013).

Environmental impacts

The BRT system can have a positive impact on the environment by reducing greenhouse gases and air pollution. Reducing vehicle emissions can be achieved by reducing vehicle kilometres travelled and improving fuel efficiency (Carrigan et al 2013). Vehicle kilometre travelled refers to the collective distance covered by motor vehicles on the highway system within a specific time limit.

Air quality has improved in areas where BRT formalized transportation services, including in Latin America, where BRT lines have replaced outdated, poorly maintained, high-emission minibuses and microbuses (Carrigan et al 2013). New articulated or bi-articulated BRT buses may transport much more passengers per bus kilometre and can fulfil the strictest emissions standards (Carrigan et al 2013).

Safety

BRT corridors can have an impact on traffic safety by reducing traffic incidents, injuries and fatalities (Carrigan et al 2013). According to Sandoval and Hidalgo (2004), the TransMilenio system in Bogota has led to a reduction of 97 percent in deaths, 75 percent in injuries and 79 percent in collisions on two of the system's key routes. Further literature from Australia, on Melbourne's SmartBus BRT concerning road safety, also shows that there has been reduction in crashes at all severity levels on the streets where it was implemented (Goh *et. al.* 2013 cited in Carrigan et al 2013).

2.5.4 Disadvantages of BRT

Bus rapid transit systems (BRT) have some disadvantages even though the initial systems were started to integrate and improve public transport in various parts of the world. Some of the disadvantages of BRT include lack of accessibility, lack of financial sustainability and limited integration, difficult-to-manage processes and contextual issues in developing countries. These issues are discussed in detail below.

Lack of accessibility

The literature on BRT indicates that there sometimes can be a lack of accessibility to BRT systems. In many of the cities where BRT is used, the system's routes run along a limited number of routes, which means that other routes where the BRT does not operate are served by other modes of public transport (Khumalo and Orga 2018). This then results in other transportation systems feeding passengers to the BRT as they do not operate on those routes.

Furthermore, Rayle's (2017) study reveals that existing research frequently concentrates on travel times rather than a more comprehensive definition of accessibility. BRT interventions must consider the spatial distribution of users' origins and destinations to ensure social equity and better accessibility.

Lack of financial sustainability

The financial sustainability of a BRT system depends on its ability to accommodate enough passengers. This justifies the use of larger buses, ensures a certain level of service, and the need for dedicated lanes. The number of passengers is influenced by residential densities which are lower in South African cities compared to those in South America (SACN 2014; Naude 2015). In relatively low-density cities like those in South Africa, therefore, the financial sustainability of BRT can be a challenge.

Other disadvantages of BRT

There are several other challenges that BRT systems face. For example, Carrigan et al (2013) argue that there is a limited integration of BRT with other transport services, including physical, fare and service integration. More work is required to transition from corridor-based solutions to integrated public transportation networks. Additionally, another challenge with BRT is that public authorities must manage all BRT systems, including competitive bidding and being competent with planning (Carrigan et al 2013). The competitive bidding process is a method for selecting firms who are suitable to provide services for a new BRT system (Mason 2016.). This process invites firms that provide superior quality services at the most optimal cost to participate in the establishment of the system.

Hidalgo and Gutiérrez (2012) highlight that BRT in developing countries faces several difficulties, including hurried implementation, early infrastructure deterioration, and inadequate user education for initial implementation and system change.

2.6 Summary

This chapter outlined the definition of public transportation, which is defined as institutional transportation that includes planned or scheduled transportation services that can be offered by both public and/or private companies. Furthermore, buses, trains and shared taxis were discussed to categorise the various forms of public transportation. The concepts of paratransit and BRT were discussed. The chapter further highlights the factors that influence mode choice such as distance, time, cost, comfort, reliability, and safety, which are all issues that commuters and passengers consider when deciding whether to use public transportation.

CHAPTER 3: CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter of the study provides the scene for the study by outlining the history of South Africa's minibus taxi industry, followed by a discussion of BRT in South Africa and Cape Town. The remaining section of the chapter focuses on Dunoon as the study site and covers its location, the demographic and socioeconomic makeup of its residents, and the state of the local public transportation system in that area.

3.2 History of minibus taxis in South Africa

This section of the study explores the history of the minibus taxi industry in South Africa, focusing on the following periods: 1977- 1987; 1987-1994; 1994-to date. The minibus taxi industry was founded by the black community (Baloyi 2012). The origins of the minibus taxi industry date back to the 1930s, when sedan taxis were only allowed to carry up to four passengers (Godsell 2016). This was due to the prohibition on roving taxis that could be flagged down (Ngubane 2016). However, as the number of passengers requiring this mode of transportation steadily increased, particularly in urban and peri-urban areas, sedan vehicles were gradually replaced by minibus taxis (Ngubane 2016).

Barrett's (2003) investigation on public transportation in South Africa found that during the 1960s, in comparison to other racial groups, black South Africans had a greater need for public transportation. This was due to two reasons: (1) the apartheid government forcibly relocated black people to homeland (rural or semi-rural) and township (urban) areas; and (2) most Africans were and still are unable to afford private automobiles because of their poverty. Social exclusion played a significant role in shaping South Africa's socio-political and spatial landscape.

The following periods and government commissions illustrate the history of racialized public transportation, particularly focused on minibus taxi industry in South Africa. Understanding the history of the minibus taxi industry, as outlined below, reveals several aspects, firstly, the minibus taxi industry emerged as a response to the discriminatory transportation policies of the apartheid regime. Its history is intertwined with racialized mobility and the struggle for social justice. Secondly, the industry's ability to survive and thrive despite numerous challenges demonstrates its adaptability and resilience. Thirdly, the minibus taxi industry has played a

significant role in shaping urban development and transportation patterns in South Africa. Its growth and evolution have had both positive and negative consequences. Fourth and lastly, the historical context of the industry is likely to influence passenger preferences and perceptions of public transport. Understanding this history can provide insights into factors that continue to shape passenger choices today.

3.2.1 Introduction to the period from 1977-1994 in South Africa

This section focuses on the events and policy processes that happened between 1977 and 1994 and which shaped the minibus taxi industry in South Africa. Between 1977 and 1987, the minibus taxi sector struggled to be recognised as a genuine public transportation provider, which will be discussed in detail below. While the 1988-1994 period was characterised as the deregulation period, where the minibus taxi industry grew, there were no public attempts to address the minibus taxi industry violence that became prevalent. The 1994-to-date period has seen many attempts to formalise the service and better regulate it, which is discussed in more detail below.

From 1977 to 1994, South Africa witnessed the formation of various commissions of inquiry tasked with probing and providing solutions to the mounting issues that were unravelling the country's economic and social landscape. The following section discusses the various commission of inquiries that happened during the 1977-1987 period.

The period of 1977 – 1987

This section of the dissertation delves into the most prominent legal instruments utilised in the transportation industry, discussing the reasons for their adoption and the contributions made by the commissions of inquiry into their formulation. The reports of these commissions were important as they shed light on the critical issues brought to light during their investigative processes, and they shaped the minibus taxi industry into what it is today.

The Van Breda Commission of Inquiry

The government formed the Breda Commission of Inquiry into Transport Deregulation in 1977 (Khosa, 1994; Fobosi 2021). The commission established that South Africa 'had reached a stage of economic and industrial development which enabled it to move towards a freer competition in transportation' (McCaul 1990:37 cited in Fobosi 2021). Following the

commission's recommendations, the Road Transportation Act 74 of 1977 went into effect the following year, allowing previously excluded people the right to participate in the provision of public transportation. The Act paved the way for formalising the legal use of minibus taxis instead of sedan cars, and entrepreneurs gradually began to capture an increasing share of the Black commuter market (McClaul 1990:35 cited in Moyake 2006).

The Commission of Inquiry identified that the minibus taxi industry was not supported financially by the government due to its politicisation and economic inefficiency, while the bus and train sectors were subsidised by the government (Moyake 2006:63). Shaw (1998:8 cited in Ngubane 2016) stated that the primary reasons for commuters choosing minibus taxis over trains and buses were 'due to the poor levels of service provided by the formal modes of bus and train transport'. The government then established the Welgemoed Commission of Inquiry to explore the issue in more depth.

The Welgemoed Commission of Inquiry

The Welgemoed Commission of Inquiry was formed in 1980 and became operational in 1981. The goal of this investigation was to investigate bus passenger transportation in South Africa and make recommendations on the following issues (Interim Report no.1 of the Commission of Inquiry into bus passenger transportation in the Republic of South Africa, 1982 cited in Ngubane 2016; Jefthas 2002):

- bus tariffs,
- subsidies,
- future policies
- the impact the taxi industry has on the bus industry
- the desirability of establishing coordinating bodies within Metropolitan areas
- the desirability of the establishment of a national bus corporation.

In May 1983, the Commission published a final report following its investigation into the effect that the minibus taxi industry had on the bus industry. The Welgemoed Commission recommended a 'shutdown' of the minibus taxi industry due to its success and deregulated position (Smith 1994; Essig 1985 cited in Ngubane 2016). According to the recommendations, minibus taxis would be phased out over a four-year period. The Welgemoed Commission's recommendation for phasing out taxis was met with opposition (Jefthas 2002 cited by Ngubane

2016). The Government did not implement the Commission's report and chose to wait for the National Policy Study's report. The National Policy Study group was appointed in 1982 to develop an effective transport policy (Jefthas 2002 cited in Ngubane 2016). The main task of the group was to investigate various issues and general trends in government transport policy.

Deregulation period (The period from 1987-1994 in the South African minibus taxi industry)

The deregulation period 'involved the redesigning of the system with a view to simplicity where only clear justified restrictions were left in place or introduced' (Competitions Board cited in Jefthas 2002). The goal of deregulation was to stimulate economic and development growth rather than to prevent it (Tager 1988:2 cited in Ngubane 2016).

The deregulation in 1987 led to unprecedented growth in the minibus taxi industry, strengthened by commuters' belief that it was a community-based industry that defied apartheid laws without subsidies (Sekhonyane and Dugard 2004 cited in Fobosi 2021). The minibus taxi industry evolved into a form of black capital accumulation, in which profits were reinvested, new taxi fleets were purchased, and thus the total amount of capital increased (Fobosi 2021).

As the industry was deregulated, violence in the minibus taxi industry became more prevalent. Between 1987 and 1994, there were no public attempts to address the minibus taxi industry (Fobosi 2021).

3.2.2 Minibus taxis from 1994-to date

The post-apartheid period has been characterised by attempts to re-energise and tighten controls and regulations. In 1995, the government formed the National Taxi Task Team (NTTT) to enhance taxi sector performance, improve road safety, increase profit margins, and stop disputes (Fourie 2003). The NTTT recommended that the industry be formalised and training and capacity building for taxi operators be provided (Jefthas 2002 cited in Ngubane 2016).

The government's attempt to regulate the minibus taxi industry resulted in a significant increase in minibus taxi-related violence in 1998-1999 (Sekhonyane and Dugard 2004). Following the failure of the deregulation process in 1999, the government shifted its focus to restructuring the industry through the 'recapitalisation process' (Sekhonyane and Dugard 2004 cited in Ngubane 2016). The government shifted its focus to the recapitalisation programme, which

intended to replace 10-16-seater minibus taxis with 18 and 35-seater diesel-powered vehicles (Sekhonyane and Dugard 2004 cited in Ngubane 2016).

The Taxi Recapitalisation Programme (TRP) was introduced in 1999 to legalise the minibus taxi industry and address any flaws in the regulatory process to improve road safety and decrease minibus taxi violence within the industry (Fobosi 2019). The recapitalisation programme sought to develop a new minibus taxi industry with larger 18 to 35-seat diesel-powered vehicles (Fourie 2003). The Department of Transport, Trade and Industry, Minerals and Energy, and Finance were to provide subsidies to minibus taxi owners to help them purchase the new 18 to 35-seat taxis (Fourie 2003). In essence, the goal of replacing older 10-16-seater minibus taxis with newer, much larger minibus taxis was to assure compliance with regulations, reduce the number of vehicles and accidents on the routes, improve the quality of the transport service and reduce the general cost of travel (Mashishi, 2011). Non-compliant minibuses were to be scrapped at the value of R50,000 (Fobosi 2013). This was integral in the government's plans to integrate the minibus taxi industry into the better regulated Road Based Public Passenger Transport System (RBPTS).

The recapitalisation programme has been rejected by minibus taxi owners, and this was shown by their continued purchasing of new non-TRP compliant taxis irrespective of the intentions of the TRP (Mashishi 2011:2). It further demonstrated that minibus taxi owners had varying views and doubts, particularly regarding the programme's potential economic effects and benefits. The state has faced continual difficulties in the implementation process since the TRP was introduced, even though the administration considered this approach to transform and integrate the various parts of the public transport system to be coherent.

One of the many identified concerns about this programme is about representation, specifically the legitimate representatives of key stakeholders (Mashishi 2011). Although the minibus taxi industry includes a variety of actors, such as minibus taxi drivers, fare collectors, and rank marshals, the TRP identified minibus taxi owners as the key target group. However, when the TRP was being developed, the owners of minibus taxis were not consulted; it is regrettable that the state did not see fit to interact with these important industry participants (Fobosi 2013).

3.3 Structure of the minibus taxi industry in South Africa

There are various players in the minibus taxi industry in South Africa. Minibus taxi owners, drivers, conductors, queue marshals and vehicle washers are all role players in the minibus taxi

industry (Barrett 2003, cited in Ngubane 2016). Employment relationships are generally precarious, and no formal contracts exist between employees and employers. According to Ngubane (2016), there are no minimum labour standards or wage baselines in the industry.

3.3.1 Minibus taxi owners

The minibus taxi owner provides the vehicle and is issued an operating license that specifies the route that the vehicle is permitted to take as well as which ranks can be used for loading passengers (McCormick et al 2016; TDA 2017). Because there is a legal record of vehicle ownership (at least for legally operating vehicles), the owner is responsible for vehicle maintenance and repairs and interacts with regulators regarding licensing, fines, and other items. The owners of minibus taxis are rarely involved in the operational details of the service; instead, they simply collect the daily target amount agreed on and organise maintenance or repair as needed (Plano 2020). In addition, minibus taxi owners need to belong to an association. According to Wilkinson (2008 cited in Plano 2020), associations help to regulate the industry by coordinating services at ranks and setting fares, but most times they serve the interests of owners rather than drivers or passengers. However, some associations provide owners with guidelines on how to handle customer complaints about the driver or other aspects of the service.

3.3.2 Minibus taxi drivers

Minibus taxi drivers make up most workers in the minibus taxi industry. They are usually not owners but work for another person (Ngubane 2016). Minibus taxi drivers are compensated in diverse ways, depending on the practices of individual vehicle owners. Some drivers operate under a fixed quota system, while others receive a percentage of the day's earnings (McCormick et al, 2016). Regardless of the method, drivers are responsible for collecting fares and remitting the revenue to their respective owners. They are responsible for vehicle operating costs such as buying fuel, and sometimes drivers get to keep the additional fares after reaching their target, which creates a strong incentive to compete aggressively for, and carry, full passenger loads (Behrens, McCormick and Mfinanga 2016).

3.3.3 Minibus taxi conductors

Minibus taxis often also have another employee in addition to the driver. This is the sliding door operator or conductor, who is paid from the driver's earnings and is responsible for

collecting fares on board (Plano 2020). The conductors are casually employed, with limited signed agreements between drivers and conductors.

3.3.4 Queue/taxi marshals

A queue/taxi marshal is defined as ‘a person who arranges passengers and vehicle-related procedures at taxi facilities’ (Nelson 2010:8 cited in Ngubane 2016). Taxi marshals are responsible for much more than just controlling traffic flow in the minibus taxi rank, they are also tasked with ensuring public safety by policing behaviour at taxi ranks (Ngubane 2016).

3.3.5 Minibus taxi associations

There are numerous regional minibus taxi associations in South Africa. These minibus taxi associations are normally referred to as ‘mother bodies’, who are tasked with the responsibility of representing the interests of members in different forums, for example, when engaging with the government (Schalekamp 2017; Plano 2020). The key role of the associations is to determine the number of drivers who use a specific route to reduce conflict. The National Taxi Alliance (NTA) and the South African National Taxi Council (SANTACO) ostensibly represent operator interests at the national level (Plano 2020). The government officially recognises SANTACO, while NTA, which is not officially recognised, is thought to represent some illegal operators (Schalekamp and Behrens 2010). SANTACO is organised at multiple scales, with associations connected to local, provincial and national councils (Plano 2020).

3.4 The economic contribution of minibus taxis in South Africa

The minibus taxi industry is a major driver of the economy in South Africa. According to SA Taxi (2022), 73% of South Africans frequently use public transport, mostly low-income earners, 3% use a private vehicle, 3% walk and 1% use other forms of transport. Overall, of those trips using public transport, most passengers use minibus taxis. Over 80% of all public transportation trips to work are taken by minibus bus taxis, while 72% of public transportation trips to schools are taken by minibus taxis (National Households Travel Survey 2020 cited by SA Taxi 2022). Although information on certain aspects of the minibus taxi industry is difficult to find, the Competition Commission of South Africa (2021) states that there are an estimated 200,000- 250,000 minibus taxis operated by 150,000 minibus taxi owners/operators in the country. Supporting this extensive operation are about 300,000 drivers, 100,000 rank marshals, 100,000 car washers, and 150,000 informal traders operating within taxi ranks (Competition

Commission of South Africa 2021). The economic significance of this industry is evident, with an estimated value of R90 billion annually in revenue (Competition Commission of South Africa 2021). However, passengers have frequently complained about minibus taxi driver behaviour, reckless driving, overloading, sexual violence, and assaults and vehicle roadworthiness (Department of Transport 1996; Mabaso 2019; DoT 2020). In a report published by the Department of Transport (2020), the number of passenger complaints regarding the minibus taxi industry indicates that there has been slow progress in addressing industry problems between 1996 and 2017, with some issues even worsening over time. Considering this situation, the minibus taxi industry still serves as the vital driving force behind South Africa's public transportation sector, with a staggering daily ridership of approximately 15 million commuter trips per day, while trains have less than 250 000 commuter trips daily, buses have less than 660 000 commuter trips daily and bus rapid transit has about 120 000 commuter trips daily (SA Taxi 2022).

The following section will discuss the adoption of BRT in South African cities before focusing on Cape Town.

3.5 The adoption of BRT in South African cities

The adoption of BRT in South African cities was a gradual process that involved a series of workshops, tours and technical assessments. According to Wood (2015), the BRT approach was first adopted in South Africa in July 2006, following a special session of the South African Transport Conference. Lloyd Wright, a global expert on BRT, was invited to host a day-long workshop in South Africa on the principles, attributes, and engineering specifications of BRT by the National Department of Transport (Wood 2015). This was followed by a series of workshops involving politicians and transportation planners in cities such as Cape Town, eThekweni, Johannesburg, and Tshwane. Following these workshops, Johannesburg was the first city to take part in a formal study tour to Bogota to learn about BRT, once in August 2006 and again in August 2007 (Wood 2014). Soon after this, the City of Cape Town also made two trips to South America, once in December 2007 and again in December 2008. The aim of the first visit was aimed at practitioners to disseminate technical details about BRT to those who are most likely to build the system in Cape Town and the second visit was focused on politicians (Wood 2014).

In March 2007, the Cabinet approved the Public Transport Strategy that included the BRT Programme in South Africa (NDOT 2007). The strategy introduced the concept of Integrated Rapid Public Transport Network (IRPTN), including the full specification of the BRT corridors. This system was designed to provide dedicated bus-only lanes and safe, comfortable, weather-protected, and accommodating bus stations for passengers with special needs (NDOT 2007). The BRT system in South African cities aimed to improve mobility and accessibility while also catalysing space transformation to provide more inclusive, sustainable, and productive cities (Tsoetsi and Mariette 2016).

In August 2009, the Rea Vaya (the name of the BRT in Johannesburg) was opened. It was the first BRT system in Africa to include all the full features of BRT (Wood 2015). In the first stage, 143 buses carried 45,000 passengers every workday along the 25.5-kilometre route from Soweto to the centre of Johannesburg (Wood 2015). In October 2013, Rea Vaya Phase 1B started operating a second route.

BRT construction in South African cities has expanded and is ongoing, including eThekweni, Ekurhuleni, and Nelson Mandela Bay (Wood 2015). There currently are nine BRT systems in total in South Africa operational and planned. In general, in South African cities, due to low urban density, BRT buses must drive longer distances when compared to other BRTs across the world, such as those in Peru and Mexico (Venter 2013).

3.6 BRT in Cape Town

Branded as MyCiTi, the City of Cape Town's BRT started in 2010, which coincided with the city's hosting of some games of the FIFA World Cup (Rayle 2017). In May 2011, Cape Town launched Phase 1A of its MyCiTi Integrated Rapid Transit service between central Cape Town and Table View. The 16-kilometer route, which is managed by two former minibus taxi companies, transports 30,000 passengers on 267 buses each weekday (Wood 2015:573). It is crucial to mention that the West Coast, where Table View is located, is one of the busiest routes of MyCiTi.

MyCiTi's Phase 1A design followed international standards for 'gold standard' BRT, where the trunk services corridor features exclusive bus lanes, high-floor articulated buses, enclosed stations with pre-payment and pre-boarding queuing, enclosed, high-quality stations and cashless fare cards (City of Cape Town 2010 cited by Rayle 2017). In accordance with the different types of BRT, MyCiTi has a combination of high-end BRT and BRT-lite, while it has

several features of a full BRT such as dedicated lanes, modern stations, and cashless fare collection, it lacks the full network segregation, extensive station integration, and very high capacity found in high-end BRT systems (Plano 2020; Cervero 2013; MyCiTi website). MyCiTi has trunk services and a network of feeder route. The trunks operate in dedicated BRT lanes and the network of feeder operates in direct routes travelling in mixed traffic. Unfortunately, much of the explanation lies in apartheid spatial planning and its persistent effects on land use segregation and sprawling, low density development (Behrens and Salazar Ferro 2016 cited in Plano 2020:18). Phase 1B was launched in November 2013. To pave the way for the permanent second-phase services, the MyCiTi N2 Express was launched in July 2014 to provide freeway-aligned scheduled bus connections between Mitchells Plain and Khayelitsha and the main MyCiTi station in the city centre (Schalekamp 2017; TCT 2015). The two routes are managed by a joint venture between existing operator entities (for the Khayelitsha route, the partner organisation is CODETA).

The two main components of the transportation reforms underpinning the establishment of MyCiTi in Cape Town were: (1) the municipal government gaining control over the public transportation sector; and (2) restructuring the sector by including incumbent operators as stakeholders in the new BRT system while planning to gradually phase out Golden Arrow buses and minibus taxis from MyCiTi routes (Rayle 2017). Existing minibus taxi owners would be incorporated into the new BRT system in the areas where BRT would replace them to maintain employment opportunities (Schalekamp and Behrens 2013; Schalekamp and McLachlan 2016). As part of this process, minibus taxi operators formed vehicle operating companies (VOCs) to negotiate 12-year contracts with the City for MyCiTi operations, but negotiations were delayed, resulting in interim contracts to ensure services continued during the World Cup (Schalekamp and McLachlan 2016; Schalekamp and Behrens 2010; Plano 2020). It took six years to form three VOCs (Schalekamp and McLachlan 2016; Plano 2020).

3.7 Governance of urban mobility in the present day

South Africa's urban mobility landscape is fragmented, with various government departments overseeing different modes of transport. National Public Transport Regulator (NPTR), oversees interprovincial and tourist services (National Land Transport Act 2009). While the Provincial Regulatory Entities (PREs), regulate intra-provincial services and each province has its own PRE (National Land Transport Act 2009). For example, in the Western Cape, the PRE is the Western Cape Mobility Department. Municipalities may also regulate public transport

services within their jurisdiction, especially for local or smaller-scale operations (Legalwise 2021). Roads fall under the National Roads Agency Limited (SANRAL), while metro rail services are managed by the Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (PRASA) which is a state-owned entity (SANRAL website; PRASA website). Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) systems, such as MyCiTi in Cape Town, Rea Vaya in Johannesburg, and A Re Yeng in Pretoria, are typically managed by municipalities. The Gautrain, a high-speed rail system connecting Johannesburg, Pretoria, and Oliver Tambo International Airport, is managed by the Gautrain Management Agency (GMA). The GMA is an agency under the Gauteng Department of Roads and Transport, overseeing the implementation of the concession agreement between the Gauteng Provincial Government and the Bombela Concession Company (Gautrain website). Subsidized and unsubsidized commuter buses for examples include Golden Arrows (subsidized by the City of Cape Town) and Metrobus (a wholly-owned municipal entity in Johannesburg) among others (Golden Arrow Bus Services website; City of Johannesburg website). The minibus taxis are privately owned and operate independently.

3.8 Summary

This chapter was designed to provide a brief history of South Africa's minibus taxi industry and BRT in South African cities, focusing on Cape Town. Since the 1977, the South African government has been actively engaged in addressing the challenges faced by the minibus taxi industry. Through various commissions of inquiry, the government has sought to understand the industry's complexities and develop appropriate solutions. These investigations have shed light on the historical context of racialized public transportation in South Africa, particularly as it relates to the minibus taxi industry.

The chapter also explores the structure of the minibus taxi industry and its economic contributions. Additionally, it provides a comprehensive overview of BRT adoption in South African cities, including a detailed analysis of the BRT system in Cape Town. Finally, the chapter briefly discusses the current governance of urban mobility in South Africa, which is essential for understanding the current context of this study and of public transportation more broadly in South Africa.

CHAPTER 4: METHODS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the methods used throughout the various components of this research as well as justification for the decisions made. Interpretivism was utilised as the research paradigm for this study to unpack factors that contribute to the continued preference for minibus taxis among most passengers, even when other public transportation alternatives like BRT are available in Dunoon. The objective of this study is to identify personal factors that influence passengers' public transportation mode choice in Dunoon and their experience using that mode of public transportation.

The study was guided by the following research questions:

- i) What are the factors that influence the decision of passengers to use minibus taxis and MyCiTi?
- ii) What are the advantages/disadvantages of the minibus taxi industry/paratransit and MyCiTi as a mode of transport in this corridor?
- iii) What are the economic and social implications of using minibus taxis as a primary mode of transportation?
- iv) What can be learned from this case study in terms of understanding and intervening in other contexts involving minibus taxi/paratransit or MyCiTi?

This chapter's discussion is focused on the research paradigm, research design, research methods, techniques, Dunoon as a case study, and the processes for gathering and analysing data. Data was gathered by speaking with Dunoon residents who commute by minibus taxi and/or MyCiTi. Discussions also include the ethical issues and the steps taken to make sure the study is reliable. This chapter is written in the first person as a reflection of choices made as a researcher, and how this research was carried out considering those decisions.

4.2 Research paradigm

This study used interpretivism as a research paradigm. Denzin and Lincoln (2008: 245) define a paradigm as a human construction that deals with first principles and identifies the researcher's perspective to create meaning from data.

Interpretivism is a social science paradigm that posits the subjectivity of reality, placing emphasis on comprehending phenomena through the lens of individuals' perspectives (Nickerson 2022). It further contends that truth and knowledge are subjective and contextually influenced by culture and history, rooted in people's experiences and their interpretations of them (Dean 2018). According to Dean (2018), researchers can never fully detach themselves from their own values and beliefs, which inevitably shape the collection, interpretation, and analysis of data.

Interpretivism traces its origins back to the 18th century when philosopher Giambattista Vico introduced the concept. He posited that a clear distinction exists between the natural world and the social world, and our perceptions of reality and truth are shaped by social organisation and social experiences (Costello 2016 cited in Dean 2018). Interpretivism as a research approach is focused on the observation and interpretation of phenomena. The observation element is concerned with gathering data about events, whereas the interpretation element is concerned with extracting meaning from the data for the purposes of analysis and sense-making (Antwi and Kasim 2015). Interpretive research in this study sought to uncover the meaning that individuals assign to events and the meaning of their responses to their social contexts (Antwi and Kasim 2015; Bhattacharjee 2012).

Interpretivism is a broad term that encompasses various schools of thought within social science. These include phenomenology, hermeneutics, critical theory, symbolic interactionism, and ethnomethodology (Yanow 2006 cited in Dean 2018). Within sociology, three major interpretivist approaches have been identified (Williams 2000; Bryman 2008):

- I. Hermeneutics is a philosophical approach that centres on the interpretation and understanding of texts or documents, delving into their deeper meanings. This perspective frequently directs attention to significant ancient texts, including religious scriptures.
- II. Phenomenology and Ethnomethodology belong to a philosophical tradition that aims to comprehend the world by directly engaging with the phenomena it encompasses. Ethnomethodology, grounded in phenomenology, focuses on studying how individuals perceive and navigate their everyday world through social norms and rituals.
- III. Symbolic interaction is an approach that recognises symbols as social objects shaped by culture, carrying shared meanings. This perspective encompasses three fundamental principles:

- a. Individuals' actions are guided by the meanings they assign to things.
- b. Meanings emerge through social interactions.
- c. People may modify or adapt meanings based on their interpretations of situations or their personal experiences.

The advantages of an interpretative research design are that the researcher can understand complex processes better (Bhattacharjee 2012). However, it also has its limitations, including the requirement of more time and resources for conducting the research. Additionally, there is a need to strike a balance in the amount of data collected, ensuring it is neither too scarce nor excessive. In the former case, false assumptions might occur; in the latter case, the researcher might not be able to interpret the data correctly (Bhattacharjee 2012). To answer the study's primary research question, this investigation examined the variables that affect passenger public transportation mode choice in Dunoon and their experiences using minibus taxis or MyCiTi as a mode of public transportation. The research paradigm was aligned to the interpretivist philosophy which highlights that when seeking to understand the meaning of a phenomenon or the experience of a phenomenon, knowledge will be derived from an inductive rather than deductive approach (Merriam 1998). The disadvantages of using interpretivism as a research paradigm is that it can be subjective, meaning the researcher's perspective might be biased (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2012). Critics of interpretivist research have raised concerns about its lack of generalizability and objectivity (Yanow and Schwartz-Shea 2014). However, these critiques and concerns primarily stem from philosophical disparities. Over the years, interpretivists have developed reliable and rigorous research methodologies that address and refute these arguments (Yanow and Schwartz-Shea 2014).

4.3 Research design: Qualitative research

This section outlines the research design, which refers to the information requirements, the strategies to be used to examine this information and how this will respond to the research question (De Vaus 2001). Within a qualitative approach, both secondary and primary data collection methods were used in this study in the form of literature reviews, semi-structured interviews and participant observation. To counteract the limitations of the interpretive research design, the collection of data began early in the process with an extensive literature review to clarify concepts. In addition, the semi-structured questionnaires were set up in a manner where added information can be shared by the respondents, which the researcher had not considered. The responses from the participants were also analysed several multiple times

to arrange the data thoroughly. In the following section, qualitative research is discussed as part of the research design. The decision to employ qualitative research methods was motivated by the necessity to gather insights and evaluations regarding the factors that contribute to the continued preference for minibus taxis among most passengers, despite the availability of other public transportation alternatives such as BRT in Dunoon. By utilising qualitative research approaches, the researcher was able to generate a richer dataset that enhances the specific context in which the participants are situated, as well as capture the complexities surrounding public transportation in a city like Cape Town. Furthermore, the qualitative research approach enabled the collection of authentic information on how individuals interpret their own reality and make choices.

This study took a qualitative approach because it dealt with contextual data that cannot be generalised to other settings (Patton 2015). Qualitative research aligns with the interpretive approach, rooted in interpretivist and constructivist paradigms that prioritise the understanding and interpretation of individuals' subjective meanings in relation to their experiences and social phenomena instead of predicting specific outcomes (Denzin and Lincoln 2011 cited in Tomaszewski, Zarestky and Gonzalez 2020). Within an interpretive framework, the use of qualitative research methods enables researchers to capture the complexities and diverse viewpoints that contribute to the construction of meaning (Creswell and Poth 2018, as cited in Tomaszewski et al 2020). This research approach further allows for the exploration of textured and in-depth details of a phenomenon to enable the development of a nuanced understanding of the field of research (Phillips and de Wet, 2017; Aurini, Heath and Howells 2021). The use of qualitative research as an approach was important in this study allowing for a reflexive process, new knowledge emergence, and applicability in cross-cultural research to understand the lived experiences of people. Therefore, this approach could provide a deeper insight into people's experiences that could not be represented by measurement theory in the quantitative approach, such as understanding the factors that influence passenger public transportation mode choice in Dunoon and their experience using this mode of public transportation (Ponterotto 2005). Cross-cultural qualitative research can help overcome the limitations of close-ended questions by gathering knowledge from participants through open-ended questions.

Rubin and Babbie (2017) define mixed methods research as a procedure for collecting, analysing and mixing both quantitative and qualitative data at some stage of the research

process within a single study to understand a research problem more completely. Mixed methods research is valuable for several reasons, including triangulation, completeness, and complementarity to enhanced credibility, comprehensive investigation, and richer interpretations in a single study (Fouché and Strydom 2021:895). Triangulation in mixed methods research encourages the researcher to corroborate across the occasional antagonistic relationship between qualitative and quantitative, while completeness refers to how the mixed methods research enables a researcher to simultaneously address a range of confirmatory and exploratory questions with both the qualitative and quantitative approaches and therefore verify and generate theory in the same study. Complementarity is another key aspect in mixed methods research referring to the strengths that offset the weakness of both the quantitative and qualitative research and therefore, has the potential to provide better inferences. To ensure the validity of the study and to address any limitations, I opted to employ additional data collection methods, namely literature review, semi-structured interviews and participant observation.

4.5 Interpretive case study approach

The research adopted a case study approach for gathering qualitative data because the study was conducted in a specific area and on a specific issue, which was essential to answering the research questions (Yin 1984). The case study method was used to inquire about the context in which a phenomenon occurs (Yin 2003). A case study approach can be defined as a 'systematic inquiry into an event or set of related events which aims to describe and explain the phenomenon of interest' (Bromley 1990). An interpretive case study approach was used for this research study. The interpretive case study approach aims to understand a larger phenomenon through the analysis of a specific case or cases by following an inductive approach focusing on the particular to understand the whole (Schurink, Schurink and Fouché 2021). A case study can only be understood by examining the interaction between the micro-parts and meso-parts that connect them into a whole (Schwandt and Gates 2018 cited in Schurink et al 2021:662).

A case study allows for an exploration that presents and recognises patterns and interconnection of data points within the basis of inquiry (Gall et al 1996). At its core, the case study approach facilitates the understanding of contextual conditions that are crucial to comprehending the phenomenon being studied. The case study approach holds the strength of capturing a specific aspect of reality, enabling the acquisition of concrete, practical, and context-dependent

knowledge within a well-defined system (Flyvbjerg 2011). The case study approach encompasses multiple layers, offering descriptions and explanations of how various components within a larger structure and process are interconnected. It explores the relationships between individual cases and how they relate to one another, considering the connections between micro and macro perspectives, as well as the interplay between the present, past, and future (Schurink et al 2021). This holistic framework of scientific knowledge provides a comprehensive understanding of the subject matter. In this study, the utilisation of this method proved beneficial as it facilitated the comprehension of intricate social contexts that exist and sheds light on the reasons behind the factors that contribute to the continued preference for minibus taxis among the majority of passengers despite the presence of BRT as an alternative public transportation option. Furthermore, the case study approach enabled the gathering of data from diverse sources and can help in testing theory. According to Schwandt and Gates (2018: 352), a case study can be used to support a theory, extend a theory, or refute a theory or develop theoretical propositions.

The research conducted in this study encompassed one case study, wherein Dunoon was selected as the focal point to investigate a specific issue. The focus was placed on a corridor that provides access to both the minibus taxis and the MyCiTi system, facilitating a comprehensive understanding of the subject matter. Specifically, Dunoon is in the West Coast Corridor, one of the busiest routes within the MyCiTi transportation network. Additionally, the inclusion of a diverse population in a township where the majority relies on public transportation is significant, as it reflects the typical urban fabric found in many cities throughout South Africa. Therefore, selecting Dunoon as an area for the study was crucial to achieving the objectives of this academic inquiry. By narrowing the study to the factors that influence passenger public transportation mode choice in Dunoon and their experience using this mode of public transportation, it allowed the researcher to answer the main research question which sought to examine why despite notable issues, most passengers in Dunoon use minibus taxis although having access to alternative public transportation like the BRT. The availability of minibus taxis and the BRT system in Dunoon allowed the researcher to compare the two modes of transportation, how they serve passengers and their travel experience.

Flyvbjerg (2011:425) argues with this notion that ‘one can often generalise based on a particular case, and the case study may be central to scientific development via generalisation as supplement or alternative to other methods.’ Case study research requires the researcher to

explain methodological thinking, design rationales, and decision-making processes to enable readers to understand the process and checks the researcher has employed (Hallberg 2013; Morse 2011).

This inquiry seeks to understand the factors contributing to the continued preference for minibus taxis among most passengers, even when other public transportation alternatives like Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) are available. Dunoon was used as a research site to investigate this question.

4.5 Dunoon as a case study

This study was conducted in Dunoon, and this section details the history of Dunoon, the demographic and socioeconomic backgrounds of the Dunoon residents, and the state of public transportation in the area. I unpacked these topics to help understand the context of the area before I could make sense of the findings from the interviews.

4.5.1 Location

Dunoon is a township in Cape Town in the Western Cape province, near a suburb called Milnerton. Dunoon is in ward 104 of the City of Cape Town municipality (City of Cape Town n.d.). The township is situated in a triangle between the Potsdam Road, the N7 national highway and Killarney Gardens. This area is located on the West Coast, east of Table View. The township is surrounded by comparatively wealthy communities like Parklands, Table View, Killarney Gardens and Richwood (Gqomfa, Maphanga and Shale 2022). According to October and Freeman (2017), Dunoon was originally the name of a farm in the Milnerton area. The township was established as a Reconstruction Development Programme (RDP) housing project, which began in the early 1990s when the City of Cape Town purchased the farm to develop low-income housing as an alternative arrangement for people living in the Marconi Beam informal settlements (Makabeni 2018). The Marconi Beam settlement was located in Milnerton, 8 km away from the Cape Town city centre (Barry 2006). The informal settlement was situated in an area of 8 hectares within a larger 214-hectare private land parcel, and its proximity to employment opportunities attracted a significant population (Lohnert, 1998 cited in Barry 2006). The settlement was situated near the Milnerton Racecourse, Montague Gardens Township, Metro Industrial Township, and middle-class residential suburbs. Marconi Beam informal settlement served as a temporary location for squatters until permanent housing could be provided (Makabeni 2018). In Marconi Beam, there were about 1,345 shacks in December

1996, and by September 1998, about 1,200 residents had been relocated to Joe Slovo Park or Dunoon (Barry 2006; October and Freeman 2017:7). Joe Slovo Park, adjacent to the Marconi Beam site, was the initial housing project built to accommodate the residents of Marconi Beam informal settlement, but there was an influx of people, resulting in an overflow of approximately 350 families who were eventually relocated to Dunoon (Hayson, 2009 cited in Makabeni 2018). The goal of developing areas such as Dunoon and Joe Slovo Park were to improve living conditions for Marconi Beam residents. Many people were relocated from the Marconi Beam informal settlement into Dunoon and Joe Slovo formal housing between 1997 and 2000. Many of them were left unemployed due to a lack of employment opportunities in the area and to make an income, people who owned houses started renting backyard structures, which eventually caused Dunoon to become overcrowded (Makabeni 2018). As a result of people renting out their backyards, Dunoon comprises both formal brick/block houses and informal housing.

4.5.2 Demographics

Dunoon is a rapidly growing township with a diverse population. Ward 104, which Dunoon falls under, had a population of 13,655 in the 2001 census, which increased to 36,973 in 2011 (CoCT 2011 adapted from Statistics South Africa census). Similarly, the number of households in ward 104 increased from 4,638 in 2001 to 14,390 in 2011 (October and Freeman 2017:8). Dunoon has 89.2% of the population identifying as Black, 5.5% as Coloured and 4.9% as Other (CoCT 2011 adapted from Statistics South Africa census). In terms of language, IsiXhosa is the most spoken language in Dunoon, though other South African languages and foreign languages are also spoken. According to the Statistics South Africa Census (2011), 86.9% of the population in Dunoon are South African citizens, 11.2% of the population are foreign nationals and 1.7% of the population did not specify their nationality. Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Ethiopia, Ghana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Somalia, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe account for most of the foreign nationals in the area (October and Freeman 2017:12).

4.5.3 Socio-economic conditions

One of the most pressing socio-economic issues in Dunoon is a lack of adequate housing. Dunoon had 11,496 houses and 31,133 residents as of the 2011 Census (Statistics South Africa 2011). The breakdown of households is as follows: formal dwellings account for 40.9% of

households; informal dwellings (shacks) in someone's backyard account for about a quarter of households (25.7%); and informal dwellings not in someone's backyard account for 30.6% of households. Because of the considerable number of informal dwellings in Dunoon, there is a high population density in the area. Most of the population in the area are tenants. To rent a backyard room, it costed approximately R1500- 1800 per month (October and Freeman 2017).

Dunoon is surrounded by an industrial area (consisting of factories), residential suburbs, two major shopping districts and an abundance of recreational activities such as golf clubs, restaurants, surfing and canoeing. As a result, there are many potential job opportunities in the area. Many residents of Dunoon work in these areas as servers, domestic workers and other low-skilled work (Makabeni 2018). The area also has a MyCiTi bus depot. The area has a high unemployment rate, with an astounding 36.7% of the labour force (people aged 18 to 64) being unemployed in 2011 in comparison to 24% in Cape Town as a whole (October and Freeman 2017; CCT 2011). Many Dunoon residents rely on income generated by renting out property or a room (Makhale 2013). 63% of the labour force (aged 18 to 64) is employed. According to Statistics South Africa (2011), 77% of households in Dunoon had a monthly income of R3 200 or less.

4.5.4 Public transport in Dunoon

Based on where Dunoon is situated in the city, as mentioned in the above section, some of the people work within the area as waitresses, domestic workers and other low-skilled work (Makabeni 2018). Others work mainly work in Cape Town City centre, Century City or along the West Coast corridor to central Cape Town, according to the responses from the interviews the researcher conducted.

Public transportation plays a vital role in the daily lives of Dunoon residents, enabling them to participate fully in the social and economic activities of Cape Town. Many residents commute to jobs, to reach hospitals, clinics, schools or universities, grocery stores, markets and government offices in other parts of Cape Town, often requiring public transportation. In addition, residents require public transport to attend social events, visit family and friends, and engage in leisure activities.

Peak travel times in Dunoon occur between 4-9am in the morning and from 4-7pm in the afternoon as residents commute to/from work and school. While travel needs vary throughout the day, with errands such as shopping, commutes to clinic and afternoon shifts contributing to

some traffic, overall activity is relatively low during midday hours. Most daily commutes in Dunoon range from 10 minutes to an hour.

Prior to the introduction of the MyCiTi in Dunoon, residents only had limited public transportation options, with only minibus taxis and Golden Arrow buses (with the busses operating mainly on specific times) serving the area, which is nowhere near a railway line. Travelling to Dunoon, was therefore difficult. For example, in an excerpt from Makhale (2013:11) about travelling from Durbanville to Dunoon, she says:

“I found the trip to Dunoon by taxi very fascinating...to get to Dunoon I must first catch a taxi to Bellville taxi rank, then another taxi to Dunoon. On our way from Bellville, located in the northern suburbs, the taxi passes affluent neighbourhoods before we head to Dunoon. The closer we get to Dunoon, the less ‘scenic’ the view becomes: less and less trees until eventually all one saw were factories and beach sand. If ever I fell asleep in the taxi (the ride from Bellville to Dunoon can take up to an hour on a good day), and woke up and did not see trees, then I knew we were close to Dunoon”.

On 1 March 2014 the MyCiTi BRT system was launched in Dunoon (TCT 2014). Residents of Dunoon could now travel directly to Table View or continue to the Civic Centre station in central Cape Town due to the extension of the main route (T01) along Blaauwberg Road. All passengers were required to do was get a Myconnect card and load it with money to pay for trips taken on the MyCiTi. The Myconnect card is a card-based payment system to reduce carrying cash every day, it allows for budgeting because one can load the card for the month, and it reduces delays caused by queuing at ticket kiosks.

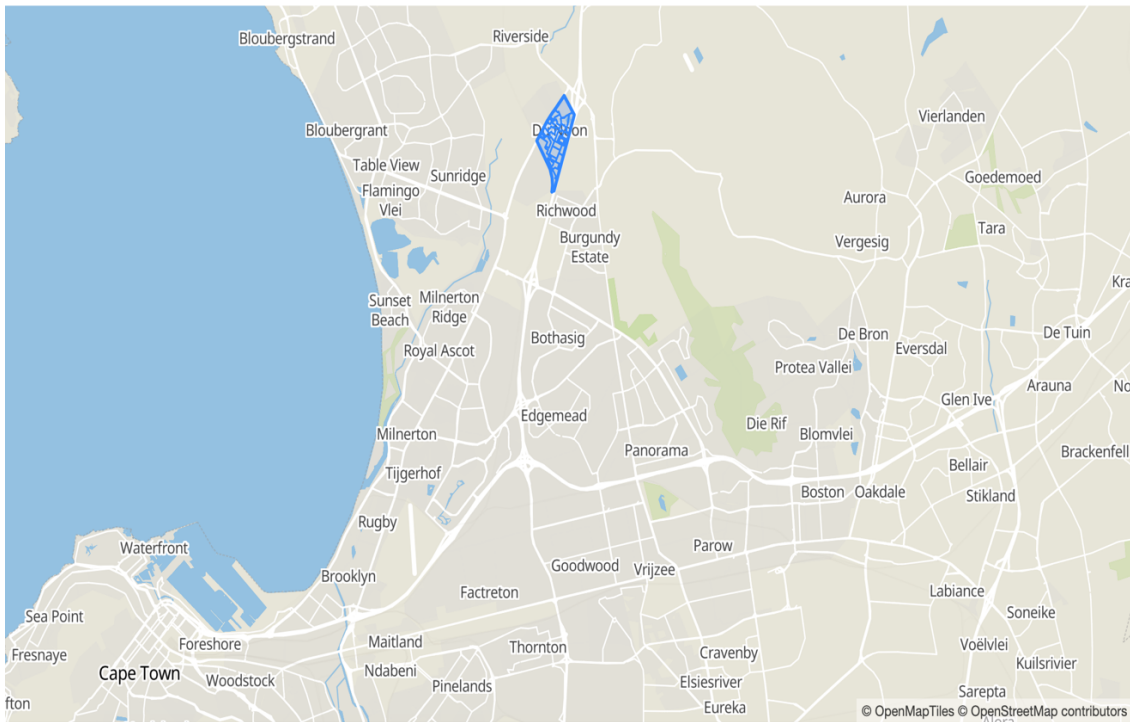


Figure 4.1: Map of Cape Town with Dunoon highlighted in blue (Source: adopted from the Open StreetMap contributors)

MyCiTi has not expanded to Bellville, and most people are unable to commute from Dunoon to go directly to certain areas such as Nyanga, Khayelitsha or the greater N2 express route (see Figure 4.1). In addition, the MyCiTi N2 route, a major transport corridor that connects Khayelitsha and Mitchells Plain town centres to Cape Town city centre, has had services suspended and resumed numerous times (Githahu 2021). There were around 76,310 journeys from Dunoon in August 2015, according to commuter statistics provided by MyCiTi (2015).

A R42 million project to build a new transport hub in Dunoon was announced in 2018 (Luhanga 2018). This project, which would include public toilets, trading kiosks, three offices, a boardroom and loading facilities for minibus taxis, will be located on the corner of Potsdam and Dumani Road. One of the motivations for the hub was that approximately 8000 commuters commuting to Bellville, Nyanga, Centre Point, Witsand, and Wolwerivier would use the facility on weekdays (Charles 2018). Prior to this, minibus taxis parked on open ground without any infrastructure or conveniences. Additionally, this meant that commuters had to stand in line without any protection from the elements during the rainy months. The project included ensuring that 89 food, vegetable, fruits and other stuff kiosks made available for traders in Dunoon (Qetsemani 2021). In September 2021, the second phase of the Dunoon public transport interchange was completed (Qetsemani 2021).

The next section details the composition of this case and its participants along with a thorough description of the informants.

4.6 Sampling

Sampling in qualitative research is defined as “the process of selecting a few cases from a bigger group, which is the entire population, to become the basis for estimating or predicting the prevalence of an unknown piece of information, situation or outcome regarding the bigger group” (Kumar 2011(b):177). In this inquiry, non-probability sampling was used encompassing purposive sampling, convenience, quota, snowball sampling and self-selection. Purposive sampling was used as a sampling method for this research study.

Purposive sampling relates to selecting case studies with rich information in order to develop a deep understanding of the research area of interest and unit of analysis (Patton 2014). Although this study is focused on only one case, one can learn a great deal about issues of importance to the purpose of the research from information-rich cases (Patton 2014). Judgmental or purposive sampling is particularly useful when a researcher wants to “construct historical reality, describe a phenomenon or develop something about which only a little is known” (Kumar 2011(b):189). The primary consideration in purposive sampling is to select respondents who can provide the best information to achieve the objectives of the study (Kumar 2011(b)).

The process of selecting a sample from the entire population benefits the researcher because it saves time, money, and human resources. A large population makes data analysis difficult; therefore, using a sample allows the researcher to better utilise the resources at his/her disposal (Strydom and Venter 2002). The sample size for this study consisted of 39 participants and the data were collected using a purposive sampling technique. The ages ranged from 19 to 50 years, with female participants making up 31% of the sample overall, while male participants made up 69%. I excluded anyone under 18 or who used cars and non-motorized transport to travel and people who used taxis less than 10 times in a month, as that was not enough to have a concrete view of the public transport space in Dunoon. Many of the individuals I interviewed were encountered at various locations within the Dunoon, including the Dunoon Community Hall, library, minibus taxis en-route to Dunoon, or while walking within the community.

This sampling technique was also useful as it allowed me to speak to participants based on convenience, as I was in their area. This proximity to participants allowed me to better understand the research problem by meeting with them in person.

My key entry-point for the sampling process was a community meeting that was meant to have taken place at the Dunoon community hall in August 2022. On 24 August 2022, I made the decision to attend a community meeting on “basket services” in Dunoon, organised by the City of Cape Town. This meeting was supposed to provide residents with a variety of services to help them improve their well-being. These services include assistance with indigent grant applications, updating housing details, resolving account queries, registering for jobseeker databases, health screenings, and water conservation advice. I went to Dunoon on this day with the hope of finding individuals to interview or connecting with a community leader who could assist me in navigating the township and arranging interviews. I knew about this meeting due to my first site visit to Dunoon, where I got a pamphlet informing me about the meeting. On the day of the meeting, I arrived in Dunoon around 11:30 am as I had left the Southern Suburbs later than intended, although the meeting was supposed to commence at 9 am.

Unfamiliar with the location of the hall, I asked a woman in the minibus taxi to guide me. Before she disembarked, she requested the driver to point out the hall's whereabouts. As I entered the community hall premises, I observed a relatively small number of people present. I approached the security guards to inquire about the meeting, and they informed me that it had been postponed. The City of Cape Town had rescheduled it due to an ongoing protest related to increased petrol price, but it appeared that only the security guards and individuals working at the councillor's office were aware of the cancellation, as community members continued to arrive, seeking information about the meeting and EPWP job applications.

I decided to stay a while longer and make the most of my time. I took the opportunity to introduce myself to the individuals who continued to arrive, hoping to conduct interviews with them. Throughout the day, I managed to interview approximately six people. However, upon reviewing the interviews, I noticed that the majority of those interviewed had infrequent use of public transportation, using it fewer than five times a month. This was mainly due to unemployment or working within the neighbourhood. In the next couple of days, I decided to conduct interviews at the community hall. This was a strategic location as it was frequented by a variety of people, including those who used the gym facilities, those who had questions for the ward councillor, and those who came to register for grants or identity documents on a

particular day. The community hall was also close to the community library, which gave me access to students and remote workers. I tried to conduct interviews at the minibus taxi rank in Dunoon, but this was challenging as the minibus taxis often got full quickly and people were in a hurry.

On my second visit to Dunoon, I revised my semi-structured interview questions to better address my research question of why most people use minibus taxis despite the availability of alternative public transport like Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) in Dunoon. I interviewed people who used public transport in Dunoon for work, education, and other purposes.

4.7 Data collection methods

The primary data collection methods to support this inquiry were semi-structured interviews and participant observation. In terms of secondary data, relevant literature was reviewed, which included published books, newspaper articles, conference papers, journal articles, government publications and other research available on the internet.

4.7.1 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews include important questions relevant to the research area, although flexible enough to expand to other certain topics or discussions which may not have occurred to the researcher to include beforehand that are relevant to the research area (Gill, Stewart, Treasure and Chadwick 2008). This approach has various advantages, for example, it facilitates a collection of detailed and thick descriptions and the detailed exploration of topics from a smaller sample, participants are actively involved and provide direction to the interview, and one can follow up on both verbal and nonverbal communication (Adler and Clark 2015, Braun and Clarke 2013 cited in Strydom 2021:769). With this approach I was able to have an in-depth conversation and have a better understanding of why people use minibus taxis when there are other alternative public transport options in Dunoon. During the interview process, non-verbal communication, such as facial expressions, eye contact and gestures, provided an indication that the participants were interested and engaged in the conversation. Analysis of non-verbal communication is incorporated into my participant observation section (see Findings). The semi-structured interviews also allowed me an opportunity to gather data by using both open-ended questions as well as questions that help inform theory, while allowing an opportunity to adjust or leave out questions depending on the nature of the interview (Galletta 2013; Saunders, Kitzinger and Kitzinger 2015).

The reasoning was to include as many passengers as possible who use public transportation and are familiar with both minibus taxis and MyCiTi. The interviews were conducted in English, but many of the respondents responded in IsiXhosa during the face-to-face interview, although I transcribed their responses in English. I can understand spoken IsiXhosa well, but I cannot speak the language. Every effort was made to preserve the participants' original and authentic responses. Informed consent forms were required to be signed by each interviewee (Appendix 2). After each interview, I asked each participant to provide me with their contact information so I could confirm the conversation if it were unclear. The names used in the subsequent data analysis findings are not the real names of the study participants. I treated the information as strictly confidential and it is secured safely away and can't be accessed by anyone. The semi-structured interviews were designed in such a way that participants could respond to the questions regardless of whether they used a minibus taxi, MyCiTi, or both modes of transportation (Appendix 3). The questions focused on the individual's experience with the mode of public transportation they used, whether it was minibus taxis or MyCiTi, as well as the factors that influenced their choice. Prior to commencing the interviews, I would inquire with the participants about their preference regarding recording. It was observed that most participants expressed a desire not to be recorded. As a result, I transcribed each interview by hand during the interview. When I was done with all the interviews, I read them all several times before transcribing them into a Microsoft Word document. At this point, I made a mental note of any casual observations of early trends in the data as well as potentially interesting passages in the transcripts. I eventually transcribed the interview into Microsoft Word to examine the themes that emerged from the qualitative data gathered. Similar patterns that emerged from the participants' experiences were noted while the interviews were being recorded. During my fieldwork, I did not encounter anyone who said they did not want to be interviewed. However, I encountered a disrespectful individual who insulted me based on a perceived lack of respect. He caused a scene and hurled derogatory remarks, claiming that my unmarried status was evident from my manner of speaking, insinuating that a married woman would not have treated him in such a way. I excused myself from the situation, and when he later inquired about the interview, I informed him that I had reconsidered and decided not to proceed due to his disrespectful behaviour.

Semi-structured interviews have some limitations, which include being time-consuming for both the researcher and the participants and the risk of being open to the bias of the social actor's self-reporting (Blaikie, 2004; Braun and Clarke 2013 cited in Strydom 2021: 769). I

planned to interview 4-5 people daily and already had semi-structured questionnaires drafted when I went to Dunoon over the course of August and September, with the goal of interviewing 30 people. In addition, an interview followed a structured time frame of 15 to 30 minutes, adjusting it based on individual needs. I made sure to give people enough time to respond to the questions while I transcribed their responses in my fieldwork notebook. All the participants preferred having their responses written down, although I gave them an option to record their responses on audio. Participants expressed discomfort with audio recordings, even after I explained the purpose of the interview. I suspect that they either did not understand the outcome of the research and how the recordings were going to be used.

The questions in the interview schedule were designed to collect data on five key areas (the interview schedule is attached as Appendix 3):

- The demographics of the participants
- Their use of public transport
- The frequency of their use
- The factors that informed their mode choice
- Their experience of their chosen mode, which included their rating of the service on a scale of 1 to 5 (1= very bad, 2= bad, 3= neutral, 4= good, 5= very good).

4.7.2 Participant observation

Participant observation includes various ways in which one can be involved in data collection, between total involvement on one hand and total observation on the other (Strydom 2021). Gravetter and Forzano (2016, cited in Strydom 2021:730) state that participation observation can be done by observing natural or true behaviour from the inside by becoming one of the groups being observed. Participant observation is significant in that it can improve the nature of information acquired during fieldwork and improves the interpretation of data. Furthermore, this technique enhances a comprehensive perspective of the situation under investigation, and records actual behaviour and things that may be discovered that no one else has really paid attention to or that previously went unnoticed (Babbie & Mouton 2001; Gravetter and Forzano 2016, cited in Strydom 2021). Participant observation also has a direct link with practice and therefore can help prevent findings from being too theoretical (Strydom 2021:730).

Participant observation goes beyond just listening and observing. It is a common feature that researchers who use participant observation learn the culture of the people they are studying, in this case, the passengers of both minibus taxis and MyCiTi. Participant observation involves the participant observer not only observing and recording unusual behaviour, but also participating in the subjects' daily activities (Fobosi 2013). As a result, participant observation encompasses not only the process of observing while participating, but also the use of interviews, which are typically informal chats or more in-depth interviews (Fobosi 2013).

Participant observation might have too little control over extraneous variables and can therefore, be subjective, and this may result in the notion that this procedure is of lower scientific value compared with scientific experiments (Strydom 2021:731). This technique can be questioned in terms of validity, as observers are forced to rely on their own perceptions. Thus, this is susceptible to subjectivity, prejudice, biases, and selective perceptions (Yin 2014 cited in Strydom 2021:731). The counterargument is that all research is biased and affected by the background, experiences and perspectives of the researcher, therefore, it is better to be open about one's assumptions and perspectives. To address these limitations, the researcher kept a daily log of all observations made while commuting by public transportation, totalling about ten entries detailing the researcher's daily observations and overall experiences on the field.

To commute to Dunoon for fieldwork, I chose to use minibus taxis and MyCiTi. Several factors influenced this decision, for example, to save money on transportation, as the distance between Dunoon and my home was significant. This decision not only provided me with first-hand observations and experiences of these transport modes but also allowed for a comprehensive understanding to inform my research. Additionally, employing these public transport options facilitated the establishment of rapport with the individuals I aimed to interview, making it easier to establish contact and schedule interviews at their convenience. During my commute on the minibus taxi or MyCiTi, I would introduce myself to some people at times, mostly the person sitting next to me, tell them about my research and ask if they would be willing to participate in the interviews when they had time. If they agreed, I asked for their numbers and chatted to them on WhatsApp.

4.7.3 Literature review

The term “literature review” refers to the use of secondary data as the reworking or reanalysing of already analysed data over which the researcher usually has no direct control or direct

involvement (Strydom 2021:744). Literature reviews are one of the main categories of social research, along with interviews, surveys, and participant observation. Unlike interviews, surveys and participant observation, secondary data is already collected and can normally be found/obtained from publicly available data archives. According to Ahmed (2010:2), 'doing documentary research is much more than just recording facts, it is a contemplative process in which we confront what researchers refer to as the moral underpinnings of social inquiry'. Secondary data can be complementary to or contrasted with other research to confirm or reject previous findings and to identify trends (Strydom 2021:746). In addition, harmful effects on participants can be avoided and ethical dilemmas can be minimised when using secondary data (Strydom 2021:746).

In this study, I did not consider the documents in isolation, but rather in relation to the larger context and conceptually as they relate to the conceptual framework. To ensure a comprehensive understanding of the topic across different scales, I employed a systematic approach to gather literature from various sources. I conducted a thorough search using academic databases, scholarly journals, books, and reputable online sources. By utilising appropriate keywords and search terms, I aimed to capture a wide range of literature at both the global and local levels. To collect the right information, the following terms were used; 'paratransit', 'minibus taxis', 'informal transport', 'bus rapid transit (BRT) system', and 'public transport'. Additionally, I specifically focused on studies and research conducted in the context of Cape Town to obtain relevant information specific to the area of interest. This comprehensive approach allowed me to gather literature that spanned from the global scale down to the local scale, ensuring a well-rounded understanding of the subject matter. I had initially identified 30 readings that I thought were of relevance to the literature review section. However, I added to these readings as I was writing the literature review and I noticed that there were information gaps. Therefore, I ended up using around 181 readings in my literature review. I used the Big Five criteria for evaluating potential literature, namely currency, coverage, author, accuracy, and objectivity (Cornell University n.d.). Each of these criteria was useful. Currency refers to the publication date of the source, while coverage refers to the extent to which the source addresses my topic and research question. Author refers to the expertise and credibility of the author. Accuracy refers to the reliability and correctness of the information in the source. I assessed this by using peer-reviewed materials. Objectivity refers to the lack of bias or agenda in the source.

Because public transportation is an important research topic that is constantly growing, the sources chosen for this literature review were published between 2000 and 2023.

One of the disadvantages of secondary data is that certain data may be simply unavailable or incomplete or may contain errors that are not easily detectable (Strydom 2021). To address this limitation, I went through some readings and a document search and then created a reading list, which I sent to my research supervisor to make sure there was quality control in the identification of the documents, and he approved it. The process of compiling a reading list and submitting it to my supervisor was also to ensure that the papers I was going to read had credibility, representation and were authentic (Ahmed 2010). I employed a number of quality control measures, such as ensuring that the journals were peer-reviewed, as well as reading all the papers while ensuring that they were rigorous and well-referenced. Furthermore, the literature review aided in understanding what has previously been researched as well as the research's potential weaknesses and strengths.

Additionally, documents sometimes are not representative of their kind and do not allow for generalisation, while potential prejudices might be present in documents (Strydom 2021:747). To address this limitation, I also used other data collection methods, such as semi-structured interviews and participant observation, which will be further elaborated on in the subsequent sections, providing a comprehensive understanding of their significance in the research process.

4.8 Data analysis

After gathering the interview data, the next step was the qualitative analysis (Bhattacharjee 2012). The focus of the data analysis process is to make sense of the data collected (Bhattacharjee 2012).

The interviews were transcribed and then were analysed through thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is 'a process of analysing data using themes from data' (King 2003 cited in Mkhize 2010:71). According to Braun and Clarke (2006:79), the thematic approach does not only describe or organise data, but it also facilitates the interpretation 'of a range of aspects of the research topic'. Clarke and Braun (2013) state that a further advantage to thematic analysis, particularly in learning and teaching perspective is that it is a method rather than a methodology this means that, unlike many qualitative methodologies, it is not bound to a particular

epistemological or theoretical perspective. This approach allowed me, as a researcher the ability to be flexible while having a clear and stable framework.

The purpose of thematic analysis is to find themes that are significant or intriguing patterns in the data and then use those themes to discuss the research or make a point (Maguire and Delahunt 2017). There are six phases to Braun and Clarke's framework for thematic analysis namely, 1. data set familiarisation; 2. data coding; 3. initial theme generation; 4. theme development and review; 5. theme defining, refining and naming; and 6. writing up (Braun and Clarke 2021).

This framework enabled me to make sure that qualitative data was gathered and analysed in a way that respected and expressed the subjectivity of participants' accounts of their attitudes, while also acknowledging and embracing the reflexive influence of my interpretations as the researcher. This made it possible for me to find all the information connected to previously categorised patterns. After transcribing all the interviews into Microsoft Word, I identified the themes by reading the document and looking for patterns, such as participants saying that they liked minibus taxis because they are fast and cheap. I organised each theme into a separate category. I then gathered all the participant responses that fell under each theme. This process helped me to identify related themes, which I then gathered and organised into sub-themes. I combined all the themes that emerged from the participants' responses to create an overall picture of the personal factors that influence passengers' choice of public transportation mode in Dunoon and their experience using this mode of public transportation.

I also used thematic analysis after participant observation to identify, analyse, describe, and report on themes (Nowell et al 2017). This helped in ensuring that I provided a compelling analysis.

The disadvantage of thematic analysis is that it can be viewed as a simplistic approach to understanding what people are saying, with its findings only representing a superficial representation of the realities and experiences of the participants (Wicaksono and Zhuraskaya 2020:78). To overcome these limitations in the study, the sample size was carefully determined to encompass a wide range of perspectives. Additionally, quantitative analysis was employed to demonstrate how the diverse views and perspectives captured in the sample were reflective of the broader population. Maxwell (2010) state the use of numbers can be effectively utilised by qualitative researchers as a valuable complement to the overall research process. The semi-

structured questionnaire was also structured in a way that it was open-ended, the interviewee could engage about any topic related to public transport from both a personal perspective and generalised.

A disadvantage of thematic analysis can be that the interviewee may feel under pressure to perform to the interviewer's expectations, so the themes that emerge from the analysis may not be drawn from the interviewee's experiences and realities but rather from those that they believe are acceptable to the interviewer (Wicaksono and Zhuraskaya 2020:78). To compensate for this disadvantage, I included 'other' in the study's findings section to ensure that, even if certain interviewees did not share the same experiences as the other interviewees, their voices were also represented.

4.9 Positionality

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2018:16 cited in Schurink 2021), qualitative researchers are situated in their own gendered and multicultural identities, which shape their approach to the world. They bring their own unique perspectives and frameworks to their research, which inform the questions they ask and the ways in which they examine the world. Reflexivity is defined as 'the constant awareness, assessment, and reassessment by the researcher of the researcher's own contribution/influence/shaping of inter-subjective research and the consequent research findings' (Patnaik 2013:4). Using this research technique allowed the interviewer and participants to be involved in knowledge production through, for example, identifying personal factors that influence passengers' public transportation mode choice in Dunoon and their experience using this mode of public transportation. This addresses bias issues, for example, the violence and safety issues in the minibus taxi industry and public transport-related issues at large. I have never experienced any violence in a minibus taxi my entire life, but I am aware that it occurs at times. In addition, none of the people I interviewed mentioned violence pertaining to minibus taxis. Although the safety element was mentioned multiple times, this was safety related to the driving of the minibus taxi driver, not pertaining to the overall violence of the sector.

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2018:12 cited in Schurink 2021) 'your meaning making process is an interactive one shaped by your personal history, biography, gender, social class, class, race and ethnicity as well as the study's participants'. Thus, in this inquiry I deem it important that I declare my positionality and experience during the fieldwork period. I am a

black South African female who has used minibus taxis and BRT (MyCiTi and Rea Vaya) on numerous occasions. I arrived in Cape Town in 2021 to pursue my full-time master's degree, having previously stayed in the Southern Suburbs of Cape Town in 2018-2019 for work. Although I am originally from Soweto, Johannesburg, I had never heard of Dunoon prior to undertaking this study. The primary motivation for selecting Dunoon as a research site was its provision of both MyCiTi and minibus taxi services, which allowed for an exploration of the factors influencing the prevalent preference for minibus taxis among many passengers, even when alternative modes like BRT are available. To mitigate any biases and subjectivity, I deliberately chose to investigate an unfamiliar area and employed participatory observation. This approach involved not only conducting interviews but also actively engaging in listening, observing, and recording my reflections on the public transportation modes utilised during the fieldwork. Most of the participants spoke isiXhosa, but I only understood it, I did not speak it. I decided to speak isiZulu and English, but some participants would divert the conversation to ask me where I come from. I could easily redirect the conversation, but if I did not understand a particular word they said in isiXhosa, I would ask for clarification and synthesise it to an English word.

4.10 Navigating fieldwork: Interview challenges and ethical dilemmas

This section will discuss the challenges I faced during my fieldwork in Dunoon, including conducting interviews and addressing personal ethical concerns. I conducted 10 trips to Dunoon between August and September 2022, using minibus taxis in the mornings and MyCiTi in the afternoons. My initial visit coincided with a postponed community meeting, providing an early introduction to the area.

4.10.1 First visit to Dunoon

During my fieldwork in Dunoon, I made a conscious choice to rely on minibus taxis and MyCiTi as my daily means of transportation. There were several factors influencing this decision. Firstly, given my distant location from Dunoon, I needed an affordable way to commute, which led me to utilize a combination of minibus taxis and MyCiTi. Secondly, this approach allowed me to develop a better understanding of these modes of transportation by directly observing and experiencing them before documenting my research findings. Lastly, utilizing these public transport modes facilitated building rapport with individuals I intended to interview, enabling me to establish contact and schedule interviews at their convenience.

I recall my initial visit to Dunoon, which took place on Monday, 22 August 2022. It was my first site visit, and I had hopes of establishing a connection with a community leader or someone who could assist me in navigating the neighbourhood and arranging interviews. On that day, I purchased a MyCiTi card at Adderley Street station, where I was informed that the Dunoon platform is located at Thibault Square station. The two helpful women at the counter guided me through the process. The card cost me R35, and I deposited R50 into my trip fare account.

I arrived at Thibault Square at 14:15, where a man directed me to the appropriate platform and informed me that the bus would arrive in 8 minutes. As the time approached, individuals of various races (black, white, and coloured) between the ages of approximately 13 and 50 started to gather. Precisely after 8 minutes, the bus arrived. The bus stopped at the Civic Centre and quickly filled up. It made stops at all the stations along the route, regardless of whether passengers were alighting or boarding. The bus seemed to halt at every station.

During the journey, I spoke with a woman who resides in Bergvliet and works in Paarden Island. I inquired about her commute and why she chose to use MyCiTi. She mentioned concerns about the safety of minibus taxis but acknowledged their speed. However, she had decided to continue using MyCiTi. After the woman disembarked, I continued observing the movements of the passengers on the bus.

At that time, most passengers were schoolchildren, constantly boarding and disembarking. As we passed the Potsdam MyCiTi station, I noticed a bus terminal for Golden Arrow and what appeared to be a minibus taxi rank adjacent to the terminal in Potsdam. As the bus turned, I observed fewer people on board, predominantly black passengers, with a large presence of school children and a few adults.

As the bus departed from Cape Town city centre, the surroundings gradually changed. The picturesque scenery gave way to factories and sandy beaches, aligning with the description of Dunoon as depicted in Makhale's account: 'small houses tightly packed together, littered streets, broken sewage pipes, and dogs scavenging from rubbish dumps' (Makhale 2013: 11). This first-hand experience matched the narrative perfectly. The bus arrived at MyCiTi Stables Depot at 15:22, approximately an hour later. Upon disembarking, I noticed people approaching the nearest parked MyCiTi bus to tap out, indicating their payment and exit. This was due to our bus's tap-out feature not functioning. When travelling on MyCiTi in areas without stations, a special onboard system lets you tap in or out to confirm your payment for the entire trip. The

ticket displayed the information: 9 points used, 33 points remaining, which was unclear to me regarding its monetary value. The drop-off point, the MyCiTi Depot, was close to the shopping centre with a Shoprite supermarket.

T01 & T01X Dunoon - Table View - Civic Centre - Waterfront **MyCiTi**

Stables Turnaround

Route	Monday - Friday	Saturday	Sunday and Holidays
8	04:55 07:00 09:05 11:10 13:15 15:20 17:25 19:30 21:35 23:40 25:45 27:50 29:55 32:00 34:05 36:10 38:15 40:20 42:25 44:30 46:35 48:40 50:45 52:50 54:55 57:00 59:05 61:10 63:15 65:20 67:25 69:30 71:35 73:40 75:45 77:50 79:55 82:00 84:05 86:10 88:15 90:20 92:25 94:30 96:35 98:40 100:45 102:50 104:55 107:00 109:05 111:10 113:15 115:20 117:25 119:30 121:35 123:40 125:45 127:50 129:55 132:00 134:05 136:10 138:15 140:20 142:25 144:30 146:35 148:40 150:45 152:50 154:55 157:00 159:05 161:10 163:15 165:20 167:25 169:30 171:35 173:40 175:45 177:50 179:55 182:00 184:05 186:10 188:15 190:20 192:25 194:30 196:35 198:40 200:45 202:50 204:55 207:00 209:05 211:10 213:15 215:20 217:25 219:30 221:35 223:40 225:45 227:50 229:55 232:00 234:05 236:10 238:15 240:20 242:25 244:30 246:35 248:40 250:45 252:50 254:55 257:00 259:05 261:10 263:15 265:20 267:25 269:30 271:35 273:40 275:45 277:50 279:55 282:00 284:05 286:10 288:15 290:20 292:25 294:30 296:35 298:40 300:45 302:50 304:55 307:00 309:05 311:10 313:15 315:20 317:25 319:30 321:35 323:40 325:45 327:50 329:55 332:00 334:05 336:10 338:15 340:20 342:25 344:30 346:35 348:40 350:45 352:50 354:55 357:00 359:05 361:10 363:15 365:20 367:25 369:30 371:35 373:40 375:45 377:50 379:55 382:00 384:05 386:10 388:15 390:20 392:25 394:30 396:35 398:40 400:45 402:50 404:55 407:00 409:05 411:10 413:15 415:20 417:25 419:30 421:35 423:40 425:45 427:50 429:55 432:00 434:05 436:10 438:15 440:20 442:25 444:30 446:35 448:40 450:45 452:50 454:55 457:00 459:05 461:10 463:15 465:20 467:25 469:30 471:35 473:40 475:45 477:50 479:55 482:00 484:05 486:10 488:15 490:20 492:25 494:30 496:35 498:40 500:45 502:50 504:55 507:00 509:05 511:10 513:15 515:20 517:25 519:30 521:35 523:40 525:45 527:50 529:55 532:00 534:05 536:10 538:15 540:20 542:25 544:30 546:35 548:40 550:45 552:50 554:55 557:00 559:05 561:10 563:15 565:20 567:25 569:30 571:35 573:40 575:45 577:50 579:55 582:00 584:05 586:10 588:15 590:20 592:25 594:30 596:35 598:40 600:45 602:50 604:55 607:00 609:05 611:10 613:15 615:20 617:25 619:30 621:35 623:40 625:45 627:50 629:55 632:00 634:05 636:10 638:15 640:20 642:25 644:30 646:35 648:40 650:45 652:50 654:55 657:00 659:05 661:10 663:15 665:20 667:25 669:30 671:35 673:40 675:45 677:50 679:55 682:00 684:05 686:10 688:15 690:20 692:25 694:30 696:35 698:40 700:45 702:50 704:55 707:00 709:05 711:10 713:15 715:20 717:25 719:30 721:35 723:40 725:45 727:50 729:55 732:00 734:05 736:10 738:15 740:20 742:25 744:30 746:35 748:40 750:45 752:50 754:55 757:00 759:05 761:10 763:15 765:20 767:25 769:30 771:35 773:40 775:45 777:50 779:55 782:00 784:05 786:10 788:15 790:20 792:25 794:30 796:35 798:40 800:45 802:50 804:55 807:00 809:05 811:10 813:15 815:20 817:25 819:30 821:35 823:40 825:45 827:50 829:55 832:00 834:05 836:10 838:15 840:20 842:25 844:30 846:35 848:40 850:45 852:50 854:55 857:00 859:05 861:10 863:15 865:20 867:25 869:30 871:35 873:40 875:45 877:50 879:55 882:00 884:05 886:10 888:15 890:20 892:25 894:30 896:35 898:40 900:45 902:50 904:55 907:00 909:05 911:10 913:15 915:20 917:25 919:30 921:35 923:40 925:45 927:50 929:55 932:00 934:05 936:10 938:15 940:20 942:25 944:30 946:35 948:40 950:45 952:50 954:55 957:00 959:05 961:10 963:15 965:20 967:25 969:30 971:35 973:40 975:45 977:50 979:55 982:00 984:05 986:10 988:15 990:20 992:25 994:30 996:35 998:40 1000:45 1002:50 1004:55 1007:00 1009:05 1011:10 1013:15 1015:20 1017:25 1019:30 1021:35 1023:40 1025:45 1027:50 1029:55 1032:00 1034:05 1036:10 1038:15 1040:20 1042:25 1044:30 1046:35 1048:40 1050:45 1052:50 1054:55 1057:00 1059:05 1061:10 1063:15 1065:20 1067:25 1069:30 1071:35 1073:40 1075:45 1077:50 1079:55 1082:00 1084:05 1086:10 1088:15 1090:20 1092:25 1094:30 1096:35 1098:40 1100:45 1102:50 1104:55 1107:00 1109:05 1111:10 1113:15 1115:20 1117:25 1119:30 1121:35 1123:40 1125:45 1127:50 1129:55 1132:00 1134:05 1136:10 1138:15 1140:20 1142:25 1144:30 1146:35 1148:40 1150:45 1152:50 1154:55 1157:00 1159:05 1161:10 1163:15 1165:20 1167:25 1169:30 1171:35 1173:40 1175:45 1177:50 1179:55 1182:00 1184:05 1186:10 1188:15 1190:20 1192:25 1194:30 1196:35 1198:40 1200:45 1202:50 1204:55 1207:00 1209:05 1211:10 1213:15 1215:20 1217:25 1219:30 1221:35 1223:40 1225:45 1227:50 1229:55 1232:00 1234:05 1236:10 1238:15 1240:20 1242:25 1244:30 1246:35 1248:40 1250:45 1252:50 1254:55 1257:00 1259:05 1261:10 1263:15 1265:20 1267:25 1269:30 1271:35 1273:40 1275:45 1277:50 1279:55 1282:00 1284:05 1286:10 1288:15 1290:20 1292:25 1294:30 1296:35 1298:40 1300:45 1302:50 1304:55 1307:00 1309:05 1311:10 1313:15 1315:20 1317:25 1319:30 1321:35 1323:40 1325:45 1327:50 1329:55 1332:00 1334:05 1336:10 1338:15 1340:20 1342:25 1344:30 1346:35 1348:40 1350:45 1352:50 1354:55 1357:00 1359:05 1361:10 1363:15 1365:20 1367:25 1369:30 1371:35 1373:40 1375:45 1377:50 1379:55 1382:00 1384:05 1386:10 1388:15 1390:20 1392:25 1394:30 1396:35 1398:40 1400:45 1402:50 1404:55 1407:00 1409:05 1411:10 1413:15 1415:20 1417:25 1419:30 1421:35 1423:40 1425:45 1427:50 1429:55 1432:00 1434:05 1436:10 1438:15 1440:20 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community event called Basket Services, organised by the City of Cape Town. However, the information on the flyer was written in isiXhosa, a language I couldn't read, although I understand it when spoken. I approached the two women and asked for their assistance in translating the content. They kindly explained that on Wednesday, 24 August 2022, there would be a community meeting at Dunoon Hall. Representatives from various City of Cape Town departments, such as Water and Sanitation, the Expanded Public Works Programme, and Financial Services (speaking about bursaries), would be available to address community members' questions. While I intended to purchase ice cream, the KFC employee informed me that there was a power outage, rendering the ice cream machine non-functional. I decided to spend some time there, observing the two women who were busy taking pictures. Later, I approached them again and inquired about any community leaders who could assist me with my fieldwork, but unfortunately, they were not acquainted with any. Eventually, I made the decision to take a taxi back to town, with the purpose of familiarising myself with both modes of public transportation for that day. The two women invited me to walk with them as the taxi rank was on their way home. During our walk, we engaged in casual conversation, discussing several topics, including their occupations and the minibus taxi rank.

One of the immediate observations I made about the area was its high population density. The township was filled with numerous houses, from brick houses to corrugated ones, and the streets were bustling with people of all ages. When I arrived at the minibus taxi rank at 4:00 pm, the minibus taxi I was going to take to Cape Town was empty. It was not until 4:30 pm that the minibus taxi reached capacity and departed from the rank. The passengers in the minibus taxi seemed to be individuals heading to work the night shift, including security guards and nurses. The fare for the minibus taxi was R19.00. The distance between the MyCiTi Depot drop-off point and the minibus taxi rank was about 850 meters. The trip from Dunoon to the Cape Town minibus taxi rank at that time typically took around 20-25 minutes due to the relatively light traffic during that time of the day.

4.10.2 The entry into the Dunoon community: The City of Cape Town basket services meeting

On 24 August 2022, I made the decision to attend the community meeting in Dunoon with the hope of finding individuals to interview or connecting with a community leader who could assist me in navigating the township and arranging interviews. The City of Cape Town's basket service initiative is about representatives from various departments, such as Water and

Sanitation, EPWP, and the Financial Services department, addressing community members' questions. Running a bit late, I opted to head to the minibus taxi rank instead of walking to the MyCiTi station, to check if there was a direct minibus taxi to Dunoon. Luckily, there was one available. Although the meeting was meant to commence at 9:00 am, I arrived in Dunoon around 11:30 am as I had left the Southern suburbs later than intended.

Unfamiliar with the location of the hall, I asked a woman in the minibus taxi to guide me. Before she disembarked, she requested the driver to point out the hall's whereabouts. During the trip, I noticed a sense of familiarity between the minibus taxi driver and the women sitting in the front seat. They engaged in friendly conversation as if they were acquainted. As I exited the minibus taxi, the passengers remaining inside the minibus taxi directed me on which path to follow and how to reach the hall, which was conveniently close to where I alighted. Immediately upon stepping out, I encountered filthy water flowing down the street, emitting an unpleasant odour. I had to alter my route several times to avoid stepping into the contaminated water, as it occupied most of the street. Due to the houses being constructed close to the road, there was no sidewalk available. Continuing up the road, I passed Inkwenkwezi High School on my left. Shortly after I turned the corner, I saw a beautiful four-story building with plants all around and made mostly of glass. A sign read 'Dunoon Library'. Adjacent to the building, towards the far left, there was a well-maintained soccer field along with netball/basketball courts. Taking a right turn, I spotted the Dunoon community hall. Before arriving at the community hall, a set of public toilets and water taps were on the left side, where women were doing their laundry and collecting water for their homes. Children as young as three years old were playing nearby.

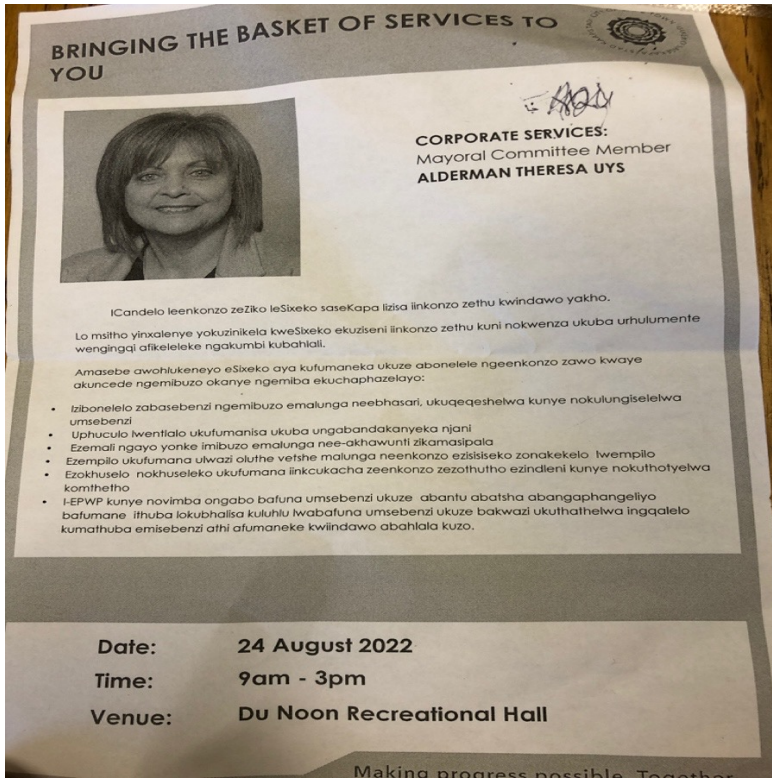


Figure 4.4 The picture of the pamphlet received on the first day on the location



Figure 4.5: The Dunoon library



Figure 4.6: Views of Dunoon library facing the netball/soccer field



Figure 4.7: The Dunoon recreational hub, which I refer to as the community hall in this study

As I entered the community hall premises, I observed a relatively small number of people present. I approached the security guards to inquire about the meeting, and they informed me that it had been postponed. The City of Cape Town had rescheduled it due to an ongoing protest related to the petrol price, but it appeared that only the security guards and individuals working at the councillor's office were aware of the postponement, as community members continued to arrive, seeking information about the meeting and EPWP job applications.

Feeling disappointed by the postponement of the meeting, I decided to stay a while longer and make the most of my time. I took the opportunity to introduce myself to the individuals who continued to arrive, hoping to conduct interviews with them. Throughout the day, I managed to interview approximately six people. However, upon reviewing the interviews, I noticed that the majority of those interviewed had infrequent use of public transportation, using it fewer than five times a month. This was mainly due to unemployment or working within the neighbourhood.

After spending a few more hours in Dunoon, I made my way to the MyCiTi depot. One of the women who organised afternoon school programmes for children kindly accompanied me to the depot. I inquired about the possibility of using the hall as a base for conducting interviews, and she assured me that she would speak to her supervisor. She believed it would not be an issue. Unlike a regular station, this depot doesn't have dedicated validators. Therefore, I had to tap my card on a random bus present before boarding the bus to the Civic Centre. On the day in question, I departed Dunoon at approximately 3 pm and arrived at Civic Centre by 4:10 pm.

The next section provides an overview of how doing fieldwork in Dunoon caused emotional distress to me.

4.10.3 The emotional distress of doing fieldwork in Dunoon

In the days after first visiting Dunoon, I found it difficult to come to a decision regarding my visits to Dunoon. I could not shake off this overwhelming sense of helplessness. The recurring question posed by the people I interviewed on the first day continued to linger in my mind: What would I do with the information I gathered from them? Despite explaining that it was for my university research, aiming to understand people's choices in using public transportation, the weight of their inquiries troubled me deeply. It felt as though I was merely extracting information from individuals who already had so little. I recall confiding in a friend, expressing my emotional burden and uncertainty about continuing my visits to Dunoon. Witnessing the

living conditions of people having to share communal toilets and taps with numerous others, and residing in densely populated areas, had a profound impact on me. It was difficult to comprehend that even after 29 years of democracy, such circumstances remained a normalised reality for some.



Figure 4.8: the picture was taken from the library window, overlooking Dunoon and Table Mountain

During my fourth day of fieldwork in Dunoon, I engaged in interviews at the library. Afterwards, I chose to walk back to the community hall to have lunch before continuing my interviews. Upon arriving at the hall, I observed the two security guards and a female co-worker sitting with a group of unfamiliar individuals near the entrance. The security guards, the female co-worker and I had already established a familiar relationship, as they occasionally informed people about my research and requested their participation in interviews on my behalf. On this occasion, they requested an interview with a specific individual, but I became distracted upon my arrival as I began conversing with multiple people. Eventually, I decided to direct my attention to one of the men there. However, one of the security guards continued speaking to me while I attempted to address the person I intended to interview, which led me to respond to him as he kept calling my name. Unexpectedly, the man with whom I originally intended to speak became infuriated, accusing me of disrespecting him by diverting my attention elsewhere and engaging in demeaning language. He made derogatory remarks suggesting that my unmarried status was evident from the way I spoke, implying that a married woman would not

have treated him in such a manner. This incident occurred while we were all, including the two security guards, the female co-worker, a few unknown individuals, and myself, engaged in a casual conversation. Consequently, I excused myself by going to the toilet. Upon returning, the man expressed a desire to be interviewed. However, I informed him of my reconsideration, stating that I no longer wished to proceed due to his disrespectful behaviour. Subsequently, he attempted to engage me in an argument, I decided to leave and go home as he had disrupted my composure, and I valued the rapport I had built with everyone present. During my journey back home, I engaged in introspection, reflecting upon my actions and pondering whether my response to the situation was appropriate or if an apology was warranted. Additionally, I contemplated the potential consequences of this incident on the perception that individuals who were present at the time would have of me. Some days later, when I went to Dunoon again, everything was okay, and the security guards, the female co-worker and I discussed the incident.

4.11 Ethical considerations

In terms of ethics, the research was conducted based on voluntary participation, disclosure, and ethical obligations to the scientific community (Bhattacharjee 2012). Prior to starting my fieldwork, I was granted ethical approval from the Science Faculty Research Ethics Committee (Appendix 1). Before starting the interviews, respondents were informed that participating in this research was voluntary and they were allowed to retract their involvement at any point. To protect the privacy of the participants, I have used pseudonyms instead of their real names, given the sensitive nature of the interviews and the public transportation sector. The names and contact details of the participants are kept securely in a password-protected file accessible only to me. Prior to each interview, consent was obtained, and respondents had the option to withdraw from the study at any time. Interviewees were given the option of agreeing to being recorded, but none of them agreed to this. The interviews were thus written down as they occurred. All interviewees were informed that the conversation was being written down in my fieldwork notebook.

4.12 Limitations of the study

There are several research limitations that are connected to this study, starting with the fact that not all issues relating to the minibus taxi industry and BRT in South Africa were addressed. I was only focused on understanding the factors influencing passenger public transportation.

Although, BRT or minibus taxis are available in other parts of Cape Town and other South African cities, this study was only done in Dunoon because of the MyCiTi corridor there, which made it easier to compare it with the minibus taxis. There was a gender imbalance in the participants: only 31% of the 39 people I spoke with were women, and 69% were men. The female perspective is, therefore, not fully represented in this study due to the reluctance of women in the area to be interviewed. This reluctance may have been due to a lack of interest, unavailability, or other factors. I acknowledge that the experiences of women can be different from the experiences of men and made efforts to be sensitive to this in the research design. However, the limited data on the female perspective is a limitation of this study. In addition, the target population of this study was limited to passengers of public transportation. This exclusion of private vehicle users, employees of the minibus taxi industry or the MyCiTi, or any stakeholders was intentional to focus on the experiences of passengers and to avoid any potential biases that may have been introduced by interviewing other stakeholders. Furthermore, not having the ability to record interviews made complete retrospective accounting of participant quotes quite challenging, thus sometimes making the thematic analysis difficult.

4.13 Summary

This chapter provides an examination of the methodology used in this research study. It also justified the use of a qualitative approach and highlighted the study's value as well as its limitations. Interpretivism was utilised as the research paradigm for this study to the factors influencing passenger public transportation mode choice in Dunoon and their experiences using this mode of public transportation. A case study approach was used, with Dunoon as the case. Data analysis was conducted using reflexive thematic analysis appropriate for qualitative data gathered and analysed to respect and express participants' attitudes while also acknowledging and embracing the reflexive influence of my interpretations as the researcher. I discussed my experiences in Dunoon, highlighting the ethical challenges I faced and the emotional toll of the fieldwork stemming from my positionality as a black female middle-class in South Africa. The fieldwork was subject to certain limitations, including a gender imbalance in interviewees and challenges with note-taking due to participant preference for not being recorded. These factors impacted the thematic analysis process.

CHAPTER 5: PARTICIPATION OBSERVATION ACCOUNT OF THE RESEARCHER'S JOURNEY USING MINIBUS TAXIS AND MYCITI- THE JOURNEY TO AND FROM DUNOON

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents my observational account of my experiences using minibus taxis and the MyCiTi (BRT) system to travel to and from Dunoon. The following sections detail my morning journey from the city centre to Dunoon by minibus taxi and my evening return trip from Dunoon to the Cape Town Civic Centre. The following are structured in-line with the research questions posed earlier in the dissertation.

5.2 The trip to Dunoon using minibus taxis

During subsequent fieldwork trips to and from Dunoon, I decided to use a minibus taxi for my morning trip. This choice allowed me to arrive at Dunoon more swiftly, as the minibus taxis filled up quickly and required less waiting time and a shorter overall journey. I had established a routine of reaching Dunoon by noon, spending approximately three hours there, and departing anytime from 3pm. By comparison, using MyCiTi would take around an hour and a few minutes, posing a disadvantage as it necessitated an earlier morning departure. Additionally, the walk from the minibus taxi drop-off points on Darling Street, near the Golden Arrow bus station, to the Civic Centre MyCiTi bus station was quite a distance compared to the minibus taxi rank. During my fieldwork in August and September 2022, I found that the minibus taxi fare from Cape Town to Dunoon was R19.00 per trip. On two occasions, I encountered overcrowding in the minibus taxi, which was both frustrating and perplexing. In addition, I experienced multiple transfers to different minibus taxis, happening four times during the morning trip. The constant shuffling of minibus taxis resulted in a change of seat position and left me thoroughly irritated without understanding the reasoning behind it. There was no explanation provided on why we needed to transfer to the other minibus taxi, it randomly happened. One of the days, I was so annoyed that I even asked the driver why we constantly changed into other minibus taxis, all the driver did was apologise but he did not give me the reason behind the transfer. The apology made me feel better, although I did not have an answer to my question.

The minibus taxi ranks were always bustling with activity, witnessing a continuous flow of arrivals and departures. Initially, I had planned to conduct interviews at the Dunoon minibus taxi rank and throughout the neighbourhood. However, interviewing individuals at the taxi rank proved impractical, as most were either in a rush or preoccupied with their imminent journeys. Some passengers needed to secure their spots in the minibus taxis before they filled up, which happened rather quickly at times.

During my trips in the minibus taxis, I engaged in conversations with fellow passengers, providing insights into their experiences and reasons for choosing minibus taxis as their preferred mode of transportation. Some emphasised the convenience of minibus taxis for reaching their specific destinations, while others highlighted the affordability compared to alternative options. However, I also encountered passengers who expressed concerns regarding the safety of minibus taxis. They recounted incidents of reckless driving, overcrowding, and potential risks associated with peak-hour travel. These safety concerns were often seen as a trade-off for the convenience and affordability that minibus taxis offered. I observed that the minibus taxis followed the same routes to Dunoon daily, with most passengers disembarking at the minibus taxi rank.

Additionally, I noted a sense of familiarity between the minibus taxi driver and certain passengers on most days. The driver would converse with either a passenger seated in the front seat or sometimes even those in the seats behind him.

One of the highlights of using the minibus taxi was when, on a morning trip to Dunoon along the N7, a passenger requested the driver to stop to relieve herself. This request was initially unreasonable, especially considering we were on a highway. However, the driver promptly pulled over, and as the passenger stepped out, we discovered that she had recently been discharged from the hospital and was still feeling unwell. Witnessing how the drivers did not hesitate to accommodate her needs was intriguing, even without knowing the full story.

On one Saturday trip to Dunoon, I opted for a minibus taxi for my return journey. However, the minibus taxi had issues. We were not told what was wrong, but it was stuck on the highway. To my surprise, within 5 minutes, we were transferred to another minibus taxi without any further wait.

5.3 The trip from Dunoon using MyCiTi

To go from Dunoon to my home, I opted to use MyCiTi. Although the distance from the Dunoon Community Hall to the Stables Depot (MyCiTi bus stop) was a bit further, I believed that to gain a comprehensive understanding of the public transportation system, I needed to experience both modes. The community hall was midway between the minibus taxi rank and MyCiTi bus stop, therefore, I walked the same distance when using either mode from the hall. In the afternoons, I enjoyed using MyCiTi as it provided comfort and guaranteed me a seat since the bus route began at the Stables Depot. Furthermore, the bus was usually punctual. However, I found the MyCiTi timetable confusing due to the inconsistencies in bus arrival times, causing initial confusion at the first station. Another aspect I struggled to comprehend was the fare calculation, as it varied each time due to the point system, which added to the confusion. On the positive side, I appreciated the safety of MyCiTi and the competent driving of the drivers. Yet, there were a few disadvantages. If I boarded the 15:30 MyCiTi bus from Dunoon, I knew it would become significantly overcrowded during those hours as more people were returning from work. Additionally, at times, when someone was about to climb on board in the MyCiTi, the door would suddenly shut in front of them or at times a person's leg was caught in the closing doors without any warning. I witnessed this occurrence multiple times, without any apology or concern from the driver. Witnessing such incidents was always distressing. I am uncertain what caused these occurrences, for example, whether the bus driver could not see the passengers or whether the passengers ran to the bus and boarded at the last minute. During my time using MyCiTi, the fare from Dunoon to Cape Town City Centre was R23.90 during peak time and R19.90 during off-peak time. I found this information on the MyCiTi website, as I could never understand the points system they used.

5.4 Time spent travelling between Dunoon and central Cape Town using minibus taxis and MyCiTi

Regarding my travel time, based on my participant observation period in the field, minibus taxis took around 20-35 minutes to get to Dunoon from Cape Town minibus taxi rank in the morning. While using the MyCiTi from Dunoon to central Cape Town, it took about an hour and ten minutes. The commuting time would be different as they were in the opposite direction, and commuting times also vary at different times of the day. Typically, I would use minibus taxis for my travels between 11 am and 12 pm (late morning) to Dunoon, while opting for the MyCiTi bus system around 2:30 pm to 4:00 pm (before/during peak time). Throughout my

fieldwork, I predominantly travelled on weekdays, except for one Saturday when I visited Dunoon to conduct interviews.

According to the GPS (Figure 6), the route that the minibus taxi uses from Cape Town minibus taxi rank to Dunoon is about 22-25 minutes (22 kilometres) to travel during a typical weekday morning. During off-peak periods, minibus taxis complete the journey in approximately 30 minutes, considering traffic and weather conditions. The minibus taxis follow a fixed route that includes the N1 and N7 highways, traversing through Dunoon and concluding at the minibus taxi rank. The same route is taken when travelling from Dunoon to Cape Town.

As per the information provided by the MyCiTi journey planner, the expected duration of travel from Dunoon to Cape Town Civic Centre on weekday afternoons is typically 1 hour and 1 minute. It is crucial to emphasise that these time estimates are based on the specific routes and times of day I travelled. However, it is also worthwhile to note that the journey times using MyCiTi are standardised even on other days unless there are technical issues, but the time it takes from Dunoon to Cape Town Civic Centre differs between weekdays and weekends. Additionally, the walking time indicated in the MyCiTi journey planner is inaccurate, as in most cases, it took me about 5-7 minutes to reach the station on foot based on where I was coming from. During the evening peak time, MyCiTi offers express buses, and during this period, the estimated travel time from the Civic Centre to Dunoon or Stables Depot is approximately 45 minutes (see Figure 9).

5.5 GPS map/routes and time

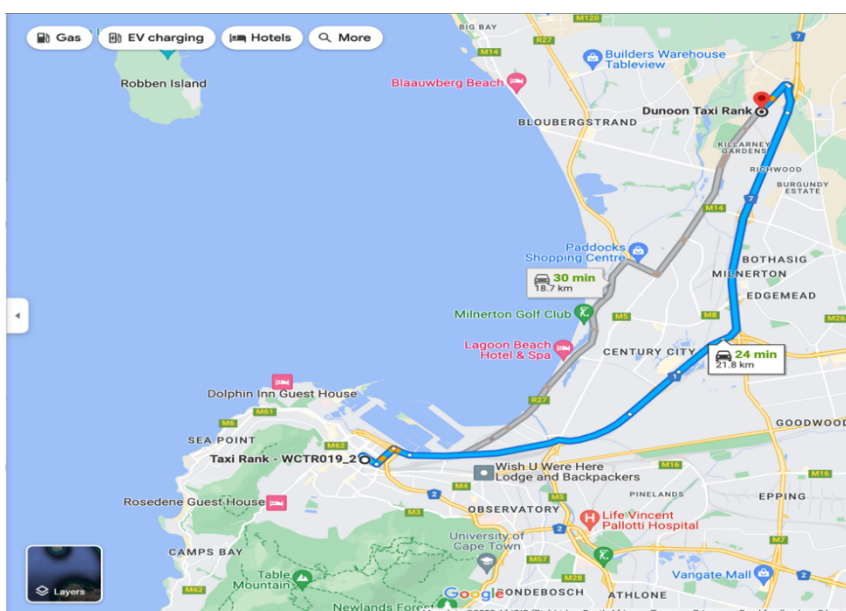


Figure 5.1 Travel Time and route from Cape Town minibus taxi rank to Dunoon minibus taxi rank during the day without traffic (Source: Google Maps)

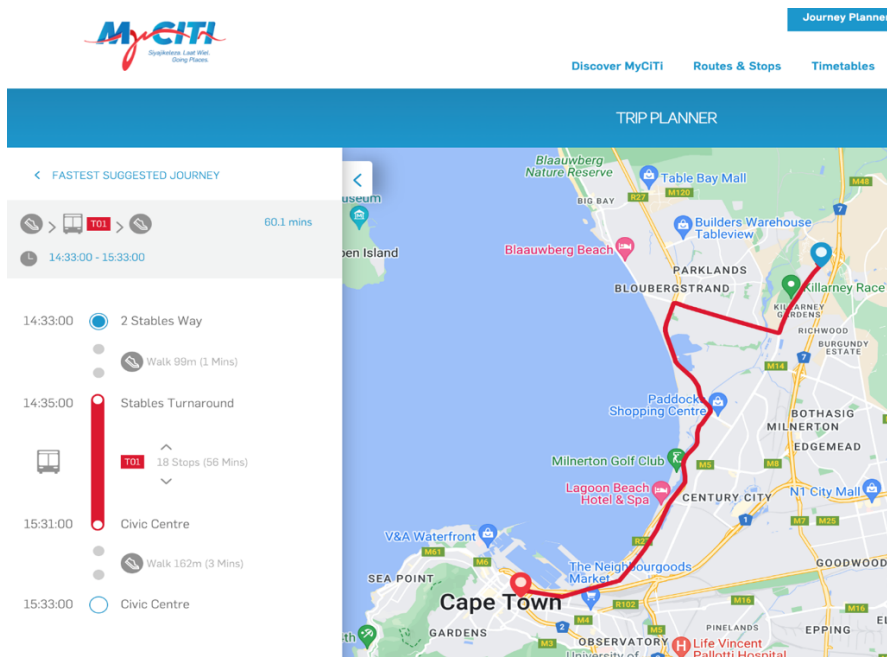


Figure 5.2: Travel time from Dunoon to Cape Town Civic Centre using MyCiTi during the day (Source: MyCiTi Journey Planner)

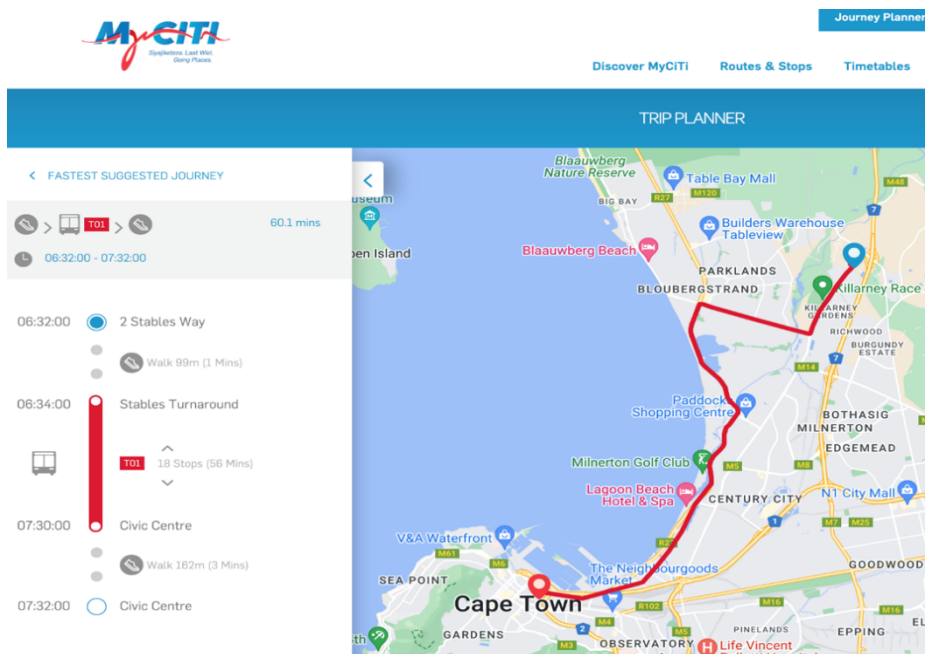


Figure 5.3: Travel time and route from Dunoon to Cape Town Civic Centre using MyCiTi during early morning (Source: MyCiTi Journey Planner)

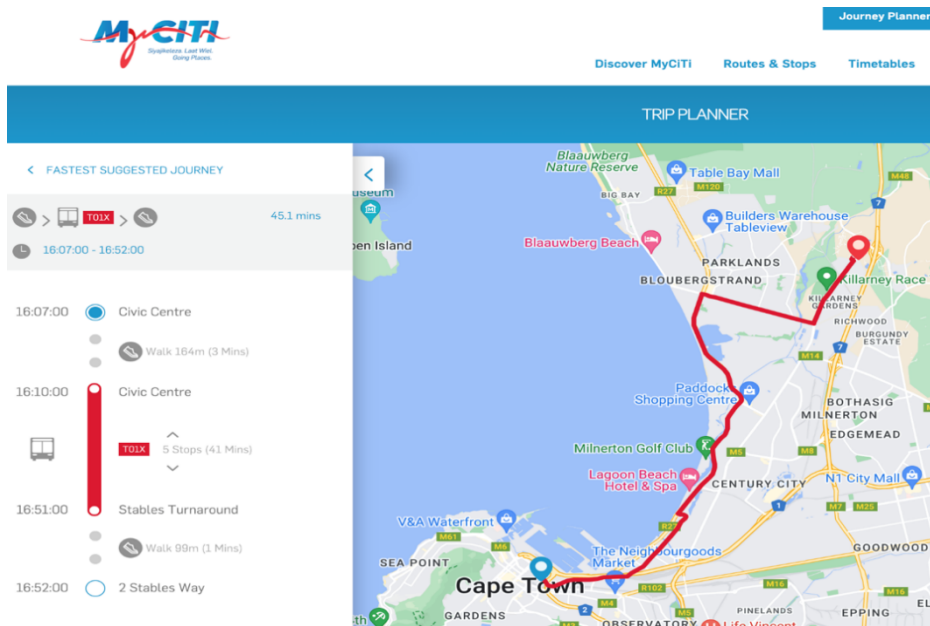


Figure 5.4: Travel time and route from Cape Town Civic Centre to Dunoon using MyCiTi express buses during the evening peak time (Source: MyCiTi Journey Planner)

The figures above show the time and the route it takes to commute to and from Dunoon/Cape Town Civic Centre using MyCiTi using T01 bus or the T01X bus according to the MyCiTi travel planner for weekdays. In the following section, I summarise my overall experience using these modes of public transportation.

5.6 Summary

I used minibus taxis and MyCiTi buses daily to travel during my fieldwork in Dunoon. This was due to several factors: affordability, the ability to observe and experience these modes of transportation directly, and the ability to build rapport with potential interview participants.

My first entry to Dunoon was prompted by a flyer advertising a community meeting at the community hall. After that day, I had a tough time deciding to go back to do the fieldwork in Dunoon. I felt overwhelmed by the responsibility of using the information I gathered from participants, especially those who were struggling. I also found it difficult to witness the living conditions of people in Dunoon.

On one occasion, I encountered gender power relations from a man who used demeaning language and accused me of being disrespectful to him. I handled the situation calmly and professionally by deciding to leave. This did not affect the rapport I had built with the other people who were present when the incident happened.

I travelled from Cape Town to Dunoon using either minibus taxis or MyCiTi buses. I preferred to use minibus taxis in the late morning and MyCiTi buses in the afternoon/early evening. I also noted that the journey time could vary depending on the time of day and traffic conditions. Minibus taxis typically follow a fixed route, while MyCiTi buses offer express buses during the morning and evening peak times. Time was one of the key factors I considered when deciding which mode to use.

Overall, my experiences using both MyCiTi and minibus taxis during my fieldwork provided valuable insights into the daily realities and preferences of passengers. It allowed me to understand the nuances and complexities of the public transportation system in Dunoon and the factors that influence passengers' mode choice decisions. Pertaining to both forms of transportation one of the crucial lessons I learned from this experience was that each mode of transport had its own set of challenges and benefits. However, transitioning between different modes was not without difficulties. Moreover, I observed first-hand the ramifications of inadequate spatial planning in Cape Town, wherein individuals residing in distant urban peripheries had to undertake lengthy commutes to access the city centre or other economic hubs, exacerbating the issue of long distances between their residences and places of employment.

CHAPTER 6: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the data collected from passenger interviews in Dunoon. The data is presented under headings in a narrative style, enriched by quotes from respondents. In speaking with the participants of this study, I sought to unpack the factors that contribute to the continued preference for minibus taxis among most passengers, even when other public transportation alternatives like BRT are available in Dunoon. I also wanted to learn about their experiences using their preferred mode of public transportation through these interviews.

This provides a brief overview of the themes identified within the minibus taxis and MyCiTi. Below, I will elaborate further on each of these themes. In terms of minibus taxi use, participants highlighted the following positive aspects: the speed, affordability, and convenience of this mode of transport. Additionally, they noted social cohesion in the minibus taxis, which contributed to their overall satisfaction. However, there were several negative aspects mentioned by participants, including concerns about overloading, excessive speed, and poor behaviour exhibited by some minibus taxi drivers.

Regarding MyCiTi usage, participants expressed appreciation for its affordability, punctuality, and perceived safety. They found it to be a cost-effective option for commuting. However, there were also negative experiences mentioned, such as limited routes, overcrowding on buses, communication problems during delays, and issues with the payment system. These factors detracted from the overall satisfaction with MyCiTi as a transportation option in Dunoon.

The findings presented in this study are derived from a comprehensive analysis of both qualitative data, including transcripts and notes, and quantitative data obtained through rating the quality of service provided by each mode of public transportation. The study involved a total of 39 participants. It is important to note that the names used in the subsequent data analysis findings are pseudonyms and not the actual names of the study participants. This approach ensures the confidentiality and anonymity of the individuals involved.

Furthermore, it should be acknowledged that the responses from both minibus taxi and MyCiTi passengers were translated from isiXhosa into English. Every effort was made to ensure that the translations accurately conveyed the participants' original intentions and preserved the authenticity of their responses.

By combining qualitative and quantitative data analysis methods and taking measures to protect the privacy and authenticity of the participants' contributions, this study aims to provide insights into the factors that influence the choice of public transportation mode and the experiences of participants while using these forms of public transportation.

To ensure a focused and relevant study sample, certain criteria were applied for participant selection. Individuals under the age of 18 were excluded from the study, as the focus was primarily on adult transportation patterns and experiences. Additionally, individuals who primarily relied on private cars or non-motorized transport for their commuting needs were also excluded, as their perspectives might differ significantly from those who rely on public transportation. Furthermore, participants who reported using taxis less than 10 times in a month were also excluded from the study. This criterion aimed to ensure that participants had sufficient exposure and experience with public transportation to provide informed insights and opinions.

The study focused on individuals who use public transportation for various purposes, including work, education, and entrepreneurial activities. Interviews were conducted with residents of Dunoon who regularly commute to Cape Town's central business district, Century City, or other areas along the way for work, study or business. The majority of participants indicated that shopping is typically done within the Dunoon area, with occasional trips to Century City or Table View maybe once or twice a month. To gather an adequate amount of data to address the research questions, a sample of 39 individuals, comprising both minibus taxi users and MyCiTi passengers, was selected. This sample size was considered appropriate for achieving meaningful findings and insights into the public transport space in Dunoon.

The structure of this chapter will be as follows: demographic information of the participants, including age, gender, and employment status; the mode of public transportation they used, the experiences of passengers using minibus taxis, including what they like and dislike about the service; and the experiences of passengers using MyCiTi, including what they like and dislike about the service.

6.2 Demographics of the study

This section describes the demographics of the study participants, including their age, gender, and employment status. It also discusses the public transportation they used and how this relates to the findings.

6.2.1 Age, employment status and gender

Table 1: Total population, total number of employed and total number of students status, entrepreneurs, and gender

Age	Total population	Total number of employed	Total number of students	Entrepreneurs	Gender	
					Male	Female
19-24	11 (28%)	2	9	0	6	5
25-30	10 (26%)	9	1	0	6	4
31-36	11 (28%)	8	0	3	9	2
37-42	3 (8%)	3	0	0	3	0
43-48	2 (5%)	2	0	0	2	0
49-54	2 (5%)	2	0	0	0	1
Grand total	39 (100%)	26	10	3	27	12

Table 1 shows the diversity of the study sample, with ages ranging from 19 to 50 years old. Analysing the table above, it is evident that most study participants fell within the 19-36 age range. The distribution of participants suggests a higher representation in the 19-36 age group compared to the 37-50 age group. Regarding the employment status, out of the 39 participants, 25 were employed full-time, 10 were university students, and 3 identified themselves as entrepreneurs (i.e. self-employed). The gender breakdown of the 39 participants was 69 percent male (27 participants) and 31 percent female (12 participants).

6.2.2 Mode of public transport usage

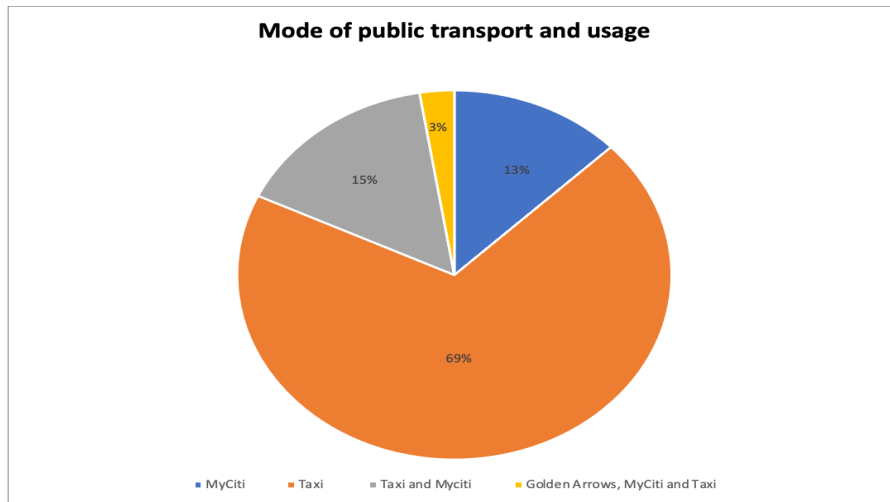


Figure 6.1: Main modes of transportation used by the participants in the study

Figure 6.1 provides an overview of the modes of public transportation and the percentage of usage by the participants of the study. Based on the empirical findings represented in the accompanying graph, it is evident that most participants, accounting for 69 percent, utilise minibus taxis as their regular mode of transportation. Additionally, 13 percent of participants reported using the MyCiTi service. Notably, 15 percent of participants indicated that they use both MyCiTi and minibus taxis for their commuting needs. The study is focused on minibus taxis and MyCiTi. Although the question was open to whatever mode of public transportation passengers used, the questions were not exclusive to passengers of other public transportation modes outside of the specific ones identified for this study.

Only one study participant mentioned using the conventional Golden Arrow buses, which have a bus stop less than 5 kilometres away in the neighbouring community of Killarney. This participant's commuting routine involved taking a taxi from Dunoon to Killarney and then a bus to Khayelitsha for work. This finding is consistent with the absence of a MyCiTi route connecting Dunoon and Khayelitsha, while a minibus taxi route exists but does not directly reach the desired destination. As a result, passengers are required to transfer to another minibus taxi to reach specific sections within Khayelitsha, unlike the more favourable option provided by Golden Arrow buses.

6.3 Experiences of people who use minibus taxis

This section highlights the insights gathered directly from minibus taxi passengers regarding their personal experiences.

6.3.1 Why do people like using minibus taxis?

In this section, the study presents the findings pertaining to passengers' experiences with minibus taxis, with specific emphasis on their positive perceptions. The participants expressed appreciation for the speed, affordability, and convenience associated with this mode of transportation. Moreover, they attributed their overall satisfaction to the relational aspect of minibus taxis, recognising the social interactions and connections fostered during their journeys.

Speed

When queried about their preference for minibus taxis, passengers frequently emphasised the words "quick" or "fast," which was mentioned a total of 17 times. The emphasis on speed was primarily linked to the element of journey time, with passengers expressing the importance of reaching their destinations promptly, whether it be for school or work. Minibus taxis are perceived as quicker than MyCiTi buses because they operate on a direct route. This means that they do not have to make detours to pick up passengers from different townships, which can save time. MyCiTi buses, on the other hand, are designed to serve a wider area. As a result, they may make multiple stops in different areas to pick up and drop off passengers, which can add to the travel time.

Many individuals who referred to this aspect also emphasised the criticality of arriving on time. For instance, Andiswa stated,

“I use taxis daily to go to school because it's cheap and fast because I am always late.”

She mentioned that this is because she is usually running late in terms of leaving the house, so she needs the fastest option.

Ntsiki also said,

“Taxis are convenient, fast and cheap to me, I don't have to buy a ticket to get into a taxi, I can use cash and go”.

The minibus taxi and conventional buses share some similarities, such as the ability to purchase tickets from the driver. However, there are also some key differences. For example, the MyCiTi system requires passengers to load their Myconnect card with money before they can travel. This can be inconvenient for passengers who do not have a card or who do not have enough money on their card. In contrast, the minibus taxi system is cash-based, so passengers do not need to worry about loading a card. This difference in payment systems can have a significant impact on the ease of use of each system.

Thabo also said,

“It's quick, you get it closer to your house and it drops you off closer to your house”.

The minibus taxi route in Dunoon, which is like those in other townships, is characterised by its flexibility. Passengers catch a minibus taxi and ask to be dropped off anywhere along the route if it is not on a highway. This allows passengers to get off closer to their destination, which can be a significant advantage in areas with poor public transportation infrastructure. In contrast, the MyCiTi and Golden Arrow buses have fixed routes and stops. This means that passengers may have to walk a long way to reach the nearest bus stop, which can be inconvenient.

Andile agreed that,

“I like taxis because they get there quickly, especially when you are going to work”.

Rose also mentioned that minibus taxis were quick, and it allowed her not to be late for work:

“Taxis are very fast; I won't be late to work”.

The next section will discuss in detail the views of the participants regarding the affordability of minibus taxis.

Affordability

Passengers frequently mentioned that minibus taxis were not only quick but also inexpensive. This is evident from the quotes above, where participants shared that they liked minibus taxis because they are both fast and affordable. The word 'cheap' was mentioned 12 times, while the word 'affordable' was mentioned twice. During my time of fieldwork when I was using the

minibus taxi from Cape Town minibus taxi rank to Dunoon, I paid R19.00 every day for a trip, there was never a time when it changed.

The scale for assessing how the participants rate the affordability of minibus taxis is shown in Figure 6.2 below. The y-axis represents the number of respondents, and the x-axis represents the rating scale. The rating scale was a 1 to 5 scale, with each number representing a different level of satisfaction. A rating of 1: very bad, 2. bad, 3: neutral, 4: good and 5: very good.

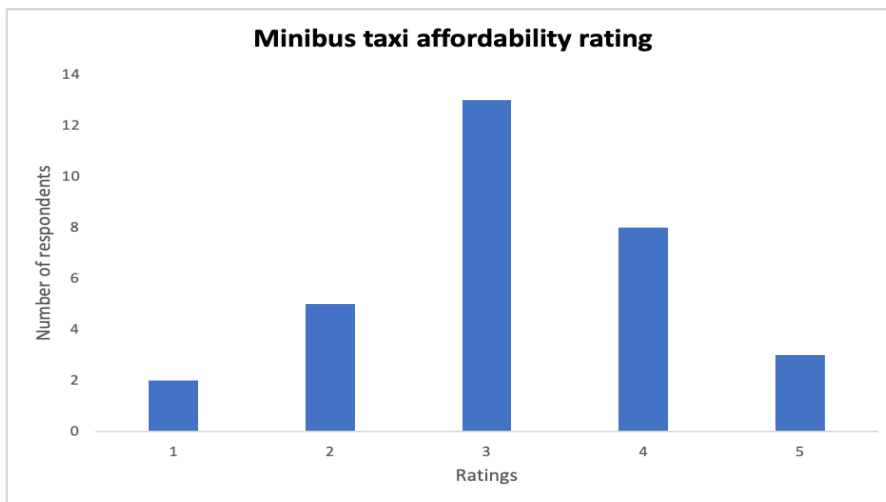


Figure 6.2: Participants' ratings of the affordability of the minibus taxis

13 people rated minibus taxi affordability as a 3, which meant neutral, and 8 people rated it as a 4, which meant good. 3 of the participants indicated that it was 5, which meant very good. However, 2 people rated it 1, which meant very bad, and 5 people rated it 2 for bad. One of the women who frequently used both MyCiTi and minibus taxis stated:

"I use taxis because it's affordable, when you have R50 it can get you wherever you are going and leaves you closer to home and work". -Vuyelwa 30-year female

Cabangile, a 25-year-old woman who works in Century City, stated that she takes both minibus taxis and MyCiTi to work on most days. She preferred MyCiTi in the morning and minibus taxis in the evening when returning home. In the morning, the participant reported that the lines for minibus taxis were longer than those for MyCiTi buses. This is because more people are using minibus taxis to commute to work, and there are few taxis available. In contrast, the frequency of MyCiTi buses is more consistent, and there is always a bus available, regardless

of the number of passengers. In the evening, the participant reported that she uses minibus taxis because they drop her off closer to her home. MyCiTi buses have fixed routes and stops, which requires her to transfer to another bus to reach their destination.

According to Cabangile:

“...taxis are affordable, I would say that because the rates are fair and standardised.”

Cabangile's mention of standardisation in minibus taxis refers to the consistent fare charged for a specific journey, such as from Dunoon to town. In the minibus taxis, the fare remains the same throughout the day, unlike the case of MyCiTi, as discussed in detail below. This standardised pricing system provides passengers with a sense of predictability and ensures that they are aware of the fare amount for their desired trip.

The following subsection details the flexibility/relational dynamic that exists with minibus taxis, which were highlighted by the participants.

Social cohesion

The participants of this research spoke about social cohesion being an important aspect of minibus taxis. The concept of social cohesion is defined as ‘the extent of connectedness and solidarity among groups in society’ (Manca 2014:1). Furthermore, Jenson (1998:4 cited in Makhubu 2015), defines social cohesion as ‘a set of social processes that help instil in individuals the sense of belonging to the same community and the feeling that they are recognised as members of that community’. In the minibus taxi industry, this form of social cohesion manifests in diverse ways, for example several participants in the study indicated their appreciation for the minibus taxi system’s ability to consider their individual circumstances and adapt to their specific context. I use the term ‘social cohesion’ to describe the way that people in minibus taxis interact with each other, including the driver. This may be related to the concept of Ubuntu, which is a South African philosophy that emphasises community and interconnectedness.

Other modes of transportation do not typically consider or factor in these social aspects, but in the minibus taxi service these factors are indirectly considered. Some participants in the study highlighted that the minibus taxi service was responsive to their needs in many ways. The participants acknowledged that the minibus taxi system could accommodate their financial

constraints by providing some flexibility in fare payment. They mentioned instances when they could not afford the standardised fare, and the minibus taxi drivers were understanding and accommodating in such situations. Additionally, participants appreciated that minibus taxi drivers were knowledgeable about various destinations and could assist them when they were uncertain about specific locations. Furthermore, being recognised as regular users of the minibus taxi system created a sense of familiarity and rapport with the drivers, contributing to a more personalized and comfortable travel experience.

Thapelo says that one thing he likes about minibus taxis is that,

“When I don't know the place, I am going to, it's easier in the taxi because you can ask for assistance in comparison to other transport”.

There are several reasons why people believe that it is easier to ask for assistance in minibus taxis. These reasons can be attributed to the size of the vehicle, the number of passengers, and the ease of access to someone to talk to and the closeness/accessibility to the driver. In contrast, conventional buses are larger, and passengers are sometimes seated far apart. To ask the driver a question, you must stand or sit closer to them so they can hear you. Due to its formal structure, it can't be flexible. When you are using it, you know that it operates according to certain rules. You cannot simply get off anywhere, and if you are not aware of where you are supposed to get off, you may become lost.

Ntsiki said,

“I know a lot of people there [taxi drivers]), my brother is a taxi owner...when you are short [of money], you won't be chased away.”

Like Ntsiki, other passengers may have family members, friends, and neighbours who work in the minibus taxi industry. This can also happen in MyCiTi, but due to the flexibility or informality of the minibus taxi industry, drivers can accommodate issues such as when a passenger does not have enough money for the fare. They may be able to assist the passenger or allow them to use the service still. In addition, drivers might not ask their family members to pay for the fares, which allows them to commute in the minibus taxi for free.

Lerato said that she liked minibus taxis because,

“They take notice of their regular and loyal customers”.

Overall, the participants highlighted the beneficial adaptability of the minibus taxi system under the theme of flexibility/social cohesion. The adaptability of the minibus taxi system can foster a relationship between passengers. Passengers who use the same minibus taxi may get to know each other and develop a sense of community and at times, the minibus taxi driver may remember the regular passengers and even recognise when they are absent. Also linked to flexibility is the issue of convenience, which is discussed below.

Convenience, ease of use and availability

Another frequent topic was convenience and related concepts such as ease, suitability and user-friendliness. Most passengers of minibus taxis remarked on how they could be picked up or dropped off near their homes or how short the walk was to the minibus taxi rank. In Dunoon, there is one minibus taxi rank which is central to most of the houses. However, minibus taxis operate on a fixed route with flexible stops, where passengers can hail a minibus taxi and ask to be dropped off anywhere along the route. This allows passengers to get off at their desired destination, which can be convenient for those who live in areas with limited public transportation infrastructure. In contrast, MyCiTi buses have fixed routes and stops. This means that passengers may have to walk a long way to reach the nearest bus stop, which can be inconvenient, especially for those with disabilities or limited mobility. The difference in the flexibility of minibus taxis and MyCiTi buses has implications for the accessibility of public transportation in Dunoon.

Thando said that,

“It’s easy to use taxis, because I get it closer from my house.”

Similar sentiments were said by Oratile saying that,

“Taxis leave you closer to wherever you are going in comparison to buses”.

The oldest person in the study, was a 50-year-old woman named Lindiwe who works as a library manager, and still uses minibus taxis, Golden Arrow buses, and occasionally MyCiTi buses to go to work meetings. She stated as follows:

“Taxis leave me closer to my house, but Golden Arrow/ MyCiTi leaves me far away...” She further stated that,

“...with taxis you can tell the driver to leave you closer to your house and they can even help you when you are carrying heavy things unlike buses.”

These three participants were amongst the many who stated that the convenience of having a transport mode that drops you closer to home, as is the case in Dunoon, was a crucial factor that influenced the mode they chose.

Figure 6.3 portrays the participants' ratings when asked how they would rate the availability of minibus taxis. In this case, availability refers to the frequency of the transportation mode. This means how often the transportation mode is available to passengers. There are a range of factors that may influence the availability of a transportation mode, such as the number of vehicles in the fleet, the number of seats in a vehicle, the number of routes that are served, and the demand for transportation.



Figure 6.3: Minibus taxi availability rating

As shown in Figure 6.3, 16 of the participants who use minibus taxis indicated they rated their availability as good, while 9 people were neutral in their rating. These findings indicate that most participants believe that minibus taxis are always readily available, which supports the notion that they are regarded as being convenient.

On one of the days, I encountered a 23-year-old man named Thapelo at the Dunoon Community Hall, he was there to exercise because the hall is open to community members to exercise in and there is some exercise equipment available during the day. Thabo was a talkative young man who apparently came there on a regular basis when he was not working the day shift. One of the security guards informed him of my desire to interview him, and he was interested

because he used to be a minibus taxi driver. When I asked him why he thinks people in the area prefer minibus taxis to MyCiTi, he quickly responded,

“The majority of people use taxis in comparison to MyCiTi because it has a time limit, but taxis are always available and they work throughout the day, this is why more people use taxis”.

The operating times of MyCiTi buses vary depending on the area. In Dunoon, the first bus on weekdays departs at around 5:00 AM and the last bus runs until 11:00 PM. Minibus taxis, on the other hand, begin operating at around 3:00 AM and their last departure time is not specified. However, their operations may differ at night than during the day. According to Thabo, minibus taxis offer delivery services at night, but this comes at an additional cost.

Fanele is one of the participants in my study who indicated that he takes a minibus taxi to work four times a week, and he says the only reason he uses a minibus taxi is because the place he works at is far away and minibus taxis are the only mode of public transportation that can get him there. In certain cities in South Africa, new housing developments are often implemented before the transportation system is designed. As a result, minibus taxis are frequently the only operational public transportation in these areas. This is because minibus taxis are designed to be able to operate anywhere, and they see this as an opportunity to meet the needs of the people. The convenience theme is one of the factors that passengers consider when choosing a mode of public transportation. Under this theme, the following sub-themes emerged: the walking distance to the transportation stop, the ability to ask for directions and the availability of the transportation mode.

When engaging with the participants, I noticed that some had opinions about why people use minibus taxis when other alternatives are available. It was interesting to hear how they made sense of this issue. People also mentioned why they dislike them, which is discussed in the following section.

6.3.2 What people do not like about minibus taxis?

This section highlights the shortcomings of minibus taxis from the perspective of passengers. In this study, participants who used minibus taxis reported disliking the following aspects of the service: overloading of vehicles, excessive speed, and rude and aggressive driving behaviour. Additionally, some participants indicated that they only used minibus taxis due to

a lack of other transportation options and did not actually prefer the service. Each of these aspects are discussed in detail below.

Overloading/overcrowding —comfort ratings

Overcrowding is a major concern for minibus taxi passengers, as it is a common practice and can lead to several safety and comfort issues. The word overcrowding refers to a ‘situation where the number of individuals or objects occupying a particular space exceeds its intended or optimal capacity’ (Knowledge Hub 2023), while overloading is about the weight of goods/passengers. The study participants used overloading and overcrowding interchangeably, although they are not the same. Participants from this study reported that they often felt unsafe and uncomfortable when minibus taxis were overloaded or overcrowded. It can also lead to accidents. This was also evident when I asked them to rate their comfort level in minibus taxis.

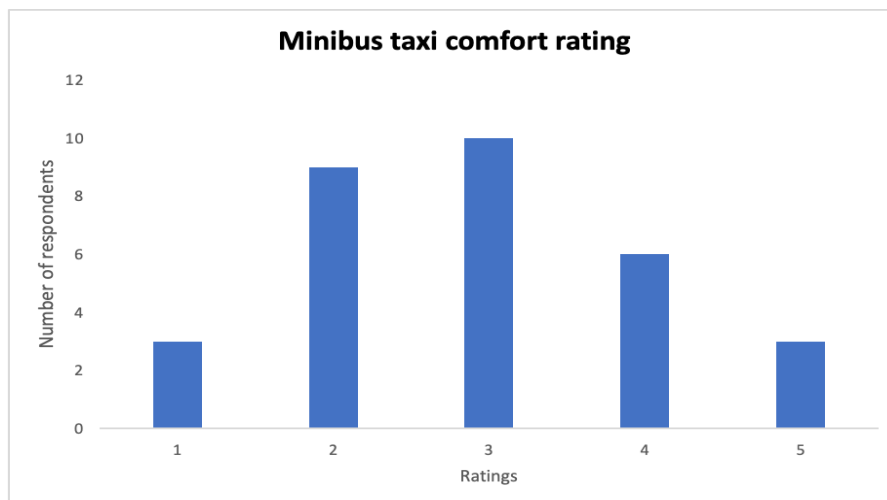


Figure 6.4: Minibus taxi comfort ratings

Figure 6.4 shows that 10 participants were neutral in rating the level of comfort experienced in minibus taxis, while 9 people in the study indicated that the level of comfort was bad. About 6 participants stated that minibus taxis were good in terms of comfort.

Luzuko does not take minibus taxis to work every day because he sometimes drives his car to work. He is one of the passengers who mentioned how uncomfortable minibus taxis are by saying,

“They put more people in the taxi even though it is already packed... also make you sit on this thing called a laptop...then you have to sit at the edge of that laptop and sometimes it is not safe. Because... there is no seatbelt”

Minibus taxi drivers use a wooden rectangle object covered with a cloth cushion, which they refer to as a "laptop," to create an additional seat when the taxi is full. This is the object that Luzuko was referring to. Minibus taxis rarely have seatbelts available. Even when they are available, people do not use them because it is not a requirement. This is unsafe because of frequent unsafe driving behaviour, as discussed in the next subsection.

Rose, one of the participants I interviewed, expressed dissatisfaction with certain aspects of the minibus taxis while offering justifications or rationalisations for their behaviour, which I found surprising, saying *"When the taxi is full, they overload because they need money"*.

Fanele takes a minibus taxi to work four times a week, and he says the only reason he does is because the places he works are far away and minibus taxis are the only mode of public transportation that can get him there. He does, however, complain that,

"There's an issue with overloading in taxis and no one thinks of the passengers, even buses get overloaded, it's the same as taxis".

The use of minibus taxis as the only available public transportation in certain areas can be seen as both a positive and negative development. On the one hand, minibus taxis provide access to communities that would otherwise be underserved by other modes of transportation. However, on the other hand, passengers are often forced to use minibus taxis even if they are uncomfortable or unsafe, as they have no other options.

Oratile is one of the participants who uses both minibus taxis and MyCiTi, she also concurred that,

"Taxis overload, the drivers don't care about the comfort of passengers".

Overloading and overcrowding are major safety concerns for minibus taxi passengers. When minibus taxis are overcrowded, passengers are at increased risk of injury or death in the event of an accident. This is because passengers have less space to move around, and they are more likely to be injured in a collision. Overloading can also contribute to reckless driving, as drivers may feel the need to go faster to make up for the time, they lost by loading more passengers. The following subsection will present the participants' perspectives on the issue of speed during the commute.

Speed

Complaints about minibus taxi drivers speeding are another issue that most passengers mentioned several times, as one of the things they did not like about minibus taxis. However, it was occasionally mentioned favourably, owing to the participants' desire to arrive at their destination on time, even in congested traffic.

Sizwe, a 43-year-old man who commutes to work in Kalk Bay from Dunoon, first takes a minibus taxi from Dunoon to the Cape Town railway station, where he then transfers to the Southern Suburbs line train to Kalk Bay. Sizwe stated,

“They [drivers] drive very fast, so they speed and cross the robots even when its red, at times they drive on the yellow line”.

Minibus taxi drivers often run red traffic lights, also known as robots in South Africa. This can be attributed to both the speed at which they are driving and the competitive nature of the business. Drivers may feel pressure to reach their daily or weekly quota, which can lead to reckless driving.

Promise agreed, saying,

“It’s not safe at all, they overspeed the taxis so it’s not that safe”.

The study revealed a contradictory perspective among participants regarding their perception of minibus taxis. Although, on the one hand, many participants listed the speed of the minibus taxis as a benefit, on the other hand, the same quickness and speed of minibus taxis were mentioned as a source of concern and unease by some participants. They expressed feelings of insecurity and fear for their safety while travelling in minibus taxis. This apprehension stemmed from experiences or perceptions of reckless driving, disregard for traffic rules, and a lack of adherence to safety measures. Thus, the study highlighted a dual narrative surrounding minibus taxi. While some participants appreciated the speed and quickness of these vehicles, others raised concerns about the potential risks associated with them.

On one hand, most of the participants expressed a positive sentiment towards minibus taxis due to their speed and efficiency in reaching destinations quickly. This attribute was valued by those who needed to arrive at their destinations promptly, such as for work or school.

Rose, mentioned that she likes the minibus taxis because they are *'very fast, I won't be late to work'*, and when I asked her what she did not like about the minibus taxis, said,

"Taxi drivers drive very fast... We are scared for our lives".

One of the participants, who is a student aged 23 years said,

"...but the whole time when I am in a taxi, I am holding my breath as the drivers drive very fast and an accident can happen anytime you are there".



Figure 6.5: Minibus taxi safety ratings

According to Figure 6.5, 11 participants rated the safety of minibus taxis as bad, with 5 rating it as very bad. In contrast, 7 participants had a neutral perception, while 6 individuals considered the safety to be good. Only two participants rated the safety of minibus taxis as very good.

Some participants indicated that they were scared for their lives due to the speed that drivers used when driving. Based on personal experience, most times when people try to complain about this, it is received badly by the minibus taxi drivers, which speaks to the manner of the drivers, which is discussed in detail below.

Manners of drivers

According to the findings of this study, the participants also mentioned the manner or behaviour of the minibus taxi drivers as something they did not like about minibus taxis. One of the participants said,

“The drivers are rough, especially with the clients” –

Another participant also stated that,

“Taxi drivers are rude, after you have paid you are not treated well or like you are important anymore.” -Flabba 34-year-old male

Lindiwe, concurred the same words as Flabba regarding the treatment of minibus drivers to passenger, she said,

“What I don’t like about taxis is that after you have given them your money, you don’t have value anymore, they can just switch off.”

This behaviour of drivers to just ‘switch off’ after a passenger has paid is mentioned by two participants in the study. Minibus taxi drivers tend to be rude to passengers. Although there are channels to complain or report the drivers, often these are not used by passengers. One way to complain is to go to the minibus taxi association offices, normally situated at the minibus taxi rank, and lay your complaint with one of their officers. Another way is to call SANTACO at their call centre, which is open from 8am to 4pm daily.

Lack of choice

Some of the participants who used minibus taxis also mentioned how they disliked them, and that the only reason they still used them was because of a lack of choice or the fact that it was the only way to get to their destination. Therefore, there are no sentiments of liking anything about it. Three participants spoke of not having a choice.

“I do not like using taxis, I only use them because it is the only transport available. If it were up to me, I would not use it.” - Mncedi 24-year-old male

On Saturday, September 10, 2022, I made the decision to do fieldwork interviews in Dunoon over the weekend because I had seen that it was often difficult to locate participants who worked during the week because most individuals would be at work since I typically visited Dunoon during working hours. Even though it was a very chilly day on that Saturday, I was keen to meet people. On that day, I was able to interview quite a few people. One of them was Newson, a 25-year-old man who works near Table View’s Bayside Mall. Newson uses minibus

taxis to get to work. He responded swiftly when I asked him what he enjoyed best about minibus taxis,

“I don't have any option; I don't have a car, so I use taxis because they are available.” He further said, *“I don't like taxis at all, the only thing I like about them is that they take me from point A to point B.”*

Another man named Mzombe, said that,

“It's not that I like them...it's the only mode of public transport that goes in my direction.”

Promise also concurred with similar words,

“I don't like anything about taxis but because there's many of them, if one is full, I can get another one quickly.”

As can be seen, therefore, the lack of alternative public transport was identified as a factor contributing to the use of minibus taxis as some participants said there were no other public transportation options for travelling to their destination.

The following section will focus on the other mode that is present in Dunoon, which is the MyCiTi Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system. The discussion will detail both the positive and negative developments of the MyCiTi from the perspective of passengers.

6.4 Experiences of passengers who use MyCiTi

The following section discusses the findings gathered directly from MyCiTi passengers regarding their personal experiences.

6.4.1 Why people like MyCiTi?

This section highlights what passengers like most about MyCiTi, based on interviews with passengers using MyCiTi. The participants generally expressed satisfaction with MyCiTi, citing its affordability, punctuality, and safety as key factors.

Affordability

According to the findings of this study, around 13% of the participants used MyCiTi as their primary mode of transportation. One prominent theme that emerged from these participants

was their positive perception of MyCiTi's affordability. Passengers appreciated the relatively low fares associated with MyCiTi buses although they were the same as minibus taxis depending on travel time, this made it a financially viable option for their daily transportation needs. In my participation observation, I allude that MyCiTi cost me R23.90 since I travelled during peak time, but during off-peak time it would cost me R19.90 from Dunoon to Cape Town City centre.

Lindiwe a 50-year-old, who uses a mixture of MyCiTi, minibus taxis and Golden Arrow buses, as she works far away from her home, exclaimed that,

“MyCiTi is affordable, but it has to be good because they are subsidised.”

Yandile also agreed with this, using the words cheap and affordable.

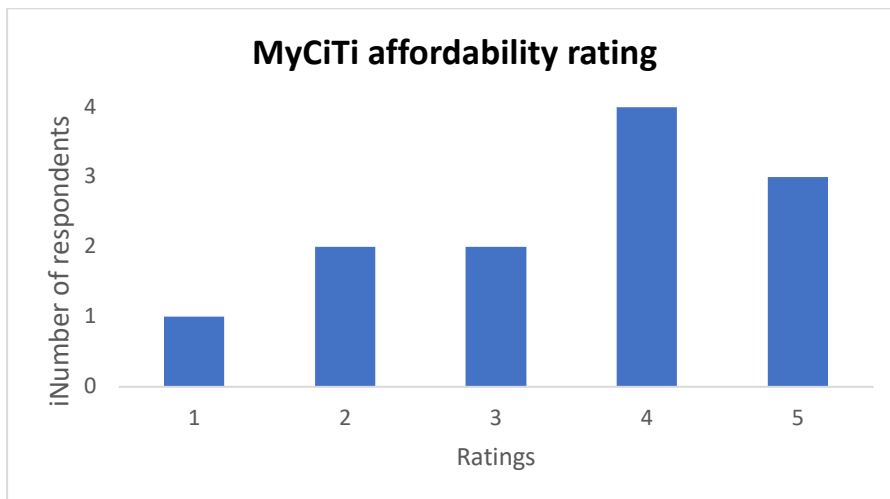


Figure 6.6: MyCiTi affordability ratings

Figure 6.6 shows how MyCiTi's affordability was rated by participants. According to the figure, approximately four out of the 12 participants rated MyCiTi as good in terms of affordability, with three saying it was very good. Only one person stated that it was extremely difficult to afford, while two people said it was bad, and two others were neutral.

Yandile, a 36-year-old man who works as a security guard in Cape Town city centre, uses MyCiTi exclusively to commute to work daily. He says one of the reasons why he likes using MyCiTi is,

“It's affordable in comparison to taxis, when I use MyCiTi it can charge me at most at times R10.00 to go to city centre, but it differs during peak hours”.

During the time I used this mode of transport, I never understood how the point system works and whether it was affordable. It is not clear how the points are calculated, and the website does not explain it. However, during off-peak and peak times the price changes based on destination.

The next subsection will outline another aspect of MyCiTi which the participants of the study who used this mode stated was a positive for them, which is punctuality.

Punctuality

One noteworthy characteristic of the MyCiTi system, as acknowledged by the participants, is its punctuality, which can be attributed to its adherence to scheduled bus operations and availability of timetables, as exemplified in Chapter 5. Furthermore, the design of MyCiTi includes dedicated routes that are independent of regular traffic, ensuring efficient and predictable commuting experiences, thus minimizing the possibility of delays in reaching destinations.

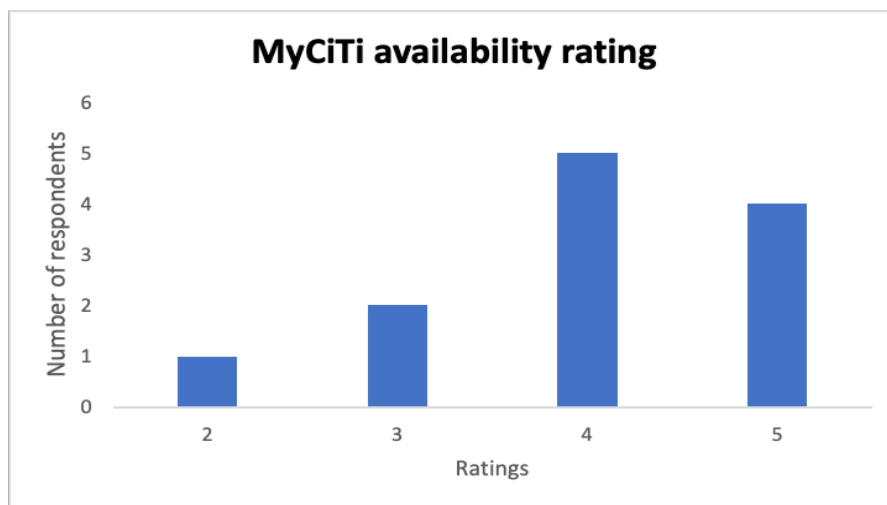


Figure 6.7: MyCiTi availability ratings

Figure 6.7 shows how the participants rated the level of availability of MyCiTi. Five people rated MyCiTi as good regarding its availability and four participants said it was very good. Only one person indicated that it was very bad regarding availability, while two people were neutral.

Luyolo, a 21-year-old man, who is a student at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) and commutes to university daily using MyCiTi, had this to say about MyCiTi,

“It’s always on time and it leaves on time unlike taxis, when you get to rank there are always lines, but MyCiTi is different if it’s supposed to be there at 8am it will be there at 8 am.”

Newman, kept nodding when he said the following,

“It’s convenient and punctual most times”.

Miguel is a Zimbabwean entrepreneur who sells alcohol, and I met him on the Saturday I went to Dunoon, and I remember him because he was the only one on that day who had said he only uses MyCiTi, while everyone else used minibus taxis or a mixture of both the minibus taxi and the MyCiTi. He had this to say,

“I take these buses only and nothing else, and the reason why I like them is that they are always on time.”

Safety

According to the UN-Habitat report (2009), ensuring personal safety is a fundamental requirement for individuals during their travels, forming a crucial aspect influencing their choice of transportation mode. The participants who utilise the MyCiTi system expressed high satisfaction with its safety measures, underscoring their prioritisation of safety when selecting a mode of transportation.

According to the participants who use MyCiTi, most of them felt safe and secure on the bus, and this was a common theme when participants were asked why they liked using MyCiTi. Figure 18 shows the MyCiTi safety ratings. Seven of the 12 participants who used MyCiTi rated the bus's safety as excellent. Two people thought it was bad, one thought it was neutral, and two rated it as good.

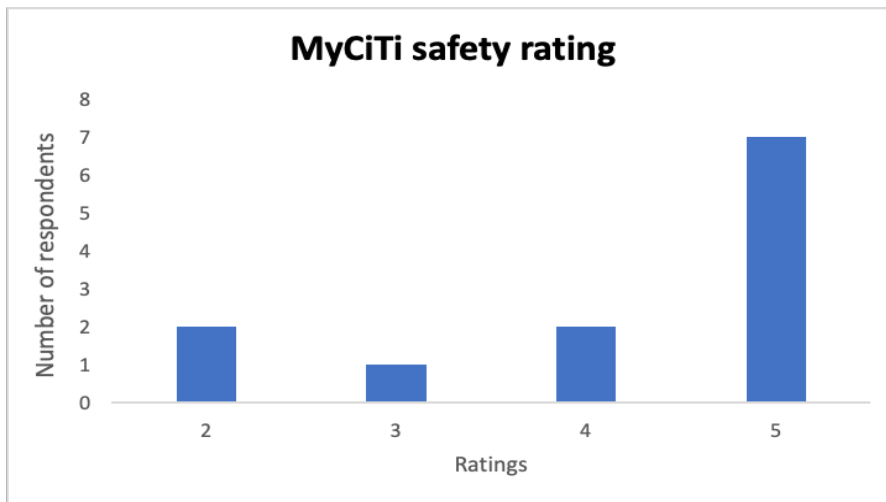


Figure 6.8: MyCiTi safety rating

Oratile a 26 year part-time female student, one of the participants who rated MyCiTi’s safety as a five, had this to say,

“It is very secure, nothing can be stolen from you”.

Another participant also expressed a similar sentiment. Cabangile, an employed woman who is about the same age as Oratile, said she prefers to use both MyCiTi and minibus taxis to work for distinct reasons, but she had the following to say about MyCiTi,

“It’s safe there and the drivers are not reckless.”

The next section will discuss the disadvantages of MyCiTi as reported by the participants who use this mode.

6.4.2 What people do not like about MyCiTi?

This section discusses the findings regarding the personal experiences of MyCiTi passengers and what they do not like about it. The participants of MyCiTi reported disliking the following aspects of the service: limited routes, overcrowding during peak times and lack of communication during delays.

Limited routes

The limited routes of MyCiTi can have an impact on the public transportation that people in Dunoon choose to use daily. For example, there are no bus stations or stops within Dunoon,

and the Stables Depot is a little further out for some passengers. This means that people who live far from the depot in Dunoon may need to walk a long distance to access the MyCiTi.

Yandile spoke about the fact that there are no bus stations in Dunoon very passionately saying,

“There are no stations in Dunoon, unless you go to Shoprite/ the Stables Depot and there's no place for us to load our cards here”.

This is a disadvantage, especially for someone who lives far away from the depot and uses MyCiTi daily. Another participant added that the fact that there are limited routes can be time-consuming and this is one of the things he did not like about MyCiTi. Newman said,

“There are no straight routes to go to certain areas, so you need to connect which is time consuming.”

He further said,

“...some areas don't have stops, they need to do a better assessment for stops as stops are far from each other and there is no shelter at certain bus stops.”

Considering Newman’s perspective on the lack of stops, weather conditions can significantly impact passengers' choice of public transportation. Inclement weather, such as heavy rain or extreme heat, can make waiting at bus stops without shelter uncomfortable and inconvenient.

In addition, the limited routes might discourage passengers from using MyCiTi. If the available routes do not align with their desired destinations or if there are no direct routes, passengers may be less inclined to choose MyCiTi as their preferred mode of transportation. The following section will discuss other general reasons people stated they did not like about MyCiTi, such as overcrowding, communication problems during delays and the payment system.

Other reasons

Quite a few other issues were mentioned by the participants as things they did not like about MyCiTi, ranging from overcrowding, communication problems during delays and the payment system. All of which were mentioned by one or two people. Let’s take, for instance, the overcrowding of buses during peak time, Nelton knocks off around 4pm daily and uses MyCiTi to go to and from work, he has been using MyCiTi for about three years since he started working as a general worker for the City of Cape Town,

“In some areas people stand from and to work in the bus meaning there is less buses and more people. So daily you need to know you will be standing”.

Furthermore, the limited routes offered by MyCiTi buses can be a deterrent for some passengers. If the available routes do not align with their desired destinations or if there are no direct routes, passengers may be less inclined to choose MyCiTi as their preferred mode of transportation. The convenience and accessibility of routes play a crucial role in attracting passengers to a public transport system.

Although generally perceived as being punctual, MyCiTi buses sometimes run late. Yandile, complained to me saying,

“MyCiTi buses do not tell us when they are late, you will think it will be here in 5 minutes then you are there 20 minutes later and there is nothing. I do not like that about MyCiTi.”

Yandile and Cabangile, two MyCiTi passengers, expressed dissatisfaction with the communication and updating of bus delays, as well as the MyCiTi payment system. Yandile and Cabangile stated that the timetable is not updated when buses are late, which leaves passengers waiting at the station without any information. Additionally, when the bus does arrive, there is no apology for the delay, and passengers are often late for their destinations. Yandile also expressed dissatisfaction with the MyCiTi payment system, as he can only load the cards at certain locations, and sometimes the machines at those locations do not work. To see how much value is on the card, passengers need to use special machines at MyCiTi kiosks.

Vuyelwa had this to say,

“MyCiTi has penalties if you make a mistake by tapping twice or forgetting to tap out; it charges you which means you might have to load more money.”

She further told me this had happened to her multiple times.

Cabangile says that one of the reasons she does not like MyCiTi is because,

“It's tricky because in peak times in the morning it's easy but in the afternoon its expensive, it's hard to understand because there's no standard rate which is boring, today you pay this and tomorrow you pay a different price.”

The payment system utilised by the MyCiTi transportation system can be perceived as complex, particularly for individuals who are new to its usage. For instance, card reloading facilities are unavailable in Dunoon, as the depot lacks the necessary equipment. Consequently, passengers are required to recharge their cards at larger stations, as smaller stations may either lack card-loading facilities or be offline intermittently.

Furthermore, a potential issue arises concerning penalties for passengers who neglect to tap out after tapping in. Failure to do so results in severe monetary consequences, although the specific amount charged remains non-standardized and difficult to ascertain in advance.

6.5 Summary

This chapter employed a thematic analysis approach to present, discuss, and analyse the empirical data. The analysis involved identifying and constructing key themes that emerged as prominent topics within the interviews. By so doing, the study's findings focused on the factors influencing passengers' choices of public transportation modes, specifically minibus taxis and MyCiTi, in the context of Dunoon. The participants provided insights into their experiences and perceptions regarding these modes of transportation. Positive aspects of minibus taxi usage included speed, affordability, convenience, flexibility and relational aspects, but concerns were raised about overloading/overcrowding, excessive speed, and driver behaviour. MyCiTi was appreciated for affordability, punctuality, and perceived safety, but limitations in routes, overcrowding, communication issues, and problems with the payment system were mentioned.

In general, participants had contradictory perspectives on minibus taxis, valuing their speed in getting to their destination while expressing concerns about safety due to the minibus taxis' speed. While some participants appreciated the speed and efficiency of minibus taxis in reaching their destinations quickly, others expressed feelings of insecurity and fear for their safety. Concerns stemmed from experiences or perceptions of reckless driving, non-compliance with traffic rules, and inadequate safety measures. Therefore, the study highlighted a dual narrative surrounding minibus taxi.

Furthermore, the lack of alternatives emerged as a factor driving minibus taxi usage. Some participants had no choice but to rely on minibus taxis due to the absence of other public transportation modes in their destinations. This lack of alternative options can be attributed to urban planning practices prioritising new housing developments without concurrent transportation system design. Consequently, minibus taxis often become the primary means of

public transportation in such areas, as they are flexible in their operations and can service diverse locations, fulfilling the population's needs. The empirical findings of the existing literature will be discussed in depth in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

The primary purpose of this study was to investigate the factors influencing public transportation mode choice with a focus on minibus taxis and the MyCiTi bus rapid transit system in Dunoon, Cape Town. To do this, this chapter attempts to answer the research questions that guided the study. Furthermore, the chapter considers the broader implications for Cape Town and South Africa, as well as reflecting on the methodology used, followed by recommendations outlining interventions for both the minibus taxi industry and the MyCiTi system.

The study aimed to examine personal factors influencing mode choice among public transportation passengers in Dunoon and to gain insights into their experiences using either MyCiTi or minibus taxis. Out of the 39 participants interviewed, 27 primarily used minibus taxis, 5 used MyCiTi, 6 used both modes, and 1 individual utilised Golden Arrow bus services.

This study reveals that minibus taxis are the most popular mode of public transportation in Dunoon due to their affordability, convenience, flexibility and social cohesion. However, concerns about safety, overcrowding, non-compliance with traffic rules and reckless driving. Furthermore, the findings also demonstrate that MyCiTi is also affordable, but it has limitations in terms of routes, overcrowding, and communication. Overall, the literature suggests a need for improved public transportation in Dunoon. Minibus taxis are important to the transportation system, but they must be safer and more reliable. MyCiTi is a promising alternative, but it needs to be expanded and improved to meet people's needs.

Though not the primary focus of this study, engagements with participants provided insights into the economic and social implications of using minibus taxis. Economically, minibus taxis contributed to job creation, affordable public transportation, and entrepreneurial opportunities. Socially, they addressed public transport gaps in underserved areas (which, in turn, reflect spatial planning legacies) and serve as social gathering spaces for passengers during commutes.

This study yielded valuable lessons that can inform understanding and interventions in other contexts involving minibus taxis or Bus Rapid Transit (BRT). For minibus taxis, the lessons highlight the importance of addressing urban design inequalities and the housing crisis, developing comprehensive transport infrastructure and regulations, and providing alternative

transportation options. Regarding BRT, the main lessons are that for the service to be efficient as a public transportation system, it should be affordable, convenient, accessible, and culturally sensitive. This means providing frequent services, convenient stops, affordable fares, adequate infrastructure, accessible vehicles, and systems that are comfortable and respectful for all users.

In the rest of this discussion section, I focus on answering the following research questions:

- i. What are the factors that influence the decision of passengers to choose a mode of public transport?
- ii. What are the advantages and disadvantages of their chosen mode of public transport?
- iii. What are the economic and social implications of using minibus taxis?
- iv. What lessons can be learned from the case study?

7.2 What are the factors that influence the decision of passengers to choose a certain public transportation mode?

According to the passengers who participated in this study, there are several factors they consider when they choose a public transport mode, these include affordability, accessibility, time (including walking distance, waiting times, and in-vehicle travel times), safety, ease of use based on flexibility and relationship dynamics. The relationship dynamics observed in public transport pertain to the level of familiarity between drivers and passengers, the capacity to accommodate individual circumstances, such as financial constraints, and the ability of the system to adapt to the context in which it operates. As discussed in Chapter 2, these factors have also been documented extensively in the literature (Dewi 2010; Polat 2012; Woolf and Joubert 2013; Rayle 2017). The following subsections highlight some key themes that emerged in response to the question.

7.2.1 Prioritising being on time over safety

The findings show that the participants who used minibus taxis in this study tended to prioritise being on time over safety. This is because, while most minibus taxi passengers found the drivers' excessive speed unsafe, they also continued to use minibus taxis because they were fast and convenient. For example, one of the participants mentioned that she likes the minibus taxis because they are *“very fast and I won't be late to work,”* however, when she was asked what

she did not like about the minibus taxis she said, *'taxi drivers drive very fast...we are scared for our lives.'*

A considerable number of passengers expressed that minibus taxis provided a quick and efficient mode of transportation, particularly in terms of time. This indicates that arriving at their destinations punctually was a key priority for most passengers, whether it was for school or work purposes. However, this meant that they prioritised being on time to their destination over their safety. One representative comment was that *"they [drivers] drive very fast, so they speed and cross the robots even when its red, at times they drive on the yellow line."*

Therefore, the study highlighted a dual-narrative surrounding minibus taxis, with some participants valuing their quickness while others raised concerns about the associated risks.

7.2.2 Social cohesion in the minibus taxi industry

According to the reported experiences of the study's participants, some liked how the minibus taxi sector factored in their situation and was adaptable to their context, with comments such as *"When you are short (of money), you won't be chased away,"* and *"I know a lot of people there (taxi drivers), my brother is a taxi owner."*

The relational aspect of minibus taxis is a key advantage for passengers, as it provides greater flexibility. For example, minibus taxi drivers may occasionally allow passengers to pay less if they are short of cash. Minibus taxi drivers often recognise their passengers and may even notice when they are absent. These findings suggest that the flexibility of minibus taxis is particularly beneficial for working-class passengers in Dunoon. The minibus taxi industry is also important for both passengers and business owners. It creates a sense of familiarity, as passengers know that their minibus taxi is operated or owned by someone from their community, such as a neighbour or relative (Rayle 2017; Woolf and Joubert 2013). The literature does not explicitly address the concept of social cohesion or relational dynamics fostered by the flexibility of minibus taxis, so this potential advantage largely remains unexplored. The adaptability of minibus taxis in terms of routes, schedules, and operating practices could conceivably contribute to a sense of community among passengers and drivers, as it allows for personalised interactions and caters to specific needs. However, further research is necessary to understand and substantiate this claim fully.

Passengers who use the same minibus taxi may also develop a sense of community and camaraderie. Minibus taxis, therefore, can provide a unique social and cultural space for these communities, while MyCiTi services arguably do not foster the same type of engagement spaces for the working-class poor and students due to more impersonal operational processes.

7.2.3 Lack of alternatives or choice

A theme of lack of choice or alternative emerged in the interviews with participants as a factor influencing minibus taxi usage. This is mainly because some participants had no choice but to rely on minibus taxis due to the absence of other public transportation options to their destinations. For example, participants said things like, *“It's not that I like them...it's the only mode of public transport that goes my direction,”* and *“I don't like using taxis, I only use them because it's the only transport available, if it was up to me, I wouldn't use it.”* There are several reasons for the lack of alternative options, such as the limited roll-out of BRT and housing development processes that prioritise new housing developments on the urban periphery without the concurrent provision of transportation infrastructure. As a result, minibus taxis are the main way of ‘filling a void left by government neglect in transportation infrastructure and services’ (Rayle 2017). This creates opportunities for ‘the business owners of paratransit respond quickly to new demands for service such as adaptable routing in peak/off-peak hours, capacity to reach city outskirts and informal settlements, this as a result, allows them to cater to many diverse passenger markets within a city’ (Behrens, McCormick and Mfinanga 2016; Lesteven and Boutueil 2018).

The following section will discuss the advantages and disadvantages of minibus taxis and MyCiTi (BRT) from the participants’ perspective.

7.3 What are the advantages/disadvantages of the minibus taxi industry/paratransit and MyCiTi (BRT) as a mode of transport in this corridor?

Drawing on both the study's results and relevant literature, this section delves into the advantages and disadvantages of both minibus taxis and MyCiTi (BRT).

7.3.1 Advantages and disadvantages of minibus taxis

The participants listed the advantages of using minibus taxis as speed, affordability, convenience and the relational aspect/social cohesion. The findings are in line with the

literature, which shows the advantages of the paratransit sector as market responsiveness, creating employment, low service costs to business owners, the ability to use small vehicles to transport passengers, social cohesion linked to flexibility or informality, and accessibility, as explored in depth in Chapter 2 (Cervero 2000; Cervero and Golub 2007; Behrens, McCormick and Mfinanga 2016; Lesteven and Boutueil 2018; Gwilliam 2008a). The market responsiveness of the paratransit sector encompasses flexibility, convenience, and relational aspects. This responsiveness stems from paratransit operators' ability to adapt schedules, routes, and operating practices to cater to the ever-evolving needs of the market. This flexibility enables paratransit operators to promptly address new service demands, such as adaptable routing during peak and off-peak hours, reaching city outskirts and informal settlements, and serving diverse passenger markets within a city (Behrens, McCormick and Mfinanga 2016; Lesteven and Boutueil 2018).

Disadvantages of minibus taxis raised by participants include overcrowding, excessive speed, and driver behaviour. The literature reviewed for this research study also listed disadvantages of minibus taxis as poor safety, pollution, poor service quality, poor customer service and exploitative labour practices (Cervero 2000; Cervero and Golub 2007; Behrens, McCormick and Mfinanga 2016; Jennings and Behrens 2017). Similarly, one of the main complaints of the participants in this study about the minibus taxi industry was the drivers' behaviour. The literature shows that the quota system, in which paratransit drivers keep whatever fare revenue remains after paying the owner for vehicle use, incentivises poor customer service and dangerous driver behaviour. This means that drivers may speed, cut off other vehicles, overcrowd and fight over passengers to maximise their gain. This behaviour not only harms passengers but also contributes to a chaotic and unsafe transportation system (Jennings and Behrens 2017; Cervero 2000).

Affordability

The word "cheap" was mentioned 12 times. In contrast, the word "affordable" was mentioned twice by participants in the study, suggesting that affordability was a major factor in the popularity of minibus taxis. For example, Vuyelwa said, *"I use taxis because it's affordable, when you have R50 it can get you wherever you are going and leaves you closer to home and work."* During my fieldwork in August and September 2022, I found that the minibus taxi fare from Cape Town to Dunoon was R19.00 per day, while the MyCiTi fare was between R23.90 and R19.90. Most of the participants in the study rated minibus taxi affordability as neutral.

While there is no definitive evidence in the literature reviewed for this research study to support the claim that minibus taxis are inherently affordable, several factors contribute to their perceived low cost. Many minibus taxi businesses operate on a small scale, being self-financed and utilising personal funds to purchase vehicles. This often leads to the use of second-hand vehicles as a cost-saving measure. Additionally, the minibus taxi industry relies heavily on cash transactions, eliminating the need for formal accounting practices, contracts, or regular payments, further reducing operational expenses (Rayle 2017; McCormick, Schalekamp and Mfinanga 2016; Finn 2012).

Overall, most participants were neutral or positive about the affordability of minibus taxis. Another advantage that people alluded to be the relational aspect of the industry discussed below.

The following subsection is focused on MyCiTi's advantages and disadvantages.

7.3.2 Advantages and disadvantages of MyCiTi

The participants indicated that MyCiTi was appreciated for affordability, punctuality, and perceived safety, but limitations in routes, overcrowding, communication issues, and problems with the payment system were mentioned. The literature on Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) states that there are numerous advantages of BRT systems, including travel time saving, social equity, comfort, safety and positive environmental impacts (Cervero 2013; Carrigan et al 2013; Bannister and Esteves 2017; Hildago and Gutiérrez 2012). BRT systems can enhance travel time reliability due to various design features, and dedicated busway lanes are separate from mixed traffic (Carrigan et al 2013). In terms of safety, the literature reviewed for this study indicates that BRT corridors contribute to improved traffic safety by reducing incidents, injuries, and fatalities. For example, studies from Bogota and Melbourne demonstrate significant reductions in crashes and fatalities following BRT implementation (Carrigan et al 2013).

The disadvantages of BRT mentioned in the literature include lack of accessibility, lack of financial sustainability and limited integration, difficulties in operational management, and contextual issues in some developing countries, such as low-density cities, leading to longer commutes to the city centre. However, the literature suggests that BRT systems often lack comprehensive accessibility (Khumalo and Orga 2018). Their limited route coverage necessitates using other public transportation modes to reach BRT stops, creating a feeder

system. Moreover, research on BRT accessibility tends to focus on travel times rather than a broader definition of accessibility that encompasses the spatial distribution of users' origins and destinations (Rayle 2017). Addressing these shortcomings is crucial for ensuring equitable access to BRT services. Research has shown that in South Africa, the economic viability of a BRT system hinges on its ability to attract a sufficient number of passengers (Naude 2015). Passenger volumes are influenced by residential densities, which are generally lower in South African cities than their South American counterparts (where the first successful examples of BRT systems were implemented).

Safety

This study found that MyCiTi buses are perceived as safer than minibus taxis in Dunoon. Seven out of 12 MyCiTi passengers from the study rated the safety of MyCiTi as very good, while more than 10 participants rated the safety of minibus taxis as very bad. Similarly, research on other BRT systems around the world has found that they can have a positive impact on traffic safety. For example, a study of the TransMilenio system in Bogota found that it led to a reduction in collisions and injuries on two of the system's key routes (Sandoval and Hidalgo (2004). The Melbourne SmartBus BRT case study also mentioned that there was a reduction in traffic accidents at all severity levels on the streets where it was implemented (Goh et al 2013 cited in Carrigan et al 2013).

Punctuality of the MyCiTi

Passengers using MyCiTi in this study also revealed that they preferred MyCiTi because it is punctual. For example, Luyolo, a student at Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) who commutes to school daily using MyCiTi, said, “*MyCiTi is always on time and it leaves on time... if it's supposed to be there at 8am it will be there at 8 am.*” Miguel also allude to same sentiments saying that said, “*the reason why I like them (MyCiTi buses) is that they are always on time.*” Similarly, the literature indicates that BRT systems have demonstrated the ability to enhance travel time reliability, a key aspect of punctuality, primarily due to various design features. Level boarding, prepaid boarding and multiple doors expedite the passenger boarding process, minimising delays. Moreover, dedicated busway lanes for BRT services physically separate them from mixed traffic, shielding them from the adverse effects of congestion on their operational speed (Carrigan et al 2013). In addition, differentiated traffic

signal management prioritises BRT buses approaching intersections, further contributing to reduced travel time variability.

MyCiTi: A journey through time, infrastructure, and urban design

Compared to minibus taxis, the bus service provided by MyCiTi takes more time to travel from central Cape Town to Dunoon, despite its punctuality, due to its limited network of routes and corridors. A commute that would take 25-30 minutes using minibus taxis is likely to take 50-60 minutes with MyCiTi due to their need to stop at multiple stops. This is one of the biggest disadvantages of using MyCiTi, especially for the route from Cape Town Civic Centre to Dunoon or vice versa.

According to the Department of Transport (n.d.) the aim of BRT systems is to link different parts of the city into a network. The West Coast corridor does provide a link to various parts of the city, however due to the lingering effects of apartheid spatial planning in the city, the time spent travelling from Dunoon to the city centre is long. The enduring legacy of apartheid's spatial planning has resulted in a segregated urban landscape, hindering the efficiency of labour markets, exacerbating the marginalisation of black communities and increasing transportation costs for both commuters and taxpayers. According to Google Maps, Dunoon is located 23km away from the city centre using N1 and N7. However, due to the absence of an express route with no stops, the MyCiTi bus route to Cape Town from Dunoon, and vice versa, passengers travel longer.

Minibus taxis and speed

The results show that passengers preferred minibus taxis due to their speed and availability. The term 'fast' or 'quick' was mentioned numerous times by 17 passengers answering their reasons for liking minibus taxis. The quickness of minibus taxis ensured that passengers could reach their destinations promptly, which is particularly crucial in bustling cities where time is of great importance. Time is important to working-class people, including time walking to the transport stop, waiting for the transport and the time spent commuting to the destination. People like using minibus taxis because they are quicker, while BRT takes longer to reach a certain destination because of the corridors and routes. While the literature does not explicitly identify speed as a primary factor influencing transportation choices, it is implicit in many participants' perceptions of minibus taxis. Their preference for minibus taxis often stems from the desire for quick travel and shorter journeys.

7.4 What lessons may be drawn from this case study for understanding and intervening in other contexts of minibus taxi/paratransit or BRT?

The empirical findings of this study reveal that out of the 39 participants interviewed, 27 primarily used minibus taxis, 5 used MyCiTi, 6 used both modes and one utilised the conventional Golden Arrow bus service. Based on the participant feedback, first-hand observations, and statistical data on Cape Town and South Africa, it can be concluded that minibus taxis are the most popular mode of public transportation in Dunoon. Various lessons can be drawn from this case study about both the minibus taxis and MyCiTi.

7.4.1 The lessons learnt from minibus taxi use in Dunoon

The significance of addressing urban design inequalities and providing alternative transportation options is highlighted as a key lesson learned in relation to minibus taxis in Dunoon. Understanding the socio-economic dynamics and spatial inequalities of areas served by minibus taxis is crucial when introducing new modes of transportation. In cities such as Cape Town, the legacy of apartheid spatial planning has resulted in poorly integrated transportation networks and a significant distance between residential areas and places of employment for most citizens.

Social cohesion is not a utopian ideal based on forcing people to live together in peace. Rather, it is an understanding that one's well-being is directly influenced by the well-being of others. The lessons from the minibus taxi industry in Dunoon advocate for recognizing social cohesion in transport planning and design, as it has the potential to address both spatial and social fragmentation in urban redevelopment. Moreover, addressing issues within the public transport space requires plans that go beyond mobility concerns. These plans must incorporate additional layers that actively address the physical, social, and economic boundaries imposed by apartheid planning. While the minibus taxi industry has capitalized on the unique advantages like this one, it's important to consider the historical and inception of the industry in context. The minibus taxi industry's history reveals its emergence as a response to discriminatory transportation policies during apartheid (Barrett 2003). This historical context, deeply intertwined with racialized mobility and the struggle for social justice, likely shapes passenger preferences and perceptions of public transport. The industry's strong ties to communities contribute to its enduring popularity demonstrating how functionality of the industry is built on social cohesion (Rayle 2017)).

The absence of transportation options, as expressed by certain participants, emphasises the gap that arises when the government plans or approves new housing developments without sufficiently providing for transportation needs. This creates a vacuum where minibus taxis become the sole available mode of transportation.

This emphasises the need for improved infrastructure and public transportation systems to address these inequalities and enhance mobility for all residents. A more equitable and efficient transport system would be accessible to everyone, regardless of income, location, or ability. It would be a system that is affordable, reliable, safe, and flexible enough to meet the needs of different passengers.

7.4.2 The lessons learnt from MyCiTi in Dunoon

The key lessons regarding MyCiTi were that for the service to be efficient, it should be providing more frequent services, convenient stops, adequate infrastructure, accessible vehicles, and culturally sensitive systems that cater to all passengers.

The MyCiTi BRT in Dunoon incorporates high-end BRT characteristics, such as an integrated network of routes, enclosed stations, pre-boarding fare collection, frequent and rapid services, modern vehicles, branding, and superior customer service. However, the infrastructural requirements of a high-end BRT system do not align well with Dunoon's urban design. Given the dense nature of the area and narrow roads, a large trunk BRT system is unsuitable, as it necessitates passengers to travel long distances from their houses to access the main road. To fully implement a BRT in such areas, feeder services should be considered to increase ridership and extend the reach of the BRT system into the community.

In addition, context-specific adaptation of BRT systems is crucial in considering the social and economic dynamics of communities like Dunoon, as well as the urban design of the space. In Dunoon, where the MyCiTi BRT operates, I identified several issues:

- i. Limited bus stops: besides the depot, there are no bus stops in Dunoon, requiring individuals to walk long distances to access the BRT services.
- ii. Lack of prepayment options: there is no facility in Dunoon to make prepayments for the MyCiTi BRT cards. If one's card runs out of credit upon tapping out in Dunoon, they need to find alternative transportation to refill their card.

- iii. Social dynamics: the use of minibus taxis is deeply ingrained in the working poor's routine, and transitioning to the BRT system may disrupt the established social dynamics associated with minibus taxis, such as being able to tell the minibus taxi driver that you don't have enough cash to pay and them allowing you to commute although you are short of money.
- iv. Lengthy commute time: The longer travel time from Dunoon to Cape Town compared to minibus taxis makes it inconvenient for commuters, discouraging the use of the MyCiTi BRT as a viable mode of transportation.

Some of these issues observed in Dunoon may be exclusive to this area but provide lessons for BRT implementation elsewhere. The low urban density and fragmented spatial structure of South African cities contribute to disconnected BRT corridors and route systems, resulting in increased commuting distances and passenger time. Additionally, findings reveal that, in addition to costs, punctuality, and safety, the distance to the station and commuting time are key factors influencing passengers' decisions. Hence, implementing BRT in spatially complex areas like South Africa, with remnants of apartheid spatial planning, requires a multifaceted approach that considers passengers' needs within their contextual settings while pursuing equitable and sustainable transportation solutions. Despite its integrated network design, the BRT system could enhance its accessibility by considering direct highway routes to reduce travel times. Furthermore, implementing feeder systems in areas with narrow and smaller roads would minimise walking distances for passengers. Additionally, introducing flexible payment options, including cash and various card types, would better accommodate the diverse needs of the passengers.

7.5 Recommendations

There is no one-size-fits-all solution for engaging with the minibus taxi industry and bus rapid transit (BRT). However, before initiating any involvement in the public transportation system or implementing changes, it is important to consider the preconditions of the urban environment, as well as the economic and social factors that affect all stakeholders. Based on the comprehensive analysis of this research study, the following recommendations are proposed:

Minibus Taxi Industry

- i) Implement training for minibus taxi drivers to improve customer service.
- ii) Install speed monitors in minibus taxis to address speeding issues.
- iii) Minibus taxi association should enforce compliance with seating capacity regulations.
- iv) Implement clear protocols regarding vehicle switches to inform passengers in advance.

MyCiTi - BRT

- i) Consider 'BRT-lite' implementation in communities like Dunoon to address space limitations. In practice, MyCiTi could benefit from a two-tier bus system. Smaller, more agile buses operating within local neighbourhoods could act as feeders, bringing passengers to designated stops on the main MyCiTi routes. This would address "first and last mile" challenges, while larger buses handle longer-distance travel between stations.
- ii) Adopt a fare indication system similar to bank cards for clarity. Instead of showing points, it would show the exact currency amounts, for example, an amount used of R30 and a remaining balance of R100.
- iii) Introduce sensors to indicate to drivers when passengers are near the door.
- iv) The introduction of Global Positioning Systems (GPS) to track buses to provide real-time information and the information to be displayed in the digital boards in the stations.

Passenger Feedback Mechanism

- i) Implement a passenger feedback mechanism for public transportation. For example, an end-of-trip feedback system lets passengers make suggestions for improving the travel experience.
- ii) Highlight passengers' voices in the development of public transportation systems through participatory design processes.
- iii) Adopt a hybrid transport governance model incorporating paratransit services. This means utilising minibus taxis for first mile and last-mile trips, and BRT/light-rail for longer distances. The first and last mile is

the distance you cover between the transit stop and the destination. In addition, it is evident that social cohesion plays a significant role in how transport systems function, emphasizing either care-based or efficiency-driven values.

These recommendations are discussed in more detail below.

7.5.1 Minibus taxis industry

Based on the study's findings, the utilisation of minibus taxis as the primary mode of public transportation can be attributed to several factors, such as their speed, affordability, convenience, flexibility, and the absence of viable alternatives in certain areas. Consequently, the minibus taxi industry will continue playing a significant role in facilitating mass mobility and contributing to urban economies by addressing transportation needs. Rather than solely focusing on formalising the minibus taxi sector, it is more promising to explore ways of enhancing the quality of minibus taxi services for passengers, for example, training could be offered to minibus taxi drivers on how to better engage with customers and improve customer service. The recommendations for the minibus taxi industry are discussed in detail below.

One notable issue, as revealed by the study, pertains to the behaviour of minibus taxi drivers, who were frequently described as rude, dismissive, and displaying reckless driving tendencies. To address this concern, I recommend that minibus taxi drivers receive specialised training in customer service, and the implementation of improved mechanisms for passengers to lodge complaints without fear of reprisal. Furthermore, the study highlighted concerns regarding overcrowding and excessive speeding by minibus taxis. To mitigate these issues, minibus taxi associations should ensure compliance with seating capacity regulations by eliminating the practice of adding unauthorised seating. To enhance road safety and prevent speeding, minibus taxis could be equipped with speed governors, effectively limiting vehicle speed and promoting responsible driving practices among operators.

During the researcher's participant observation, frequent switching between minibus taxis on the route to Dunoon was observed, resulting in discomfort and frustration for passengers without prior communication. To alleviate this inconvenience, it is recommended that minibus taxi owners adopt and communicate clear protocols regarding vehicle switches to passengers in advance. Additionally, they should work with minibus taxi drivers to eliminate the practice of switching or shuffling passengers, thus ensuring a more efficient and organised

transportation experience. To improve passenger convenience and streamline the transportation process, minibus taxi ranks could be equipped with solar-powered digital boards providing clear signage indicating the destinations served by each operator. This readily accessible information would eliminate the need for passengers to navigate confusing arrangements and facilitate easy access to the appropriate minibus taxi.

7.5.2 MyCiTi -BRT

Regarding the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system, I would recommend that in communities such as Dunoon, 'BRT-lite' be considered for the future, which avoids the complex engineering required to construct a median station. Unlike a high-end BRT system, BRT-lite offers simpler bus shelters and does not require extensive infrastructure such as large stations and segregated busways, which may be challenging to implement due to space limitations in Dunoon. This recommendation aligns with the finding that the main road-accessible high-end BRT design results in considerable walking distances for residents to access the system.

Furthermore, based on my participant observation, inconsistencies in bus arrival times at the Stable Turnaround (Stables Depot) serving as the MyCiTi bus station caused initial confusion among passengers. The participants highlighted communication issues during MyCiTi delays. To address this issue of inaccurate and outdated information on digital announcement boards, I propose using Global Positioning Systems (GPS) to track buses themselves. This real-time connection would enable displaying accurate and up-to-date information regarding delays, ensuring that passengers are always well-informed.

Another finding that coincides with my participant observation is the points system used in MyCiTi for fare indication, which was perceived as confusing and lacking standardisation. I recommend adopting a system similar to bank cards, where the exact amount used and remaining balance are displayed. Instead of showing points, it would show the exact currency amounts.

Additionally, incidents were observed where passengers attempting to board the MyCiTi bus experienced sudden door closures, sometimes resulting in an individual's leg being trapped without warning. It remains unclear whether these incidents were caused by factors such as limited visibility for drivers or passengers rushing to catch the bus. To address this safety concern, I propose the introduction of sensors to indicate to the driver if someone is near the

door, eliminating the need for the driver to ensure all passengers have boarded the bus manually.

7.5.3 The case for a passenger feedback mechanism in public transportation

Based on the findings of this study, passengers rarely could provide feedback on their satisfaction with public transportation services. When feedback mechanisms are available, they are often inaccessible. While this was not the focus of the study, there is a need to implement a passenger feedback mechanism for each public transportation which can feed into the National Travel Survey by Statistics South Africa to capture further all the nuances of the passenger experience, such as aspects of accessibility and social cohesion elements. This feedback mechanism will assist in highlighting the voices of passengers and help to identify areas where improvement is needed in the development of public transport systems, shifting the focus from transport planners and urban planners.

Furthermore, based on my findings, I suggest that a hybrid transport model is the most sustainable way to improve passenger journeys in Dunoon. This model incorporates paratransit services, such as minibus taxis, bus rapid transit (BRT) and light-rail systems. In terms of the governance aspect of the hybrid transport model, while local government takes the lead on overall governance, diverse approaches may be employed for specific policy areas or partnerships within this model. These multiple governance modes could coexist and even overlap in their functionalities, to ensure that there's shared ownership and the essence of each mode of transport is not lost. The proposed governance model I proposed would be one that includes passengers, minibus operators, community groups, government agencies, and other stakeholders to have a say in shaping the transportation system's future. This collaborative governance model empowers diverse voices to contribute to decision-making, leading to more inclusive and effective solutions. It's evident that social cohesion plays a significant role in how transport systems function, emphasizing either care-based or efficiency-driven values. Paratransit services often embody care-based practices, such as payment flexibility. It seems plausible that passenger experience (good and bad) has a bearing on modal choice. Cape Town's re-evaluated approach towards a hybrid model, where minibus taxi operators provide feeder services while scheduled services provide trunk service, is a valid example of this (TDA 2018). Minibus taxis are well-suited to providing first-mile and last-mile trips, while BRT and light-rail systems are better suited for longer distances. This hybrid model allows for adaptation to the urban design of different areas.

7.5.4 Research methods used

The research methodology employed in this study, namely participant observation and semi-structured interviews, was crucial for gaining insights into the complex factors that passengers consider when choosing their mode of transportation. While it is relatively easy to recommend improvements to the system, the ability to use the modes of transportation themselves allowed me, as a researcher, to not only understand the complex dynamics at play but also to experience the things that people cannot articulate but experience. This allowed me to develop a deeper understanding of the system than could have been achieved through questionnaires alone.

7.6 Conclusion

This study sought to understand the factors influencing public transportation mode choice with a focus on minibus taxis and the MyCiTi bus rapid transit system in Dunoon, Cape Town. This study has highlighted the complexities and challenges of urban transportation in areas like Dunoon, where public transport systems like MyCiTi struggle with effectiveness due to specific urban design constraints. The research questions were pivotal in summarizing and discussing the empirical findings, which were grounded in a thorough review of relevant literature. Despite their well-documented issues, such as overcrowding, reckless driving, and a general lack of customer care, minibus taxis remain a vital component of the urban transport ecosystem in African cities.

This research advocates for a hybrid transport governance model that balances care-based and efficiency-driven values, particularly in integrating minibus taxis into the broader public transportation framework. The significance of minibus taxis extends beyond mere mobility, they play a crucial role in fostering social cohesion and economic activity, making them indispensable to the social fabric of these cities. Recognizing and including them in transport planning is essential for policymakers who aim to address the spatial and social fragmentation left by apartheid-era planning.

In addition, one of the findings highlights that the success of minibus taxis lies in their ability to adapt to passenger needs, an example of this is the persistence of mobility deprivation that is exhibited in responses from participants who are ‘captive’ to a single mode. Minibus taxis have a unique adaptability to quickly adjust to passenger needs in ways that more formal transport systems cannot. This flexibility not only improves passenger experience but also influences their choice of transport mode.

The concept of '*Sho't left*' which is a part of the title of the dissertation, further illustrates that passengers often desire more than just transportation; they seek flexibility, spontaneity, and social connections in their travel experiences.

Ultimately, this research contributes to the ongoing discourse on the integration of paratransit services, like minibus taxis, into formal public transportation. By acknowledging and leveraging the social significance of these services, policymakers can design transportation systems that are not only efficient but also inclusive, addressing the physical, social, and economic inequities that persist in African cities. Therefore, further research must be conducted in continuing efforts to answer the following question from the passenger's perspective: What are effective solutions to enhance the attractiveness and functionality of both minibus taxis and BRT in terms of user experience and journey satisfaction? Additionally, further research could focus also on the phenomenon of passengers being limited to a single mode of transport and its implications for societal mobility.

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Appendix 1: Ethical clearance



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
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9 August 2022

Dineo Mogotsi
Department of Environmental and Geographical Science

Is formalizing the minibus taxis in South Africa possible? Past efforts, future policy directions, and implications for the sector

Dear Dineo Mogotsi:

I am pleased to inform you that the Faculty of Science Research Ethics Committee has approved the above-named application for research ethics clearance, subject to the conditions listed below.

- Restrictions on involving human participants in research must be adhered to, given current concerns about the spread of Covid-19. Please ensure that you are aware of and comply with UCT policy on this, as communicated by management.
- Implement the measures described in your application to ensure that the process of your research is ethically sound; and
- Uphold ethical principles throughout all stages of the research, responding appropriately to unanticipated issues: please contact me if you need advice on ethical issues that arise.

Your approval code is: **FSREC 065 – 2022**

I wish you success in your research.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Mel Densmore'.

A/Prof Melissa Densmore
Chair: Faculty of Science Research Ethics Committee

Appendix 2: Consent form

DEPARTMENT OF ENVIROMENTAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL SCIENCE

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
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SOUTH AFRICA

RESEARCHER/S: Dineo Mogotsi
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Informed Voluntary Consent to Participate in Research Study

Why are minibus taxis the most chosen (preferred) mode of public transportation by passengers in Dunoon over other transport options?

Invitation to participate, and benefits: You are invited to participate in a research study conducted with minibus taxi associations, taxi bosses and city officials. The study aims to develop a framework for understanding what formalization and regulation means in the minibus taxi industry. I believe that your experience would be a valuable source of information, and hope that by participating you may gain useful knowledge.

Procedures: During this study, you will be asked to answer questions about your experiences and perceptions of the minibus taxi sector.

Recording: The audio will be transcribed and part of it will be quoted for qualitative data analysis for the thesis. There will be no use of any identifying information in quotes from audio recordings as confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained.

Risks: This study will be conducted as part of trying to develop a framework for understanding what formalization and regulation means in the minibus taxi industry, even though Covid-19 measures are reduced, however pre-cautions will remain a priority meaning that I will sanitize frequently during the interview. Other risks include time loss, which I want to mitigate by scheduling appointments with minibus taxi officials and city officials. Another risk is participants being identifiable, which I hope to mitigate by utilising pseudonyms and pronouns. All identifying information will be kept strictly confidential.

Disclaimer/Withdrawal: Your participation is completely voluntary; you may refuse to participate, and you may withdraw at any time without having to state a reason and without any prejudice or penalty against you. Should you choose to withdraw, the researcher commits not to use any of the information you have provided without your signed consent. Note that the researcher may also withdraw you from the study at any time.

Confidentiality: All information collected in this study will be kept private in that you will not be identified by name or by affiliation to an institution. Confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained as pseudonyms will be used.

What signing this form means: By signing this consent form, you agree to participate in this research study. The aim, procedures to be used, as well as the potential risks and benefits of your participation have been explained verbally to you in detail, using this form. Refusal to participate in or withdrawal from this study at any time will have no effect on you in any way. You are free to contact me, to ask questions or request further information, at any time during this research.

I agree to participate in this research (tick one box) Yes No _____ (Initials)
I agree to be audio-recorded Yes No _____ (Initials)
I agree to the use of properly anonymized audio recordings in the following way Yes No
_____ (Initials)

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Signature of Participant	Date
_____	_____	_____
Name of Researcher	Signature of Researcher	Date

Science Faculty Research Ethics Committee, updated 11 October 2021

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Appendix 3: Questions

Research questions:

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. What is your gender?
4. What do you do for a living?
5. How long have you lived here?
6. Who do you live with?
7. Do you live off your own income or other members of the family?
8. Where do you regularly travel to by either MyCiTi or minibus taxis? School, work, shops, clinic
9. What modes of public transport do you use regularly?
10. How many times in a week/month do you use minibus taxis/MyCiTi?
11. What other modes of public transport exist in the neighbourhood?
12. For what types of trips do you use these modes?
13. What informs your decision to use that mode of public transport?
14. How do you feel about the state of public transport in the community?
15. Have you ever used the MyCiTi in your neighbourhood since it began operating?
16. What do you like about using taxis/MyCiTi?
17. What do you not like about using minibus taxis/ MyCiTi?
18. On a scale of 1-5, 1 being very bad and 5 being very good, how would you rate the quality of service in minibus taxis/MyCiTi? (1: very bad, 2: bad, 3: neutral, 4: good, 5: very good)
Affordability, Safety and security, Availability, Comfort
19. If you had to change/improve anything about the minibus taxis/MyCiTi, you use, what would it be?
20. How do you feel about the conversation we have just had? Is there anything you want to ask me or clarify?