My City or Their City?
A case study of the Imizamo Yethu taxi industry and the MyCiti bus services in Hout Bay.

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A mini thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Magister Artium, in the Department of Political Science, University of the Western Cape.

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Democracy

Invited spaces

Invented spaces

Integrated Development Plan (IDP)

Public participation

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Modernism

MyCiti

BRT /IRT System

Taxi association

Abstract

South Africa has a growing economy with about 19 million of people going to work and looking for work every day (Ahmed 2004). The majority of people in South Africa use public transport in order to get to work. According to Ahmed (2004), 65 % of the people who use public transport, make use of the minibus taxis. The minibus taxis established themselves during late Apartheid as a solution to transporting poor, black people to and from work. Over the years during Apartheid and after, the minibus taxi industry has grown from a few, small scale businesses to a nationwide structured organisation (McCaul 1999). In 2007, the National Department of Transport created the Public Transport Strategy and Action Plan that would look at reorganising the transport system in South Africa. The main idea of restructuring the public transport system was to introduce a scheduled bus system which was reliable. In 2008, the City of Cape Town decided to begin plan and implement a new Bus Rapid Transport system (BRT system). This new transport system would be regulated and scheduled in order to make commuters movements around the city easier. (Ahmed 2004, 2-3)

The BRT can be seen through the lens of competitive cities (Huchzemeyer), a notion intimately tied to neo-liberal and high modernist world views. Neoliberalism fosters competition between countries and companies across the world. Countries who want to be competitive and attract foreign direct investment adopt the neoliberal policies in order to make investing, trading and profit making easier and more attractive for businesses, especially international investors. The City of Cape Town follows neoliberal thought in the sense of adopting policies aimed at creating a city that can compete on an international level with other cities (Integrated Development Plan 2012-2017). The Integrated Development Plan (IDP) provides the City of Cape Town with a strategic framework on how to create sustainable development and growth so that the City may grow and develop economically as well as socially. This entails creating a city that is capable of supporting and aiding business expansion and development in all sectors as well as ensuring that Cape Town remains a prime tourist destination in order to attract international and local investment (Integrated Development Plan 2012-2017).

In addition to a neo-liberal flavour, competitive cities invoke the high-handedness of modernist planning that Scott (1998) identifies in, 'Seeing like a State'. The theory explains how the state wants to create progress to improve the lives of the people by creating order out of the organic chaos that has emerged from the community/city over time. The outcome is that the State implements policy that eradicates the unique informal design and replaces it with a formal structure which can have a negative impact on the poor. This simplification is also often the reason why

many historical social and economic practises are lost and replaces with order and simplicity – loss of unique identity (Scott 1998).

These elements of the ideal competitive city are manifested in the BRT idea too. The City of Cape Town is in the process of trying to simplify and re-organise the transport system in the City in order to ensure that Cape Town fits into the mould of a competitive city. This new bus service will in effect eradicate the 'organic chaos' of the taxi industry as the taxis are replaced with MyCiti. The City of Cape Town used the process of public participation to consult with the taxi associations and owners. The City used 'invited spaces' (Cornwall 2002), to engage with the affected taxi parties and "sell" the idea of the BRT system. The City did use public participation; however, they only consulted the elites (Taxi owners and associations) in the taxi industry. Once the elites were satisfied that they would receive compensation for the loss of their business, they bought into the BRT system often at the expense of their voiceless employees.

In Imizamo Yethu, Hout Bay, the Hout Bay taxi association and Hout Bay Cape Town associations used invented spaces, namely protests, to engage with the City about MyCiti. These associations believe that the implementation of the BRT system has affected their livelihoods in a negative way and that the City did not consult them about the implementation of the MyCiti bus service. There are also other conflicts that have arisen because of the implementation of the MyCiti bus service which has impacted negatively on the community.

The result from the implementation of the BRT system is mixed. On one hand it would seem that the City of Cape Town has turned towards creating a competitive city and away from effects on the parlous lives of the poor. The City in conjunction with the ODA (full trading name), have tried to minimise the impact of the BRT system on the taxi micro-economy. However, those whose business was only partially affected have been left to fend for themselves. The problem, according to the City of Cape Town, is that there are limits to how much compensation they can give. Unfortunately, those left without compensation and loss of business are the victims of a society which favours straight lines compared to organic unique chaos.

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Declaration

I declare that "The dynamics of re-organising public transport in South Africa: A case study of the Imizamo Yethu taxi industry and the MyCiti bus services in Hout Bay" is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Full name:...Roslyn Anne Bristow..... Date: …27 May 2015...

Signed..

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I want to thank the entire Political Science Department at the University of the Western Cape, for all the support, knowledge and care. Each member is an asset to the future education of students and I am honoured to have had the privilege of being a postgraduate student in this department.

I would lastly like to thank my friends and family for all their love and support over these past two and a half years.

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1. Chapter One – Introduction

"Philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways, the point, however, is to change it"
– Karl Marx

The MyCiti bus system is relevantly new to South Africa and was first implemented in 2010. Since the Soccer World Cup in 2010, the bus system, which is often referred to as the Bus Rapid Transport System (BRT), has expanded around Cape Town, including south to Hout Bay. The BRT system has also been implemented in other cities around the country like Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth. The aim of the BRT system is to create a regulated, scheduled system that is safe and reliable (Ahmed 2004). The BRT system will eventually replace the existing mini bus taxis that have served as our public transport since the 1920's (TCT 2014).

Recently in Imizamo Yethu, the poor, black settlement in Hout Bay, there has been some conflict between the City of Cape Town and the resident taxi owners and drivers who operate their taxi businesses from the informal settlement. The conflict between the City and the taxi owners and drivers in Imizamo Yethu seems to centre on the lack of functional public participation between the two parties and the impact of the MyCiti bus on the taxi owner's businesses.

It is an important part of democracy that citizens have the right to participate in the decision making process; even if citizens only participate indirectly through a representative who speaks on behalf of their interests. Failed public participation can manifest into the eventual loss of freedom. In terms of the constitution, and indeed any account of democracy, citizens have the right to voice their opinions and exact change where they feel policy needs to be changed before it is implemented. More specifically in South Africa, the constitution and legal framework for local governance makes explicit commitment to the direct participation of the public in key aspects of local governance like budgeting and development planning. Thus this study looks at whether the taxi owners/drivers in Imizamo Yethu were able to influence the planning and implementing of the BRT system in Hout Bay.

This study is important because it looks at the practise of public participation at a time in South African history when dissatisfaction with the performance of local government, especially as regards to failure to engage and responsiveness. Hence the high and growing level of protests in poor communities around the country that Alexander (2010) terms the 'revolt of the poor'. A key element that feeds this frustration is that the focus of state-led development is often on the

infrastructure and in the interests of business instead of focussing on the needs and wants of the people who will be most affected by the development.

This study aims to determine the degree to which the informal taxi owners and drivers were able to influence the planning and implementation of the MyCiti bus in Hout Bay. The study will determine who the various actors are and what their role is with regards to the BRT system. The level of participation between the sets of actors will be examined as well as the degree with which the BRT system planning and implementation could be influence by the taxi owners and drivers.

The next part of this chapter will look at the methodology of the study and will end with the structure of the mini thesis.

1.1 Research Design and Methodology

"Research is to see what everybody else has seen, and to think what nobody else has thought." - Albert Szent-Gyorgyi

This section will explore the research design and methodology used in this mini thesis in order to understand the twisting path followed by the researcher in the field. The section begins with the research question and continues to document the methods used to gather and analyse the data.

This study takes on an interpretivist approach which is based on the premise that there is no objective social knowledge independent of our interpretation of it, and that knowledge is in important ways actually made up of our own experiences (Bryman 2008 15-16). This leads to the idea that knowledge is subjective or value-laden in nature (Bryman 2008 15-16). Interpretivism is about understanding human behaviour and trying to understand the social world from different peoples' points of view. Interpretivism is about trying to explain social action from a more subjective stance by taking the peoples' (under observation) understanding into account. I, as the researcher have collected a series of experiences from the different actors who are involved and affected by the BRT system in Imizamo Yethu. These experiences allow me to interpret and capture subjective knowledge about the dynamics between the actors and how each set of actors may influence each other.

The research question for my dissertation is:

How has the IY Taxi industry influenced the BRT system in Hout Bay?

The objectives of this study are to identify:

1. The actors that are involved and affected by the Bus Rapid Transport system (BRT), both formal office bearers and informal local leaders.

2. The nature and degree of participation between formal and informal actors in relation to government policy.

3. The nature and degree to which local/ informal actors are able to influence the planning, implementation and delivery of government policy.

From these objectives, six sub-questions were created that need to be answered in order to answer the main research question.

Sub-questions:

1. Who is the taxi industry in Hout Bay?
2. How did they operate before the BRT system?
3. What is the BRT plan?
4. How will the BRT plan be implemented?
5. What type of consultation took place between the City of Cape Town and the taxi associations/owners in IY?
6. What role did the taxi associations/owners play in the planning, implementation and delivery of the BRT system in IY?
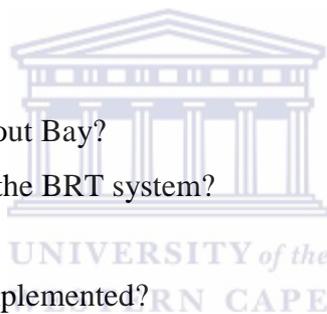
1.2 Research Design and Instruments

The research strategy for this study is qualitative in nature. Qualitative research is about gathering information to provide an in-depth understanding of a situation or behaviour. Therefore, qualitative data collection methods will be used to collect the data and qualitative data analysis methods will be used when analysing the data. The research design of this study is that of a case study and the type is exploratory. Exploratory case studies explore the different dynamics in a certain situation and why these dynamics have taken place (Rule & John 2011, 8). I have chosen this type of case study because it best suites my exploration into the various dynamics surrounding the MyCiti bus service and the Hout Bay taxi associations. The case study is set in the township called Imizamo Yethu

(IY) in Hout Bay. The study explores and unpacks the narratives from the different actors in the City of Cape Town and Imizamo Yethu. This case study forms part of a larger study coordinated by Professor L. Piper. The main point of using a case study research design is to gather detailed information in order to understand that one particular case at hand (Rule & John 2011, 1).

The case study research design has many advantages. Firstly the researcher is able to conduct an in depth investigation of their topic (Bryman 2011, 56). Better understanding and insight into the research area can be gained by doing a case study. The study of one case also helps with the time constraints of many research projects (Rule & John 2011, 21- 23). The researcher is able to focus on one case instead of running between cases trying to conduct field work and gather data that are involved in the research.

Imizamo Yethu is the case study for my research project. This informal settlement is situated just before one reaches Hout Bay. The informal settlement is perched on the slopes on the mountains and offers a beautiful view for its residents. However, the living conditions do not match the surroundings. Imizamo Yethu is a unique African informal settlement that was only formed at the end of Apartheid from around 1990. The settlement consists of both South African citizens and foreign citizens. The township is full of life and character and plays host to four taxi businesses.

Figure 1 – The entrance to Imizamo Yethu. Photo taken by Roslyn Bristow, 2014.

Two of these taxi businesses operate mini vans which drive people either to Cape Town or to Wynberg. The taxi association which drives people from Hout Bay to Cape Town are the Central Unit Taxi Association (Cuta). The taxi association which drives people from Hout Bay to Wynberg are the Cape Amalgamated Taxi Association (Cata).

The third and fourth business operates with medium to large cars that transport people from the bottom for the township up the mountain slope to the top and to the shopping complexes, beach and harbour in Hout Bay. The Hout Bay Association or Amahoender is the one association and the Hout Bay Cape Town Association or Amaphela is the other association both of which operate in Hout Bay.

Recently in 2014, the MyCiti bus transport system was implemented in Hout Bay and the bus runs past the entrance to Imizamo Yethu on its way to Cape Town. This township has provided me with a unique system to study. Imizamo Yethu has provided an excellent environment in which I researched my study.

In order to answer the research question, a series of in-depth interviews, focus groups and basic interviews were conducted. The data that needed to be collected was split into four different respondent groups.

The first set of respondents that needed to be interviewed was the elites in the department of transport in the City of Cape Town. The second set of respondents was the Taxi owners and drivers from the taxi associations of Central Unit Taxi Association (Cuta); Cape Amalgamated Taxi Association (Cata); Hout Bay Association or Amahoender; the Hout Bay Cape Town Association or Amaphela and community leaders in Imizamo Yethu. The data was collected with the use of in-depth interviews. Sampling was purposive for key informants in these associations and then proceeded by using the snowball technique. I began with two contacts that were city officials and taxi owners and then used these two contacts to establish at least three other contacts relevant to the research in each group. In-depth interviews were used to gather information that would allow the researcher to gain insight into the situation.

The third set of respondents was the informal taxi drivers and focus groups were conducted with them. The sampling that was used was also snowballing. I made contact with one or two people and then used these contacts to help me locate other local taxi drivers who would be willing to take part in the focus groups.

Focus groups are often conducted in qualitative research. A focus group is a method of interviewing a few people at a time (Bryman 2008, 473-476). The point of conducting a focus

group is to gain insight into how people think or feel about a certain topic. The group situation enables interesting issues to come to light that the participants feel are important. Focus groups also enable the researcher to gather more data at one point in time in an economical manner. Although the method does enable the researcher to gain in depth insight into the group dynamics, focus groups can also be problematic. The main problem that arises when using this method is the co-ordination of all the participants so that a meeting time and venue can be arranged and kept. As with interviews, focus groups are recorded so that the interviews/discussion can be transcribed and then coded and then analysed. Recording can cause problems in focus groups as people tend to talk over each other and the researcher has to be very careful when transcribing to differentiate between the voices (Bryman 2008, 473-476; Gaižauskaitė 2012, 19-30).

The fourth set of respondents was commuters on the taxis and busses going to and from Imizamo Yethu. I conducted short interviews with them to determine their views about the MyCiti bus service. These interviews were mainly closed ended questions and only took a maximum time of 10 minutes per interview. The answers to the basic interviews were recorded with a voice recorder. The in-depth interviews, short interviews and focus groups were recorded with the use of a voice recorder. These voice recordings were then transcribed so that they could be analysed.

1.3 Data Collection Process

I collected four sets of qualitative data from the end of April to November 2014. Each set of data (each respondent group) represents a different vantage point. This was to ensure that as a researcher I was able to triangulate my data and understand all sides of the narrative. I first interviewed two officials from the City of Cape Town and two respondents from the ODA (full trading name) in order to understand the process behind the restructuring of the transport system. The City of Cape Town officials gave insight into the planning and implementation stages as well as the consultation process that they used when beginning with the BRT project. The ODA offered information and insight into the negotiation process with the taxi owners/associations and the City if Cape Town. Respondents from the Public Protector's Office and the Provincial regulatory Entity where also interviewed telephonically and by email to get a more comprehensive grasp on some of the conflicts that have arisen from my research with the Imizamo Yethu taxi owners and drivers. The interviews with the City officials were insightful. The use of in-depth interviews worked well as the respondents were able to speak freely and explain in detail about the various processes and planning that went into the MyCiti bus service. I found this data collection method highly effective and I did not have any problems during the interviews with the various respondents.

The second group of respondents I collected data from were with taxi owners who lived in Imizamo Yethu and the informal settlement's community leaders. I interviewed three taxi owners who live and operate in Imizamo Yethu and three elders/ community leaders. These taxi owners have small businesses and tend to have one or two small cars that they use as taxis to take people in and around Hout Bay. The three elders/ community leaders were interviewed to understand the narrative of the BRT process from the side of the community leadership. The third group of respondents I collected data from with the use of four informal focus groups, were with the different taxi groups around Imizamo Yethu. Each informal focus group had a minimum of four people; however each group did not go above six people. I spoke to a group of Cuta taxi drivers, Cata taxi drivers, Hout Bay Cape Town taxi drivers and Hout Bay taxi drivers. I wanted to understand how each group operates and their thoughts of the BRT system. The use of focus groups worked well and the respondents felt comfortable speaking about their concerns. The main problem that arose when doing the focus groups was that English was not the respondents' first language. Fortunately I was able to acquire the help of a translator in the form of a fellow researcher. My fellow researcher was able to translate my questions to the group and then translate their responses to me as the focus group progressed. This method helped the respondents understand the actual meaning of my questions and I was able to get a proper understanding of their replies that were not edited due to a lack of English vocabulary. I also perceived that the respondents relaxed and opened up more when speaking their home language.
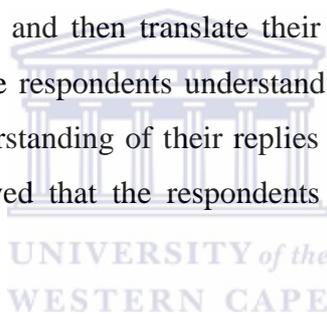
The fourth respondent group were the Imizamo Yethu residents who use the MyCiti bus and the taxis that travel to Cape Town. I conducted short interviews with the commuters at random. The reason for interviewing commuters was to get an idea of how people feel about the BRT system and why they use either the taxi or bus. I conducted 25 basic interviews with commuters standing in the bus and taxi lines waiting for transport. My sampling was random, but not representative, and I interviewed school children and adults working in Sea Point and City bowl area. The short interviews often turned into small focus groups as people standing on either side of the respondent joined in the conversation. I recorded these short interviews on a voice recorder. This method worked well and people were willing to speak to me. Many people were very honest in their answers and did not shy away from expressing their feelings about the MyCiti bus service and its comparison to the taxi services in the area.

These four sets of qualitative data from different respondent groups ensure that I have triangulated my research and minimised bias in my study. All my interviews were recorded on a voice recorder and I transcribed the interviews after they had been conducted. This data was then put together and coded according to themes.

1.4 Identity in the Field and Complications

I, as the researcher, am a white, female South African. I have preconceived ideas about the taxi industry and informal settlements. Thus, while doing this research I had to take care that my own ideas and prejudices did not come into my work. I tried to be open and non-judgemental about the participants and research area. I embraced my field work as a new experience where I could learn and grow as a person.

I conducted interviews with City Officials, Taxi owners and Community leader/ elders. I asked open ended questions to allow the participant to tell their side of the narrative. During the focus groups and interviews I made sure that my body language was relaxed and that the language I used was not convoluted. I explained what my research was about and also asked my fellow researchers to act as a translator for me when needed. This enabled my participants to feel relaxed and unthreatened by me as the interviewer. I can sometimes come across as a little intimidating so I tried to have a relaxed, friendly and open approach when dealing with my participants. I tried to be respectful towards my participants at all times and made sure that I dressed conservatively to ensure I did not make any of the participants uncomfortable.

I did find that as an English speaker with Afrikaans as my second language, I struggled to conduct interviews and focus groups with some of the taxi drivers. Some of the answers participants gave were short due to the fact that their first language was not English. However, I did manage to ask another researcher who does speak Xhosa to help with the focus groups and interviews. She helped translate the questions and answers. The participants responded well to being addressed in their own language. I also struggled to get in contact with some of the potential participants. However, by being persistent, I managed to secure an interview with them with the help of a fellow researcher who once lived in the area. He helped me with finding the contact information for my participants and helped introduce me to key participants.

My race is white and I was interviewing mainly Africa people in Imizamo Yethu. At first, I did find that people in the informal settlement that I wanted to interview thought I was a City official. However, as I explained to them that I was a student at the University of the Western Cape, they relaxed and did not seem as suspicious of me. I was lucky to have the help of one informant who knows most of the taxi drivers and owners in the area. This informant helped put me in contact with other people who I could interview. Once the people in Imizamo Yethu knew why I was there and that I was not a City Official they relaxed and opened up with their opinions about the MyCiti

bus service. I did not find that my race was a problem when I went to interview the City officials. They were open and helpful.

As a Master's student, I am also susceptible to researcher bias. I had to make sure that all the positive and negative aspects on the BRT system and the Taxi industry where incorporated into my mini-thesis. I could not allow my feelings about the taxi industry, Western Cape Government, or research area to cloud and tint my research. My feelings, prejudices and values had to be removed from interfering in my research.

I did find that some of my prejudices about townships and the taxi industry relaxed after meeting the different people in Imizamo Yethu. I have always lived a sheltered life and doing my field work in Imizamo Yethu was out of my comfort zone. However, after spending some time in the township I learnt that Imizamo Yethu was a community fighting for their existence. The people were just normal people trying to make ends meet from week to week. The township was not such a scary place after all. I also discovered that the taxi drivers were, in general, nice people. They often seem rather intimidating and are often associated with violence on the road. However, the taxi drivers I met were decent people, working hard to try and support their families. The experience of doing my field work in Imizamo Yethu helped to reshape my perceptions and expectations that surround townships and taxi drivers. I now see communities and people, not danger and fear. I feel that this field work experience enabled me to become a better person that is not so quick to judge and think according to stereotypes.

1.5 Data Processing and Analysis

The analysis consists of methodically coding all the data and extracting the relevant themes. Each set of data had to be analysed separately before it could be brought together in order to try and answer the sub-questions and eventually the main research question.

The object of collecting data from four different groups was to ensure that the project was not one sided and also so that the data could be compared against each other.   Triangulation is where the researcher gathers data in different ways about a certain subject or social issue from three different, but related sources. Triangulation ensures that the researcher gathers information/data that is credible (Bryman 2008, 377). Credibility in a research project is very important. As a researcher, one has to make sure that not only triangulation is used, but to ensure that research ethics are used and followed. The four groups of data that I collected ensured that I get information from every side and that my research is credible. It is also important to ensure that the data is correctly collected and transcribed. If this is not done, the reliability of the results can be questioned.

Validity looks at whether the researcher is measuring the variables correctly in the way that the researcher states (Bryman 2008, 377). The researcher needs to ensure internal validity whereby the observations of the researcher and the theories developed from these observations match. Thus is there a connection between the concepts and the observations? External validity is also very important for researchers. External validity is about being able to generalise the findings (Bryman 2008, 377). The problem with validity in this research project is external validity. As this study is a case study, the findings are specific to that particular case. The findings cannot necessarily be generalised across other social settings. It is very important for the researcher to ensure credibility, reliability and validity in the research project, as the findings and conclusion can be impacted negatively if not (Bryman 2008, 377).

1.6 Ethics

The study that was conducted is a qualitative study. Therefore it involves interacting with human subjects or people. As the researcher, I needed to interact with different people on different levels. Therefore as a researcher, I needed to ensure that I showed respect in my language, body language and appearance at all times during my field work.

This study may have presented a small amount of risk to the participants. The participants were asked to sign a consent form before any in-depth interview, basic interview or focus group was conducted. All personal information has remained confidential (if needed) and participants always have the option to remain anonymous. The study does not rely on using names; however, the identities of the participants have been protected by referring to participants in the findings as participant A or B etc. Information that has been deemed confidential or 'off the record' has not been added into the study. The consent forms and information sheet which will be given to each participant can be found in the appendix of this proposal.

The participants were not required to act in any manner which was disrespectful or shameful to their person. Participants were not required to answer any questions or take part in any focus groups which were distasteful, emotionally harmful, stressful or upsetting. This study has endeavoured to collect all the data in a relaxing, non-intimidating manner and to ensure the wellbeing of the participants at all times during the interviews and focus groups. All participants had the right to stop participating in the study at any point in time.

All data which was collected was kept in a locked filing cabinet at all times. All the recorded and transcribed data in electronic form was loaded onto an external hard drive and was also kept under lock and key in a safe. There was no data kept on my personal computer or any other household

computer. All data has been stored on the hard drive. Once the files have been imported onto the hard drive, the voice recorder's hard drive was wiped clean.

1.7 Structure of Dissertation

The arguments for this dissertation move from the transport problem in South Africa to the dynamics of the re-organisation of the transport system and the effects this process has on the people at grass roots level. South Africa has a growing economy with about 19 million of people going to and from work every day (Ahmed 2004). The majority of people in South Africa use public transport in order to get to work. According to Ahmed (2004), 65 % of the people who use public transport, make use of the mini bus taxis. The minibus taxis started in the 1920's, but really began to develop in later decades. The minibus taxi business was started in response to a business opportunity to provide their people with a service that would enable them to get to and from work in an easier way that was also more cost effective. Over the years during Apartheid and after, the minibus taxi industry has grown from a few, small scale businesses to a nationwide structured organisation (McCaul 1999). In 2007, the National Department of Transport created the Public Transport Strategy and Action Plan that would look at reorganising the transport system in South Africa. This system is to be implemented in a number of major cities like Cape Town and Johannesburg.

The main idea of restructuring the public transport system was to introduce a scheduled bus system which was safe and reliable. In 2008, the City of Cape Town decided to begin plan and implement a new Bus Rapid Transport system (BRT system), also known as the Integrated Rapid Transport system (IRT) in Cape Town (CCT 2013, 12-15). This new transport system would not only integrate different modes of transport but the bus system would be regulated and scheduled in order to make commuters movements around the city easier (Ahmed 2004, 2-3). The methodology section outlines the research question which asks how the Imizamo Yethu taxi industry has influenced the BRT system; as well as the process and methods used to collect the data. This project is a case study of the taxi industry in Imizamo Yethu in Hout Bay. The data was collected with the use of qualitative data capturing methods such as in-depth interviews, basic interviews and informal focus groups. The data was then coded according to theme in order to be analysed. This mini thesis will endeavour to answer this question and provide insight into the planning and implementation of the BRT system. (CCT 2013, 12-15)

The second chapter looks at the history of transport in South Africa, especially that of the taxi industry which began in the 1920's. The taxi industry in South Africa began in the early 1900's but really only look off in the 1970' and 1980's. The apartheid system and laws played a role in the

formation of the taxi industry and unintentionally helped shape it into what it is today. This chapter also looks at the timeline for the implementation of the BRT system and why National Government decided that the transport network in the bigger cities needed to be improved upon. In essence this chapter looks at the history of transport in South Africa and some of the problems in our transport sector.

The third chapter looks at the theoretical framework used in this project. This framework has provided the lens through which I, as the researcher, have viewed the relationships within this case study. The BRT can be seen through the lens of competitive cities (Huchzemeyer), a notion intimately tied to neo-liberal and high modernist world views. Neoliberalism fosters competition between countries and companies across the world. Countries who want to be competitive and attract foreign direct investment adopt the neoliberal policies in order to make investing, trading and profit making easier and more attractive for businesses, especially international investors. The City of Cape Town follows neoliberal thought in the sense of adopting policies aimed at creating a city that can compete on an international level with other cities. The Integrated Development Plan (IDP) provides the City of Cape Town with a strategic framework on how to create sustainable development and growth so that the City may grow and develop economically as well as socially. This entails creating a city that is capable of supporting and aiding business expansion and development in all sectors as well as ensuring that Cape Town remains a prime tourist destination in order to attract international and local investment.

In addition to a neo-liberal flavour, competitive cities invoke the high-handedness of modernist planning that Scott (1998) identifies in, 'Seeing like a State'. The theory explains how the state wants to create progress to improve the lives of the people by creating order out of the organic chaos that has emerged from the community/city over time. The outcome is that the State implements policy that eradicates the unique informal design and replaces it with a formal structure which can have a negative impact on the poor. This simplification is also often the reason why many historical social and economic practises are lost and replaces with order and simplicity – loss of unique identity (Scott 1998).

These elements of the ideal competitive city are manifest in the BRT idea too. The City of Cape Town is in the process of trying to simplify and re-organise the transport system in the City in order to ensure that Cape Town fits into the mould of a competitive city. This new bus service will in effect eradicate the organic chaos of the taxi industry as the taxis are replaced with MyCiti. The City of Cape Town used the process of public participation to consult with the taxi associations and owners. The City used 'invited spaces' (the City organised public participation meetings with the

various role players) (Cornwall 2002) to engage with the affected taxi parties and "sell" the idea of the BRT system. The City did use public participation; however, they only consulted the elites (Taxi owners and associations) in the taxi industry. Once the elites were satisfied that they would receive compensation for the loss of their business, they bought into the BRT system often at the expense of their voiceless employees.

In Imizamo Yethu, Hout Bay, the Hout Bay taxi association and Hout Bay Cape Town associations used invented spaces, namely protests, to engage with the City about MyCiti. These associations believe that the implementation of the BRT system has affected their livelihoods in a negative way and that the City did not consult them about the implementation of the MyCiti bus service. There are also other conflicts that have arisen because of the implementation of the MyCiti bus service which has impacted negatively on the community.

The fourth and fifth chapter looks at the data collected from the various respondents. These two chapters also look at the case study through the lens of the theoretical framework to understand the relationships at play. The first chapter looks at the different actors and their actions with regards to the BRT system. The second chapter looks at the conflicts that have manifested since the implementation of the BRT system in Hout Bay.

The result from the implementation of the BRT system is mixed. On one hand it would seem that the City of Cape Town has turned towards creating a competitive city and away from effects on the lives of the poor. The City in conjunction with the ODA, have tried to minimise the impact of the BRT system on the taxi micro-economy. However, those whose business was only partially affected have been left to fend for themselves. The problem is that the City of Cape Town can only do a certain amount of damage control. Those left without compensation and loss of business are the victims of a society which favours straight lines compared to organic unique chaos.

The implementation of the BRT system has highlighted that although public participation may occur, it does not necessarily mean that the people at grass roots level are able to affect the outcome of policy planning or implementation. In the case of the BRT system in Cape Town, public participation was held with the top taxi bosses. Once the top taxi elites were sold on the BRT idea, it was left in their hands to inform their drivers and other employees about the implementation of the MyCiti bus system and how it would affect them. In the end, there was nothing the taxi drivers could do to retain their jobs as their bosses had literally 'bought' into the BRT system.

In conclusion, the MyCiti bus system has created a safe, timely transport network about the city of Cape Town which aids in the development and growth of the city and its potential investments.

However, the implementation of this system has affected many people who were in the affected taxi associations. The outcome of this study shows that people on grass roots level do not have the resources to influence policy planning or implementation through the public participation process. A threat of violence and/ or destruction manages to get a better response from City Officials. This outcome is not true for those who have resources, as in the case of the taxi elites. If the taxi elites did not support the BRT system, the City of Cape Town would never have been able to move forward with the project for fear of unrest and violence that the taxi industry is so well known for. Through the compensation of the taxi bosses for their business and licences, the City of Cape Town ensured that the affected taxi bosses would support the BRT system and help develop the MyCiti bus services that the taxi elite have now become a part of. It would seem that resources command attention and if you do not have resources, violence may be the only way to have your voice heard.

2. Chapter Two- Transport in South Africa

This chapter looks at the history and structure of the taxi industry in South Africa and how it emerged to help supplement the lack of public transport during Apartheid. The chapter then moves on to briefly examine the implementation of the Bus Rapid Transport system (BRT) or Integrated Rapid Transport system (IRT) in Cape Town.

South Africa has a history of racial segregation and oppression. Dating back to when the first European settlers came to the Cape, the native people living on the land have been exploited and degraded. Since the 19th Century, laws have been put in place to separate people according to race (South African History Online). In 1948 when the National Party won the elections, the 'state of being apart' was cemented into place. All laws made from this point were done in reference to the idea that people of different races should be kept apart in all aspects of life. Laws and policies that were implemented during this time were generally to the disadvantage of people of colour (South African History Online). Non-white people were perceived as second rate citizens and were treated as such. Policies such as the Bantu Education Act of 1953 ensured that the education received by non-whites was inferior to that received by white children (South African History Online). The thought behind this education act was to train the black people for a lifetime of servitude. Therefore, black children were only taught the basics in academics and rather taught skills which would ensure they could only be labourers. The aim of this was to keep the oppressed in their place. Other acts included the Population Registration Act of 1950; the Group Areas Act of 1950; Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, 1953 (South African History Online). These laws were instilled in order to keep the majority of the South African population suppressed, impoverished and dehumanised. People of colour were not able to have the same opportunities as the white people and for this reason could not develop their skills, knowledge and economic wellbeing. One of the legacies of Apartheid that is still seen today is the lack of education and skills that people of colour have access to where they live. Therefore, people of colour are still struggling to dig themselves out of the poverty hole they were put in during apartheid. (South African History Online)

The Group Areas Act of 1950 dictated that people of different races live in different areas. Generally, the white people were able to live in the town or city. The other race groups were placed at varying distances away from the different towns and cities. People of colour could only rent the plot they lived on, while white people could own their plot of land. This act also influenced the transport system in the country. In order to get to work, black and coloured people had to travel

some distance to get to the city or town. Trains often ran early in the morning and later in the afternoon. Due to the number of passengers, trains and busses were often overcrowded. Transport became a major problem for non-whites who lived outside the cities and industrial areas. The Apartheid government built wonderful infrastructure within the 'white' areas. This, however, did not happen in the non-white areas. Trains and busses in non-white areas were always full and often did not run on time. Workers found that it would be quicker to walk than wait the five or six hours for the bus or train (McCaul 1990). It was against this backdrop of inequality, cruelty and a transport shortage that the prominent taxi industry in South Africa was formed and developed. African Entrepreneurs saw that there was a gap in the transport market during the latter half of the 1900's and that they could make a different in other people's lives by providing a transport service that would cater to their needs.

Towards the end of Apartheid, the taxi industry grew despite the efforts of the Apartheid government to remove the industry (discussed in section below). In 2008 the taxi industry was faced with what seems to be another attempt by government to remove the industry and regulate public transport. The result of the BRT system, however, is not the total removal of the taxi industry but the incorporating of the taxi people into a new regulated public transport system; which is said to not only provide good and safe public transport for the passengers but also provides a better work environment for those previously from the taxi industry. This chapter looks at the history of transport in South Africa from the 1920's. The development and structure of the taxi industry is explained as well as the development of the BRT system in general.

2.1 The History of Transport in South Africa

The inadequacies of South Africa's public transport came to life by the time the Apartheid system began in the country. There is no doubt that without technology, public transport would have been difficult to begin with. However, it was the laws and policies put in place by the Apartheid government that created an unsustainable system doomed to fail from the very beginning.

Apartheid is an Afrikaans word which means to be apart or divided. This system of racial segregation and oppression was brought in by the National Party when they came to power in 1948. The world at this point had just emerged from the Second World War and the images and accounts of the atrocities of the Nazi Regime and some of its allies were emerging from rubble. Yet against this global backdrop of the horrors being brought to light, a system somewhat similar to some of the Nazi policies and laws emerged and took hold of South Africa for 42 years. The effects of this system are still felt today, 20 years after the beginning of democracy in 1994.

The Apartheid system promoted the interests of the minority of the population which were the Dutch, British and French (European) settlers who had come to South Africa since the late 1600s. These European settles had now been established as the 'white' people and they held the power over the majority of the population. The majority of the population was comprised of African tribes (majority) and coloured people and Indian people. The government implemented different laws to segregate and oppress the majority of the population while allowing the white minority to prosper.

One of the first laws to be passed by the Apartheid government was the Group Areas Act, Act No 41 of 1950. This Act made sure that people from different race groups did not live near each other. The government allocated different living areas for each racial group (Bobby- Evans 2011). The white people would have generally been assigned the best and most convenient living areas. These areas would have been around the centre of the town or city. The people of colour would have been assigned residential areas away from and outside the town or city. Thus people of colour would have had to travel farther distances to and from work every day compared with the white people. The government the created homelands for the African people under the Bantu Authorities Act, Act No 68 of 1951. This Act ensured that African people who did not have special permission to live in the town or city would be moved to these 'homelands' where they could establish regional authorities (Bobby- Evans 2011). This ensured that most African people were out of the vicinity of any town or city. The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, Act No 49 of 1953 compounded and formalised this segregation by not allowing people of colour to use the same beaches, pools, parks, doorways or any type of amenities as a white person (Bobby- Evans 2011). This meant that people of colour could not use the same busses, trams or trains as a white person. This idea had been in practise for some time before the Act was passed, however, the Act just solidified the bizarre practise. Many of the Apartheid laws made life incredibly difficult and degrading for people of colour. The only way the majority could express their extreme unhappiness was to protest and use violence.

Public transport in the cities and towns was designed for the use of white people. Thus transport in and around towns and cities by trams, busses and train would have been at a good standard (South African History Online). Public transport for the people of colour to use in order to get to and from work was not of the same standard. Protests against the different modes of transport occurred often and for different reasons. However, the general reason for the protest was due to fare increases and the frustration of having to use a transport system that did not cater to the needs of the majority of the population. (South African History Online)

The boycott against the Evaton Bus Company in 1950 was due to the frustration of passengers having to deal with fare increases and bad services. It was at this time that the bus company decided to only drive on the tarred roads. Thus people wanting to catch the bus, who lived in the African areas, would have had to walk a distance to get to the bus stop which was on a tarred road. There was a boycott of the Public Utility Transport Corporation (PUTCO) in 1957 for an increase in fares and service related issues. The forced resettling of communities also aggravated the problem because the distances travelled grew greater and therefore so did the cost of travelling. (South African History Online)

Due to the lack of public transport and the desperate need for some type of reliable transport for the people of colour, entrepreneurs seized the opportunity to help their fellow communities. They started to drive people to their destinations for a fee. This fee was often far less than then bus or train far and the travel time was considerably less. Although the taxis industry started in the 1920, it only took off between 1970 and 1980 due to rapid urbanisation in the various areas outside the cities and towns and the change in the Motor Carrier Transport Act of 1930 (discussed in section below).

In 1994, the ANC government had the considerable task of trying to stitch the country back together again and correct the flaws of the past. The public transport system is just one section that needed to be corrected. After 12 years of trying to gain momentum to develop and upgrade the transport system, the process of regulating the transport system finally started being planned and implemented. The question is what will happen in the future to the organic solution to a lack of transport meaning the taxis? Will the taxi industry resist the process of regulation or will they be incorporated to form a new system of transport.

2.2 History of Taxis

As noted above, South Africa has a growing economy with about 19 million people going to work every day (Ahmed 2004). The majority of people in South Africa use public transport (busses, trains, taxis) in order to get to work. The taxi industry grew and developed without many problems from the 1920s until the Le Roux Commission in 1930 that introduced new laws that enabled the restriction and growth of the taxi industry. The Motor Carrier Transport Act of 1930 (the 1930 Act) was implemented to help protect the Railways from increase in the use of trucks and other road carriers (Khosa 1992, 234). As moto vehicles became more prominent, companies may have made the decision to transport goods with trucks as it is considered quicker than transportation by rail. These laws ensured that competition with the Railway was kept in check.

The 1940s and 1950s brought in new complications for African people who wanted to start businesses. The Apartheid government wanted to restrict African people from owning and running businesses, therefore black people could not hold business rights for businesses that operated outside of their assigned land under the Group Areas Act. These laws not only affected general businesses like shops, but they also affected the taxi industry. The taxi industry was restricted by the type of vehicle allowed, licensing and by the number of passengers that one was allowed to transport. Many African people saw these restrictions and laws against African businesses as a strategy used by the "white" government to ensure that African businesses did not develop grow and prosper, but instead African businesses suffered and struggled to stay afloat (Khosa 1992, 234). The process for acquiring a licence that allowed a person to own and operate the early taxi was in itself a troublesome task. Dugard (2001) explains that African people had to produce proof that they lived and were registered in the magisterial area; that they had a good employment record and that they had a Daily Labours Permit. Even if one had all this proof, the Local Road Transportation Board generally rejected the various applications.

The fate of the taxi industry changed in 1977 when the Motor Carrier Transport Act of 1930 (the 1930 Act) was replaced by the Road Transportation Act (Behrens and Schalekamp 2010, 372). This new Act allowed taxi owns to apply for a 'road carrier permit'. The new Kombi allowed taxi drivers to transport up to eight passengers instead of the usual four and the new Road Transportation Act enabled taxi owners to get permits which classified them as 'busses' and therefore allowed to carry up to eight passengers (Khosa 1992, 235). Behrens and Schalekamp (2010) note that although these permits were still incredibly difficult to obtain, the demand for transport by taxi was increasing. This led to many drivers operating illegally. Barrett (2003) explains that due to the Pass Laws that excluded African people from the City centres and industrial areas unless they had work in those areas; people had to travel from their homes which were

situated a fair distance from the towns and cities where they worked. The commute by bus or train into the town or city became very expensive for many workers (Barrett 2003). This led to more people deciding to use the services of a taxi. The taxi industry at this point was filling in the gaps in transport that the State could not and would not fill.

The expansion of the taxi industry during this time enabled many taxi owners to upgrade from their four seater sedans to the ten seater kombis. This change from the sedans to the kombis enabled the taxi drivers to carry more people and lead to a decrease in passengers on the busses (McCaul 1990, 41). The Apartheid government decided to set up the Welgemoed Commission of enquiry into the bus transportation situation. The bus companies expressed their concern that the taxis were essentially stealing their customers (McCaul 1990, 41). The commission came to the agreement that the bus companies needed to be protected from the taxi industry. The commission agreed that the government needed to expand and strengthen the bus services and that in fact; the taxi industry needed be phased out over the next few years (McCaul 1990, 41).

This action was met with fierce opposition from the taxi owners. Thus another enquiry was commissioned, the National Transport Policy Study (NTPS) and it was found that taxis which transported 15 passengers should be allowed to compete with the bus companies. The NTPS also recommended that the illegal taxis be given proper licences. This eventually led to the 1987 White Paper on National Transport Policy, where it was decided that the competition within the transport industry would be allowed and passenger transport would be deregulated (Behrens and Schalekamp 2010, 372). 1988 saw the implementation of the Transport Deregulations Act and the number of passenger transport permits increased by over 2537% (Khosa 1992). The South African Black Taxi Association objected to the deregulation of passenger transport because they believed that deregulation would lead to violence and chaos. Unfortunately, as subsequent developments confirmed, SABTA was overruled by the NTPS and deregulation took place.

At this time South Africa was going through a period of transition. Apartheid was coming to an end. In 1990 Nelson Mandela was released from prison and just four years later the country held its first democratic elections. During this time, the taxi industry had mushroomed and it became evident that the market was over saturated (Behrens and Schalekamp 2010, 372; McCaul 1999). Barrett (2001) explains that as the market grew and became over saturated, taxi owners had to resort to fighting to keep their particular routes, ranks and customers. This led to what has been termed taxi wars, where different taxi groups fight each other for the right to certain routes. McCaul (1990, 85-88) states that taxi wars do not only occur between different associations, they can also occur between members from the same association. This situation also happens when members break

away from their association and try to form a new association. The new association then tries to claim certain routes and ranks as their own. Thus fighting between the various groups breaks out. Often violence breaks out when members of an association do not follow the rules and ethical code. McCaul (1990, 87) explains the reason for the use of violence is that the taxi industry has a degree of 'gang' mentality.

Chaos and violence plagued the taxi industry until the government decided in 1996 to set up the National Taxi Task Team which would help create some order in the chaotic taxi world. The process of regulation began to rectify the past process of deregulation. Since then people who want to own taxis need to join a taxi association and routes are assigned to owners based on demand. Taxi drivers need to have a licence in order to operate their mini buses (McCaul 1990). However, even though the taxi industry is restricted by laws, over 30 to 50 percent of the operating taxis are still illegal (Khosa 1992, 234). Taxi wars and violence was often and still is a result of legal taxi operators trying to eliminate the illegal competition.

2.3 Taxi Structure

The taxi business is about transporting people to and from their destinations. Khosa (1992) describes the different taxi personnel that one comes in contact with in the industry. Firstly there are taxi owners/drivers. These people want to be part of the taxi industry and therefore buy a taxi and drive it themselves. As their profit grows they may hire a taxi driver or even expand and buy another minibus (Khosa 1992, 236). The taxi owner/baron owns three or more taxis. He hires drivers to drive the taxis on particular routes (Khosa 1992, 236). Secondly, there are the taxi drivers. The taxi driver has to pay the taxi owner a particular amount per day. This can easily be in the region of R1000 (2014 estimate). Whatever else the driver makes is his pay for the day. Therefore, the more people in the taxi and the more trips with a full taxi will determine how much the drive will take home at the end of the day. If the driver gets traffic fines, he has to pay them out of his cut of the money. The taxi owner/baron may help pay for the release of the minibus if it gets impounded and this can cost up to R8000 (2014 cost).

At the taxi rank there are queue marshals who log the arrival and departure of every taxi and guide people to the different taxis. The queue marshal is also meant to ensure that each taxi gets their fair share of passengers and tells the taxi when they are full and can leave (Khosa 1992, 236). Today there are also 'gartjies' (card/ ticket holder) who occupy the front seat next to the driver. These gartjies collect the fare from the passengers and alert passengers as to where the taxi is going. The taxi rank can be seen as a micro economy. Each rank often has people selling items. The taxis are

often washed and serviced by people who are part of the community. Through the taxi industry, many people are able to find some type of work.

2.4 Taxi Organisations

The taxi industry may seem like chaos, but in fact it is a highly organised and professional industry (McCaul 1990, 73). Some of the taxi organisations/umbrella bodies have been around for over 50 years. Each taxi operator/driver drives a particular route each day. The route is claimed and monopolised by a particular taxi owner. Thus one or two taxis have the right to operate on that route. In order to claim a route or rank the taxi owner needs to be part of a taxi association. The taxi association is a local group of people who want to operate in a particular area. Once the association has been formed and registered with the Provincial Government, the group of taxi owners and drivers may then apply for ranks and routes. If a taxi owner does not belong to a registered association, they are deemed to be operating on an illegal basis. The taxi association has control over the taxi rank (McCaul 1990, 73). The taxi association is able to get permission to use the taxi rank from the local municipality (McCaul 1990, 73). The taxi association will also verify that the owner is part of the association when the owner wants to apply to the Provincial Regulatory Entity (PRE) for a permit to drive on a particular route. The demand and supply of each route is also calculated to ensure that the market is not over saturated.

Each taxi association belongs to an umbrella body. The Congress for Democratic Taxi Associations (Codetta), Cape Amalgamated Taxi Association (Cuta) and SABTA are examples of these umbrella bodies. These organisations help ensure that the associations are running within the legal parameters and if the association has any problems they can approach their umbrella body for help and guidance. They also negotiate with government when policies come into play that will have an effect on their members and help deal with labour issues.

In the case of Imizamo Yethu, there are four different taxi associations that I found during my field work. Two of these taxi businesses operate mini vans which drive people either to Cape Town or to Wynberg. The taxi association which drives people from Hout Bay to Cape Town are the Central Unit Taxi Association (Cuta). The taxi association which drives people from Hout Bay to Wynberg are the Cape Amalgamated Taxi Association (Cata).

The third and fourth businesses operate with medium to large cars that transport people from the bottom for the township up the mountain slope to the top and to the shopping complexes, beach and harbour in Hout Bay. The Hout Bay Association or Amahoender (chickens) is the one association and the Hout Bay Cape Town Association or Amaphela (cockroaches) is the other association both of which operate in Hout Bay.

All four of these businesses have seen that there is a need for transport to different areas and they have found a solution by providing that transport for a fee. Most taxi businesses work in this fashion. Scott (1998) explains that when there is a problem in a community, the local people often find a unique way to fix the problem. This is exactly what the taxi industry has done over the decades. The only problem is that this economic creativity is often met with economic competition by other business owners and in the case of the taxi industry, this competition for better economic turnover generally leads to violence and wars between different taxi groups. In Hout Bay the competition is now not only with other taxi associations or illegally operating drivers and owners, these taxi associations now also have to compete with the MyCiti bus. This competition could lead to infighting between the taxi drivers and fighting against the MyCiti bus system.

2.5 Transportation Restructuring

The transport system in South Africa has both during Apartheid and democracy been in need of some attention. The taxi industry which began in the 1920s did help to fill the gaps that were left by the rail and bus inadequacies. The problem with the taxis is, however, that they are not considered very safe for passengers. This is especially seen over the festive season when taxis are involved in terrible accidents along the national roads due to over loading or poor driving skills. Six years after democracy, the ANC government decided that the transport system in South Africa needed to be improved upon and regulated in order to encourage public safety, growth, development and investment. Thus the National Land Transport Transition Act of 2000 (NLTTA) was created to start the process of improving the passenger transportation as it was first brought to light in the 1996 White Paper on Transportation (Behrens and Schalekamp 2010, 373). However, the execution of the NLTTA did not manage to get off the ground. In 2006 with the announcement that South Africa would be hosting the 2010 Soccer World Cup, Government moved into action and produced the National Land Transport Strategic Framework (NLTSF) for 2006-2011. This framework helped started the process of planning and implementing the various programmes given by the National Department of Transport. The National Department of Transport produced two documents, the National Strategy to Accelerate Public Transport (NDoT, 2006b) and the Public Transport Strategy (NDoT, 2007a), which detailed and proposed a new public transport system that consisted of a restructuring the bus and rail services called the Integrated Rapid Public Transport Network (IRPNT). The idea that these two documents put forward was taken from the South American example of the BRT system in Bogotá, Columbia (Behrens and Schalekamp 2010, 373). The BRT system is a network of busses that reach into the cities and urban areas. These busses run very similarly to the underground trains in England. The government proposed that since the Soccer World Cup was to be held in 2010, the cities which would hold matches would become

priority. These cities such as Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth would be the first to implement the first few phases of the BRT system (which forms part of the IRPNT).

2.6 Cape Town Implementation of MyCiti

The National Department of Transport tasked each appointed city to begin the process of planning and implementing the new public transport model, concentrating with the main areas surrounding the stadiums. In October of 2007, the City of Cape Town established the project office which would deal with the planning and implementation of the BRT system. This new transport system would be regulated and scheduled in order to make commuters movements around the city easier (Ahmed 2004, 2-3; CCT 2013, 12-15).

The taxi industry was not to be left out of the transportation reorganisation. The BRT system would incorporate some of the taxi owners, drivers and other former taxi employees. The idea utilised in Cape Town was to try as best as possible incorporate the people who formed the taxi industry in the new BRT system. The Western Cape Government decided to send officials to visit South America in order to better understand the BRT System (Ahmed 2004, 8; TCT 2014). A group of officials went to Bogota where they were shown how different modes of transport such as walking and cycling had been accommodated and integrated with the BRT system and its facilities (Ahmed 2004, 8). The officials reported that the BRT system in Bogota operates without a subsidy as the cost of the fares cover the cost of operation (Ahmed 2004, 8).

The Western Cape Government also sent representatives from the taxi and bus industries (Ahmed 2004, 8). This enabled these representatives from each industry to get a better understanding of what the BRT system would entail and how they could become part of it. In Bogota, the previous taxi owners and drivers had moved to the BRT system and were now either business partners or bus drivers (Ahmed 2004, 8). Thus they had not been forgotten and had their livelihoods taken away from them. The Western Cape Government with the City of Cape Town decided to engage in this idea and implement it in Cape Town. The City of Cape Town and other advisory partners had the difficult task removing the taxis to make space for the MyCiti bus network. This process was not simple and comprised of hours negotiating and planning as can be seen in the Transport for Cape Town (TCT) Integrated Public Transport Network Plan 2023 (TCT 2014; CCT 2013, 12-15).

The MyCiti bus network would be implemented in different phases. In each phase, as the bus system was brought in, the taxis on those particular routes were removed. The City of Cape Town held meetings with the taxi owners to explain the process of the implementation of the BRT System. The City of Cape Town compensated those taxi owners who were directly affected by the MyCiti busses and engaged in consultation with other partially affected owners. The Western Cape

Government stated that "As part of the implementation programme for the Vision and Delivery plan, consultation and effective communication is therefore one of the key requirements for success" (Ahmed 2004). The Soccer World Cup arrived in 2010 and the new MyCiti bus system started in Cape Town without any major problems. (CCT 2013, 12-15)

In 2014, the MyCiti bus routes have expanded from the centre of Cape Town, up the West Coast and around to Hout Bay. In two to three years' time, the bus network will start to move into the Southern Suburbs of Cape Town. Although the MyCiti bus system has created good jobs for many people formally in the taxi industry, there are many who are not happy with the restrictions that the MyCiti system has placed on them and their business. This is the case in Imizamo Yethu, Hout Bay. The next chapter will look at the different theories that will be used as a lens to analyse the data collected. These theories look at the actions of the state and how many governments now see their cities in terms of businesses and the revenue they can make.

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3. Chapter Three - Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this research project is constructed on the concepts of Democracy, Neoliberalism, Modernism and Public participation. It will be used to evaluate how the City of Cape Town interacted with the Imizamo Yethu Community in relation to the BRT bus system. This chapter will illustrate how the state of democracy and the state's use of capitalism, has enabled neoliberal practices to evolve and develop to create an air of competiveness amongst business and even countries and their cities.

In what follows I will demonstrate that the state wants to attract investment and business in order for the economy to grow and develop (IPD 2012-2017). To accomplish this, the state needs to ensure that there is order, progress and regularity instead of organised chaos. The organic informal "chaos" that develops from the streets and lives of the people in a particular society is replaced with a simplified vision to promote and ensure development, competition and growth. The question is to what degrees are the people on the ground able to influence the simplified version in order to retain some of their unique organise "chaos" before it is completely replaced?

In making this case I begin by first discussing democracy and then look at the links between neoliberalism, capitalism and modernism in relation to the state and how this affects the policies implemented by the government.

Democracy is a concept which has been around since the time of Aristotle. It is a form of government or regime, claimed by most governments across the world today and dictates general principles that should be followed by the said government at the time (Heywood 2007, 36-37). These principles present a certain amount of freedom and choice to the people of a particular state. However, not everything is in black and white as there are different types of democracy. There is a grey scale on which democracy slides (Heywood 2007). On one side (white-ish) there are the liberal / neoliberal democracies, that promote freedom, human rights and open and free trading markets (Capitalist Market), then a little more towards the middle (grey), there are the social democracies who promote social spending and state owned enterprises, but still have an open economy. Then towards the darker grey are those democracies that are emerging democracies where the government still has a tight hand on the economy and human rights are at the same stages of many country's animal rights which equates to not very many rights at all. Although there are different strains of democracy, one type of economic model which has developed through the ages has been favoured by the first world powerhouses (Britain, America, and China). Capitalism

generally follows democracy and dictates how the economy of a country should be run. During the latter half of the 20th Century, the Neoliberal approach to capitalism began to develop and take form. It is this concept that the chapter examines next. (Heywood 2002, 43-71)

3.1 Neoliberalism

"Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade." (Harvey, 2005, 2)

Neoliberalism promotes political and economic practises which are liberal, open and support growth and development. It is the job of the State to create the correct environment to encourage and foster growth and developments in the different sector markets such as finance, manufacturing, mining (Harvey 2005, 2). The state needs to ensure that it can protect the right to hold private property and protect the proper functioning of a free market (Harvey 2005, 2). This means that the state needs to have good policies and laws in place to uphold the right to private property and a free market as well as military might to protect boarders and civilians (Harvey 2005, 2). The state is expected to keep its interference in the economy to a minimum and rather promote privatisation instead of accumulating state enterprises as well as cut down on social spending (Harvey 2005, 3). Privatisation is seen as the solution to job creation, development and economic growth. If the State can increase private businesses in all sectors then there is less pressure on the State to roll out social programs.

The ideals of neoliberalism stemmed from the critique on the works of Adam Smith and David Ricardo who both lived in the 18th Century and the industrial age of the 1930's (Heywood 2007, 48-59). These Economists wrote against state interference in the economy which was an acceptable practise at the time (Heywood 2007, 48-50). Adam Smith and David Ricardo explained that the economic markets should be free; if the markets are free, then there is free choice (Heywood 2007, 48-50). People will have the freedom to choose what to manufacture and what to buy. These ideas became an acceptable economic principle in the 19th Century in America and Britain (Heywood 2007, 48-50). However, the 1930's brought in the depression and a turn away from Adam Smith's Laissez-faire principles. Governments took on the principles of John Maynard Keynes, who suggested that governments 'manage' their economies to affect the aggregate demand and supply (Heywood 2007, 58-59). Thus the principles of neoliberalism developed over the change in economic thought and practice where by capitalism became the driving force and the welfare for citizens and workers took a less important position.

Harvey (2005) explains how although many western countries have adopted a neoliberal approach, the practise of neoliberalism does not always ensure high Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth. In fact, Harvey (2005) acknowledges that the general trend with those countries who have adopted neoliberal practise and policy has experienced a lower growth rate and higher income inequality over the years. The "four Tigers" (Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan), famous for their high growth after World War 2 until the present, did not fully embrace the neoliberal practises. The four Tigers wanted growth and expansion, however, the governments kept a hand on the economy guiding development and foreign direct investment. This enabled these economies to grow and develop at a faster rate compared to the Western Countries. The four Tigers also kept social programmes to a degree to help uplift the poor and close the income gap. In many ways South Africa has a similar approach to economic development. Post-Apartheid South Africa has embraced neoliberal policies, in some respects, however, the country still has strong trade unions and extensive social programs to aid the poor and previously disadvantaged. South Africa also has state owned enterprises; however, due to the country's political history, corruption, mismanagement and lack of the necessary skills South Africa has not managed to achieve the desired outcome that compares with the four tigers. (Harvey 2005, 3-5)

The rise of neoliberalism in the 1980s, associated with Thatcher and Reagan, and influenced by the Chicago School of Economics, has created intense competition between business and countries around the world. The next few paragraphs explain why competitive cities have emerged and have been influenced by Capitalism and Neoliberalism. The Capitalist system emerged in around the 16th and 17th Centuries. The system is centred on the practise of division of labour and making a profit. The division of labour enabled a quicker production of commodities. Workers are often paid as little as possible as the owner wants to maximise his profits as much as possible (Haworth 2004, 217-219). Marx saw this process as inhumane and characterised workers as generally exploited by the capitalist. Marx also saw the division of labour as the destruction of the human soul (Haworth 2004, 220-225). When a craftsman creates an item, he pours a little of his soul into the item. The item becomes like a work of art and he takes care to create beauty (Haworth 2004, 220-225). However, the division of labour divides the labour process. Thus one person cuts the wood; the next person sands the wood and the next cuts out the pieces to assemble a chair. The chair is perhaps made by a total of four or five people. The division of labour destroys the process of one person creating a work of art and instead produces commodities seen as nothing special, but just a chair (Haworth 2004, 220-225). The worker gets no satisfaction from the creation of the chair or commodity. Although Marx found the capitalist system wanting, the system has never the less spread throughout the world.

As globalisation has created a "global village" where by countries are able to influence one another in terms of economic growth or recession and trends in the various markets; the need to compete for market space has increased over the decades (Kim and Shin 2002, 447). In the 18th and 19th Centuries, companies had to compete with others in the same city and country. But as globalisation has broken the boundaries of space and time, companies have found that they are now not only competing nationally, but internationally (Kim and Shin 2002, 447- 449). This has led to companies becoming multinational corporations. The aim is to create a profit which gives a high return to the shareholders. Following this, companies now look for labour which is cheap to bring down the cost of production. For example, all Apple products and designed in America, but they are assembled in China where the price of labour is far cheaper than it is in America. Technological innovation has also helped to bring done the cost of production by either eradicating human workers; or aiding them; or creating them faster at a cheaper rate. (Kim and Shin 2002, 447- 449)

On the other side of competition, countries also tend to compete with each other in order to attract foreign direct investment and development. Governments try to create infrastructure and policy that will attract capitalist investment and development. Companies will look for countries that have good infrastructure to transport raw materials and products; cheap labour; technological innovation, skills and favourable economic and political policies that will suite their needs (Kim and Shin 2002, 447- 449).

Neoliberalism helps one to understand how cities have become run more like businesses and holds that they should be run like businesses. Many cities have a general policy orientation that is about providing a platform for companies to conduct their business; for example by attract tourists and enabling people to spend money on living and retail. This may not be the case or all cities, but those who wish to compete on an international level do strive to create a good economic climate for growth and development of the various sectors (business, retail, tourism, investment). For many governments, cities can be seen as a way to harvest revenue and foster development and growth. In order to tap into this source of revenue, governments need to create attractive cities that are able to compete internationally for investment and business. In this way, neoliberalism fosters competition between countries and companies across the world. Countries who want to be competitive to create and attract foreign direct investment adopt the neoliberal policies in order to make investing, trading and production easier and more attractive for the foreign country. Thus in order to grow and develop, a country needs to ensure that it is easy to trade with; that there is good infrastructure and that investments are not covered and bound in red tape (Huchzermeyer 2011,Chapter 1).

3.2 Competitive Cities

Harvey (2005) and Huchzermeyer (2011) explain that neoliberalism is about fostering good economic growth and, at the level of the city, is about running a city like a business in order to get foreign investment and business. Governments need to create a city that is competitive with and on the same level as other international cities and that will be attractive to investors. The city needs to be attractive to the correct type of businesses or what they perceive to be the correct type of business and tourism. Cities often expel undesirable business through nonrenewal of a business licence or rezoning bylaws. The city is often refurbished and modernised in order to attract the right kind of skilled people to move into the city and rent spaces within the city and tourist attractions are improved or newly created (Huchzermeyer 2011). The poor and homeless are often forced out of the city. This is accomplished by relocating the homeless and increasing the rent within the city so that the poor cannot afford to live in the city and are forced to relocate to the outer suburbs (Huchzermeyer 2011). The city needs to be attractive, first class and clean to firstly attract skilled professional people into the city and secondly to attract tourists. Having homeless people on the streets begging and unsightly apartment buildings does not present a 'first class' city. Thus the presence of the poor is hidden behind the curtains of the city. (Huchzermeyer 2011)

The city needs to be accessible to potential customers, employees and tourists. Many world class cities have upgraded and installed good transport systems. This allows easy accessibility in and around the city. By ensuring this, the city becomes attractive to investors. Investors are only interested in their return on their investments. If they think they will be able to get a high return, they will invest, if not they move on to another city somewhere in the world where they will receive a better return rate. Thus government spends its time and money on creating these competitive cities that will attract the correct kind of business, investors and help grow the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the country. This creates an environment that helps grow new enterprises, technological innovation and bring in new trading partners but does not necessarily have a good impact on the poor. So on a macro level neoliberalism enables a country to join the global competition and create a profit but does not necessarily tend to the needs of the poor (Huchzermeyer Chapter 2).

Huchzermeyer (2011) explains how these neoliberal practises can have negative effects on informal traders, businesses and the poor. While the state is "beautifying" and transforming the city into a competitive city, the local practises of transport, vending and so on are stopped and replaced with regulated more "acceptable" practises. This results in people losing their jobs, their livelihoods and often their homes. It also results in the loss of the city's unique practises. The City of Cape Town is an example of a competitive city that is trying to encourage economic growth and development.

This study will specifically deal with Cape Town as a competitive city framed in terms of tourism especially. Public policy has an effect on most people's lives. Scott (1998) and Huchzermeyer (2011) show how policy can be good in terms of growth and regulation, but that often policy ends up destroying the unique fabric of our society and cultures.

3.3 Modernism

"In order to be irreplaceable, one must always be different". – Coco Chanel

Coco Chanel is one of the most exclusive houses of fashion. Chanel was founded in 1913 by Madam Coco Chanel and has experienced 101 years of success. Coco Chanel believed that in order to survive and remain in the fashion world, you had to create something which was different and unique compared to every other fashion house. In a way our culture, society and practises are like the fashion houses. They are unique and differ from country to country. Our culture, society and practises are irreplaceable, because once they have been eradicated; they cannot be brought back to life.

James Scott (1998) explains how every nation has its own unique culture, society and practises. Culture has developed over centuries and is different in every corner of the world. The formation of society has also grown and developed over time and also offer variations. Each country offers different variations on culture and society. In South Africa there are 11 official languages and each language accompanies a different culture and society structure. The Zulu- and Xhosa-speaking peoples in South Africa may seem very similar if not the same to an untrained eye. Yet their society, language and even beading patterns differ significantly from one another. James Scott (1998) in his book, *Seeing like a State*, brings the important point across that every society is different and unique. Language and social practises have been developed and refined over generations. Problems and needs that arise in these societies are often solved by using unique methods. For example, in South Africa the taxi industry was created by a group of African people in order to solve the problem of transport for their people during the Apartheid years. Using a South African taxi is an experience on its own. A similar situation exists in Japan, where people are able to get from one place to another by using a Rickshaw. These three wheeled taxis were designed and manufactured in Japan and have since spread to many other countries across the world. According to Coco Chanel, to be irreplaceable, one must be different. James Scott (1998) points out that today it does not matter about being unique and different. Many cultural, social and entrepreneurial practises and creations that are unique to a particular country or society can and have been replaced in order to create understanding, simplicity and progress.

According to Scott (1998), the modern state tries to create order of the different "chaotic" sectors of Society. This process Scott (1998) calls 'legibility' is done so that the state can understand and simplify some of the more complex process and laws in the society. Scott (1998) gives four examples of "state-initiated social engineering". The first is the "administrative ordering of nature and society"; the second is the notion delivered by the state that science is the cure for everything. The third example is that authoritarian states are willing and do act like the big bully on the school field in order to get the result they want. The fourth example is the civil society that is under hypnosis and does not awake to stop these plans from becoming reality. (Coronil 2001)

Throughout Scott's (1998) book he explains that the state will restructure, plan or enforce a certain design for a reason. Laws about owning land, inheriting land etc., have been simplified and enforced to all in that particular country. Each state would have regulated the Land Laws to ensure that firstly the state could collect its tax and secondly so that everyone was held by the same law. In the same way the state developed the notion of citizenship. If you belong to a certain country, you receive some form of identification. That identification is used for almost every transaction. This way, the state is able to keep track of its citizens especially when paying taxes are concerned. There is always a reason as to why the state wants to restructure or implement a particular law, process or standard. Firstly the state is trying to understand the social custom, and then they try to standardise and simplify to achieve their goal. This goal could be to increase tax collection; in the name of progress or science; to better the lives of the people.

Scott (1998) explains how different societies had different ways to measure commodities. Perhaps in one society they used the length of an arm to measure material, but in a different society they may have used the length of a leg. France was the first state to enforce a standard measurement. This simplified the measuring process, eradicating the unique practise and ensured that everyone measured the exact say way. This process of simplifying was seen in many different areas. The implementation of a modernised transport system that eradicates the local way. Cities are planned according to protection and the ability of moving armies in and out easily or to divide the city according to the action. Thus one section is where the businesses are, the next section is where people are to live and so on. They are not mingled together as they were. (Coronil 2001)

This results in a loss of local knowledge about the area and loss of community. Scott (1998) explains that at the end of these simplification endeavours, they inevitably fail or people find ways to work around them. For example South Africa has introduced the BRT system. This system has removed the taxi service in its path. However, there are still taxis that operate illegally in order to

survive and put food on the table for taxis owners and drivers alike. There are also passengers who still use these illegal taxis because they are quicker than waiting for a bus.

In sum then, the theory of Modernism explains how the state wants to create progress to improve the lives of the people and create a standard that can be used and followed. This progress can be achieved through technical and scientific progress or planning or standardisation. Thus the state implements policy to create order and progress. The problem is that the organic, unique practises that were established before are made redundant and are lost. The state tries to simplify issues, but because the state only sees with tunnel vision, these simplifications often have a negative impact on people especially the poor. This simplification is also often the reason why many historical social and economic practises are lost and replaces with order and simplicity – loss of unique identity (Scott 1998). Thus the theories of modernism and neoliberalism endeavour to explain the actions of the state.

3.4 Public Participation

South Africa is a democratic state and with democracy comes public participation, which ideally is a form of deliberative communication between state actors and public actors. If there is weak public participation, then in theory there cannot be a meaningful deepening of democracy. Democracy is about the people of a country having a say in how the country should be run and who should represent them in office. Since 1994, public participation has become a very important part of South Africa's democracy (Buccus 2012, 246). The democracy of the country, in theory, should be deepened through public participation. The idea around public participation is to ensure that people are included and consulted on ways to improve and uplift the lives of the community and develop sustainable economic growth. Arnstein (1969) explains that public participation or what Arnstein calls citizen participation is in actual fact citizen power. Citizen participation allows the poor (those who are not able to participate in the political and economic world) to have a voice and be heard on the policy front beyond just choosing leaders at election time.
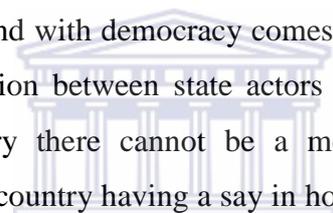
Figure 2: French student poster - In English, "I participate, you participate, he participates, we participate, you participate...they profit."

Public participation takes place in certain spaces within society. According to Miraftab, (2006) there are two fundamental categories of participation spaces. The

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first is the invited space; the second is the invented space. Invited and invented spaces identify different forms of participation. Firstly, invited spaces are defined as a space where community members, civic organisations and government can come together to discuss issues (Miraftab 2006, 195). This space is recognised and promoted by the government to ensure that the people have access to the right to participate in the planning and implementation of policy and development in their communities. The second space is called invented spaces. These invented spaces are defined as a space that is used by the poor to confront the government and authorities and help change their situation (Miraftab 2006, 195). The fundamental difference between the two spaces is that invited spaces are there to help people cope with their community, poverty and issues. Invited spaces are also acknowledged and approved by organisations and government. Invented spaces are created to fight against the issue and try to change the situation (Miraftab 2006, 195)

Arnstein (1969) differs from Miraftab (2006) somewhat in her explanation of the spaces for citizen participation and explains the degrees with which citizens have the power to participate and change
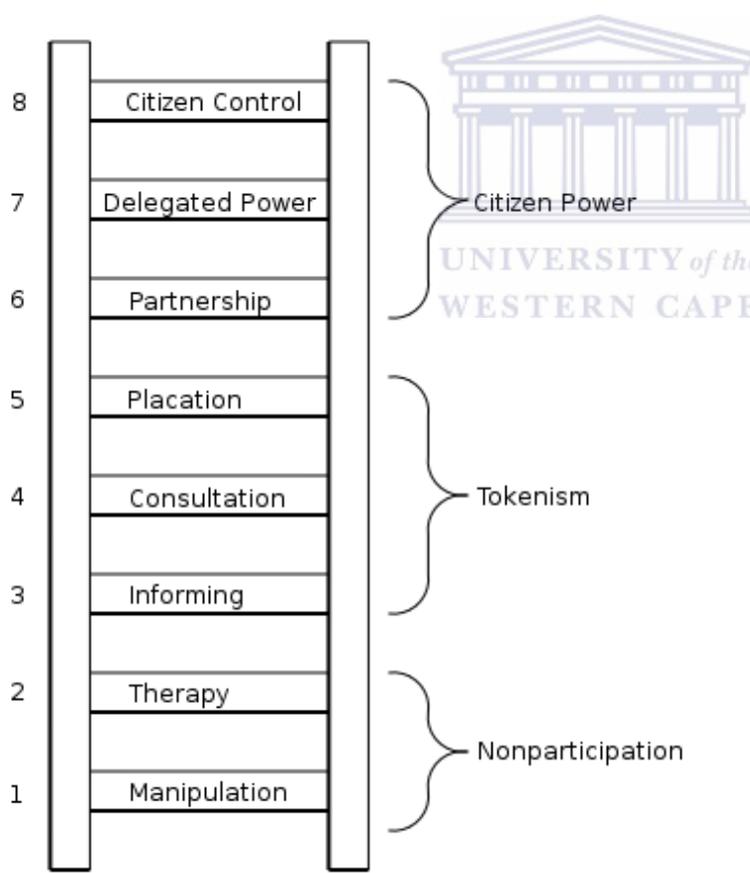
the status quo. Arnstein (1969) designed a ladder of participation to illustrate the different levels of citizen participation (Figure 3). The steps labelled one and two, show Manipulation and Therapy. These two steps do not offer any kind of participation. These steps are more of a tool for the shareholders/"power holders" to educate and persuade people to "buy" into an idea (Arnstein 1969, 216-218). Citizens think they are participating, but in actual fact they are just there so that the shareholder can tick the public participation box off the list so approval may be granted (Arnstein 1969, 216-218).

Figure 3: Arnstein 1969

The third, fourth and fifth steps of the ladder are part of Tokenism. Arnstein (1969) explains that at this level of participation, citizens are given a platform to be informed as to the issues or process and they are able to give their opinions, ideas and ask questions. However, the citizens do not have the power to make and ensure that changes will take place. The shareholders or "power holders" still have the power to decide how they want to continue with the issue or process. The illustration (Figure 2) created by the French students depicts these first two phases of participation extremely well. The citizens think they are participating but in actual fact the "power holders" just continue to retain their power and make a profit (Arnstein 1969). Participation is more of an information session where the officials are able to voice the plan, but the citizens are left without much of a say. Public participation is often seen as a box that needs to be ticked on a checklist of approval. The elites do not really take it seriously and do not intend to allow the citizens to have a real influence; it is just a form of window dressing. The elites are only interested in making their bonus at the end of the year and getting the job done.

The last three steps/ level of participation are where the citizens have power (Arnstein 1969). In this level of participation, citizens have the power to engage with the task at hand. They have a voice and their concerns are heard. The citizens also have the power to make changes and form partnerships with the "power holders". These levels of participation allow citizens to fully participate in the issues and process that affect their lives. The "power holders" are not able to just tick a box, they are expected to engage, discuss and redesign with the help and input of the citizens.

Arnstein (1969) acknowledges that this ladder simplification of public participation does hold some limitations. However, the idea is merely to illustrate that there is a divide between the "power holders" and the poor/ ordinary citizens. The "power holders" are often seen to be blind to the needs of the poor and that they have a lack of understanding and regard. The poor are often seen as uneducated, unskilled and do not understand the complexities of the given task or issue. Thus citizen participation is in many ways a fraud. Citizens are led to believe that they have participated in the decision-b making process. However, in reality the decision was often made largely before the public was even consulted. The concluding point is that in many cases when citizens think they are participating, they are really being hoodwinked and what does this tell us about our state of democracy?

It is for this reason that public participation in the planning and implementation of policy is so important in our democratic country. Piper (2012), Morange (2013) and Miraftab (2006) all speak about how important communication is between the different actors of the state and the people. However, Miraftab (2006) also highlights that public participation through invited spaces can also

be left wanting. Invited spaces between the state and the community or group/ association can also be seen as a fruitless exercise with the state not really listening to the concerns and needs to the community. This ties in with the conclusions expressed by Arnstein (1969) about how citizen participation is often just window dressing. Some communities are therefore turning to invented spaces to ensure that their concerns and demands are heard. Von Holdt (2011) explains that often the poor use these invented spaces as a way to get the attention of government. The communities achieve this by the burning of tyres, buildings or books. According to Von Holdt (2011), it is the "smoke that calls" the government to the people. The community creates a situation where the government has no other option but to listen to the complaints and problems. To ignore the situation could be deadly. Miraftab (2006) discusses how people formed their invented space in the shape of an anti-eviction campaign because their concerns were not being heard in the invited spaces with government. Thus it is important to study the process and communication between the state and community to identify what really happens in practice and not just theory. Only then can improvements and suggestions be made to ensure that the people are heard and taken into account before policy is passed and implemented. It is through this lens of public participation theory that the study will be able to analyse the communication and interaction between the City of Cape Town and the Taxi industry in Imizamo Yethu. These theories provide different lens through which to view the different elements of this study and draw out understanding and explanation. The theory of public participation explains the communication between state actors like the City of Cape Town and public or informal actors like the Taxi associations and owners.

The theories discussed in this chapter form the theoretical framework for this project. These theories help explain the actions of a competitive city like the city of Cape Town and how this type of city interacts with the people at grass roots level. This chapter has explained how neoliberal and modernist practises have led to the creation of competitive cities, which are often thought to be beneficial to society. However, the real effects of these policies are often only felt by the poor. The poor are only left with the option of making their voice heard through public participation even though they understand that they run the risk that their voices will be disregarded in the decision making and implementation process.

The next two chapters look at the case of Imizamo Yethu, the implementation of the BRT system in the area and the extent to which the local actors (taxi drivers and owners) could influence and change the planning and implementation of the MyCiti bus in the Hout Bay area.

4. Chapter Four – Understanding the Narrative of Imizamo Yethu

The following two chapters are written in the form of a narrative in order to understand the complex processes of planning and implementing the BRT system in Cape Town and Hout Bay. The first chapter looks at the BRT system and the formal and local actors. This chapter looks through the lens of the theoretical framework to understand the actions and position of the City of Cape Town and why the decision was made to implement the BRT system. The second half to the chapter looks at the taxi industry in Imizamo Yethu, Hout Bay and why they have developed. The second half also starts to explore how the MyCiti bus has affected them. The second chapter takes a closer look at the conflicts that have arisen in Imizamo Yethu, Hout Bay in relation to the implementation of the MyCiti bus service and the problems that surround the process of public participation in this instance.

4.1 Cape Town as a Competitive City

The transport system in South Africa, as stated in chapter two, has been a problem in this country well before 1948. The Apartheid government tried to regulate the transport system and failed dismally. The National Government has also set its sight on regulating the transport system to improve and simplify the use of public transport. This action has been followed and according to the Provincial Land Transport Framework, by 2050 the Integrated Rapid Transport system will be running in the urban and rural areas of the Western Cape (PAWC 2012). This Provincial Land Transport Framework has also contributed to the development of the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) instituted by the City of Cape Town to ensure that each municipal political term (2012- 2017) has goals that need to be reached during this time (CCT 2012). The IDP is divided into five pillars and each pillar deals with one sector of the city (CCT 2012). The vision of the City of Cape Town is to create a city that promotes economic growth and development; job creation; quality services to all residents and to provide help to those who need it (CCT 2012). In order to achieve this vision, the City of Cape Town has set goals in each of the five pillars and will strive to attain these within the five year period (CCT 2012).

The City of Cape Town, through the IDP, is trying to create an environment that will foster economic growth and development and will attract investment (both foreign and local) into the city (CCT 2012). The City of Cape Town has taken various steps to promote the versatility of the city as both a business hub and recreational destination. The construction of the International Convention Centre was a significant step that the City took to highlight its ability to host large conferences and events. With the construction of the new stadium in Green point before the Soccer

World Cup in 2010, the City also created the Eco Park. This park is for the use of the public and has elements of both relaxation and education. In 2011, Table Mountain was voted as one of the seven natural wonders of the world. Cape Town has also been voted as the design capital of the world; *"the World Design Capital distinction is awarded to cities which recognise design as a tool for social, cultural and economic development. In 2014 Cape Town will host over 460 design projects aimed at transforming the city'* (World Design Capital online). These achievements help highlight Cape Town as an international city that can compete on an international level.

Huchzermeyer (2011) explains that in the world today, cities are seen as a revenue machine. The aim for most governments is to create a city that will draw in foreign direct investment, tourists and businesses. In order for cities to be considered by foreign and local investors, it needs to be seen as a world class city. A world class city is presented as a city that looks aesthetically pleasing; has tourist attractions; is seen as a good environment for local and foreign businesses and has easy and safe transport for tourists and workers alike to use.

Due to the neoliberal competitive nature of the capitalist world, many countries have tried to transform their key cities into world class cities so that they may compete on the international market. Public transport cannot be excluded when wanting to compete in an international market. World class cities need to have functioning, reliable and safe public transport systems. It is no different in South Africa. In 2007, the National Department of Transport created the Public Transport Strategy and Action Plan to regulate and improve the public transport in preparation for the 2010 Soccer World Cup. The 2010 Soccer World Cup became the catalyst that sparked the urgent interest in transforming the public transport system in the country.

The main idea was to create an integrated public transport network to improve upon the existing public transport in the country. The Bus Rapid Transport system formed a part of this strategy. According to City Official A in Cape Town, *"we received this from National that cities need to implement this [transport strategy]"*. Thus cities such as Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban and Port Elizabeth began the process of implementing the new transport strategy.

The City of Cape Town took a slightly different approach to the proposed transport changes. *"In October 2007, project office was formed to undertake the planning and development of this integrated rapid transport system."* According to City Official A, the City of Cape Town transport division decided to look at an integrated rapid transport system where all modes of transport could be integrated.

We wanted to integrate all of the different modes of transport. We are the only city in S.A that refers to IRT [Integrated Rapid Transport] and not only BRT. Integrate all modes of transport…As Cape Town we considered the IRT and we identified the potential of the network of BRT routes… Council needs to approve all that we want to do. We went in 2008 and council approved phase 1. In 2008 October we started formal engagement with the taxis.

Therefore the BRT system in Cape Town is often rather referred to the Integrated Rapid Transport system (IRT) which looks at integrating all modes of transport into one system.
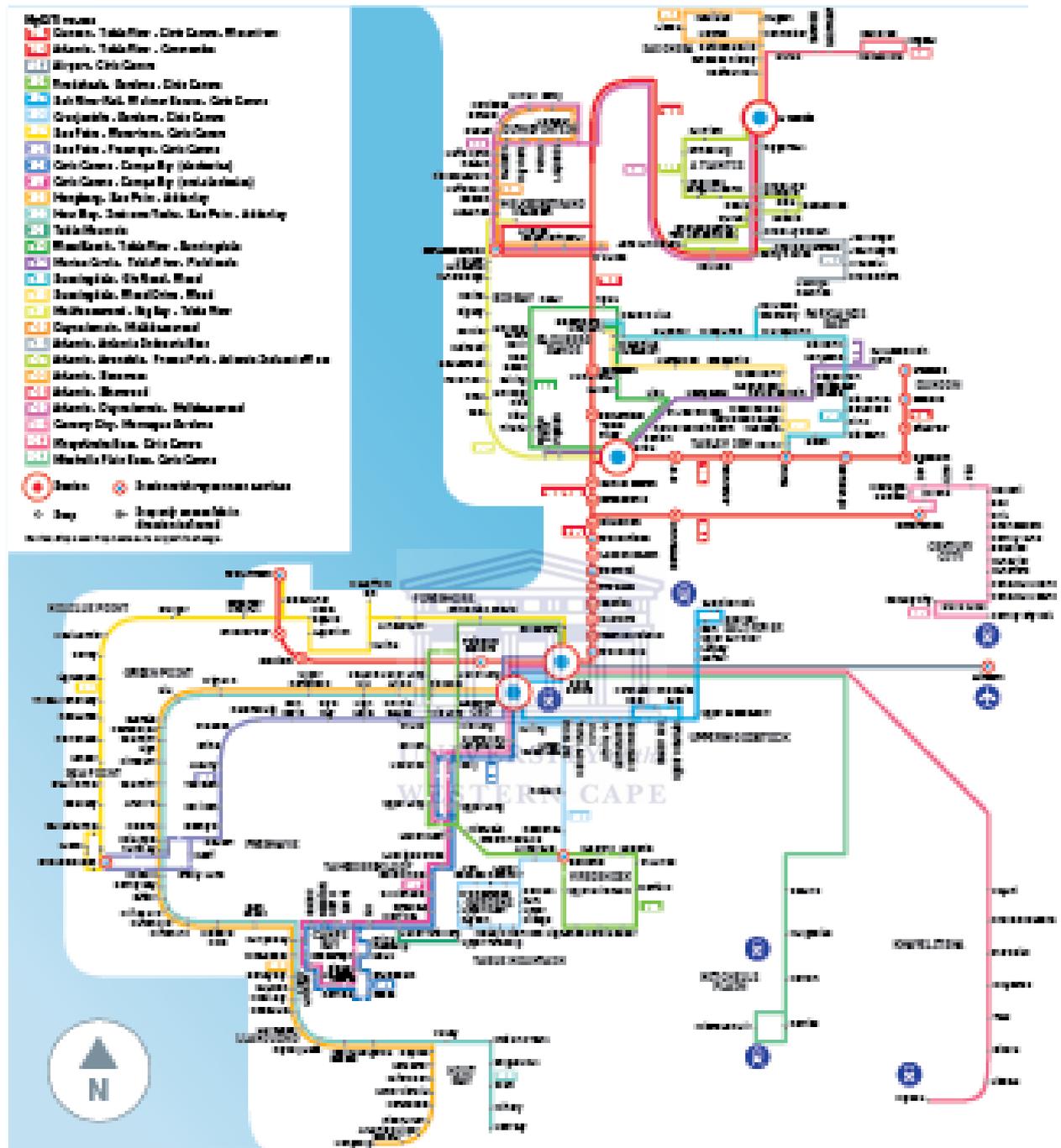
MyCiti Network: Figure 4 taken from Transport for Cape Town, Integrated Public Transport

4.2 Understanding the BRT System

The first part of the Integrated Rapid Transport (IRT) was to plan and to begin the implementation of the BRT. The Bus Rapid Transport system is commercially known as the MyCiti bus service. The MyCiti service is a fast scheduled bus network which enables the passenger to get on and off at various stops and stations on each route. The service offers not only fast and scheduled transportation, but also tries to ensure the safety of the passengers on the bus and at the stations. Passengers are required to purchase a MyCiti card which is then loaded with money in order to gain access onto the busses and platforms. The passenger is charged according to the distance travelled and the prices differ depending on the time of day. Thus, a passenger traveling during peak times will pay slightly more than those who travel in the off peak hours. A trip on the MyCiti bus from Milnerton into Cape Town (one way) will generally cost about R10.60 depending on the time of day. The same route by taxi would have cost R11.

The busses run on both trunk routes and feeder routes. The trunk routes are where the bus has a dedicated lane that it travels on to ensure a faster travel time. These routes are mostly used by the large busses. The feeder routes do not have a dedicated lane for the bus to travel in. These routes are generally only used by the smaller busses. The feeder routes enable passengers to travel into the density of the City or suburb. These routes were planned based on the routes that the taxis had mapped out and usually take. The routes for the MyCiti bus are generally those where there is a high demand. The MyCiti network now runs in the City bowl, up the West Coast and to Hout Bay. However, this is only the first phase of the project. Figure one is the MyCiti network and illustrates the different bus routes that will, over the next 12 years, be rolled out across the city. Each route falls into a different phase and each of these phases are dealt with by the City individually.

There are four different phases of the MyCiti project that need to be implemented. The first phase (City bowl, Hout Bay and West Coast routes) has already been completed and the second phase, to connect Mitchells Plain and Khayelitsha to different destinations, is in the process of being installed. Phase three and four look at expanding the MyCiti routes north of the city to connect the Northern Suburbs and eventually as far as Stellenbosch to the system. This network of rapid transportation will allow people to use safe, fast and scheduled public transport. The idea is to create an integrated public transport network so that passengers can use one money card to access different types of transport – busses, trains or taxis. However, it seems as if the taxi industry will gradually be phased out as the MyCiti network grows and develops. This may be wonderful news for commuters, but for taxi drivers and other taxi orientated employees, this could have a negative effect on their livelihoods. The removal of the taxis could manifest into a potentially violent situation between the taxi industry (mainly the drivers) and the City of Cape Town.

4.3 The Formal Actors

The formal actors that are involved with the integrated rapid transport system are the City of Cape Town, the ODA (full trading name) and the various vehicle operating companies that are formed during the planning phase. The City of Cape Town has various departments which are dedicated to the planning, consultation and implementation process of the BRT system or the MyCiti bus service. In the City of Cape Town, under the Department of Transport there is a section called the Project Office, which is designed to deal with the planning and development of the MyCiti system. This department looks at which routes to use for the busses; how to ensure a smooth process from planning to construction and how to achieve the outcome with minimal job and monetary losses in the taxi industry. The department had a difficult time in trying to find a solution to potential job losses. The Project Office had been indirectly (through the speech of the Transport Minister) been given the mandate that the taxi owners would not be worse off with the implementation of MyCiti. This mandate had come from the Minister of Transport Jeff Radebe. Minister Radebe (20 April 2009) stated in a speech he made to the taxi associations that:

> *Government guarantees NO loss of legitimate jobs and profits among those who make the shift into BRT systems. This is a bold statement and requires a lot of work at both local and national spheres in order to achieve this - but we are serious about this. Therefore I repeat - there will be NO loss of legitimate jobs and profits among operators and workers who move into the BRT system.*

The Project Office also deals with the process of consultation with the affected taxi owners with regards to the concept of MyCiti and its benefits.

The ODA is a management and development consultancy who specialise in strategy and complex change processes. As industry transition facilitators, the ODA's job is to ensure that this transition or change in the transport industry happens smoothly and correctly according to the law. The ODA has played a pivotal role in the restructuring of the transport system in the Western Cape. They will continue to negotiate between the City and Taxi owners for each phase of the MyCiti project.

4.4 MyCiti and the Competitive City

The implementation of the BRT system has been as a result of the creation of competitive cities around the country. In order to survive and create revenue, a country will try to create competitive cities to draw in skilled workers, investment and business. This is done in order to increase the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In the modern capitalist world, cities are no longer just areas where people live and work. Cities have transformed into businesses and are often run as such to maximise profit turnover. The South African Government realised that in order to make the

most (profit) out of the 2010 Soccer World Cup, the country would need world class stadiums and better transport for fans to and from the stadiums. One cannot say that the 2010 Soccer World cup was the reason for the transport upgrade, but it did serve as the catalyst to spark the renewed interest in the project.

Since the end of Apartheid in 1994, the new democratic government has been thrown into a new competitive world for which South Africa was not ready. During Apartheid, South Africa was under sanctions and in severe debt due to the expenses of the Apartheid system. Once the country emerged as a new democratic country in 1994, the government has had to work at creating a country that would draw in foreign direct investment, tourists, business and acknowledgement. In the beginning the ideals of Mr Nelson Mandela and relative stable political environment in comparison to other newly democratic countries in Africa created the air of possibility and progress. Thus people and businesses invested in South Africa, as they saw the country as the new and developing democratic country with a multitude of untapped potential.

In 2014, now 20 years into democracy, this air of possibility and potential is wearing somewhat thin. The expectations of what a democratic country with a degree of neoliberal policies should be are starting to impact the view investors have of the country. Some would argue that when the President released *The 20 Year Review*, the realisation was that not enough had been done since South Africa became a democratic country. The problem is that in order to compete on the international market, the country needs to be on a competitive level.

Huchzermeyer (2011) explains how cities are altered and improved to increase investors and business as well as encourage the "right sort" of people to move into the city. A competitive city would make a vibrant home for any person with means. These cities are often very cosmopolitan. The City of Cape Town is no exception. Cape Town is a city that has embraced the culture of many different groups of people. There is BoKaap with its colourful houses and exotic spices; Constantia with its wine farms and colonial homes and the City Bowl are continuously active. A person just needs to visit the Waterfront, Long Street, Table Mountain or Kirstenbosch to know that Cape Town could be considered as a competitive city.

The new MyCiti bus service (BRT system) is one step taken to improve the accessibility and mobility around the city. The MyCiti bus system is modelled on the public transport system in Bogotá, Columbia (Behrens and Schalekamp 2010, 373). In many cases the implementation of the MyCiti bus system has improved the quality of public transport in and around the city. The busses run according to a schedule. The drivers of the busses are trained and have a valid driver's licence. The stations are secure and have the presence of security guards. The busses too also often have the

presence of a security guard. In general the busses are considered to be safer than the mini bus taxi. In comparison to the South African minibus taxi, the MyCiti bus is a huge improvement, not only for the passenger but also for the MyCiti employees. The employees now receive a set wage no matter how full the bus is and have basic worker rights, whereas before their wage depended on their profit for the day.

Competitive cities, however, do potentially pose a threat to the poor. Huchzermeyer (2011) explains in her book that often the poor and homeless are moved out of the inner city and relocated either by force or by the price of rent. Informal stalls in the city have also known to be regulated and in some cases prohibited altogether. This may not be the case in Cape Town, but the presence of the MyCiti bus has threatened the livelihoods of some of the taxi drivers who have now been partially affected by the bus service. Thus it should be noted that while the idea of a competitive city seems wonderful, there are negative effects which tend to be exerted upon the poor.

## 4.5 The Standoff between Taxis and MyCiti

Liberal democracy and capitalism generally go hand in hand. Capitalism and its neoliberal principles of the 21 century have created a world that competes on every level. The previous section explained how cities are often now run like businesses to maximise potential profit. Cities also compete like businesses on an international level for investment and business. In competitive cities certain elements may be regulated. For example, the transport system may be regulated by the state in order to simplify and improve the previous system. This is the case in Cape Town. The implementation of the BRT system provided a regulated public transport system that offered timely and safe transport to workers and tourist in and around the city.

The implementation of the BRT system in Cape Town has indeed made the use of public transport safer and more reliable. However, according to Scott (1998), this action by the government is called the process of 'legibility' and in actual fact destroys the natural fabric, solutions and order of society. Scott (1998) explains that a state always takes action in the form of regulation for a reason. In this case the reason is to simplify and regulate the transport industry in the main metropolitan areas in South Africa. The taxi industry in South Africa is the natural solution to transport which emerged in the 1920s. The industry flourished during the 1980s as a result of Apartheid laws and expensive transport costs. In 2014 at least 65% of people who use public transport make use of taxis. The problem with the industry is that it is not regulated by the state and is fraught with violence and the disregard for passenger safety. Yet this industry is still unique to South Africa and forms part of the natural fabric of society. This section will look at the natural or organic chaos that emerged and mushroomed during the later years of Apartheid. It will particularly look at the

composition of the taxi industry in Imizamo Yethu, Hout Bay, as this is where the case study was conducted.

4.6 In the Case of Imizamo Yethu

Imizamo Yethu (also colloquially known as IY) is an informal settlement which is situated on the slopes of the mountain in Hout Bay. The informal settlement was born in 1990 when a fire in the Sea Products informal settlement left hundreds of people homeless. The Cape Provincial Administration provided land for the families who had been affected by the fire. A total of 34 Hectares were given to the community for housing and community development. The settlement was called Imizamo Yethu which means "the people have gathered their efforts/ our struggle". Although the settlement started out relatively small, it soon began to grow as people moved in from around the country in search of jobs. According to Sustainable Livelihoods (2013), the majority of the people who come to settle in IY are from the Eastern Cape. However, there are many different nationalities living in the informal settlement.
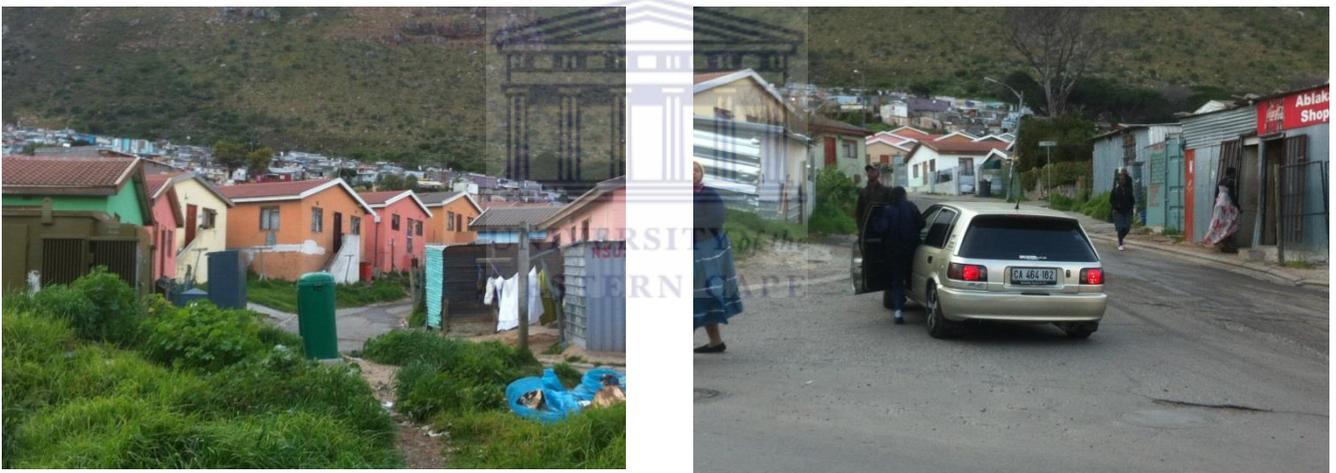
Figures 5 and 6 show Imizamo Yethu from two vantage points. Photos taken by Roslyn Bristow, 2014.

Since 1990, Imizamo Yethu has grown and the edges of the settlement trace the higher slopes of the mountain. The community have a view of the valley and the extreme inequalities that plague most South African communities. The outward view may be of ocean, mountains and luxury homes, but the smoke, filth and stray animals in and around IY ensure that no one forgets where they are. The informal settlement is made up of brick homes, tin shacks and wooden shacks. There are few proper roads and only one road that connects the top sections of the community with the bottom half. There is a web of small dirt paths running between the shacks which allow residents to move around the area. IY may be an informal settlement, but is unique in its history and daily practices. Tourists are often seen taking a tour of the community. There are many Spaza shops on the main

roads and curio shops at the community hall and opposite the police station. IY has established its own micro- economy around the taxi industry, spaza shops and tourists. However, like many other informal settlements, the community still has housing, sanitation and electrical problems that need to be addressed.

4.7 The Taxi industry in Hout Bay

The taxi industry in Hout Bay has its epicentre around the informal settlement of Imizamo Yethu. There are four different taxi groups which run from around the informal settlement. These four taxi groups have been and will in the future be affected by the MyCiti bus system which now operates in Hout Bay. They are the informal actors that have been affected by the BRT system.

On the far side of Imizamo Yethu, near the cemetery there is an informal taxi rank where the Hout Bay- Wynberg association meet to collect and drop off passengers. These taxi drivers have permits to operate on their route.

Figure 7 shows the area where the Hout Bay- Wynberg taxis collect and drop off passengers. Photos taken by Roslyn Bristow, 2014.

The Hout Bay- Wynberg group transport people from Hout Bay (IY) over the mountain to Wynberg. The drivers that were involved in the focus group said that they all live in the IY informal settlement. This taxi group reported that they have not been affected by the BRT system as of yet. They reported that their business was "*fine on our side*". This is because the MyCiti bus has not been implemented in the Southern Suburbs. However, according to a City Councillor *"detailed planning [for the Wynberg route] is happening now. It will be part of phase two. We will start construction next year. We have a billion rand over the next three years for construction. And then the feeder route from Wynberg to IY will be part of that. We will then deal with those taxi*

associations when we start with that particular phase". Thus in about four years' time the Hout Bay- Wynberg group will become another taxis association that has been affected by the installation of the MyCiti bus routes.

The second taxi group that operates from IY is an illegal branch that claims to belong to Cuta.

Figure 8 shows the area where the illegal Cuta group operate from. Photos taken by Roslyn Bristow, 2014.
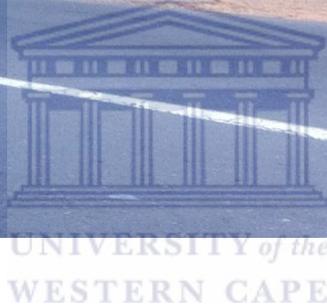
According to the drivers in the focus group they are now a splinter Cuta group "*Cuta – is not happy with what we are doing, because most of the guys handed in their permits. So now there is a split in the organisation. But we are trying very hard to follow the Cuta rules, and keep it checked and functioning. Still holding the Cuta name and going by the rules and regulations*". This group run their route from Cape Town to IY in Hout Bay. The main Cuta association was bought out by the City of Cape Town to make way for the MyCiti bus. However, those who did not benefit from the MyCiti installation with either compensation or a job, decided to continue with transporting passengers from Cape Town to Hout Bay:

> So *look here it is hard for us to think about stuff like that. We are on our own fight to get permits. We came here at a very young age; we were all gartjies before we became drivers. Now all of a sudden the owners are turning their permits in. Without even letting us know. We all had dreams of owning our own taxis one day. They are turning their permits in and they are closing our route. So it is bad for us*.

Therefore these drivers now take the risk of being pulled over by the police and having their vehicle impounded so that they can earn a living. Since the MyCiti busses have been running to and from Hout Bay they have seen a drop in their business. The drivers reported that "*our clientele has dropped, big time… We are dealing with those who don't like the bus. Only the minority take the bus to town and the white folks of course and those who can afford it*". The cost to travel from IY into Cape Town costs a maximum of R12, 50. According to the commuters who use the MyCiti bus, the bus fare is not that different from the taxi fare as most commuters buy the MyCiti Mover packages which allow commuters to get a discounted price at R8.80. The MyCiti commuters from IY reported that the Sibanye bus fare and the taxi fare is more expensive than the MyCiti bus fare. Most of the commuters commented that they used the MyCiti bus because it was cheaper even though the trip to Seapoint or Cape Town took longer with the bus than with the taxi. This splinter Cuta group is causing anguish with the last two taxi groups.

The third and fourth taxi groups both originate from Imizamo Yethu.

Figure 9 and 10 shows the area where the Amahoender and Amaphela congregate. Photos taken by Roslyn Bristow, 2014.

There is the Hout Bay- Cape Town association and the Hout Bay association. The Hout Bay taxi association has united two groups that were operating in IY, namely the Imizamo Yethu taxi association and the United Central taxi association. The Hout Bay association is made up of about 80 members who drive small cars or sedans around Hout Bay and are more commonly known as the Amaphela (Cockroaches). There is a second group of illegal sedans who also operate in Hout Bay. These illegal taxis are called the Amahoender (Chickens). There are about 20 members in this illegal association. The Amaphela and Amahoender taxis take people up and down the Imizamo Yethu informal settlement, to the various shopping centres, the harbour and beach.

The Hout Bay- Cape Town association claim to be the original group who started the Hout Bay to Cape Town route. They have fought with the Cuta group to try and retain their route; however Cuta

managed to get a licence for the route from the Provincial Regulatory Unit. Today, these members do not drive their route to Cape Town as they are unable to get their permanent licence and do not want to take a chance with the police and risk their minibuses being impounded. The Hout Bay Cape Town members have had to resort to earning an income by offering transport to a different market in Hout Bay.

Both associations have been affected by the MyCiti bus, however, according to the definition provided by the City of Cape Town, these owners and drivers are only partially affect and therefore do not qualify for compensation. Partially affected members means that the MyCiti bus only operates on some of the routes the taxi also operates on. Directly affected members means that the MyCiti bus has totally taken over all the taxis routes and have essentially replaced the taxi. However, members from both associations reported that since the instalment of the MyCiti buses, their business has dropped significantly. A member of the Hout Bay association reported that *"when MyCiti was not here our business was better, but now that MyCiti is here our business is bad. People jump on MyCiti. Even the kids for the school jump in MyCiti. MyCiti did not negotiate with us"*. This sentiment was seconded by another driver who was interviewed at a later date. He reported that "*our business has been affected; people can now just walk down to the station and get a bus instead of using a taxi. Our business is dying*".

These four taxi groups are the informal actors who make up the taxi industry in IY.

4.8 The Regulation of MyCiti vs. the Organics of the Taxis

Scott (1998) illustrates in his book that often processes and solutions are created in order to serve a need. These solutions or processes are created by a particular community and therefore are unique to that particular community or region. As stated in a previous section, each region around the world once had different ways to measure length and weight. People used different terminology to describe how the quantity they wanted until the state regulated and standardised measurement across their territory. The point Scott is making is that often when people see a problem, they find a solution which is unique to that particular community or region.

In South Africa, the taxi industry developed due to a lack of reliable transport for the majority of the population. People realised that there was a need for transport for the majority of the population that, because of Apartheid, could not access towns and cities easily. This was the case in Imizamo Yethu. When the informal settlement first formed, people would have to walk to the shops in the centre of Hout Bay or they would have to walk to the harbour. A group of people saw this as a problem and provided the community with a solution.

Respondent A stated "*I approached the guys with vehicles here and said lets form a taxi association. Come, our people are battling to get to Shoprite. Come let's get together and do some business. I think we were a group of ten in 1996. We took people to ShopRite and back it was R2.50 from here to ShopRite... We had meetings every Monday and looked at the challenges and the pricing and so on*".

The solution was organic and developed from the people on the ground. Thus the sedan taxi services in Hout Bay were born. People could now pay to be taken to the shops or harbour instead of walking the distance. As Imizamo Yethu grew up the slopes of the mountain, the demand for transport around the informal settlement and around Hout Bay grew. Thus the group of people providing the services began to grow and drivers of the sedans became owners and the taxi industry in Hout Bay developed and created a micro economy.

The taxi industry is an organic solution, part of the fabric of society that developed from the people on the ground in South Africa. This industry developed to serve a need for transport. Twenty years after democracy, the taxi industry is still developing and growing. However, there is now a threat to the organic industry that could in future years see the end of this business. The taxi industry has always been seen as an "undesirable" by the government. During Apartheid, the government tried to remove the taxi industry, but failed. Since democracy the industry has gone through many attempts by government to regulate it and impose order from above.

For many people, the taxi industry seems chaotic yet in truth it is highly organised and structured. As stated previously, the industry is made up of different organisations (the umbrella bodies like Codetta) that set rules and regulations for the taxi owners and drivers. These organisations also negotiate and communicate with government departments to improve and regulate the taxi service. Even though the taxi industry has structure, government still sees the need to implement a regulated transport system that can compete on an international level and 'modernise' the cities around the country.

In the world today, especially in the West and western influenced areas, the notion and ideals of modernism prevail. It is this notion of modernism that Scott (1998) sees as the hammer by which the organic solutions are shattered. Modernism is linked to modernisation and development. Walt Rostow (1962) wrote the *Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* where he explained the five stages of development that a country or civilisation should go through (Mahler 2003 44-45). Rostow illustrates in five steps how a country develops from the traditional society, the preconditions for take-off, the take-off, the drive to maturity, and the age of high mass-consumption (Mahler 2003 44-45). The ideas of modernisation and development have fostered in

the modernist thought. Modernisation is about the development of the political and economic environment and the improvement and progress this development may bring (O'Brien, R and Williams 2010.316). Modernism follows this thought through the cultural, practical and scientific disciplines. The main idea behind modernism is the human ability to improve, create and redesign elements of culture, science, art, technology or thought. Thus humanity needs to have a look at the various aspects of life and improve and redesign certain aspects that would encourage and create progress (Scott, 1998).

The process of modernisation and development brings in the ideas of modernism. This means that as countries develop, governments start to look at their processes, policies and mechanisms to see how they can be redesigned and improved to encourage progress and development in the various sectors. Scott (1998) explains how many solutions are created from problems in the community. Modernism, according to Scott (1998) has stripped these organic solutions away in order to replace them with regulated, simple processes that the state can understand and manage. According to Scott (1998), the state has a reason why it moves to regulate reform and redesign certain aspects of society. The main reason is that the state follows modernist ideals and feels the need to continually look for ways to 'modernise' and improve the different sectors of the country and society. Thus in the name of progress and development, the unique fabric of our society has little by little been stripped away to be replaced by the simple, understandable and easily regulated processes created by the state. These regulations are often not bound by the boarders of one country, but are implemented by the international community as well.

It is can almost be explained in terms of fashion. When a fashion motif takes hold, most designers incorporate the motif into their own designs as it is thought that all good designers would make use of this motif. Thus different designers' clothes look different, but the same motif can be seen in each. This is often what happens in the international community. A sign that a country is developed or on the right path to becoming a developed country is by having a good public transport system. A person just needs to visit Britain, France or Germany to experience how public transport should be in a developed country. These public transport systems are regulated, modern and well run. Thus countries who want to conform to the western ideals of modernism and neoliberalism will eventually turn their attentions to their own public transport system and try to regulate, improve and redesign it so that the transport system will be able to stand up next to the other international models. This is the situation that is taking place in South Africa.

The 2010 Soccer World Cup brought the implementation of the BRT/ MyCiti bus system into reality. The world would be watching South Africa and the government needed to find a way to

transport large quantity of fans to and from the stadiums. The MyCiti bus system is technically the state's way of simplifying the organic transportation system in the country. But the decision to begin with the implementation of MyCiti was mainly due to the influx of fans into the country and the realisation that the then current public transport system would not be able to cope with the sheer volume of guests. Slowly since 2008, the City of Cape Town has planned and implemented the MyCiti bus system and removed the taxis which run on the same route. This Scott would argue, was done to regulate and simplify the public transport system so that it matched international standards. The government implemented this transport policy to upgrade and develop the transport system in the country, but have discarded the organic process that makes the country unique. Notably, although Scott (1998) may explain part of the reason behind the regulation of the transport system, it may not be the only explanation. The taxi industry in South Africa has become part of our society and part of our history. The industry enables thousands of people to earn a living to support themselves and their families. In part, the government has acknowledged the significant contribution the taxi industry has made in terms of services to the people as well as employment opportunities. The taxi industry was not completely discarded but incorporated as far as possible into the new bus system. The City of Cape Town consulted with both the taxi owners and communities affected by the new BRT system.

In conclusion, perhaps one has to come to the realisation that public safety, reliability and regulation are valued far more in a public transport system than the unique organic 'chaos' that currently operates. Modernism may as Scott states, put an end to the unique aspects of our society and culture, but perhaps change, innovation and progress will lead to a better future. Therefore, adaption is crucial to our development and growth as a country. People must embrace change while retaining their core essence.

4.9 Negotiations between the different Actors

When the City of Cape Town began the task of planning the MyCiti bus system, the City also began the process of consulting with the various affected taxi owners and organisations. As the implementation of the MyCiti bus progressed, the City also consulted with the different affected communities. The ODA was also brought in to help with the industry transition and negotiations with the taxi owners. This section explains the process the City of Cape Town embarked on to consult, plan and implement the BRT and the role that the ODA played in this industry transition.

> The process of consultation, planning and implementation of the MyCiti bus system began
> with the City of Cape Town. The Project Office (established by the City of Cape Town) had

the task of explaining its IRT vision to the affected taxi industry. City Official A explained that the process,

Of consultation was our brain child, our flagship. We did not go and consult phase by phase. We through a net over the whole taxi industry and golden arrow busses. We consulted with all of them. There was a big session at Century City. Over a 1000 people where we just brought across the idea. BRT or IRT is new to everyone. We then took representatives of the industry to South America- about 50 people. Just to see what BRT was about. This is where we started the consultation. We familiarised the taxis industry with the public transport operators. We familiarised them and ourselves with what is BRT and how it is operated.

This is how the process of consultation began.

The Project office explained the concept of BRT and MyCiti to the taxi industry and how they could get involved and be part of this new industry. They also identified those who would be affected by MyCiti through the verification process. This process entails identifying which routes for the busses the City will develop and then which taxi owners would be affected by these routes. The City consulted with the Provincial Regulatory Entity (PRE) to determine which taxi associations had legitimate claims to the affected routes. Those taxi owners who were going to be directly affected by the installation of MyCiti were given compensation for their business. Those who were only partially affected were not compensated. Directly affected taxi owners surrender their licence and vehicle. They then get monetary compensation for their vehicles and route licenses. With this compensation they then buy shares in the operating companies which run the different sections of the MyCiti bus service.

Partially affected taxi owners need to only amend their licence. That means they need to take off the portion that the buss uses and they are then compensated for that small part. They keep their vehicles to do the remainder of the route and they do not get shares in the business. Once this task was accomplished, the City of Cape Town brought in the Organisational Development Advice Company (ODA) to act as negotiators between the City and the taxi owners. The ODA were played an important role in the negotiations with the affected parties.

The ODA has three very complex tasks to accomplish. The first is to prepare the taxi owners for change. The ODA respondent pointed out that the taxi industry does not just include the taxi owner and the driver. Respondent A from the ODA explained that: *"We had 3 distinguishable tasks. The one is to prepare the industry role players for the changes to come".*

The taxi industry in many communities forms a micro-economy. There are the 'gartjies' (money collector in the taxi – ticket holder), informal mechanics, informal car washes and the informal traders who sell their items at the tax ranks. The taxi owners realised that if they are bought out by the City, these other people will lose their livelihoods as the micro-economy crashes. Therefore part of the negotiations revolved around trying to find a solution to minimise the loss jobs for those involved in the industry. The ODA devised a strategy whereby the MyCiti project could absorb some of these people who would also be affected by the taxi buyout. Taxi owners were asked to create a detailed list of employees, and these people where given the chance to acquire jobs with MyCiti. The taxi drivers were offered positions as bus drivers on the condition that they had a grade 10 certificate and a code 11 licence. If drivers did not have these qualifications, the City of Cape Town provided the necessary tools to acquire these qualifications. Other positions offered to employees were station operators and information providers. This strategy helped to reduce the loss of jobs across the industry.

The ODA then had to negotiate a price at which the City of Cape Town could buy out the affected taxi owners. This was based on projected earnings over a period of five or seven years depending on the operating licence. The City bought each operating licence and minibus from the owner. Thus one taxi owner could be bought out for around R1 million to R15million depending on the number of operating permits the taxi owner owned.

The second task the ODA had to achieve was to create Vehicle Operating Companies (VOC) who would be contracted by the City of Cape Town for 12 years to run the MyCiti busses.

> *The second task was to form the taxi associations into a commercial entity, the vehicle operating company. The reason for this is that the City wants to work and contract with a recognisable entity that functions under the company act and can sue and be sued. And all of that. You don't want to have huge public procurement money flowing for years into an entity that is not properly constituted. From preparing them for the change and then forming a proper company is our first major job. The second major task is settling compensation offers. This is essentially the way that the first phase of the MyCiti - it was based on a total replacement of the existing bus and minibus transport services. It was a total buy out really. So therefore the City had to come up with a compensation offer. Which is really a different way of saying what is the value of your current business projected over the duration of your operating licence of 5 years or seven years. I need to make you the affected taxi operator a compensation offer to effectively buy out your existing rights to your existing business…*

The taxi owners had to invest part of their compensation into the VOC in order to become part of the business. The VOC is a registered company and the ODA helped to ensure that companies were formed correctly according to the law. These VOC's are then contracted by the City of Cape Town to run MyCiti.

The third task of the ODA was to help with creating the contract between the City and VOC and to negotiate the term of the contract for both sides.

> *The third task is to negotiate the contracts of the VOC with the City. The negotiation of the contract is linked to the compensation in that the compensation frees up investment capital that the taxi owners need to put back into the company for the 12 year contract. It is not a contract that starts on zero bases, you need to give performance guarantees and have some investment capital. So those three processes, forming the company, negotiating the compensation and then negotiating the contracts are what we do. It sounds very simple, but it is no.*

The first phase of the project saw the creation of three VOC's. The first VOC is Trans -peninsular Investments which are made up of three taxi associations: Peninsula Taxi Association, Central Unity Taxi Association, and Devils Peak Vredehoek Taxi Association. This VOC runs the inner city busses. The second is the Coastal (Blaauwberg) VOC called Kidrogen, which is made up of five taxi associations: Blaauwberg Taxi Association, Maitland Taxi Association, United Taxi Association, Ysterplaat Taxi Association, Du Noon Taxi Association and the bus company Sibanye. This VOC operates the West Coast routes. The third VOC called the Golden Arrow Bus Services is made up of the Golden Arrow and Sibanye buss company.

Scott (1998) would see this process through the lens of modernism. The organic fabric of society is being broken down and replaced by a simple, uniform and clearly regulated system. While this may be case when one looks at the situation through a modernist lens, one also has to see how the City of Cape Town and the ODA tried to incorporate those who were directly affected by the MyCiti bus system. The City of Cape Town used invited spaces to bring the taxi owners and organisations together and discuss the realities of the BRT system (Miraftab 2006). The ODA worked tirelessly to help the taxi owners navigate their new VOC.

Although the City of Cape Town did consult with those taxi owners who were directly affected by the MyCiti bus system, the taxi owners and drivers in Imizamo Yethu felt that the City did not speak to them about the planning or implementation of the MyCiti bus. A respondent from the Hout Bay taxi association focus group explained:

Our business has been affected; people can now just walk down to the station and get a bus instead of using a taxi. Our business is dying. We were not consulted and now we have just heard that a station will be opened just by the informal settlement... From 2010 to the very inception of the busses we went to ask them what was going on. They did not come here to talk to us... The City should have come down to speak to us. And then we can try and reach an agreement. Then we can make plans and accommodations.

The City of Cape Town did hold a meeting in the library to explain the MyCiti bus system to the residents of Hout Bay. However, the meeting was held a distance away from Imizamo Yethu and at 20:00. Many people did not want to walk the distance at night. Thus the meeting was not very well attended by residents from Imizamo Yethu. Arnstein (1969) wrote about public participation and how in reality citizens do not truly get the opportunity to participate. Arnstein (1969) describes consultation without effective 'participation' in decision making as tokenism. This is where citizens are informed about what will happen, they are given a space to explain their concerns, but in reality they can do nothing to change or stop the implementation from happening.

As Miraftab (2006) explains, invited spaces can prove a good idea for informing the affected parties, but these spaces do not allow the citizens to alter the determined course those with power have chosen. This is what happened in Imizamo Yethu. The City of Cape Town did consult, but the meetings were used more as an information session and not to the full capacity of true public participation. The taxi owners and drivers in Imizamo Yethu felt that the City did not come and talk to them about the implementation of the MyCiti bus system. They also felt that the City did not listen to them when they explained that their business had been severely affected by the new bus system. The frustration from the situation led some of the taxi owners in Imizamo Yethu (HB and HBCT taxi associations) to use invented spaces to engage with the City (Miraftab 2006). This, however, did not result in immediate action from the City. Respondent C stated: *"The City people said we must submit our documentation, car papers licences to look at a situation where they will compensation. But we have heard nothing from them. Never the less, we have had no communication from them from then".* The Hout Bay and Hout Bay Cape Town taxi associations are still waiting for the City to come back to them about their problems with the MyCiti bus service. The City of Cape Town has indicated in an emailed interview that they are busy with a survey to assess the association's operations and when these results have been analysed they will take the appropriate course of action.

Public participation is part of democracy and should be used as it was intended. However, this is not always the case. Barichievy et al (2005) and Bénit-Gbaffou (2008) explain through their works

that public participation does not have a very good success rate in South Africa. Barichievy et al (2005) and Bénit-Gbaffou (2008) indirectly speak to Arnstein's (1969) tokenism. Public participation in South Africa is used more as an information session instead of where citizens came really influence the decision making process. The question is what can be done to improve the practise of public participation? The power holders as Arnstein (1969) calls them more than likely prefer the current tokenism participation. This enables them to inform, but they do not have to truly listen and apply changes to their plans. This also ensures that there is no deviation from their projected profit.

5. Chapter Five - Conflicts around the MyCiti bus system

This section looks at some of the conflicts that have arisen since the implementation of the MyCiti bus service in Imizamo Yethu. There are various problems which have affected both the City of Cape Town and the residents in Imizamo Yethu. Some of these conflicts have the potential to incite violence.

5.1 Micro Economies

Micro Economics is a part of Economics which looks at the 'behaviour of people and organisations in particular markets', especially in smaller markets (Nickels, McHugh and McHugh 2006, 36-37). The taxi industry in each area forms a micro economy. To the ordinary person the taxi industry consists of only the taxi owner, taxi driver and passengers. However, there are many different people who are given a job because of the existence of the industry.

Respondent A from the ODA explained that during his negotiations with the various directly affected taxi owners, he discovered that many of the taxi owners were extremely concerned with what would happen to the people who were supported by the taxi industry in that particular area. Through the experience of dealing with the taxi industry in Atlantis and Dunoon, Respondent A from the ODA explained that each taxi industry in that particular area and at the taxi rank in particular, formed a micro economy. The owner of the taxis pays the drivers to transport passengers to and from the rank in the area. The taxi driver would pay the gartjies to collect the fare when people get into the taxi. There are also people (informal mechanics) who know a bit of mechanics who then look after these vehicles and service and fix them when needs be. Generally one will also find that someone else has established a business by washing the taxis and keeping them clean. At the taxi ranks there are informal stalls that sell various items to commuters.

The taxi industry not only provides transport to passengers, but it also provides an environment where people can exercise their entrepreneurial skills around the taxi industry. The introduction of the MyCiti bus system has removed the use of the directly affected taxis and therefore has also greatly affected the livelihoods of those who depend on the taxi industry to survive. There is a similar pattern with the taxis that are only partially affected. The taxis that are only partially affected in Imizamo Yethu have reported a substantial drop in revenue since the implementation of the MyCiti bus service. The Hout Bay and Hout Bay Cape Town associations who operate in Imizamo Yethu have reported that their business has decreased since the implementation of the MyCiti bus. One driver/owner from the Hout Bay association in the focus group reported that he

used to make roughly R700 per day and now he only makes about R150. He explained that he still needed to buy petrol and pay the driver. This driver/owner reported that *"MyCiti has taken away our jobs. We don't have money for some things and don't have money to fix the cars and pay the drivers. We can't grow the business"*.

This loss of revenue not only affects the livelihoods of the owner and driver, it also affected those who fix the taxis and offer a cleaning service. In some cases where the taxis are totally replaced by the MyCiti bus service, the informal stalls are also affected. In Imizamo Yethu, the MyCiti bus station is situated at the bottom of the informal settlement. Thus the informal stalls along the roads do not seem to be affected by the MyCiti bus as people still continue to walk past the stalls on the way to the bus stop. However, the rest of this micro economy is beginning to disintegrate as the revenue and opportunities have begun to dry up.

Respondent A from the ODA explained that they did enter into negotiations with the City of Cape Town to try and help the people in this micro economy directly affected by the MyCiti bus service by incorporating the taxi drivers, gartjies and others affected into the MyCiti bus system. However, due to high costs the City was forced to outsource the running of the MyCiti service to a cheaper company and therefore these opportunities have been reduced except for the taxi drivers who are trained to drive the busses.

The result of neoliberal policies and a modernist approach may enhance the running of a city, but there is a risk that at least some of the poor tend to be left behind in the dust to pick up their lives in pieces. Those who have means may adapt and change from using a taxi to a bus, but for those who depended on the existence of the taxis and taxi ranks, life has become far more difficult. The ripples of the implementation of policy are far reaching and can have a negative effect on many peoples' lives. The question is whether one sees this in terms of collateral damage and one is desensitized to or does one see it in humanitarian terms and step into action to help?

5.2 Routes

The taxi industry in Hout Bay began to develop in the mid 1990's. Each taxi association would have claimed a particular route to operate on. The main conflict in Imizamo Yethu is based around the ownership of the Cape Town to Hout Bay route and the affect the MyCiti bus service has had on the taxi associations operating in Hout Bay. This section examines the dynamics around these conflicts. Respondent A provides some history to the taxi associations and explains how he came to live in Imizamo Yethu in 1995. It was then that he started the Imizamo Yethu taxi group (Hout Bay taxi association).

> *When I came here to Cape Town I was working for the pharmacy. I drove a motorbike to deliver the medicines. We did not have any sedan taxis here. There were the van taxis to Wynberg. Then I noticed that people are walking all the way to ShopRite. I got a shack and I was on good terms with Kenny. I noticed that people were walking down to the shops and so one. While I was riding between the houses delivering medicines I saw this car. I have a little bit of mechanics. I have no problem redoing a car, I enjoy it. So I saw this car and I approached this lady and asked her about the car. She said oh what are you going to do with this car? I told her I could do something with it. I told her I would pay her for it while it stands here. She said no she knows where I work. I paid the car off. Then I found that the car could start but it made a bang noise. So one weekend when I was off I stripped the engine and got the part. The car was alright. The car was ok, the tyres were good and the interior was good. So I took it to a guy in the harbour to do the body work.*

> *I approached the guys with vehicles here and said lets form a taxi association. Come, our people are battling to get to Shoprite. Come let's get together and do some business. I think we were a group of ten in 1996. We took people to ShopRite and back it was R2.50 from here to ShopRite... We had meetings every Monday and looked at the challenges and the pricing and so on.*

This IY taxi group grew from just a handful of members to about 80 members to date according to Respondent A. Around the same time, the Hout Bay Cape Town group started to operate. These two different associations did not have problems with each other as they had different routes. The Imizamo Yethu group drove people around Hout Bay. The Hout Bay Cape Town Group (HBCT) drove people from Hout Bay to Cape Town. However, in 2011the HBCT association were told by the City, when their application for a permit was denied, that they could not use the route from Camps Bay to Cape Town as it belonged to another association. They could only drive from Hout Bay to Camps Bay. Respondent B (Community elder/ leader) explained:

I can remember that they wanted, the small cars wanted to take the route from here via camps bay to Cape Town. Then they applied and they were rejected. They were told later on that they could only get a route from here to camps bay and that there was another route from camps bay to Cape Town. There is another organisation that has that other route.

So they never took that route until the Cape Town taxis started pirating here. They stole that route (referring to Cuta). Later on, I don't know how they [Cuta] got that route, but they got it. I think they got about 100 taxis.

Respondent C (HBCT Owner/Driver) claims that although they did not get the rights to the route from Camps Bay to Cape Town, they could drive the route from Hout Bay to Camps Bay. The HBCT association petitioned the City for the rights to this route. However, the Cuta association started driving from Cape Town to Hout Bay.

Cuta – they should not be here in Hout Bay. They were meant to operate from Cape Town to Camps Bay. Not Hout Bay. We fought them. We went to the public protector and the high court. The city has compensated them and they took the money and got out quickly. The public protector gave us a finding that says that they should not be here. Someone is corrupt and gave them the rest of the route to Hout Bay.

We are Hout Bay Cape Town association and we have registered. We are the ones who should be going to Cape Town. We have fought them for the rights.

Some of Cuta's owners bought into MyCiti. Those guys down there they are Cuta – but not really Cuta. They have been rejected by some of their executives. So they say that they will not go. They have not been paid out, therefore they will not go. But we are still asking who are you guys, they say they are Cuta.

Respondent C claims that they fought the Cuta group for the Hout Bay-Camps Bay route. However, there is now a splinter Cuta group operating the route. Respondent C states that they dare not drive on the route as they fear that the police will stop them and put the minivan in the impound. According to the taxi drivers that were interviewed from all four taxi groups in IY, it costs (2014 prices) about R7000 to R8000 to get the taxi released from the impound. One of the respondents from the focus groups reported that:

We pay a lot of money to get our van back. If they impound it now, how am I going to get it out now? I don't have R8000 now.

R8000 to get it out the impound.

If the cops feel like searching the van and don't find a permit, then they will just say they are taking the vans. We want to have a meeting with them (The City). We work in Town. Other vans that don't work in town get away easy. We must work with the City. But they must be nice to us.

Every new law that comes in to taxis, they first apply it on us because we are in town.

The clean-up has to start within the City and out. So if they don't treat us nice, we will bring those gedagters from the location into the city. And how will our city look? We don't want our city to look shit. How will it look if our city has a strike with the taxi drivers? But if it comes to that we will. We are putting up resistance… I think the city makes money with the taxis. The owner pays the R8000. The driver then gets caught too and many things are revealed, because they check tickets. Then the owner leaves the driver in Jail.

The conflict that has now risen up is that Cuta took over the route from Cape Town to Hout Bay instead of just to Camps Bay. Respondent C claims that Cuta acquired the licence to the Hout Bay route in an illegal manner. Respondent C explained that he went to the courts and the Public Protector's Office to try and resolve the situation. Respondent C has documentation from 2004 that firstly confirms that the HBCT association is a registered association and secondly that they applied to transport passengers from IY to Cape Town. In one document from the City of Cape Town, it states that the HBCT association's route from Hout Bay to Cape Town is supported by the City. The document also states that officials from the South Peninsula Traffic Department had visited IY and established that there was a need for transportation from the informal settlement to Cape Town via Camps Bay. However, the association could not operate until their licence had been approved. The Public Protector Report on the issue of the stolen route states that while the HBCT association was waiting for the licencing documentation to be approved, Cuta started to operate on the same route. Respondent C approached the Public Protector to investigate as to why the HBCT association applications were not approved and why Cuta was given the route instead.

The Public Protector's office did investigate the complaint. The investigation found that firstly, the Provincial Operating Licensing Board was disestablished on 30 June 2011 and the Provincial Regulatory Entity (PRE) was established on the 1 July 2011. The job of the PRE "*is to receive and decide on applications relating to operating licenses*". The PRE then informed the associations and operators about the new procedures in information sessions. According to the report from the Public Protector, the PRE did hold an information session with the HBCT association. However, Respondent C claims that he never went to any information session. The investigation found that

the application from the association was forwarded to the City and that in December 2012 the applications were approved by the PRE.

The second point noted in the Public Protector report was that the PRE was aware that Cuta was operating on the route from Cape Town to Hout Bay without a licence. Authorities (SAPC and City of Cape Town's Law Enforcement) were asked to ensure that no taxi associations were operating along the route. Respondent A explained;

> *While we were battling, what happened? These guys from Cape Town were operating; we had a fight with them. Cuta. It was a fight between us and Cuta. We told them that they could not operate that route and that it was ours. But to be honest we did not have mini busses just the sedans. We had information that those guys were operating illegally. They did not have permits. And to make it worse the City and the Traffic people were involved. They knew they were illegal and they did nothing. So we had this fight and the traffic cops came here and operated for a week impounding our vehicles. So then we decided that we must do this right. So we decided that we must do to make it right. Then came MyCiti, they started to build the stops and everything. Then they started to talk to the Cuta people.*

The Public Protector report concludes with its findings that the applications of the HBCT association were approved by the PRE in December 2012 and that Cuta was operating on the route illegally. According to the Respondent who approved the report, the Public Protector's Office will have documents to back up the claims made in the report. Contact was made to an official at the Public Protector's Office in an attempt to view the records, but no answer has been given to date.

Thus the first part of the conflict with HBCT association is that their route was stolen by Cuta and they have not been able to operate their business. The second part of the conflict is that the City decided to implement MyCiti along the "stolen" route (Cape Town to Hout Bay) and the "correct owners" of this route were not compensated for the route. Cuta who was operating on the route illegally were compensated.

However, according to Respondent 2 from the ODA, the City of Cape Town had identified which associations were running along the Cape Town to Hout Bay route based on their permits from the PRE. The City consulted with the PRE to determine which associations had legitimate rights to the route. Those associations who were legitimate and directly affected by the implementation of MyCiti were bought out by the City in order to make way for MyCiti busses. In an emailed interview with a respondent from the PRE, it was stated that:

The Provincial Transport Registrar is currently using the Western Cape Road Transportation Act, Amendment Law (Act no 8 of 1996) to register taxi associations, members and non-members. The role of the PRE is primarily to consider and decide upon applications for the registration of taxi associations, members and non-members and to take all reasonable steps to monitor the compliance of the registered taxi associations with the provisions of the Standard Constitution and Code of Conduct. Inherent to this function is a mandate to provide as much guidance and assistance to associations, members and non-members to become and remain complaint with the mentioned statutory documents.

According to our records, CUTA has legitimate rights to operate in Hout Bay. This association was created in February 1997 and was registered in our Registrar's Administration System (RAS) in 2003. PRE does not necessarily determine which association to be registered when and where but rather we receive applications from associations. These applications will then be referred to the Planning Authority in the area where the association is intended to provide the service. Referrals to the Planning Authority are done in terms of Section 55- subsection 2(a) of the National Land Transport Act 5 of 2009. CUTA has approximately 70 operating licences that gives authority to provide public transport service within the CBD and surroundings. PRE jointly with the Planning Authority does not allow two associations to share a route because this is a recipe for conflict.

The information from the PRE would suggest that Cuta does have the rights to drive from Cape Town to Hout Bay. However, the Public Protector's report contradicts this claim. The City of Cape Town regarded Cuta as the legitimate owner of the route and Cuta owners have been compensated for that route. This action by the City has caused conflict with the Hout Bay and Hout Bay Cape Town associations in Hout Bay.

The overarching problem, however, is that the taxi associations that belong to Imizamo Yethu, claim that they were not consulted with by the City of Cape Town before the installation of the MyCiti bus routes in the Hout Bay area and were not compensated for their loss of business. Both the Hout Bay taxi association and the Hout Bay Cape Town taxi association state that the City did not come and consult with them about the MyCiti Busses. The City consulted with the directly affect taxi owners. As the Hout Bay taxi associations were not identified by the City as being directly affected, they were not really part of extensive consultation. These two associations feel that they are directly affected by the MyCiti busses and feel that the City has removed their livelihoods.

The issue is now that the MyCiti busses have been installed and are operating; both Hout Bay associations have reported a big drop in their business. This is a result of the MyCiti bus doing incredibly well. A City Councillor stated: "If *we talk about the Hout Bay route. It is the top performing route or the second performing route. But it is in terms of passenger numbers, we started that route on the 15 February. So we do an analysis of the monthly journeys. The first full month that we could analyse was March and then it was the top route in terms of passenger numbers"*. Respondent C explained that in 2010 the City came to talk to the Community about the new bus service that they want to implement. The meeting was held in the Hout Bay Library to inform the whole Hout Bay community about the new public transport. Respondent E spoke about how the City held the meeting in the Library which is on the "white" side of town. The meeting was held at night and the community of Imizamo Yethu could not get transport to the meeting.

> *But the politics in Hout Bay is very different. The way they undermine the black people is unbelievable. There is a lot of intervention by a number of Mayors in Cape Town to try and resolve the differences between black and white. But those things fell on deaf ears. I think they think that we are nothing because we have nothing. This community is very diverse. The thing with this community is that you have the very richest and the very poor. Now the rich they don't want to listen to the poor, but they forget that God did not make us to be poor; someone made us to be poor. Now all the meetings, the meetings for development, they will be told that the meeting is in the library at 8 at night. That is there in the white community. Now they can't get there because they don't have transport. The city won't even provide the people with transport. Even the way the city communicates about the meetings, they communicate in the sense that we buy newspapers or have internet. Now if I can say there are maybe 2 % of people who buy newspapers in the community. Sometimes you just hear that there is a meeting and you have to rush to get there or you get lost because you don't know where to go*. (Respondent E)

Drivers from the HB and HBCT associations reported that they were not consulted about the process and their business has been affected. Their responses follow below.

> *City has not approached us. When the busses started in Hout Bay, the work is not nice. Most people jump in the bus instead of using car taxis. My business is going down. Take people to ShopRite and even the kids to the school… I own two. Not easy, because now I don't make money. Now that MyCiti is here I don't make money… When MyCiti was not here our business was better, but now that MyCiti is here our business is bad. People jump on*

MyCiti. Even the kids for the school jump in MyCiti. MyCiti did not negotiate with us. (Hout Bay taxi association Drivers Focus Group)

Our business has been affected; people can now just walk down to the station and get a bus instead of using a taxi. Our business is dying. We were not consulted and now we have just heard that a station will be opened just by the informal settlement… From 2010 to the very inception of the busses we went to ask them what was going on. They did not come here to talk to us… The City should have come down to speak to us. And then we can try and reach an agreement. Then we can make plans and accommodations. (Hout Bay Cape Town taxi association Focus Group)

The public meeting, they should have had a meeting in each community. But they only had one meeting in the library before the MyCiti. There were not too much people. There were about 60 people. Hout Bay is not only made up of 60 people.

But we ask ok, what now? The City people said we must submit our documentation, car papers licences to look at a situation where they will compensation. But we have heard nothing from them. Never the less, we have had no communication from them from then (Respondent C).

The lack of consultation with the taxi associations in Hout Bay have made the members of these associations angry and frustrated. During the interviews and focus groups with the various drivers from the HB and HBCT associations it emerged that the members were prepared to use violence in order to get the attention of the City.

But we are looking to toitoi, to burn tyres. But it is a secret. To chase MyCiti because they don't talk to us". (Hout Bay Cape Town taxi association Focus Group)

Those buses one of these days, they force and put people in them, we will burn those busses if we have to and will go to jail if we have to. We will fight the City if Cape Town down to the wire. (Respondent C)

The taxi associations in Hout Bay feel that they need to protect their business from the actions of the City. Respondent C stated that he has had many meetings with the City in order to try and resolve the compensation problem. According to City Official A, the Department of Transport is busy with an investigation to verify the claims of the two Hout Bay taxi associations. The findings have yet to be released.

5.3 The Turnaround Facility

The third main cause of conflict in Imizamo Yethu is the potential construction of a turnaround facility for the MyCiti busses at the one end of the informal settlement. The idea behind the turnaround facility is to provide the MyCiti busses with a temporary space to turn the busses around before heading back towards Cape Town. This facility will also provide IY with a bus stop right in the informal settlement. The facility would only be used until the MyCiti route is extended over the mountain into Wynberg. Once this extension of the route has taken place, the turnaround facility would become a taxi rank for the HBCT and HB taxi associations, according to a City Councillor. The facility would also provide space for informal market stalls for people to sell their products to passengers. The City has consulted with the leaders of the IY community about the construction of the turnaround facility. It is here that the conflict begins.

IY is an ANC- aligned formal and informal settlement. There is an ANC office next to the community hall which helps people with their various problems and complaints. The community leadership is claimed by SANCO (Piper 2012). Through speaking to different people in IY, it became evident that those people who believe that they are the SANCO leaders in the community are not necessarily seen as the SANCO leaders by the community (there are two sets of leadership who contest the leadership mantle). Respondent B explained that the group of people who think that they are the SANCO leaders are the ones who have been meeting with the City in relation to the turnaround facility.

> *I know nobody is happy about MyCiti. I don't know why, but nobody is happy. Some things are happening there between the taxis organisation and the city. I don't know exactly what is going on because I have not been at those meetings. I know they are disgruntled and even the community is disgruntled. Because they do not really want MyCiti to run through the location. That is because they have never been told/ informed.*

> *This is all because of the SANCO here that is not really SANCO. It never existed. We have a group here with people who call themselves SANCO but they are not really registered with SANCO as a member. It is these people who are working with the city. They are on the sub council committee and signed all those documents. (Respondent B)*

In an interview, Respondent D openly claimed that he was the elected SANCO chairperson.

> *I am the chairperson and I was elected in 2012. The term is two years. But because of problems from the National and provincial we have decided not to continue with the election until we have sorted out of the problems. The main problem is with the corruption*

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with houses and this is a problem here in Hout Bay, IY too… There was a meeting last year; I don't know the month, whereby the whole of Hout Bay, in the library, where MyCiti asked permission of the community of Hout Bay to bring MyCiti. The City said that they had had talks with different people. But that they want to bring the service to Hout Bay. And everyone was fine and happy with that.

The City of Cape Town was called for a meeting at the police station just outside Imizamo Yethu. This meeting was called by the SANCO chairperson to determine what the problem with the turnaround facility was. The meeting was attended by the SANCO chairperson, the Project Office, MyCiti implementation department and the Housing Department. Also present were various taxi owners from the HB and HBCT taxi association.

The conflict with the turnaround facility was centred around nine families who had previously been moved from the upper parts of the informal settlements to make way for a service road.

Figure 11 and 12 show the area that was going to be used for the turnaround facility. The shacks in the images are the nine shacks that needed to be removed. Photos taken by Roslyn Bristow, 2014.

These nine families had been relocated to the bottom of the informal settlement next to the grave yard and basically in the children's' play area. The families were provided with temporary government tin shacks. After the 2014 elections, the City wanted to move these nine families from the corner near the graveyard onto land that is roughly in the middle of the informal settlement so that the construction of the turnaround facility could begin. This land is part of the 16 hectares which has been put aside for the development of housing in the community. These nine families were to be moved into temporary government tin shacks until the flats were built on the 16 hectares land. The tin shacks had windows, two rooms, a flush toilet and electricity. For many people in the informal settlement, these tin temporary homes would have been a welcomed comfort.

The problem with these actions are that members of the community claimed that if those nine families were allowed to move onto the 16 hectare land that was meant for housing for the community, then other people would also begin to move onto the land and then there would be no space for the construction. The more subtle problem that seemed to come to light was that here was a community desperate for houses and they did not think it fair that nine families the community claimed were not on the housing list got relatively nice homes while many other people on the housing list struggled in their shacks. Members of the community stated that they felt angry because the City was prioritising MyCiti instead of dealing with the far more serious problem of housing. Respondent B confirms this.

> *MyCiti mostly now, we have a lot of questions against them. Like the houses that they want to move. There are about 9 shacks that they want to move. They want to move those people from down there and move them here. Since 1990 this area is called 16 hectare and was ear marked for development for the people. And then there was infighting by some of the people because they wanted to use the land for their own children. Then there was a court interdict and then it was removed. Now they say that they can start building houses there. They start developing for the bus instead of the houses. So we have questions again why? Because they are now prioritising the bus that came yesterday and we don't know because we have been here for years and the bus came yesterday they did not cater for us…*

The fourth issue was that the community claimed that the original nine families who had been moved into the first set of temporary shacks had sold or rented these shacks out to newcomers to the informal settlements. Thus the original families were not getting the new tin homes, but foreigners were.

Respondent B explains:

> *The whole community is disgruntled with the housing situation here. We are not happy because we were not consulted. At the moment there is a confrontation between the city and the community about 9 shacks that have been moved from the top to the bottom where the play park is for the children. The city never told the community that they were going to move those people. Moved them down to the play park. They moved them so that the City could make the road up there. They put those 9 shacks inside the play area for the kids and now the kids don't have anything. So now, those people that stayed there sold those shacks to foreigners. Now they have built new shacks here and they want to put these foreigners into those houses. The community says no. The city has not informed us, and now they want*

to put these people here. But what about us? What about the people who were born here.
They still don't have houses. We are not going to allow these people to move in here.

The decision to not go ahead with the turnaround facility was taken at the meeting with the City, SANCO and taxi owners. The meeting turned into chaos as arguments flew around the room and it was disbanded after about 30 minutes (I was at the meeting and it was a tense experience). The Department of Implementation of MyCiti decided that the current climate was not safe to bring construction workers into the informal settlement. A City Councillor expressed the view that:

They are still holding the transport project hostage for a housing solution. Which is sad
because the two projects are separate. The people will have to walk to the temporary station
in valley road if we don't get the turnaround facility. It is unfortunate that there is
gatekeeping to this transport solution. We can't solve the housing problem. So we did not
get any further. We will do surveys in the next month to try and find a solution.

There have been no solutions to the current issues affecting the taxi association in Imizamo Yethu. The taxi associations are still holding talks with the City to try and resolve the problem of compensation. The City has decided that they will extend the MyCiti route from the Wynberg side and the turnaround will be put on hold, if not stopped all together. In the time being, the nine new temporary tin shacks have been vandalised. Figures 13, 14 and 15 below, show the extent of the damage. Most of the tin shacks had their windows broken. However, one of the tin shacks was completely destroyed.

Figure 13, 14 and 15 show the vandalised temporary shacks. Photos taken by Roslyn Bristow, 2014.

5.4 Voice of the Passenger

Early in the morning between 6:30 and 8:00 am passengers for the MyCiti bus form a long queue at the Imizamo Yethu stop. This stop is situated down the road from the main entrance to the informal settlement. For those who live towards the top of the informal settlement, the walk down to catch the bus is long – roughly two kilometres. The passengers interviewed lived in the informal settlement and were on their way to work or school. The majority of the passengers used to take a taxi into Cape Town and about a third used the Golden Arrow bus services before the implementation of MyCiti.

The general consensus was that the people who took the MyCiti bus preferred to take the bus despite other modes of transport being available. The reason for this is firstly the MyCiti bus is cheaper than using the taxi or the Golden Arrow bus. Passengers found the busses clean and felt safe while traveling on the busses to work or school as the bus generally has a designated lane that it drives in. The bus driver is also trained to drive the busses and knows not to take unnecessary risks with passengers on board.

There were many concerns about the MyCiti bus service as well. Many passengers reported that the bus did not always arrive on time. While they understand that the bus has to navigate through traffic during the week and therefore could easily run late, the busses on the weekend did not have to deal with traffic and yet still arrived an hour late or not at all. For this reason many passengers prefer to use the taxi services to get to Cape Town over the weekend because they are far more reliable than the scheduled MyCiti busses. The next concern was that it took the taxi 30 minutes to drive from Hout Bay to Cape Town, but it takes the bus one hour. Although this is a valid concern, most passengers realise that the bus can only travel at a certain speed and has to stop at the different stations along the route. This would account for the extended travel time.

There are a fair number of children making use of the MyCiti bus. These children often arrive late at school because the bus is generally very full at the Imizamo Yethu station. Only a few people can get on the bus each time it comes to collect passengers. During the peak times the bus stops at the station every ten minutes. However, from observing the situation, the bus needs to stop at the station every five minutes. Many of the children reported that if they are late for school because the bus was late or there is an extremely long queue, they are punished by the school and made to do detention for an hour after school. Although one could argue that the children should then leave earlier for school, these children come from the informal settlement where many of them do not have electricity or access to water in their homes and this delays their departure for school.

The interviews with the passengers highlighted the importance of the turnaround facility that the City of Cape Town was trying to build in the informal settlement. One of the main complaints was that the passengers had to walk a far way to get to the MyCiti bus station. The second issue with the bus station was that it was open air and passengers got soaked if it was raining. One passenger commented that the bus stations in the White parts of Hout Bay have a shelter so why not the Imizamo Yethu stop?

When asked if they would prefer to have a station in the informal settlement on Mandela Drive there was a unanimous 'yes'. Many of the passengers reported that they would feel safer walking from the bus station on Mandela drive than from the bus station at the bottom of IY. Passengers felt that there was less chance of someone robbing or assaulting them if they had a smaller distance to walk from the station to their home.

The majority of the passengers were not aware of any conflicts surrounding the MyCiti turnaround facility. Most passengers were not ever aware of the initial plan to build the facility. One child, however, explained that the reason why there was some conflict around the MyCiti bus and the turnaround facility was because they live in an ANC ward and the MyCiti bus service belonged to the DA (City of Cape Town). Perhaps his perceptions are correct, or he had picked up on an undercurrent that had eluded all the other interviews with residents of Imizamo Yethu.

The general picture painted from the passengers who use the MyCiti bus was that they prefer the MyCiti bus service as it is more reliable and safer than the taxis. The general answer from those passengers waiting in line for a taxi was that they had either run out of money on the bus card or they still had to buy their bus card. However, both the bus and taxi queues were long and did not relent during the period from 6:30 till 8:00am.

Figures 16, 17 and 18 show the Imizamo Yethu MyCiti bus stop and the line of people waiting for the bus at around 06:45. Photos taken by Roslyn Bristow, 2014.

6. Chapter Six - Conclusion

Cape Town can be characterised as a competitive city which strives to draw in investment, tourists and business. As one of the host cities for the 2010 Soccer World Cup, Cape Town was one of the cities that received the first implementation of the BRT system. The BRT system is a public transport model that provides passengers with safe, scheduled transport via buses. The City of Cape Town and the ODA are the two formal actors involved in the process of the implementation of the BRT system. The MyCiti bus routes were planned by looking at the taxi routes and the passenger demand. The informal actors in Imizamo Yethu are the illegal Cuta association, the Wynberg Association, the Hout Bay and Hout Bay Cape Town association. All four of these taxi associations operate from Imizamo Yethu. This section will provide conclusions to the previous two chapters. It will also give recommendation and future research topics towards the end.

6.1 Impact of MyCiti

The MyCiti bus has had both a positive and negative impact on the residents of Imizamo Yethu and those who live in the greater Hout Bay area. The positive aspects of the MyCiti bus system is that the service provides safe transport for the passengers. The MyCiti buses are driven by drivers with a valid licence who have been trained to drive the specific busses. These buses have so far not been involved in accidents with other motor vehicles. The MyCiti buses run according to a schedule and although passengers have experienced delays while waiting at the bus stop, the general consensus is that the buses run on time and can be relied on during the week. During the peak travel times, the MyCiti buses stop at the various stations every ten minutes. This enables passengers to get to work in a timely manner. The MyCiti service also provides security at the main stations along the routes. This ensures that passengers are safe while waiting for the bus to arrive and they can be assured of safety while they are in the station. This security feature does not extend to the feeder routes and smaller bus stops. Here the passengers are forced to provide their own protection as they walk to their homes. This is particularly true for the residents of Imizamo Yethu.

The Imizamo Yethu stop is a small feeder route bus stop and therefore there is no glass structure to protect commuters against the elements and there is no presence of security. Passengers need to be vigilant and aware of their surroundings at all times. However, due to the large queue of passengers who are waiting for the bus in the mornings, the risk factor would be lower; but the problem may come at night when people are returning late from work and the surrounding area is quiet. The long walk from the bus stop to Imizamo Yethu could put the passengers at risk, especially women and child. Although Imizamo Yethu is based just above the Hout Bay Police station, crime is still a

factor in the area. The community of the informal settlement may not be at fault, but outsiders visiting the area may see the distance from the bus stop to the passenger's front door as an opportunity to rob, rape or even abduct a school going child. It should be noted that the City did make plans to build a proper facility in Imizamo Yethu called a turnaround facility for the busses to turn before they head back towards Cape Town. This turnaround facility would have provided the passengers from Imizamo Yethu with a better structure in terms of a bus shelter. The bus stop would have also been in the informal settlement and therefore the walking distance from the bus stop to the passenger's front door is significantly reduced. The idea of building the facility was thrown out after some members of the community held the department of transport at the City of Cape Town to ransom and refused to allow the construction to go ahead. This issue will be discussed in detail further on in this conclusion.

The MyCiti bus service has also had an impact on the taxi industry. In some cases this impact has been positive, but in others the implementation of the bus service has led to the breakdown of the micro economies that surround the taxi industry and ranks in the different areas. The positive aspect of the MyCiti bus system is that the City of Cape Town and the ODA have worked extremely hard to incorporate the taxi industry into this new public transport. The government could have decided that the taxi industry would just be replaced and that they had no responsibility towards the taxi industry. This however, was not the case as the government realises that in order to achieve the goal of the a new public transport system, they would have to work with the members of the 'old' system or face protesting with a South African flare.

The South African government and the City of Cape Town worked with the owners and organisations in the taxi industry to find a solution to a potential disaster. In Cape Town, the ODA was brought in to help with the industry transition and this company worked with the taxi owners and the City of Cape Town to find the best move forward. At the end of the process, the taxi owners who had licences for the routes to be used by the MyCiti bus and who were directly affected by the bus system were compensated for those routes. These owners were then helped by the ODA to form the VOCs. This step by the City of Cape Town illustrates that in the neoliberal principles and practices are only used to a certain point and that the responsibility towards society and the entrepreneurs of the taxi industry is important for the growth of the country and the economy. Although South Africa is a developing country trying to expand and grow, the focus on the people of this country has not been lost. This point is also evident in the IDP which clearly illustrates that the welfare of society is extremely important. The City of Cape Town has provided resources into helping entrepreneurs and communities develop their skills and education.

The negative aspect comes in when looking at those who have only been partially affected by the MyCiti bus system and those that surround the directly affected (but compensated) taxi businesses in other areas. The City of Cape Town may have negotiated and worked with the taxi owners who were affected by the MyCiti bus system, but those who ran businesses to support the taxi industry in the area have been negatively affected. The people who washed and cleaned the taxis, those that fixed the mechanics of the taxis and those who ran stalls at the taxi ranks are the ones who have been left behind by progress. As explained in the previous chapter, there is a micro economy which surrounds the taxi industry in each area. It is this micro economy which has been torn apart by the discontinuation of the taxi services in that area. These people are now out of business or their business has been badly affected by the removal of the taxi industry.

A similar situation was discovered at Imizamo Yethu. There the two sedan taxi associations' business had been negatively affected by the implementation of the MyCiti bus. Their revenue had dropped significantly since the MyCiti bus was implemented. This illustrates that even though a government tries to look after those affected by neoliberal policy, there are always those who are left behind. It is often the poor who find themselves in this position. The taxi owners have the power and means to create trouble for the City of Cape Town if they are not included, but the small informal businesses do not stand a chance. This is what Scott (1998) meant when he spoke about the breakdown of organic practise and processes in society when the state tries to regulate these processes and practises. The taxi industry provided work for many people who both worked directly for the taxi owner and those who worked indirectly. With the regulation of the transport industry in South Africa, this web of support has been broken and many of these people will struggle to adapt and move into a new venture. Huchzermeyer (2011) is correct in stating that it is often the poor that feel the negative aspects of living in a competitive city. The poor are the ones who find themselves being affected by the ripples of neoliberal policy implementation and are relatively powerless to defend their interests.

6.2 Compensation and Communication

The negative effects of the MyCiti bus system in Imizamo Yethu has resulted in conflict between the taxi industry in the community and the City of Cape Town. The HB and HBCT associations in Imizamo Yethu feel that they have a right to operate their taxi business in the Hout Bay area and beyond. However, due to route rights issues they have been prohibited from claiming what they feel is their rightful route from Hout Bay to Camps Bay. These issues seem to have arisen with the implementation of the MyCiti bus system in Hout Bay. The City of Cape Town and the ODA identified that the route from Cape Town-Camps Bay – Hout Bay belonged to Cuta and Cuta has since been compensated for the route. The respondent from the PRE stated that:

CUTA has been in our records since 2003 and I am not aware of the said association operating illegal from Cape Town to Hout Bay. CUTA has about 70 permits of which a portion of this permit has authority to operate from Cape Town to Hout Bay. Looking at our records, CUTA obtained some of their permits in the year 2000 although that time it was a radius permit.

The problem is that the HB and HBCT associations had also applied for their route permits during the same time. The conflict between these associations and the City is that the taxi associations believe that the City compensated the wrong taxi group. This allegation is serious and has been investigated in this research project. However, it is almost impossible to pinpoint which taxi association has the rightful claim to the Hout Bay – Cape Town route. The Public Protector's Report does indicate in its findings that Cuta was operating along the route illegally. The person who compiled the report has since left the Public Protector's office and therefore the report could not be interrogated further. The frustration of the Hout Bay taxi associations was intensified by the implementation of the MyCiti bus system which has almost financially crippled their now smaller taxi business.

The second part of the issue seen here is the claim that the City of Cape Town did not come and consult with the Hout Bay taxi associations. The department of transport at the City of Cape Town explained that they did most of their consultation with the directly affected taxi associations and with the taxi owners. However, the City did hold a meeting in Hout Bay to discuss the future implementation of the MyCiti bus system. The problem here lies with the system of public consultation. Arnstein (1969) explains that often proper public participation is disregarded. Power holders use the consultation process as an information session with the affected communities or businesses. But the affected community and businesses are not given the power to change the status quo. It can be said that public participation works well if you are a citizen with resources and influence. The City of Cape Town consulted with the taxi association and the taxi owners that were directly affected by the MyCiti bus service. The realisation is that if these 'big fish' did not buy into the MyCiti idea, the City of Cape Town would not have been able to move forward due to the threat of protests that would have been made by the taxi owners and associations. However, this did not happen as the taxi owners benefited from the compensation they received for their taxi vehicles and route permits/ licences. It was in the best interests of the taxi owners to accept the compensation and therefore also influenced their employees to remain calm and accept the change.

The taxi owners and drivers in Imizamo Yethu do not have the resources or influence to secure proper public participation with the City of Cape Town. These taxi owners and drivers would be

considered 'small fish' and according to the City are only partially affected by the MyCiti bus service. Therefore, the implementation plans do not rely on the input of the IY taxi owners as their opinions will not have any effect on the situation.

The public participation process was conducted by the City of Cape Town; however, the process did not allow the affected individuals to change the situation. The City of Cape Town had spent many hours and resources on the implementation of the MyCiti bus in Hout Bay and the gripes of the partially affected taxi associations were not going to change the projected path.

The taxi associations in Hout Bay have been able to claim some of their power back by the use of and threat of violence and vandalism. The HB and HBCT associations have confronted the City of Cape Town and engaged with them by using invented spaces. These associations have made it clear that if the City does not find a solution and continues to ignore their frustration and hardship, they will retaliate by burning the MyCiti buses. Von Holdt (2011) explains that communities often fail to get the attention of government by the use of normal public participation. But the use of violent protests and the burning of facilities work wonders and government comes to listen to the problems of the people. This strategy has worked well in the Imizamo Yethu case. The taxi associations have held the department of transport up for ransom and have threatened to use violence if their concerns are not properly heard and dealt with. This only goes to show that if you do not have the resources or influence to have a voice the City will listen to, the next best option is to make them listen and take note with threats of violent protest action.

6.3 Ransom as a form of Negotiation

The strategy of violent protests has worked well for many communities in South Africa. Using threats of violence also seemed to work well especially in the case of Imizamo Yethu. As explain in the previous section, the taxi associations have threatened the City of Cape Town with violence and vandalism if their frustrations are not dealt with. These taxi associations went one step further and held the department of transport up for ransom. The influential members of the taxi associations manipulated the views of the community and turned the community against the idea of the turnaround facility in Mandela Drive, Imizamo Yethu. The 'anger' stemmed from the relocation of nine families from area of the informal settlement to another. These families were to be housed in temporary tin homes until the housing department could come into Imizamo Yethu and start the process of building homes. This proposed action was to be done so that the department of transport could start the building of the turnaround facility for the MyCiti busses. This facility would have provided a closer bus stop for MyCiti bus passengers and structures for informal stalls to the erected.

The influential members of the taxi associations managed to convince the community that this proposed plan was unfair and could not take place. The 'community' decided they wanted houses in return for permission to build the turnaround facility. Thus these members of the taxi associations threatened the City with violence if they tried to move the nine families. The City of Cape Town decided that it was far too risky to bring in a construction team to build the facility and therefore decided to drop the entire idea. The department of transport decided they did not really need the turnaround facility and would wait for the MyCiti bus routes to be built from the Constantia side. These actions by the influential members of the taxi associations prove that threats with violence and vandalism do have the power to stop the implementation of policy.

The outcome of this situation is simple. The City of Cape Town has decided that the turnaround facility will not ever be built. The City has also conducted a survey to establish the extent of impact the MyCiti bus system has made on the business of the Hout Bay taxi associations. The results of this survey are yet to be seen. In some instances, the threat of or use of violence can help force the government to listen and take note. However, would it not be more time efficient to just engage in good public participation methods and ensure that communities and affected parties are heard? A recommendation would be for the City to look at different ways of doing public participation and try to find a process where the city officials go to the people. The City needs to hold a community meeting in the community at night when most of the residents are back from work and able to attend. If this had been done, the City would have seen that there are many people who would have liked to have a bus station in Imizamo Yethu. As one of the MyCiti passengers stated, they do not know what happens in the informal settlement because the meetings are always held in the day when they are at work.

A more interactive public participation process may take more time and resources, but at least the community will understand what is happening and not be able to be manipulated because they do not know the truth of what is going to happen. Success can be achieved with the help of the people, but without their support the project can be lost.

6.5 Relation to Theory

The theories used in this study did create an insight into the actions of the various actors. However, my overriding impression from this case is that neoliberalism and modernism tend to forget the human factor. The South African government has generally tried to consider the public when implementing a new policy. The City of Cape Town did not rush into the planning and implementation of the BRT system. They first consulted and spoke to the leaders in the taxi industry before making a move. The City along with the ODA tried as far as possible to incorporate

those affected by the removal of the taxi industry into the MyCiti bus workplace. It is also necessary to note that although theory helps to identify and explain actions, it does not always provide an answer for everything. One has to use theory and experience together to get the best analytical insights.

6.6 Recommendations

This study highlights the necessity for a deeper look at the public participation processes. If public participation / consultation enabled participants to be informed as well as provide their opinion and have the power to influence and change policy, people may feel more content with the decisions that government makes. In the Imizamo Yethu situation, communication was the key. If the city officials came and spoke to the community on their level, they may not have had so many problems and conflicts. However, this cannot be certain. Perhaps the trial of different public participation methods would be the only way to discover how best to engage with a community to receive the best results.

The recommendation for future policy implementation is to consult on the level of the community. It may take more time and resources, but the outcome would be better if the community felt that they were being heard. Public participation should not just been seen as something that needs to be done because it is on a checklist. Valuable information and dynamics can emerge from consulting with the community or affected parties. Proper consultation can also result in a better relationship with the community and help with future negotiations.

Recommendations to academics and scholars who are going to be doing research with the government, whether it is provincial or local, is to see the personal assistants and secretaries as gatekeepers. They are the people who can help in getting information out of key respondents. It would be a good idea to always be polite and friendly to these gatekeepers as they can help open doors. It is also a good idea to make use of emails as well as the occasional phone call when being persistent to get information. It also helps to explain to the personal assistant how important it is that you receive that information. Gate keepers are extremely important whether they be in government or in the informal settlement. One has to identify them and maintain a good relationship with them. If this is achieved, field research becomes much easier and less time consuming.

Future research can be done on public participation and the various methods used. It would be interesting to see where certain methods work. Perhaps a different country has a different perspective on how to conduct public participation. Another research area would be on the location of the BRT system and why it does not go into the poor areas. Most of the MyCiti bus routes are in

upper working class and middle class areas. It could be that the routes will eventually extend into all areas, or placement could be related to potential passenger resources.

In conclusion, public participation is an important part of democracy and needs to be conducted correctly to ensure that ordinary citizens have the power to change the status quo. Resources and influence should not determine the kind of public participation a person is exposed to. Policy should always be examined in terms of development achievements but also in terms of the impact on the different sectors in society, especially the poor. The poor should not have to pay for living in a competitive city by being impacted negatively by the implemented policy. Any collateral damage should be minimised as far as possible before the implementation of the policy begins.

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8. Appendix
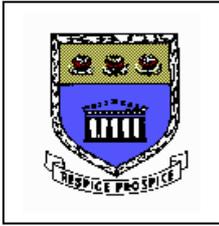
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DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL STUDIES

Consent Form for Focus Group

Title of Research Project: The dynamics of reorganising public transport in South Africa: A case study of the Imizamo Yethu taxi industry and the MyCiti bus services in Hout Bay.

Agreement of Understanding

The study has been explained to me in a language I understand. I agree to participate in the study and all my questions about the study have been answered. I understand that I have the right to anonymity. I understand that I may discontinue with any questions at any time and that I will not be affected negatively in any way. I give my consent to my voice being recorded. **I also agree to not discuss any information that was discussed in the group sessions.**

Participant's Name:

Participant's signature:

Date:

Should you have any problems or inquiries, please contact the following people:

Researcher: Roslyn Bristow

Student Number: 3268364

Contact number: 072 265 2425

Supervisor: Prof L. Piper

Contact number: 021 959 3234

Email: lpiper@uwc.ac.za

UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE
Private Bag X17 BELLVILLE 7535 South Africa
Telephone: 27 021 959-3198 / 2579 Fax: 27 021 959-3201
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL STUDIES

Consent Form for interview

Title of Research Project: The dynamics of reorganising public transport in South Africa: A case study of the Imizamo Yethu taxi industry and the MyCiti bus services in Hout Bay.

The study has been explained to me in a language I understand. I agree to participate in the study and all my questions about the study have been answered.

I understand that I have the right to anonymity. I understand that I may discontinue with any questions at any time and that I will not be affected negatively in any way. I give my consent to my voice being recorded.

Participant's Name:

Participant's signature:

Date:

Should you have any problems or inquiries, please contact the following people:

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DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL STUDIES

Information Sheet

Title of Research Study: The dynamics of reorganising public transport in South Africa: A case study of the Imizamo Yethu taxi industry and the MyCiti bus services in Hout Bay.

Dear Participant

You are being invited to take part in a research project. The research is being conducted for a mini thesis which is a requirement for Masters in Political Science. This research also forms part of a greater research project coordinated by Prof L. Piper. I am completing my Structured Masters at the University of the Western Cape.

Please read through this information sheet to gain a better understanding of the research study that is being conducted. Please ask me any questions that you feel need to be answered with regards to this research project. My contact details and those of my supervisor are at the end of this sheet.

Purpose of Study

This study will explore the different narratives held by the Imizamo Yethu (IY) taxi industry and the MyCiti bus actors. The study will look at the role of public participation with regards to policy planning and implementation and how the Taxi industry in IY influenced the policy process of the MyCiti bus transport system.

Description of study and your involvement

The study will include in-depth interviews, focus groups and basic interviews with adult people. The questions will look at your experiences and interactions with regards to the different relevant actors. The questions in the in-depth interviews and focus groups will ask about your interactions with the different actors and about your feelings towards the different modes of transport. These questions will also enquire about the level of participation between you and the other actors.

Confidentiality

As a participant of this study, you have the right to anonymity. All information that you provide is done so under strict confidentiality. Your name will not be recorded on the video tape nor will it appear within my study. All consent forms with names on them and recorded data will be kept in a

secure locked cabinet. The signed consent forms which you as the participant will need to fill in and sign will be destroyed after this research study is complete.

Voluntary participation and withdrawal

Your participation in this study is completely on a voluntary basis. You have the right to decline to be in this study and may withdraw from the study at any point. If you decide not to be a part of this study, you will not be negatively impacted in any way.

If you do decide to be part of this study, you will be given this information sheet to keep. You may contact the researcher or supervisor at any point if you have any questions. You may withdraw from the study at any point. You may also decline to answer any question during the interview or focus group.

Benefits and Costs

This study does not provide any compensation for taking part in it. While there is no material compensation by participating in this study, you will be an important part of the study by ensuring that this study can be completed. The results of this study will have the potential to help improve aspects of the policy process. Thus, helping the growth and consolidation of democracy in our wonderful country. The interviews and focus groups will take between 60 and 90 minutes each. You are not required to give anything up except your time. All interviews and focus groups will be conducted in your locality. Therefore you will not be expected to incur any transport costs.

Informed Consent

Your signed consent is needed before you are included in any interviews or focus groups. The consent form has been attached to this form for you to sign once you have read this information sheet and feel completely comfortable being a part of this study

Questions

If you have any questions or enquiries about this study please feel free to contact the researcher or supervisor. Their respective information is given below.

Researcher: Roslyn Bristow   Supervisor: Prof L. Piper

Student Number: 3268364   Contact number: 021 959 3234

Contact number: 072 265 2425   Email: lpiper@uwc.ac.za

Public Protector Report

PUBLIC PROTECTOR
SOUTH AFRICA

PROVINCIAL INVESTIGATIONS

CLOSING REPORT

7/2 – 44634/11/WC

Name of Complainant: Mr W S Qhusheka and Others

UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

Prepared by: Mr M Mackier

Date:

Approved by: Ms S Lengeveldt

Date: 7/06/2013

1. THE COMPLAINT

1.1. The Complainant approached the Public Protector South Africa (**the Public Protector**) with a complaint against the Provincial Regulatory Entity (**the PRE**) alleging that as members of the Hout Bay Taxi Association, he and several others, during 2001, applied to the City of Cape Town (**the City**) and the PRE for recognition of their association and 12 operating permits.

1.2. Following this, officials from the City and the PRE conducted a survey in Hout Bay, shortly after which they were informed that they will not be allowed to operate, until they received feedback regarding their applications.

1.3. However, in the interim, another taxi association, the Central Unity Taxi Association (**CUTA**) started operating on the routes that they applied for.

1.4. He requested the Public Protector to investigate the reasons why their applications were not approved and if CUTA given permission to operate along the route, they applied for.

2. THE INVESTIGATION
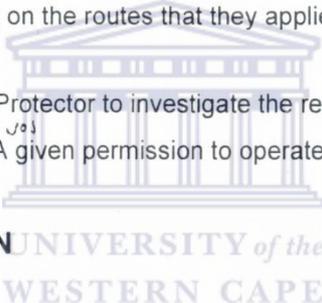
2.1. The Investigator made enquiries to the PRE and was initially advised that they were awaiting feedback from the City.

2.2. A further response from the PRE advised that:

2.2.1. The Provincial Operating Licensing Board (**POLB**) was disestablished on 30 June 2011 and the PRE was established on 1 July 2011. The function of the PRE is to monitor and oversee public transport and to receive and decide on applications relating to operating licences;

2.2.2. The PRE informed associations and operators by conducting information sessions about new procedures described in the National Land Transport Act 5 of 2009 (**the Act**) and notices were placed in the public area at Vangate Service Centre, well in advance to inform the operators of the different application processes. An information session was conducted with the association, where the chairperson was present. It was incumbent on the chairperson of the association to inform the members accordingly;

2.2.3. Before a decision can be taken by the PRE, it requires the input from the City on, amongst others, the following:

- Whether there are stand available at the taxi facility
- Whether there are stands available at Municipal destination points
- Whether there is a rank at the location;

2.2.4. The applications were forwarded to the City, which advised during November 2012, that it has no objections to the applications, providing that routes applied for should be strictly be adhered to. The applications were subsequently approved by the PRE, during December 2012;

2.2.5. They were aware that CUTA was operating along the route, but that they were doing so without having the necessary permits; and

2.2.6 When their illegal operations came to the attention authorities, the South African Police Service (**the SAPS**) and the City of Cape Town's Law Enforcement were called upon to ensure that none of the taxi associations were operating along the route.

2.3. The Investigator communicated the feedback received from the PRE to the Complainant. The said letter further advised that in view of the feedback received from the PRE, it would appear that his complaint was addressed and that the Public Protector would, as a result proceed to close its file herein.

3. FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

3.1. The PRE forwarded the respective applications to the City which, during 2012, advised that it has no objections of the approval of the applications.

3.2. The applications were subsequently approved by the PRE, during December 2012.

3.3. CUTA was operating along the route without the necessary permits.

4. END RESULT

4.1. In the premises the Public Protector regards this matter as finalized and will now close its file herein.

Permit Application for Hout Bay Cape Town Taxi Association

44 Wale Street	44 Wale Street	Waalstraat 44	CITY OF CAPE TOWN
Cape Town 8001	eKapa 8001	Kaapstad 8001	ISIXEKO SASEKAPA
P O Box 16548	Ibhoksi 16548	Posbus 16548	STAD KAAPSTAD
Vlaeberg 8018	Vlaeberg 8018	Vlaeberg 8018	
Tel: +27 21 418 6830	Umnxeba: +27 21 418 6830	Tel: +27 21 418 6830	
Fax: +27 21 419 5249	Ifeksi: +27 21 419 5249	Faks: +27 21 419 5249	

Ref/Iref/Verw:TT16/15

CITY OF CAPE TOWN – PUBLIC TRANSPORT BRANCH

11 February 2004

The Secretary
Local Road Transport Board
2nd floor Goulburn Building
cnr Goulburn St / Voortrekker Rd
GOODWOOD 7460.

re PERMIT APPLICATION
New Application
No: <u>1528218</u>
ID: <u>5311155756089</u>
Applicant: <u>Kongela S</u>

Dear Sir/Madam

In terms of section 39(2) (a) of the National Land Transport Transition Act (act 22 of 2000), I wish to comment as follows re the above-mentioned application:

Authority Applied for	
Origin - Destination	Origin - Destination
Imizamo Yethu-Cape Town	

♦ **The application is supported by the City of Cape Town for the following reason:**

Officials from the South Peninsula Traffic Department recently visited the Imizamo Yethu area to establish the balance between the demand and supply of Public transport services. The inspection identified the need for a service from Imizamo Yethu to Cape Town based on commuter demand.

<u>Based on the recommendations by South Peninsula Traffic Department the application is supported subject to the following conditions</u>:

- A letter of support from the route Association, and
- The route(s) and route descriptions must be verified by the Cape Town Traffic Department.
- Subject to the successful registration of the association at the office of the registrar.

Yours faithfully

DIRECTOR: TRANSPORT, ROADS & STORMWATER
City of Cape Town

Registration of Hout Bay Cape Town Taxi Association

CITY OF CAPE TOWN – PUBLIC TRANSPORT BRANCH

The Secretary
Local Road Transport Board
2nd floor Goulburn Building
cnr Goulburn St / Voortrekker Rd
GOODWOOD 7460.

17 September 2004

Dear Sir/Madam

REGISTRATION OF HOUT BAY CAPE TOWN TAXI ASSOCIATION.

This is to confirm that the City of Cape Town's Public Transport Branch on the recommendation of the South Peninsula Traffic Department have supported operating licence applications of certain members of the above association in accordance with section 39 of the National Land Transport Transition Act (22 of 2000) (See Annexure A).

Yours faithfully

DIRECTOR: TRANSPORT, ROADS & STORMWATER
City of Cape Town

Operating Licence Application

No 4

Support subject to Route Verify from Cape Town Administration [handwritten, uncertain]

Enq: MRS Z MANEVELD
Ref: 1528218

CITY OF CT

Tel: 5924736 Code(021   )
Fax: 5920587 Code(021   )

2003/11/13

SIR/MADAM

RE: REQUEST FOR YOUR COMMENTS (OBJECTIONS) ON A
OPERATING LICENCE APPLICATION: 1528218 (NEW APPLICATION)

THIS PROVINCIAL OPERATING LICENSING BOARD WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR
COMMENTS WITH REGARD TO THE FOLLOWING APPLICATION RECEIVED:

Gazet Dated - 2003/12/05
    OP.1528218. (2) KONGELA SEBENZILE S ID NO 5311155756089. (3)
DISTRICT: SIMONSTAD. POSTAL ADDRESS: G2345, NYANGA EAST, 7750.
(4) NEW APPLICATION. (5) 1 X 15 PASSENGERS. (6) THE CONVEYANCE
OF TAXI PASSENGERS. (7) AUTHORITY:
1. FROM IMIZAMO YETHU, LEFT INTO HOUT BAY MAIN ROAD, RIGHT INTO VICTORIA
ROAD, BACK INTO MAIN ROAD, INTO PRINCESS STREET, LEFT INTO NORTHSHORE ROA
INTO HOUT BAY HARBOUR AND RETURN INTO VICTORIA ROAD, STRAIGHT INTO CAMPS
BAY MAIN ROAD, INTO SEA POINT MAIN ROAD, STRAIGHT INTO GREEN POINT
INTO CAPE TOWN TOP DECK DROP OFF ONLY AND RETURN.
2. FROM IMIZAMO YETHU, LEFT INTO MAIN ROAD, RIGHT INTO VICTORIA ROAD, BAC
INTO MAIN ROAD, INTO PRINCESS STREET, LEFT INTO NORHTSHORE ROAD INTO HOUT
BAY HARBOUR AND RETURN INTO VICTORIA ROAD, STRAIGHT INTO CAMPS BAY MAIN
ROAD, RIGHT INTO LOWER KLOOF ROAD, LEFT INTO UPPER KLOOF ROAD, RIGHT INTO
AVENUE FRESNAYE ROAD, LEFT INTO HIGH LEVEL ROAD, STRAIGHT INTO STRAND
STREET
AND DROP OFF ONLY AND RETURN AT RAILWAY STATION.

1. THIS INFORMATION MUST BE SUBMITTED WITHIN 30 DAYS FROM DATE OF
   THIS LETTER IN ORDER TO CONTINUE WITH THIS APPLICATION.
2. PLEASE STATE APPLICANT'S NAME AND THE APPLICATION'S REFERENCE
   NUMBER IN YOUR REPLY.

Yours Faithfully

for ADMINISTRATIVE HEAD: POLB Goodwood