

VIEWS ON MINIBUS TAXI DRIVERS AND THEIR ROLE IN SUPPORTING EDUCATION

by

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Candidate's Declaration

I, Zetta van Eck, declare that the thesis,

Views on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education,


which I hereby submit for the degree Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other tertiary institution.

Ethics Statement

The author, whose name appears on the title page of this thesis, has obtained the applicable research ethics approval for the research described in this work. The author declares that she has observed the ethical standards required in terms of the University of Pretoria's code of ethics for researchers and the policy guidelines for responsible research.

Supervisor's Approval

As the candidate's supervisor, I agree to the submission of this thesis.



Prof. JM Wassermann (Supervisor)

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Dedication

This research is lovingly dedicated to my father and brothers. Your integrity, dedication, and discipline have been a constant source of inspiration.

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- My family and friends for their encouragement and continued support.
- God Almighty, who gives us grace. Jeremiah 1:8

Abstract

The emphasis of this research is on minibus taxi drivers, how they can support education, and how they are viewed by all role players, namely users and non-users (observers). Education may make the minibus taxi drivers aware of the views held about them and how they can support education more effectively. Fostering the participation and learning of all role players may lead to more support for education. In doing so, the possibility exists that the minibus taxi industry can become aware of ways and means to support education. Hence, viewing the minibus taxi industry through alternative lenses may lead to the development of a model which can be used to encourage and guide the empowerment of minibus taxi drivers on a micro level but not forgetting the macro level. As Lefebvre (2020:68) argues, ‘There is a middle way between the dismissal of totality and the fetishism of the total, and a critique of everyday life can help define it.’ It may ultimately lead to an improvement in the attitudes of minibus taxi drivers.

A qualitative research approach for exploring and understanding the views was followed. This study was situated within an interpretivist paradigm. A case study design was used. Lefebvre’s production of space theory and asset-based theory were used as the theoretical framework in conjunction with the Johari Window model. The research design and methodology including the case study design, convenient sampling, focus group interviews, semi-structured questionnaires, field notes, and observation were used for data collection and construction.

Minibus taxis are not formally recognised as scholar transport by the Department of Basic Education (Gauteng Department of Education, 2011; Mngaza, van Zyl & Dhlamini, 2001), but are the most common mode of transport used by the majority of people in Gauteng and the country at large (Boudreaux, 2006). The Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council found that nearly 50% of all daily trips generated per household were education related (Mngaza, van Zyl & Dhlamini, 2001). When taking into account that there are 12 932 565 million school learners (1,5 million from Gauteng) who are transported to schools or educational institutions daily, it becomes clear that transport plays a significant role in the lives of numerous schoolgoing learners, especially in urban areas (Mngaza, van Zyl & Dhlamini, 2001). Many of these learners use public transport, specifically minibus taxis, to attend school. The main findings contribute to the people-centred view

of minibus taxi drivers. The concept of minibus taxi spaces supporting education is a universal one. Minibus taxi spaces have the possibility to support education through the methodology of the Johari Window combined with the typology of space for the development of minibus taxi drivers and scholar transport minibus taxi drivers. This study recommends the development of minibus taxi drivers; partnerships between schools, minibus taxis drivers and taxi associations; the creation of an educational, developmental and supportive space in the minibus vehicle; and a policy framework on the importance of a dedicated portfolio on minibus taxi drivers and scholar transport at schools. Minibus taxi space has the potential to be used for learning. Minibus taxi drivers are the only role players who can make this development in the minibus taxi space work.

Key terms: views, public minibus taxis, scholar transport, space, Johari Window

Language Editor's Declaration


I, Brenda Gouws, declare that I have edited the following manuscript prior to submission for examination:

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List of Acronyms

AET	Adult Education and Training
AIDS	Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
APLA	Azania People's Liberation Army
ASD	Autism Spectrum Disorder
CoF	Certificate of Fitness
COVID-19	Corona Virus Disease 2019
DBE	Department of Basic Education
ECD	Early Childhood Development
GDE	Gauteng Department of Education
GHTS	Gauteng Household Travel Survey
HIV	Human Immunity Virus
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
ILDPA	Individual Learning Development Programme
IWSE	Internal Whole School Evaluation
Johari	Joseph Luft and Harry Ingham
LSEN	Learners with Special Educational Needs
NEPA	National Education Policy Act
NHTS	National Household Travel Survey
NLTTA	National Land Transport Transition Act
NNSSF	National Norms and Standards for School Funding
NTTT	National Taxi Task Team
PAC	Pan African Congress
PED	Provincial Education Department
PPE	Personal Protective Equipment
PrPDP	Professional Driving Permit
SACE	South African Council for Educators
SABTA	South African Black Taxi Association
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission

SAPS	South African Police Service
SASA	South African Schools Act 84 of 1996
SANTACO	South African National Taxi Council
SANTIA	South African Taxi Awards
SANWIT	South African Woman in Transport Network
SATACO	South African Taxi Council
SEED	Small Enterprise Development
SGB	School Governing Body
SMT	School Management Team

CHAPTER 1

OVERVIEW AND INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The minibus taxi industry is an aspect of democratic, modern South African life. Its influence has far-reaching effects on almost all citizens' daily routines. The focus of this study is on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education while transporting learners to schools and to show how greater cooperation between the informal transport sector and governmental education can bring about greater synergy for the benefit of learners. Therefore, the study revolves around the views of minibus taxi users and non-users alike on minibus taxi drivers, the space in which they operate, and the support that minibus taxi drivers may give to education and learners. Furthermore, considering that there were an estimated 12 932 565 school learners in South Africa in 2020 with 1,5 million from Gauteng where the study took place who were transported to schools or other educational institutions daily, it becomes clear that minibus taxi transport plays a significant role in the lives of numerous school going learners, especially those in urban areas such as Gauteng (Mngaza, van Zyl & Dhlamini, 2001). Many of these learners use public transport, specifically minibus taxis, to reach their schools on a daily basis. Minibus taxis are the backbone of the transport industry with an estimated 250 000 vehicles on the road (Wasserman, 2019; Vegter, 2020). They account for nearly 75 per cent of public commuting services. This study argues that minibus taxi drivers and the taxi industry have untapped potential that, when unleashed, may support the education system by shifting their focus from mere transport to getting involved in the education sector.

As a matter of fact, the need for and importance of support from the minibus taxi industry is demonstrated in the Facebook page entry of then Mayor of Johannesburg, Herman Mashaba on 28 August 2017. The entry referred to a scholar transport accident in which 13 learners were injured when the minibus vehicle crashed into a tree. This incident led to some learners being hospitalised and others being exposed to a grim scene of badly injured fellow learners. In the investigation, it was found that the cause of the incident was an intoxicated driver. Open bottles of alcohol were found in the vehicle. This incident highlights the impact that the space in the minibus taxi has on education in a formal and informal manner. In my opinion, these learners would not have been able to concentrate on educational activities at school due to being in a state of shock.

It becomes clear that school entities can no longer have sole responsibility for the education of children. An apt observation by Goodall (2015) is that it is totally absurd to lay all the responsibility for a child's education at the feet of their schools or educational institutions. She furthermore asserts that what happens in the home, the car, and everywhere else during the time when they are not at school makes a difference to children (Goodall, 2015). Previously, the term pedagogy referred to intentional acts of teaching in a set location like a school. However, when applied to areas other than schools, the concept has seen an upsurge in use (Giroux, 2004; Lingard and Gale, 2007; Sandlin, O'Malley & Burdick, 2011). In the case of this study, the site is the space in the minibus taxi vehicle which transports learners.

One needs to consider that pedagogy, as conceptualised by Bernstein (2000), is an ongoing process by which one acquires or cultivates new forms of behaviour, knowledge, practice, and criteria from someone or something who is considered a suitable teacher and assessor, either from the acquirer's point of view or from another entity or both. Middleton (2014: 37) clarifies:

A pedagogic device is there for one purpose: to transmit criteria according to which 'acquires' (knowledge, information or skills) are evaluated. It projects the 'external identities' (type of individuality) desired by 'providers and evaluators': traits of character, physique, or labour skills.

Thus, direct teaching is not necessarily involved (Middleton, 2014).

Similar thinking by Ackhoff and Greenberg (2008) reiterates that learning and training should not take place in the formal setting of schools alone. They emphasise that learners look to adults to learn social behaviour or imitate social behaviour, regardless of social status. These authors furthermore advise that in the absence of parents or caregivers, society should step into the void by ensuring that children grow up and eventually make a positive contribution to their community and country as adults.

Now that I have introduced my topic, I shall discuss further features which are associated to the background and context of the study. This is done to fully understand the phenomenon, namely views on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education. Thereafter, based on the earlier arguments, I shall explain my rationale and motivation for conducting this study. The aforementioned will be followed by the focus and purpose of

the study which will provide the basis for the research question. I shall then explain concepts related to the study. Against this background, I shall clarify, in order, the theoretical framework, research design, and research methodology. Lastly, I shall give a framework of the structure of the study before closing the first chapter.

In order to contextualise the study, the following discussion on the minibus taxi industry is given.

1.2 Background and context to the study

The study is rooted in a historical view. A historical view enlarges research possibilities by encouraging the study of the relative of a phenomenon and providing different and unconventional explanations for phenomena. It furthermore aids in the focus and purpose of the formulation and research design of the study (Lawrence, 1984) The minibus taxi industry in South Africa is one of the largest informal industries in the transport sector. It has grown significantly over the past 20 years and provides transport to the majority of the South African public. Equally important, if not more so, minibus taxis provide transport to thousands of learners to get them to their schools or educational institutions (Barrett, 2003).

Small Enterprise Development (SEED) working paper No. 39 (Agbibo, 2019; Barrett, 2003) explains that minibus taxis operate on fixed commuter corridors (short and long distance) and charge fees that are set by the local associations. The fare system differentiates the minibus taxi sector from the metered taxi sector in which passengers are transported on specific routes and distances as per their request. Costs are founded on distance metering of a specified trip. Minibus taxis officially carry 16 people, 15 passengers and the driver (McCaul, 1990). It was only from 1978, when the Road Transportation Act 74 of 1977 came into effect, that taxis carrying eight passengers became legal. From 1986, 15 passengers were allowed (McCaul, 1990; National Road Traffic Act 93 of 1996). Regrettably, the government struggles to regulate the minibus industry. The research consulted indicates that this industry is patriarchal. There are known to be violent altercations between different taxi organisations (Beg, Bickford, Denoon-Stevens, Harber, Jitsing, Moosajee & Schmidt, 2014).

Learners must be able to arrive at school safe and sound. Arriving on time means that they are able to take advantage of the right to basic education as entrenched in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 and the Scholar Transport Policy of the Gauteng

Department of Education (GDE) (GoE, 2011). With reference to the transportation of learners, a high number of minibus taxis arrive at schools late in the mornings and learners are fetched late from school in the afternoons, despite the GDE declaring in their policy on learner transport that any late arrival of learners to schools, whether by private or public scholar transport service, is disruptive to learning and teaching and to the overall manner in which learners perform at the school (DoE, 2011; Potgieter, Strebel, Shefer & Wagner, 2012).

The influence of learner transport on the bigger transport scheme is significant, but it is also important to look at the needs and challenges of the learners using transport on a daily basis (Mngaza, van Zyl & Dhlamini, 2001). Although the National Land Transport Transition Act 22 of 2000 (NLTTA) necessitates that provincial governments and certain local governments improve the strategies for the means of transport of learners, it is a very complex situation due to the many stakeholders involved. It is clear from the NLTTA and proposed Gauteng Public Passenger Road Transport Act 7 of 2001 that the focus is on how transport challenges for learners can be addressed to ensure that learners get to school safely. An all-inclusive approach to learner transport is therefore imperative.

The GDE does not have a fleet of buses to transport learners to their respective learning institutions. Therefore, it outsources this function to capable service providers, which are then monitored by the GDE. Public minibus taxis and scholar transport minibus taxis are not formally recognised as scholar transport by the national Department of Basic Education (DBE) (GDE, 2011; Mngaza, van Zyl & Dhlamini, 2001) yet they are the most shared mode of transport used by the greater part of the public in Gauteng and the country at large (Boudreaux, 2006). This includes education-related use of minibus taxis. In this regard, for example, the Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council (Mngaza, van Zyl & Dhlamini, 2001) found that 54,2 per cent of all daily trips by people generated per household were education related (Gauteng Household Travel Survey, 2019/2020).

Racial segregationist policies superimposed spatial separation on the urban landscape of South Africa. This led to South African education being historically divided along strict racial lines, with separate education systems controlled by different government departments or parliamentary assemblies (De Wet, 2011; DBE, Nkomo, McKinney & Chisholm, 2004). This segregation had an impact on everyday life, such as the movement to and from schools by learners. White children were given access to White schools in

White suburbs while Black children were confined to Black schools in Black-designated townships, for example, Soweto and Alexandra in Gauteng (Bell & McKay 2011; De Wet, 2011). The policy of separate development was systematically dismantled from around 1980 onwards and when the first democratically elected government came to power in 1994, a systemic shift took place. This made way for a single education system with a national department of basic education to provide equal education for all.

Since then, educational policies have been developed to address historical discrimination and ensure equal access and opportunities to all learners within the education system (Neluvhola, 2007). These political changes legitimised learner migration from one school to another. The reforms are exemplified in the South African Schools Act 84 of 1996 (SASA) with specific mention being made to school admission policies and the National Education Policy Act 27 of 1996.

It is important to note that the Gauteng province space in which migration takes place is more challenging than in other countries. This can be ascribed to the diversity of cultural groups and the previous political dispensation of the country (Botha & Neluvhola, 2020), especially the Black youngsters from township schools who steer spaces of the city, in this case Johannesburg, Gauteng, in search of better schooling opportunities (Lancaster, 2011).

Gauteng is seen as an affluent province in contrast to the other eight provinces in terms of better educational opportunities (Lombard, 2002; Msile, 2009). It has a high number of Quintile 4 and Quintile 5 schools, which are fee-paying schools commonly known as former Model C schools. These schools are seen as better resourced schools and are favoured by predominantly Black learners from Quintile 1 to Quintile 3 schools, which are non-fee-paying schools in historically Black areas. The movement from township schools to suburban schools constitutes a major form of learner migration. This migration has taken place due to political reasons (Lombard, 2002) but also as a result of poor matriculation results, absence of discipline, low educator morale, as well as other educational challenges in the township schools in Gauteng (Botha & Neluvhola, 2020; Msila, 2009). As indicated earlier, Gauteng is seen as an affluent province which provides more work and educational opportunities which, in turn, motivates this general migration of learners from schools across the country to Gauteng (Neluvhola, 2007). In addition, the political change to democratic South Africa has also led to a new mental space for the youth – that of the

“liberal individual” away from the “obedient servant” (Middleton, 2014). Learners take ownership of educational opportunities in Gauteng to have a better future.

As a consequence of migration, learners have to travel to school using various means of transport, such as public minibus taxis or scholar transport, which increases the costs for previously disadvantaged parents and students significantly. The new national education department launched the era of the cost-recovery and cost-sharing model. Cost-recovery, which means financial assistance to students via loan programmes, must be paid back by the students after the completion of their education and cost-sharing, sees parents or students paying all or most of the tuition, lodging and food costs and other fees. Hence, lessening the value of grants from the government. This educational model is still in use today (Bell & McKay, 2011; Johnstone, 2004). However, with government’s financial downscale to previous white schools the burden on government to address the inequalities in previous black schools remains huge. With this in mind, the South African Government spent 6,37 per cent of its gross domestic product (GDP) on education in 2014, and by 2020/21 this had risen to 16 per cent. Over the same period, consolidated basic education expenditure constituted between 4,7 and 5 per cent of GDP. In 2019, GDP spending was at 6,5 per cent. It is evident that education expenditure by the South African Government is on the increase and it is more than any other country in sub-Saharan Africa (Gandhi, 2020; Statistics SA, 2015), but the return on investment is very poor in terms of measured achievement. This means that all the learners who commence basic education do not necessarily complete their schooling and the quality of education is poor, owing to the huge numbers of learners who have to be accommodated in the previous disadvantaged areas. Considering that the minibus taxi industry is an economic sector worth R50 billion with 250 000 minibus taxis on South African roads (Wasserman, 2019), there could be as yet undiscovered aspects where learner transport and the educational system can create synergy for the benefit of learners. Minibus taxis are used by 69 per cent of South African households and, in addition, 75 per cent of all transport to work, schools, and universities is done by minibus taxis. Despite it being an industry driven by monetary reward, there is a possibility that the space in these vehicles which make many trips with learners and students to educational institutions can be used in a more educational manner, supported by the minibus taxi driver. The income of minibus taxi drivers would be considerably less if they were not allowed to transport learners. Minibus taxis are indeed playing a significant role in the transportation of learners but they also bring about challenges. Amongst others,

Jensen (2009) ascribes the some of the challenges experienced by learners as their late arrival at school and learners not being able to be involved in extramural activities or attend extra classes due to the lack of reliable transport.

A direct correlation between these aspects and the low retention rate in schools has been indicated in the research consulted (Dafiaghor, 2011). It was also found that financial pressures and complex social processes combined with in-school factors result in the youth disengaging from their education and eventually dropping out (Strassburg, Meny-Gilbert & Russell, 2010).

Furthermore, the *Basic Education Rights Handbook* (Veriava, Thom & Hodgson, 2017) suggests that not having access to safe and dependable transport to school has a detrimental effect on learners' admission to education. These researchers emphasise that many learners who struggle with transport do not finish school. Learners ought to be considered core stakeholders by the minibus taxi industry.

A consequence brought about by learners using public transport as a result of migration is the additional travel time required to reach their destination. The Gauteng Household Travel Survey (Gauteng Household Travel Survey, 2019/2020), reports that learners take approximately an hour or more to get ready for school and then they have to travel to school for 90 minutes, which makes their school day long and tiresome and this may impact negatively on their academic performance. The survey indicated that 54,2 per cent of the morning peak-period trips are education related. The average travel time for one-way, peak-period trips is 59 minutes and 21 seconds. The average walking time to access the first mode of public transport to reach the final destination during the morning peak period is 14,2 minutes at the start of the trip, with 13,1 minutes' average walking time from the end of the trip to the final destination. This time is more or less the same on the return trip, which indicates that getting to and from school by minibus taxi can take up to two hours and ten minutes in a learner's day. It accumulates to ten hours per school week, which is not only a loss of productive time, but it also makes the day long for learners and leads to tiredness, which may have a negative impact on learners' schoolwork. Furthermore, conversations with principals by researchers confirm that travelling to school is a daily challenge for many learners. The use of minibus taxis for transport to schools and educational institutions is associated with many educational challenges such as late arrival at school, as noted earlier. The potential of sexual exploitation through sexual relationships

between minibus taxi drivers and high school girls is also mentioned as problematic in research consulted (Potgieter, Strebel & Wagner, 2009). Another leading cause of child injury deaths are traffic injuries. According to the South African Child Gauge report (Shung-King, Sanders & Hendricks, 2019), traffic injuries stand at 36 per cent, followed by homicide at 28,2 per cent, burns and drownings at 27,3 per cent, and suicide at 8,5 per cent.

Importantly, with the minibus taxi industry being so extensive in size and with the transporting of thousands of learners to educational institutions as a result of the systemic shift, learners and schools ought to be considered as core stakeholders by the minibus taxi industry. They contribute millions in terms of transport fares and spend considerable time in the minibus taxi space with the minibus taxi driver. Hence, I argue that the time spent in the minibus taxi could be educational in some form and minibus taxi drivers could play a role consciously or unconsciously in supporting education.

1.3 Rationale and motivation for the study

The migration of learners to other schools outside their permanent area of residence highlights the impact of travelling to educational institutions or schools. It provides an opportunity for better education but, at the same time, the schools have to deal with late arrivals and tiredness of learners. Hence there is a possibility for these sectors to play a significant stakeholder role in each other's fields of speciality and service delivery.

I was inspired to conduct this study for professional, personal, and academic reasons. The first motivation is professional and relates to my educational background. My interest in this topic was provoked while working in Alexandra Township, Gauteng. I have been actively involved as an educator and middle manager in education for the past 25 years. I worked at the GDE as an institutional development support officer, previously termed school inspector. In this district, I dealt with the management and governance at the schools for an extensive period of time (nine years). My post entailed being the external manager of 15 underperforming schools. The principals of these schools reported to me on school performance and management. In addition, I was the admissions coordinator for the 132 schools in the district of which only nine were schools for learners with special educational needs (LSEN). This responsibility gave me good insight into the serious challenges brought about by the migration of learners to schools out of their areas of permanent residence. The competition for placement in a good school is loaded with emotion. I visited these schools

on a daily basis for monitoring and support. I had first-hand experience of the impact of minibus taxis on the constricted streets of Alexandra Township, the negative impact of the taxi rank next to one of the high schools, and the late arrival of learners using minibus taxis as a mode of transport to schools. Late arrival is a challenge at township schools but also at the suburban schools where I was involved in regular ‘late coming’ blitz operations which I addressed with the minibus taxi drivers and the learners.

Moreover, in addition to the points mentioned above, many learners had to wait long hours to be fetched from school. They arrived at home late in the evenings, which had a negative impact on homework that had to be completed. This led to lower energy levels and the associated reduction in attending to homework, general attention span, and concentration in the classroom.

Additional motivation to conduct this study is that there are different and opposing views on minibus taxi drivers and the minibus taxi industry. For example, the lower socio-economic group of people view minibus taxis as an easy, accessible, cheap form of transport. On the other hand, minibus taxis are viewed as dangerous, unsafe transport driven by criminal elements in the transport industry. Contrary to this view, minibus taxis are viewed as the backbone of the transport industry in South Africa’s economy which is worth around R50 billion annually. It therefore also has push-back power, which history has shown can bring the economy to a standstill.

A personal reason that speaks to my professional rationale and motivation for wanting to conduct this study resulted from my own experience in Alexandra Township. The proactive actions of a minibus taxi driver saved me from a possible hijacking. His actions intrigued me. It also made me realise the role that minibus taxi drivers can play and that they can play an even greater role in their communities, other than just driving the minibus taxis. They can play a role not only in the safety of people, but also by getting involved in education. The possibility which comes to mind is support given to learners in the minibus taxi while they are being transported by the minibus taxi drivers. To put it differently, the negative connotation associated with minibus taxi drivers can actually be challenged, as they can be transformed by identifying their capacity to become what Kretzmann and McKnight (1993: 1) call ‘asset-based communities’, or what Hernandez (1998: 274) alludes to as ‘protagonists’ in their communities. The saying ‘no change about me, without me’ becomes applicable. Aside from a limited number of articles and studies about the taxi

industry as an informal industry (Fourie, 2003; Godsell, 2016; McCormick, Mitullah, Chitere, Orero & Ommeh, 2013; Moyake, 2006; Schalekamp, 2015), almost no research could be found which has been conducted on assessing the impact of minibus taxis on education and how it can be used as an asset to support education. One of the key stakeholders in the minibus taxi industry and education sector are the learners, but educational support is not currently viewed as a role of the minibus taxi driver. Learners also have their own different and contradicting views on minibus taxis. Some of the views are that minibus taxis are only providers of transport, but the minibus taxi space has social interaction linked to it and it is a means to better opportunities and success. The views of learners and minibus taxi drivers are not always valued as having the same weight in terms of importance as those of the authorities, in this case government organisations and minibus taxi bosses. Hence, on a scholarly level, this study aims to explore the role that the minibus taxi industry can play in the education of learners who use minibus taxis as a mode of transport to school. I am able to use the data generated to inform a model that can be followed to develop and train minibus taxi drivers as to how they can support schools and education. The possibility exists that development and change can flow upwards from the drivers to the top of the industry, which will be the opposite of what is currently happening. Currently, policies and legislation flow from national organisations down to the drivers, which is not necessarily what is needed to improve the industry and support education. This objective is reinforced by Ncama, Naidoo, Majeke, Myeza, Ndebele, Mchunu and Pillay (2013) who postulate that minibus taxi drivers have not been given the necessary education and that there is a need for intervention programmes, thus contributing to the current body of knowledge.

Another motivation to do this study is to highlight the difference between public minibus taxis and scholar transport minibus vehicles.

I would like, by means of my thesis, to understand the views that the role players in education and the minibus taxi industry have on minibus taxi drivers. It may generate new knowledge and provide opportunities for further in-depth studies. I also want to understand the views that minibus taxi drivers have on their role and why they have those specific views. The minibus taxi industry and South African society have conflicting views about minibus taxis. Hence, it is important to be aware of my own values and views, those of the other individuals involved, and the value and views of the government (Gray, 2009). New developments may include a driver training syllabus, possible new ways (such as

technology) to bring education into the taxi space and time, and further insights into the needs of learners.

The last motivation to conduct this study is that the results of the study could influence the rate of satisfaction of learners who are vulnerable and have no choice other than to use minibus taxi transport to attain their educational goals.

1.4 Focus and purpose of the study

The focus of the research is on the views of minibus taxi drivers and how they can support education.

The emphasis of this research is unique and complex in that it is concerned with minibus taxi drivers, how they can support education, and how they are viewed by all role players, namely users and non-users (observers). It may make the minibus taxi drivers aware of the views held about them and how they can support education more effectively. Fostering the participation and learning of all role players may lead to more support for education. Furthermore, the audience I wish to address is broad in two ways – first, it includes the education sector and the minibus taxi industry within the South African milieu and second, it is written for a global audience. The analysis on this small scale might be applicable to other African and Third World countries in terms of support for their education systems by making use of paratransit which is in use in these countries (Behrens, McCormick & Mfinanga, 2016).

Even though collecting data from the minibus taxi industry was challenging, it was important to hear their views because it helped to identify the assets and potential of the minibus taxi industry, and the role they can play in supporting education going forward. In addition, I want to make the minibus taxi drivers aware of the views and expectations of role players in education – learners, parents, and teachers. The possibility also exists that during this research process, that the industry might have become aware that they could support education in many ways, other than what they are doing at present. This process was to identify educational opportunities inherent in the minibus taxi industry and in the manner that learners are transported to educational institutions. A likely end-product of this research may be the identification of educational opportunities inherent in the minibus taxi industry. Another valuable contribution is the development and design of a model, guidelines, and training with a pedagogical basis to assist minibus taxi drivers/the taxi

industry and scholar transport minibus taxi drivers to strive to support education. It may ultimately lead to a change in the behaviour of minibus taxi drivers in the manner that they transport not just children but other passengers too.

1.5 Research questions

In light of the above-mentioned points and the void of research on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education, the following research questions were developed to define the problem comprehensively and guide this study:

- What are the views of minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education?
- Why are these views held by minibus taxi drivers about their role in supporting education?
- What are the views of various role players about minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education?
- Why are these views held by various role players about minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education?

1.6 Clarification of key concepts

Therefore, the clarification of the following concepts is of importance when deep-seated views will be challenged in the study. The following key concepts are explained: view, learner, public minibus taxi (paratransit), scholar transport minibus taxi and Johari window.

1.6.1 Views

A world view is clarified by Gray (2011) as a cluster of attitudes, values, stories, and hopes about the world in which we find ourselves. A person's world view is conveyed in ethics, religion, philosophy, and scientific beliefs (Sire, 2004). Furthermore, a world view is how a culture plays out in individual practice. Our views about the world inform our every thought and action (Gray, 2011). Thus, when we encounter a situation with a minibus taxi and think, 'What the minibus taxi driver is doing is wrong; he is stopping in the middle of the road,' your world view is active. We are largely unaware of the minibus taxis until we experience a conflict situation with one of them. We become acquainted with world views and their matching values only when there is a clash or crisis according to Fulford (2011) and Gray (2011). Anderson (2004) concurs by saying that how you see the world is largely

a function of where you view it from (passengers, learners, parents, and minibus taxi drivers view minibus taxis differently); what you look at; what lens you use to help you see; what tools you use to clarify your image; what you reflect on; and how you report your world to others. Minibus taxi drivers' world views will differ vastly from those of other road users or their passengers. People brought up in two different cultures can hold two competing sets of values and code-shift between them, depending on the context. World views are very complex (Gray, 2011). In philosophy, views are defined as an attitude – how one sees or thinks, a specified (or stated) manner of consideration. Our knowledge about reality is often relative to a certain point of view. There are many factors outside an individual that impact on the views held by them or how they view the world around them. Damen, van Amelsvoort, van der Wijst and Kraemer, (2019) are of the same mind and highlight that even though a person is made aware of another view, they will most likely hold on to their own. As a result, owing to our experiences with minibus taxi drivers, we view them in a certain manner. For example, if a public minibus taxi driver or scholar transport minibus driver crashed into another person's car, the person's view of minibus taxi drivers might be that they are reckless and generally bad drivers. With reference to the Facebook article mentioned in point 1.1 above, a reader will read it and view minibus taxi drivers or scholar transport drivers as irresponsible and a danger to learners but, for an individual who does not have their own car, a minibus taxi will be viewed as useful and very important to that individual's mobility and access to work or education. We need to know the views and values held by all role players in order to design a possible model to address challenges. All individuals have a world view, but so too do institutions (Gray, 2011).

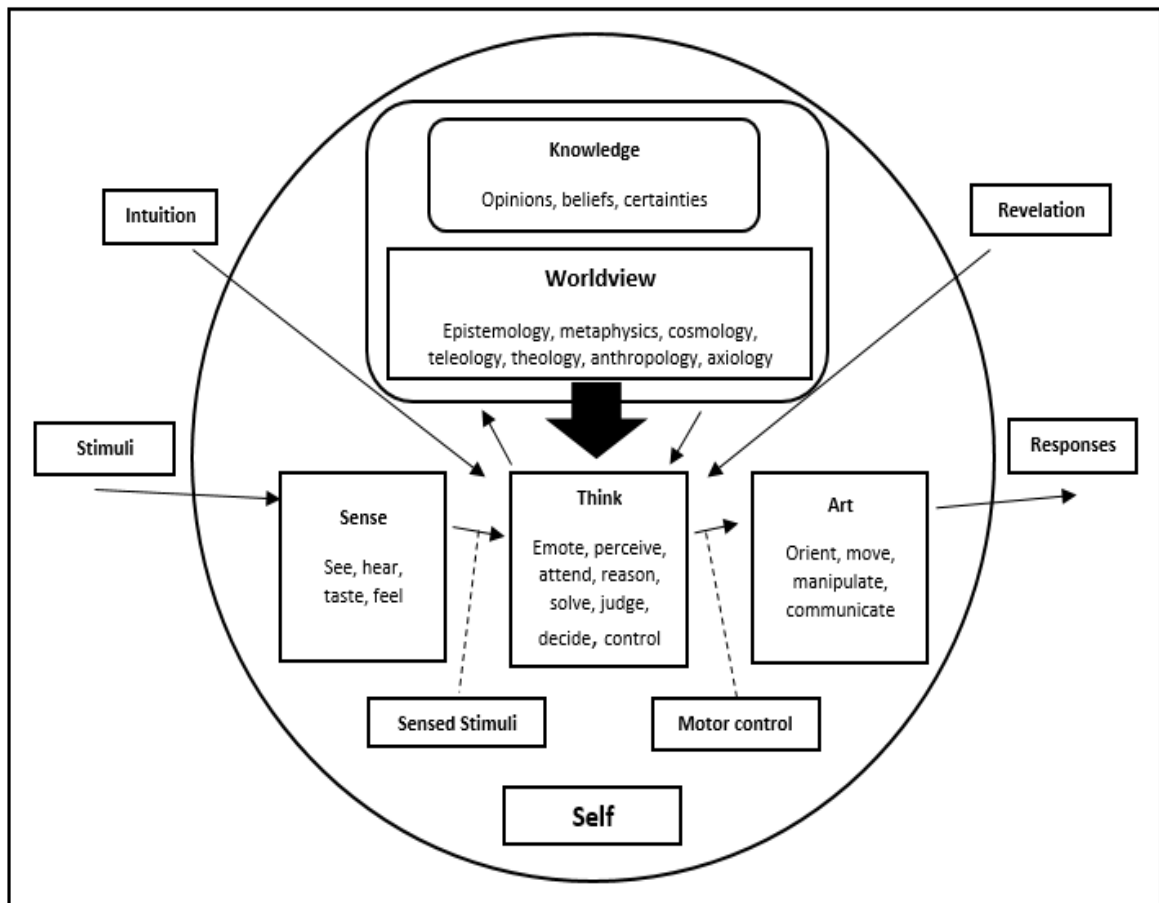


Figure 1.1: World views (Source: Funk, 2001)

1.6.2 Learner

The terms ‘student’, ‘learner’ and ‘pupil’ are often used interchangeably in schools (Winch & Gingell, 1999). The term ‘learner’ is defined by Winch & Gingell (1999) as any person who falls within the scholastic range from early childhood to the adult-education phase, and who is involved in any kind of formal or non-formal education and training activity. According to them, a learner is any person who receives or is obliged to receive education. The term learner refers to persons studying in ordinary public schools and replaces the term pupil and student. The South African Schools Act (1996) defines a learner as any individual attaining education or who is obliged to attain education in South Africa (SASA, 1996; Mothala, 2000). These are children in the age group 7 to 16 years of age. SASA (1996) which concurs with the definition of Winch and Gingell (1999) that a learner is a person who is involved in any kind of formal or non-formal education and training activity ranging from early childhood development (ECD) phase to the adult education phases. Thus, in the South African context, the term learner refers to school-going children who attend ECD

centres, schools, or adult education and training (AET) centres. In South Africa, the term learner refers to individuals studying in ordinary public schools. The term student denotes those individuals who are registered and studying at tertiary institutions (DBE, 2010). Pupil means a younger child usually attending elementary school and it is also a synonym for student or a term for a person of any age who is being taught in individual private lessons such as singing or instrumental performances in music (Hawes & Hawes, 1982). In terms of high school, pupil is an old concept referring to a person enrolled in an ordinary public school (Mothata, Lemmer, Mda & Pretorius, 2000).

The term learner may have gained popularity because the focus is more about the goal of the teacher–student relationship where learning is seen as emphasising and underpinning the respective roles of students and teachers. While this bias may seem arbitrary at first glance, it appears to have a semantic purpose. Learning can occur in the absence of teaching, but teaching does not happen without some form of learning taking place. As an example, learners can learn without teachers, but students are only students when they have teachers. Likewise, the term learner modernizes the notion of a student, potentially separating it from the traits and connections traditionally associated with the word student, namely that students learn in schools, they sit in classrooms, they are taught by teachers, and they are inactive receivers of taught knowledge (Mothala, 2000; Griffith & Kowalski, 2010; Wallace, 2008).

Thus, the objective is to modernise traditional ideas and views of learners so that they can learn both inside and outside a school or classroom. They will then have the ability to learn independently or from adults who are not classroom teachers, like minibus taxi drivers, and they can take more responsibility for what and how they learn. This means that they can be young learners (2–17 years) or older adult learners over the age of 18 years returning to complete their education (Barrow & Milburn, 1990; Senge, 2010). For the purpose of this study the term learner will be used.

1.6.3 Public minibus taxis

Minibus taxis are part of paratransit. Paratransit refers to unscheduled public transport services that typically utilise midi-buses, minibuses, and smaller four- or two-wheeled vehicles. Paratransit is common in developing world countries. In South Africa, the most common form of paratransit is the 16-seater minibus taxi (Schalekamp, 2017). With reference to this study, a ‘minibus taxi’ is a small bus. This is a motor vehicle designed or

lawfully adapted by a registered manufacturer in compliance with the National Road Traffic Act 93 of 1996 to carry between nine and 18 seated persons, excluding the driver, thereby conforming to the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme specifications (National Scholar Transport Policy, 2009)

Minibus taxis typically transport over short distances, with passengers paying a fee according to the distance/destination of their journey. It is considered to be public transport and is used by both adults and children. These minibus taxis are all registered with a minibus taxi association in their area of operation.

1.6.4 Scholar transport – different ways of transporting learners

According to the National Land Transport Act, 2009 (Act 5 of 2009), scholar transport is defined as the means dedicated to the transport of scholars, students, teachers and lecturers as contemplated in Section 72 of the Act and does not include the transport of such persons as part of a normal public transport service.

In the GDE Scholar Transport Policy (2011), a ‘minibus’ refers to a motor vehicle designed or lawfully adapted by a registered manufacturer in compliance with the National Road Traffic Act 1996 to carry from 19 to 35 seated persons, excluding the driver. A school bus in the form of a minibus or bus is owned by or contracted to a school and used principally for the conveyance of learners and other persons associated with such school in terms of a valid and appropriate operating licence (GDE, 2011).

The GDE Scholar Transport Policy (2011) seeks to guarantee and look after the rights of learners to access education as entrenched in the Constitution through a reliable and safe scholar transport system. The province of Gauteng is characterised by rich and poor communities, the latter lacking well-resourced schools and with overcrowding as the norm. Thus, many learners are forced to leave the township areas to travel long distances to attend well-resourced schools or former Model C schools (Quintiles 4–5).

However, the Department does not have a fleet of buses to transport learners to their respective learning institutions. Instead, it outsources this function to capable service providers who should ensure that learners are punctual and arrive safely at school for effective learning and teaching to take place uninterrupted.

The Scholar Transport Policy (2011) applies to all needy learners walking a distance of five kilometres to the nearest public ordinary school per single trip. It states that learners will be provided with learner transport. Learners who, by choice, leave schools nearest to their place/s of residence to attend schools further away are not covered by this programme. The Department further indicates that where other compelling matters prevail, fully motivated requests must be provided for consideration.

The principal, with the support of the school management team (SMT) at a school, should ascertain which learners might not be able to arrive at school on time due to the distances they travel from home to school. In the event that the distance they travel per single trip is more than five kilometres on a daily basis, a request must be made to the district office for provision of scholar transport. It must be established that there is no school close to the residence of the learners. An application to the Provincial Education Department should be made via the education district office. In the case that a new school closer to the residence of learners has been established that caters for the needs of those learners who have been travelling long distances, the scholar transport will cease carrying the learners to the former schools.

When the Provincial Education Department provides scholar transport, planning is fundamental. It emphasises that the service provider is required to transport learners as per specifications and according to the Service Level Agreements. They should load and drop learners off in zones where learners are not endangered or become obstacles to other road users. It is further expected of the operator of the scholar transport to provide transport on all school days. A register, which is signed by the driver each time they collect or deliver learners at the school, should be kept.

The scholar transport should be monitored by the SMT and by officials from the education district and provincial office with the contract facilitated by the Provincial Education Department. The Department provides very clear rules in terms of the behaviour of the driver and scholars using the scholar transport; any negative behaviour demonstrated by any of these role players will lead to the termination of the contract.

The safety and security of learners being transported through the scholar transport operation depends mainly on the conduct of the driver, condition of the bus, and, to a certain extent, on the condition of the road. Learners will only be transported in transport with a valid Certificate of Fitness (CoF) and Road Worthiness Certificate which must be validated

by authorised traffic authorities. All vehicles contracted to transport learners must comply with the National Road Traffic Act of 1996 and the National Land Transport Act 5 of 2009. Furthermore, drivers are required to have a professional driving permit.

The above-mentioned legislation emphasises that the Department of Transport will develop, in collaboration with the GDE and urban and rural transport, strategies to meet the needs of scholars in the province (Mngaza, van Zyl & Dhlamini, 2001). The White Paper on National Transport Policy (1997) has deliberate objectives to ensure that public transport services attend to the user needs of commuters, pensioners, the aged, scholars, the disabled, tourists, and long-distance passengers. The national policy document, *Moving South Africa, the Action Agenda* (DoT, 1999), also places emphasis on scholars. Scholars are part of the group of marginalised users and should be catered for.

In terms of private scholar transport, safety is paramount to the effective learning of learners. No learner should be transported in unsafe, unhealthy, and uncomfortable vehicles. Overloading of learners in whatever type of vehicle undermines the comfort and safety of learners. The different private transportation options used to deliver children at schools in Gauteng will be discussed below.

Within a community, parents arrange a common means of transportation for their children who travel to the same school. This transport will pick learners up in front of their homes in the morning and bring them back in the afternoon. Parents pay the driver on a monthly basis. This arrangement has nothing to do with the DBE as parents have elected to take their children to schools of their choice. This means of transportation sometimes includes vehicles such as the Volkswagen combi or Toyota Quantum combi, which are referred to as ‘minibus taxis’. These vehicles operate as normal taxis while learners are at school but in the morning they transport learners to school and in the afternoon they transport them back home. They then go back to the taxi ranks and the routes on which they operate. These vehicles would normally be registered with various taxi associations. Other modes of transport, including minibus taxis, would be used for the sole purpose of transporting learners, that is, they take learners to school, park near the school to wait for learners, and then take them home in the afternoon unless they are hired for other trips which would not interfere with the learners’ schedules. These drivers are not registered as service providers with the DBE. These drivers would normally register with scholar transport associations. This option is preferred as the parents are expected to know the driver and have their

contact details. This option is also referred to as ‘scholar transport’ but is not monitored by the DBE. Many of these drivers are also not registered with an association.

The next option is that of car pools. A car pool system is distinct from other modes such as private cars, scholar transport, and minibus taxis (Newman & Kenworthy, 1999). A carpooling system means drivers/parents who are travelling to school alone can ask fellow learners to use the same vehicle or take turns to deliver children to the school.

Another option is for a learner to travel to school daily is to use public minibus taxis, that is, the learner catches a minibus taxi at the rank or at pick-up points within the community, like any other commuter, and is dropped off near the school or at the school if the school is on the taxi route. The learner pays the minibus taxi driver on a daily basis as they commute to school and back depending on the number of taxis they take to and from school. The challenge with this type of commuting is that if the parents do not have taxi fares, the learner will miss school. There is also a risk of safety and punctuality is not guaranteed. The learner does not use the same minibus taxi every day. Again, this is parental choice as the parent could take their child to a school nearby where the child could walk to school but they are opting for a school further away from home (migration of learners). This happens when there are not many learners in a community going to the same school. The learners then make a load of 15 or 16 learners to travel to school.

1.6.5 Johari Window

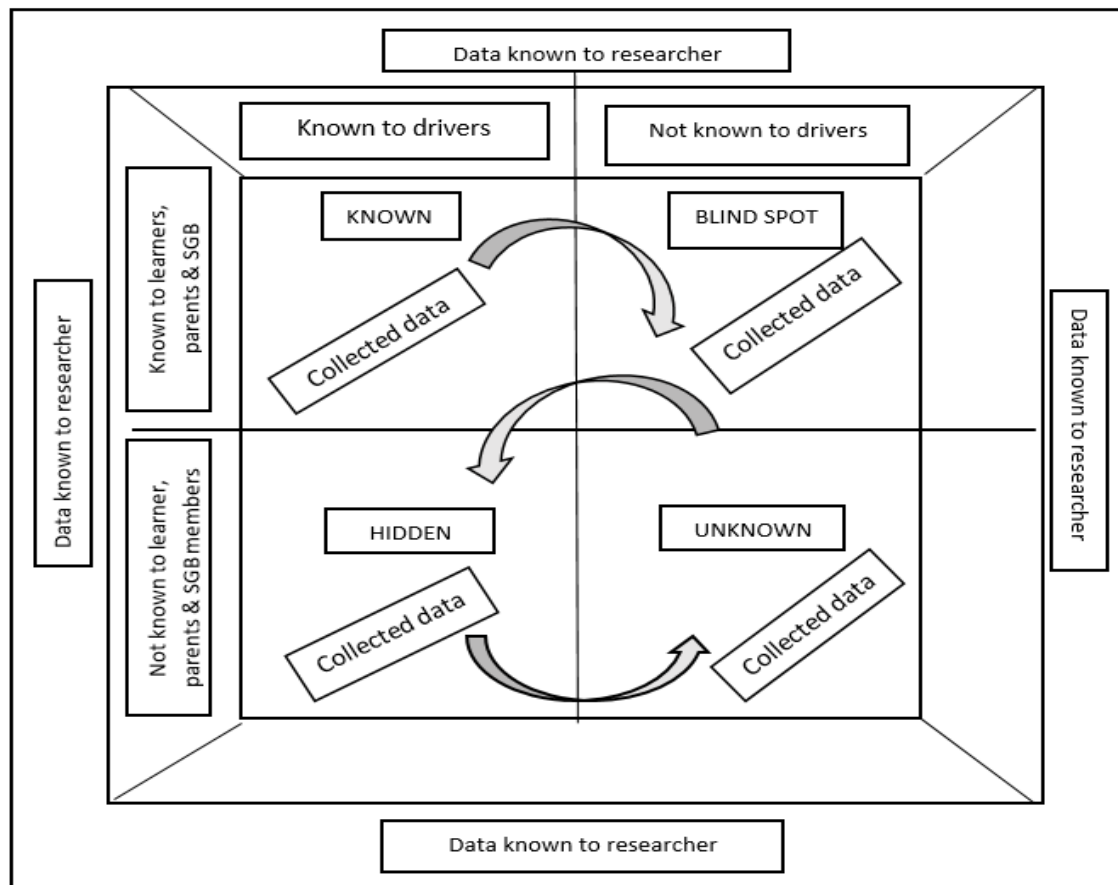
The Johari Window is a model to improve self-awareness and communication. The motivation for the use of the Johari Window in this study was, first, to explain the reason for the research to participants. Secondly, it was used to determine how the different role players in the minibus taxi industry and education viewed their respective roles (a comprehensive discussion will be done in Chapter 5). For the purpose of this study, the Johari Window is used to work with the literature studied, hence the themes are ordered according to the panes in the window and the data collected. The Johari Window below represents minibus taxi drivers and other role players in education.

Table 1.1: Johari Window representing minibus taxi drivers and other role players in education

		Known to drivers	Not known to drivers
Known to schools and learners	KNOWN	Basic transport (makes money and users get a service) Not really focused on education as such	BLIND SPOT
			Taxi drivers are 'blind' meaning not aware that they have a role to support education and schools are not aware that they can support minibus taxi drivers
Not known to schools and learners	HIDDEN	Unforeseen events or accidents, value system, culture, lack of patience, lack of consideration, bending and breaking the law and – getting away with it.	UNKNOWN
			Find out via research, support schools as follow

Below is Table 1.2 which is used to understand and analyse the data collected during the research process.

Table 1.2: Johari Window to clarify and analyse the data collected during the research process.



1.7 Research design and methodology

Research is the process of collecting, analysing, and interpreting data in order to explain a phenomenon (Williams, 2007). By doing this research, my aim is to attempt to develop knowledge, investigate, and explain the views on minibus taxi drivers and how they can support education. This process is systematic, has objectives, and there is a specific manner in which the data is collected and presented (Creswell, 2014).

This is a qualitative research approach for exploring and understanding the meaning that individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem following a case study design. I decided it would be appropriate to use the qualitative approach, not only to explore and understand the support of minibus taxis on education, but also to understand the views of all role players involved, that is, users and non-users.

In this study, purposively selected participants were interviewed in focus groups (Gray, 2004; Creswell, 2008; Creswell, 2014; Williams, 2007). The following number of participants were involved: 337 primary and high school learners, 34 primary school, high school and LSEN SGB members, 10 parents of children with ASD and 30 minibus taxi

drivers. A comprehensive breakdown of participants is provided in Chapter 4. The study was situated within an interpretivist paradigm, which lends itself to qualitative research with the main focus being the interest in people and the way that they interconnect, what they think, how they form ideas about the world, and how their worlds are created. Interpretivism allowed me to use my own interests, understanding, and experience of working in an education district, in Alexandra Township to help interpret the views and role of minibus taxi drivers or scholar transport drivers in supporting education (Creswell, 2008; Henning, Van Rensburg & Smit, 2004; Maree & Van der Westhuizen, 2009, Thomas, 2013). Through the data collected from the participants, I was able to discover the underlying truths.

Translated to this research, the views we have about minibus taxis are what we read in the news and experience on the roads or when using minibus taxis. If we understand multiple views, we can be more informed about minibus taxi driver and scholar transport drivers. I used focus group interviews and questionnaires. I developed two stages of data collection processes which were conducted between November 2019 and June 2020. Using purposive sampling, I selected three schools in Gauteng to conduct my research. The group of three schools consisted of a primary school, a secondary school, and a school for LSEN. Participants included learners who used minibus taxi transport and learners who did not. I used three different schools in different socio-economic environments as cases to collect data to ensure that it was representative of the province. Owing to the large size of the minibus taxi industry and a lack of resources, it was not possible to include the entire minibus taxi industry of Gauteng, or even Alexandra Township, in this study.

This research was completed in the sixth administration of a democratic South Africa. During the last 26 years, many positive changes have taken place in education and in the transport sectors. The provisioning of transport has remained one of the crucial challenges confronting the Government, which is of high importance bearing in mind the role that geographical zoning plays into the admission of learners to schools (Bell & McKay, 2011). From the data gathered through focus group interviews, critical conversations, and questionnaires, the data was explored to develop a model. This model was subsequently related to the literature and theoretical framework. This approach is known as inductive research (Gray, 2009). The result of analysis is themes and categories according to which I did my data interpretation. According to Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2007), research using an inductive approach is likely to be particularly concerned with the context (space)

in which such events are taking place and using a small sample of participants might be more appropriate than a large number. The inductive approach works well with interpretive research and the qualitative approach using a variety of methods to collect the data in order to establish different views (Maree & Van der Westhuizen, 2009).

1.8 The role of the researcher

Planning is crucial for the effective and efficient research mentioned earlier in this chapter. In this regard, Denscombe (2010) mentions the value of an organised researcher and recommends a schedule of tasks that should be produced covering the period of the research project. Gray (2009) advises that a researcher has to act and show theoretical sensitivity. It will therefore be of value that I view the environment holistically and describe relevant aspects of myself, such as biases, assumptions and expectations to qualify my ability to conduct the research in an objective manner (Gray, 2009). As this was qualitative research, I, as the researcher, gained a deep, intense, and holistic overview of the phenomenon under study, that is, the minibus taxi drivers and the taxi industry. It further involves interacting with the everyday lives of individuals, groups, communities, and organisations which are part of the minibus taxi industry. Gray (2009) refers to qualitative research as a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand the phenomena within the context specific setting. Furthermore, the manner in which I chose the paradigm, ontology, epistemology, research methodology, and data analysis reflects my personal views; it speaks from my particular class, gender, racial, cultural, and ethnic community perspective (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Owing to my research being about contemporary human affairs in its real-life context, the research obligated me to adhere to the highest ethical practices. I took special care and sensitivity by gaining informed consent to do this research.

My role has been one of conducting interviews with the respective participants and capturing data about the role players in this specific area of study, which means that I had to be attentive, suspend preconceptions, and be empathetic to those being studied (Gray, 2009). To achieve the mentioned results, I decided to contact the participants via the school principals, who were well known to all the participants, and explained the research to them with the support of a written letter and consent form. The letter was also translated into an African language to make it more understandable. I identified an African colleague who was involved in translation in cases where the participants expressed themselves better in their mother tongue.

Research is collecting data from people about people, therefore, researchers need to protect their research participants (Creswell, 2014). Denscombe (2010) maintains that ethical rules are there to ensure that research is carried out in a respectful manner. The manner in which the research is conducted should ensure the professional integrity of its design, generation, and analyses of data and the publication of results. In addition to the report mentioned above, ethics can be described as a benchmark against which research should be conducted. Ethics can also be defined as a method, procedure or perspective for deciding how to act and for analysing complex problems and issues (Briggs, Coleman & Morrison, 2014).

Leedy and Ormrod (2005) concur with the above and fittingly divide the ethical issues a researcher will most likely have to deal with into four categories, namely a) protection from harm, b) informed consent, c) right to privacy, and d) honesty with professional colleagues.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, protection from harm was one of my prime concerns, especially since learners were involved. The taxi industry is known for violence and intimidation and, therefore, I discussed my concerns with the principals of the three schools involved in the research. Leedy and Ormrod (2005) argue that it is very clear that participants should not risk losing their lives or be subjected to unusual stress, embarrassment, or loss of self-esteem. The focus and purpose of the research was not to portray the minibus taxi drivers in a negative light or to focus on the challenges experienced regarding minibus taxis. On the contrary, it was to get the views of all stakeholders, including the minibus taxi drivers, which might lead to them being portrayed in a different light. Therefore, I negotiated safe environments for the completion of the questions to be answered by the learners and interviews with minibus taxi drivers, including SGBs (Samuel, 2016, Sekhonyane & Dugard 2004). The principal from the primary school suggested that we change the journal-keeping for the Grade 6 learners to answering specific questions. In this way, learners would not be exposed in the taxi while writing their journals. She also indicated that the journal writing process may be too long and tiresome for young learners and that they would lose interest. It was then decided to allow the learners to answer questions in the safety of their classrooms at school. The same process was followed at the secondary school. As mentioned earlier, the learners with autism did not write but their parents were requested to write about minibus taxi drivers. I decided to request that the parents answer a few questions as a once-off exercise and not keep a journal, first to have conformity within the research process and second being concerned that parents might also not have time to keep a journal and provide useful data. Their fear

of intimidation was also a concern. I also arranged with the support services at the three schools so that if the nature of the study created a small amount of psychological discomfort, debriefing or counselling would follow immediately after their participation.

Informed consent and the right to privacy were core considerations. Confidentiality is of the utmost importance; the names of all participants were kept confidential and replaced with codes and the same process was followed with the schools. Information received via the questionnaires from learners especially, were handled with care, as was data collected via semi-structured interviews from senior management and SGBs. It was emphasised more than once that any participation in this study was strictly voluntary. Participants were requested to express their views and opinions about the topic anonymously and they were free to withdraw from the research at any time, even if they had agreed to it initially (Du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis & Bezuidenhout, 2014; Denscombe, 2010).

A letter and an informed consent form that described the nature of the research project and the nature of the participant's involvement were sent to the learners and parents via the school. Before this was done, I met with the principals, who, in turn, discussed the research with their governing bodies to get permission and input from them; thereafter, the letters were sent out. The information from those learners whose parents did not want their children to participate, were not used and destroyed.

I also applied for ethical clearance from the ethics committee at the University of Pretoria and requested permission from the DBE, GDE. Both the University and the GDE, scrutinised the proposal before the research took place, to be sure that the procedures I was going to follow would not be unduly harmful to the participants, that appropriate procedures would be followed to obtain participants' informed consent, and that participants' privacy and anonymity were assured. The districts in which the school were located, the principals, and SGBs of the specific schools (Maree & Van der Westhuizen, 2009) were informed and presented with the permission documentation.

I only began my study after I had made the minor modifications requested by the ethics committee at the university, after which I received their seal of approval.

As a registered educator at the South African Council for Educators (SACE), I kept our professional code of ethics in mind when I interacted with the participants.

I reported my findings in a complete and honest manner. Where I had challenges in terms of collecting the data or to get the involvement of participants, I indicated it. I also indicated where I had to make changes to my initial plan to collect the data, for example, instead of making use of journals I changed it to a questionnaire. I also gave appropriate credit to other people's ideas and acknowledged the material I used (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005). The above process was very important because there was not a rigid formula that I could follow. I had to make intelligent decisions during the data collection process (Yin, 2009).

1.9 Theoretical framework

The most elementary symbolic constructions by which people classify or categorise reality is concepts. Concepts provide access to different theories. With concepts, human beings sort out their unstructured empirical experiences and make sense of their worlds. Theoretical concepts have more than one connotation as they originate in a theoretical 'space' of a conceptual framework. The theoretical frameworks assist in organising the discussions of the study that follows in a particular manner (Mouton, 1996). Hence, the theoretical frameworks that I decided to use supported the research process.

Owing to the many layers of complexity when working with views held by different individuals and the minibus taxi industry itself, I decided to use more than one theoretical framework and a model. This approach will be foundational in establishing the views and roles that the minibus taxi drivers could play in supporting education.

The asset-based approach (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993) is the first theory that will guide the data interpretation. The asset-based approach functions on the principle of identifying and mobilising individual and community assets or strengths, rather than focusing on problems and needs. I therefore regarded it as suitable to serve as an alternative way to view minibus taxi drivers and study the taxi industry. By using this theory, attention was given to all role players in the community that had an interest in education. The focus was on building partnerships by identifying and mobilising unrecognised assets, thereby creating opportunities for positive change. The focus was on relationships between people, which could fuel local associations, and informal network change (Wilke, 2006).

In addition to the aforementioned framework, Lefebvre's book *The Production of Space* (1991) was used as a lens to view the minibus taxi industry and to understand the value given to space in our everyday lives. It is a spatial trilogy of the perceived, the conceived,

and the lived and endured space or spaces of representation. Lefebvre's stance is that space has power (Weinert, 2015). Translated to my study, the space taken up by the minibus taxi drivers and industry was about power. I used this theory to explain the space and activities happening in the minibus taxi, taxi rank, drop-off and pick-up areas at the school, and the transport from township areas to suburb schools.

The reproduction of social relations in informal transport is seen as central to the production of urban space and provides an essential key to the disclosure of the social-cultural order at large (Agbibo, 2019). A contributing factor for using Lefebvre's theory was Middleton's (2014) argument that Lefebvre was concerned with pedagogy in two aspects, namely as an object of inquiry and an ethical practice – how best to facilitate human 'becoming'. While learners travel in the minibus taxi on their route to school, they observe, learn, and 'become' adults. The lineal space revolves around interaction with other people.

Since the study revolves around relationships and views, the Johari Window was used as a study tool. It is a discovery and feedback model of self-awareness and an information-interpretation tool. It symbolises information namely feelings, experiences, views, attitudes, skills, intentions, and motivation within or about a person in relation to their team or other people from four panes or views. It can also be used to represent the same information for a person or team in relation to another person or other teams.

1.10 Overview of the study

In the first chapter of the study, the orientation and context of the planned research as well as explanation of key concepts, a brief presentation on the literature reviewed, the theoretical framework, and the research methodology have been provided. Chapter 2 of this study will convey an in-depth clarification of the contextual literature that is significant in this study. The objective of this chapter will be to familiarise the reader regarding transport and education in the South African context with reference to the minibus taxi industry. Chapter 3 will present the theoretical framework which underpins the study. Chapter 4 will focus on the research methodology of this study. It will offer the research design and research methods while addressing trustworthiness and taking ethical considerations that are relevant to the empirical nature of the study into account. Chapters 5 and 6 will provide an analysis of the data that was obtained from the focus group interviews, critical conversations, questionnaires, and observations. The data will be presented in three cases as results from the three sites (schools) used to collect data. Data

interpretation is done according to the main elements of the conceptual framework, the themes of the data, and the research, which essentially provides meaning to the views of role players about minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education. Chapter 7 is the final chapter and completes the study with a summary of key findings from the literature and empirical data. Research conclusions will answer the research questions and provide recommendations for public minibus taxi drivers and scholar transport minibus taxi drivers to support education. The conclusion will reflect on the limits of the study as well as signifying prospects for future research endeavours.

1.11 Conclusion

This study argues that minibus taxi drivers and the taxi industry have untapped potential that, when unleashed, may support the education system. This may be done by shifting the focus of minibus taxi drivers from mere transporters to making them aware of the role they can play in supporting education. This will be attempted by determining the views on minibus taxi drivers. Viewing the minibus taxi industry through alternative lenses may lead to the development of a model which can be used to encourage and guide the empowerment of minibus taxi drivers on a micro level but not forgetting the macro level. As Lefebvre (2020:68) argues, ‘There is a middle way between the dismissal of totality and the fetishism of the total, and a critique of everyday life can help define it.’ This chapter has provided a route map on how and why the research is being done. Furthermore, it has provided the history and current context in which the minibus taxi industry evolved.

Chapter 2 will focus on a review of the literature. The literature review will be presented according to the following main themes: the need for transportation; mobility, access and efficiency; and an overview of minibus taxi transportation in Africa and South Africa. Furthermore, a contextualisation of minibus taxi transportation in South Africa will be given. The next focus area is on the role of transportation in education and learner reliance factors. Additionally, I will discuss the views of role players in the minibus taxi industry and minibus taxi drivers as role models. This section will be followed by a discussion on alternative educational spaces, formal and informal learning. Where there is a minibus taxi wheel turning, there should be a minibus taxi driver willing to support education.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

In Chapter 1, I introduced my topic of investigation, the background, and the focus of this study, namely the views on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education. This discussion provided the basis for the research questions. Thereafter, I clarified concepts related to the study, the research design and research methodology, and the theoretical framework. Finally, I provided an outline of the structure of the study.

Chapter 2 focuses on the literature review – how I conducted it and will present it. In the literature review that follows, I document and organise the current academic knowledge about minibus taxi drivers related to the transportation of learners to schools. These resources were studied by authors directly or peripherally. Thereafter, my literature review is presented according to the following main themes: the need for transportation; mobility, access, and efficiency; and an overview of minibus taxi transportation in Africa and South Africa. The next focus area is on the minibus taxi drivers, the role of transportation in education, and learner reliance factors. Additionally, I discuss alternative educational spaces and minibus taxi drivers as role models. This section is followed by a discussion on the niche for the research and, finally, I draw a conclusion.

2.2. Conducting and presenting a literature review

My research questions assisted me in determining the parameters of my search, the key words, and search terms. I started off consulting ‘grey’ literature for the reason that I was looking for insight into the minibus taxi industry. This proved to be overwhelming in the sense that a great deal is written and reported about minibus taxis in the daily news. However, I realised that this was a very time-consuming process. I then decided to plan my search carefully, to ensure that I located relevant and recent literature.

Research done by Curran, Burchardt, Knapp, McDaid and Li (2007) and Jesson, Matheson and Lacey (2011) argues that in social sciences and policy research much of the useful knowledge is contained in non-academic, non-peer reviewed journals, in so-called grey literature. The research consulted argues that if grey literature is not accessed, a researcher is excluding valuable information from service users, charitable organisations and think

tanks (Jesson, Matheson & Lacey, 2011). Such literature should be read with due consideration though, bearing in mind that a writer's possible subjectivity and, in the light of their frame of reference which, since it may not be peer reviewed, could hold subjective views. I therefore went back to the grey literature in a more focused manner. These sources included newspapers, magazines, trade journals, and web searches.

In the process of reading through the grey literature, I realised that I had to view the minibus taxi drivers in a different light. Descombe (2010) concurs with this view, emphasising that research should offer new insights. This means that it should contain some element of originality or uniqueness which implied that I had to look at the taxi industry via unconventional lenses for future development. In the process, to provide something new, it is apt to build on existing knowledge. I tried to focus on describing and bringing the work together in a critical manner, tinted with my interpretation. At this point, I decided to clarify the term literature review for myself to ensure that I accessed relevant literature and did not lose focus on the research process.

A literature review refers to theoretical viewpoints and prior research findings about an identified problem. In simple terms, it is to look again (re + view) at what other researchers have written about an identified topic (Jesson, Matheson & Lacey, 2011; Leedy & Ormrod, 2005; Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2007). The review process should be an objective compilation, classification, and evaluation of research literature which should lead to a critical overview of the existing research literature relevant to the topic (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005). A literature review is a desk-based research method which the scholar uses to describe and appraise what is already known. It is a process where connections between literary sources are made and where the researcher positions herself in these sources (Ridley 2012). Thus, it would not be a contribution to the body of knowledge if I only reviewed resources. An original view should be created around the role that minibus taxis can play to support education. This conclusion should be made on a sound basis of evidence, reflections, and experience.

I chose to do a traditional review because it gave me the opportunity to explore issues and develop new ideas around the minibus taxi industry. A traditional review usually adopts a critical approach, which I applied. A critical approach required me to do critical reading based on critical thinking. Critical thinking is described by Cottrell (2005) as a route through which you have to 'travel' in order to recognise another author's stance,

arguments, and conclusions. This critical review assisted me to develop a thorough understanding and insight into previous research about minibus taxis, which relates to my research questions. Critically reviewing the research assisted me to think about the process as a channel, in which I started at a very universal level, namely minibus taxis in Africa, and then narrowed the literature down to minibus taxis in South Africa, to my research questions, and to the role that minibus taxi drivers can play to support education (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2007). Very early in my literature review, I realised that I had to consult research done in other fields of study to assist me in justifying the view that I had about minibus taxis. An important growth of interest among historians of education, regarding the inquiries of space, place, material cultures, and the travel of knowledge and theory, has highlighted the use of a wider range of levels and study fields to view issues. Burke, Cunningham and Grosvenor's (2010) stance also motivated me to view minibus taxis in a different light.

After the clarification of what a literature review is and identifying the most appropriate type of review, I focused on primary, secondary, and tertiary sources which I accessed via the university library, national library, and online resources. I searched for sources using key words and controlled vocabulary. This process directed me to other recent, significant, and relevant research done on the taxi industry in South Africa with reference to Agbiboa (2019), Fourie (2003), Randall (2019), Schalekamp (2015), Schalekamp, Behrens & Wilkinson (2010), Venter (2011), and Woolf and Joubert (2013).

I also accessed governmental and departmental reports, policies, and legislation regarding transport and education. I opted for these sources as part of my literature because both transport and education are organised around legislation. Furthermore, choices and decisions are made by Government. These decisions affect every aspect of all role players in the minibus taxi industry and education, namely minibus taxi drivers, users, and non-users of minibus taxi transportation. Officials in the three spheres of Government set rules, regulations, and procedures in place that guide the actions of these role players within their jurisdiction. Public policy decisions are primarily made to improve the safety and well-being of users and non-users of minibus taxis and to set standards for educational institutions. It therefore cannot provide a valuable contribution to the body of knowledge if I do not use it as part of the literature, keeping in mind that governmental documents will have a measure of political bias, as has the minibus taxi industry since it developed from the Group Areas Act in the era of apartheid.

I structured the contributions from other researchers in a sound and systematic manner. During this process, it became clear that there is abundant grey literature regarding minibus taxis and minibus taxi drivers. Research mainly focuses on transport in the broad sense and scholar transport. Finding scholarly literature on the phenomenon of minibus taxi drivers was a challenge. The research does not focus on minibus taxis, which are part of public transport but are also used to transport learners to school. Thus, in developing my argument, I used the literature for the purpose of my research questions rather than being controlled by the authors whose work I had read and are cited in my writings. I used a mixture of argumentative and non-argumentative techniques to persuade the reader of my views (Ridley, 2012).

As I attempt to contribute to the knowledge base regarding the role that minibus taxis can play to support education, I present the literature according to themes. I decided on this action to ensure that the readers are familiar with and understand the context and complexity of the minibus taxi industry in South Africa. In addition to the themes and to contextualise the views on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education, I structured the reviewed literature according to the Johari Window model, namely open window (known to drivers, known to schools and learners), hidden window (known to drivers, not known to schools and learners), blind window (not known to drivers, not known to schools and learners; not known to drivers, known to schools and learners) and unknown window (not known to drivers, known to schools and learners). The Johari Window model is a modest but useful instrument for illustrating and improving self-awareness and mutual understanding between individuals in a group. The Johari Window model is particularly applicable due to modern emphasis on and influence of emotional intelligence, behaviour, empathy, cooperation, inter-group development, and interpersonal development.

The Johari Window will be discussed comprehensively in Chapter 3, hence, the literature review becomes a window for the reader to view the evidence, to illustrate and communicate my research questions and ultimately to justify the conclusion. Figure 2.1 provides an overview of how the Johari Window was applied not only to analyse the data in Chapters 5 and 6 but also to review the literature.

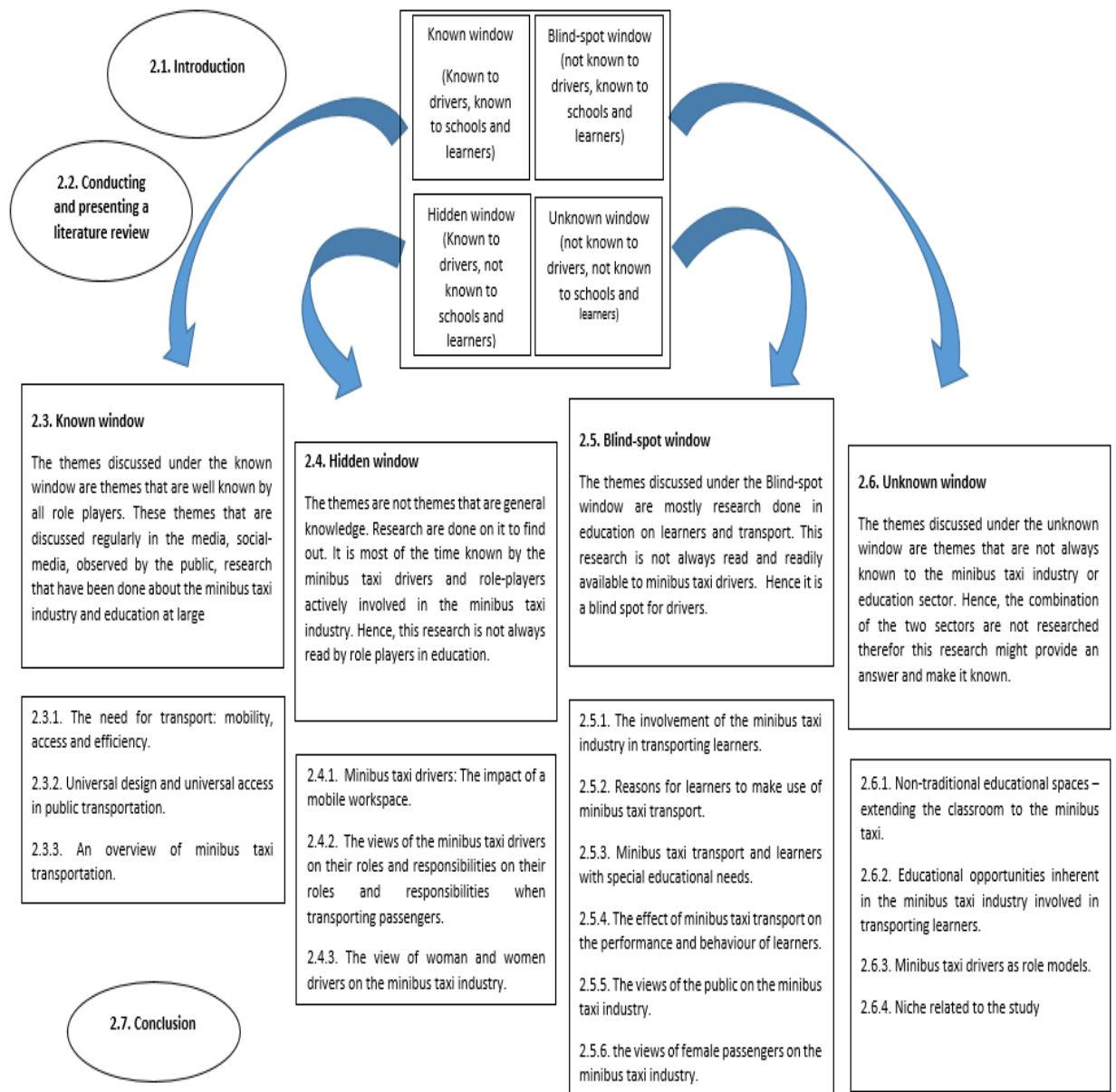


Figure 2.1: Application of Johari Window to reviewed literature.

2.3 Literature reviewed under the Known window pane (known to drivers, known to schools and learners)

2.3.1 The need for transport: mobility, access, and efficiency

Mobility is not only about improving transport networks and facilities; it is about overcoming social, economic, political, and physical barriers to travel. Affordable public transport is a significant part of economic and social well-being. This ensures that low-

income households can afford access to healthcare, household goods, schooling, jobs, and social events. Unaffordable and unsafe transport denies vulnerable groups, especially children, opportunities to good education and it exacerbates poverty.

Researchers concur with the aforementioned by saying that mobility includes experience, opportunity, challenge, temptation and performance (Porter, Hampshire, Abane, Robson, Munthali, Mashiri & Tanle, 2010). Furthermore, these researchers argue that mobility and immobility are very important aspects that shape young people's experience of urban life. It has a direct impact on their future life chances in sub-Saharan Africa. They further indicate that for many young people mobility achieved may, on the one hand, be a basis for exhilaration, temptation, pleasure, inclusion, opportunity, and apparent success; on the other hand, it may be a cause of exhaustion, danger, and fear. In contrast, mobility frustrated is most often seen purely in negative terms: a source of anger, hopelessness, exclusion, and apparent failure. Mobility frustration may apply to Gauteng school learners and young people who frequently walk long distances or take public transport, for instance minibus taxis, along busy corridors. This mobility frustration exposes them to harm, dangers, and other hardships when they want to gain access to schools (Porter et al., 2010; Habitat, 2000).

As indicated by the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), access to education has three dimensions. It is non-discriminatory, it has physical accessibility, which refers to geographical distance and safety while travelling to school, and it has economical accessibility, which refers to free schooling at primary level and schooling that is affordable for all. By extension, there are disparities between provinces. Many schools still have below-standard facilities and the language of learning, ethnicity, health, and disability prevents many children from gaining full access to adequate education. Secure transport for learners and healthy school environments also cannot be assured. Steps to minimise educational expenses for the poorest learners need to be complemented by an emphasis on uniforms, stationery, books, and transport (Department of Education (DoE), 2006, Motala, Dieltiens & Sayed, 2012).

White Papers on the National Transport Policy (1996) and the Gauteng Provincial Transport Policy (1997) have a strategic objective to make sure that public transport services address user needs, specifically those of commuters, pensioners, the aged, learners, the disabled, tourists, and long-distance passengers. This brief outline suggests and

emphasises that the Department must develop, in cooperation with the GDE, an urban and rural transport strategy in order to meet the needs of learners in the province (Mngaza, van Zyl & Dhlamini, 2001)

Department of Transport (1999), *Moving South Africa, the Action Agenda: a 20-year strategic framework for transport in South Africa*, also places emphasis on school learners. Learners are part of the marginalised users and should be considered stakeholders in the taxi industry.

2.3.2 Universal design and universal access in public transportation

The term universal design was coined by Story, Mueller and Mace (1998) who specialised in architecture and industrial design. To mention him is of significance since he lived with polio and was wheelchair bound. He devised environments suitable for people regardless of age or condition. Thus, universal design provides the foundation for access and ultimately mobility. Universal design in education offers a philosophical framework for the design of a variety of products and settings for people with a broad range of physical appearance. Universal design also values diversity and inclusiveness, which White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001) requires from education in South Africa. In so doing, educational experience is made more accessible, not just for people with disabilities, but for all people regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, age, stature, disability, or learning style. The main beliefs of universal design are equitable use, flexibility in use, simple and instinctive use, distinguishable information, patience for error, low physical work, size, and space for approach and use (Burgstahler, 2009; Story, Mueller & Story, 1998). This brief outline suggests that it is a useful philosophical framework. However, attention should be given to the implementation thereof for the assistance of all role players in the minibus taxi industry especially in the process of supporting education. I will, therefore, discuss LSENs and the impact of minibus taxi transportation on these learners later in this chapter.

An overview of minibus taxi transportation in Africa and South Africa will be discussed in the section below. Minibus taxis are an African and South African phenomenon but can be applied in other regions and countries. Research that was done by the Rand-Qatar Policy Institute (2012) considered small buses for scholar transport to transport girls and boys in a culturally appropriate manner and to address transport congestion (Henry, Younossi, Al-Dafa, Culbertson, Mattock, Light & Rohr, 2012). The USA, Canada and Europe have very efficient and well-designed public transport systems. In addition, the aforementioned

countries also have very efficient, safe scholar transport systems in place which are controlled by national legislation and policies of the respective countries (Monteiro & Atkinson, 2012; Temiz & Yilmaz, 2018). Furthermore, the focus of the study is not on scholar transport but on paratransit, namely minibus taxis which are also used by learners.

2.3.3 An overview of minibus taxi transportation in Africa and South Africa

2.3.3.1 Minibus taxi transportation in Africa

Kumar and Barrett (2008) conducted research for the World Bank on urban transport in 14 major African cities and discovered that minibus taxis account for approximately 50 per cent of all motorised transport on several corridors in Africa's cities. Their average journey time is twice as long as that of large buses. At peak hours, they gridlock roads more than any other type of vehicle. To date, minibus taxis are the largest and most popular form of public transport for the majority of regular commuters in most African cities (Imaniranzi, 2015). Furthermore, the literature consulted provides evidence that the quality of minibus taxi services in sub-Saharan African cities are substandard. This can be ascribed to the features of the minibus taxi business operating model, namely driver compensation, which works on the basis of a daily 'target system'. In addition, minibus taxi drivers work on a cash-based business management system, in which vehicle devaluation is ignored as an operational expense (Behrens, McCormick, Orero & Ommeh, 2017). In addition, transportation in the majority of cities on the African continent is grounded on three- and four-wheel 'vehicles' which, most of the time, are run down. Despite the challenges, minibus taxis fulfil the transportation needs of the people on the African continent where government-regulated public transit services are not provided. These cities are colonial planned African cities, which contributes to the chaos created by the organic growth of the minibus taxi industry. Furthermore, these colonial planned city spaces do not work with informality, and informality is what the minibus taxi industry is all about in Africa. This informality highlights the problems experienced with deregulation, leading to extreme power imbalances and the worsening of working conditions as indicated by Agbiboa (2019).

Minibus taxi services in city spaces are unregulated and known for very harsh working conditions with a mainly male workforce. It is characterised by a lack of secure income, work benefits, basic health and safety measures, and legal and social protection. The income for these African transport workers is minimal for the 15 to 20 hours' work per day

and the work is menial. Needless to say, the reason for these harsh working conditions is the predatory culture of corruption and very tough daily demands from owners. The type of minibus taxi vehicles used is more or less the same in African countries, although the service and vehicles are known under different names: daladadas in Dar es Salaam, danfos in Lagos, matatus in Nairobi, and kombis in Zimbabwe (Agbibo, 2019; Dumba, 2017, Muchadenyika, 2014).

These minibus taxi drivers are branded by their transgressive practices of overloading their vehicles with passengers, speeding, picking up and dropping off passengers in the middle of the road, exorbitant fares, rough handling of passengers, and constant feuding between rival transport associations. On the whole, for Africans trapped in a permanent cycle of poverty, mobility creates prosperity. However, this informal transport workforce transforms places of transport into spaces of trepidation for the passengers who make use of it (Agbibo, 2019).

Kenya's capital city, Nairobi, has 53 771 296 people and, like many other countries in Africa, is dealing with extensive population growth and rising burdens on the infrastructure. As a result, the informal transport system has grown to fulfil the role in providing regional and inter-city freedom of movement. During the 1960s, private passenger transporters were scarce. Matatus appeared, but the Kenyan Police aggressively pursued them as 'pirate taxis'. Nonetheless, they provided transport with bearable fares for the workers. The matatu industry was accepted during the 1970s (Habitat, 2000; Heinze, 2019).

Nairobi's minibus taxis are known as matatus, which refers to the initial 30 cents fare charged for services. In the late 1990s, there were around 5 000 matatus operational in Nairobi (more than fifty per cent of the national total), transporting some 400 000 riders daily or 70 per cent of all passenger transport trips in the city. Akin to the minibus taxis in South Africa, matatus provide transport to low-income areas not always reached by buses and trains. Matatus are demand-responsive, which is attractive to middle-class customers, with reasonable, cheap fares. It is, furthermore, a flexible transport service which relieves rush-hour loads all through the city and provides indispensable services to low concentration routes. On the negative side, matatus are overcrowded, unsafe vehicles. They are known for speeding, reckless driving, high-decibel stereos, and with piercing and often-used horns to attract customers. (Habitat, 2000).

Matatus are a source of work and create affluence in Kenya. Nationally, a projected 8 000 matatus directly employ some 16 000 people and make over USD50 million in yearly net earnings. The industry is made up of small business enterprises. Originally, matatus were old jalopies driven by the less affluent. Each matatu worker employs two people on average, usually a fare collector and a tout. In 1993, the driver and conductor earned an average of USD2 789 00 per year; the tout earned about a third less (Habitat, 2000; Heinze, 2019).

Similar to Kenya, politics and power support, configure, and destabilise minibus taxi transport or, as it is known, kombis in Zimbabwe. As Muchandenyika (2014) argues, informal transport provides an important constituency and resources for politicians to manipulate to their advantage. In his opinion, transport workers are used to instil fear and garner political support in cities. Consequently, attention should be given to politics and power dynamics which shape the informal transport system (Agbiboa, 2019; Heinze, 2019).

2.3.3.2 Minibus taxi transportation in South Africa

The main purpose of transport is to bridge the gap between where a person is and where they need to be. Motorised modes of transport are used when distances are too far for walking to a destination. Transport not only helps to overcome the distance to the activity; it also influences the location of the activity. A city cannot operate without a good transport system as Coetzee, Waldeck, Le Roux, Van Niekerk, Meiklejohn and Leuta (2014) point out. Moreover, transport in South Africa is, as indicated by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), extremely complex. This is because all three spheres of Government (local, provincial and national) are the providers of transport infrastructure and public transport services. Simultaneously, these spheres are also the regulators of public and private transport. The inter-modal linkages between passengers and freight, road, rail, aviation, ports, and airports contribute to the complexity.

The level of complexity escalates in the urban context. The exceptional growth of informal settlements on the outskirts of metropolitan areas are a challenging reality. These settlements imply that commuters are going through long journey times and face huge travel costs to reach their destinations (Mthimkulu, 2017; Xhali, 2003). As previously stated, South Africa does not have a single integrated urban transport system, but rather a collection of individual urban transport systems. These individual transport systems have

little or no relation to one another, which makes it very challenging for adolescent commuters to use them.

Recent studies suggest that public transport is the primary choice of travel in Southern Africa (Mthimkulu, 2017). From the literature, we are informed that it may be seen as the driving force behind economic growth. It must, therefore, be accurate, affordable, open, versatile, and secure.

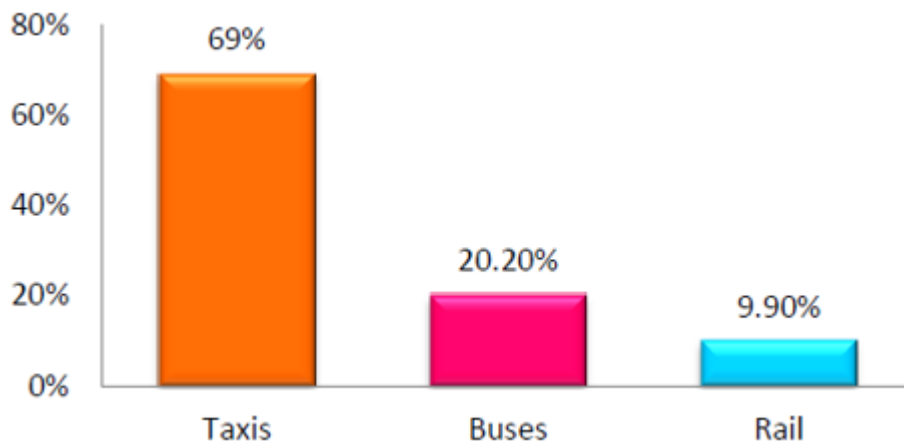


Figure 2.2: Household use of transportation in Gauteng (Statistics South Africa & Department of Transportation, 2014)

To understand the state of public transport in Gauteng, South Africa, the Gauteng Household Travel Survey (GHTS) is a steadfast basis to begin with. For this study, the GHTS 2019/2020 will be used. The survey assesses the degree to which public transport services and facilities are provided and expresses the resulting quality and availability to passengers. The survey shows that 70 per cent of households in Gauteng do not own a vehicle, which means that these households rely on minibus taxis, buses, trains, and other non-motorised modes of transport. The GHTS 2019/2020 provides a snapshot of perceptions and travel experiences of minibus taxi users. The survey indicates that only 46 per cent of households have one member with a driver's licence. The number of such households is on the increase, which implies that public transport, specifically minibus taxis in Gauteng, is a basic necessity for the majority of households. This survey also notes that 48 per cent of minibus taxi users are either mildly dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with taxis, specifically the behaviour of taxi drivers, roadworthiness of minibus taxi vehicles, and safety from accidents.

The National Household Travel Survey (NHTS) provides further evidence that there are diverse challenges associated with the available modes of public transport in South Africa. According to the NHTS 2014, only 42 per cent of train users were happy with train services. Train travellers attached importance to the punctuality of the service, the level of crowding, the travel distance from the station, and the safety of trains (NHTS, 2014, Statistics, 2020). Unfortunately, Metrorail trains have been marred by a persistent lack of structure in terms of timetables and trains not showing up. As much as 38 per cent of train users indicated that trains were not available when they were needed (Mthimkulu, 2017). Furthermore, train stations are located in city centres, which resulted in passengers having to either walk or use another mode of transport to get to their final destinations. Problems with bus services were largely attributed to the lack of frequent bus services during off-peak hours. In addition, bus services did not cover those routes from which passengers could cycle or use another form of transport to reach their destination. On the other side of the coin, injury data from around the world show that taking the bus to school is the safest mode of transportation (Mthimkulu, 2017; Goldman & Peleg, 2010), however, bus transportation is not always available for the majority of learners. Due to the aforementioned challenges, passengers then choose to make use of minibus taxis.

As early as 1994, Smith and Mosimane (1994) remarked that the minibus taxi industry was a growing and profitable industry which was moving towards professionalism. Therefore, there is a need for genuine partnership with the education and training sector. What we do not yet know, is how, in the context of learner transport, minibus taxis and education can augment each other. In the next section, the contextualisation of minibus taxis in Gauteng, South Africa, will be discussed.

2.3.3.3 Contextualisation of minibus taxi transportation in South Africa

The minibus taxi industry falls under the unskilled transport sector (Orisataki & Oguntibeju, 2010). It is known for its involvement in accidents, unconventional driving styles, and involvement in taxi-related violence. Apart from all the negative associations surrounding the minibus taxi industry, the industry supports many economic activities, such as marketing, motor repairs, vehicle financing, passenger insurance, and the upkeep of taxi-rank ablution blocks (Ingle, 2009). The industry also hires rank marshals, car washers, and fare collectors, apart from the drivers (Ingle, 2009).

The South African minibus taxi industry is a demonstration of Black empowerment and capitalism with an annual turnover of R50 billion (Wasserman, 2019; Businesstech, 2020). This industry is the dominant public transport provider in South Africa and the response to the transport challenge experienced in South Africa. During the 1970s, African people had limited access to legal business opportunities and the Government tried to protect public transport by not issuing road carrier permits to them to operate minibus taxis. The South African Black Taxi Association (SABTA) was formed in 1978 to address the issues affecting the taxi industry and to place it on the Government's agenda. Government did not address the challenges experienced in a satisfactory manner though (Ingle, 2009). The South African Taxi Council (SATACO) was established to serve as the platform for all the taxi associations in the minibus taxi industry. The National Taxi Task Team (NTTT) was created by the South African Government in 1994. Their recommendation was the signing of a memorandum between Government and SATACO with the intention that, if the industry complied with legislation and regulations, the government would economically empower taxi drivers through formalisation. South African National Taxi Council (SANTACO) aims to unite the interests of the taxi industry, Government, and commuters (Fourie, 2003).

Also, owners have formed associations, which in turn elect representatives to provincial and national councils. SANTACO has long been the single body with which the government communicates on taxi-related issues. According to Woolf and Joubert (2013), the minibus industry is still a diverse outreach operation rather than a related body, as it is frequently perceived to be. The industry's fluid structure has contributed to the widely held public opinion that the minibus taxi industry should be formalised in its current form. To this extent, Schalekamp, Behrens and Wilkinson (2010) and Venter (2011) have reviewed the ineffective endeavours by Government to institute regulatory control of the industry.

Despite the establishment of councils and associations, the taxi industry is still known for faction violence, harassment, traffic accidents, and certain role players who want to dominate the industry (Ingle, 2009). With the recapitalisation programme, the government tried to formalise the industry, but it has not been successful. The recapitalisation programme refers to an intervention by the South African Ministry of Transport (2007) to bring about safer, effective, reliable, affordable, and accessible minibus taxi vehicles (Abrahams, 2010) designed to undertake public functions in the minibus taxi industry by replacing older minibus taxis with new 18- to 25-seater, diesel-engine transport vehicles

(Baloyi & Sebola, 2012; Moyake, 2006). According to Minnaar and Hough (1997), it can be argued that the unplanned growth in the industry and the fact that the government experiences challenges in regulating the taxi industry are the reasons for the aforementioned challenges. These authors further advise that authorities should rather focus on implementing existing laws, prosecute criminal behaviour, ensure vehicle roadworthiness, and address bad driving, overloading and driver licences instead (Minnaar & Hough, 1997). Nonetheless, the minibus taxi industry is an example of Black economic self-empowerment and the only transport sector where Black South Africans control the entire sector. Apart from the negative association linked to the minibus taxi industry, the industry also participates in economic activities.

Improvement to the service that minibus taxis provide and the way they are organised could have significant benefit to all role players. The minibus taxi industry is indeed thought-provoking for several reasons that will be explored in this chapter.

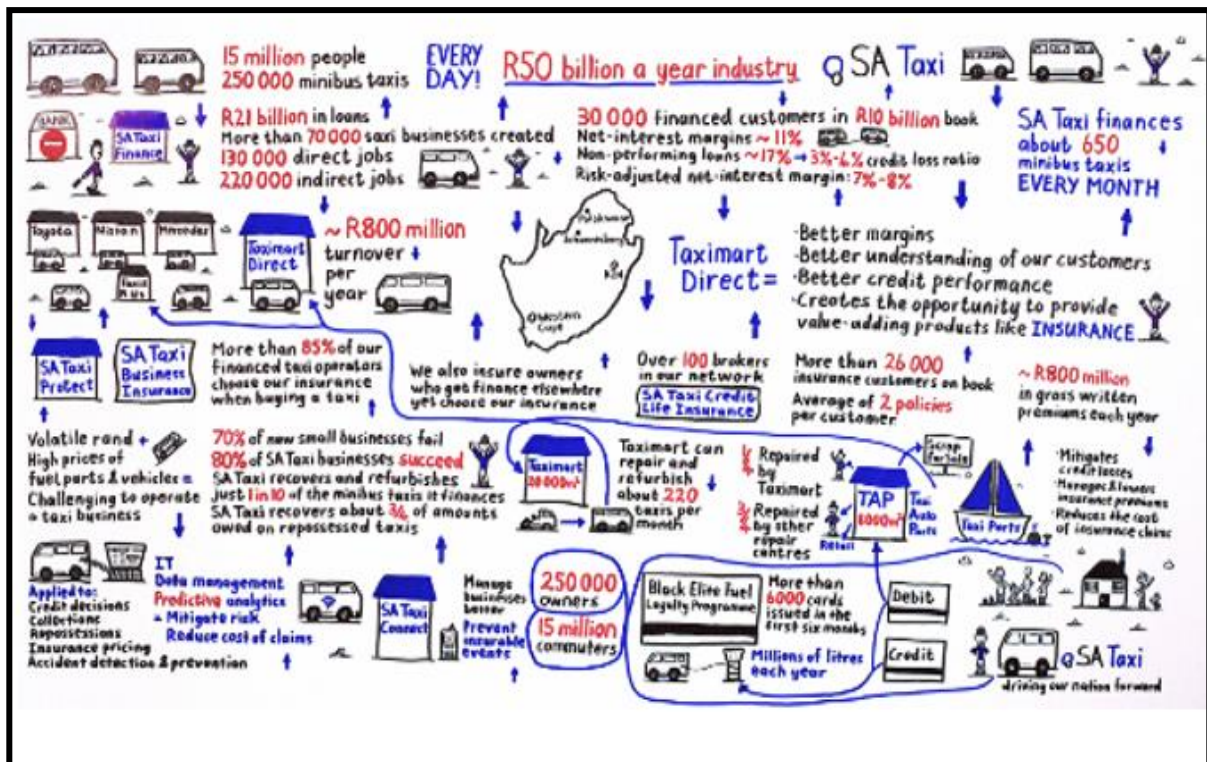


Figure 2.3: Diagram illustrating economic activities in the minibus taxi industry (Reprint from Business Tech, 2020)

In addition, Schalekamp (2015) concurs that the paratransit sector, of which minibus taxi vehicles are part, is not a uniform collective but a collection of an estimated 187 000

businesses. Viewing and managing the taxi industry via so many diverse lenses makes it more complex, adding to it the geographical areas they operate in. Nevertheless, both critics and supporters of the taxi industry will probably agree that the impact which the apartheid-era government had on transport cannot be flouted. In 1948 when the then National Party came into power and apartheid become an official policy, South African people were divided as being White, Coloured, Asian, or Black into specific spatial areas. This led to the first forced relocation in 1949 to the South-Western Township (Soweto) in Johannesburg, Gauteng. This removal of non-White South Africans from urban centres to relocate them to the outskirts of cities or homelands had a real impact and is arguably the most significant factor that led to the rise of minibus taxis (Ingle 2009; McCaul, 1990; Schalencamp, 2015; Woolf & Joubert, 2013). Furthermore, earlier modes of government transport like trains and buses with their routes and timetables made day-to-day commuting particularly time-consuming, tiring and expensive (Ingle, 2009). Government buses and trains have altered their operations accordingly with the view that minibus taxis cannot be wished away (McCaul, 1990).

As one of the earliest researchers of the minibus taxi industry, McCaul (1990) indicates that after the Soweto uprising in 1976, the Van Breda Commission of Inquiry in its report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Road Transportation Bill of 1977 found that South Africa had reached a stage of economic and industrial development which enabled, or rather forced it due to the political impact, to move towards a more competitive transportation system.

From 1977, the minibus taxi industry began to play a more significant role in the transport industry with the introduction of 10-seater minibuses. With this move, they captured a growing market of Black commuters from the township areas and threatened the established and legalised passenger transport – rail and buses. Minibus taxis (10-seaters carrying only eight passengers) were legalised in 1978 and by 1982, with the new White Paper on National Transport Policy, the 16-seaters (carrying 15 passengers) were allowed to operate legally (McCaul, 1990; Venter, 2013). Taxi permits were extremely difficult to obtain and many minibus taxi operators operated illegally, especially during the apartheid era, when public transport become sporadic and unpredictable.

Public transport became the alternative for low-income, non-White citizens. But, as transport is the backbone of any economy, it was targeted during the unrest of the 1980s

by Umkhonto we Sizwe, APLA (Azanian People's Liberation), the military wings of the ANC (African National Congress), and the PAC (Pan Africanist Congress) leading to White people (McCaul, 1990; Woolf et al.; 2014) using their own transport and leaving other people to find alternatives.

The impact of South African legislation and policy regarding transport should be kept in mind to fully understand the minibus taxis sector. The Road Transportation Act of 1977 came into effect in 1978. It defined a bus and a motor car but the Act did not define taxi vehicles. This opened the way for the introduction of kombi taxis, better known today as minibus taxis, carrying nine passengers. In 1983, the Welgemoed Commission proposed the abolition of the kombi-taxi industry citing that it was chaotic (McCaul, 1990). SABTA's participation with the Welgemoed Commission was central in the kombi taxis becoming an accepted part of the passenger transport industry. The taxi industry had come to be valued by many sectors of the economy and it grew despite the unavailability of permits (McCaul, 1990). The Transportation Deregulation Act of 1988 removed most entry barriers to minibus services (Venter, 2013). The deregulation led to considerable growth, because they could load quickly, offered everyone seats, and rendered 'premium quality service' by offering an origin-to-destination service compared to the Putco buses at that time (Boudreaux, 2006; Khosa, 1992; McCaul, 1990). Government endeavoured to support and subsidise bus transport to prevent further growth in the taxi industry but it did not attain the goal they had in mind.

Needless to say, the industry went from strength to strength and has grown into what it is today. According to Khosa (1992), three powers can be identified in the radical evolution of the minibus taxi industry during the 1980s and 1990s. The first power was the bargaining power displayed by the associations to involve and get support from major role players in the business of the industry. The second power was the dispersion of financial resources into the minibus taxi industry, and the third power came from apartheid policy changing to a democratic policy and acceptance of the minibus taxi industry. He furthermore mentions that the minibus taxi industry is one of the most extraordinary socio-economic phenomena in the recent history of South Africa (Khosa, 1992). It became the 'showcase for Black capitalism', a way for Black people to accumulate wealth, very fittingly called 'Wealth on Wheels' (Fourie, 2003:17; Venter, 2013) or, as Randall (2019:5) refers to it, 'a death coffin on wheels' due to the number of lives lost in minibus taxi accidents. Of the 36 lives lost daily on South African roads, three are killed in taxi-related incidents (Arrive Alive, 2021;

Vegter, 2020). This rise of the minibus taxis, as aptly referred to by McCaul (1990:1), was ‘no easy ride’. During the 1984 political disturbances, allegations were made that taxi operators had a hand in attacks on buses that were stoned, petrol bombed, and hijacked. Venter (2013) also mentions that the minibus taxi industry gained popularity as a community resistance response to the power of the apartheid government.

The immense growth and financial gain that people made from minibus taxis led to fierce competition which, in turn, led to the formation of voluntary operating organisations. These organisations did not represent and promote their members’ interest by participating in formal governmental structures and industry bodies. They protected their perceived rights for sole control of specific routes. This, in short, meant claiming ownership over routes and rank space which, in turn, carved the path to violence because these rights were not formal or enforced by the police but by private agreement (Venter, 2013).

As mentioned earlier, violence and threats of violence were used to settle disputes and enforce ‘property’ rights (Dugard, 2001; Boudreaux, 2006). This behaviour created the perception that minibus taxis operated illegally, outside government law (Venter, 2013). Research regarding minibus taxi violence in South Africa by Dugard (2001) concluded that violence became an unofficial element of the minibus taxi industry’s business strategy. It was, and still is, due to the success they have with it as a means of negotiating, and thus extracting higher profits. I wholeheartedly agree that minibus taxis use violence not just to protect their business, as indicated by Dugard (2001), but also to enforce other issues. I experienced it first-hand on 3 September 2019 when held up by taxi drivers in inner city Tshwane, Gauteng, during their violent action. Protesting taxi drivers forced passengers out of minibus taxis and private vehicles and assaulted them. The unrest started in Pretoria inner city where taxi drivers were carrying out a campaign against drugs (Mahlokwane, 2019; Küsel, 2019) and again with the national taxi strike on 27 November 2020 (Schrieber, 2020).

An association is a coming together of a group of people with a common interest to tackle their common problems and ensure that their common goals are reached. For minibus taxis, it is crucial to belong to a taxi organisation as they control the taxi ranks. The local authority allocates taxi ranks to the taxi organisations. The taxi organisations employ rank managers and marshals to allocate passengers to the taxis on a first-come, first-served basis. Only the minibus taxi organisation members are allowed to use the ranks. Rank managers are

expected to keep a record of registration numbers to establish waiting lists, who leaves for where, and how many passengers each taxi has taken. Rank managers are paid by the taxi drivers using the rank premises. Rank permits for each vehicle cost varying amounts which are paid to the local authority (McCaul, 1990).

Although McCaul (1990) provides evidence that the African minibus taxi industry in South Africa is organised with organisations dating back to the 1930s, when they divided up routes between operators, organised the use of ranking facilities and set fares, it does not come across like that to the general public.

SANTACO has long been the single body with which the government interacts. Government recognises it as the legitimate industry representative. It was founded in 2001 with representation at local, regional, and provincial levels. It came into being after an intensive consultative process between Government and taxi operators. The NTTT of 1996's recommendations were used for guidance. The pillars that it rests on are formalisation, regulation, and empowerment. The fragmentation of the industry across taxi association lines created serious problems and violent confrontations.

The onus rests on this council to regulate, formalise, and stabilise the industry. SANTACO is a negotiator in disputes and an eliminator of the causes of these disputes and violence between taxi organisations. In South Africa, which is made up of nine provinces, there are a number of associations and council offices (Sauti, 2006). SANTACO indicates their mission, vision, and core mandate on their website, however, it is not reflected in the behaviour of the majority of taxi drivers and owners. The following table provides examples of SANTACO's behaviour which is not in line with their vision, mission and core mandate:

Table 2.1: SANTACO's behaviour not in line with mission, vision and core mandate

<p>SANTACO VISION: To make the taxi industry the flagship of black empowerment in the transport sector by uniting and regulating the taxi industry and to ensure empowerment not only of the industry, but also all their employees and previously disadvantaged communities, economically and socially, in order to ensure safe, reliable and comfortable public transport to the citizens of South Africa.</p>	<p>The industry comes across as informal, with no rules or regulations due to the manner in which minibus taxi drivers behave on the roads. They show lawlessness and violent behaviour. The informality of the industry and lack of the implementation of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act may contribute to the stress already experienced by minibus taxi drivers stemming from intense competition, taxi violence, and the possibility of hijacking. Many minibus taxi drivers have to sleep in their vehicles at the taxi rank (Mmadi, 2012).</p>
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	Transactional sexual relations are not sex work in the conventional sense, nor are they simply the product of deprivation (Potgieter et al., 2012).
<p>SANTACO MISSION: An empowered organised and unified body regulating and representing a democratic, accountable and professional taxi industry that serves all South Africans in an affordable, safe and reliable mode of public transport, meeting and setting the standards within the public transport industry.</p>	Violence and threats of violence were used to settle disputes and enforce ‘property’ rights (Dugard, 2001; Boudreaux, 2006). South African passengers view minibus taxis as unsafe with drivers operating their vehicles in an offensive manner or, as Sauti (2006:32) has indicated, passengers complained about the ‘extremely rough driving’ of minibus taxi drivers.
<p>SANTACO CORE MANDATE: The organisation is tasked with a duty to ensure that the taxi industry is mobilised and speak in one voice and is organised around a common vision. SANTACO in this regard acts as the voice of the industry and bargaining platform. It does this by developing relevant policies and engaging with various institutions inclusive of government. Central to its mandate are the following areas: transformation of the taxi industry, regulation, governance and control of the industry, economic empowerment of industry stakeholders, transformation and development of the taxi industry by offering capacity and skills development of industry players, particularly taxi drivers and owners.</p>	<p>As mentioned earlier, violence and threats of violence were used to settle disputes and enforce ‘property’ rights (Dugard, 2001; Boudreaux, 2006). This behaviour created the perception that minibus taxis operated illegally outside government law (Venter, 2013). Research regarding minibus taxi violence in South Africa by Dugard (2001) concluded that violence became an unofficial element of the minibus taxi industry’s business strategy.</p> <p>Strenuous working hours. These hours are linked to the income that the minibus taxi drivers take home (Mmadi, 2012).</p>

Even though the representative structure indicated on the website implies organisation and structure, the manner in which the taxi drivers and owners behave comes across as informal with no rules and regulations. The industry’s nebulous structure has led the widespread public view that paratransit in its present form should be formalised. To this end, Schalekamp, Behrens and Wilkinson (2010) and Venter (2011) reviewed the unsuccessful attempts by Government to get a tighter handle on the industry (Neumann, Röder & Joubert, 2015).

Schalekamp (2015), Agbiboa’s (2019) and Schalekamp and Behrens (2010) research on paratransit convinced me that it is not highly organised. They argue, as mentioned earlier, that paratransit is not an unvarying collective but rather a group of a projected 187 000 businesses sharing an identity based on the typical vehicle being used, operating according to loosely defined routes, and not operating according to a timetable, hence their name minibus taxis or taxis. He furthermore raises the issue of enterprise size, political representation and legal compliance of which there are variations within and between

cities. Agbiboa (2019) aptly refers to the minibus taxi industry in Africa as ‘the rhythm of chaos’ (Agbiboa, 2019:172). These ‘unregulated’ paratransit services mirror the harsh working conditions of its mostly male-dominated workforce, who lack secure income, work benefits, basic health and safety benefits, and legal and social protection – truly the rhythm of chaos.

Barrett’s (2003) stance is that the minibus taxi industry is part of the informal economy as the majority of operators are not registered as tax payers. They also tend not to register their employees or adhere to minimum standards of employment. The majority of operators do, in fact, have licences to operate and public driving permits. Fourie (2003) concurs with this view. He points out that its operations are predominantly outside the legal, commercial, and fiscal spheres of the economy. Castells and Portes (1989) have defined the informal economy as flexibility and exploitation, productivity and abuse, aggressive entrepreneurs and defenceless workers, and libertarianism and greediness. It is an apt description of the minibus taxi industry in South Africa.

In spite of evidence that the minibus taxi industry is unregulated, there seems to be an inconsistency in the current literature on the status of the minibus taxi industry. The industry may be seen as regulated and part of the formal sector due to the fact that the government has officially acknowledged that the sector is part of the public transport system. Nonetheless, Mmadi (2012) argues that it is unregulated and part of the informal sector because of a lack of legislative application, as in the case of the application of *Basic Conditions of Employment Act* of 1997.

Researchers have found that not all minibus taxi drivers have targets to meet nor do they pay according to the quota system. Some minibus taxi owners do pay standard wages to their drivers (McCaul, 1990; Mahlangu, 2002; Mmadi, 2012).

As can be seen in the aforementioned literature, at first glance the minibus taxis appear to be known only for their lawlessness, violent behaviour, and being disorganised but on closer investigation it appears they are very multifaceted. Transport performs many functions. Without transport, companies and businesspersons in both urban and rural areas would not be able to bring goods and services in nor take goods out. A sufficient transport service makes rural areas lively and the country economically competitive.

Furthermore, transport services have a vital shared function to play, that is, connecting families, providing entry to education, health, welfare, and many other social services. They are also the means by which families sustain themselves, travel to work, and obtain supplies for the needs of life (Botes, 2005).

In recent discussions of the minibus taxi sector, a controversial aspect has been the death and injury of learners and the view that minibus drivers are a law unto themselves. Neither of these arguments, however, considers the alternative view on minibus taxi and their role in supporting education. I value the people-centred view on paratransit that Woolf and Joubert (2013) take. It adds weight to my argument that minibus taxis can play a more supporting role in education. Research done by Schalekamp (2015) reveals hopeful signs of a positive and more industrious relationship between local government and minibus taxi drivers. It indicated that operators in the minibus taxi business were keen to make their businesses more viable and to promote a positive public image. He pointed out that building trust with operators was an essential first step. I think to build trust and partnerships with the drivers of minibus taxis is of high importance as they interact with passengers and especially children on a daily basis. It rings true what Schalekamp (2015) says that public minibus taxis are, every so often, seen as a problem that is best ignored or wished away but improvement to the services that public minibus taxis provide and the way they are organised could have significant spin-off effects.

I will, therefore, now consider poor, urban transport neighbourhoods. Poor urban transport areas for instance townships are defined on the basis of total transport poverty and relative transport poverty. Total transport poverty relates to an urban transport area that is constituted of residents and communities normally living under the poverty line, as recognised by a basket of basic, end-user needs within a country (Kenway & Palmer, 2007). This is subjected to the lowest worth and number of transport services by non-refundable transport income as well as basic access. Relative transport poverty is based on an appraisal of available transport for poor people in comparison to others in the social order. Therefore, relative transport poverty can be defined as the lack or insufficiency of transport facilities, standards, services, activities, and alternatives which increase and support fair right of entry and utilisation of socio-economic prospects, empowerment, and common growth and progress of all people in society (Chakwizira, Bikam, Dayomi, Adeboyejo, 2011). The majority of learners who make use of minibus taxis are from poor urban transport neighbourhoods and this has a direct impact on their journey to educational institutions.

Issues related to minibus taxi drivers will now be considered with a view to discussing minibus taxi transport of schoolgoing children and young adults.

2.4 Literature reviewed under the Hidden window pane (known to drivers, not known to schools and learners)

2.4.1. Minibus taxi drivers: The impact of a mobile workspace

The minibus taxi drivers' day begins in an 'office' which does not belong to him, in which he neither makes decisions nor takes the profit for the hours that he must put in. The taxi drivers' office is in full view of the public. One and all can see what is happening within his office, which means it is under continuous public scrutiny (Sauti, 2006).

His day starts as early as four in the morning and ends as late as seven in the evenings, at least six days of the week. The peak working hours for the driver are from 04:00 to 09:00 when passengers and children travel to work, schools, and other educational institutions. Sauti (2006) indicates that from 10:00, peak time is over and drivers park their vehicles at the minibus taxi ranks. Between 10:00 and 13:00, the majority of minibus taxi drivers take a nap, read the newspaper, or sit in the taxi rank in groups chatting. When peak time 15:00 to 19:00 arrives, it is back to 'cut-throat' competition for passengers. Aptly described by Kojo, a participant in Bosman's study, the minibus taxi driver is a commandeer during peak hours, moving in the city space with hooters blaring, moving the labour force to and from their daily chores, all the while leaving in their wake high-strung and bewildered fellow road users on the threshold of road rage (Bosman, 2006). Mmadi (2012) concurs with the above-mentioned strenuous working hours. These hours are linked to the income that the minibus taxi drivers take home. Although peak hours differ in terms of the spatial socio-economic differences we find in South Africa, the minibus taxi industry aligns itself with the local conditions.

There are a few different ways in which minibus taxi drivers derive their income (Mahlangu, 2002; Majeke, 2003; McCaul, 1996; Mmadi, 2012). The first method is a fixed percentage of the week's earnings (referred to as cash-up) which does not consist of a basic salary. The second method is when minibus taxi drivers receive a basic salary and a set percentage of the daily or weekly cash-up. The third method is where the minibus taxi driver gives all the cash-up to the owner and receives a fixed, steady salary. The fourth method involves the taxi driver taking the cash-up from one day of the week as payment

and hands over the rest of the weeks' cash-up to the taxi owner. The latter approach often leads to overloading of their vehicles and exceeding of speed limits in order to increase their take-home pay. Needless to say these working conditions contribute to the stress under which minibus taxi drivers operate. It explains their disregard for other vehicles on the road and traffic rules (Department of Transport, 2007; Lister & Dhunpath, 2016, Mmadi, 2012).

The complexity in the space in which the minibus taxi drivers operate is heightened by the fact that the taxi associations also regulate the rank fees which must be paid by the taxi drivers (Lister & Dhunpath, 2016). The above-mentioned challenges have their origin in the fact that the minibus taxi industry is a self-sustaining industry, which implies that the minibus taxi industry is entirely dependent on the income of its commuters. The spaces that are used as taxi ranks are of prominence. There are centralised spaces and pick-up points where the minibus taxi drivers collect their passengers and generate their income. These spaces become points of contention. Add to this, the conflict over routes (geographical spaces) and the cause of taxi wars becomes clear.

The minibus taxi drivers' workspace is the minibus taxi (vehicle) itself being on the road and in the taxi rank. The main taxi rank is usually in the city centre and smaller ranks are in the outlying areas and operate on a turn-taking principle. Each taxi is expected to wait in line to be filled with passengers before the next taxi can be filled – a rotation system. Additionally, taxi operators pick up passengers along designated routes in the outlying areas. Float drivers are those drivers who drive up and down the entire day (Lister & Dhunpath, 2016; Mmadi, 2012) to find passengers.

Above, I discussed the practical part of the minibus taxi drivers' workspace, but to fully understand the nature of the workspace the minibus taxi driver finds himself in, is to understand that it is, at the same time, in another spatial position. Here, research refers to an economical and geographical space simultaneously. With reference to space, ownership and organisational differences in terms of minibus taxis are distinct in the various geographical areas (provinces) in South Africa (Agbibo, 2019; McCaul, 1996; Mmadi, 2012; Schalekamp, 2015).

A working area is as a space, for example an office, factory, shop, or workshop (Wells & Thelen, 2005). But, as Mmadi (2012) indicates, to define the minibus taxi drivers' workspace is, by far, more of a challenge. The reason for this view is that the minibus taxi driver performs the majority of his responsibilities from inside his vehicle, in the taxi rank,

moving around all the time. This is the opposite of the definition mentioned earlier. Many of the definitions given for workspace are inadequate because minibus taxi drivers perform the majority of their tasks during the day, away from the employers' premises. This vagueness of legislation regarding the workspace of minibus taxi drivers has an impact on them as employees and as citizens in terms of employment protection and benefits. This brings to the fore that some aspects of the industry are formalised but others are informal. Drivers are often unaware of their rights as they have limited or no knowledge of labour legislation. The informality of the industry is linked to the employer–employee relationship and Mmadi (2012) argues that even with the *Basic Conditions of Employment Act* of 1997, Sectoral Determination 11, Taxi Sector (South Africa 1997) in place, it is not implemented and enforced (Mahlangu, 2002; Mmadi, 2012). The informality of the industry and lack of the implementation of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act may contribute to the stress already experienced by minibus taxi drivers stemming from intense competition, taxi violence, and the possibility of hijacking. Many minibus taxi drivers have to sleep in their vehicles at the taxi rank (Mmadi, 2012).

Khosa (1992:249) has pointed out that taxi violence goes back as far as 1960 and interestingly he refers to it as 'death from the back seat', which describes taxi gangsters and pirate taxis which operate without permits. The drivers pretend to be passengers, board taxis of legal operators, sit in the back seat, and shoot the drivers from there (Mmadi 2012). This is, to say the least, working in a space that has unbelievable and unhealthy levels of stress, which surely has an impact on the physical health and psychological well-being of the drivers.

McCaul (1993) concurred with the above-mentioned challenges and also indicated a lack of business experience and high cost of insurance as contributing factors to the challenging work environment of minibus taxi drivers.

The physically complex space, the complexity of what happens in the space, and the meaning given to the space contribute to a very challenging working space. In the next section, I will discuss the views of the minibus taxi drivers on their roles and responsibilities when transporting passengers.

2.4.2. The views of the minibus taxi drivers on their roles and responsibilities when transporting passengers

Government, other road users, minibus taxi passengers, and school learners have views on the minibus taxi driver, but how does the minibus taxi driver view his role. In fact, he is a minibus taxi driver because his purpose is to get an income and make a living. What is more, he is the most important person in the minibus taxi – without him, no one is going anywhere. Thus, his view is significant. Nonetheless, the safe transport of children and all passengers should be the driver's utmost priority with each and every trip that has to be taken.

Minibus taxi drivers view themselves as kind and helpful by assisting needy people without expecting them to pay for the trip. They assist with luggage, direct those passengers who are lost, and drop elderly and sick people near their final destinations. Also, minibus taxi associations expect minibus taxi drivers to treat their passenger with respect and care, and to render a good service to passengers and society. Minibus taxi drivers' views are slightly different from the associations in that they feel their lives are put in danger due to disputes between taxi owners and other interested parties. Drivers view other road users and pressure from passengers as the reason for their irresponsible, reckless driving. Moreover, minibus taxi drivers have indicated that they think that passengers view them as uneducated and stupid but do not take in to account the strenuous working conditions under which they work (Sauti 2006).

In research done as early as 1995 by Botes (1995), taxi drivers indicated that they viewed passengers' behaviour as a contributing factor in their difficult work environment in the minibus taxi by being 'backseat drivers', not wanting to pay for their trips, and constantly complaining about their driving behaviour. Furthermore, they wanted to eat, drink, and smoke in their vehicles. In some cases, passengers were drunk when they boarded the minibus taxi and expected to be conveyed. In other cases, passengers did not know where to get off and demanded that the minibus taxi driver stop at any place the passenger chose. In addition, passengers vandalised and damaged the minibus taxi by slamming the doors shut and littering in the vehicle. Minibus taxi drivers also indicated that passengers could be rude and uncooperative because they had paid for the trip. They become impatient and intolerant when the vehicle had a puncture and the driver had to change the tyre. Some passengers went so far as to demand that the driver exceed the speed limit because they were late for work or had an appointment to keep. Drivers further indicated that passengers did not have a comprehensive understanding of arrangements in the minibus taxi industry. According to them, route and rank arrangements were designed to prevent violence. Even

if there were taxis at the rank and a queue of people standing, those taxis, if they were not zoned to work on that line, would not take those people. Thus, passengers and people who were not from the industry regarded this as stupidity but to the people inside the industry it was a way of avoiding conflicts (Breier, Taetsane & Sait, 1996).

The majority of research studies on school transportation have focused on safety and injury occurring outside the school bus. Not many studies have focused on the behaviour of learners in the bus. In my opinion, this research can be translated to minibus taxis too, bearing in mind the definition of a school bus. A school bus is a motor vehicle that is designed and used to transport more than 10 passengers in addition to the driver. A school bus transports mainly primary and secondary school learners between home and school. This definition is more or less the same as the definition of a minibus taxi. The main difference is that the minibus taxi is, in its design, smaller and more compact than the school bus. If the minibus taxi is not specifically used as scholar transport, it transports children of all ages and adults at the same time, which has its own challenges (Sims, 2014). The minibus taxi drivers should, like school bus drivers, have a licence and a roadworthy vehicle.

In research done, rowdiness, excessive noise outbursts (61 per cent), roughhousing (31 per cent), violence, and out-of-seat activity (48 per cent) on the bus have been shown to endanger passengers and interfere with the bus drivers' concentration (Goldman & Peleg, 2010). The mind-set of the minibus taxi driver should be one of safety and responsibility for all his passengers being transported, but it would be irresponsible to expect the drivers to manage and discipline learners while driving. In his research, Sims (2014) is of the opinion that bus drivers do not receive noteworthy training in terms of handling learner behaviour. The training that they do get focuses on mechanics and maintenance of the vehicle. It does need a skilled person to control a bus full of young learners. Sauti (2006) concurs with this view mentioning that minibus taxi drivers and the associations mentioned a lack of and inadequate training. The majority of minibus taxi drivers never get to be trained when all minibus taxi drivers should actually be trained.

Needless to say, if there are no passengers, there is no income for minibus taxi drivers or owners, therefore it is of importance to take note of the views of the passengers.

In my opinion, a minibus taxi driver should see himself as a professional person, but does he?

2.4.3 The views of women minibus taxi drivers on the minibus taxi industry

For girl learners to have role models in the minibus taxi industry, the views of women minibus taxi drivers were considered. The literature consulted on the development of the taxi industry in South Africa has not discussed the gender relationship in the minibus taxi sector comprehensively enough (Khosa, 1992, 1994; Nkete, 2015). Generally, minibus taxi washers, line managers, and queue marshals are male. It is also interesting to note that, although the minibus taxi industry has undergone changes as women started to drive minibus taxis, we have not yet seen women queue marshals (Masuku, 2016). Less than two per cent of workers in the minibus taxi industry are women. Black men are the largest cohort of the workforce in the South African minibus taxi industry (Nkete, 2015). Sauti (2006) is in accordance with this view. However, she indicated that recently a few women had been employed as minibus taxi drivers. The low number of women in the minibus industry is highlighted by Schalekamp (2015). So much so, that during the five years that he conducted minibus taxi industry research, he never met a single female taxi driver in any of the provinces in South Africa where he conducted his study. Agbiboa (2019) concurs with the above-mentioned view that the minibus taxi industry is predominantly male-oriented.

In addition, the literature consulted indicated that there are very specific gender roles and standards that regulate the activities of women and men in the minibus taxi rank. Access to and use of power in the minibus taxi industry varies greatly between female and male taxi drivers. The minibus taxi industry is extremely patriarchal (Potgieter et al., 2012).

The minibus taxi rank can be described as a space, a miniature copy of society. It shows the imbalanced power relations we find between men and women in the family, in our culture, and also in the work space. The history of men and women minibus taxi drivers incorporates the evolving social, economic, and political structures that control wealth accumulation in the minibus taxi industry. African women and men have been involved in the taxi industry at all three stages levels: as taxi owners, as commuters, and as employed drivers or vendors of produce at the minibus taxi ranks. These vendors are usually women. The literature indicated that many women minibus taxi drivers have questioned gender-based stereotypes in the taxi industry (Nkete, 2015). This said, their main focus was not to battle themselves into this male-dominated environment. It was their last resort as a result of leaving school at a very young age to take care of younger siblings, retrenchment,

unemployment, or the death of their spouses who owned minibus taxi vehicles (Nkete, 2015).

A significant problem that most of these female drivers have to contend with is security and safety issues (Khosa, 1997). Female taxi drivers are generally more at risk, particularly but not only during dusk and at dawn. They have to take extra special measures to safeguard themselves against robbery, abduction, rape, and sexual harassment (Khosa, 1997) which men do not have to do. Sexual harassment for woman is two-fold. On the one side, it challenges a woman's sense of independence, and on the other, it confirms the presumption of inferiority and subordination to men (Nkete, 2015).

To be a minibus taxi driver is a daunting job for women, especially those women drivers who are married and have children of their own. Female minibus taxi drivers mentioned the shortage of time they had to spend with their families or loved ones as one of the foremost challenges. They face a subtle balancing act as mothers, housewives, and employees in the minibus taxi industry. Those female minibus taxi drivers who have made their way into the minibus taxi industry have had to pay a high personal price. Conflicting expectations exist, and it seems that only a few female minibus taxi drivers can survive in this aggressive, male-dominated world of the industry.

To challenge this male-dominated world, the South African Women in Transport Network (SANWIT) was formed. SANWIT's objective is to breach existing barriers to entry into the taxi industry and the transport sector. Furthermore, their role is to engage business and government on topics that have an influence on women's growth in the transport sector, including entrepreneurship (DoT, 2021; Nkete, 2015).

2.5 Literature reviewed under the Blindspot window pane (not known to drivers, known to schools and learners)

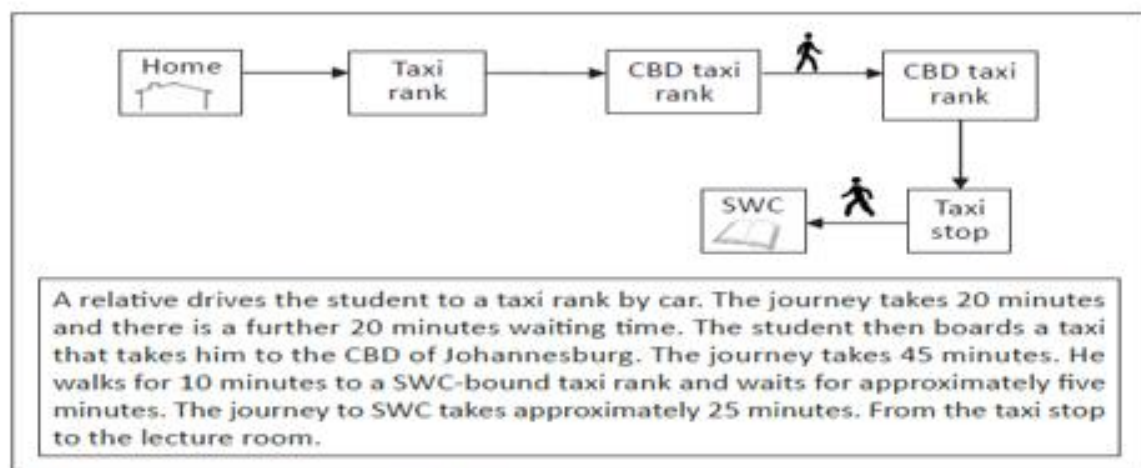
2.5.1 The involvement of the minibus taxi industry in transporting learners

Minibus taxi drivers might not know that at least six out of 10 young people (59 per cent) attending school from Grades 1 to 9 live in households with a per capita monthly income of less than R620 (De Lannoy, Swartz, Lake & Smith, 2015). Many of these children make use of public transport to attend school. They experience multiple forms of deprivation simultaneously. It is one of the many reasons why I argue that the support from the minibus taxi industry for education is crucial.

The minibus taxi industry has been a key player in providing transport to learners to attend school. The vehicles are privately owned with no government subsidies. These drivers are not part of the scholar transport system as indicated in the Gauteng province DoE’s Scholar Transport Policy of 2015, as discussed in detail in Chapter 1. Minibus taxis serve 69,8 per cent of pupils who use public transport for their school journeys (Statistics SA, 2020). Compared to other modes of public transport, the success of minibus taxis can be attributed to the accessibility they deliver to destinations at a fair price with relative frequency (Janmohammed, Van Niekerk, Samuels, Naidoo & Van As, 2019).

2.5.2 The reasons for learners to use minibus taxi transport and their experiences

Children and youth amount to 69 per cent of the 2,7 million children in South Africa who use minibus taxi transport to attend school (Statistics SA, 2013; Statistics, 2020). The journey to schools in Johannesburg, Gauteng, looks more or less as indicated in the diagram below.



CBD, Central Business District; SWC, Soweto Campus.

Figure 2.4: Travel pattern of a Soweto-based student (Reprint Mbara & Celliers, 2013)

It is vital to explore and comprehend the mobility limitations and access needs of children. In so doing, well-informed transport policies and programmes may be developed that fulfil their access requirements. Normally, planning leans towards the needs of traditional users through enhanced transit infrastructure and services, despite children representing a significant number of existing and prospective transport users who are left out in this process. This is an inadvertence, considering that in most developing countries, including

South Africa, children and young people make up 35 per cent of the population (Makiwane, Gumede & Zembe, 2021)

Children have different access needs and desires from transport than the general adult passengers. They should be considered key stakeholders in the development of transport (Ipingbemi & Aiworo, 2013). School learners travel lengthy distances to school and spend an extensive amount of time getting to schools. These trips usually take place at rush hour and have the same end point everywhere.

According to research conducted in Nigeria, children's everyday commute to school, whether by walking or via public transportation, exposes them to potential anti-social behaviour and crime, leading to general fear and anxiety (Holtmann & Van Vuuren, 2007). Kruger and Landman (2007) are in agreement with this viewpoint, indicating a strong link between crime and the physical environment, for example, minibus taxi stops and motor parks or taxi ranks which are poorly managed with poor infrastructure. They noted that the users of public transport (minibus taxis) and non-motorised transport were more likely to suffer consequences of crime and anti-social behaviour than automobile users. They argued that the considerable amount of time involved in travelling to educational institutions increased the chances of victimisation (Ipingbemi & Aiworo, 2013). Mbara & Celliers (2013) mentioned congestion, resulting in late arrivals and missing some lectures, harassment from taxis drivers, and muggings *inter alia* as contributing factors to this wearisome school journey. Secondly, children and youth made use of minibus taxis for social activities. Children, adolescents, and young adults indicated that they enjoyed making use of minibus taxis. It gave them the opportunity to socialise with friends on their way to school or other destinations. But on the flip side, young girls indicated fear when alone own in the minibus taxi or late at night (Hampshire, Porter, Mashirib, Maponyac & Dube, 2011). This issue will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. Mobility provides independence for young people. It is a space and time for young people to be more autonomous. It is a liminal space in which their behaviour is not subject to parental supervision and guidance which is necessary for them to develop into responsible adults but, in the process, many times the boundaries become distorted and it leads to abuse and harassment of these youngsters (Hampshire et al., 2011). Poverty shapes the ways young people move through space; but moving through these spaces also shapes young people. It is the manner in which they navigate to adulthood, safe to unsafe (Hampshire et al., 2011).

2.5.3 Minibus taxi transport and learners with special educational needs

Historically, there has been limited emphasis on the interests of persons with disabilities and the availability of transport. As in many aspects of society, people with disabilities remain disadvantaged and excluded, with unequal access to schooling, jobs, and health care. Such unequal access is attributed, among other factors, to the inaccessibility of transport (Lister & Dhunpath 2016). These authors further argue that if transport facilities were improved, people with disabilities would be able to participate more effectively in society. It would assist them to be able to live more independent, economically productive lives. It would, furthermore, improve their ability to use strategies to fight poverty and address social exclusion (Lister & Dhunpath, 2016). However, communities rely on minibus taxis, buses, and trains to commute, with minibus taxis being the most commonly used means of transport).

The National Land Transport Act 5 of 2005 (DoT, 2005) defines passengers with special categories of need as ‘people with disabilities’. They are defined in the Act as ‘people whose mobility is restricted by temporary or permanent physical or mental disability, the blind or partially-sighted, and the deaf or hard of hearing’. This category includes the very young in the Act, usually taken as children between the ages of 0 and 14 years of age. It is, therefore, a broader definition than most other definitions of disability.

The vulnerability of learners with special needs once again came to the fore in an awful accident in March 2019. Three learners on their way to school were run over by a minibus taxi driver. This accident took place near Durban School for the Deaf. It is a disturbing example of the challenges and vulnerability of learners with disabilities. In this case, the minibus taxi driver also showed a lack of awareness, sensitivity, and knowledge about disabilities. Furthermore, it highlighted that the minibus taxi driver was not aware of the School for the Deaf in the geographical space where he transported passengers. I assume that the minibus taxi driver made use of the vehicle’s hooter but the learners did not hear him (Dawood, 2019).

If we consider that the South African population is 56,5 million people in a country that is 1 219 912 square kilometres, resulting in a theoretical population distribution of 0,022 people per kilometre, it becomes clear that learners with disabilities are dealing with major challenges (Charles, 2017). An estimated 600 000 children with disabilities are out of school in South Africa (Department of Transport, 2020). Schools, clinics, and other

facilities tend to be situated over a 10 km daily travel distance. It takes 13 per cent of children over 30 minutes to get to school. In rural provinces, it takes 20 per cent of children longer than 30 minutes to travel to school (Hall, Richter, Mokomane & Lake, 2018). This may be due to the inability of Government to address spatial transformation since 1994. Disturbingly, the provisioning of space in schools has become more segregated over the past 10 years, even with the increase of 416 special needs schools in 2007 to 464 in 2017. Bearing in mind that there are 25 000 schools with 12 000 000 children in South Africa, 464 special schools are not enough to fulfil the need.

This brings the focus to these special needs learners' journeys to special schools. Whilst there is an inclusive education policy in South Africa, it is frequently not implemented or not implemented correctly by role players (DoE, 2009; Education Statistics South Africa, 2007). Daily commuter transport for able and disabled children includes bus, train, cycling, and walking. But owing to the lengthy daily commuting distances, walking and cycling are often not realistic and are dangerous, especially for LSEs (pedestrians and cyclists account for over 40 per cent of road traffic fatalities). Almost 17 per cent of special need learners make use of minibus taxis (Statistics SA, 2020). This is why minibus taxis may be used with success in terms of addressing the needs of children with disabilities. The minibus taxi service, run by unsubsidised operators in the form of a paratransit service, offer the greatest national coverage and provide an extremely well-used, demand-based service (Gibberd & Thobela, 2019; Woolf & Joubert, 2013). According to the NHTS (2013), 11,8 per cent of disabled scholars make use of minibus taxis to attend school.

Transport-related legislation and policies are there to impact on universal access and include everybody, but it seems that it is on paper only. These acts and policy documents impact on universal access to transport too, as discussed earlier (DoT, 2005).

Successful legislation and policy design and the implementation thereof should involve people with disabilities as main stakeholders and role players. In this case, Woolf's (2013) work with Blind SA and deaf people to create shape language to communicate with minibus taxi drivers is an exceptional example of inclusive practices. Furthermore, the minibus taxi sector in Gauteng are in the process of working with BlindSA on the accommodation of people who are blind, on regular, mainstream services (Magengenene, 2018). Minibus taxis are, in a way, ideal transportation for learners with disabilities. The reason for that is the lack of overhang at the front of the vehicle, compact dimensions and relatively high

wheelbase, the vehicle can be used on unsurfaced roads and in townships with very narrow roads to transport learners with disabilities (WHO, 2018).

However, in a study that was done in the eThekweni Municipality (Durban), South Africa, by Lister & Dhunpath (2016), a very disheartening view of what is happening in terms of minibus taxis transporting disabled people unfolded. The legislative obligation of the government to provide access for people with disabilities seems to be compromised by the taxi industry. The taxi industry does not seem to view people with disabilities as economically valuable, resulting in them being marginalised and potentially compromising their successful integration as part of society. Furthermore, taxis do not operate on fixed schedules; their services are frequent, but they are unreliable, particularly during off-peak periods, and those may be the times for disabled people to travel outside the rush and buzz of other passengers. When they do travel during peak hours, they are ignored and pushed back to the end of the queue, even if they were there first. This research mentioned that wheelchair users in some cases waited as long as two hours before they were able to board a minibus taxi and, in many cases, they were just left behind. As one passenger said, ‘That it is our daily bread; it is a normal thing to be left behind’ and thus excluded.

Some minibus taxi drivers ignore the people who, in their opinion, are a ‘burden’. This group includes the elderly, women, children, and people with disabilities. They are labelled as a burden because they take longer to board the minibus taxi, compromising the driver’s ability to transport more able-bodied customers in order to improve their income. Minibus taxi owners and operators use their economic power to violate the human rights of people with disabilities. Nonetheless, the minibus taxi industry is involved in the transportation of learners.

2.5.4 The effect of minibus taxi transport on the behaviour and learning of learners.

Throughout the journey to school, children come across a wide range of encounters that can affect their learning, their social skills, or even their mental health. In many cases, learners using public transport come from disadvantaged areas, which escalates the strain they might experience on their way to school. They rely on public transport, but minibus taxis may be unreliable and dangerous due to the poor condition of these vehicles. The direct and indirect costs of these practices of moving to school have a disproportionate effect on children from poor families which then has an influence on their education (Jacobs, Makobane, Dyantyi, Kanyane & Pophiwa, 2018; Porter et al., 2010). Physical

transport circumstances of access to education, dangers, safety dangers, and time travelled all impact learners' physiological welfare. Porter et al. (2010) note that not having safe and dependable transport to school has a harmful effect on children's access to schools. Many children who do not have reliable and safe transport do not complete their school careers to Grade 12.

Behavioural problems like fighting and out-of-seat actions are not unfamiliar when transporting a group of learners. Interesting research done by Mccarty, Mcelfresh, Rice and Wilson (1978) to address challenging behaviour of learners making use of bus transportation demonstrated that music as a group contingency for appropriate bus-riding behaviour was an effective tool. As discussed further in this chapter, passengers identified loud music as very disturbing.

Another social ill which is being dealt with more often in schools but which can also arise on scholar transportation is bullying. Sims (2014) points out that bullying is the violent behaviour or forcefulness centred on a disproportion in power between the wrongdoer and victim on a repeated basis, whereas aggressive and violent behaviours can take place without a disproportion in power and on a once-off basis.

The minibus taxi driver may not observe pushing, pinching, shoving behaviour or verbal bullying such as name calling, verbal comments, or insults about race, cultural differences, or sexual preferences because he is focused on the road and transporting passengers safely. In terms of bullying, learners who are very young and learners with disabilities are vulnerable and more at risk. In my opinion, even if the minibus taxi drivers do observe bullying behaviour, they are not trained nor empowered to handle it effectively in an educational manner.

The views of relevant role players who assume or act out a particular role in schools and the minibus taxi industry will be discussed in the following section. In this case, the relevant role players are the observers and users (learners and general public), parents of learners who are transported by minibus taxis, SGB members (principal, teachers, parents), Department of Education, Department of Transport, minibus taxi associations, minibus taxi drivers, and South African law enforcement. For the purpose of this study, the views of the following role players will be highlighted: the public and female passengers.

2.5.5 The views of the public on the minibus taxi industry

Government and the public's view on the minibus taxi industry is of significance. It might be the opposite of how minibus taxi drivers view themselves or they might not even be aware of how they are being viewed. The research consulted indicated that in the majority of cases it is the poverty-stricken members of the society who are frequently faced with insufficient transit systems, poorly organised timetables, and a lack of facilities, which includes shelters and minibus taxi ranks. The 2019/2020 GHTS report found that as much as 64 per cent of passengers are dissatisfied with the facilities. More than half, 55 per cent, of minibus taxi passengers were dissatisfied with the crowding. Furthermore, passengers also indicated dissatisfaction with the waiting time. Waiting time could be as long as 40-65 minutes (Gauteng Household Travel Survey, 2019/2020; Gauteng Province, 2009). Factors that play a role in the decision to determine satisfaction or dissatisfactions are, amongst others, the speed used in reaching a destination, reliability and scheduling, extent of the service, and safety. Factors contributing to the above involves the system itself. These factors are clearly visible in the number of fatal accidents as research has shown. Minibus taxis at 9 per cent are the third most involved vehicles in fatal accidents in South Africa after 'bakkies' at 18,4 per cent and vehicles (cars/station wagons) at 48,5 per cent. It is stated that three of the 36 fatal accidents that occur every day on South African roads are associated with minibus taxi accidents (Imaniranzi, 2015).

Peltzer and Renner (2003) concur with this high accident rate in South Africa but highlight another dimension. They view it through the lens of superstition, risk-taking, and the risk perception of accidents among minibus taxi drivers. In their study, irrational beliefs were found to be positively related to the number of self-reported accidents and the number of accidents seen by the drivers. Driving practice and the number of accidents seen were inversely related to risk-taking, but not to the number of accidents they were involved in. Thus, South African passengers view minibus taxis as unsafe with drivers operating these vehicles in an offensive manner or, as Sauti (2006:32) has indicated, passengers complained about the 'extremely rough driving' of minibus taxi drivers. Furthermore, passengers indicated that they wondered if they would reach their destinations alive. This occurrence can be attributed to a number of factors. First, these vehicles are overloaded in order to maximise the number of passengers and secondly, these vehicles are driven at fast speeds in order to shorten travel time, which frequently results in accidents.

Consequently, the South African Government tried to intervene in the minibus taxi industry with the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme (DoT, 2009). By putting together, a package of

business opportunities, the government attempted to address the ageing fleet in the taxi transportation system while also contributing to the economic empowerment of the minibus taxi industry. Another aspect that may contribute to the aforementioned challenges is the fact that, as of 31 December 2015, there were 1 013 278 unlicensed and unroadworthy automobiles on South African roads (Fourie, 2003).

Interestingly, in a study done as early as 1995, Botes (1995) found that passengers viewed minibus taxi drivers as careless, endangering the lives of passengers by driving recklessly. They ignored red robots and drove at very high speeds. Passengers indicated that if they talked to the driver about reckless and dangerous driving, the drivers became aggressive and even more spiteful in the manner in which they drove. Furthermore, the passengers mentioned that drivers had the tendency to be inconsiderate and rude, while compelling passengers to accept uncomfortable seating by overloading in order to make more money. Passengers also mentioned that some drivers were so busy counting money that they did not focus on the road and where they were driving. This behaviour led them to lose control of their vehicles.

Nowadays, drivers instruct the passenger in the front seat next to him to count the money, warning them that there will be repercussions if there is a shortage of money. Consequently, passengers tend to avoid the front seat next to the driver. When older people and mothers with young children land on that seat, the queue marshal will move a younger person to the front seat (Sauti, 2006). Corruption and irregularities in the delivery of passengers' luggage also occurs, especially at night. This has resulted in incidents of violence and luggage being stolen.

Another reason that passengers have a negative view of minibus taxi drivers is that they may force passengers off their minibus taxi for the following reasons: when a passenger asks a driver to reduce speed because he or she feels unsafe; when a passenger asks the driver to reduce the volume of the music; or when a passenger complains about the roadworthiness or untidiness of the vehicle.

However, I have observed that many of these issues have changed in a positive way and taxi drivers take pride in their vehicles by washing and cleaning them during their off time at the taxi ranks. They also employ washers to do it, which in turn creates job opportunities for unemployed people. More recently, Mapaya and Makgopa (2014) indicated that most of the problems such as violence, road accidents, and bad mannerisms by taxi drivers have

been brought under control but I do not fully agree with this view, especially if the latest statistics and ever-so-often media reports about minibus taxi accidents and violence are considered. Imaniranzi (2015) also does not concur with these thoughts of challenges being dealt with properly. In his research based on the above-mentioned behaviour, it becomes clear that minibus taxi drivers are aggressive drivers or perpetrators of aggressive driving behaviours, which leads to the drivers of other vehicles being the victims of this aggressive behaviour.

Regardless of the above-mentioned negative behaviour, Mapaya and Makgopa (2014) claim that the Black minibus taxi industry's endearment and indispensability stems from drivers having strategically assisted anti-apartheid-related operations in the past. Minibus taxi drivers also showed a sense of social duty to the Black community during those times by lowering fares for youngsters and the elderly during off-peak hours.

The above-mentioned endearment is not held by all commuters as Beavon (2001) has pointed out. He referred to people who had never used minibus taxis and tourists who might find it difficult to make use of minibus taxis. The reason for this is they are not aware of the unwritten rules of this mode of transportation. An example is the use of hand signs to indicate where you are going or signalling where you want to get off, which will be discussed later in this chapter (Mapaya, & Makgopa, 2014; Woolf, 2013). Many women and girl learners also do not hold this view of endearment which will be discussed in the following section.

2.5.6 The views of female passengers on the minibus taxi industry

Since the majority of public transport users in South Africa are Africans and their main mode of transport is the minibus taxi, it makes sense to look at gender-based issues in the minibus taxi industry. The majority of passengers transported by minibus taxis are African women (Khosa, 1997,1994). Transport is an important part of everyday life for them (Chapman, 1987). It gives access to a wide range of essential services and programmes, including housing, healthcare, education, and childcare. However, most transportation policy and development decisions are made by men, with little or no regard for women's interests (Khosa, 1997; Turner & Fouracre, 1995). There are many other negative factors that contribute to the lack of safety of women, the elderly and children such as overloading and sexual harassment, so-called 'eve-teasing' (Khosa, 1997). In the South African environment, African townships are far from places of employment. Many women are

forced to leave their homes at night, only to return at dawn. Commuters, particularly women, have been subjected to crime and sexual harassment in minibus taxis and taxi ranks, particularly in the evening. Women and the elderly face additional hurdles as a result of poor vehicle design and the way in which the minibus taxis are driven. Furthermore, in many cases, women have problems as to the type of vehicle which they can access because of the bulky nature of the commodities they may be transporting. (Khosa, 1997; Turner & Fourancre, 1995).

Another phenomenon I came across in the literature that I consulted is that of the ‘taxi queens’. This term refers to young girls who travel with older minibus taxi drivers and are suspected of having sex with them in exchange for gifts and money. Transactional sexual relations are not sex work in the conventional sense, nor are they simply the product of deprivation (Potgieter et al., 2012). It is clear that there is ambiguity in these type of relationships – it gives a young woman ‘freedom’ though in my opinion it is at a high price. Minibus taxi driver boyfriends can take them to out-of-reach spaces, money, and experiences that they would not have had due to the poverty they find themselves in. In many cases, girls use the money they receive from these relationships to fund their schooling, thus these sexual relationships are linked to the mobility and transitions for place to place (Porter et al., 2010). Porter et al. (2010) further found that travelling to and from school in urban and rural spaces placed young women in an extremely vulnerable space and place for sexual risks. Fear of sexual harassment has led many parents to limit their daughters' mobility. On the other hand, the mobility of boys is limited to being at risk for violent attacks.

In the majority of cases, these type of relationships are driven by the consumerist space we find ourselves in; it is the pressure to accumulate goods and social status. Tallying with this pressure is the culturally defined conceptions of gender, love, and exchange. Unfortunately, this is a major risk factor for young girls' health and well-being due to their susceptibility to Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) infections (Potgieter, Strebel & Wagner, 2009; Hampshire et al., 2011). Sadly, and very distressingly are the data that shows that, minibus taxi drivers are a high-risk category for the transmission of HIV infections and Acquired Immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS). Multiple partners are relatively popular among minibus taxi drivers which goes hand in hand with violence against women (Ncama, Naidoo, Majeke, Myeza, Ndebele, Mchunu and Pillay, 2013). The following comment by Cecilia, 12 years old, highlights the mobility challenges faced by girls:

The thing I fear about travelling on a minibus taxi is that the drivers propose love to us ... I am scared that they might kidnap me or rape me if I am alone in the taxi. ... The taxi conductors are very rude. Just because we are girls they talk trash and vulgar language to us. They don't have respect. (Porter et al., 2010: 769-804)

2.6 Literature reviewed under the Unknown window pane (not known to drivers, not known to schools and learners)

2.6.1 Non-traditional educational spaces – extending the classroom to the minibus taxi

Alternative education, non-traditional education, incidental learning, fluid intelligences, and the hidden curriculum are all concepts (Senge, 2010; Winch & Gingell, 1999) that came to mind when I considered the possibility of the minibus taxi driver supporting activities which take place in a classroom. The minibus taxi space becomes an extension of the school, an educational space.

The first school in a non-traditional educational space was a one-room building that was central in the geographical space of a community, a multifunctional space (Perez, 2017). This is very much like schools are used in South Africa currently. Different functions take place in school buildings, for instance, elections, meetings, celebrations, and so on.

During the 1930s, the one-room building or school developed into open schools. Then, during the 1940s, the ‘finger plan’ was used to develop the school space. During the 1950s, the modern school as we know it came into existence. During the 1960s and 1970s, we went back to the ‘one space’ plan or different learning areas in a classroom. Learning communities were the new way of teaching during the 1990s. During the late 1990s, virtual schools became the new way of learning and in the 21st century we find ourselves in a world with digital technology. This digital world is the learning space of the millennials and Generation Z. These are the youth in South Africa that make use of minibus taxi transportation (Perez, 2017; Senge, 2010).

As Perez (2017) has indicated, Generation Z are more independent, entrepreneurial, and digitally savvy. They create their own knowledge; they want interaction and like to learn through doing. They want to learn by making observations, developing theories, and figuring out the rules. They are, furthermore, excellent multitaskers and work with several distractions in the background while effortlessly switching between work and play, thus making the minibus taxi space an option for learning and collaboration.

Issues related to space and education will now be considered with a view to identifying educational opportunities in the minibus taxi industry.

In research done by Perez (2017), he defined learning as a process and not a product and highlighted a variety of teaching methods and learning spaces. The changes require a variety of diverse spaces for learning. The diagram below, based on Webster's (2015) research, reimagined learning in different learning spaces, which, in my opinion, the minibus taxi can be.

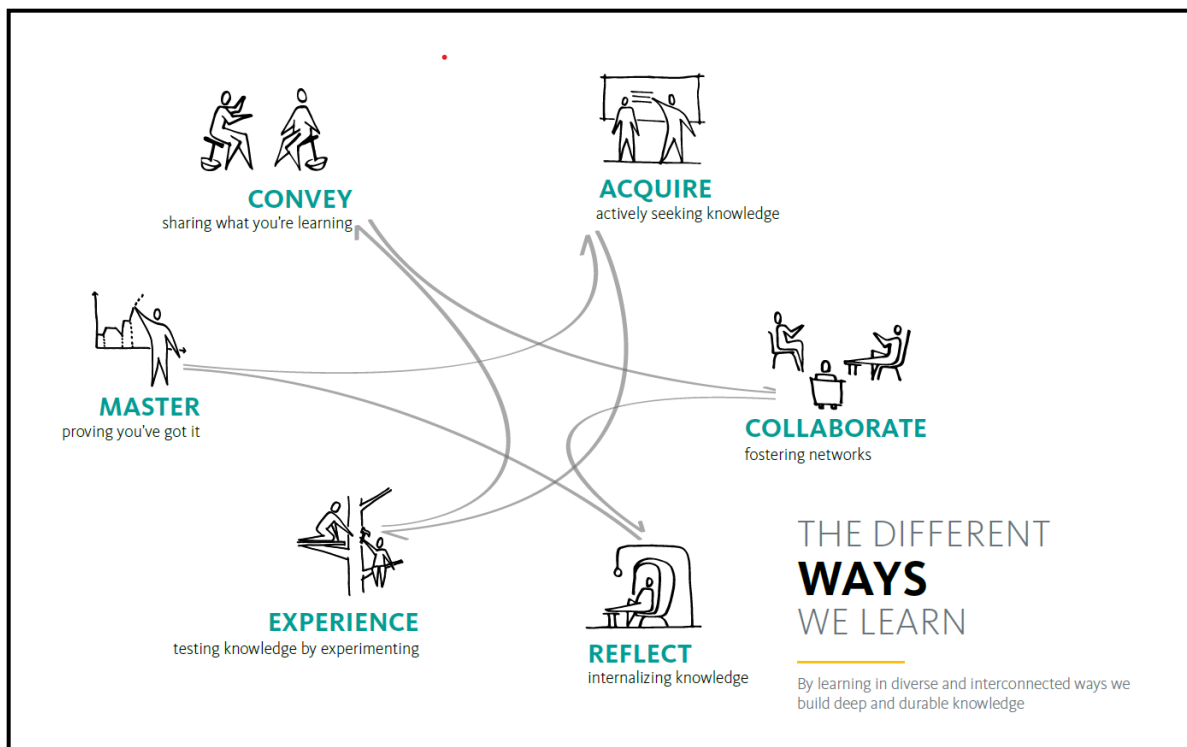


Figure 2.5: The different ways we learn (Reprint from Webster, 2015:27)

Bearing in mind future generations, there is a need to adapt pedagogy and space. Pumpian, Fisher, and Wachowiak (2006) highlight that learning environments evolve beyond the classroom. Hence, I want to argue that learners can acquire knowledge in the minibus taxi space, collaborate and foster networks with fellow passengers, reflect and internalize knowledge gained during the formal school day, experience and testing knowledge by experimenting, convey and master what they have learned at school. In Table 2.2, the different ways we learn are related to the minibus taxi space.

Table 2.2: Different ways we learn applied to the minibus taxi space

Different ways we learn related to minibus taxi space		Different ways we learn applied by Grade 11 learner to address a minibus taxi problem. A verbal argument broke out in a minibus taxi because of “taxi maths”. The passenger who had to count the change in a minibus taxi got confused and miscalculated the money (Ledwaba, 2020)
Reflect	<p>Keep a journal, reflect on what they have learned during the school day. As the learners board the taxi, take out taxi journal and write about their day at school. Learners can be given reflective sentence starters example “I wonder about...” or When _____happened I felt _____ and I did_____</p> <p>Survey/rubrics/checklists/share verbally with the driver</p> <p>While learners sit in taxi they reflect about their school day, what they experienced and observe in their environment as they are being transported from home.</p>	Learner used a minibus taxi to travel to school and back home. An argument broke out because of “taxi maths”. The learner thought to himself that maybe he can solve the problem by creating an app. Hence, he reflected on what was happening and used his knowledge, subjects (maths and life skills, IT) learned in school to address the problem.
Experience	As learners use a taxi they apply knowledge for example: read time on their watches, manage time to ensure that they do not miss the taxi, set an alarm etcetera. Calculate taxi fares by applying maths learned in the classroom.	As a Grade 11 learner he has knowledge and experience of calculations, etc. investigate and solve a problem.
Master	Learner act in an independent manner, identify and board correct minibus taxi.	He taught himself how to make apps by watching YouTube videos. He learned computer programming in Java. He then used the application to develop android apps.
Convey	Learners communicate and learn from each other as they travel together.	The app assists the person who are instructed by the minibus taxi driver to count the money from possible very stressful and aggressive feedback which may make the individual feel anxious, inadequate

		<p>or scared. His app guides the user to fill in three inputs which are the taxi fee per passenger, amount sent forward and the number of passengers included in the amount. The app then calculates the change for the user.</p> <p>The app gives the user an analysis on your transactions for example it will inform the user that there is a passenger that did not pay. Furthermore, it also keeps a record of taxi transactions while the user is waiting for change.</p>
Acquire	Learners learn from observe and model behaviour of other learners and driver in the minibus taxi.	The learner observed the verbal argument thus, learning from the environment around him and decided to solve the problem and unpleasantness for all the passenger in the minibus taxi.
Collaborate	Learner are part of a group of learners who travel together, share seats, must be patient with one another.	In the process of solving the problem, he collaborates. The app is available on Google Play Store and it is reviewed by users on social media. Information the learner can use to improve his app.

I also want to link the different ways we learn to the minibus taxi space, which can be an alternative educational space, to incidental learning, that is, unplanned learning. It develops as a result of participating in a task or activity, but it can also develop as a result of deliberate learning. For example, if a minibus taxi driver has educational books in his taxi for passengers to read or educational stories and music are being played, it may contribute to incidental learning not just for the youth but also for other passengers. Fellow passengers engaging with the youth about their school day and schoolwork will support schools and education.

The minibus taxi space as an alternative learning space also encapsulates the hidden curriculum. Miller and Seller (1990) explain that the undeclared or implicit beliefs, behaviours, procedures, and conventions that exist in the educational system are referred to as the hidden curriculum. While such expectations are not explicitly stated, the hidden curriculum is the implicit encouragement and implementation of specific behavioural

patterns, professional standards, and societal attitudes while navigating a learning environment. (Feinberg & Soltis, 2004; Miller & Seller, 1990). Within the minibus taxi space, it will be the unspoken, unofficial norms, behaviours and values of the dominant culture context (the minibus taxi industry) in which teaching and learning is taking place (Mullis, 2019). Hence, in the minibus taxi space, it is of value to consider that the hidden curriculum can play a positive or negative role, because it is conveyed indirectly by words and actions that are part of the life of everyone in society and in the minibus taxi vehicle. If the minibus taxi drivers are aware of the hidden curriculum's influence, they can review their personal attitudes to their passengers (Alsubaie, 2015; Jerald, 2006; Mullis, 2019) and influence positive change.

As indicated in Chapter 1, the research was done in the sixth administration of democratic South Africa. During the sixth administration, South Africa also experienced the COVID-19 pandemic like the rest of the globe. The regulations enforced by government via the Disaster Management Act (2002) forced all citizens to adapt. We experienced radical change in record time all over the world due to the severe impact of COVID-19. It required fluid intelligence and a different approach using every opportunities and space to educate people about the virus but also to adapt the formal way of attending school in a specific space or building.

In the next section, I will consider educational opportunities in the minibus taxi industry.

2.6.2 Educational opportunities inherent in the minibus taxi industry involved in transporting learners.

The engine of education is communication. To elaborate, communication is a process using words, sounds, signs, or behaviour to express ideas, thoughts, and feelings to another person. It can also be used to discipline. Effective communication is a two-way process and is used on a daily basis (Sims, 2014). When learners are transported to school by their parents in private vehicles, the space provides the parent with an opportunity to communicate and interact with the child in an educational manner. Amongst other things, it provides an opportunity to review schoolwork, prepare for an assessment, or to read aloud. It is, furthermore, an opportunity to discuss what is happening in the space around them on their journey to the school, which is, in itself, educational. Needless to say, this does not happen when children, usually from disadvantaged circumstances, are obligated to make use of minibus taxi transportation. For this reason, it is worthwhile identifying

educational opportunities in the minibus taxi space and industry to support education but also learning opportunities for users and observers to learn about the minibus taxi industry.

For any driver, it is difficult to communicate with passengers while driving and making decisions at a moment's notice, but especially with a minibus taxi driver who is not face-to-face with his passengers. This matter is made even more complicated by the driver being the only adult in the minibus taxi transporting learners, while music is blaring. Also, other passengers are not always interested in having educational discussions with children or, in many cases, they may not have the know-how to do it. Therefore, I argue that the space in a taxi should be considered as an opportunity to educate but for this to materialise focused action should be taken to realise and support learning.

Another example of the minibus taxi space becoming a teaching tool, comes via a film called #Taximaths, made by university students. The minibus taxi became a classroom, the vehicle, literally and figuratively, for discovering the mathematical conceptual development of children. The creation of a film inside a minibus taxi showed a scene of a school pupil who experienced difficulty in counting her taxi-fee money. The students who played the different passengers in the taxi gave their views on the reason for the pupils' inability to get the correct answer, each based on a specific theoretical point of view on childhood mathematical conceptual development (Ragpot, 2014)

Educating the general public about the minibus taxi industry can also take place. The significance of minibus taxi hand signs is highlighted and discussed below.

As indicated earlier in this chapter, communication with minibus taxi drivers may be challenging, particularly for people who are not familiar with the manner of communication in the minibus taxi industry, usually non-minibus taxi users or tourists. (Beavon, 2001; Mapaya, & Makgopa, 2014; Woolf, 2013). Sauti (2006) concurs, saying that the main manner of communication is via hand signals. Commuters use these signs to indicate to the minibus taxi driver the destination they want to reach (Woolf, 2013). Also, minibus taxi drivers code to commuters along the streets via hand signals, where they are going. As Woolf (2013) explains in her research, minibus taxi hand signs describe and define the social, spatial, and historical dynamics of a geographical space. It is a creation of oral tradition developed from its cultural context. Hand signals are further complicated owing to the taxi drivers and people living in a specific area deciding collaboratively what signs will be used in that area. These hand signals differ slightly from area to area due to

the environment being different and thus Gauteng's hand signs will not necessarily have the same meaning in another province.

The fact that there were no books or training prior to Woolf's work in 2007 highlights the essentiality of education and training in terms of minibus taxi signals and communication (Woolf, 2013). In spite of taxi hand signals being described by Woolf (2013) as practical, multilingual, typically 'user-friendly', and used by millions of commuters, they are complex. They are a combination of indexical, iconic, and symbolic qualities that are shaped by the spaces in which they are used. Not only did Woolf (2013) write the first minibus taxi hand-signal books during 2007 but she also shaped the language, hand signals, and destination books for blind people. This work was done in collaboration with and under guidance of Blind SA. She also interacted with deaf people to make a brief comparison with deaf sign language (Woolf, 2013) which makes it very significant, because people with the respective disabilities were involved in the process.

This takes us back to universal design and access and brings to the fore White Paper 6 (DBE, 2001), which is used in education. The emphasis is placed on how vital it is to include all learners – regardless of their disability. This brief outline on hand signals suggest that there is a need to educate and train role players and the general public about minibus taxi hand signals.

A further need for training and empowerment of key role players (owners and associations) was identified by Toyota South Africa and the UP's Ses'fikile programme. The programme's goal is to help improve operations in the local minibus taxi industry by focusing on business, financial, and people-management skills. In doing so, they hope to ensure that the taxi business continues to play an important part in the country's transportation industry, economic development, and the taxi industry's prominence in the national and global economic landscape. General Secretary of the National Taxi Association, Alpheus Mlalazi, revealed that they are very proud of the programme and in his own words,

We are very proud because anybody else would have thrown their arms up in the air and said, 'No, we can't operate in this space.' But [Toyota South Africa and the University of Pretoria] persisted. Here we are today. What [they are] showing to us is that they are demystifying an industry that serves so many millions, yet one that people choose not to understand. (Enterprises UP, 2016)

The above-mentioned remark highlights the view of many role players that the minibus industry is only problematic and there is no hope for improvement, but it may also be used to support education. In spite of training being done, the most important person in the minibus taxi is in most cases overlooked, that is, the driver.

2.6.3 Minibus taxi drivers as role models

The minibus taxi drivers in the informal transport system are generally known for their reckless driving (National Household Travel Survey, 2013), the many accidents they cause, crime, vigilantism, and operating inside the system but outside the law, as described by Rasmussen (2012). This view contrasts with Sauti's (2006: xxi) view in which she wonders if all minibus taxi drivers are related to the same mother and furthermore asks the rhetorical question, Are they all ill-behaved and deviant? in an article written for the Sunday Times in 2006 on children's violent behaviour in schools. According to that article, violence is a learned behaviour. The author mentioned that so often the youth's only role models were gangsters and minibus taxi drivers. Her goal was to determine if this negative view about minibus taxi drivers was valid, but what caught my interest in this piece of information is the mention of taxi drivers as 'popular' and 'sometimes the only role models' in a specific space (Sauti, 2006: xxi).

In spite of this negatively branded reputé, workers in Africa in the informal transport industry do not share this view about themselves. Rank marshals (touts) interviewed expressed disheartenment over the public's perception that they were a rowdy group of people who survived by harassing and coercing passengers to board specific vehicles. According to them, they were respected members of society who were simply fending for their children and their families through honest means (touting) (Agbiboá, 2019).

These unregulated market segments in the transport sector, like the minibus taxi business, have traditionally been a market that consumes labour reserves and people out of work (Agbiboá, 2019). In Harare, Zimbabwe, the informal transport sector is greater than the formal transport sector (Muchadenyika, 2019). Entrance into the informal transport sector in Harare is easy, which is not the case in South Africa. It is still the route to go for many unemployed people and, in many cases, it is the only option for the youth to get involved in economic activities. Being involved in minibus taxi activities leads to, as Moabi (1976) states, group behaviour. When minibus taxi drivers are employed in the industry, they adapt

to the group behaviour of the minibus taxi industry. He argues that the individual must identify with the delinquent group to which they belong and, in the process, adhere and conform to its values and norms. In Africa, these drivers are coerced and forced into campaigning and supporting specific political parties or individuals during election times.

In most political scenarios, it is times of radical uncertainty that expose the precarious position and incompleteness of politicians who want to hold onto their positions and stay relevant. It was in these times in Nigeria during the post-1999 electoral context that informal transport motor parks (taxi ranks) were used in a violent manner to get support (Agbiboa 2019; Hai Xiao, 2019). The youth got involved in these negative activities by getting money from 'big men' to intimidate the opposition and ordinary citizens using informal transport. This brings into play the dynamics of patronage. Interestingly, Agbiboa (2019) indicates that this youth were not merely passive pawns in a political game. They were able to manipulate in the same manner as they were manipulated. Moabi (1976) notes that young minibus taxi drivers are integrated into the informal transport industry by adult contacts. These contacts are responsible for the planning and controlling of numerous activities. Moabi (1976) indicates that these minibus taxi drivers serve as role models for the young drivers.

This patronage made me think of a person whose behaviour, example, or accomplishment is or can be emulated by others, particularly younger people, thus serving as a role model; nevertheless, in the situations stated above, these are negative role models. A young person or adult will draw a comparison between themselves when the other person is viewed relevant in the space they find themselves in. A comparison is made, which means each person should resemble the other in their features, structures, and purpose. The self-repercussions of this comparison will then be determined by the perceived attainability of the individual's success (Lockwood & Kunda, 1997; Weaver, Klebe Treviño & Agle, 2005). In view of the above, if the rank marshals', minibus taxi drivers', or minibus owners' success seems attainable, an unemployed person or youth might be inspired by them.

This may be the reason why the minibus taxi industry keeps on being a male-dominated environment, due to the predominantly male drivers who resemble features which are not relevant to females but are followed by boys. This view is also held by the majority of passengers, as indicated by a female taxi driver:

[She] has a sense of pride in her job, especially when she transports school pupils. I liked it the most when I was transporting school kids because they saw me as an inspiration. They would look at me admiringly while I was driving and they all wanted to sit next to me. She did not find life at the taxi rank easy. (Khosa, 1997:27)

On the opposing side, according to Shapiro, Haseltine, and Rowe (1977), role models are, at best, ineffective in encouraging women to achieve positions of leadership, authority, or power. A mentor is one end of a continuum of individuals in advisory/support roles who help their protégés gain admission and mobility. Women often lack mentors or sponsors who can be instrumental in their career advancement (Shapiro, Haseltine & Rowe, 1977). In the majority of cases, women are not assisted to get into the minibus industry by other woman but rather by male taxi drivers or owners helping their unemployed sisters or family members (Khosa, 1997).

In addition, ambiguity reigns in the minibus taxi industry as demonstrated in a project called ‘Operation Khululekani’ (free the people from criminal activity) which was launched during 1997 in Guguletu, Cape Town, South Africa, by civic leaders. At first the community worked closely with the South African Police and Community Policing Forum. But according to the community, the South African Police Service (SAPS) neglected the project and they began to take their cases to a group of minibus taxi drivers based at the Guguletu taxi rank.

The above-mentioned action reflects a countrywide trend even today. Minibus taxis associations are, in their own manner, well organised and, in many cases, heavily armed. The fact that they can call on upon many others very quickly renders them a powerful force, well-suited to the task of apprehending and punishing suspected criminals. Moreover, taxi drivers seem to hold the police in low regard and are willing to flout legal constraints on their actions. In Guguletu, people would report alleged criminals at the taxi rank and taxi drivers would then pick up the suspect and often assault them. The residents were very supportive of this vigilante action. According to the minibus taxi drivers, they were not vigilantes but merely investigating cases which SAPS failed to resolve. The Guguletu residents were positive towards the minibus taxi drivers and indicated that they eliminated the thuggery that was taking place in the township. Unfortunately, they had to admit that the minibus taxi drivers abused the power given to them by the residents and used it for settling personal grudges (Lee & Seekings, 2000).

Very much the same action was taken by the minibus taxis during 2019, leading to unseen violent behaviour in Pretoria and Johannesburg, Gauteng (Kusel, 2020; Mahlokwane, 2020). Minibus taxi drivers decided to take the law in their own hands. They took action when a fellow minibus taxi driver was shot by a Nigerian drug dealer. As in the case of Guguletu mentioned earlier, they criticised the lack of action from SAPS as a reason for their violent approach. The minibus taxi drivers pointed out that immediate action should have been taken against drug dealers coming from neighbouring African countries to South Africa to sell drugs to young South African people. In many cases, people supported the fact that drug dealers should be dealt with; unfortunately, it veered to xenophobic attacks, such as the setting alight of houses and business belonging to foreigners. There were even violent attacks on fellow South Africans and some road users.

In contrast to the above-mentioned abstruseness and to conclude this section, Mr Nkasimulo Khumalo, a 28-year-old taxi driver from Ivory Park, Johannesburg, South Africa, is an illustration of grit and determination – a role model (Duckworth, 2016). He is not just a role model for the youth but also for other minibus taxi drivers and workers in the informal transport sector. He graduated with a bachelor's degree in education from the University of South Africa. He used his time while binding (waiting for his turn to load passengers) to study. He indicated that it was not easy being a minibus taxi driver, as he was shouted at and verbally abused by passengers but it made him even more determined to succeed. His goal was to teach in a township school to motivate pupils and to be a role model (Sobuwa, 2019).

Similar to this positive example of Mr Kumolo, there are other minibus taxi drivers who act in an exemplary manner and are good role models to learners.

In 2014, a taxi driver from Meadowlands, Johannesburg, Mr. Thilivhali Singo's random acts of acts of goodwill went viral on social media as he offered a free ride to a young graduate who could not afford his taxi fees. This graduate was in desperate need to reach his interview appointment on time. The same kind of thoughtfulness and action was shown by a taxi driver in 2006. He assisted a passenger who gave birth in his taxi. He arranged another taxi to take his passengers to their respective destinations and took the girl and the newborn to the hospital (SANTACO, 2020).

The Minibus Taxi Association as a body or council also acted as a positive role model to other industries by acknowledging Mr. Kumolo's success by giving him back the money

that he spent on his studies. Another positive role played by SANTACO has been the bursaries that they have given to underprivileged children.

The minibus taxi industry can indeed encourage positive conduct. SANTACO, in cooperation with the Department of Transport, launched the South African Taxi Awards (SANTIA) in 2016. SANTIA recognises the industry's accomplishments as a business and service provider in society. The main aim of these awards is to transform the taxi industry. These 'Champions of Change', as SANTIA refers to them, reflect good service and proper entrepreneurial conduct in serving the public (SANTACO, 2010).

In addition to the positive actions discussed above, the industry initiated the Hlokomela (We Care) campaign to curb road carnage in 2016. This campaign focused on rendering a service that was customer-oriented, reduced road rage, supported Government road safety initiatives, empowered, and professionalised the minibus taxi industry (SANTACO, 2020). With reference to the space taken up by minibus taxi drivers, the next section will consider alternative educational spaces, and formal and informal learning.

The scenarios discussed above illustrate positive and negative behaviour of minibus taxi drivers which learners observe and then may follow. Hence, the drivers become role models without realising it. It is, therefore, of importance that drivers are made aware of the impact that they may have on young learners and the ways learners learn.

2.7 Niche related to the study

This study focuses on the South African minibus taxi industry, of which the literature is sparse. The minibus taxi industry has always had a political and violent dimension to it, due to it being linked to the Group Areas Act. The Group Areas Act formed the basis of the apartheid policy. It attempted to replace mixed-race suburbs with racially segregated ones, allowing South Africans to live apart from each other (McCaul, 1990). Overall, it appears that the research that has been done to date focuses mostly on the challenging aspects linked to the taxi industry, such as feuding and conflict between groups of taxi operators, disputes regarding regulation and legislation of the industry, the implementation of a recapitalisation programme, and the economic empowerment of the taxi industry (Browning 2006; Dugard, 2001; Fourie 2003; McCaul, 1990; Potgieter et al., 2012). Fourie's (2003) research focused on the appalling road safety record of minibus taxi drivers, as a result of bad driving, poor funding, inappropriate kind of vehicles, and poor

vehicle maintenance. To this degree, Schalekamp, Behrens and Wilkinson (2010), Venter (2011), and Schalekamp (2015) reviewed the unsuccessful attempts by Government to get a tighter handle on the industry. Cervero and Golub (2007) provided an international view on paratransit with the focus on minibus taxi transportation whereas Agbiboa's (2019) research focused on the role and contributions of African informal public transportation to urban economies. His research also highlighted the poor, stigmatised workforce and provided recommendations for more effective policy responses to urban public transportation, which is quickly evolving as a result of neoliberal urban planning techniques and world-class-city ambitions. Randall (2019), meanwhile, focused on minibus taxi drivers' work conditions, driver behaviour, and road safety.

Consequently, as I was reviewing the literature, I realised that there are contextual and conceptual weaknesses in the body of research that has been done on the minibus taxi industry. As indicated earlier, there is abundant grey literature but there is a void in terms of research done on the phenomenology of minibus taxi drivers supporting education. Some of the very few studies which focus on the minibus taxi driver as a person are a study done by Woolf and Joubert (2013) and a recent study by Randall (2019). This affirms the lack of and difficulty in obtaining information regarding the industry's detailed operations. Some of the first research was done on the minibus taxi drivers.

The process of reviewing the related literature provided me with important aspects, facts, and background information about the minibus taxi industry. It formed part of the building blocks of an unconventional way of thinking about the minibus taxi industry. It also assisted me in avoiding duplication of previous research (Welman, Kruger & Mitchell, 2005). Thus, my preliminary observation revealed that there is a need to investigate the role that taxi drivers and the taxi industry can play in supporting education beyond the mere role of transport. This provided a niche for my research.

An overview of minibus taxi transportation will now be considered to discuss the role of transportation in education and the views of all role players in the industry.

2.8 Conclusion

It is clear that moving from home (a controlled space) to the taxi rank (an uncontrolled space) into the minibus taxi (both controlled in terms of physical features and structure and uncontrolled space in terms of what happens and is being said) and then into the school (a

controlled and supposedly safe or liminal space) is imperative and very significant for learners. If it is not educational, we should improve it to be more beneficial for the minibus taxi drivers and learners. Space, as the literature revealed, is not static. Minibus taxi space has meaning. It is very complex because the general public, learners, parents, educational institutions, adult passengers, and minibus taxi drivers have unique and individual views about the space. It is complicated even more due to our view being tinted with our own experiences and expectations of each other. All role players involved, consciously and unconsciously, should work together to create a liminal space. In my view, this liminal space should be used in a more effective and pedagogically sound manner. As Nancy Levin (2018:131) says, 'Honour the space between no longer and not yet.' In the following chapter, the theoretical framework will be discussed comprehensively.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter continues the literature review that I began in Chapter 2. The literature review acts as the foundation of my study (Osanloo & Grant, 2016). In the previous chapter, I discussed conducting and presenting a literature review. I documented and organised the current academic knowledge of minibus taxi drivers related to the transportation of learners to schools. Following that, I presented my literature evaluation based on the following primary themes: the need for transportation, mobility, access, and efficiency; and an overview of minibus taxi transportation in Africa and South Africa respectively. The next focus area was on the minibus taxi drivers, the role of transportation in education and learner reliance factors. Additionally, I discussed alternative educational spaces and minibus taxi drivers as role models. This section was followed by a discussion on the niche identified for the study and, finally, I drew a conclusion. I presented the literature according to themes that were structured according to the Johari Window model, namely open window (known to drivers, known to schools and learners), hidden window (known to drivers, not known to schools and learners), blind window (not known to drivers, not known to schools and learners; not known to drivers, known to schools & learners) and unknown window (not known to drivers, known to schools & learners).

This study is an investigation into the views held by minibus taxi drivers about their role in supporting education and the views held by role players about minibus taxi drivers. The ontological element, which represents knowledge of social reality and which I want to investigate and interpret, is the phenomenon ‘views’. Views are located in different people, in this case, my individual view about minibus taxi drivers, the views of learners and schools regarding minibus taxi drivers, and minibus taxi drivers’ views about learners and schools. These views are formed in different spatial contexts, for example, in the minibus taxi at the minibus taxi rank, at the school, or in the larger urban space.

The research stemmed from viewing the space occupied by the minibus taxi industry literally and figuratively in a different light. By using the questions mentioned below, there is a possibility that I can compare the respective views of minibus taxi drivers, learners,

and schools to explain differences and similarities between them. Each of these groups have different sets of experiences with minibus taxi transportation. Furthermore, I investigate the supportive role that minibus taxis may have on education. If we know the different views these groups have, we might be able to understand them better and design a model to guide an intervention programme to support education.

A qualitative approach is used and the research questions have the capacity to be explored and developed. The research questions become a vehicle that I rely on to move me from my broad research interest (minibus taxis and education) to my specific research phenomenon of views. My research questions are investigative and fluid. The research literature which I consulted showed that there is no fixed and proven solution for the minibus taxi industry, just as there is no discipline that can claim ownership of space. My research questions are devices to provide guidance and focus my inquiry to construct my argument but also to identify with other research.

- What are the views of minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education?
- Why are these views held by minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education?
- What are the views of various role players about minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education?
- Why are these views held by various role players about minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education?

This study was focused by four research question:

Keeping the research purpose and research questions in mind, it was thought appropriate to summarise this study within the epistemology of constructionism and from the theoretical perspectives of production of space, asset-based theory, and the Johari Window model. The theoretical framework for this study is outlined below.

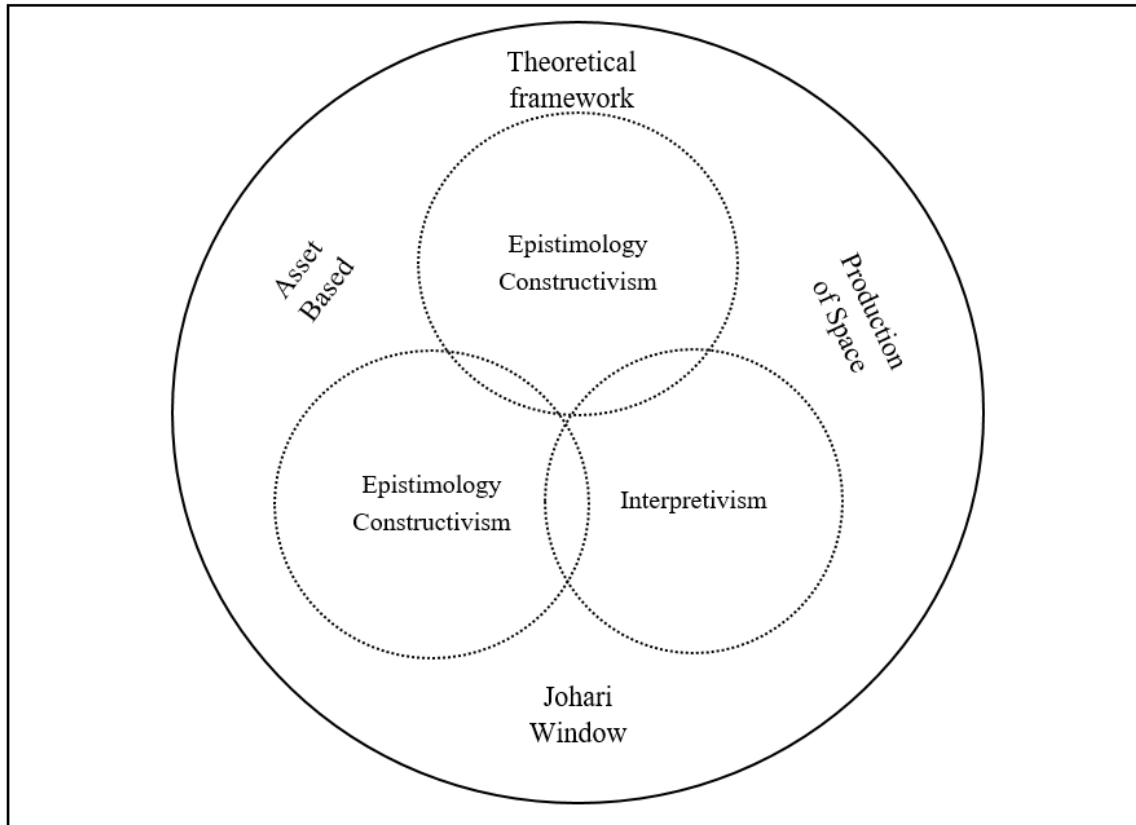


Figure 3.1: Theoretical foundation of the study (Source: Osanloo & Grant, 2016)

I begin this section with a discussion on views regarding theory. This section will be followed by setting the stage and applying the theoretical perspectives. Thereafter, a discussion on the theoretical framework and model will follow. Lastly, I will include a section on aligning the study via the theoretical perspective and model and the chapter will draw to an end with the conclusion.

3.2 Views on theory

It was important to understand and relate my work to major theories which would underpin what I was going to do. As Thomas (2013) indicates, literature and theory are interrelated. But, as I read through the research on theory, it became clear that a collective agreement on what constitutes theory did not exist. As students, we are unique individuals who do research and operate within a theoretical framework; this affects how we view and investigate the subject and this can lead to contrasting theories. The term ‘theory’ is widely used across disciplines (Dillow, 2009; Thomas, 2013). The inconsistent use of theory within and across disciplines raises questions about the meaning of theory. In simple terms, theory refers to a particular kind of explanation. Creswell (2014) uses the term ‘worldview’

to denote a fundamental set of beliefs that influence action. In addition, according to Creswell, worldview researchers have a more pragmatic perspective on what defines good theory. This view is also held by Thomas (2013) who asserts that theory should focus on practice and outcome. Thus, theory must go beyond basic explanation to investigate why variables relate and impact one another – an important step toward adding scientific value. The approach of theory that will be used is determined by the researcher's assumptions. Considerations regarding theory develop a capacity for critical analysis and reflections regarding my own views, values, and beliefs, which have an impact on my professional practice (Wellington, Bathmaker, McCulloch & Siles, 2005).

According to DiMaggio (1995), theory is used for covering: (a) laws, (b) enlightenment, and (c) narrative. In addition, theory is a collection of several notions such as descriptive ability, explanatory power, heuristic value, trialability, integration, parsimony, transparency, all-inclusiveness, and delimitation. Understanding these concepts leads to theory refinement, with the main purpose being to explain and predict phenomena (Kerlinger, 1973). Wellington et al. (2005) concurs by saying that theory creates links and frameworks that connect and interlink studies that would otherwise remain stand-alone. Bearing in mind educational globalisation, a multidisciplinary approach is needed to understand education; therefore applying space theory (which is usually linked to geography) to minibus taxis and education assists in creating a linkage and inhibits these fields to not stand in silos. Theoretical reasoning provides an explanatory function, exploring links between cause and effect or an explanatory purpose and offering new research questions and propositions (Gray, 2009; Middleton, 2014).

On this point, Mouton (1996:198-199) challenges Kerlinger's definition. Mouton ascertains that his definition is flawed because Kerlinger does not clarify 'explanation'. Furthermore, he does not agree that social theories should be able to predict future phenomena or events. In Mouton's view, social theories have a logic of their own. Thomas (2013) also believes that a theory has no distinct or permanent meaning and that the objective of a theory is to offer a determining law or collection of laws. A valuable point brought to the fore by Rossman and Rallis (2016) is that there is always an extent of subjectivity at play when research is done. I agree, because my views, values, and beliefs will have an impact on the manner in which I act in this research process. These authors emphasise the postmodernists' rejection that knowledge is definite and univocal. They go on to say that research is fundamentally about power. The research report is not transparent,

as it is influenced during the writing process by race, gender, class, sexual orientation, able-bodied-ness, language, and political orientation. It is also crucial for understanding experience and historical traditions. According to them, research has effectively silenced people of oppressed and marginalised communities.

This brings me to the point of my subjectivity regarding this research project. The ontological element, which represents knowledge of social reality and which I want to investigate and interpret, is the phenomenon of views. Views are located in different people, in this case, my individual view about minibus taxi drivers and the views of learners and schools regarding minibus taxi drivers. In addition, minibus taxi drivers' views about learners and schools are formed in different spatial contexts, for example, in the minibus taxi, at the minibus taxi rank, at the school, or in the larger urban space. The very nature and essence of my view was like the majority of society. Being a member of society who labelled minibus taxi drivers as problematic posed a challenge to me to conceptualise them in a different manner. But a different behaviour from a minibus taxi driver brought about a change in my thinking. With this study, I have used the data collection process to provide vivid, detailed accounts of the views and lived experiences to show how minibus taxi drivers work, are being understood or misunderstood, and experienced (Dillow, 2009; Kiesinger, 1998). Hence, my ontological approach for this research is interpretivism. This further indicates how I have positioned myself. This process of theory and theorising turns the data into abstract knowledge (Dillow, 2009). It also provides a guide as to how the final findings are written and the recommendations I will make for possible change in the partnership between the minibus taxi industry and education to hopefully improve the role of minibus taxi drivers in supporting education (Creswell 2014).

As a broad explanation for behaviour and attitudes, a qualitative approach was adopted (Creswell, 2014). In this study, the explanation refers to the behaviour and attitude of minibus taxi drivers and the learners who make use of this mode of transport. In some investigations, a theory may be developed as the study's final outcome and placed at the end of the research endeavour. In other cases, it may be placed at the beginning of the study as a lens to view the study. I placed the theory at the beginning of my study. As a result, it evolved into a transformative perspective that moulded the questions posed and informed how the data was viewed, collected, and analysed. It furthermore provided a call for action to clarify and differentiate between a conceptual framework and theoretical framework (Creswell, 2014).

Concepts are the most basic symbolic structures used by people to define or categorise reality. Concepts provide access to different theories. With concepts, human beings sort out their unstructured empirical experiences and make sense of their worlds. The conceptual development of a theory, according to Lynham (2002), is an informative conceptual framework that offers initial knowledge and an explanation of the nature and dynamics of the topic, problem, or occurrence that is the focus of the theory, in this instance, views on minibus taxi drivers. Osanloo and Grant (2016) concur with this view, stating that the conceptual framework is the researcher's understanding of how to best describe the study problem. It furthermore provides the specific direction the research will take and the relationship between different variables in the study. It is a logical structure of interlinked concepts which provide a graphic representation of how ideas in a study relate to one another within the theoretical framework.

Key concepts in social science tend to be highly abstract, according to Mouton (1996). He argues that the aforementioned concepts did not originate in a physical and material world of everyday life but rather via abstract theoretical analysis such as 'alienation' and 'class consciousness' which can be found in the work of Marx and Lefebvre's production of space theory which I am going to use as a theoretical framework. Mouton (1996) further questions the development of concepts or specific terms within the framework of a specific theory. He speculates as to whether concepts have an existence that is independent of that specific theory.

Space is linked to urban development but I want to use it in the context of the minibus taxi industry and also apply Lefebvre's space theory contribution to education, as set out by Middleton (2014). As a result, theoretical terms' meanings are largely dictated by their connotations. Theoretical concepts have more than one connotation, due to it originating in a theoretical 'space' of a conceptual framework. We find space in the minibus taxi but also in schools. In schools, the 'conceived spaces' are abstract and mental, such as the administrative divisions of school 'classes' or departments. The 'representations of space' include the timetable. People 'live' spaces by imbuing them with significance, which might be emotional, spiritual, historical, cultural, or genealogical. A school, for example, may be built on indigenous peoples' spiritual grounds (Middleton, 2014) where learners' family-tribal dramas are played out in its grounds. In the space of the minibus taxis, a 'conceived space' is a mobile office, a 'representation of space' is the routes that are 'made' by minibus taxi groupings; minibus taxi communication signals represent spaces and places, and 'lived

space’, is the space in which our daily actions take place. The use of the minibus taxi space is part of the minibus taxi industry’s space with its daily operations. The aforementioned space equals mobility which equals independence.

Differently said, to take part in a pedagogy of appropriation is to include students in constructing knowledge of their own so that they may become accustomed to working for their daily life with all the sensory rhythms of time and space. Hence, Middleton argues that Lefebvre is looking for ways to connect time and space, history and geography, and sociology. As a result, the perceived, conceived, and lived space production revolves around the idea that space and time must be considered jointly rather than separately (Middleton, 2014).

Similarly, the theoretical framework aids in organising the discussion of the study that follows in a certain way (Mouton, 1996). However, conceptual frameworks allow a researcher to specify and define concepts within the problem, which aids in the composition of the thesis. A distinction between a theoretical framework and conceptual framework for this study follows.

Table 3.1: Illustration of the distinction between a theoretical and conceptual framework

Theoretical Framework	Conceptual Framework
Theory: Production of space, asset-based theory	Johari Window Core concepts: view, trust, heuristic
Theorists: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lefebvre (1901-1991) • Kretzmann & McKnight (1993) 	Key theoretical principles: space, alienation, access, everyday life, human’s social role, the semiotic field, community, assets, diversity

Theory and research are both broad, all-encompassing notions that are inextricably linked. Although researchers disagree on whether theory progress is a rigorous process or must be generated in response to the activity at hand, they all agree that it is a cycle of activities. Theory enables analysis. To make a meaningful contribution to the corpus of knowledge, both new information and procedures and older (even controversial) ideas and research methods are needed. Theory provides a way to forecast the relationships between occurrences, and research aids in the examination of theory and the discovery of new

interpretations. This interrelationship between theory and research becomes, in effect, an instrument to help create new knowledge (Thomas, 2013). In simple terms, theory refers to a specific kind of explanation. It provides the how and why something functions the way it does (Research Council of Norway, 2020).

Mouton (1996) has argued that scientific statements do not exist in isolation. In the process of organising statements according to certain interests and/or objectives, it becomes integrated into conceptual frameworks. This leads to structures of science-like typologies, models, and theories. A theory is a collection of interconnected constructs or concepts, definitions, and propositions that give a systematic perspective of phenomena by identifying relationships between variables in order to explain and predict phenomena (Mouton, 1996). For this study, I used two theories and a model. The theories provide an explanation of the phenomenon by postulating an underlying casual mechanism. It will not do justice to this study to use only one theory to investigate a complex and multifaceted industry like the minibus taxi industry and the views people have, therefore, I used more than one.

In conjunction with these theories I used the Johari Window model. Models demonstrate phenomena in a systematic manner by identifying patterns and regularities among variables. Models have clarifying and projecting power, which assists in our understanding and thinking process (Wellington et al., 2005). According to Mouton (1996), the primary distinction between models and theories is one of degree. The heuristic function is the most typical feature of models, whereas theories are usually associated with the explanatory function. Kaplan (1964) has mentioned that models are also referred to as 'scientific metaphors'. The researcher reveals certain relationships and systematics, a simplified form, as a model of that phenomenon. It is for this reason that I used the Johari Window to explain this research project to the participating minibus taxi drivers and learners at schools. I also used the Johari Window to interpret the views of the respective participants. The model assisted in the attempt to represent the dynamic aspects of the phenomenon of views by explaining the relationship between its features in an easy form. Because a model does not attempt to be any more than a slight depiction of a given phenomenon, certain features of the phenomenon which are immaterial to the model are appropriately excluded while the most noticeable features are highlighted. (Wellington et al., 2005). The value of the simplification is that it directs the researcher's attention to specific subjects. Because

specific affiliations and aspects are highlighted, it is thus suitable for proposing new fields of investigation.

Owing to its simplicity and the fact that it excludes certain aspects, it was imperative to use theories in collaboration because the production of space and the asset-based theories have an explanatory function in this study. To summarise, theoretical frameworks increase the quality of the research, connect the researcher to existing literature, offer assumptions that guide the research process, guide the researcher to choose suitable questions for the study, persuade the reader of the relevance of the research of the research question, and guide the choice of research design, appropriate data collection, and analysis methods (Osanloo & Grant, 2016).

3.3 Setting the stage and applying the theoretical perspectives

Engaging with and applying theory is challenging, but it is of vital importance for the success of a research project. Hofstee (2006) highlights the fact that a finding can only be accepted, rejected, validated, replicated, or even understood in the context of how the researcher arrived at it. Therefore, I was required to find theory which was appropriate to my research and to convince the reader thereof. The objective of theory is to anticipate or explain, and it also contributes to the originality of my research. It is also used to conceptualise and explain a collection of systematic observations on phenomena (views, in this case) and complex behaviour (the minibus taxi industry is known for its complexity). Research is defined as a methodical process of gathering and analysing data (data using the Johari Window) to increase understanding of the phenomenon (views) about which we are concerned or interested (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005). The method of research is to gather and analyse information to generate knowledge, and, for any endeavour to be deemed research, it must clearly exhibit the potential for developing recognisable new knowledge (Ellis & Levy, 2008). Creswell (2014) concurs with this view. He suggests that in some investigations the theory may be developed as the study's final consequence and placed at the end of the research process. In other circumstances, it may be used as a lens to observe it at the initial stage of the study.

In this study, theory has been used as an overall orientating lens for the study of the minibus taxi industry and education, focusing on themes like space, the assets of the minibus industry, views held by all role players, the role of females in the industry, and violence. The lens became a transformative perspective which assisted in shaping the two research

questions. It also informed my data collection process and the manner in which I analysed the data. It provided an appeal for action or change in the manner role players render support (Creswell, 2014). By collaborating with the minibus taxi drivers and schools, it should ideally lead to recommendations for change and the improvement of their lives and society (Creswell, 2014).

In line with my approach, interpretivism led me to use the Johari Window model. Using this model assisted me in explaining the reason for the research project to participants but also in the discussion and observation in the form of critical discussion and focus group interviews with the drivers, learners, and schools. This ontological positioning allowed me to investigate the views of the participants. At the centre of the research are human beings (minibus taxi drivers, learners, young adults, parents) and their behaviour. They are part of a community (minibus taxi industry–transport, schools–education) which takes up a spatial area in the minibus taxi, urban area, at the school, which may have undiscovered assets. Prus (1996) affirms this by claiming that at the heart of a research undertaking is the hunch that human behaviour is the source of communal existence. Furthermore, social science should regard people's lived experiences with the utmost care. Social science is a method that first and foremost values individuals and the stories of their lives and being in this world. It searches for how individuals view, take in, practice, and comprehend their own world and the society in which they live and function. Creswell (2009) concurs with this point of view by noting that qualitative research refers to efforts to realise the deeper meaning surrounding the complexities of human relations.

Data from qualitative investigations can inspire the development of new theories and be used to test existing theories, with results either supporting or refuting them (Thomas, 2013). Furthermore, it recognises that the meaning-making is positioned, contextualised, and natural, and that it focuses on personal rather than impartial aspects of social life. Furthermore, it is the comprehension of meaning rather than the examination of structures. This demonstrates that the focus of this study is an investigation of the views of minibus taxi drivers. Another reason for using a qualitative approach is that it plays a key role in pushing previous limits of quantitative studies about the minibus taxi industry into a 'new view'. It provides information about hidden areas by addressing complex items such as how or why certain views are held by role players (Creswell, 2009). As an example, research done so far on minibus taxis has focused on the violence and recklessness of minibus taxi drivers, many accidents, and the failure of the recapitalisation programme and

legislation to deduce the frequency of accidents and violence. However, it might be more valuable to understand the underlying causes as to why minibus taxi drivers behave in this manner and possibly create the opportunity to eliminate negative behaviour and use their assets to support education.

In summary, there are a number of ways that research adds to theory. First, it creates theory, which means interpretations from research can be applied to put into words as theory. Secondly, research can be used to either confirm or refute a notion. Thirdly, it can be used to provide additional insight into the fundamentals of a theory, allowing for future advancement of the theory. Theory and research are inextricably linked. Theory allows us to visualise the relationships between occurrences, while research allows us to test theory and discover new observations. As a result of the interaction between theory and investigation, an instrument for creating new knowledge has emerged (Thomas, 2013).

Owing to the complexity of the minibus taxi industry, I decided to use two theories and a model, which will be discussed further on in this chapter. The main theory is Lefebvre's work, *The Production of Space*. It is worthwhile to note that he was critical of disciplinary fragmentation. Furthermore, and in support of the use of Lefebvre's work in an educational setting, is Middleton's (2014) notion that Lefebvre's work was concerned with teaching in two ways: as an object of research and as an ethical practice – how to best support human 'becoming'. In combination with the theory on the production of space, I used an asset-based approach. I also decided to use the Johari Window model. I deemed this combination of theories and a model appropriate to provide the theoretical framework for this study. It provides different ways of looking at minibus taxi drivers to create meaning in a unique manner. The justification behind this will be explained later in this chapter.

Lefebvre (2002:56) aptly said:

To study the everyday is to wish to change. To change the everyday is to bring its confusions into the light of the day and in to language it is to make its latent conflicts apparent, and thus to burst them asunder. It is therefore both theory and practice, critique and action.

Through my study, I wish to change the views and role minibus taxi drivers play and change the everyday, bringing its 'confusions into the light of the day and into language' (Lefebvre, 2002:56) by investigating the different views held by role players and minibus taxi drivers.

I also want to discuss the conflicts and make them visible through my role in supporting education.

In the next unit, I shall deliberate the theoretical perspectives applied in this study.

3.4 Theoretical perspectives for the study

I considered Middleton's (2016:177) view on Lefebvre as an educational theorist with the emphasis on his work that says:

The spatial, the historical, the conceptual and the experiential are studied as one from the point of view of their fusion in everyday experience. We must start, Lefebvre insists, not in the abstract writings of theorists, but from the point of view of ordinary people going about their everyday activities.

Middleton demonstrates how knowing the spatial organisation of education can help our knowledge of educational theory, which has transdisciplinary linkages, by situating Lefebvre within the context of educational studies (Cudworth, 2016). According to Middleton (2016:181-183), it can help educationists identify gaps in 'technocratic rationality'. Pedagogy is the unifying idea that allows disparate fields and education studies to fit together (Middleton, 2016). Hence, the links between theoretical concepts establish their meanings. Education should not be based solely on personal convictions. Conviction leads to dogmatism; it has a tendency to shift from the relative to the absolute, from subjectivity to totality. Education should focus on real-world issues that are both concrete and intellectual, empirical and abstract. (Lefebvre, 1991).

Therefore, my aim in using the theory of the production of space and asset-based theory is to analyse the value given to the space in the minibus taxi and minibus taxi rank which is the liminal space. Liminal space is created in the journey to school and back home in a different manner than what I have come across in the literature which I have consulted. Research that was done about the minibus taxi industry has been done through the lenses of Maslow's needs-based theory, the theory of constraints, and systems theory in the fields of engineering, transport, and labour. Aptly stated by Tonkiss (2005:5), 'no single discipline can lay claim to the city', or, in this case, the minibus taxi industry. Asset-based theory focuses on how we can use the assets in the minibus industry to improve while the Johari Window assists in my understanding of the traditional thoughts and views that have shaped the understanding of society about minibus taxi drivers and the minibus taxi

industry of today. Using alternative theoretical frameworks gives me the opportunity to examine present-day issues relating to the minibus taxi industry and education in a different manner than in the past. It will be outlined below.

3.4.1 Production of space

I wanted to determine what the views were about minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education. To do this, I had to consider the space the minibus taxi industry and minibus taxi drivers take up, literally and figuratively. The taxi industry takes up physical space in the city where they operate, the taxi ranks space and inside the minibus taxi itself which is ‘filled’ with passengers but, at the same time, it is the driver’s mobile office. To add to the complexity of space, people attach value to the space occupied by the minibus taxi industry and the minibus taxi itself. In this liminal space, our thoughts and lives are shaped.

In the book titled *The Shaping of Us*, the author compares space to a secret script which directs the actors’ (people, passengers, schoolchildren) daily actions. The actors play a part in writing the script by influencing actions – the decisions of where to work and with whom to socialise. She goes on to say that people know intuitively that space is essential to who they are as individuals and societies, but they do not acknowledge how much the space moulds them (Bernheimer, 2017). It is for this reason that I think that children can be supported educationally in the minibus taxi space. In my view, the space can be used more productively than it currently is. People change from moment to moment, from one space to the next. By boarding a minibus taxi, passengers find themselves in a space which is not an empty void; people think about what they want to be and do (on the way to work or school, you have vision of what you are working for and want to attain, your goals and dreams), passengers look out of the minibus taxi windows and view their surroundings. Drivers of other vehicles on the road view the minibus taxi and what is happening inside the minibus taxi space. It is thus appropriate to say that space can shape how people interact and communicate. Space mediates creativity, community, and identity. The space in a minibus taxi provides a current picture of people with different experiences, different personalities, and abilities in the same space. Add to this the impact of time and the wear and tear of the minibus taxi itself and a very complex space is created. Tonkiss (2005) agrees with the previously stated viewpoint that space can be regarded as generating social relations and processes and, as a result, is produced by social action and meanings. He

further states that the lines drawn between the material and the ideal, the objective and the subjective, the physical and the perceptual, tend to blur in the manner it works out in the city space.

With reference to Henri Lefebvre's theory on the production of space, Tonkiss (2005) asserts that it is a valuable measure to make sense of space as a social product. Lefebvre argues that the social production of space operates on three levels which, in reality, do not always appear as distinct moments. First, and most observable, is the sense in which space is created as a result of spatial practice. The natural features of social practice are grounded on relations and sites of production and reproduction. It further includes the routine forms of spatial capability and presentation which are required of social actors, as per Lefebvre (1991:183). Secondly, it is the representation of space. Here, the focus is on the organisation conceptions of space, as abstract designs relating to formal 'knowledge, signs, and codes' are typical of scientific, architectural, or governmental spatial organising. This means that space is governed by maps, plans, systems, and projects. These maps, plans, systems and projects are templates of power that rationalise the space of the city and the normal conduct of bodies and things within it (Lefebvre, 1991).

Thirdly, Lefebvre (1991:33) refers to 'representational space'. According to Lefebvre (1991), it is both the most evocative and the most ill-defined category. Representational spaces are places of fantasy, embodiment, and desire. He claims that these locations are associated with symbolic and creative practices, subversive, or clandestine designs, but they are also occupied by ordinary 'users.' Representational spaces refer to 'spaces as directly lived through its associated images and symbols This is the dominated – and hence passively experienced – space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate' (Lefebvre, 1991:33).

This typology by Lefebvre (1991) treats space as the product of practice, perception, and imagination. This implies that the same space can be recreated, represented, and experienced in several ways. In outlining these three models of spatial production, Lefebvre tests the oppositions between objective and subjective spaces, structure and symbolism, and real and discursive spaces. Lefebvre (1991) states that spaces of social life are social products. Lefebvre (1991) further points out that practical spaces are overlaid by the work of thought, which suggests that urban forms are not only constructed out of materials and things but out of meanings, language, and symbols. It is possible to demolish a building,

but it is more difficult to demolish a space based on memory, experience, or imagination; consequently, there is no such thing as empty space.

As indicated by Tonkiss (2005), urban spaces shape social relations but in the same process there is tension between a) community, b) being communal, and c) solitude in the city space. Minibus taxis are present in the city space but create tension within this shared space with others in the manner that they operate with reference to other road users and passengers within the minibus taxi space. According to urban sociology, modern cities all show elements of extensive fragmentation and anonymity. This fragmentation and anonymity is seen in an ethics of indifference, which leads to a form of freedom and tolerance – an attitude of no involvement – exemplified by the decision of passengers not to get involved with the manner in which minibus taxi drivers drive and conduct themselves, even if it endangers their lives. This means that people are in the presence of other people in a space, but individuals maintain separateness while recognising shared claims to social space. Schoolchildren and passengers make use of minibus taxis but remain separate, anonymous, and indifferent to each other. It is here where an opportunity for the minibus taxi driver to support education lies by making people aware of this indifference and motivating them to support education (Tonkiss, 2005).

Spatial organisation of cities reinforces social differences and divisions. Politics unfold in space (Tonkiss, 2005). This is what happened before 1994 in South African cities, where social segregation was the order of the day and also the political policy of the government. It was during this time that the minibus taxi industry came into existence. This racial character of the apartheid regime steered to disorganisation, poverty, and crime. Townships like Soweto and Alexandra in Johannesburg were organised on the outskirts of the city and known for political unrest. Harvey (1989) in Tonkiss (2005:59) appropriately states that any attempt to re-establish power relations is a struggle to reorganise the involved parties' spatial bases.

Apartheid was a show of power, authority, and privilege of the government but with the struggle for freedom came the reorganisation of space in South Africa. Urban spaces provide spatial and social resources for political mobilisation and is constituted as objects of political struggle. Here the focus is dual, the contests in the city and contest over rights to the city (Tonkiss, 2005). Public space can be viewed on three levels – collective, social exchange, and informal encounters. Public space like greater Johannesburg are founded on

equality and access, but the exclusion of people points to the limits of belonging. In public spaces, there is a dynamic of control; certain people are perceived as problematic like beggars, homeless people, informal vendors, and minibus taxis in the case of South African cities. It boils down to the fact that public spaces do not exist to exercise one's right to be there but rather to be organised by regulations and exclusion. With the election of a democratic government in South Africa, socio-economic change brought about the reorganisation of the urban space. Here minibus taxis played a key role in transporting people from the township areas to opportunities for employment in the city – a better life or 'the place of gold' as Johannesburg is known. Thus, an individual gives meaning to their own mental map and, in particular, also to spatial practice.

Featherstone, Frisby & Simmel (2006) refer to the 'miracle of the road' but I want to adapt it to the 'miracle of minibus taxi transport' which, just like a road, is a social and physical fact born out of people's movement which then comes and commands that movement. The growth of the minibus taxi industry is very much like an organic urban space, a dynamic organism, its growth being fundamentally and as whole, naturally, uncontrollable and undersigned. It assumes the form of those who represent and correspond to the functions it is called upon to perform (Park, 1928: viii as cited in Tonkiss, 2005). The minibus taxi industry made space for itself within the urban space. They altered the conventional order and social conduct in South African urban areas. They proceeded to work according to their own logic of design and use, known as heterotopias. They have their own subcultural practices and disrupt the normal flow of traffic in South African cities. They defy the order of maps, upset the plan understood by all, slip between the lines on the grid, ignore traffic lights, and stop wherever they think is best – their own spatial tactics which lead to friction due to different individuals with individual interests occupying the same space. To manage the minibus taxis is challenging and almost impossible, which came across in the literature consulted, but the space in which they operate must ultimately be controlled in a formal manner. Much research has been done in South Africa and other African cities, of which the most prominent is that of Schalekamp (2013) and Agbibo (2019). As Tonkiss (2005) has pointed out, in an urban space, community refers to the official and unofficial means, for example, meeting places, institutions, conventions, codes, and values, through which social groups organise and replicate themselves in particular spaces. Applied to the minibus industry, this is found in incidents where the minibus taxis have claimed open land which they have 'taken' and made into parking and waiting areas for minibus taxis. These spaces

have become problem spaces. A problem space goes hand in hand with a problem group (Tonkiss, 2005). In the majority of cases, minibus taxis are referred to as problematic, something to be wished away (Schalekamp, 2015).

Park (1967) in Tonkiss (2005:15) has three ways of defining community. The first is based on locality (township area, inner city next to the station), the second is a social model (minibus taxi rank, open piece of land, shopping mall, school), and the third is a moral milieu or affective model with shared identities and interests (scholar transport or minibus taxis). In my opinion, to get support from the minibus taxi industry and the drivers for education, we should view them as a community within the urban space who take up space but also provide space in their taxis. On the other side of the coin, the minibus taxi industry as a community provides a vehicle for mobilisation of opposition, for positioning to claim a voice. Minibus taxi drivers form a group identity and, in the process, make certain public spaces hostile or potentially threatening to all other users. This was exemplified in the case of taxi violence in Johannesburg and Pretoria during 2019 (discussed in Chapter 2), which is also an example of urban social movement or can be referred to as the politics of protest and activism which is concerned with the character, the freedoms, and control of urban space (Tonkiss, 2005). Furthermore, Tonkiss (2005) points out that politics, like other social relations are revealed in space.

Mah (2014) asserts that the city sets up not only the site but incentives of political contestation, especially in South Africa, which is indicted with an unforgiving political past. It is thus apt to concur with Tonkiss (2005) that different spaces in South Africa are not merely locations in which politics take place (Mah, 2014) but they also constitute objects of struggle in their own right, for example, Soweto. Johannesburg, as a city, provided sites for political action in the past and is, in itself, politicised in competition over access, control and representation (Mah, 2014). The minibus taxi industry with its complexity took up space on an economical, geographical, and socio-political manner. The minibus taxi industry also assisted and still does in the gentrification of previously disadvantaged individuals into the main city areas. Minibus taxis transported people into a space where they were not allowed and brought about shifts in the social and spatial restructuring process of Johannesburg and other cities in South Africa. Furthermore, Tonkiss (2005:59) refers to 'the politics of public space' in a city, which is the everyday spaces within the city, for example, the spaces of the street, the subway, or the square. For this study, the space in the minibus taxi at the minibus taxi rank and the space minibus taxis

take up on the roads, are sites for micro-politics of urban life. In these spaces, individuals exercise their spatial rights while negotiating the spatial rights of others. The minibus taxi routes become the industry's 'corridors of power' due to the competition between minibus taxis in the industry but also between private car owners' and minibus taxis' rights to the road. The aggressive tactics used by minibus taxi groups for control over spaces points to a collapse in spatial consensus in the normal direction of community activity which directs relations in city space according to Davis (1990). It is, furthermore, apparent in the manner in which minibus taxis take up open areas of land or pavements as 'stop and drop-off areas'. These spaces should be safe spaces for pedestrians and children. In South Africa, pavements in certain areas are used by street vendors to make a living but these pavements become the parking places of minibus taxis or small informal taxi ranks, placing other individuals at risk.

As minibus taxi drivers take up space, they do not hesitate to show anger if any other road user get in their way or questions their conduct. So, one might ask, what is the best way to handle all these diverse activities and strangers in the same space in a city? Having street wisdom or being streetwise is a strategy; it is spatial knowledge which translates into social practice. Anderson (1999:23) refers to it as 'know what time it is' – not by the clock, but by reading people, places, and situations. Applied to this study, this means knowing the minibus taxi hand signals, the constant hooting of minibus taxi drivers while they driver around to collect passengers, communication within the minibus taxi to the driver. Drivers of private vehicles should not get upset when minibus taxi drivers force open spaces in peak traffic, not get involved in arguments with taxi drivers, not drive in areas which minibus taxis 'take as their own' during peak traffic, 'their corridors' and so on (Anderson, 1990:23). Anderson (1990) refers to it as common defensive strategies, namely selective vision and non-contact. In my opinion, having street wisdom links to what Bernheimer (2017: xi) refers to as 'the script of which individuals play a part in the space'. In this shared space, spatial order is of significance since all individuals are included and not excluded. This is obtained by a range of unspoken codes of bodily demeanour to the firm arm of the law. Visual order and public order are closely linked in the regulation of public space, according to Tonkiss (2005). Referring to the minibus taxi recapitalisation plan and government policies to control the minibus taxi industry, which have not been successful to date, stamping out small transgressions and implementation of road rules will be more successful in improving the minibus taxi industry.

With reference to the challenges experienced by women in the minibus taxi industry, which I discussed in Chapter 2, consideration should be given to issues of gender which involve social relations that are shaped by space. Research has shown that women have more fear of being victims of crime than men. Thus, the use of space by women is controlled by geographies of violence and fear. It exposes the gender inequality which appears in the city space which, in the majority of cases, is custom-made around conventional gender roles and sexual codes. These conventional roles relate to the very low number of female taxi drivers in the minibus taxi industry. Needless to say, those who are making a living in the minibus taxi industry must have street wisdom. Furthermore, women have to be streetwise in terms of being visible but also invisible. It is critical to their ‘freedom’ in the city space but also for their safety. Female passengers and young girls, as discussed in Chapter 2, in many cases fear the space in a minibus taxi. This fear of male minibus taxi drivers and male violence is widely held (Tonkiss, 2005). Women’s fear is linked to crime, which includes fear of rape and sexual assault. It is also spatialised, meaning that women have cognitive maps of the city, better described as the view they have on unstable geographies. It can be described on two levels, one, in terms of the different groups that occupy a specific space and two, in the way space changes over time (Tonkiss, 2005). An example of space which changes over time are the young girls who indicated in Chapter 2 that they did not want to be the last passenger getting off the minibus taxi. It is a ‘closed space’, sealed off, and where the behaviour is relatively concealed. Being in a minibus taxi with many passengers is, in a sense, safer. Another example is the minibus taxi rank. It is safe at peak hour but it is a very dangerous place in the middle of the night or when there is taxi violence (Tonkiss, 2005).

3.4.2 Asset-based theory

Urban spaces, through physical and social redevelopment, have progressed and eroded the old-fashioned villages or communities, which has led to a change in the meaning of communities. Park (1967) in Tonkis (2005) explains it as the official and unofficial meeting locations, institutions, conventions, rules, and ideals that allow social groups to organise and repeat themselves in specific spaces. Thus, people make and remake versions of community in the city.

Applied to this study, I view the minibus taxi industry as a community and, therefore, suggest that asset-based theory is meaningful. Asset-based theory does not focus on only

the negative aspects of the minibus taxi industry. It provides an opportunity to identify the industry's assets, which may assist in supporting education, which will be discussed in Chapter 7. Between the education sector and the minibus taxi industry, there is a certain amount of mutual synergy and rhythm, both being focused on movement and empowerment. Education, in the sense of children learning and moving from one grade to the next, from not knowing to learning new information, empowers learners. It is described as the travel of knowledge (Burke, Cunningham & Grosvenor, 2010; Middleton, 2014). Similarly, the minibus taxi industry moves people or helps them travel from one destination to another. In this process, the minibus taxi drivers empower individuals to reach school, educational institutions, and their places of work. The minibus taxi drivers are employed and thus are empowered to provide for their families. In my opinion, it can even imply that they assist people in reaching their personal goals and visions. The minibus taxi industry deals with diversity on a daily basis in the same way as schools do – different languages, gender, cultures, race, or ethnic groups, socio-economic backgrounds, challenges, levels of achievements, cognitive abilities and different developmental backgrounds (Venter, 2013).

When we view the schools and the minibus taxi industry as communities, Kretzmann & McKnight's (1993) asset-based approach to community building may be used effectively in this study. The asset-based community approach views community members as agents of active change, rather than passive receivers or clients, which means that community building begins with what exists in a specific community (Shea, Swan & Pickett, 2019). It involves identifying all the accessible assets in the community, thereafter joining them in ways that multiply their influence and usefulness. There are two models that can be used to resuscitate a community: needs-based or capacity-focused.

A needs-based approach encourages both the community members and the professionals to work around the community members. A needs-based approach bypasses local assets and resources. Furthermore, a needs-based model deprives communities of problem-solving capacities in the area of revival in a specific area or community. Foot's report aptly said, 'Services do not produce outcomes, people do' (Foot & Hopkins, 2010:15). For this reason, a capacity-focused model recognises the skills, talents, and gifts of the community members. When a community is assisted via a capacity-based model, it is basically a bottom-up and inside-out process. It emphasises reliance on internal agents in the community such as community members' institutions and associations. In the case of the minibus industry, this reliance is on the minibus taxi drivers. As pointed out by Turner-Lee

and Pinkett (2004), capacity coordination lies at the inner centre of community development. It is a community revitalisation concept that focuses on enhancing residents' and organisations' ability to act individually and collectively to promote and sustain meaningful community transformation.

Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) concur with this view by indicating that communities have never been built upon their dearth but to build communities should depend on mobilising the capacity and assets of the people and the place. In this case, the focus is not on a place per se but more on the space in the minibus taxi and the space taken up by the minibus taxi industry in urban public areas. The implementation of this approach necessitates a change in attitudes and values and an acceptance of the limits of a needs-based methodology. On a different level, it links well with the Constitution which declares the right of every child to be included in education. Such proposals, with specific reference to White Paper 6 (DBE, 2001) on inclusion, demands a shift in attitudes and values too.

The asset-based approach is community led, spans a longer period of time, and is open-ended. This approach differs from community engagements or consultations that focus on the improvement of services, although it will eventually improve the community and the services. The asset-based approach is a people-centred partnership and is a locally or outcome-based way of working. It is a combined investment of all parties in community development and sustainment of social networks which will convey profits to all partner agencies. Applied to this study, it could bring benefits to the minibus taxi industry and education.

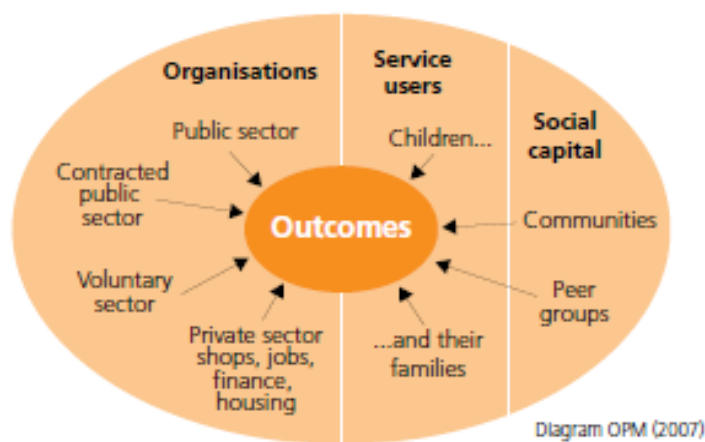


Figure 3.2: Diagrammatic representation of the essentials of the asset-based approach (Source: Foot & Hopkins, 2010)

Referring to Figure 3.2, the asset-based approach gives clear value to the essentials on the right-hand side of the above figure. Recording and evaluating the assets and systems of the minibus taxi industry, minibus taxis, passengers, and the education sector may illustrate how they could or are already contributing. This will inform the co-design of both the support needed to sustain those community assets and the services required to complement them (Foot & Hopkins, 2010). Co-production is complementary and relies on an asset-based approach. The focus is on the delivering of public services (minibus taxi industry, public transport) in an equivalent and give-and-take relationship amid experts, people using the amenities, their families and suburb, township, or communities as the source of valued assets and resources. As an example, the minibus taxi industry should deliver wider social, economic, and environmental outcomes.

The DoE and the Department of Transport want to do more to promote the safety of transporting learners. The ideal is then that they should involve the minibus taxi industry and children and young adults in the design and support system of safe transportation. The values and principles of the asset-based approach, of which leadership and knowledge are key to entrench these ideas, is replicable. In the case of any intervention or process, a key element to determine the success of the asset-based approach is to evaluate the success of the approach. Evaluation is done by generating data via system plotting, demonstrating, gauges, appreciative inquiry as well as by tracing the evolving process and the resolutions taken during the evaluation process. This process and the techniques will be applied and discussed in Chapter 7 (Foot & Hopkins, 2010).

3.4.3 Johari Window model

The Johari Window is a model to improve self-awareness and communication. The motivation for the use of the Johari Window in this study is, firstly, to explain the reason for the research to participants. Secondly, it will be used to determine how the different role players in the minibus taxi industry and education view their respective roles (a comprehensive discussion will be done in Chapter 5), in spite of the fact that some researchers argue that it has restricted possibility and it has trouble in the operational measuring of its two dimensions (Newstrom & Rubenfeld, 1983). However, research done includes the examination of the basic assumptions and variables on which the model was developed (Hall, 1974). There have also been a few studies reporting on the use of the Johari Window to assess learning experiences (Crino & Rubenfeld, 1982, 1983; Holloman,

1973). In addition, other authors have deliberated the possible use of the Johari Window in a range of self-discovery, teaching, and communications circumstances (Lorey, 1979; Newstrom & Rubenfeld, 1983).

Jusztin (2012) conducted research that piqued my interest by considering the views of involvement and inventiveness in tourist supply by developing an alternative Johari model. It looked into creative tourism from the viewpoint of co-creation between tourists and hosts. It gave me the idea to adapt and apply it to this study, hence, to explore and determine the views, relationship, and support given by role players in the minibus taxi industry and education.

Joseph Luft (1916–2014) and Harry Ingham (1916–1995) originally developed this model to describe four types of self. The model enables the opening of communication lines with others. The Johari Window provides a look into how we view ourselves and how others view us (Luft & Ingham, 1955; Luft, 1984). As we get to know others we become more open towards them and we share more information about ourselves with them. I decided to make use of this model to determine the view that minibus taxi drivers have about their role in supporting education. Furthermore, it provides an opportunity to determine the view of schoolchildren and young adults, their parents, and the schools' view towards minibus taxi drivers. In so doing, all role players may develop a better understanding of their respective roles and the support which they can give if they are in a partnership instead of functioning in silos.

The first quadrant of the Johari Window is the known self. This space is the information that you know about yourself and that others know about you. It is the obvious things, for example race, name, height, weight, and so on. It is those things that you tell others about yourself when you introduce yourself to them. This is an area that is very open for all to see and it is information that you want other people to know about you. In the case of minibus taxi drivers, it is what other people see when they use the minibus taxi or any other interaction with the minibus taxi driver.

The second space, the blind-spot self, is the information that others know about you, but you do not know about yourself. An example would be that minibus taxi drivers' behaviour creates anger or frustration with other road users. They might think that they are not problematic but they are. In this space, we deal with issues related to what people say about minibus taxi drivers that they did not or do not know. Here the assets of the minibus taxi

industry and taxi drivers come to the fore, for example, being helpful and caring toward children and older people and the positive impact it has on others but which the minibus taxi driver does not realise.

The third space in the quadrant is the hidden self. The hidden area contains all the information that we do not want other people to know about us. It is that hidden space of feelings, insecurities, and not-so-great experiences; it is private information. Applied to this study, it might be the reasons why minibus taxis are aggressive in their behaviour, reasons why they became minibus tax drivers or, on the other hand, that they are friendly and helpful but do not show it.

The last space on the quadrant is the unknown self, which is neither known to the individual nor other people. It could be abilities and potentials that you have not yet discovered about yourself. An example could be that a minibus taxi driver might be a great salesperson or customer service representative but, for now, the minibus taxi driver does not know whether they have that ability or not. Furthermore, we might argue, the unknown self supports the testimony of individuals who discover things regarding themselves that they did not understand previously because the discovery happened, for example, during sessions of psychoanalysis (Rotaru, Nitulescu & Balas, 2010).

In the process of combining this information from the different quadrants, the spaces may grow or move from one pane to the next as the individual develops mutual trust, shares hopes and dreams, and finds similarities and things in common. People understand their differences and start to trust and share more information with each other as role players in the same community or space, which might lead to mutually enhancing individual awareness and understanding and ultimately lead to a possible partnership between the minibus taxi drivers and schools. As an arena becomes bigger in proportion, the probability for better quality interactions rise. The model is thought to be dynamic; the window pane may change in size as a product of more or less knowledge by one or the other party. The two ways it can happen are the exposure of useful information to other people in an open manner, which was previously unknown to them and which will then reduce the size of the hidden window pane, or if, on purpose, an individual takes action to obtain the reactions and feelings of others, which may lead to the shrinking of the formerly unknown to oneself and the decrease of the blind spot. These processes require energy and effort on the part of one or both parties (Newstrom & Rubenfeld, 1983)

Table 3.2: Johari Window representing minibus taxi drivers and other role players in education

		Known to drivers	Not known to drivers
Known to schools and learners		<p>KNOWN</p> <p>Basic transport (makes money and users get a service) Not really focused on education as such</p>	<p>BLIND SPOT</p> <p>Taxi drivers are ‘blind’ meaning not aware that they have a role to support education and schools are not aware that they can support minibus taxi drivers</p>
	Not known to schools and learners	<p>HIDDEN</p> <p>Unforeseen events or accidents, value system, culture, lack of patience, lack of consideration, bending and breaking the law and – getting away with it.</p>	<p>UNKNOWN</p> <p>Find out via research, support schools as follow</p>

3.5 Aligning the study via this theoretical framework and model

Keeping in mind the framework, the objective of the thesis, and the research questions, this study is situated within a constructionist epistemology and the theoretical views of space production and asset-based theories. The focus of the study is to understand the views that people hold on important parts of their social–political lives, which, in this case, is the minibus taxi industry, such as why minibus taxi drivers, their passengers, and schools view the conceived, perceived, and lived-in space in the manner they do. Constructionism concentrates on the social building of meaning and, therefore, this study is well-matched with a constructionist epistemology (Creswell, 2014; Gray, 2009; Subbiah, 2016). Furthermore, the asset-based model links to social constructionism which states that individual development cycles are enhanced by shared constructive activity in the social setting (minibus taxi industry and education sector). The social setting is also enhanced by the development activity of the individual, in this case, the minibus taxi drivers, learners, teachers, parents, and educators. United constructive action refers to the building of ‘social constructions’, which include social interactions, social events, shared physical artefacts,

shared social aims and initiatives, and shared cultural norms and traditions. Hence, social constructionism is a suitable structure to identify the assets of the minibus taxi sector. Social constructionism may advance the interests of minibus taxi drivers and learners to support education and develop the interests and needs of the minibus taxi and education communities (Shaw, 1995). As pointed out by Lefebvre (2002), pedagogy should be viewed more broadly. Bearing today's concept of a 'public pedagogy' in mind, it does not only need to be formal teaching in a classroom as learning happens through a range of social practices and surroundings, in this case, the minibus taxi space, encompassing all experiences, processes, or practices that influence learning, Lefebvre's notion of the pedagogical was built on Marx's precept that human beings are historical and, as such, its historicity is intrinsic to them, therefore, it produces and is produced; it creates a world and it also creates itself (Lefebvre, 2002).

Placing a research project within constructionism and production of space places a particular focus on the space in which the research takes place. Space is a social product (Tonkiss, 2005). Furthermore, the space has a 'community' which functions in that space which can be viewed on a needs basis or assets-based basis. The latter is the focus because the purpose of this study is to explore the views that participants have about each other (minibus taxi drivers, learners, schools, and parents) (Strang, 2015). The Johari Window was used to explain the space each human finds themselves in and at the same time, it is used to explain the goal of the research project. The Johari Window was developed to improve communication. When we communicate, we use different concepts/constructs to get our message across or to understand other individuals. The reality is due to the different backgrounds, cultures, languages, and religions that we construct differently in expressing our views related to the minibus taxi drivers.

3.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I utilised the collection of information to place my investigation inside a theoretical framework. I discussed the production of space and the asset-based theories which informed the study. In association with these theories, I discussed the Johari Window model. I also used the opportunity to discuss the difference between a theory and a model. In addition, I provided a motivation for the use thereof. Relying on the literature discussed above, the choice for these theories and the model seemed to be appropriate theoretical frameworks to strengthen my study and to analyse and explain the views of all role players

involved in the minibus taxi industry to ultimately support education, as this is the emphasis of my study. In addition, by using constructionism and the theoretical perspectives mentioned above, I thought it was appropriate to employ an interpretive strategy to generate data in order to respond to the study's focus and give data relevant to answering the research questions posed. This method added an interactive component to data collection while also allowing for a wide range of data to be collected from a large number of participants in a variety of contexts. This strategy also allowed for the generation of qualitative data. The architecture of the research project was developed to minimise the cost of the methods used while also providing strategies for generating data dedicated to answering the questions posed in the research project. In the following chapter, I will discuss the research project's design as well as the methodology (Hofstee, 2006; Subbiah, 2016).

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I clarified relevant views on theory. I also defined theory and the need for a theoretical framework. Furthermore, I applied the specific theory of production of space and an asset-based approach. The aforementioned is followed by a discussion on the theoretical perspectives and model. A session on the alignment of the study via constructivism follows.

I covered aspects of research design and research methodology in brief in Chapter 1. In this chapter, Chapter 4, the research design and research methodology that informs my study is explained comprehensively. The research design includes the interpretive paradigm which guided my study. Thereafter, I indicate my epistemological and ontological stance. This section is followed by a discussion on the epistemology of constructionism. The research methods constitute the qualitative research approach, purposive sampling, the identification of research sites, research participants, data collection methods, data analysis, trustworthiness, and ethical considerations. In this chapter, I discuss the research methods in detail to substantiate the participants involved in the study and the instruments and procedures I made use of to generate data. The manner in which I analysed the data is also discussed. The chapter concludes with the discussion of the big-tent criteria for qualitative research, which sets a benchmark for the demonstration of high-quality research (Tracy & Hinrichs, 2017). By doing this research, my aim is to attempt to develop knowledge, investigate, and explain the impact of and the relationship between the minibus taxi industry and education stakeholders.

4.2. Research design

4.2.1 *Research paradigm (interpretivism)*

To make research information logical and to change it into data, the researcher uses a set of epistemological assumptions, namely paradigms, that are used to interpret reality (Maree & Van der Westhuizen, 2009). In educational research, epistemological assumptions are sometimes called traditions or how the research evidence might be understood. The adherence to a specific paradigm holds a kind of agreement about what does or should

count as ‘normal’ research (Briggs, Coleman & Morrison, 2014). In the process of doing research, Creswell (2014) identifies two components, namely philosophical assumptions and methods and approaches. The methods and approaches are linked to the philosophical assumptions but the philosophical assumptions are largely hidden; nonetheless, they do influence the research process.

A paradigm is defined by Somekh and Lewin (2005) as an approach to analysis that provides a unifying framework of understanding of knowledge, truth, values, and therefore the nature of being. A philosophical worldview is a basic set of beliefs that guide action and is the term used by Creswell and Creswell (2018) to refer to paradigms. They concur that philosophical ideas may remain hidden in research but still influence the practice of research and need to be identified (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). These are beliefs about the nature of reality and being and the way the researcher takes in the world (ontology); beliefs about the nature and process to study and acquire knowledge (epistemology); beliefs about the method and procedure of research (methodology, which includes the purpose, approach or methods); and beliefs about the role and place of values and judgement in the research process (axiology) (Tirado Taipe, 2019).

This study will be situated within an interpretivist paradigm. Interpretivism lends itself to qualitative research with the main focus being an interest in people and also the manner that they interrelate, what they think, how they create concepts concerning the world and the way their worlds are made (Creswell, 2008; Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Henning, Van Rensburg & Smit, 2004; Maree & Van der Westhuizen, 2009; Thomas, 2013). The interpretivist paradigm is, therefore, appropriate for this study, as I want to understand all the role players involved in the taxi industry and explore their views relating to the education of learners.

As suggested by Thomas (2013), interpretivism allows me to use my own interests, understanding and experience from working in an education district and schools in a Gauteng township to help interpret the views and behaviour of others. Through the interaction with learners, principals, school governing body (SGB) members and taxi drivers by means of interviews and questionnaires, I will be able to gain insight in to their views regarding the minibus taxi industry, their feelings, ideas, thoughts, and actions as heard or observed in the taxi industry and in education.

According to Bailey (2007), interpretivism is focused on understanding the subjective world of human experiences. It emphasises individuals' definitions and understanding of the phenomenon. The interpretative paradigm is grounded on the premise that human beings create meaning in their worlds through interaction with other human beings. This connects with the idea of the theoretical framework of the study which tries to comprehend the space in and around minibus taxis. Furthermore, it attempts to identify assets that may contribute or address challenges experienced in education, specifically at the schools identified to be part of the research.

De Vos, Strydom, Fouche & Delpont (2005) are of the view that the interpretivist paradigm might help the researcher to understand how people make sense of the context in which they are making a living. Translated to my study, this means that I am looking at the role of minibus taxi drivers making a living by transporting learners to schools.

The interpretivist interpretative paradigm has the potential to allow the researcher to realise that many times participants' behaviour might be a reply to external stimuli, which might be created by their earlier experiences and the context in which they live and work. In this case, the minibus taxis being used for transportation. The behaviour of people making use of minibus taxi transportation is observable. It can be viewed both separately and as a member of groups and society. Furthermore, their behaviour can be understood in the way in which individuals operate, perceive, synthesise, evaluate, and respond to changing environmental issues, of which minibus taxis are a suitable example (Altman, Wohlwill & Everett, 1981). Hence, it might be applicable in my research to determine certain external factors that might influence the views and behaviour of learners, parents and schools about minibus taxi drivers as a result of their attitude and behaviour. In addition, it may provide the reasons for minibus taxi drivers' attitudes and behaviour. The drivers may behave in the manner they do because passengers treat them without respect or because of the harsh environment in which they work – they operate in survivalist mode (Subbiah, 2016; Tirado Taipe, 2019).

4.2.2 Epistemology of constructionism

I want to understand the views held by minibus taxi drivers, learners, and schools, and their role in supporting education. Thus, the possible partnerships, on which not much research has been done, are the reason that I decided on constructivism combined with interpretivism. Constructivists are defined as individuals who seek to understand the world

in which they live and work. As indicated by Creswell (2014), individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences, which are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories, for example, recapitalisation, violence, aggressive driving behaviour of drivers, and so on of the minibus taxi industry. It is for this reason that I relied on the participants' views to construct the meaning of learners, parents, and schools regarding the experiences they had with minibus taxi drivers, but I also wanted to determine the experiences the minibus taxi drivers had with their passengers and other road users. I also recognised that my own experiences with minibus taxis and the drivers influenced my interpretations of the research process. In the course of my interpretation of all these views and meanings, I may have developed patterns of meaning (Creswell, 2014).

Crotty (1998) has pointed out the following assumptions regarding constructivism, namely that human beings construct meaning as they get involved in the world they interpret. People deal with their world and understand it based on its historical and social perspectives, and the basic generation of meaning is always social and arises inside and outside of interaction with a human community. This relates well with the perceived, conceived, and lived space of Lefebvre (Middleton, 2014). Constructivists agree that people are trying to find knowledge of the world in which they stay and work. According to them, individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences – meanings relating to certain objects or things. Hence, the constructivist paradigm's ontology is relativism. In the case of this study about minibus taxis, the variety of meanings, emotions, culture, and history linked to minibus taxis and the minibus taxi industry in South Africa are manifold.

4.2.3 Epistemological and ontological stance

I posed my research questions in Chapter 1. Thus, I had to explain my theoretical perspective, epistemological, and ontological considerations before I constructed the data to responded to the research questions. In the process of posing a problem and coming to a conclusion about it, I had to take certain actions. Careful thought had to be given to this action and process to ensure that the study carries weight and is credible (Hofstee, 2006). The epistemology I used is constructivism combined with interpretivism. In the process, a qualitative approach has been used. It is relevant to investigate behaviour and attitudes to eventually interpret them from the point of view of ordinary people going about their everyday activities involving minibus taxis and schools. A qualitative approach also relates

well to Lefebvre's elaboration on Marx's work, saying that man creates the human world and through the act of production produces himself. He does not simply produce things, implements, or goods, he also produces history and situations. Thus, man creates human nature (Creswell, 2014; Middleton, 2016; Subbiah, 2016).

My ontological approach is interpretivist. The ontological element which represents knowledge of social reality and which I want to investigate and interpret is the phenomenon of views. Views are located in different people, in this case, my individual view about minibus taxi drivers, the views of learners and schools regarding minibus taxi drivers, and the minibus taxi drivers' views about learners and schools. The very nature and essence of my view was just like the majority of society. The fact that I am part of society which labels minibus taxi drivers as problematic, aggressive, and selfish in their daily behaviour on the roads posed a challenge for me to conceptualise them in a different manner.

4.3 Research methodology

4.3.1 Qualitative research approach

Research approaches are the plans and procedures for research which explain the steps from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation. It is a way of handling the investigation. The advantage of applying the qualitative approach is that it is ideal for exploring and understanding the meaning that individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. Furthermore, it is a holistic approach that involves discovery (Creswell, 2008; Williams, 2007). This approach was needed to collect data in the participants' setting after which the data analysis was done in an inductive manner, building from particulars to general themes. I was able to interpret the data, make individual meaning, and interpret the importance of reporting the complexity of the situation, in this case, the very complex minibus taxi industry and the space taken up by them. For these reasons, I decided it would be appropriate to use a qualitative approach, not only to explore and understand the role minibus taxi drivers can play to support education but also to understand the views of all the role players involved in the taxi industry. These situations are typical of everyday life of individuals, groups, societies, and organisations. Thus, I was interested in gaining a multifaceted understanding of role players within the minibus taxi industry's experiences and not merely in obtaining information (Briggs, Coleman & Morrison, 2014; Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The qualitative

approach was conducted with the involvement of purposively selected learners, parents, SGBs, school principals, and taxi drivers who were interviewed in focus groups.

4.3.2 Case studies

A research design refers to the overarching plan for the collection, measurement and analysis of data (Gray, 2004; McMillian & Schumacher, 1993). The stance of De Vos, Strydom, Fouche and Delport (2005) is that definitions of research design for qualitative approaches are ambiguous. This confusion regarding the definitions of research design is aptly addressed by Rubin and Babbie (2001). According to them, a research design has two connotations. First, it refers to various logical arrangements from which one or various arrangements will be selected. Secondly, it deals with the act of planning the study in its broadest sense, which suggests all the choices we tend to build in planning the study, as well as the kind of design, sampling, sources, and procedures for collection data, measurement challenges, and data analysis plans.

An argument from Patton (1990) is that qualitative inquiry designs, which I used for this study on the views around minibus taxis, cannot be completely specified in advance of data generation. He indicates that the design will specify an initial focus but he suggests that as the fieldwork unfolds it leads to the unfolding of a qualitative approach. The main purpose of a research design according to Yin (2009) is to avoid the situation in which the evidence does not address the initial research questions. Thus, a research design deals with a logical problem and not a logistical problem. It made me realise that I could not deal with one minibus taxi driver or one school because it would not construct validity and reliability. It would create a flaw in my research design as it had to do with relationships and partnerships and the collaborative or competitive nature in terms of the views held by the different role players in the minibus taxi industry.

I decided to make use of case studies. The following components are of importance:

- a) The study's questions, which were discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, where the main focus was to explain and describe the views held by all role players about minibus taxi drivers.
- b) Study propositions for this study show how the minibus taxi industry can support education.

- c) The unit of analysis for this study was the three schools, the SGBs, Grade 6 and 12 learners, and parents of autistic learners.
- d) The linking of data to propositions and criteria for interpreting the findings, pattern matching (Cao, 2007) and themes from focus group interviews and questionnaires.

I regard multiple case studies as the most appropriate research design for my study owing to my research questions which I posed in Chapter 1 (Strang, 2015). I did not have control over the actual behaviour of the participants or the environment in which the participants find themselves, thus the focus is on the contemporary. My research questions sought to explain and understand, in depth, the present circumstances in the minibus industry and education. As a research method, a case study is used in many situations to contribute to our knowledge of individual, group, organisational, social, political, and other related phenomena (Yin, 2009). The phenomenon that I investigated in this study was the views of various stakeholders on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education. It allowed me, as the researcher, to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events as they happened with and within minibus taxis. In addition, the case study design's unique strength lies in its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence. In this study, this includes documents, semi-structured group interviews, critical group discussions, questionnaires, and observations. Multiple case studies were used to investigate the different views held by the various role players (minibus taxi drivers and schools). The use of multiple cases provides the opportunity for a robust study, which strengthens the findings compared to a single case alone (Yin, 2009).

Below are graphical representations of the following sites:

School A – School for LSEN (ASD-spectrum) learners

School B – Primary School

School C – Girls High School

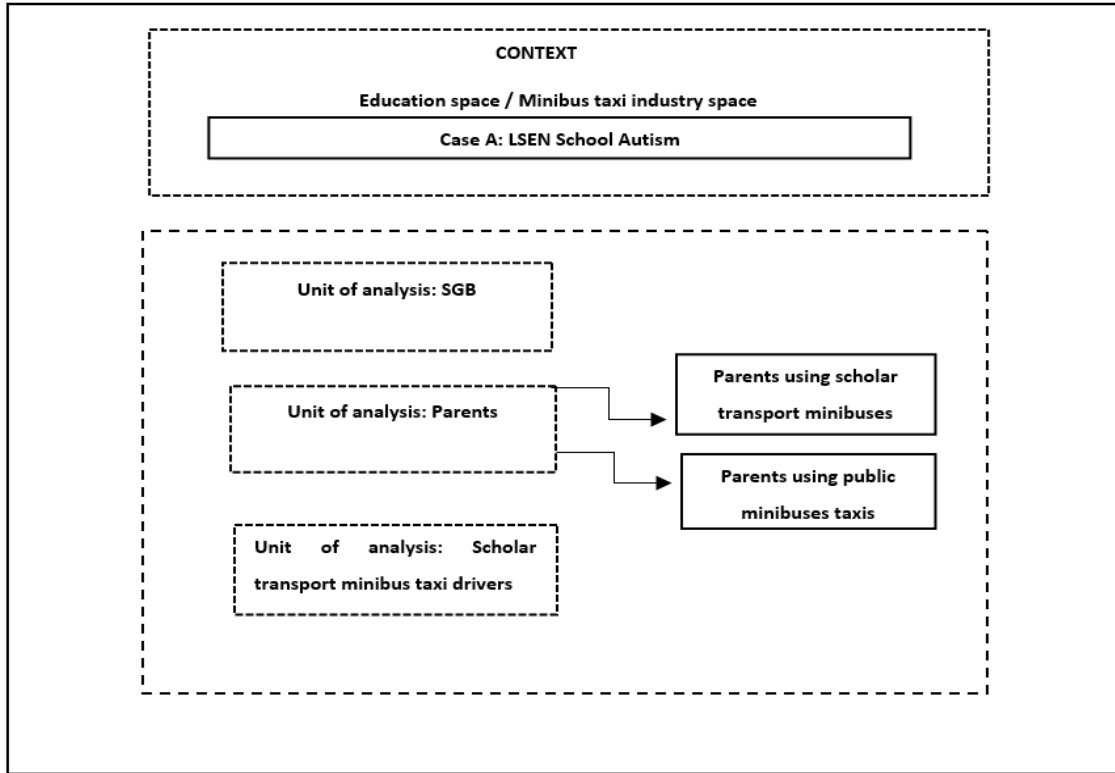


Figure 4.1: Schematic representation of Site A: LSEN School – ASD Learners (Adapted from Yin, 2009)

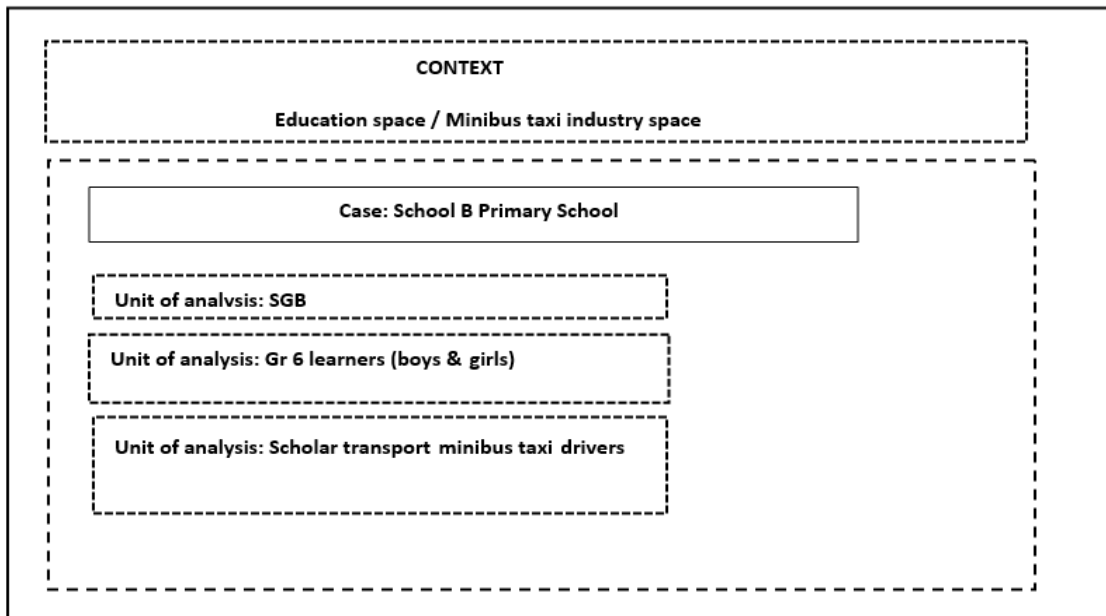


Figure 4.2: Schematic representation of Site B – Primary School (Adapted from Yin, 2009)

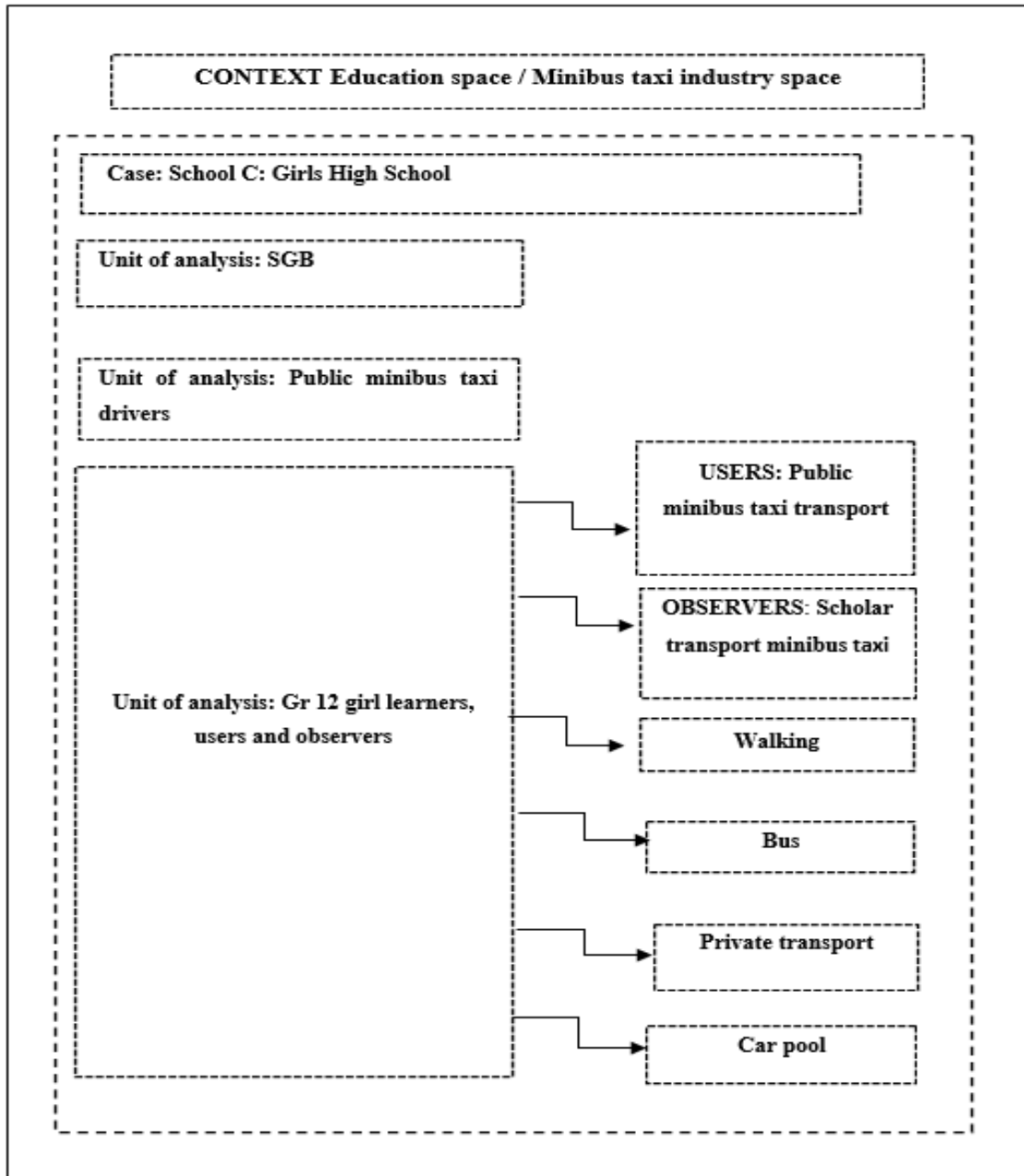


Figure 4.3: Schematic representation of Site C: Girls High School (Adapted from Yin, 2009)

Below are graphical representations of the following cases:

Cases 1 and 2 include the data of the adults namely drivers, SGB members and parents of learners on ASD spectrum and Case 3 includes the data of the learners namely the users and non-users (observers):

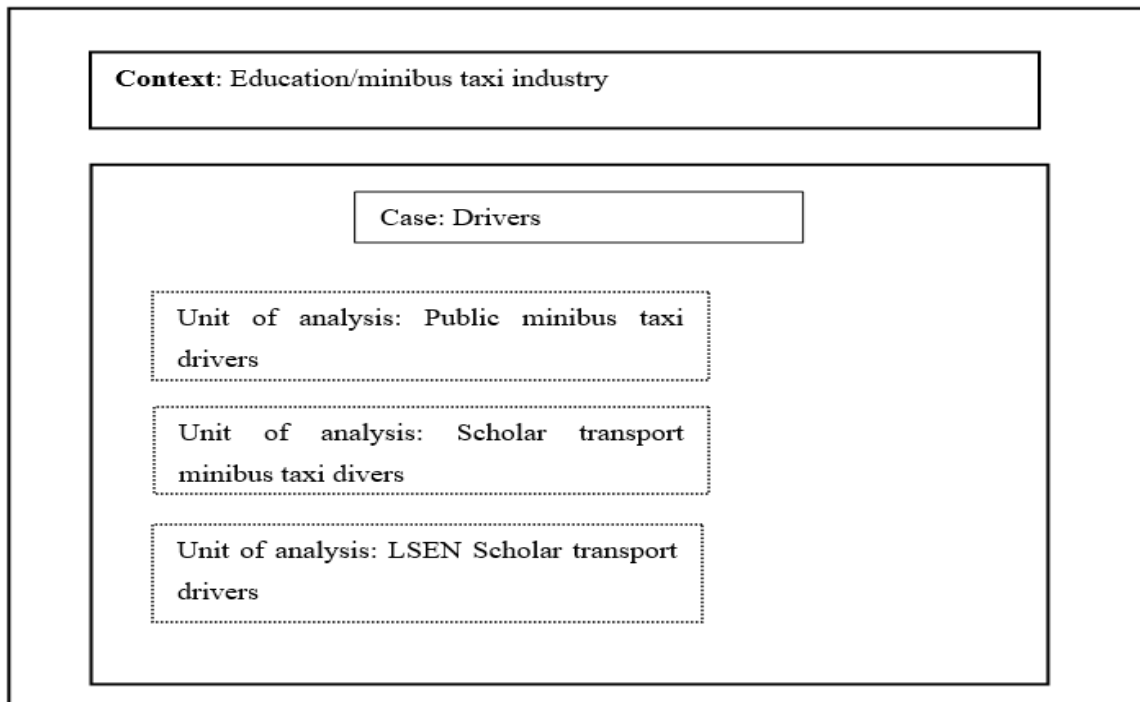


Figure 4.4: Schematic representation of Case 1: Drivers (Adapted from Yin, 2009)

The schematic representation below, Figure 4.12 is of Case 2: SGBs and parents of ASD learners:

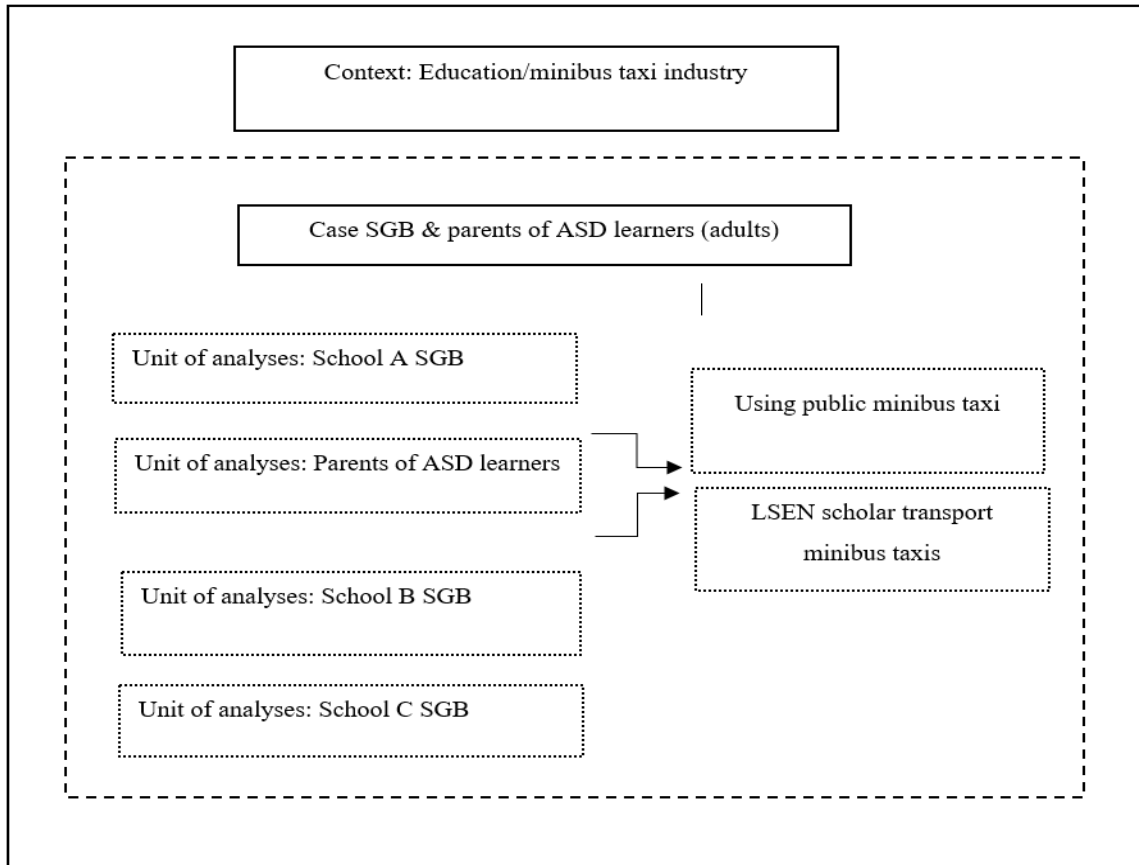


Figure 4.5: Case 2: SGBs and parents of ASD learners (Adapted from Yin, 2009)

The schematic representation below, Figure 4.13 is of Case 3: Learners from the primary school and the high school for girls (users and non-users (observers)):

|

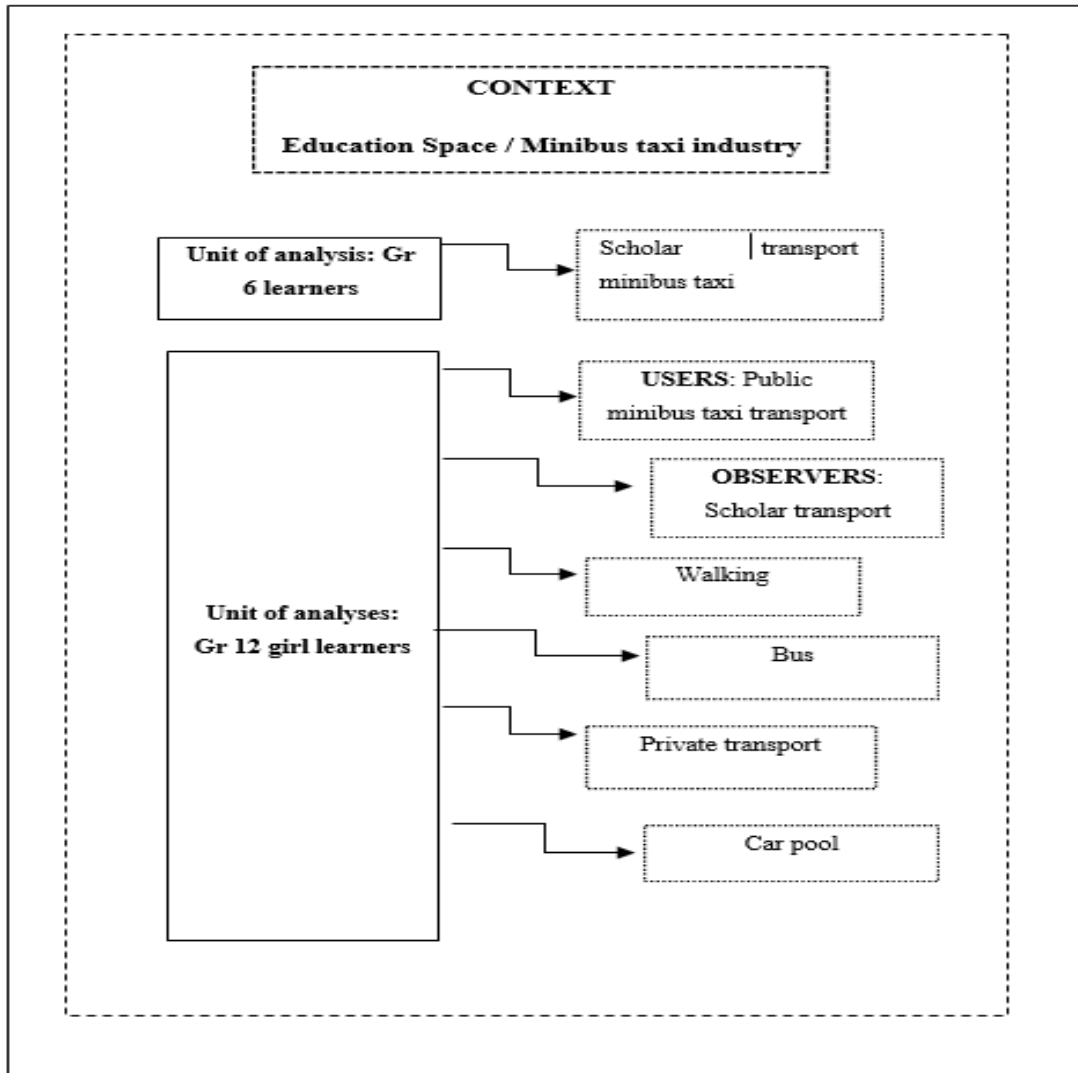


Figure 4.6: Case 3: Learners from the primary school and the high school for girls (users and non-users) (Adapted from Yin, 2009)

4.3.3 Conceptual understanding of research planning applying crystallisation

I used triangulation as a catalyst in the ontological shift to crystallisation. Thus, objective knowledge approaches were not rejected but embraced as the basis of this study. On the way to addressing subjective judgement in the process of collecting data, I consulted multiple sources of evidence (literature review, studying of documentation, focus group interviews, questionnaires with different role players at different schools, direct observation, and participant observation). Hence, it was not only my personal impressions as a researcher that I used (Stewart, Gapp & Harwood, 2017).

Crystallisation is supported by the interpretive paradigm. It develops and builds social construction through multiple sources of evidence. Furthermore, the process of moving from the linear to the crystallised research design gives the researcher scope to raise consciousness. The crystal imagery offers asymmetry, substance, and synergy. With this research design, unlimited opportunities and potential were created to achieve rich accounts of social episodes at the same time as recognising the complexities included the undetectable accounts (Stewart et al., 2017). In addition, crystallisation accepts the multidimensionality of qualitative research enabling it to reflect external views and swerve internal views while at the same time giving way to the limitations of these same views (Stewart et al., 2017). Applied to this study, the interpretive view explains the context (space of the minibus taxi) and how people acted and behaved in it (minibus taxi drivers and passengers, geographical space taken up by the minibus taxi industry) whilst acknowledging the limited view towards minibus taxi drivers and proposing quality in the qualitative process (Stewart et al., 2017). According to Neuman (2013) in Stewart et al., (2017), a researcher normally maintains a constant paradigmatic position. In his view, this is essentially who we are as individuals. As he explains, a researcher's methodology is rooted in their paradigm. Furthermore, I have accepted the interpretive lens, which became a constant to explore and investigate phenomena, in this case, views (Hofstee, 2006; Neuman, 2013 in Stewart et al., 2017). The deeper one takes this interpretive exploration and interaction, the better placed the researcher is to push understanding and sense making (Stewart et al, 2017).

Crystallisation can also encourage boundary bridging of methods (Ellingson, 2009). This is done by building on the work of qualitative researchers predominantly outside the field of education. This point is relevant to this study because of the limited research done on minibus taxis, particularly when linked to education. I had to consider quantitative and qualitative research studies done in the fields of engineering, transport, psychology, and anthropology.

Borkan (1999) expounds on crystallisation to emphasise the entanglement of the self in the process. By using crystallisation, as opposed to triangulation, there is the opportunity for the researcher to immerse themselves through exploration of competing ideas, perceptions, and assumptions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011 in Stewart et al., 2017). Bearing in mind that decisions on appropriate research practices rely on the research questions as well as the social and ethical contexts, planning becomes a crucial aspect of crystallisation in the

context of the study's setting (Patton, 2002 in Stewart et al., 2017). Patton demonstrates the risks of fieldwork and the need to plan with the story of Francis Bacon's (1561–1626) exploration of low temperatures on the delay of the putrefaction of meat. Patton explained that on a snowy day in farmland north of London, Francis Bacon bought a chicken, immediately killed it, and then stuffed it with snow. The coolness of the snow slowed the decay of the dead bird, but Francis Bacon died on month later from bronchial sickness brought on by the great cold he encountered during his spontaneous research. This deadly situation emphasizes the need for researchers to embody their research from the beginning in order to effectively capture the subject matter in their natural surroundings while simultaneously minimizing danger and applying ethical principles (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008 in Stewart et al., 2017:19).

Doing research on the minibus taxi industry and with minibus taxi drivers, the above-mentioned point was one of my main priorities. The minibus industry is known for violence, intimidation, and mafia-style operations. I had to consider the safety of all the role players who were involved in the study and also my own safety while doing the fieldwork. From the literature I studied, researchers agreed that the most important qualitative tool is the researcher oneself. The qualitative researcher uses compassion, awareness, mindfulness, instinct, and intuition to guide the course and decision-making to develop trustworthiness and credibility, which offers rigour to the study. To purposefully separate the self from the data is not possible (Stewart et al., 2017).

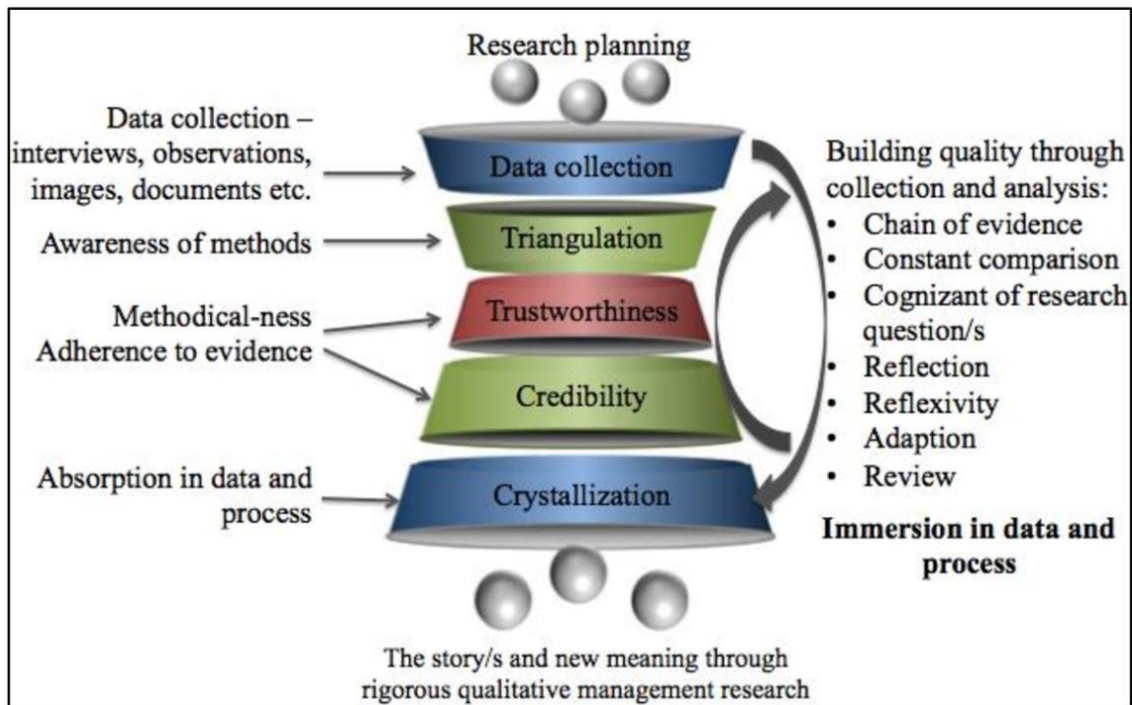


Figure 4.7: Conceptual understanding of research planning applying crystallisation. (Reprinted from Stewart, Gapp & Harwood, 2017)

In the following section, I describe and justify the research sample.

4.3.4 Research sample: Participants and research site

In this section of the research, I discuss and explain the reasons for the research sample that I used for my study. The purpose of this research is to survey the views on minibus taxis drivers using a purposive sample of schools, learners, SGBs, parents, and taxi drivers.

A research sample is a small representation of a whole used by the investigator to study a phenomenon (De Vos, Strydom & Fouche, 2005). Leedy and Ormrod (2005) concur with this stance, emphasising that the sample should be so carefully selected that through it the investigator is able to see all the features of the total population in the same relationship that would be seen were the investigator, in fact, to examine the total population.

The basic rule is that the larger the sample the better, but it would not have been possible for this study to use all the learners, parents, teachers of the identified schools, and taxi drivers operating in this education district – the sample would be too large. It would also have been impossible for me to collect and analyse all the data owing to restrictions of time, financial resources, and access to schools and minibus tax drivers. On the contrary, Henry (1990) argues that using sampling makes possible a higher overall accuracy than

using an entire population. The smaller number of cases for which I needed to collect data meant that more time could be spent on designing and piloting the means of collecting the data. It also meant I could collect data which was more detailed and dedicate more time to trying to obtain data from the more difficult participants, in this case the minibus taxi drivers.

The focus and purpose of this study also determined the size and diversity of the sample method I used. In the process of nonprobability sampling, the researcher has no way of guaranteeing that each element of the population will be represented in the sample. Some members of the population have little or no chance of being sampled. The literature differentiates between three types of nonprobability sampling, namely, convenience sampling, quota sampling, and purposive sampling (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005). I selected three different sets of samples which were the three chosen schools, the learners, SGBs, and the minibus taxi drivers transporting learners to these schools. Purposive sampling was the most appropriate sampling method. As the name implies, participants are chosen for a purpose. Purposive sampling is a method commonly used in qualitative research entrenched in interpretivism for the identification and selection of information-rich cases for the most effective use of limited resources (Patton, 2002) I will provide a rationale, explaining why I selected the particular sample of participants in the next paragraphs.

Purposive sampling consists of identifying and selecting individuals or groups of individuals who are particularly knowledgeable about or experienced with the phenomenon or interest that is being studied (Creswell, 2014). Bearing in mind the focus and purpose of the of the research, I purposively selected schools from opposite sides of the educational district, which covers a 441 square kilometre geographical area in inner city Johannesburg. I decided to include different types of schools that catered for a variety of learner needs and socio-economic areas. The selected schools served as the cases and the sites where the research was conducted. This will be discussed in greater detail in the following paragraphs.

4.3.4.1 Choice of sites

Education holds the promise of a bright future and with that in mind SASA allows parents to enrol learners in whichever school they choose. Unfortunately, the reality is that choice is restricted by competition for places and there are comparatively fewer secondary schools than primary schools which are fee-paying in most areas in the suburban areas, formerly

known as Model C schools (the term Model C is used to describe former Whites-only schools). The majority of poor parents cannot send their children to a school of their choice and have to settle for schools in close proximity of their place of residence or work address. Known as township schools, these schools make up the largest percentage of South African public schools. On the other hand, for parents who can afford higher school fees and higher costs of transport, proximity is far less of a factor (Motala, Dieltiens & Sayed, 2012) in which case they can decide on schools in the Quintile 4 and 5 categories.

Within the basic education system, a differentiation is made between public schools and private or independent schools. It is of importance to distinguish between the difference in terms of the manner in which funds are allocated to these schools according to SASA. It explains the quintile categories and, in many cases, perceived 'better' schools. All public schools have compulsory functions under Section 20. Schools that have this capacity may apply for additional or allocated functions under Section 21. In the case of non-Section 21 schools, the state's allocation is not paid over to the school. The Department sends a paper budget to these schools for consideration. Section 21 schools enjoy far more financial freedom than non-Section 21 schools. Section 21 schools are required to exercise considerable control and management over their finances. The onus is on the school, not the DBE, for fiscal discipline. In the case of Section 21 schools, a differentiation is made between fee-paying and non-fee-paying schools. The majority of suburban or ex-Model C schools are fee-paying schools and the majority of township schools are non-fee-paying schools. The latter schools fall into the Quintile 1 category of schools whereas the ex-Model C schools fall into Quintile 4 and 5 schools. To redress and improve equity, state funding must go to the needs of the poorest, hence each province must rank its schools in the five categories (quintiles) ranging from the poorest 20 per cent to the wealthiest 20 per cent (Bisschoff & Mestry, 2005; National Norms and Standards for School Funding (NNSSF), 1998; Mestry, 2014; SASA, 1996; Ahmed & Sayed, 2009; Sayed & Motala, 2012;). To determine the poorest schools, the following criteria are taken into account: the poverty or wealth levels of the community; the resources of the school; and the income levels of the parents or guardians of learners at the school. The NNSSF seeks to provide the poorest public schools and those in poor physical conditions with a larger resource allocation than the more advantaged schools (Motala, Dieltiens & Sayed, 2012). Bearing the above in mind, it becomes clear that in many cases disadvantaged parents will scrape the little money they have together to transport their children to more affluent schools.

I used Section 21, fee-paying, ex-Model C suburban schools for the research. I chose one primary school, one high school, and one school for LSEs. Even if there are Section 21, non-fee-paying schools in an area, parents tend to send their children from these non-fee-paying schools in disadvantaged areas to Section 21 fee-paying schools to ensure that they receive a ‘better’ education. In their view, it is a ‘better’ education although that is not always the case.

The three schools selected were in the city of Johannesburg, which is divided in 109 wards that form part of a total of 420 wards in the Gauteng province. The three schools that were selected met the following criteria: a) schools had to be accessible; b) learners from the school should use minibus taxis as transport; and c) the schools had to fall into different socio-economic areas in the same educational district.

The schools included in my study were all situated in the Johannesburg East education district, which was one of 15 educational districts in Gauteng. All the identified schools were registered with the DBE. Furthermore, the schools participating in the study were in a radius of 18 km from the education district and Alexandra Township, and 29,8 km from Soweto Township. Learners travelled to these schools using minibus taxis as their main mode of transport. The selected schools are shown in Table 4.1, followed by a discussion about each site.

Table 4.1: Diagrammatic representation of the research sites

SCHOOL	AREA
Primary School	Midrand, Johannesburg (suburb)
Secondary School	Kensington, Johannesburg (inner city)
Special School	Parktown, Johannesburg (inner city)

4.3.4.2 Site 1: LSEN school (for learners with autism), Parktown, Johannesburg

This school is situated in Parktown, which forms part of Johannesburg's most varied regions. Region B comprises some of the wealthiest suburbs of Johannesburg, including Northcliff, Westcliff, Parktown, and Hyde Park, but also some less-wealthy areas, such as Vrededorp, Sophiatown, Brixton, and Riverlea. Deprivation in these areas can generally be delineated as containing ‘pockets of impoverishment’ wherever wealth and poverty live

side by side. This school was included because of the vulnerability of learners with autism. Autism is a complex neuro-behavioural condition that includes social, language, and physical impairments. These learners are dependent on the minibus taxi driver to arrive and depart from school. They are even more vulnerable than mainstream learners and their challenges with this mode of transport should be determined. Learners with autism from the LSEN school were not able to write and answer questions, therefore information was collected from the parents, SGB members, and minibus taxi drivers. This is a multicultural school. There are very few schools for learners with autism in Johannesburg, therefore learners travel quite a distance to attend it.

4.3.4.3 Site 2: Primary school in Noordwyk, Midrand, Johannesburg

Noordwyk is a suburb of Midrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, bordering Olifantsfontein, Tembisa, Fourways, and Diepsloot. It lies between Sandton and Centurion. Noordwyk, Midrand, is home to many young professionals because of its close proximity to the Sandton and Johannesburg business centres and to affordable accommodation. Midrand is a thriving business node. It is located in the Midrand region, formally known as Region 2 of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality. It is 14,8 km from Alexandra Township and 11 km from Ivory Park Township. A primary school should also form part of the study as primary school learners are vulnerable and at risk. They rely on the minibus taxi driver to reach school safely and on time. All the Grade 6 learners in the Intermediate Phase at the primary school were requested to participate. The inclusion of Grade 6 learners centered on the basis that the majority of learners in Grade 6 fall in the age group 12 to 13 years. It is a phase when these learners change from children to adults, and emotional and physical changes occur. These learners begin to act in an independent manner but still need guidance and support from adults. Furthermore, Grade 6 learners have the ability to communicate experiences and opinions in an articulated, expressive, and reflective manner. This school was a multicultural school with Black learners in the majority.

4.3.4.4 Site 3: Secondary school in Kensington, Johannesburg

This school was in the suburb of Kensington, which forms part of Johannesburg's inner city. It is a hilly suburb which was established in 1897. It is bordered to the west by the suburb of Troyeville, a less wealthy area, to the east by Bedfordview, an affluent area, and to the north by Bruma and Cyrildene. This school is 18 km from Alexandra Township and 29,8 km from Soweto. A secondary school was included in the study because older learners

experience different challenges from primary school learners. These learners write final examinations and their transport has a direct impact on their educational performance. All Grade 12 learners in the Further Education and Training Phase at the secondary school were requested to participate. This was an all-girls school and I reasoned that with the high rate of violence against women and children in South Africa, it seemed appropriate to choose this school. Furthermore, it was a multicultural school with learners coming from both disadvantaged and more affluent areas. The majority of these learners made use of public transport to attend the school.

Before I began my fieldwork, I consulted with the principals and SGB chairpersons of the schools. I explained the objective of the research, emphasised that participation would be voluntary, and that all data collected would be kept confidential. This was important due to the taxi industry being known for violence and intimidation. Furthermore, during 2019, high levels of taxi violence took place in the Gauteng area (Mahlokwane, 2019).

In this section of the research, I discuss and explain the reasons for the research sample that I used for my study. The purpose of this research is to survey the views on minibus taxis using a purposive sample of schools, learners, SGBs, and taxi drivers.

4.4 Defining the research sample

4.4.1 Learners

The participants of this study were learners attending the above-mentioned schools. To collect the data, I targeted specific learners, namely all the Grade 6 learners at the primary school and all the Grade 12 learners at the secondary school. These groups of learners included learners who used minibus taxi transportation and learners who did not use minibus taxi transportation. The latter were included because the mere fact that they had to use public roads to get to the school placed them in a space to observe and describe their interaction with minibus taxi drivers on their daily journey to and from school.

In both scenarios, learners would have had experiences with taxis which they could share, but from different perspectives. This provided rich data to use in the study. Grade 6 and Grade 12 learners were able to document their experiences, a process facilitated by the principals of the schools involved in the study.

The inclusion of one special school in Johannesburg to be part of the sample was decided on owing to these learners having autism, making them even more vulnerable than mainstream learners. They were solely dependent on the minibus taxi drivers to reach their school. Because these learners were autistic, data at this school was collected from the SGB which included teachers, the principal, and scholar transport minibus taxi drivers and then also from parents who made use of public minibus taxi and scholar transport minibus taxis. However, the total number of learners from each school (primary and secondary schools) who participated in the study varied.

4.4.2 School Governing Bodies of the three selected schools

According to SASA, SGBs should be elected every three years. This process ensures a uniform system for the organisation and governance of all schools; redresses past injustices; ensures equitable and democratic transportation in education; develops people's talents and capabilities; and facilitates community involvement in the education of the country's children. Furthermore, according to SASA, SGBs are statutory bodies which stand in a position of trust at the schools (DoE, 2012).

An SGB is constituted of elected members, namely the principal by virtue of their official capacity and co-opted members. The elected members of the SGB include the following people: parents or guardians of learners at the school; educators at the school; learners in Grade 8 and above; and members of staff who are not educators (SASA, 1996).

The SGB of a special school should be composed in the same manner as a mainstream school but may include, where applicable, representatives of parents of learners with special education needs, funding bodies, organisations of disabled persons, disabled persons, and specialists in related fields of special needs education (DoE, 2012). As a result, the structure is representative of the school community. For this reason, they provided valuable input during the focus group interview and completion of the questionnaires. The number of members on the SGB varies according to the number of learners in the school but should not exceed 12 members.

4.4.3 Minibus taxi drivers transporting learners

A group of public minibus taxi drivers and scholar transport minibus drivers transporting learners to the specific schools were identified. The focus of the group interview was to

collect data from minibus taxi drivers directly. Furthermore, I chose to contact the drivers directly and not by means of the minibus taxi associations. The associations might have dictated which minibus taxi drivers I should interview and I wanted to hear unbiased views on their role as minibus taxi drivers, without it being tainted or manipulated by other parties. Due to general internal politics of the minibus taxi industry, it is guarded and rarely divulges information to outsiders. The endeavour to gain access to drivers willing to discuss their daily work and views of the industry in an unbiased manner if one was to get access to unfiltered information was therefore paramount.

The following table is a summary of the participants.

Table 4.2: Diagrammatic representation of the research participants

LEARNERS	PRINCIPAL & SGB	MINIBUS TAXI DRIVERS
156 Grade 6 learners	08 SGB members	10 minibus taxi drivers transporting learners to the school
181 Grade 12 learners	16 SGB members	10 minibus taxi drivers transporting learners to the school
0 ASD learners but 10 parents of ASD learners	10 SGB members & parents	5 minibus taxi drivers transporting learners to the school 5 scholar transport drivers transporting learners to school

4.5 Formal and informal methods of contact

4.5.1 Informal ways of contact

Since the study revolves around minibus taxi drivers, I was aware of the negative connotation linked to them and the minibus taxi industry. They can be very violent and intimidating. I had to convince the identified sample (school communities and minibus taxi drivers) to be involved. I made use of formal and informal ways to get access to the participants. I made telephonic contact with the principals of the schools and made an appointment to discuss the research. The school principal was the accounting officer of the school, according to SASA, therefore I decided to make them my entrance point into the school. It was only after I had received permission from the DBE and UP to go ahead with

the study that I visited the school and explained in detail what the study was about and what the end goal was to the principal. I asked them to discuss it with their SGB chairperson. After I received positive feedback from the principals, I submitted the formal request for the school principal and SGB to participate in the study.

4.5.2 Formal ways of contact

The SGB minuted the decision. Thereafter, I sent the letters of consent to the parents via the schools. I experienced a certain amount of gatekeeping, which is understandable because children are involved and the principals wanted to protect them.

4.6 Data collection strategies

Methods are instruments or specific research techniques employed in the construction and analysis of data (Sarantakos, 2012). Hence, I used them to operationalise the research process by connecting the key concepts in the research question with the phenomena that I studied. Generally, this linkage is done by constructing measuring instruments such as questionnaires, scales, indices, tests or observation schedules in which items are formulated to define the variables (Mouton, 1996). Case studies combine a multiplicity of data collection methods, namely observation, interviews, questionnaires, and archives (Briggs, Coleman & Morrison, 2014) which are ideal methods to ensure the safety of participants. I decided to use focus group interviews, critical discussions, questionnaires and observation to ensure that the data gathering was systematic and would provide a permanent record of what took place. Gray (2009) also recommends a variety of methods, starting with a research diary.

4.6.1 Research diary

A research diary, which is kept throughout the research project, can provide an accurate account of events, dates, and people. It is further useful in giving an *aide-memoire* of short notes for future reflection and a detailed representation of events to provide a concentrated description for later reports. It can also provide a reflective account through which the researcher makes tentative interpretations of events. These thoughts include a record of personal feelings and anxieties in an effort to understand them and also to explain how it influenced the research process. Lastly, it can be used as an analytical tool that could contain a framing of the original research focus and a provisional analysis of the data as it

is gathered (Gray, 2009). It should assist in the process of linking information to draw conclusions and make recommendations. I kept a research journal explaining my personal reactions and reflections regarding the research.

4.6.2 Observation

For the purpose of this study, I took the role of participant observer. Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill (2007) categorise the type of data generated by participant observation as ‘primary observation’. In my study, I documented what happened or what was said during the focus group interviews. I also used ‘secondary observations’, which are statements of the observant of what happened or what was said, and ‘experiential data’, that is, data on my perceptions and feelings that I experienced during the research process and my daily experiences of minibus taxis on the road.

4.6.3 Focus group interviews

Qualitative research provides the opportunity to use focus group interviews to describe the challenges experienced in the taxi industry, and the impact it has and the role it plays, which can then be used as the basis for further research and guidelines (Bui, 2014). Du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis and Bezuidenhout (2014) describe focus group interviews as group interviews used to determine the attitudes, behaviour, preferences, and dislikes of participants who are interviewed simultaneously by the researcher. Focus group interviews were conducted with the SGBs of the various schools and with the taxi drivers.

The motivation for the use of focus group interviews was to give me the opportunity to have discussions with the minibus taxi drivers and to get an understanding of their opinions about their possible roles in education. This method also allowed them an opportunity to debate the statements and opinions expressed by others in the group. While doing the group interviews, the participants could learn from each other, which could have led to solutions to the challenges experienced in the relationship between education and minibus taxis.

The taxi drivers’ focus groups were made up of twelve taxi drivers and me, the facilitator of the process (Descombe, 2010). Broad questions and themes were identified in advance, which linked to the research questions. These questions were used to facilitate discussions between the taxi drivers. The focus groups were conducted in a natural and unstructured way to give the taxi drivers the opportunity to express their views and opinions about the

topic in a free environment (Du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis & Bezuidenhout, 2014). I used the same process for the focus group interviews with the SGBs of the identified schools. The SGB interviews took place as per their SGB management plan (SASA, 1996) in the evenings and therefore did not disrupt the formal school programme.

Another reason for doing focus group interviews is that they are time and cost effective. Audio recordings were made with the permission of the participants to be used for analysis (Gray, 2009; Maree & Van der Westhuizen, 2009). The focus group interview was ideal, bearing in mind that taxi drivers' livelihoods depended on using the time they had to do as many trips as possible in a specific period of time, and learners and teachers were bound to their timetables to complete the curriculum in an allocated period (Du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis & Bezuidenhout, 2014). There must be respect for the site (school) and the schedules of taxi drivers. Disruption should be limited. Gray (2009) indicates that focus group interviews are useful in engaging the commitment of people, especially in circumstances where there is cynicism or hostility towards the research theme. This is highly applicable when it comes to the feelings and attitudes that people have towards minibus taxi drivers and the taxi industry. Minibus taxi drivers are perceived as very hostile and aggressive.

Semi-structured questionnaires were used to guide the focus group interview sessions with the drivers. As Gray (2009) has indicated, most people find verbal communication easier than using the written word and questionnaires demand a certain level of literacy in the language used. For this reason, the questionnaires were used at the focus group interviews. The interviewer had the opportunity to explain the questions and clarify answers given by the interviewees. Two of the older drivers who were driving for the LSEN school indicated that I should write their responses as they did not feel comfortable writing the responses themselves.

A group of public minibus taxi drivers were identified in Johannesburg as possible participants. All the taxi drivers interviewed were male. The focus of the group interview was to collect data from minibus taxi drivers. I chose to contact the drivers directly and not by means of the minibus taxi associations, since the associations might have dictated which minibus taxi drivers I should interview and I wanted to hear unbiased views on their role as minibus taxi drivers without it being tainted or manipulated by other parties. Owing to general internal politics, the minibus taxi industry guarded and rarely divulged information to outsiders. The endeavour to gain access to drivers willing to discuss their daily work and

views of the industry in an unbiased manner, if one was to get access to unfiltered information, was therefore paramount.

I tried more than once to approach minibus taxi drivers and request their participation in the research but they viewed the research with suspicion. During one of my attempts, I approached a group of drivers at a shopping mall in Johannesburg. On that day it was quiet and the drivers were sitting around doing nothing due to a lack of passengers because of lockdown and strict COVID-19 legislation. I thought it would be an ideal time to do my interviews. I stopped and walked over to the area where the drivers were parked. I asked one of the drivers who was walking away from the group of drivers and his vehicle if there was a queue marshal to whom I could speak. The queue marshal was on lunch. I explained to him that I was busy with research, At the same time, a few drivers who were sitting and talking in one of the vehicles took note of me. I could see that the fact that I spoke to this driver got their attention. They got out of their vehicles. One driver got out of his vehicle and, in my line of view but just behind the taxi, relieved himself. I turned my back to him as I spoke to the other driver, who, at the same time, moved closer to the other drivers and vehicles, forcing me to walk with him. I ended the conversation and left. I felt very uncomfortable, unsafe, and disrespected. It was not a safe space for me to be.

After numerous unsuccessful attempts to interview minibus taxi drivers on my own, I requested an African female colleague to accompany me to interview the minibus taxi drivers in their mother tongue. The general mood of the taxi drivers at the first introduction was that of caution. The drivers identified a specific taxi driver as the person who would discuss the interview process and also gave permission for it to take place. After the initial introduction, the taxi drivers were accommodating and indicated that the most appropriate time would be the next morning. The minibus taxi drivers gathered in a circle and the fieldworker explained the reason for the research. The group of drivers were Tshwane, Zulu, and Tshivenda men. They were in agreement that they would speak in isiZulu for the purpose of the focus group interview. Using isiZulu was acknowledged in a positive manner by the taxi drivers and they were positive in their participation. My colleague and I were the only women present. Our meeting did not go unnoticed. A White woman walked passed the area and called one of the drivers over to find out what I, a White woman, was doing there. He explained to her and she left. When he returned to the group, I asked him what the White woman asked. He laughed and said she asked the same question about me. It emphasised how much suspicion minibus taxi drivers are viewed with by the public.

Furthermore, it highlighted a racial connotation as to which population groups generally use minibus taxis.

The time of the group interview was a Tuesday morning at around 09:00. This was after the drivers had dropped their passengers off for work. It followed one of the peak working times of the day. The area where these taxi drivers waited for the next peak working hour was an open area of land in Johannesburg. There were no ablution facilities on the property nor was there running water or a shady area to sit. The taxi drivers sat or slept in their vehicles, socialised in groups, or cleaned and washed their vehicles with water they had brought along in containers. It was a period of idle time for them, awaiting the opportunity to again be active with transporting.

The socio-political space in which this focus group interview took place was during the COVID-19 pandemic. It had an enormous, negative impact on the South African economy and specifically on the minibus taxi industry in South Africa. Economic activity slowed dramatically and the minibus taxis were not allowed to transport passengers at full capacity which, in turn, led to minibus taxi drivers and operators not receiving their normal income. It also brought the ‘burden’ of buying masks, hand sanitiser, and mandatory sanitising for their vehicles at their own cost due to strict COVID-19 legislation.

It was in the first week after the hard lockdown of the COVID-19 pandemic (1-12 June 2020). Schools had reopened for Grade 7 and Grade 12 learners in Johannesburg, Gauteng. On the day of the focus group interview, minibus taxis collectively raised their taxi fares by 70%, in an attempt to offset the loss of income, which brought very negative feedback from Government and the general public alike. Needless to say, the group of minibus taxi drivers did not want to discuss COVID-19 matters because of its rather sensitive nature at that particular time.

4.6.4 Questionnaires

Questionnaires are research tools through which people are asked to respond to the same set of questions in a predetermined order. Questionnaires should be constructed in a valid, reliable, and objective manner. I decided to use questionnaires because the cost is low and the inflow of data from many people is quick (Gray, 2009).

Before using the questionnaire, I piloted it with a random minibus taxi driver in the inner city while he was sitting idle waiting for passengers. It assisted me in changing some of the

questions which he did not understand. I also piloted the questionnaire and clarified ‘minibus taxi language’ with a group of Grade 11 high school learners before I used it with the Grade 12 learners at the identified school (Gray, 2009). Questionnaires were handed out to all the Grade 12 learners at the high school and all the Grade 6 learners at the primary school. Questionnaires were also used to collect data from the SGB members of the schools and the parents at the LSEN school.

The following table indicates the response rate.

Table 4.3: Diagrammatic representation of the response rate

Schools	Learners	Parents	SGB Members	Minibus taxi Drivers
Primary School	142/156 (91%)	Parents were represented by the SGB	2/8 (33%)	7/10 (70%)
High School	168/181 (93%)	Parents were represented by the SGB	11/16 (69%)	10/10 (100%)
LSEN School	Learners were not involved due to them not being able to complete the questionnaire, parents were involved	5/5 Public minibus taxi parents	5/10 (50%)	10/10 (100%)
		5/5 scholar transport parents (100%)		

A focus group interview was conducted with the group of minibus taxi drivers and scholar transport minibus taxi drivers at the primary school. The SGB members indicated that they preferred to do individual questionnaires due to time constraints and I think that the parents preferred the questionnaires which assured their anonymity. The questionnaires were sent to the individual members of the primary school via email. The principals at the schools reminded the members and parents to complete and submit the completed questionnaires directly to me. It assisted in the response rate at the high school and the LSEN school.

Unfortunately, the response rate from the primary school was low. The high school SGB members each completed their questionnaires at a SGB meeting which took place at the school. Using a semi-structured questionnaire, I conducted focus group interviews with the scholar taxi drivers. Questionnaires were also given to the learners at the high and primary schools. The primary school's Grade 6 learners responded comprehensively with rich, valuable data. The high school Grade 12 learners responded to the questions with single words or very short sentences which meant that I had to go back to the school to do a focus group interview to clarify responses from the Grade 12 learners.

The questions I used were open-ended and therefore took longer to code but provided interesting and unexpected responses from the interviewees especially in the case of the Grade 6 learners. The use of questionnaires worked against interviewer bias.

4.7 General research methods for data analysis

Methods guide but do not rule the qualitative researcher (Stewart, Gapp & Harwood, 2017). With qualitative research, the need arises to be mindful and contemplative. The researcher should apply intuition and creativity as part of the qualitative exploration of including, omitting, or going further. From the data gathered through focus group interviews, questionnaires, and critical discussion groups, the data were explored to develop a model which was subsequently related to the literature and theoretical framework. Hence, the analysis of the data in this qualitative process attempted to form meaning in relation to the phenomenon, based on an analysis of the participants' descriptions and experiences of the minibus taxi industry. I used Creswell's (2014) six steps to analyse the data as well as data analysis for a case study research design (Creswell, 2008; Yin, 2009). This approach is known as inductive research (Gray, 2009). My observation notes were written up in a format that was easily understood. The focus group interviews were recorded and transcribed by me so I familiarised myself with the data at an early stage in the research process. Gray (2009) advises that coding and identifying themes should be done only when all the data has been collected and I adhered to that. After I had collected all the data, I read it in a focused manner, looking for connections between categories and concepts with the focus on analysing and interpreting the data. This approach is known as inductive research (Gray, 2009).

According to Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill (2007), research using an inductive approach is likely to be particularly concerned with the context in which such events are taking place.

Using a small sample of participants might be more appropriate than a large number. The inductive approach works well with interpretive research and the qualitative approach using a variety of methods (focus group interviews, critical group discussions to clarify the data, and observation) to collect these data in order to establish different views (Maree & Van der Westhuizen, 2009).

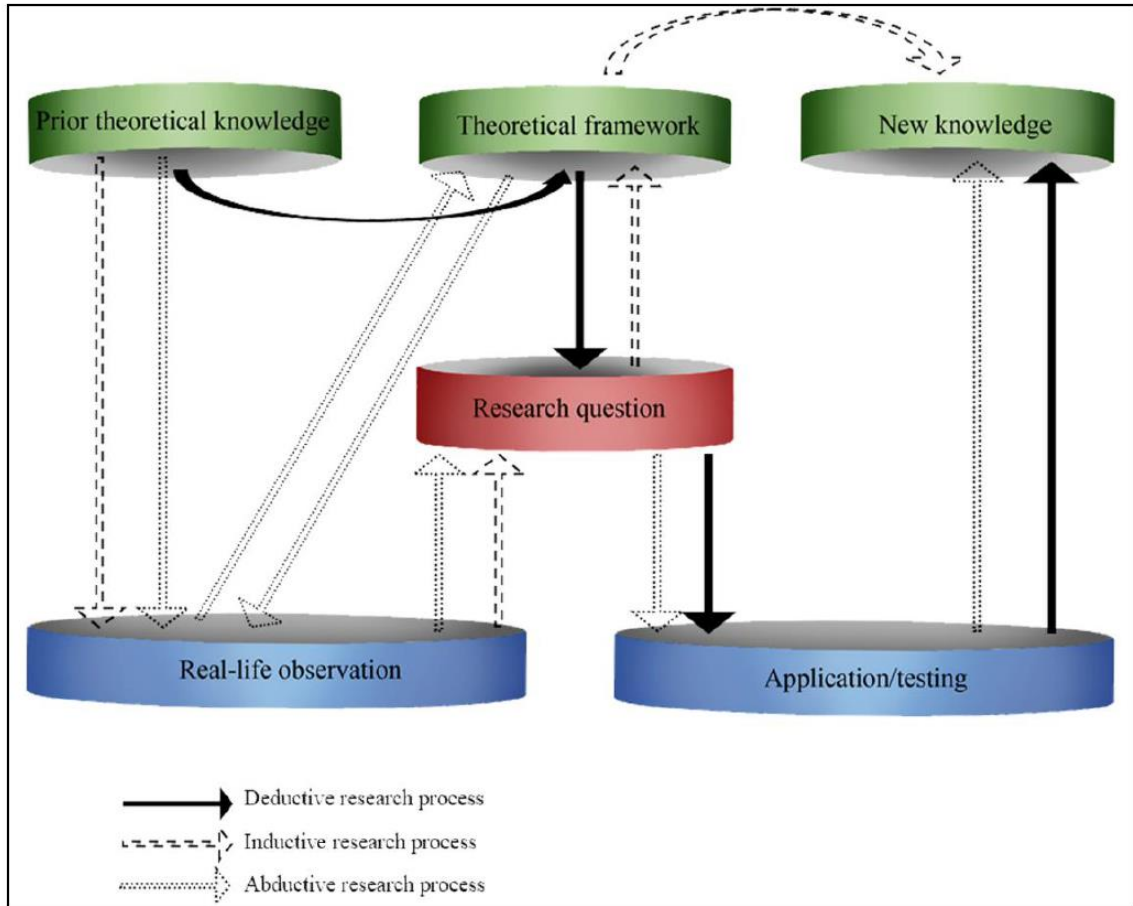


Figure 4.8: Pathways of deductive, inductive, and abductive research approaches Reprinted from (Spens & Kovacs, 2006 in Stewart, Gapp & Harwood, 2017)

Even though a particular study may look like it is purely deductive or inductive, most social research involves deductive and inductive reasoning approaches at some point. I applied mostly inductive reasoning because it is more open-ended and exploratory. I wanted to know what the role players' views were – each individual's views are different, it is their theory of the world, used for living. It is a mental model of reality, ideas, and attitudes with answers for a whole range of questions.

Applied to this study, the results of the analysis were themes and categories according to what I did in my data interpretation.

I used Creswell's (2012) six steps to analyse the data as well as data analysis for a case study research design (Creswell, 2009; Yin, 2009). What follows is how they shaped my analysis. My first step was to manage the data. I arranged the data that had to be analysed by grouping it into types, such as questionnaires, focus group interviews, critical discussion groups, and a research diary. Thereafter, I arranged the data into cases, namely drivers, learners, SGBs, and parents. I then typed the handwritten responses from all the participants into electronic format which could be worked with in a more efficient and effective manner. This was a tedious activity but it assisted me. By reading and typing the data, I did initial coding, and made notes describing the cases and their context. This is in line with Creswell (2009).

Table 4.4: Diagrammatic representation of the data sorted into cases

Learners	Parents	Drivers
<u>Learners (Gr 12 Girls)</u> public mini buses, scholar transport, car pool, private transport <u>Learners (Gr 6 Boys & Girls)</u> scholar transport, private transport	SGB members, parents from the LSEN school for learners on the autism spectrum using scholar transport, public minibus taxis	Public minibus taxi drivers and scholar transport drivers
Themes generated	Themes generated	Themes generated
1. Reason for use	Reason for use	Gender, age, years, hours
2. Thoughts on driver and vehicle	Thoughts on driver and vehicle	Role in transporting learners
3. Happenings in taxi	Happenings in taxi	Influence on learners
4. Likes & dislikes	Likes & dislikes	Negative/positive behaviour
5. Recommendations for improvements	Recommendations for improvements	Challenges transporting passengers/children
6. Discussions on education in taxi	Discussions on education in taxi	Making minibus educational/support

1. During this process, I organised the data from the drivers into categories, namely, public minibus taxi drivers, scholar transport minibus drivers, and LSEN school minibus drivers. The learner data was also categorised as follows: users of public minibus taxis and non-users (observers) who made use of buses; private transportation with parents; walking; and car pools. I also categorised the parents of learners on the autism spectrum parents into two categories, namely public minibus taxi users and scholar transport minibus users. I used the letters of the alphabet and numerical values which were not related to the participants to create pseudonyms to ensure anonymisation of participants.
2. Additional examination of the data was done by means of colour coding key words, which is also known as classification (Creswell, 2009). Thereafter, I sectioned the text to form descriptions and theme clusters so as to make sense of the data. Bearing in mind my two research questions (Creswell, 2009), I also used the Johari Window model to analyse and have a better understanding of the participants' views.
3. The findings were represented through in-depth descriptions of the cases. I used narratives, visuals of the sorted responses about participants' views and experiences into categories and thereafter themes.
4. The next step in the data analysis process was interpreting the data (Creswell, 2009). I reflected on the findings together with the literature to evaluate the findings in order to interpret it by summarising the themes and reflecting on similarities and differences between my findings and those reported by others in the literature.
5. Lastly, I used several approaches to endorse the truthfulness of the findings. Different data were triangulated to strengthen the accuracy. I also discussed the findings with my supervisor to ascertain whether I had accurately inferred and represented the participants' views (Creswell, 2009; Hannaway, 2016).

I documented my data analysis carefully and methodically in a rigorous, disciplined, and organised manner. Data analysis allows one to formulate thick descriptions, establish themes, produce explanations, and finally to theorise the case.

Table 4.5: Diagrammatic representation of the data and data analysis process

Analysis: Level 1	Worked through data from each case (drivers, learners, SGB, ASD parents). Identified themes and organised the data under the themes.	Interpretation (literature & theoretical framework) & themes (themes & views)
Data Analysis and representation		Case study procedure
Data managing		Created and organised files for data
Reading and memoing (Refer to Chapter 5 and 6)		Type and read through text, made notes, formed initial codes
Describing (Refer to Chapter 5 and 6)		Described the cases and contexts
Classifying (Refer to Chapter 5 and 6)		Developed topic clusters, categories, and established themes
Interpreting (Refer to Chapter 5 and 6)		Interpreted data and form generalisations
Representing (Refer to Chapter 5 and 6)		Presented a comprehensive 'picture' of the cases
Analysis: Level 2	Johari Window – How we view each other. Each case study: Case 1: drivers; Case 2: SGB; Case 3: learners	Drivers view other drivers (Public minibus, scholar drivers, drivers of ASD learners). Parents – high, primary, and LSEN schools, Learners – high & primary, Users and non-observers, Parents of learners with ASD users; non-users, Each case study: High school, primary school, ADS school
Analysis: Level 3	Interpretation (literature & theoretical framework) & themes (Refer to Chapter 7)	

According to Creswell (2009), the research should first provide a thorough account of each case and themes within the case. This action is then followed by a thematic analysis across all the cases, which Creswell (2009) refers to as 'within-case analysis'. I started off by organising and preparing the data by filing and organising the questionnaires (hard copies) according to each case and set; thereafter, I transcribed it, filed it, and organised it electronically. Thereafter, I broke down the sets of data by categorising and colour coding the individual segments and established patterns for the whole by relating the themes to one another (Hannaway, 2016; Schwandt, 2007;).

As a researcher, it is not possible to be totally objective. As Ruth Benedict (1887-1948), an American anthropologist best known for her applied study of cultural relativism¹ remarked, ‘No man ever looks at the world with pristine eyes. He sees it edited by a definite set of customs and institutions and ways of thinking.’ Thus, some themes are preconceived based on experience and the literature which I consulted. Furthermore, as I developed a conceptual framework deductively, other codes and themes were made inductively via the data.

In the process of moving from the raw data to thematic analysis, I grouped codes into topic groups or categories according to their similarities and differences. This process assisted me in searching for patterns to create themes (refer to Chapter 5 for an in-depth analysis). To finish, I theorised the cases through a dialogical relation between theory and case.

I used theory (see Chapter 3) to define the space in a minibus taxi and the space taken up by the minibus taxi industry, which allowed me to view minibus taxi drivers and the industry (community, asset-based) in an alternative manner to develop a new theoretical stance. It was in the concluding interpretive stage that I reported on the meaning derived from viewing and creating meaning out to the cases using a Johari Window model (Creswell, 2009).

4.8 Addressing trustworthiness

Validity is one of the assets of qualitative research. It is based on whether the findings are correct from the position of the researcher, the participants, and the readers. Qualitative research tests trustworthiness via transferability, dependability, conformability, and credibility (Creswell, 2014).

Transferability is defined as the capability of the findings to be applied to a situation which is alike and delivering parallel results (Du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis & Bezuidenhout, 2014). I am of the view that there might be a possibility to apply the findings in other districts or even provinces in South Africa, due to the variety of schools being used (public ordinary and special schools, fee-paying and no-fee-paying) and the different role players (learners, parents, teachers, principals, taxi drivers, and SANTACO) to provide information.

¹ American anthropologist best known for the theory that culture is ‘personality writ large’. She believed that a culture or a group of people can be studied only against the backdrop of itself.

Dependability is evaluating the reliability of the study's conclusion (Gray, 2009). Hence, audit trails through the data should be ensured, which means that if the research would be repeated, it would yield the same results. When applied to this study, it means that it is of the utmost importance that the data collected from the taxi drivers and other participants are captured accurately when transcribed. The quality of the process of integration that takes place between the data collection method, data analysis and the theory generated from the data (Du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis & Bezuidenhout, 2014).

Credibility refers to examining the study design and methods used to derive findings (Gray, 2009). Thus, to ensure credibility, persistent observations should take place and triangulation, as well as data interpretations, should be tested with research participants. Du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis & Bezuidenhout (2014) concurs and refers to credibility as the accuracy with which the researcher interprets the data provided by the participants. To ensure credibility in my study, the transcribed data was made available to the participants to ensure that what they said was accurately represented.

Conformability addresses the degree to which the results of the study can be confirmed or corroborated by others. My supervisors also guided me and read through my data to ensure that participants' views were accurately presented. As indicated earlier, the data should be presented as accurately as possible (Gray, 2009). The fact that I worked in Alexandra Township as a road user and that I was confronted with minibus taxi drivers on a daily basis did not cloud my analysis of the data.

4.9 All-inclusive quality criteria for qualitative research:

The 'eight "big-tent" criteria for excellent qualitative research' described by Tracy (2010: 837) and Tracy and Hinrichs (2017) serves as a benchmark for the demonstration of high-quality qualitative research. It is marked by the following dimensions: worthy topic, rich rigour, sincerity, credibility, resonance, significant contribution, ethics, and meaningful coherence. The individual criteria of quality can be approached via a range of means or paths, the arrangement of which rest on the particular researcher, context, theoretical affiliation, and project.

4.9.1 Worthy topic

One of the end goals of a research study, according to Tracy and Hinrichs (2017), should be that it is a worthy topic. This means that it should be relevant, timely, significant, and

interesting. The minibus taxi industry plays a significant role in South Africa with about 200 000 minibus taxis on the roads employing about 300 000 drivers and 100 000 taxi marshals. It also benefits 100 000 car washers and 150 000 vendors at minibus taxi ranks. It is a relevant topic and worthy of research. There are constant attempts by the South African government to address the challenges experienced with regard to minibus taxi drivers and the safety of passengers, especially children. In addition, during 2019, the country experienced very violent protest action by minibus taxi drivers when they took the law into their own hands to solve contextual problems that were linked to education and the high unemployment rate in South Africa. To add to the worthiness of this research, the COVID-19 pandemic had a noteworthy negative impact on the minibus taxi industry but once again the minibus taxi industry showed their ‘power’ in terms of defiance by a fare increase of 172 per cent (Grootes, 2020). Newspapers in South Africa report daily about horrific accidents involving minibus taxis. Through the process of this research, the views of all the role players, including minibus taxi drivers, are explored by using theoretical frameworks as a lens that has not been frequently used to study minibus taxis and education.

4.9.2 Rich rigour

Rigour is created through an ongoing process of absorption, reflection and interaction with a variety of theoretical academic ideas and methods with the data collection, analysis and interpretation processes leading to an understanding of the complex views held by all the role players in the minibus taxi industry and education (Tirado Taibe, 2019; Tracy and Hinrichs, 2017:1-10, Yin, 2009). Research can only be enriched when the investigation of the phenomenon is done using the most appropriate methods (Yin, 2009). Trustworthiness is also emphasised with detailed and concentrated explanation of accounts completed from the planning stages through to the reassembling of interviews and observations. In addition, continual review and revisiting of the research questions ensures the focus is maintained. According to Creswell (2014), validity is one of the strengths of qualitative research and is based on whether the findings are precise from the standpoint of the researcher, the participants, and the readers. The views of individuals can be very subjective, especially around a contentious topic as the minibus taxi industry. Therefore, I used ample time to gather substantial data. I was meticulous in the implementation of the research methods as recommended by Tracy and Hinrichs (2017). I also verified the data by collecting it from the views of all affected interest groups in the minibus taxi industry and education

(schoolchildren, parents, SGBs, minibus taxi drivers). These views were from minibus taxi users and non-users (Gray, 2004). I explained every phase of the data collection and analysis process in depth. Furthermore, I applied the Johari Window model in the analysis process to make sure that the views of all the role players were better understood.

4.9.3 Sincerity

This study will not solve all the problems with regard to the minibus industry but, by implementing the model created for the study, change may occur on an individual scale or in communities. A researcher should be honest about the goal of the research and also the weaknesses experienced and this can only be done if the researcher is transparent and reflects on their actions (Tracy & Hinrichs, 2017). Reflexivity forced me to be aware of the ‘filters’ I had and to be forthright about the challenges and strengths of the study. In a totally truthful manner, I reflected on the five years of doing this study. The inclusion of two theories and a model to address the research questions strengthened the research process. In terms of the data collection strategies, I had to discontinue the idea of using journals to collect data from the children regarding minibus taxi drivers due to concerns of intimidation and putting them at risk. I also had to go back to the focus group interviewees (scholar transport minibus taxi drivers and the high school learners) to clarify some of their responses, which was very time-consuming. It also exposed the ambiguity of the wording of one of the questions.

In Chapter 1, I gave an honest explanation of my reasons for wanting to do the study. Thus, I was aware of my own existence and influence on the study. In other words, one can be reflective without being reflexive.

By using crystallisation as an approach to inductive and emic research, truthfulness is advocated (Stewart, Gapp & Harwood, 2017). Like truthfulness, trustworthiness seeks authenticity, not as an absolute truth, but as a quality in the crystallising approach (Stewart, Gapp & Harwood 2017).

4.9.4 Credibility

Trustworthiness and credibility are achieved through constant comparison which is presented in terms of building trails that demonstrate a chain of evidence (Yin, 2009). This is achieved through various processes of logic such as note taking, memorandums, member

checks, peer debriefing, prolonged engagement, persistent observation, frameworks, and typologies (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2007).

Credibility refers to examining the study design and methods used to derive findings (Gray, 2009). Gray (2009) further advises that to ensure credibility, persistent observations should take place, and triangulation and data interpretations should be tested with research participants. Du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis and Bezuidenhout (2014) concurs and refers to credibility as the accuracy with which the researcher will interpret the data that will be provided by the participants. To ensure credibility in my study, the transcribed data was made available to the participants to ensure that what they said was accurately represented. Like truthfulness, trustworthiness seeks authenticity not as an absolute truth but as a quality in the crystallising approach (Stewart, Gapp & Harwood 2017) which brings credibility to the fore. In Chapter 3, I thoroughly described the theoretical frameworks I used in this study. I further described, in detail, the research methods for data construction, analysis, and an exploration of the research methodology. I also gave an extensive description of the interviewees, adhering to confidentiality. To add to this, a comprehensive description of the context was given. In this process, I also set limits carefully so that the reader could make judgements on similar circumstances. In Chapters 5 and 6, I offer minutiae of all the views of all affected interest groups in the minibus taxi industry and education (Tirado Taipei, 2019).

4.9.5 Resonance

I am of the opinion that there might be a possibility to apply the findings in other districts or even provinces in South Africa due to the variety of schools (public ordinary and special schools, fee-paying and non-fee-paying) and role players (learners, parents, teachers, principals, minibus taxi drivers) being used to provide data. The process of collecting, analysing, and compiling the research document can be applied in other districts to collect data which can be used in those provincial contexts. When applied to this study, it meant that it was of the utmost importance that the data collected from the taxi drivers and other participants were captured accurately when transcribed. Du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis and Bezuidenhout (2014) refers to the quality of the process of integration which takes place between the data collection method, data analysis, and the theory generated from the data (Du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis & Bezuidenhout, 2014).

4.9.6 Significant contribution

I have taken the concepts of the minibus taxi industry and education, which are usually not combined, to support each other. However, as Tracy and Hinrichs (2017) explain, a significant contribution requires going beyond mere (re)application of existing theory. I therefore used Lefebvre's production of space theory, which is often regarded as theoretical but it is built on empirical foundations (Middleton, 2014), to investigate the views of the different role players. Usually space is associated with the built environment and geographical areas. His theory is that the understanding of geographical space is fundamentally social which, in this study, was applied to the space inside the minibus taxi vehicle and the space taken up by minibus taxis in cities, thus offering a new and unique understanding of minibus taxis and minibus taxi drivers. It may also be transferred to other contexts, for example the school or education.

As a practical contribution, the study may assist the role players to understand each other better due to them understanding each other's views and, in the process, assist with improved communication. Furthermore, by focusing on the strengths within a community (minibus taxi industry) instead of the weaknesses, role players may engage in practices and behaviours in a new, improved, or more informed manner. Such contributions empower minibus taxi drivers to see their role in a new way. It also helps to shed light on the importance of the space inside the minibus taxi vehicle and lineal space, which may lead to the transformation of the relationship that the school has with the scholar transport drivers into that of a partnership. The study has a methodological contribution by adapting and using the Johari Window method to analyse and interpret the data. The contributions of the study will be covered more extensively in Chapter 6.

Research is collecting data from people, about people, therefore, researchers need to protect their research participants (Creswell, 2014). Denscombe (2010) maintains that ethical rules are there to ensure that research is carried out in a respectful manner. The manner in which the research is conducted should ensure the professional integrity of its design, generation and analyses of data, and the publication of results. In addition to the report mentioned above, ethics can be described as a benchmark against which research should be conducted. Ethics can also be defined as a method, procedure or perspective for deciding how to act and for analysing complex problems and issues (Briggs, Coleman & Morrison, 2014). Tracy and Hinrichs (2017) concur and indicate that qualitative ethical research considers the following points: a) procedural ethics (such as human subjects); b) situational and

culturally specific ethics; and lastly c) relational ethics and exiting ethics (leaving the scene and sharing the research).

I applied for ethical clearance from the ethics committee at the UP and requested permission from the DBE, GDE, to conduct the research. Both the University and the GDE scrutinised the proposal before the research took place to be sure that the procedures I was going to follow would not be unduly harmful to the participants, that appropriate procedures would be followed to obtain participants' informed consent, and to ensure participants' privacy and anonymity. The districts in which the school were located, the principals and SGBs of the specific schools (Maree & Van der Westhuizen, 2009) were informed and presented with the permission documentation. I only began my study after I had made minor modifications which the ethics committee at the University requested, after which I received their seal of approval (refer to appendix A). As a registered educator at the SACE, I kept our professional code of ethics in mind when I interacted with all the participants.

A letter and informed consent form, which described the nature of the research project and the nature of the participant's involvement, were sent to the learners and parents via the school. Before this was done, I met with the principals who, in turn, discussed the research with their governing bodies to get permission and input from them. Thereafter, the letters were sent out. The information from those learners whose parents did not want their children to participate were not used and were destroyed.

The above-mentioned procedural activities were to protect all participants from harm, especially since learners were involved. The taxi industry is known for violence and intimidation; I therefore discussed my concerns with the principals of the three schools involved in the research project. Leedy and Ormrod (2005) have been very clear that participants should not risk losing their lives or be subjected to unusual stress, embarrassment, or loss of self-esteem. The objective of this research is not to portray the minibus taxi drivers in a negative light or to focus on the challenges experienced regarding minibus taxi, but to get the views of all stakeholders, including the taxi drivers. Therefore, I negotiated safe environments for the completing of the questions to be answered by the learners and for the interviews with the minibus taxi drivers and the SGB members (Samuel, 2016; Sekhonyane & Dugard, 2004).

Situational ethics ask the researcher to constantly reflect on the methods and show sensitivity. It is for this reason that I abided by the request from minibus taxi driver and scholar minibus taxi drivers not to record the focus group interviewees. I also reflected on critique and input from the principals from the three schools in terms of collecting the data. The principal from the primary school suggested that we change the journal-keeping activity for the Grade 6 learners to answering specific questions. In this way, learners would not be exposed in the taxi when writing their journals. She also indicated that the journal writing process might be too long and tiresome for young learners and that they would lose interest. It was then decided to allow the learners to answer questions in the safety of their classrooms at the school. The same process was followed at the secondary school. As mentioned earlier, the learners with autism did not write so their parents were requested to write about minibus taxi drivers. I decided to request that the parents answer a few questions as a once-off exercise and not keep a journal, one, to have conformity within the research process and, two, being concerned that parents might also not have time to keep a journal and provide useful data.

Researchers are encouraged to be mindful of their impact on people at the research site and to treat participants with respect, acknowledging them as persons with values, voices, and ideas rather than merely as objects of observation, according to relational ethics. Relational ethics entails an ethical self-awareness in which researchers consider their own character, behaviour, and effects on others (Ellis & Levy, 2008). It is for this reason that I also arranged with the support services at the three schools that where the nature of the study created a small amount of psychological discomfort, debriefing, or counselling should follow immediately after their participation.

4.9.7 Informed consent and the right to privacy

Confidentiality is of the utmost importance so the names of all participants were kept confidential and replaced with codes and the same process was followed with the schools. Data received via the focus group interviews and questionnaires from learners were handled with extra care as was the data collected via semi-structured interviews from senior management and SGBs. It was emphasised more than once that any participation in this study was strictly voluntary. Participants were requested to express their views and opinions about the topic anonymously and they were free to withdraw from the research at any time (Du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis & Bezuidenhout, 2014; Denscombe, 2010).

I reported my findings in a complete and honest manner. Where I had challenges in term of collecting the data and involvement of participants, I indicated it. I also indicated where I had to make changes to my initial plan to collect the data, for example, instead of making use of the journals I changed to a questionnaire. I also gave appropriate credit to other people's ideas and acknowledged the material I used (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005).

Finally, leaving ethics refers to how researchers leave the site and share their findings with the scholarly community with care and consideration. Researchers will never have complete control over how their work is read, understood, or used. They can, however, examine how best to communicate the findings in order to avoid unjust or unintentional effects for their participants, particularly those from marginalised groups (Tracy & Hinrichs, 2017).

Conformability addresses the degree to which the results of the study can be confirmed or corroborated by others. My supervisors guided me and read through my data to ensure that the participants' views were accurately presented. Gray (2009) advises that the data should be presented as accurately as possible.

The final research document was shared with the schools and I called meetings with the minibus taxi drivers and minibus scholar transport drivers to give them feedback regarding the research study.

4.9.8 Meaningful coherence

Meaningful coherence or methodicalness as Yin (2009) and Stewart, Gapp and Harwood (2017) refer to it is supported by the need for discovery whilst maintaining an orderly approach. The crystallisation processes of method in association with creating a chain of evidence through the step-by-step documentation of the data collection, compiling, disassembling, and reassembling demonstrates adherence to evidence (Yin, 2009; Stewart, Gapp & Harwood 2017).

4.10 Conclusion

In Chapter 4, I explained the choices I made with regard to the research methodology and design. It has provided a route map to the proposed answers for the research questions posed in Chapter 1.

I followed a qualitative approach with a case study design. I made use of focus group interviews, questionnaires, critical discussion groups complemented by observations, and field notes recorded in my research diary. I used three stages of data analysis which will be discussed in depth in the next chapter. Based on the constructivist paradigm, interpretivist reality is subjective and relative. Furthermore, I discussed the research methods and analysis processes of the data. Lastly, I discussed ethics, trustworthiness, and the criteria that I followed to ensure quality.

In the next chapter, I present and discuss the findings related to my research questions through my application of the Johari Window model.

CHAPTER 5

PRESENTATION OF THE VIEWS FROM THE VARIOUS MINIBUS TAXI DRIVERS – ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

5.1. Introduction

In Chapter 4, I explained in detail the choices I made with regard to the research design and methodology. Chapter 4 provided a route map to the proposed answers for the research questions posed in Chapter 1, namely:

- What are the views of minibus taxi drivers about their role in supporting education?
- Why are these views held by minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education?
- What are the views of various role players about minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education?
- Why are these views held about minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education?

Bearing the four research questions in mind, I decided to do the analysis of the data on three levels. I first categorised the data. Categorisation is a cognitive process, where the world in which we find ourselves is viewed as being divided into groups of individuals who share traits, particularly for efficiency. Furthermore, it assists with the difficulty in handling multiple stimuli (Bodenhausen, 1990). According to my categorisation of the data, there are three different cases, with three embedded units of analysis in each case. The extent of the data called for two chapters to ensure a detailed discussion. The two chapters, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, assisted in avoiding incoherent data analysis and interpretation.

The first case which will occupy this chapter concerns the minibus taxi drivers with the following three embedded units of analysis, namely public minibus taxi drivers, scholar transport minibus taxi drivers, and LSEN school minibus taxi drivers. A chapter is used for the analysis and discussion of minibus taxi drivers as the main focus of the study is their role of minibus taxi drivers in supporting education.

The second and third cases and embedded units of analysis will be discussed comprehensively in the following chapter. Chapter 6, the views of various role players

other than the minibus taxi drivers, becomes the ‘rear mirror’ for the minibus taxi drivers to view themselves in. If they understand why these views are held and what their role in supporting education is, then it might lead to development for the minibus taxi drivers.

In Chapter 6 Part 1, the focus is on the views held by adults, which is the second case in this study, namely the SGBs. This case has the following four embedded units of analysis, namely the primary school SGB, the high school SGB, and the LSEN school’s SGB. The fourth embedded unit of analysis is the parents from the LSEN school. Some of the parents from the LSEN school travel with their ASD children in the public minibus taxi vehicle to school or some of the LSEN school parents send their children on their own with LSEN minibus taxi scholar transport drivers to school. The third case, which is part two of Chapter 6, focuses on the views held by learners, users, and non-users (observers), with the following three embedded units of analysis, namely primary school learners (Grade 6 learners), secondary school girl learners (Grade 12) users and non-users.

I started each case with a discussion on the language profile and demographics of the group, as every so often culture ‘travels’ with language and demographics. Furthermore, it seemed that it might have a meaningful relationship with the rest of the data collected during the focus group interviews. The language profile and demographics theme were followed by the themes I identified as I worked with the data. The following themes were identified from the public minibus taxi drivers, scholar transport minibus taxi drivers and LSEN school minibus taxi drivers, namely, hostility and ferocity, work environment and work conditions, money/income, passengers and passenger care, transporting learners, relationship with education and school, training and development, and strengths and weaknesses.

The initial analysis provided themes and findings which I then presented in the format of the Johari Window. I applied the Johari Window model to interpret the findings, which brought me to the third level of analysis and interpretation. The Johari Window was used to analyse the views of the various role players which contributed to the disclosure of content that could not be measured by self-report questionnaires and focus group interviews only. As mentioned before, it is a helpful tool for the improvement of communication patterns in general and in dialogues among groups (Shamoa-Nir, 2017). To clarify the application process which I followed with the Johari Window for this study, I thought it worthy to provide a reading route map for the Johari Window.

The first pane is the open pane. The open pane is a constant two-way communication process ‘known’ to the minibus taxi drivers as well as the other role players. The open pane is a dynamic and sometimes very aggressive sharing of information processes regarding the attitudes, behaviour, emotions, feelings, skills, and views of the minibus taxi drivers and role players (SGB and learners). The open pane may lead to more effective communication which can be the basis for an improved relationship or partnership. Ideally the open pane, through communication, should increase horizontally such that the blind spot pane is reduced. Vertically the unknown pane might also be reduced. To a certain extent, the study might reduce the unknown pane.

The next stop is the blind spot pane; this is the information that is known to the role-players (SGB and learners) but the minibus taxi drivers are not aware of it. Role players (SGB and learners) interpret the minibus taxi drivers’ behaviour, attitudes skills, and views differently from what the minibus taxi drivers might have expected. It is imperative to reduce this area for efficient communication and possible partnerships between the minibus taxi drivers and role players (SGB and learners). One way to improve communication is through feedback that the minibus taxi drivers could get from role players (SGB and learners) and from this study.

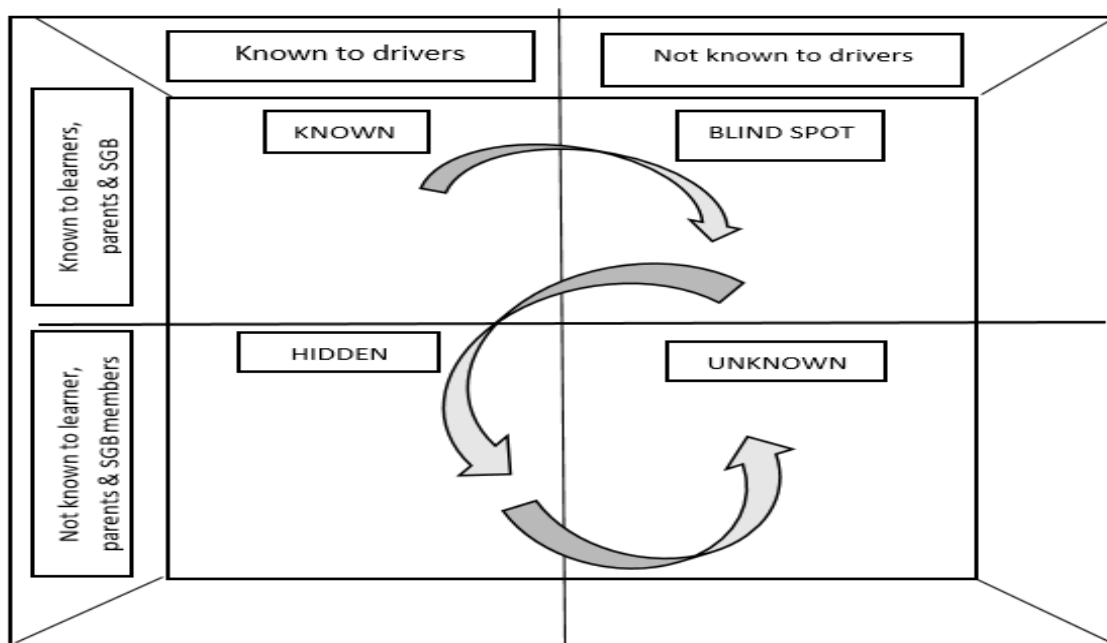


Figure 5.1: Reading route map for the Johari Window

The hidden pane might be information that is ‘hidden’ from the role players (SGB and learners) but ‘known’ to the minibus taxi drivers. This information might be very personal

to the drivers, but not communicated by them or it is kept hidden for a range of reasons. The minibus taxi drivers are therefore reluctant to share it with others – secrets, past experiences, factions in the industry. The information in the unknown pane is ‘unknown’ to the minibus taxi drivers and the role players (SGB and learners) – for example, certain feelings, talents, skills, or information. It is information that should be discovered and this could be done through communication, partnerships, and research.

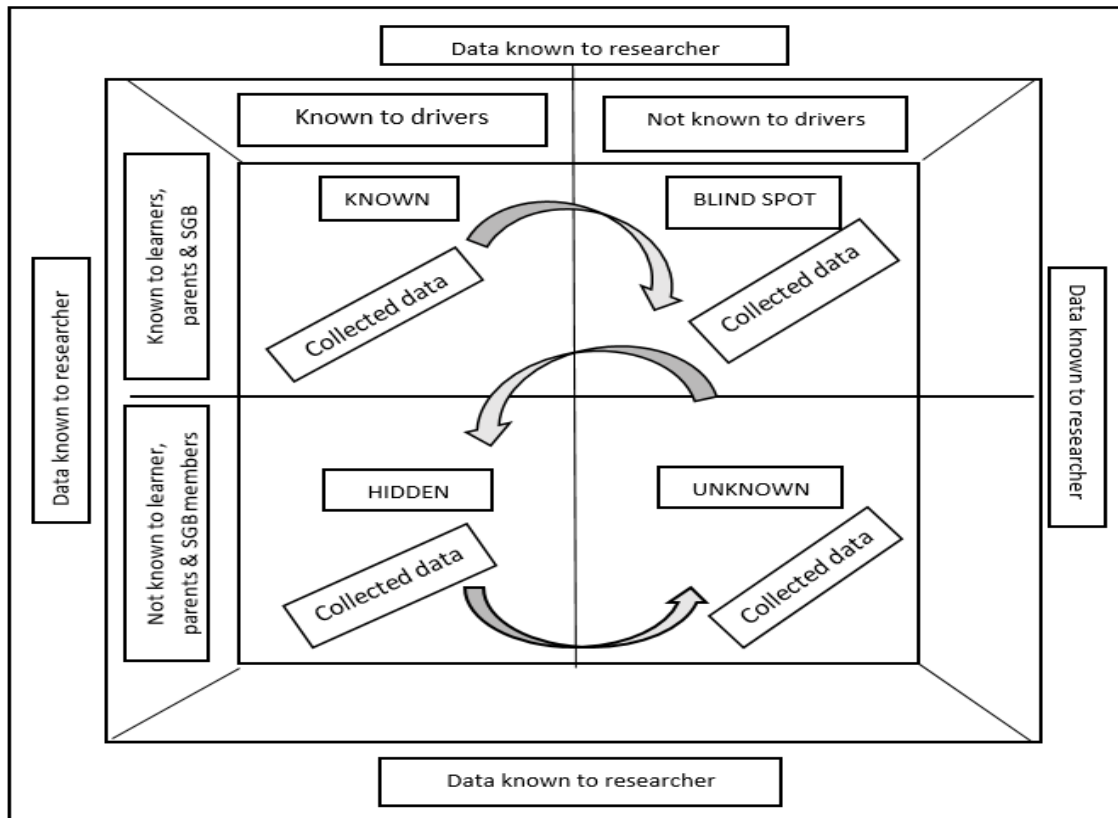


Figure 5.2: Schematic representation of data collected applying the Johari Window

The outside square is used by me as the researcher to organise, analyse, and interpret the data. It is furthermore a reminder to the reader that, at this stage, the data is organised in the window panes by the researcher and not by the drivers and role players. Hence, this process should be disseminated to the drivers and role players to initiate communication and possible understanding of the views held by the minibus taxi drivers and role players, only then views might change, roles to support education brought to the fore and partnerships established.

By means of this process of analysis, I attempted to identify the views of minibus taxi drivers about their possible role in supporting education, why these views were held by

minibus taxi drivers, and their views on their role in supporting education. This process also assisted me in identifying the similarities and differences between the units of analysis. The conclusion followed.

Below is a concept map representing the structure of Chapter 5:

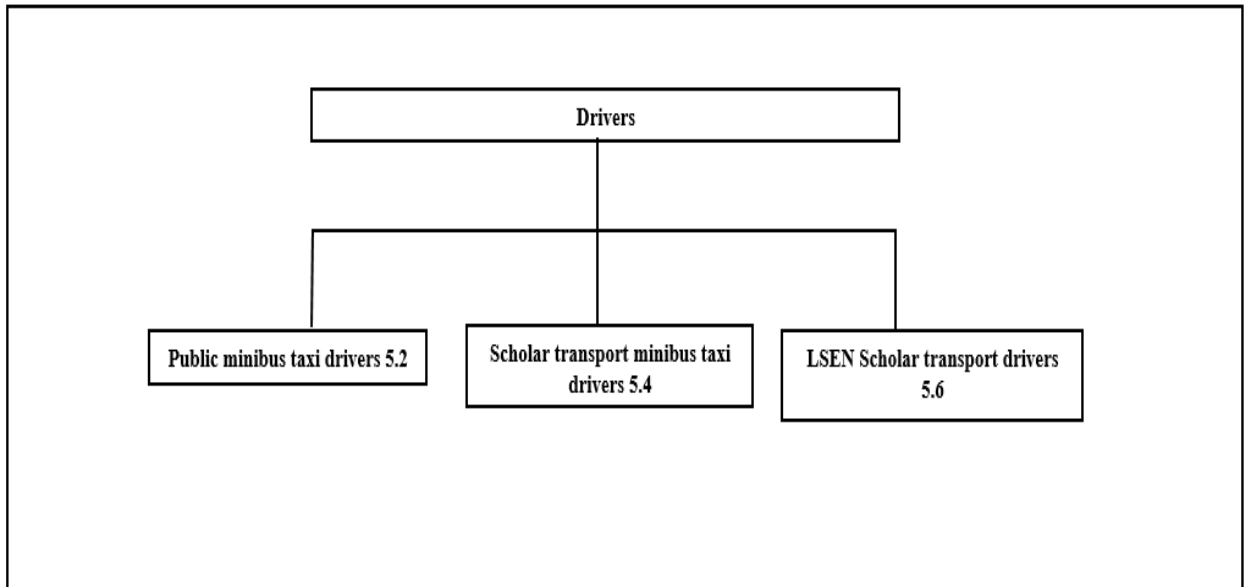


Figure 5.3: Concept map representing the units of analysis of Case 1: Drivers

5.2. Views of public minibus taxi drivers

The views of the minibus public taxi drivers encompassed five main themes mentioned above. These themes provide important sign posts en route to addressing the research questions.

The drivers were given the choice to respond in their mother tongue, which they all did. The fieldworker translated their responses into English. Therefore, the focus group interview was conducted in isiZulu. The most common languages being used by this group of public minibus taxi drivers are isiZulu and isiXhosa. The interviewed public minibus taxi drivers ranged in age from 18 to 49 years. Only one out of the 10 drivers were in the age group 18 to 25 years and the rest of the drivers were in the 36 to 49 years of age group. It is notable that the majority of drivers were middle-aged and none were over the age of 50 years. This age group was confirmed by findings in earlier research (Randall, 2019; Schalekamp, 2017). This group of public minibus taxi drivers were all men. All the drivers interviewed had completed secondary school up to Grade 12. Three of the 10 drivers

interviewed had some tertiary qualifications. The majority of the interviewed drivers had been involved in the public minibus taxi industry for between six and 10 years with only one driver having been a minibus taxi driver for more than 16 years and only two drivers having been in the industry for less than five years.

The hostility and ferocity in which this group of public minibus taxi drivers operate are significant factors affecting them. According to the public minibus taxi drivers, aggressive behaviour is a common occurrence in their daily operations. Faction fighting, which refers to minibus taxi associations and individual public minibus taxi drivers, can lead to physical confrontation. Such confrontations can lead to both the loss of lives and vehicles. During the week of this group's interviewee (June 2020), a public minibus taxi driver was killed within the nearby geographical area in which the interviewed drivers operated as a result of faction feuding over control of routes.

Geographical areas are assigned and public minibus taxis demarcated with the relevant taxi association's stickers. The stickers indicate the area in which the public minibus taxi drivers are allowed to operate and transport passengers. The impact of this arrangement is that learners being transported from township areas² have to change minibus taxis in the inner city area on their way to school. The vehicle may drive through two or more operational areas which are linked to the routes that minibus taxi drivers are allowed to operate in. This has an impact on both travelling time and the safety of learners. The minibus taxi rank where the learners change vehicles can be an unpredictable and sometimes unsafe area (Fobisi, 2020). Hyman (2021) mentions that, in some cases, minibus taxi vehicles with passengers in them are hijacked by corrupt associations and rerouted to certain ranks if they cannot show a 'receipt' of payment to one of the big associations. These 'hijacked' minibus vehicles are released on payments of as much as R3 000. The highly contested manner in which public minibus taxi factions engage has led to certain municipal control being lost by it being hijacked from municipalities by public minibus taxi owners or their minibus taxi associations. Referring to the use of extortion, corruption, and violence to gain control over areas, Hyman (2021) indicates that some corrupt minibus taxi associations go as far as recruiting municipal officials, political players, and even SAPS members to assist them in gaining control of areas. Hyman (2021) emphasises that the majority of minibus taxi

² In South Africa, a township area is a suburb or city of predominantly black occupation, formerly officially designated for black occupation by apartheid legislation.

drivers are decent people who want to make a living but poor policing of the minibus taxi industry has allowed ex-convicts, general corruption, maladministration, and a *tsotsi*³ management to prevail in the taxi industry, as indicated by the commission of inquiry into taxi violence (Tlou, 2020). Khosa (1992) asserts that no one in the industry is willing to talk about the causes of the blood-shedding regarding routes and ranks. One therefore also has little insight in how the industry operates internally, the dynamics which affect the sector, and how to effectively manage the sector if this is to be considered by Government. The minibus taxi factions have a vested interest to keep control of specific profitable routes, areas, and subsections within the transport industry. To put it another way, the minibus taxi industry is one of the most liquid industries in South Africa, being a cash business. Unfortunately, many times the money enables and feeds violence, such as the contract killing of minibus taxi bosses, that is, it is used to buy the services of *izinkabi* (translated as oxmen hitmen) to murder others to gain more control and to generate more income. The minibus industry is known for its ‘mafia-style’ operations and therefore their personal weaknesses, identified by the interviewees, might be the only way to survive in this industry (Khosa, 1992). It can then be argued that the weaknesses the drivers mention about themselves, namely being aggressive and impatient, are ultimately strengths and assist them to be employed and to survive the rigours of their work. The likelihood that this will change in the near future is limited given the current structure of the industry. Furthermore, the high level of rivalry amongst various minibus taxi groupings active in the industry does not assist.

It is clear that the public minibus taxi work environment and work conditions are very challenging. The public minibus taxi drivers’ work conditions might be the reason for the very young public driver, as discussed earlier. Young people do not have contacts in the industry or have not worked in the industry, as mentioned in Chapter 2. A further reason for the high number of public minibus taxi drivers in the 29- to 36-year-old age group might be the scarcity of formal job opportunities in South Africa. Particularly for unskilled workers and even for people who do have Grade 12 and tertiary education, as in the case of the interviewed drivers. The decision to become a public minibus taxi driver is, according to the interviewed drivers, an alternative employment option, an ‘easy’ way to

³ A young urban criminal, especially one from a township area; a young black gangster belonging to a group prominent in the 1940s and 1950s, exhibiting a special language and flashy dress.

get an income and be employed. The process for such individuals to become minibus taxi drivers is mostly as follows. These individuals start off by doing mundane chores such as washing vehicles, then later become rank managers and then, with the assistance of another minibus taxi driver, become drivers as mentioned in Chapter 2. This process takes a few years and this may be the reason for the high number of minibus taxi drivers in the age group 29 to 36 years.

As indicated earlier, this group of drivers had no women drivers. Very few women are active as public minibus taxi drivers or even owners. It seems that it is the adversarial nature of the public minibus taxi industry, as described by the drivers, which keeps women out of this working space. The aforementioned stressful environment has an impact on the male drivers too, as they do not spend many continuous years as public minibus taxi drivers. For a start, the severity can be seen in the very long working hours as indicated by the drivers. This group of public minibus taxi drivers collectively indicated that they spent more than 16 hours a day in their vehicles as drivers. Many a time they worked from 03:00 in the morning, and then into the afternoons and evenings transporting passengers. It can be argued that this type of work environment is not suitable for women who have children and operate in a traditional society. In a traditional society, women need to take care of a household as expected by society at large. Most of the time, the women in the minibus taxi industry have joined the sector by default after the death of their husbands who owned minibus taxis. If they do not or cannot compete in a very forceful manner to get access to the industry, they end up with their vehicles being stolen or they are cast out from the sector (Sobuwa, 2019).

The public minibus taxi drivers also raised bribery in the industry as a very negative aspect which they felt led to tension for them. The aforementioned negative aspects link to the hostility and ferocity mentioned earlier. The drivers gave details regarding the role that money played in their daily operations. As drivers they were caught in the middle, between the owners of the vehicles and the factions within the industry. The minibus taxi industry has been and remains a tough industry to be involved in and financial reward at the lower levels as a driver is mediocre in comparison to the higher levels occupied by the minibus taxi owners and minibus taxi industry officials.

The management of finances created additional stress for the minibus taxi drivers. The drivers explained that monies received were divided amongst a number of stakeholders,

these being the taxi associations, the rank marshals, and the taxi owners. The owners' motive was that of profit and little consideration was given to the drivers' needs. The industry does not provide a common platform for these drivers to negotiate better working conditions and salaries. Drivers indicated that they believed they were underpaid but preferred being employed rather than unemployed. The drivers said that because they earned so little money, they relied on what they call 'imali yesokisi'. This is the extra money a minibus taxi driver makes after reaching the day's target as required by the minibus taxi owner. The minibus taxi owner has no knowledge of this money, which ranges from about R200 to R300 a day. This can be viewed as a commission being earned, but the drivers actually steal the money or take it as theirs once they have reached the daily target. As one of the minibus taxi drivers explained, if they had to wait for the owner of the vehicle to pay them they would not get anything, adding that every day he had to give the taxi owner R500. This meant that petrol, per diems, and other costs remained his responsibility as well as maintenance and emergency repairs that might become necessary during the daily routine. However, there were different methods of payment between the minibus taxi drivers and the owners which was decided by the minibus taxi drivers and the owners.

The minibus taxi drivers stated that they spent most of their daily hours in vehicles on the road which is the nature of being employed as a driver. The drivers described their work from a negative perspective. In their view, it was the lowest paying job, earning the least respect, and not being taken seriously by anyone – from passengers to society at large. They furthermore described their responsibilities as cleaning the minibus taxi vehicles and ensuring that the vehicles were safe and well taken care of. Minibus taxi vehicles have a high turnover of users during normal operation, 14 million per day of which each passenger spends about 65 minutes in the vehicle (DoE, 2013). The drivers pointed out that cleanliness and general hygiene was a priority for them. A clean vehicle attracts more passengers which means more business. This can also benefit learners in the prevention of the spread of minor and more serious transmittable illnesses which can be transmitted in a close and intimate spatial environment such as a minibus taxi vehicle. It may also assist in less absenteeism from schools as the vectors of transmission are curbed.

One needs to state that the COVID-19 pandemic has shown that hygiene should take greater prominence as a consideration for general public health. For the public minibus taxi drivers at the time of the interview, a foremost agitation was the fact that they were responsible for the personal protection equipment (PPE) in their vehicles to combat the spread of COVID-

19. The minibus taxi drivers argued that it was the responsibility of Government, provincial or national, to provide PPE and sponsor them due to the loss of income by only being permitted to transport 50 per cent of the normal capacity of passengers. The day of the focus group interview, minibus taxis in Johannesburg increased their fares by 75 per cent to make up for their losses during the hard lockdown period.

Considering the working conditions as outlined above, why then do public minibus taxi drivers stay in this cut-throat industry? In their view, working as a public minibus taxi driver is a way to generate an income and feed their families. It seems that education does not assist these public minibus taxi drivers to be employed in the formal work sector. Above and beyond the unemployment matter is the very aggressive and violent manner in which the industry operates, consequently development or improvement to escape the industry is also not possible or, at least, very difficult. According to the drivers, the public minibus taxi industry is ridden with jealousy. The drivers explained that the owners will dismiss a driver if it is seen that the individual is advancing in any manner in life. The drivers further cited limited to no free time to advance themselves through studying and short courses. As one public minibus driver said, 'Even when getting married, it is seen as improving your life and you can get fired. There is a lot of jealousy.' This group of drivers responded as a collective and only one or two of the drivers made individual remarks as mentioned above. This might be a concurrence-seeking tendency called groupthink (Sunstein & Hastie, 2015; Rose, 2011; Turner & Pratkanis, 1998). This further highlighted that the public minibus taxi drivers, in many cases, do not have a 'voice' and are predisposed to follow instructions.

As far as the public minibus taxi drivers were aware, the owners mostly did not have insurance on vehicles or third-party damages. Employee benefits are generally not given and drivers need to provide for their own pension (Randall, 2019). It has to be stated that the associations manage the industry in an informal but 'agreed upon' manner. It became clear from the public minibus taxi drivers and literature that this agreed upon manner in which the industry is managed is mostly dictatorial in manner, with violence and intimidation being used (Fobisi, 2020). The drivers were not allowed to join labour unions to represent them collectively, although such stipulation by the employer is considered unlawful in terms of the Labour Relations Act. According to the public minibus taxi drivers interviewed, each driver negotiated his own employment terms with the minibus taxi owner.

Other stressful aspects of being a public minibus taxi driver that were raised by the drivers include dealing with the general public and passengers, and passenger care. According to the drivers, the passengers are mostly demanding. The minibus taxi drivers indicated that the adult passengers and learners considered public minibus taxi drivers to be in the wrong, regardless of the circumstances, and therefore criticised them. The minibus taxi drivers also noted that the passengers did not view their own behaviour as passengers, as impacting negatively on the behaviour of the minibus taxi driver. Comments from the interviewees which explain this inconsiderate passenger behaviour is that passengers let the drivers know too late or they asked them to stop in the middle of the road when they wanted to disembark. Passengers even went as far as asking the minibus taxi drivers to speed because they, as passengers, were going to be late for work. According to the drivers, these demands led to other road users being angry with them as minibus taxi drivers, but actually it was not them; they were merely providing a service. This group of minibus taxi drivers portrayed themselves as victims (Wallace, 1998). Bearing in mind the very dominating and aggressive manner they deal with other road users and allocate routes and ranks, it is questionable if they really are victims.

The organisation of activities within a minibus taxi vehicle is largely self-regulating, through internal organisation which users abide by and they self-police other passengers as they make use of the minibus taxi service. These rules are unwritten and come down to agreed procedures. All passengers in the vehicle need to adhere to and conduct themselves in a courteous manner both towards the driver and the other passengers. An example in this regard is that passengers are responsible for ensuring that the correct minibus taxi fare is collected and submitted to the driver. Passengers are supposed to resolve all money-related challenges such as shortages. Passengers have to abide by the rules of the minibus taxi driver. The drivers stop and instruct passengers to get off if the passengers do not want to abide by their rules and regulations. The minibus taxi drivers indicated that belongings of passengers which they forgot in the vehicle were kept safely if it was brought to the attention of the minibus taxi driver. Unfortunately, items that were left on the seats, out of the sight of the minibus taxi driver, posed a challenge. Passengers occupy these seats and it depends on the integrity of the passengers to hand it to the driver.

The minibus taxi drivers jointly agreed that their manner of doing their daily activities could have an impact on their passengers, on other road users, and also on the learners that they transported. It was clear that the drivers had insights into aspects of their own conduct

that could affect other people they came into contact with daily. The drivers understood that they could direct such influence in a positive manner. However, that would be an individual decision of the minibus taxi driver.

Nevertheless, the minibus taxi drivers viewed their greatest strengths as being hardworking and respectful towards their passengers, including learners. The drivers raised their respect for passengers as the reason why they could work long hours under very demanding circumstances and endure the impoliteness of some passengers. However, it might also be because they could not get other employment.

The public minibus taxi drivers viewed their role in transporting learners as important. The drivers saw it as their responsibility to ensure that learners arrived safely and on time at school. The minibus taxi drivers acknowledged that the time learners spent inside the minibus taxi vehicle might affect the learners emotionally, especially when arguments arose between themselves as minibus taxi drivers and the passengers. According to the drivers, argumentative and aggressive behaviour created a negative atmosphere in the minibus taxi vehicle. Other aspects related to the transportation of learners that the drivers foregrounded were delays in travelling caused by themselves as drivers due to the 'fill and go' concept. This means the drivers have to wait until the vehicle is full before they can drive off (Mokwena, 2021). This waiting time might have led to the late arrival of learners at school. Late arrival has a secondary effect for the learners in that they may be late for early morning school activities. Furthermore, late arrival leads learners to be reprimanded for their late arrival. Learners are also exposed to the harsh business environment in an open public space. Most people in public spaces are in a mode of normal daily living with little consideration for younger people such as school learners' physical and psychosocial needs as a guardian or parent would do.

Learners using public minibus taxis find themselves with plenty of idle time. As with most public transportation, much time is used waiting for minibus taxis to arrive, taking detours to offload specific passengers at their preferred 'get off' stops, and with traffic congestion. Long travel distances also take up valuable time that can be spent on other more productive educational activities. The minibus taxi drivers raised non-punctuality among parents and learners as a challenge. They reported that learners arrived late for their transport which had a ripple effect on the rest of the drivers' work day and arrival at their other destinations. Another negative aspect the drivers raised was the late payment of minibus taxi fares by

parents (this was done monthly). To address the late payment issue, drivers took a firm stand but then parents reacted by reporting them to the association. Reports by parents are taken very seriously by the association and the customers are deemed to be right, which may lead to the minibus taxi driver being expelled or fined R150. Hence, due to a lack of policies on how to handle challenging incidents in the vehicle, the minibus taxi drivers' action to address it depended on their mood at the time of the incident. Sometimes the minibus taxi drivers acted very harshly, in an aggressive violent manner towards the naughty learner, other times a reprimand sufficed. It became evident from the minibus taxi drivers' responses that they did not have the knowledge as to how to deal with learners in a proactive manner.

The public minibus taxi drivers indicated that they did not have any meetings with principals of schools, nor with the learners who made use of their transport services or the school near the informal minibus taxi rank which they had created for themselves. The public minibus taxi drivers explained that the lack of reciprocal interaction between the school in close proximity and them, might have been due to them not being scholar transport minibus taxi drivers and that the operations of scholar transport minibus taxi drivers and themselves as public minibus taxi drivers differed greatly. According to them, scholar transport minibus taxi drivers only transport learners whereas public minibus taxi drivers mostly transport the general public and one or two learners at a time.

The public minibus taxi drivers described their role in supporting education as a detached action of 'share information and distribute pamphlets'. Education is made up of different facets. The relationship that public minibus taxi drivers have with education and schools might indicate that they are not aware of these facets, namely formal, informal, and non-formal education. The drivers indicated that they would share information and distribute pamphlets as guidance and motivation to learners to study and perform at school, but this action did not carry enough weight to really make a significant impact. On the other hand, it might demonstrate their limited understanding of pedagogical processes and education and the supporting role that public minibus taxi drivers might provide. Minibus taxi drivers indicated that they would reprimand learners who became involved in negative behaviour, but that they could not really do anything. This might also point to a lack of interest in terms of education, schools, and their involvement with learners. The minibus taxi drivers did not realise that they had a role to play as an adult or be a possible role model or guardian while the learners were being transported, which is one of the facets of education.

Additionally, it might be due to the unforgiving industry that they find themselves in, which did not allow public minibus taxi drivers to get involved in any aspect other than driving and handing over the expected monies to the owners of the minibus taxi vehicles. Apart from the above-mentioned points, there are numerous and diverse activities taking place on the road which needs the full attention of the driver whilst transporting passengers which is the reason they might not to consider making their vehicles educational. From the minibus taxi drivers' responses, it is evident that the drivers and schools did not cooperate and have a partnership. The drivers felt that the public at large did not acknowledge and respect them, which gave them a low social standing. This was the reason that they were not invited to school functions even if they were involved in transporting learners to these schools.

This group of minibus taxi drivers spent their idle time on an open piece of land directly opposite the school. The drivers indicated that the owners of the vehicles would fire them if they found out that they were empowering themselves. Some of the public minibus taxi drivers expressed a willingness to be able to empower themselves through training and development. It is noteworthy that the public minibus taxi drivers' list of strengths is considerably shorter than the list of weakness and may provide opportunities for training and development.

5.3. Findings and analysis of public minibus taxi drivers' from data collected by applying the Johari Window

The purpose of presenting the data collected from public minibus taxi drivers in the Johari Window is to familiarise the researcher and the reader with the views held by the public minibus taxi drivers and why these views are held by them. The window provides a source to rethink and share the data (views), not only for the purpose of this study, but possibly to share with the minibus taxi industry. It then becomes the basis to initiate a communication process with the role players involved. It might be that when minibus taxi drivers are aware and open to their views and why these views are held by them, their role in supporting education can be identified and, in the long run, be developed. The views of the public minibus taxi drivers and the reason why these views are held come to the fore in the hidden and unknown panes. As the data came to the fore, I rethought, analysed, and synthesised it, hence the panes 'filled up' with data. In the event that the study, and specifically this window, is shared with the public, minibus taxi drivers' views in the open pane may enlarge

and the other panes may become smaller. It might be expected that the views of the drivers might change.

Table 5.1: Johari Window for public minibus taxi drivers

	Known to public minibus taxi drivers	Not known to public minibus taxi drivers
Known to learners and SGBs	KNOWN	BLIND SPOT
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • African men, speak isiZulu and isiXhosa • Patriarchal environment • Middle-aged drivers • Transportation of passengers for financial reward • Break rules and regulations • Take rules into their own hands which leads to violence and spills over into other areas of society • Pattern of dictatorial and anti-democratic ways of thinking and doing. • These drivers are very 'good' at managing the space around them to their advantage which is not done in a positive manner • Customers are deemed to always be right • PMDs act with much power even bringing the economy to a standstill when they strike • Non-price competition created by imperfect completion which ultimately leads to 'collusion' management in the industry 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drivers come across as hostile, agitated, and irritated • Long working hours has an impact on drivers' emotional, physical, and spiritual levels • Drivers have business skills which can be extrapolated to larger business entities in similar or other industries in a different economic environment • Drivers view themselves in a negative light • Drivers have excuses for not changing their ways or developing themselves • Most of the time drivers do not using their 'power' positively • Very set in their rituals and patterns • Drivers think and act in an anti-democratic manner • Industry is dictatorial • Drivers lack self-worth and professionalism Drivers use much energy to fight, which could be used for self-development thus minimising self-destructive behaviour.

	HIDDEN	UNKNOWN
<p>Not known to learners and SGBs</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extremely aggressive and hostile work environment • Aggression and physical confrontation are strengths for survival • Hyper-vigilant • No opportunity for quality family life, to prepare for later stages in their lives • Work rules are determined by taxi owners • Drivers work in self-isolation due to trust issues, jealousy • Drivers are caught in faction violence • Drivers are caught between owners, factions in the industry, own needs for survival, passengers, and government • Drivers see driving as an ‘easy’ way out of unemployment • There are barriers to becoming a driver • Rivals are aware of what others are doing, measure of inter-dependence in the industry • Non-price competition • Drivers make up their own rules for survival • Oligopoly the order of the day in the minibus taxi industry • Extremely long working hours • Drivers operate in survival mode • Drivers feel that they have a low social standing in society • Drivers under constant ‘policing’ by passengers, taxi bosses, association, SAPS, other road users • Drivers work under high and constant change of passenger needs • Drivers view the safety of learners in their vehicles as essential but they do not drive in a safe manner. aware of the negative impact on learners when they are late at educational institutions PMDs see their role as detached from schools • The PMDs working environment does not encourage development • PMDs lack support in terms of well-being and labour relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drivers portray themselves as victims • Drivers’ rights to mutual understanding on the basis of fair and reasonable interaction and conduct is absent • Space plays a significant role on different levels in the industry (geographical space, inside the vehicle, taxi routes, taxi rank and school) which is not acknowledged • No certainty, stability of future goals, plans, dreams for the drivers • Drivers are resilient, agile, and multitaskers • Drivers have saleable skills • Drivers do not realise the minibus vehicle is a ‘moving business’ • Victimology attitude leads to drivers behaving in an aggressive manner • Considering the harsh working conditions – why do they stay in the industry? • Impact of set patterns and rituals on the drivers • Ethical aspects of business management • Industry is about ambiguity • Drivers are cheap labour thus their ‘bosses’ do not empower them • Culture travels with language • Limited working space for women • Self-destructive work environment • Drivers do not realise that they can be positive role models • Drivers are not aware that they can play an educational role • Detachment is at the order of the industry – drivers see their role as detached from education/schools • Perhaps drivers see their actions as not carrying enough weight to make a difference • The self-interest of drivers and passengers respectively creates problematic behaviour • Drivers are not self-reflective – in other words, to gauge the influence of their actions on other people. Transaction analysis you-me me-you. One-sided view of their interactions • Drivers have insight into their behaviour and conduct • Change in the industry will be on individual level due to the immense power the industry has as a collective

<p>Not known to learners and SGBs</p>		<p style="text-align: center;">UNKNOWN (continue)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual change may lead to industry change but not change from top down. Cannot blame the industry for individuals’ negative behaviour – mop mentality • There is an opportunity for development in a very innovative manner as minibus taxi executives • Late arrival is created by parents who are not punctual and not always the drivers • The time of walking, waiting, driving, and walking again – ample time for children which can be used more effectively • Parents, drivers, and schools all have to partnership to support education • Passengers should be taught how to behave in a public transport space • Lack of guidelines on how to act and handle challenging incidents resolve to aggression from drivers • Lack of job satisfaction and demotivation to render quality services • Same vehicle is used (VW/Quantum combi bus – general public assume that it is public minibus taxis. Users able to differentiate between scholar and public transport)
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In Table 5.1, the open pane of the Johari Window made known and confirmed the views held by the public minibus taxi drivers, SGBs and learners that the use of aggressive and sometimes violent behaviour is part of the minibus taxi transportation environment. It can be argued that the nature of the minibus taxi industry is one of the main causes for their views and behaviour, as it came to the fore in the other panes of the window. It also came to the fore that the minibus taxi drivers sometimes view and treat other road users only as a means to reach their ‘target’(money/income).

The blind spot pane supported the open pane’s data emphasising that the drivers might not be aware of how hostile, irritated, and agitated they come across. It also highlighted that in most cases the drivers have a problem-identifier attitude and not a problem-solvers’ attitude. It also accentuated that they may not be aware of the saleable skills that they hold. In many cases, this lack of self-knowledge spills over into poor self-worth and a lack of professionalism.

The hidden pane provided evidence regarding their aggressive and sometimes hostile behaviour which is considered a strength to survive in the industry. The hidden pane also highlighted their moral internalisation, which refers to conflict as central to most of their encounters with other role players. Having said that, the hidden pane provided data that it is the role players, especially the passengers and the manner in which they treat the drivers, which leads to the negative interaction.

Nonetheless, the unknown pane revealed victimology was at play in the manner that these public minibus taxi drivers portrayed and viewed themselves. It is difficult to take in their victim attitude, bearing in mind the immense bargaining power they have over the economy and other role players. In addition, their victim attitude underlines ambiguity at play not only on every level of the industry but also in the manner in which the minibus taxi drivers operate and think. Also of interest is the unknown pane which provided data that the minibus taxi drivers are resilient, agile, and multitaskers. It also suggests that minibus taxi drivers can be role models and play a part in supporting education, although the pane shows that detachment is at the order of the industry and the manner in which the drivers operate. The unknown pane showed space as a theme, which merits consideration. Space plays a significant role on different levels in the industry (geographical space, inside the vehicle, taxi routes, taxi rank, and school) which is not acknowledged but which provides the basis for the support drivers can give to education. It merits consideration as an independent section in Chapter 7. It seems that the level of interaction between the role players and drivers may possibly yield significant support for learners and education but also for the empowerment and development of the drivers themselves. As a consequence, this window's findings supported the view that the drivers and industry do have assets which can be used to support education.

A cyclical pattern of actions and reciprocal behaviour of all parties, minibus taxi drivers, and role players were revealed in the data presented in the four panes of the window.

5.4. Views of scholar transport minibus taxi drivers

The second unit of analysis was the scholar transport minibus taxi drivers. The scholar transport minibus taxi drivers differ from the public minibus tax drivers in the sense that they transport mostly learners to school.

The questionnaire for this focus group was in English. The drivers were given the choice to respond in their mother tongue. All of the scholar transport minibus taxi drivers responded in English. Therefore, the focus group interview was conducted in English. The majority of the scholar transport minibus taxi drivers in this focus group were within the age group 36 to 49 years with only one in the age group 50 years and older. The reason for this age distribution might be the high unemployment rate of 28 per cent. Of 6,2 million South Africans, 4,3 million have been unemployed for a year or longer (Statistics SA, 2014).

It seems that among the scholar transport minibus taxi drivers, women play a more significant role as drivers of vehicles, owners of vehicles, and leaders in the scholar transport sector than in the public minibus taxi sector. The scholar transport minibus taxi drivers' group consisted of 40 per cent woman and 60 per cent men. As one female scholar transport driver indicated, 'As a mother I can say, women in this industry, its being a mother transporting kids' (N2STD). Furthermore, another female driver explained, 'To improve my life and because of unemployment, I was raised by loving and protective parents, I also want to transfer that to other kids and protect them against our birth societies' (N3STD). The caring side of some women may be one of the reasons why they opt to transport children to school as scholar transport minibus taxi drivers. In addition, the high unemployment rate of 44,4 per cent in South Africa leaves many woman and men with no choice other than to find alternative methods of income in the informal work sector of the work market, of which scholar transportation is one (Statistics, 2021). Long-term unemployment causes significant mental and material stress for those affected and their families. The main reason given for being scholar transport drivers was to generate money and a steady income. They raised and addressed unemployment. Five of the seven drivers considered their payment as insufficient whilst the other interviewees considered it as enough for their responsibilities.

In comparison with the public minibus taxi drivers discussed earlier in this section, the working hours were shorter for the scholar transport minibus taxi drivers' group. Shorter working hours might be one of the ways that women can generate an income as scholar minibus taxi drivers. Shorter working hours give women in particular enough time to look after their families and households as is expected of them from the patriarchal society that South African woman find themselves in. The men and women scholar transport minibus taxi drivers interviewed had all completed Grade 12 but did not have tertiary qualifications.

The majority of interviewed drivers had been scholar transport minibus taxi drivers for between one and five years, with two of the 10 drivers having been scholar transport minibus taxi drivers for six to 10 years. None of the interviewed drivers had been in scholar transport for longer than 10 years. The analysis of the age groups and experience of scholar transport drivers shows that the majority of drivers are in the age group 36 to 49 years with only one driver in the 50-year-old age group. It merits then to look at their years of experience which is mostly 10 years. If 10 years is added to the 36 to 39 years' age group, it places the drivers between the ages of 46 to 49 years, which translates to there being only one driver in the 50-year-old group. Drivers close to 50 years and older might have less patience and energy to work with young learners who are very active thus the drivers leave scholar transport for other jobs.

The hostility and ferocity of the public minibus taxi drivers was not evident in the scholar transport minibus taxi drivers' group. The scholar transport minibus taxi drivers came across as more cooperative than the public minibus taxi drivers. They were, at face value, far less confrontational and competitive than was evident in the focus group of public minibus taxi drivers. One of the scholar transport minibus taxi drivers indicated, 'I have learned to become a grandfather, it is about care and safety' (N6STD) and another said, 'My role is to be a bigger person' (N1STD). The interviewed drivers contributed to the caring and patient manner in which they operated as scholar transport minibus taxi drivers, to the point that they did not have to 'chase' passengers and targets. The parents of the learners pay these drivers to transport them to school for a monthly fee. The scholar transport minibus taxi drivers emphasised that they did not use violence in their daily operation as scholar transportation, as they did not see violence as an effective strategy to deal with challenging behaviour from other road users or learners.

Scholar transport drivers' work environment and conditions revolve solely around the transportation of learners. These drivers spend considerably less time in their vehicles than drivers within the general public minibus taxi sector. The shorter time spent as drivers in vehicles can be attributed to the fact that scholar transport drivers have a specific group of learners that they transport to and from the school at specific times for which they receive a monthly payment from the parents. Hence they have a set income and do not spend time searching for ad hoc passengers during the normal run of a day. However, as the drivers indicated, there are cases where scholar transport drivers transport other passengers during the periods between delivering and fetching learners from school. The aforementioned

action of some of the scholar transport drivers has a negative impact on the learners as the driver arrives late at the school and is stressed and tired.

The scholar transport drivers indicated that their work revolves around self-discipline and responsibility. This, according to the scholar transport drivers, is linked to the transportation of learners. As they explained, a driver takes on the role and responsibility of a parent/guardian, stating, 'Kids are sometimes fighting, some forget their books, sometimes I find kids are not feeling well, so it is my responsibility to act as a parent'(N4STD). Hence, their main focus is about caring and the safety of the learners whom they transport. The scholar transport taxi drivers indicated that it was essential to have a valid driver's licence. The scholar transport drivers also indicated that they have professional driving permit (PrDP) and they adhere to legislation because of the learners that they transport. The aforesaid point is arguable if I have to consider the numerous newspaper articles about overloaded scholar transport vehicles with as many as 58 learners and more in a vehicle (Mokhoali, 2020). It seems, unfortunately, that a high number of the scholar transport drivers were involved in accidents. By contrast, the scholar transport drivers described themselves as self-disciplined, responsible, caring, and adhering to legislation. According to them, they are much more considerate than the public minibus taxi drivers who, according to the scholar transport drivers, are only focused on their own needs and lack respect for other road users

The scholar transport association assists the scholar transport drivers to deal with difficult customers (parents). Furthermore, the scholar transport association assists in cases of accidents and incidents in which the driver might be involved in. It also provides a sticker which should be stuck on the vehicle to indicate that it is a scholar transport vehicle and not a public minibus taxi. The scholar transport drivers indicated that they adhered to the taxi industry regulations by belonging to an association. The scholar transport drivers all agreed that the cleanliness of their vehicle was central in showing that they cared about the learners in terms of hygiene and, furthermore, that it attracted more business.

The scholar transport drivers indicated that peak traffic gave them the most stress, especially busy intersections and highways. Load shedding⁴ impacted negatively on

⁴ Load shedding is a controlled process that responds to unplanned events in order to protect the electricity power system from total blackout.

children being transported to school. It led to the traffic being delayed in the mornings and afternoons which spilled over to learners arriving late at school and missing academic time. The drivers, as a collective, agreed that they valued adherence to the school times and thus were stressed if learners arrived late at school. In the same breath, they indicated that their passengers, the learners, contributed to the stress that they experienced as learners did not always listen to instructions or behave in a disciplined manner in the vehicle. The drivers indicated that the behaviour of the learners was challenging, because at times, they fought, made a noise, and played dangerous games, even using knives inside the vehicle.

In terms of passengers and passenger care, the scholar transport drivers categorised their challenges in two main categories, namely parents and learners. According to the drivers, they dealt with difficult parents who did not pay on time as per agreement, which had a negative impact on the running of their businesses. They further highlighted one of their biggest challenges as that of parents who did not wake up in time so that their children were not ready to be fetched at the arranged time. In the case of learners forgetting items in their vehicles, it was very clear from scholar transport drivers' responses that they took responsibility for the items. The scholar transport drivers explained that they would even take it to the child's place of residence because the learner had to do homework and therefore needed the school case. In the case of other items, the drivers would contact the parents to indicate it was safe and that the items would be given to the child the next day.

The scholar transport drivers indicated that one of the main reasons for transporting learners was a love for children even if it was challenging to deal with them at times. The scholar transport drivers viewed their role as that of a 'parent' ensuring the safety of the children at all times. As one explained, 'It is very important because when I am with the kids I am also a parent. It is my responsibility to make sure kids are safe, no bullying in the transport'(N4STD) and 'Kids are sometimes fighting, some forget their books, sometimes I find kids are not feeling well, so it is my responsibility to act as a parent'(N4STD).

They further agreed that the role they played while driving and interacting with the learners should have a positive impact on the academic performance of the learners when they reached school. The scholar transport drivers indicated that their role was to ensure the safety of children in their vehicle but what happened in their vehicle, according to them, was not always safe. They mentioned that learners tended to be poorly behaved, making a noise, standing while the vehicle was moving, and fighting with each other. The drivers

had to continue to drive but also to intervene and reprimand the learners, a task for which they are not trained.

The drivers wholeheartedly agreed that what happened in the vehicle on the way to the school impacted the learners' academic performance and behaviour at school. It may be argued that the space the learners find themselves in, like the scholar transport vehicle, has the potential to impact them just as the driver and learners might have an impact on the scholar transport vehicle. The scholar transport drivers were more than the public minibuss taxi to highlight issues by giving individual responses. For example, one driver mentioned, 'I view my role as to ensure kids are safely driven to school without any obstacles/disturbances especially in their minds' (N3STD).

All the scholar transport drivers who participated in this study agreed that their behaviour as the driver of the vehicle had an impact on the learners due to them being viewed as a role model for the learners. The self-concept of the drivers played a significant role. As one driver said, 'I always motivate the kids to make sure that they must not become what I am' (N4STD). The interpretation can be that the driver does not hold his position as a minibuss scholar transport driver in high regard, even if he is rendering a valuable service.

Bearing in mind that the scholar transport drivers had not had any form of training in terms of handling learners and discipline matters might be a reason why the learners behaved in a disrespectful and undisciplined manner. The scholar transport drivers, as indicated by them, implemented the following strategies to deal with the challenging behaviour of the learners in their vehicle, namely, to communicate, reprimand, and motivate the learners. Also, as mentioned by the scholar transport drivers, they informed the parents of challenging learner behaviour. Furthermore, the scholar transport drivers said that they set rules and expectations for the learners when they joined the scholar transportation.

The scholar transport drivers and schools have the same clients, namely the learners. Thus, the relationship between the scholar transport drivers and the school should be a priority for both parties. Any engagement with learners should be focused on the best interest of learners. However, out of the seven drivers interviewed, only one driver indicated that he had had a meeting with the school principal, although four drivers out of the seven drivers indicated that they had been invited to school functions, which included fun days and parent meetings. Parent meetings provided a platform for the scholar transport drivers as a collective to raise challenges experienced with learners on the daily journey to school. The

scholar transport drivers viewed the partnership between the school and themselves as drivers mainly as business and support. The scholar transport drivers mentioned that the school should use their services as scholar transport, but also as transport for educational excursions and tours. It seemed that the scholar transport drivers felt very strongly about this point by saying ‘the school must use us’ (N6STD). The drivers felt very strongly about the school using their services for the financial gain they received from the school which should have increased their income, bearing in mind that they received a set monthly income from the learners they transported to schools.

The scholar transport drivers described the support that they could give to the learners and the school as follows: learners could read in the vehicle while travelling to and from the school; they could play educational songs instead of the radio or loud music; they could install TVs in the scholar transport vehicle to show educational programmes; and, as drivers, they could motivate the learners to perform well at school. Certain of the drivers indicated that they bought gifts for learners who achieved more than 80 per cent in the examinations. The scholar transport drivers indicated that they had no tolerance for drug abuse in their scholar transport vehicles. The scholar transport drivers further mentioned that if they became aware of learners who abused drugs, they would inform the parents, the school, and the SGB immediately so that the school could intervene and arrange counselling for the specific learner.

In terms of training and development, all the scholar transport drivers had a very positive response to the notion of changing the inside of their vehicles to a more educational space. They indicated that they thought the space inside their vehicle would then assist learners to be more effective in their schoolwork. The scholar transport drivers seemed very enthusiastic about using the space in an educational manner. They were overwhelmingly positive about the idea of attending a course or any development. The drivers mentioned that this would provide a productive activity during the time that they were waiting for the learners to finish school, instead of just sitting in their vehicles doing nothing. One driver said, ‘I will love to do that because after dropping kids, I just have to sit up until later, doing nothing, nothing’ (N4STD).

The majority of the scholar transport drivers identified their weakness as being too impatient and quick to anger. One of the scholar transport drivers mentioned that she talked a lot which did not give the children an opportunity to raise their issues, which she thought

was not good for them. This statement might point out that the drivers did think about the needs of the learners. For the scholar transport drivers, it might not merely be a job of transportation and generation of an income. The scholar transport drivers said that they handled their own weaknesses by doing meditation. The drivers raised a love for the learners, patience, communication skills, and punctuality as their strengths. They contradicted themselves though, because they raised patience as a weakness too.

5.5. Findings and analysis for scholar transport minibus taxi drivers from data collected by applying the Johari Window

The reason for presenting the scholar transport minibus taxi drivers' data in the Johari Window below is, once again, as in the case of the public minibus taxi drivers' window, to familiarise the researcher and the reader with the views held by the scholar transport minibus taxi drivers and why these views are held by them. The window provides a source to rethink and share the data (views). In this case, it can be shared with the scholar transport drivers and role players at the specific school. Furthermore, it might be used as a springboard to initiate a communication process with all the role players involved to support the learners.

Table 5.2: Johari Window for scholar transport minibus taxi drivers

	Known to scholar transport drivers	Not known to scholar transport drivers
Known to primary school and learners	<p style="text-align: center;">KNOWN</p> <p>African men and women</p> <p>Preferred English as a lingo franca</p> <p>Drivers not aggressive</p> <p>Working hours and conditions not adverse</p> <p>Not all drivers have a valid driver's licence and PDRPs</p> <p>Overload of vehicles may lead to the death of learners in case of an accident</p> <p>The scholar transport drivers belong to their own association which provide a platform for support and assistance in the case of accidents and vehicle break down</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">BLIND SPOT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School transport drivers do not always act in a disciplined and accountable manner. • Drivers sometimes treat learners in a hostile manner, no patience
Not known to primary school	<p style="text-align: center;">HIDDEN</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drivers found a niche in the transport industry, a specialised market within the transport due to their own unemployment • Business opportunity or love for children • Work revolves around children and schools only • Day is set according to times, patterns, and rituals • Women in scholar transport may have time to fulfil other ways to generate an income, being a caregiver and spouse • Middle-aged 36-49 years • Set income paid by the parents thus working environment may be less aggressive, hostile, and stressful • Drivers do not chase passengers to generate an income 	<p style="text-align: center;">UNKNOWN</p> <p>Scholar transportation created a space for woman to generate an income and render a service</p> <p>Scholar transport drivers have a high moral internalisation</p> <p>To a certain extent drivers buy into the vision of the school and education</p> <p>The quality of parent-child relationships is brought to the fore</p> <p>The majority of drivers' act in loco parentis</p> <p>Possibly as a result of inadequate training, the vehicle space becomes an environment for bullying and short temperedness of the drivers and passengers</p> <p>Drivers need to be empowered and attend development to prevent demotivation and ensure better control of learners in the vehicle</p> <p>Passengers should be educated on acceptable behaviour in public transport and vehicles</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In most cases, drivers are the owners of the school transport vehicles • Drivers view their role in a responsible light but may not always act in a responsible manner • Drivers view themselves as disciplined and accountable • Drivers are supportive of each other since they have a set income by transporting a specific group of learners • The monetary reward is insufficient if weighed against their responsibilities 	<p>Drivers have good intentions and motivation to develop and improve themselves</p> <p>Drivers realise the influence of social identity and social norms; they realise that they are role models, delivering a service</p> <p>Ambiguity plays a role – are they providing scholar transport because they love children or purely for money?</p> <p>Scholar transport is not such a cut-throat business</p> <p>A clear distinction should be made between the transport groupings</p>
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<p>Not known to primary school</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">HIDDEN (continue)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The monetary reward is insufficient if weighed against their responsibilities • Parents contribute to the stress drivers have because they do not wake up early enough to have learners ready to be picked up as arranged • Parents do not realise the negative impact of late fare payment on the personal lives and operation of drivers • Drivers have challenges to control and discipline the learners in their vehicles on their way to school • Drivers realise the influence of social identity and social norms; they realise that they are role models • Drivers realise the educational value of the space inside the vehicle • Drivers spent less than five years as drivers • Scholar transport drivers view themselves as ‘better’ than public minibus taxi drivers 	<p style="text-align: center;">UNKNOWN (continue)</p> <p>Certain drivers act in an unethical manner, not adhering to the ‘contract’ they have with the parents</p> <p>The unwritten ‘job description’ to transport learners are inadequate</p> <p>The idle time of scholar transport drivers may be used more effectively</p> <p>A need for ‘school community’ intervention and development identified</p> <p>Scholar transport drivers are open and positive to being involved with training and development</p> <p>Scholar transport drivers are positive towards group development to shift attitudes and practices in relation to the manner in which learners are handled and transported to school</p> <p>Need exists to support and develop internal resources like emotional intelligence, cognition, self-efficacy, attitude, intention, and motivation to change</p> <p>Owing to the same type of vehicle being used (VW/Quantum kombi), the general public assume that it is public minibus taxis. Users will be able to differentiate between scholar transport and public transport</p>
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The open pane in Table 5.2 made known and confirmed the views held by the scholar transport minibus taxi drivers, learners, and SGB regarding the work environment of scholar transportation which, most of the time, revolves around learners and the school. The scholar transport work environment, it seems, is not as adverse, aggressive, and hostile as that of public minibus taxi drivers. Furthermore, the open pane suggests that the work environment is open for woman to be drivers. Although the scholar transport drivers viewed themselves as ‘better’ than public minibus taxi drivers, it emerged that the drivers overloaded their vehicles to increase their income, which is against the law and puts the safety of the learners in jeopardy. However, the hidden pane brought to light that the parents

do not honour their ‘contract’ of fare payment, and departure and drop-off times with the drivers, which has an adverse snowball impact on the driver and other role players. It might mirror the quality of parent-child relationships.

The blind spot window pane revealed that the scholar transport minibus taxi drivers did not always act in a disciplined, responsible, and accountable manner. The analysis of the hidden pane shows that scholar transport drivers are, in some sense, entrepreneurs who identified a niche in the transport industry which revolved around schools and learners only. Their problem-solver attitude assisted them out of unemployment. Also of relative importance is that drivers are supportive of each other since they have a set income by transporting a specific group of learners to the school. The analysis of the hidden window pane indicates that in many cases parents and learners contribute to the stress scholar transport drivers may experience.

After careful analysis of data from the unknown pane, it becomes clear that the unwritten job description and contracts of the drivers are inadequate. It was further found that the expectations from role players are high, which reveals the need for support and development of scholar transport drivers’ internal resources. The unknown pane’s data is encouraging in the sense that it makes the drivers’ positive attitude towards training and development known. It can be concluded from the unknown pane that the scholar transport minibus taxi drivers may be aware that they should set a good example to the learners. The unknown pane moots the possibility of using the scholar transport vehicle space more effectively and efficiently to support education.

As in the Johari Window of the public minibus taxi drivers, a cyclical pattern of actions and reciprocal behaviour was revealed.

5.6. Views of LSEN school scholar transport minibus taxi drivers

The third unit of analysis is LSEN scholar transport minibus taxi drivers. The LSEN scholar transport minibus taxi drivers differ from the public minibus taxi drivers and scholar transport drivers in the sense that they transport only LSEN learners to school, in this case, ASD learners.

The survey instrument for the LSEN scholar transport drivers was in English. Although the LSEN scholar transport drivers were given a choice to respond in their mother tongue, all responded in English. Therefore, the focus group interview was conducted in English. The

LSEN scholar transport drivers also made use of Makaton⁵ to communicate with the ASD learners. One LSEN scholar transport driver described the lack of communication from the majority of ASD learners at this specific school as follows, ‘Some they talk some they don’t, they can’t even say I want to pee or go to toilet, some they kaka in the transport, some they eat other lunch box’(A2STD). The driver then went on to explain that, in cases where the learner could not express their needs, he had to stop the vehicle, clean the learner, put fresh clothes on, and only then he could he continue the journey to school.

The majority of the LSEN scholar transport drivers are between the age group 36 to 49 years. Only two of the eight drivers were older than 50 years and one was in the age group 26 to 35 years. Once again, the reason for the high number of drivers in the 36- to 49-year-old age group might be because of the high unemployment rate we experience in South Africa. The older drivers might have more patience with learners with special needs due to their driving and life experience. The majority of the LSEN scholar transport drivers were men; there was only one woman. Two drivers indicated that they did not really go to school and stated that they had a Standard 4 (Grade 6) education. These two drivers also asked me to capture their responses because they said that they do not feel comfortable to write on their own. The female driver indicated that she was busy studying teaching and the other drivers indicated that they had achieved a Grade 12 pass. Only one driver has been an LSEN scholar transport driver for longer than 15 years. She explained, ‘At first it was a matter of not finding a job, but with time I have grown to love what I am doing’ (A5STD). The rest of the LSEN scholar transport drivers had worked in scholar transport for less than 10 years.

The LSEN scholar transport drivers explained that they did not experience the intense hostility and ferocity displayed by the public minibus taxi drivers. In addition, the LSEN scholar transport drivers indicated that they were not involved with the violent behaviour of the public minibus taxis when they strike. The LSEN scholar transport drivers indicated that when they were stopped by the public minibus taxi drivers during minibus taxi strikes, the public minibus taxi drivers realised they were transporting disabled children and left them alone. According to the LSEN scholar transport minibus taxi drivers, the public

⁵ Makaton is a language programme of speech, signs and symbols that supports people with communication challenges.

minibus taxi drivers were sensitive to the criminal offence which might follow an act of violence against vulnerable people in South Africa. It is worth mentioning that the LSEN scholar transport minibus taxi drivers highlighted the behaviour of the ASD learners inside the vehicle. According to the LSEN scholar transport drivers the learners sometimes acted violently inside the vehicle while they were being transported. The LSEN scholar transport drivers demonstrated a certain amount of insight into ASD, explaining that the learners behaved in this manner because of the disorder and not merely out of naughtiness. But they did find it stressful. It seems the LSEN scholar transport drivers have to deal with aggressive behaviour inside the vehicle from the learners and outside their vehicles from the public minibus taxi drivers and other road users. As one driver said, ‘Some are violent, biting each other. I try to calm them down. Stop to control them’(A8STD).

In terms of the work environment and work conditions, the LSEN scholar minibus taxi drivers dealt with the problems as follows. The drivers spend daily between one and 10 hours in their vehicles. The comparison between the public minibus taxi drivers, scholar transport drivers, and LSEN scholar transport drivers revealed that the LSEN scholar transport drivers spent the least number of hours in their vehicle as drivers. This can be attributed to the fact that these drivers do not transport other passengers after they have delivered the ASD learners at the school. Furthermore, the ASD learners’ school day is a few hours shorter, without extramural activities after school. ASD learners require intensive attention and assistance from the LSEN drivers during the transit process which might be emotionally draining for the drivers.

The LSEN scholar minibus taxi drivers collectively indicated that cleanliness of their vehicle was of high importance to them. As the LSEN scholar transport drivers explained, it reflects the type of person that you are. Furthermore, learners learn about hygiene and cleanliness at school and, according to the drivers’ attitude towards hygiene and cleanliness, should also be implemented in the LSEN scholar transport vehicle. The aforementioned explanation might indicate that the LSEN scholar transport drivers comprehend the link between the space inside the vehicle and school. The LSEN drivers view is in accordance with the public minibus taxi drivers who also value clean vehicles but their focus is on more passengers and thus a higher income. The LSEN scholar transport drivers also clean their own vehicles but they mentioned and discussed it in a far more positive manner than the public minibus taxi drivers. This might be due to public minibus taxis having to travel with a container of water in their vehicles to the vacant piece of land

where they waited and then washed their vehicles, while LSEN scholar transport drivers waited on the LSEN school premises with water readily available.

The majority of the LSEN scholar transport minibus taxi drivers indicated that load shedding⁶ had a negative impact on traffic which is a major stressor in terms of what happens on the road and also that learners then arrived late at school. Working in the early mornings and fetching children from their homes when parents do not adhere to the pick-up times was raised as another negative influence on travelling time. ‘When picking up learners, parents are still sleeping and when [I] drop children of[f] parents not home [and I] have to wait and call them’ (A7STD). The fact that the learners were learners with special needs, in particular ASD, made it very challenging and stressful. As one LSEN driver explained, ‘Driving [is stressful] when one of the children is screaming since I am transporting children with autism’(A5STD).

One driver’s response to this question was wrong in the sense that they did not understand that the reference to ‘position’ (A1STD) was intended to mean overall working conditions and not seating position as such. It means that the researcher could have been aware of the possibility of misleading wording.

The scholar transport association in the area of the school provides stickers for the vehicles which indicate that as a driver you are part of scholar transport which to a certain extent prevents intimidation from public minibus taxi drivers and associations. Furthermore, the scholar transport association assists in the case of vehicle breakdown. However, five out of the eight drivers did not have insurance and four of the drivers indicated that they did not belong to a scholar transport minibus taxi association and that they did not see the importance thereof.

The LSEN scholar transport drivers were overwhelmingly negative with regard to the monetary value which is placed on their services. According to them, the parents did not pay the full transport fare at the end of the month, and sometimes not at all. As drivers they could not cover all their expenses and, justifiably, the drivers mentioned that their monetary reward did not carry weight equal to their responsibilities which came with transporting

⁶ The interruption of electricity supplies to avoid excessive load on the generating plant.

ASD learners. This was very clear from the following response, ‘No, because we do extra job not just transporting. They don’t talk, they kaka in the transport. Their transport is my concern’ (A2STD).

One of the female drivers showed insight into personal development on different levels as she indicated that the transportation of ASD learners provides a platform to learn, ‘Because,’ she said, ‘I have basic needs that I have to take care of and I’m still proving for my studies to become an educator. So, this is a great platform to start’ (A1STD).

The second reason to be involved with scholar transport that was mentioned by the drivers was the high unemployment rate, and thirdly the challenges they experienced with transport for their own children or grandchildren which led them to become LSEN scholar transport drivers. A preliminary observation of these LSEN scholar transport drivers indicates that they are solution focused. In the case of being unemployed and not finding transport for their own children with special needs, they made a plan.

In terms of passenger care, all the drivers said that they would keep lost property safe and hand it over to the parents or learners the next day. According to the LSEN scholar transport drivers, lost items were found on a daily basis as the learners had special educational needs. These learners are completely reliant on them as adults, drivers, and care givers.

The LSEN scholar transport drivers raised their punctuality as a responsibility towards the children and patience with learners as their greatest strengths in their job of transporting learners. According to them, it assisted them to ensure that learners reached school safely and on time.

The aforementioned responses from the drivers show their commitment to the transportation of learners, especially ASD learners, since they did not focus merely on the practical activities that transport entails but mentioned love and care for the learners too.

ASD learners in particular need people to be patient and repeat actions on a daily basis, owing to the learners processing information at a slower rate. One of the drivers described an incident in his vehicle. He explained that while driving on the highway, reflected in the side window of the vehicle, he saw clothes ‘flying’ around on the highway, only to realise it was a learner inside his vehicle who had taken off his clothes and was throwing them out. Furthermore, the interviewees emphasised responsibility on the road and again linked it to the disability of the learners and the high regard they placed on the safety of the

learners. These drivers provide a caring space for the learners that they are transporting. At first it might have been a matter of not finding a job, but with time they grew to love what they were doing.

The drivers view their role as vital in the sense that parents leave their children in their care which means that they should take care of them and treat them with love while transporting them safely to school. They also view their role in terms of a service that they render to the community and not just to the ASD learners. One driver stated, ‘For me, it’s good that I’m helping my community, especially with the children that I’m transporting’ (A5STD). Interestingly this is the opposite of how the public minibus taxi drivers viewed their role in terms of transporting passengers and learners.

The LSEN scholar transport drivers indicated that there was a happy atmosphere in their vehicles. They played music and some days the learners sang along. As in the case of scholar transport from the mainstream schools, the learners played in the vehicle but, according to the LSEN scholar transport drivers, they controlled them well. The LSEN scholar transport drivers mentioned that the learners did get violent and sometimes bit each other but that came with the fact that they were ASD learners. In these extreme cases, the scholar transport drivers stopped and addressed the incident and then drove on. This behaviour may be an indication that the drivers are aware that these learners have unique needs in terms of learning, social skills, and communication hence the drivers need strategies to handle these learners.

The LSEN scholar transport drivers who sporadically transported learners from neighbouring schools and learners from other LSEN schools mentioned that they explained to the mainstream learners how to ‘handle’ learners with ASD. As the following response indicated, ‘Sometimes I mix autism kids with normal kids, normal kids got amazed until I explained to them’(A3STD).

It becomes clear that the LSEN scholar transport drivers have to be empowered and trained on how to deal with learners with ASD and other special needs. The LSEN scholar transport drivers are aware that what happens in the vehicle on their way to school has an impact on the behaviour and emotional well-being of the ASD learners. Interestingly, one driver mentioned that when he transported passengers, other than learners, he got nervous, explaining, ‘I get a different attitude from them’(A6STD), referring to adult passengers. It

might be that adults can come across as judgemental and critical with regard to the manner in which the driver operates the vehicle.

All the LSEN scholar transport drivers agreed that what happened in the space inside the LSEN scholar transport minibus taxi had an influence on the learners. This can largely be attributed to the training on ASD which they received at the school that made them aware of the needs of ASD learners. ASD learners prefer stability, routine, and rituals. It thus relates to drivers' ability to handle the difficult learner behaviour. ASD learners may refuse or ignore requests, behave in a socially inappropriate manner, for example taking their clothes off in public, be aggressive, or have meltdowns. Furthermore, ASD learners may also engage in self-stimulatory behaviour, like rocking or hand-flicking. In extreme cases, the ASD learners may even go as far as hurting themselves or others, for example head-banging or biting. Learners with ASD might behave in challenging ways because they have trouble understanding what is happening around them especially with non-verbal communication. The drivers explained how they reacted which also indicates that they are aware of the special needs and care these learners need, saying, 'I stop the car on the side of the road and I would calm him/her down' (A5STD) and 'I always let him sit next to me so that I can caution him' (A6STD). Learners with ASD do not have effective ways of communicating their own wants and needs, which may lead to frustration and anxiety.

The LSEN scholar transport drivers agreed that their behaviour as adults might have an influence on the manner in which the learners behaved. According to the LSEN scholar transport drivers, the learners mirrored the emotions of the drivers. The LSEN scholar transport drivers explained that when they were friendly and calm then the children were friendly and calm. Only one driver disagreed and said the learners fought when they were in his vehicle, no matter what he did.

The majority of LSEN scholar transport drivers cited behavioural challenges of learners, which stemmed from their ASD. They highlighted the learners' aggressive behaviour and lack of normal communication abilities, which needed constant monitoring while they were driving. The LSEN scholar transport drivers mentioned some behaviour from parents which, according to them, was also very challenging. For example, parents sent sick learners to be transported to school and only woke up when the driver arrived at the house to fetch the learner. This, according to the LSEN scholar transport drivers, led to them hooting in front of the house to attract the attention of the parents, thereby disturbing the

neighbours. The LSEN scholar transport drivers explained that this obligatory hooting action had a ripple effect of stirring negative feelings towards them as drivers. They were seen as noise-makers and all the learners in the vehicle then arrived late at school. The LSEN scholar transport drivers mentioned that communication between them as scholar transport drivers, the school, and parents was also not as effective as they would have liked it to be.

Bearing in mind that these LSEN scholar transport drivers have received some training on the management of learners with ASD, it seems to me that they handled discipline and behaviour challenges in their vehicle considerably better than the public minibus taxi drivers and even better than the drivers at the mainstream school, who said that discipline was a challenge for them.

The LSEN scholar transport drivers indicated that they seated the learners with the most challenging behaviour next to and behind them, so that they could be monitored constantly while they were driving. In addition, the LSEN scholar transport drivers explained that they also made use of older learners to assist and control the younger learners. This action may have assisted the LSEN scholar transport drivers to a certain extent, but these learners were also ASD learners, which open the drivers up to unnecessary repercussions if anything went wrong.

The majority of LSEN scholar transport drivers indicated that they have had meetings at the school, not always with the principal, but with the social worker too. According to the LSEN scholar transport drivers, these meetings were very helpful to them as drivers. Interaction with the social worker, the drivers explained, empowered them to handle the learners with patience, keeping in mind that their behaviour was not naughtiness, but rather to do with them being ASD learners. Daily communication between the school and the drivers assisted them in handling incidents and solving problems in a caring and responsible manner.

The majority of drivers indicated that they had never been invited to the school for a function, which is in contrast with the aforementioned explanation about meetings with the social worker. This might be because they had been involved with LSEN scholar transport for a short period of time. Three out the eight drivers indicated that they had been invited to attend the awards mornings and driver training at the school. It is clear from the LSEN

scholar transport drivers who had been invited and attended functions that this was a positive experience for them.

The LSEN scholar transport minibus taxi drivers were aware of the influential role that they could play in education to support the ASD learners. It seems they were more aware of their role as role models than the public minibus taxi drivers and mainstream scholar transport drivers. They also expressed their willingness to get involved as motivators, coaches, and mentors to the ASD learners. They saw themselves playing an active role in communication between the parents and the school. For example, when learners were absent, they could inform the school. The LSEN scholar transport drivers further indicated that they could support the learners by giving individual attention to each of them. This interaction may be very valuable in assisting the ASD learners to improve their social interactive skills. These LSEN scholar transport drivers, just like the mainstream scholar transport drivers, saw their relationship with the school as interdependent.

From the interaction with the LSEN scholar transport drivers, it was clear that they viewed themselves as more capable than minibus taxi drivers and scholar transport drivers, mainly because they received training from the ASD school on to how to handle LSENs. This may mean that minibus taxi drivers and scholar transport drivers could play a more influential role in supporting education while they transport learners to school. The LSEN scholar transport drivers indicated that they reprimanded the learners if they deemed it necessary and then reported the incident to the school and parents for the ASD learner to be supported.

Of note is the one LSEN scholar transport driver who mentioned that he also transported learners to another LSEN school in the area. In the case of those LSEN learners not being able to pay the transport fees, the specific LSEN school attended by the learners that he transported paid him on behalf of the parents. He indicated that it assisted him as a LSEN scholar transport driver with his income and also the learners did not miss out on teaching and learning. To me, this indicated a healthy partnership between the LSEN school and scholar transport.

In terms of training and development, only one female driver of the 37 public minibus taxi drivers, scholar transport drivers, and the LSEN scholar transport drivers was studying at the time.

The LSEN scholar transport drivers were also eager to make their scholar transport vehicles more educational. According to them, an educational environment might also keep the learners busy while they are being transported which might, in turn, assist them as drivers to focus on the road and not on the discipline of the learners all the time. This might be proof that the space and time of minibus taxi drivers can be used more productively.

The LSEN scholar transport drivers were overwhelmingly positive regarding training with one driver saying, ‘Yes of course. I would do that passionately’ (A3STD). This might be an indication that the drivers also do not want to sit idly in the vehicles the entire day. Furthermore, it might also be an indication that the drivers see an opportunity for empowerment and development which might show a positive outlook on life and the work they do.

The LSEN scholar transport drivers described themselves as ‘too friendly’ and ‘soft’ (A1STD) to the learners but said that they become confrontational when parents did not ensure that learners were on time when they fetched them in the mornings. Two of the drivers mentioned deteriorating health and age as a weakness. Only one respondent indicated his weakness but also the action which he took to address it. The other LSEN scholar transport drivers mentioned their weaknesses but did not take action to address the weaknesses.

5.7. Findings and analysis for LSEN scholar transport minibus taxi drivers by applying the Johari Window

Table 5.3: Johari Window for LSEN scholar minibus taxi drivers

	Known to LSEN scholar transport minibus taxi drivers	Not known to LSEN scholar transport minibus taxi drivers
Known to learners and schools	<p style="text-align: center;">OPEN</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • LSEN drivers prefer English as lingua franca • LSEN scholar transport drivers are trained in Makaton to communicate with ASD learners • LSEN scholar transport drivers are middle-aged • Communication between the school and parents is managed effectively because the learners have communication challenges • The school has development and empowerment sessions once a month for the LSEN scholar transport drivers • LSEN scholar transport drivers are informed of the individual learning programmes of the ASD learners, especially learners who have severe autism • LSEN scholar transport drivers attend the multidisciplinary meetings of the ASD learners they transport thus they are aware of the needs of these learners • School invites LSEN scholar transport drivers to attend development sessions • LSEN school will pay the transport cost of needy learners to the drivers 	<p style="text-align: center;">BLIND</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • LSEN drivers come across as empathetic and connected to themselves, others, and life in general • LSEN scholar transport drivers seem to be problem-solvers

Known to learners and schools	HIDDEN	UNKNOWN
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • LSEN scholar transport drivers are educated and involved in studying. The LSEN scholar transport drivers are in the industry due to unemployment • Some LSEN scholar transport drivers have their own children in the school and therefore transport the children of community members who also have children with special educational needs to school • LSEN scholar transport drivers sometimes have to deal with violent behaviour from their passengers, the ASD learners • LSEN scholar transport drivers do not transport other passengers or drive around to find passengers. Their actions and work resolve around learners with special educational needs • The LSEN scholar transport drivers find the behaviour of the ASD learners challenging at times. Need for support and development • LSEN scholar transport drivers have to wake parents up in the morning when they fetch the learners, late payment of transport fees and a lack of communication from the parents' side create stress for the drivers • LSEN scholar transport drivers are aware of the influential role that they play and are willing to motivate, be coaches and mentors to the learners • LSEN scholar transport drivers do not have to compete against each other for passengers because they transport learners from different geographical areas thus there is less jealousy and more support of each other • LSEN scholar transport drivers expect support from the school in financial terms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aggression and physical confrontation are not needed as strengths to survive as LSEN scholar transport drivers • These drivers render a very specialised service to the segment of passengers making use of their services • Public minibus taxi drivers are sensitive to criminal offences which are accompanied by violence against vulnerable people and the LSEN scholar transport drivers • The transportation of ASC learners emotionally draining and needs very caring and responsible drivers • LSEN scholar transport drivers are 'roving caregivers' and act in loco parentis during the transit process. • LSEN scholar transport drivers demonstrate internal resources like patience, empathy, friendliness, and problem-solving skills • LSEN scholar transport drivers have a greater level of job satisfaction than public minibus taxi drivers • LSEN scholar transport drivers view their work as a calling, which might highlight their high moral internalisation • LSEN scholar transport drivers have a high commitment level of supervision and management • The financial reward for transportation of learners on the autism spectrum does not weigh equally to the responsibility of transporting these learners • LSEN scholar transport drivers are solution focused in how they handle the learners in their vehicles.

	by making use of them for educational outings	
Known to learners and schools		<p style="text-align: center;">UNKNOWN (continue)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rituals and patterns are intentionally part of their daily work environment especially inside the minibus vehicle which has to do with the security and familiarity they want to establish for ASD learners • LSEN scholar transport drivers prefer to transport learners and not adults as these learners are not judgemental • Quality of parent-child relationships come to the fore • LSEN scholar transport drives are self-efficient and value their role in the transportation of vulnerable learners • LSEN scholar transport drivers operate without government interference, guidance, or support • LSEN scholar transport drivers have driver licences and PDRPs • Organisation within the minibus vehicle is self-regulating, but this precludes governmental oversight • Learners do not have insight into their behaviour and conduct • Improvement and development on a school community-based level to improve service delivery and empower for the LSEN scholar transport drivers • Guidelines from government on how to act, handle and transport learners will be of value • The same type of vehicle is used (VW/Quantum kombi bus) – general public assume it is public minibus taxis Users can differentiate between scholar and public transport

In Table 5.3, the aim of the Johari Window is once again to order and present the data collected from the LSEN scholar transport minibus taxi drivers for the researcher and the reader and hence to familiarise themselves with the possible views held by the LSEN scholar transport drivers and why these views are held by them.

It emerged from the open pane that transparent communication formed the basis for a good relationship and partnership between the LSEN scholar minibus taxi drivers and the school. The analysis of the open pane further showed that in the process of prioritising the needs and education of the learners, all role players were actively involved. In contrast to the previous two Johari Windows, the LSEN scholar transport open pane revealed that the individual learning programmes of learners were shared with the LSEN scholar transport drivers. For this sharing process to take place, the LSEN scholar transport drivers were invited to the multidisciplinary meetings. While the inclusion of the drivers in these meetings was optional, it seemed that the drivers attended because it assisted them in handling the challenging behaviour of some of the ASD learners. It can be considered an opportunity for learning and development on the side of the drivers, hence incidental learning and the hidden curriculum are addressed. These are important clues by which the purpose of the study can be recognised. However, not all the drivers made use of the invitation to meetings which reflects ambiguity.

The hidden pane revealed that the drivers had to deal with tasks and issues that were not part of their transport duties and did not reflect in the monetary reward they received. Nonetheless, it highlighted their empathetic nature to the specialised services and learner needs they handled on a daily basis. Also of high importance, which came out in the hidden pane, is the necessity for emotional support and specialised training to deal with discipline, meltdowns, and the sometimes aggressive behaviour of the learners in the space of the vehicles.

The unknown pane supported the view of drivers being caring and responsible and they could be seen as roving caregivers acting in loco parentis during the transit process. From the unknown pane, it appears that rituals and patterns are intentionally part of the daily service delivery of the LSEN scholar transport drivers. This is attributed to the safe space and security that the drivers want to establish in their vehicles. It emerges from the hidden pane that guidelines and support from Government in terms of how to act, handle, and transport learners would be valuable to support the safety of learner transport in its totality.

Overall, it appears that LSEN scholar transport drivers have a high commitment to supervision and management.

5.8. Views of drivers – similarities and differences

It emerged from the analysis that there were noticeable differences and similarities in the manner in which the public minibus taxi drivers, scholar transport minibus taxi drivers, and LSEN scholar transport minibus taxi drivers operated and viewed themselves, one another, and other role players.

The majority of the South African population is made up of Black people, of which the largest ethnic groups are Zulus, followed by Xhosas and then Sothos. They therefore comprise the majority of minibus taxi passengers, be it public minibus taxis, scholar transport minibus taxis, or LSEN scholar transport minibus taxis. It may also be the reason for the drivers being part of these ethnic groups and their reason for the use of isiZulu and isiXhosa as a lingua franca. Language is part of culture and culture may influence the manner of behaviour, operation, and views held by the drivers especially the public minibus taxi drivers. Public minibus taxi drivers view violence, aggressive behaviour, and physical strength as part of the industry and a necessity to survive in the industry. These findings regarding the extremely aggressive and hostile environment is in line with previous studies conducted between 1991 and 2019 (Agbibo, 2019; Barret, 2003; Fourie, 2003; Khosa, 1992; McCaul, 1990; Schalekamp, 2015). Hence, the negative way of operation, self-isolation, absence of trust, jealousy, and self-destructive behaviour could be addressed in a people-centred manner via training and development which supports them in playing a supportive role in education. The work environment of the scholar minibus taxi drivers and LSEN scholar minibus taxi drivers is not as hostile and fierce as that of the public minibus taxi drivers. They have reasonable working hours (05:00–17:00) in comparison to the working hours of the public minibus taxi drivers (03:00–20:00). The scholar and LSEN scholar minibus taxi drivers have a set income from the monthly fares paid to them by parents and therefore do not have to chase passengers to generate an income like the public minibus taxi drivers. All the drivers are in the transport industry to generate an income to provide for their families. In addition, the high unemployment rate in South Africa required them to get a job and becoming minibus taxi drivers was way into employment.

The patriarchal environment may be the reason for the very low number of women actively involved in the industry. By contrast, a much higher number of women are involved as

scholar minibus taxi drivers and LSEN scholar minibus taxi drivers than public minibus taxi drivers. The manner of operation and method of communication in the public minibus taxi environment are in stark contrast to the scholar transport minibus taxi drivers and LSEN scholar minibus taxi drivers. The public minibus taxi drivers used isiZulu and isiXhosa as the lingua franca, hooting, and hand signals, which were not necessary for the scholar minibus taxi drivers, whereas the LSEN scholar transport drivers mostly used English and Makaton. The scholar transport minibus taxi drivers used English because the learners who were their passengers attended English medium schools. Cases of horizontal discrimination came to the fore; learners who were conversant with English and attended these English medium schools looked down on drivers who were not fluent in English.

The type of vehicles used by drivers to transport passengers was mostly the same, that is, the Toyota Quantum kombi bus and, to a lesser extent, other vehicles. This may lead to a generalisation by the public that all drivers are public minibus taxi drivers who are reckless, disrespectful, and aggressive. According to the data, this assumption may be wrong on more than one level. First, when a group of learners are hurt in an accident, it is mostly in scholar transport minibus taxis and not public minibus taxis. Secondly, it became clear that not all the public minibus taxi drivers are evil, as demonstrated in the literature study in Chapter 2. Furthermore, two different minibus taxi associations were involved, namely an association for public minibus taxis and an association for scholar transport minibus taxis. It seems that the users and drivers were aware of the differences and supported by the two different associations.

The majority of drivers from the three groupings were educated but interestingly it was only the drivers from the LSEN scholar transport grouping who were actively involved with studying and training. The LSEN school was the only school that provided training and development which may be a basis for a partnership. Thus, their drivers were more considerate and patient with their passengers, the ASD learners. It seems that the LSEN scholar transport drivers actively took on the role of the parent in the manner that they looked after the ASD learners which cannot be said about the majority of public minibus taxi drivers and, to a lesser extent, about the scholar transport drivers. It can be assumed that this is the reason why the scholar minibus taxi drivers and LSEN scholar transport minibus taxi drivers viewed themselves as more responsible and, in a sense, better than the public minibus taxi drivers even though the scholar transport drivers also overloaded their vehicles and acted in a negative manner towards the learners.

It may not be an easy task to initiate training and development but it is evident that the minibus taxi industry has assets which can be used to support education. If the drivers and role players are aware of the complexity of space and how to use it, it might change the dynamic between drivers and role players in support of the hidden curriculum and incidental learning which might in turn improve learner performance. Furthermore, all the drivers, public minibus taxi drivers, scholar transport drivers, and LSEN scholar transport drivers expressed a willingness and enthusiasm for the idea of training and development.

A distinct difference between the LSEN scholar transport drivers and the other two groupings was that they viewed their role as a calling, that of a caregiver, which might link to their moral internalisation. This view is in contrast with the victim attitude demonstrated by public minibus taxi drivers. Public minibus taxi drivers, it seems, were aware of their weak areas such as the aggressive manner in which they treated people, their impatience, and their disrespect. In addition, it came across that they placed a low value on the skills they had, which is the opposite of the LSEN scholar drivers and the majority of scholar transport minibus taxi drivers.

The three groups of drivers emphasised the importance of passenger safety, but sadly their behaviour and the statistics did not always support their view. From the data, it seems that it was the LSEN scholar transport drivers who prioritised the safety of their passengers, the ASD learners.

Rituals and patterns came to the fore in all three units of analysis. Rituals and patterns are, in a way, forced on public minibus taxi drivers by the industry and must be adhered to in order to stay in the business. For the scholar minibus taxi drivers and LSEN scholar minibus taxi drivers' rituals and patterns are entrenched by the school system in terms of arrival and departure times, however, it is not always respected by drivers and parents. The LSEN scholar transport drivers, it seems, intentionally adhered to rituals and patterns to support the ASD learners they transported, who needed structure, patterns, and rituals to feel safe, and to minimise meltdowns in the vehicle on their way to school.

The comparison of data revealed that the LSEN minibus taxi drivers had the most constructive relationship with the school, followed by the scholar transport minibus taxi drivers to a lesser extent. The public minibus taxi drivers did not have a constructive relationship with the school and also viewed it as the task of scholar transport minibus taxi drivers.

The educational value of the space in the vehicles of the three units of analysis is not optimally used to support education, except to accommodate as many passengers as possible. The space should be purposefully used to support education, specifically with reference to incidental learning and the hidden curriculum. The data suggests that the public minibus taxi drivers, scholar transport drivers, and LSEN scholar transport drivers are open and positive about training and development. This might lead better services in the space in which they operate and play a role in supporting education. However, it came to the fore that passengers, whether adults or learners, should be educated on acceptable behaviour in public and scholar transportation. The concept and theory of space which possibly can be applied to the minibus vehicle will be discussed comprehensively in Chapter 7.

5.9. Conclusion

Chapter 5 focused on the data that expressed the possible views held by public minibus taxi drivers, scholar transport minibus taxi drivers, and LSEN scholar transport drivers and their role in supporting education. In the first level of analysis, the following themes were discussed for each unit of analysis: participants' language profile and demographics; hostility and ferocity; work environment and work conditions; money/income; passengers and passenger care; transportation of learners; relationship with education and schools; training and development; and strengths and weaknesses. Thereafter, the data provided insight into the possible views of the drivers which were analysed by applying the Johari Window. The purpose of the window was to familiarise the researcher and the reader with the views held by the public minibus taxi drivers, scholar transport drivers, and LSEN scholar transport drivers and the respective window panes in conversation with each other. Thus, the Johari Window provided a basis to rethink and share the data collected from the minibus taxi drivers with other role players to make them aware of the drivers' views. Only when role players (SGBs and learners) and minibus taxi drivers are open and aware of the hidden and unknown, can the drivers' role in supporting education be identified and developed. Lastly, the views of the drivers about each other and their similarities and differences were discussed. In the next chapter, I shall present and discuss the findings and analysis related to the SGBs (adults) and learners (users and non-users) by applying the Johari Window model to date in pursuit of the answers the third and fourth research questions.

CHAPTER 6

PRESENTATION OF THE VIEWS OF VARIOUS ROLE PLAYERS

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 examines the views of various role players, namely adults, SGBs, and parents of ASD learners, primary and secondary school learners (users and non-users). Chapter 6 follows a very similar sequence to that of the previous chapter. In Chapter 5, the focus was on the first case, namely minibus taxi drivers, which had the following units of analysis: public minibus taxi drivers, mainstream scholar transport minibus taxi drivers, and LSEN scholar transport minibus taxi drivers. The initial exploration of each unit of analysis provided themes and findings which were then presented in the format of the Johari Window. I applied the Johari Window model to analyse the findings which brought me to the third level of analysis and interpretation. To conclude Chapter 5, I discussed the views that the respective drivers had about themselves and other drivers by looking at the various similarities and differences.

Chapter 6 centres around the second and third cases and embedded units of analysis. As mentioned previously, Chapter 6 can be used as the ‘rear view mirror’ for the minibus taxi drivers to ‘view’ themselves in, in the event that the findings are disseminated and discussed with them. Chapter 6 therefore focuses on the study’s four questions:

- What are the views of various role players about minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education?
- Why are these views held by various role players about minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education?

Below is a concept map representing the structure of Chapter 6.

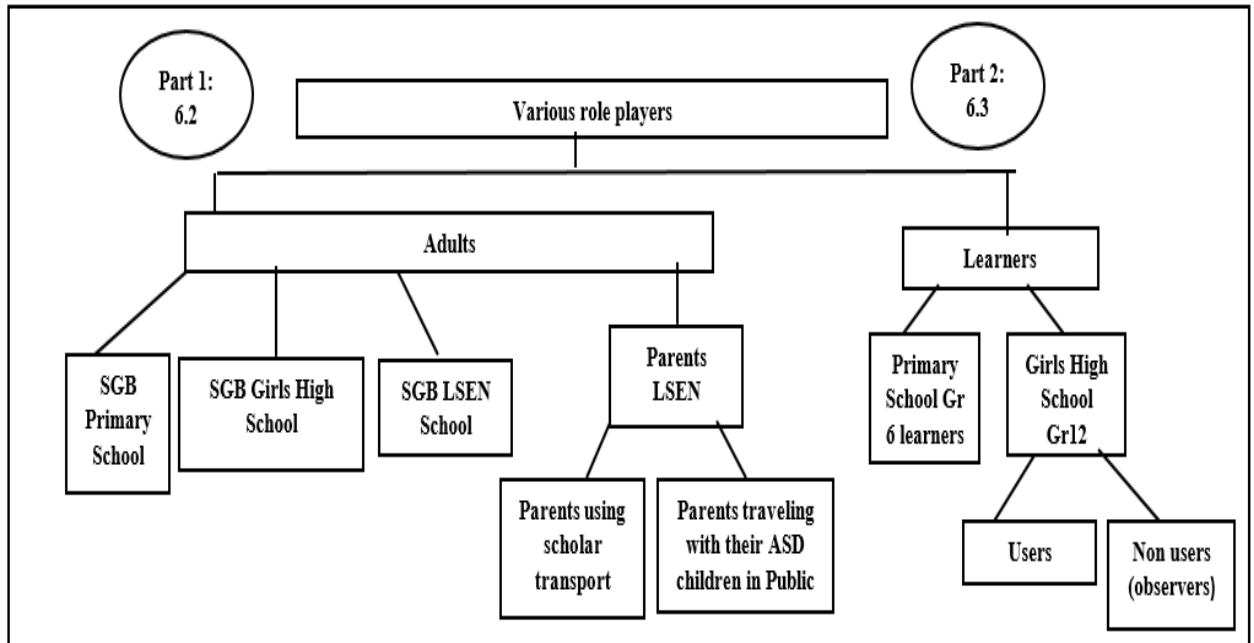


Figure 6. 1: Concept map representing the structure of Chapter 6

In Chapter 6, the views of the various role players are divided in two categories. Part 1 presents the views of adults such as members of SGBs and parents with LSENs. Part 2 of this chapter presents the views of learners (primary and secondary learners), who are both users and non-users (observers) on public minibus taxis and scholar transport minibus taxis.

The second case in this study was SGBs. This case had the following four embedded units of analysis: the primary school SGB; the SGB from the high school for girls; the SGB from the LSEN school; and the parents from the LSEN school. Some of the parents from the LSEN school travelled to the school with their ASD children in public minibus taxi vehicles. Other parents at the LSEN school sent their children on their own to school with the LSEN scholar transport minibus taxi drivers.

Part 2 of Chapter 6 presents the views of learners, as both users and non-users (observers), on public and scholar transport minibus taxis, with three embedded units of analysis, namely mainstream primary school learners (Grade 6); high school girl learners (Grade 12); users and non-users (observers).

As in the previous cases, the initial analysis provided the themes and findings which I present below in the format of the Johari Window. I applied the Johari Window model to interpret the data and findings which then brought me to the third level of analysis and

interpretation. The Johari Window, the second level of analysis, was used to analyse the data regarding the views of the various role players, which contributed to the disclosure of content that could not be measured by self-report questionnaires and focus group interviews only. By means of this process of analysis, I attempted to identify the views held by the various role players about minibus taxi drivers, their role in supporting education and why these views were held by the various role players. The differences and similarities between the case studies are discussed and the conclusion follows.

6.2 Part 1: Views of SGBs about minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education

I started each case with a discussion on the language profile and demographics of the group. As in the case of the minibus taxi drivers, it seemed that this might have a meaningful relationship with the rest of the data. The themes of language profile and demographics were followed by the themes I identified as I worked with the data. The following themes were identified in the case of the SGB data: lawlessness, violence, aggression, disrespect, lack of safety, importance of the role played by minibus taxi drivers, relationship with education and schools, transporting learners, partnership between school and minibus taxis, space (minibus taxi rank/inside minibus/waiting area at school), noise, passenger care (learner care), and training and development.

The unit of analysis of the parents of the LSEN school had two categories, namely parents who travelled with their children in public minibus taxis, and parents who sent their children to school on their own with LSEN school minibus taxi drivers. The following themes were identified: reasons for using public minibus taxis or scholar transport, drivers, service delivery, space, training and development, bullying, and passengers.

6.2.1 Views of the primary school SGB on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education

The primary school SGB gave permission for the research to be done at the school and it was recorded in the minutes at an SGB meeting. Although only two of the eight SGB members responded and completed the questionnaires which were sent to them, valuable data was received from them. The focus group interview did not take place because the SGBs requested that the questionnaires be completed in their own time. Their decision might have been because of time constraints but might also have been that they were

concerned about repercussions from the public minibus taxi drivers and scholar transport minibus taxi drivers alike. However, this does not rule out the possibility that the SGB members were detached from minibus taxis and scholar transport drivers.

In terms of language profile and demographics, the participating primary school was an English medium school with a full complement of Black learners. The assumption was made that the learners and their parents were generally African, mother tongue speakers but were bilingual in English. The SGB members were not asked to indicate their mother tongue and for the purpose of the questionnaire, English was used as the language of choice. The SGB respondents were divided equally between men and women. All the SGB members had completed Grade 12 and had a tertiary qualification.

Not surprisingly, lawlessness, violence, aggression, disrespect, and lack of safety featured in the SGB responses. The SGB members raised the lack of safety and the lawlessness of the minibus taxi industry as the reason that their views about them were tainted negatively. As one SGB member remarked, ‘Most of them are a death trap to learners’ (SGBN11). The SGB members described minibus taxi drivers as lawless, stating that they showed a disregard for traffic rules, were unlicensed drivers and, in many cases, the vehicles that the minibus taxi drivers drove were unlicensed. The SGB members further indicated that the minibus taxi drivers did not set a positive example for the learners as they displayed negative behaviour on the road which caused accidents. The aforementioned concern was expressed as follows by the one SGB member, ‘It teaches our kids that it is okay to drive unsafely – they see it every day. I believe a lot of accidents on the roads may be caused by minibus taxis, some of the vehicles look dangerous and unroadworthy’ (SGBN42).

In the same breath, they acknowledged the important role that minibus taxis play in the South African transport system. The SGB members did not make use of minibus taxis themselves but used scholar transport minibus taxis for their own children to travel to school. According to the SGB members, minibus taxis are a convenient way to transport their children to school considering how congested the Johannesburg roads are during peak traffic. However, the SGB members did not view minibus taxis as a safe mode of transport. The SGB members mentioned that minibus taxis reached areas such as townships and informal settlements that no other transport could. Minibus taxi transport, according to the SGB members, was an affordable option for underprivileged people. Bearing in mind the admissions circular (GDE 5/2016) in Johannesburg, Gauteng which allows learners to

attend schools in a 30-kilometre radius, either from their residential address or the work address of the parents, transportation to schools is a necessity. Public minibus taxis and scholar minibus taxis seemed to fulfil this need. Only a few learners benefitted from being able to walk to school and back. Many of the learners lived kilometres away from school and therefore relied on parents, public minibus taxis, or scholar minibus taxis to attend school. In most cases, the public minibus taxis and scholar transport minibus taxis were used to take learners from deprived spaces (geographical areas) to educational spaces (schools) and more affluent spaces (geographical areas) and to possibly give them the opportunity to escape their underprivileged lives to obtain a better educational future (Jacobs et al., 2018). Hence, minibus taxi scholar transport will always be a key ingredient in South African society.

Given the big reliance on public transport, the provision of safe, affordable, child-friendly, reliable public transport might help to minimise absence from schools and street roaming during the formal school hours. With that being said, more suitable transport, which may assist parents to monitor their children's movement from door to school and back might be needed. This view is also supported by the following response from the one SGB member who stated, 'The public system for me is a BIG no! We should not expose kids to that, we [should] rather put together solutions to problems that deter parents from using scholar transport' (SGBN217).

In the daily routine of drivers transporting learners, the SGB members' expectation was that all drivers should adhere to legislation and have a public drivers' permit. SGB members raised issues of safety, accountability, and cleanliness of the vehicles as a concern. The SGB members indicated that these issues should be addressed before they would feel comfortable with minibus taxis transportation and, to a lesser extent, scholar minibus taxi transportation. 'I really would not mind the price, as long as it is a learner transport and not mixed,' said one SGB member (SGBN26). Minibus taxi drivers who roamed the streets to get more passengers was a major concern for SGB members because, according to them, it led to the late arrival of the children at school. Moreover, SGB members indicated that parents did not know where their children were. SGB members indicated that they preferred a trip which was straight from the learner's home to the school.

A partnership between the school and public or scholar transport minibus taxis was raised as a possibility. The SGB members proposed regular meetings with the scholar transport

association. Undoubtedly, as mentioned by the SGB members, it will be a long and difficult process. In addition to the above-mentioned point, the SGB members suggested a rating system for scholar transport minibus taxis and public minibus taxis. The SGB members referred to the grading system which is used to rate hotels and Uber. Hand in hand with this process, they felt that the learners should be educated on what good service delivery is. Learners' knowledge on good service delivery would then enable the learners to indicate to parents and teachers if they did not experience the expected service. In this manner, parents might be encouraged to make use of scholar transport which is highly rated instead. Furthermore, it might lead to an acknowledgement by the drivers of possible poor service delivery and prompt a way to improve the situation.

The SGB members indicated that the public minibus taxis and scholar minibus taxis brought 90 per cent of the learners to school. This might be an indication that minibus taxis and scholar transport minibus taxis are needed in the system and will be used in the future. The SGB members emphasised that there should be a distinct differentiation between the public minibus taxi system (transporting mostly adults and, to lesser extent, children) and scholar transport systems (transporting learners only) and that this should be made known to the general public. As one SGB member indicated, 'I do not condone placing learners in the general system. I believe we must protect them a bit through a learner-based system that can work with the schools' (SGBN213). According to the SGB members, learners should be protected through a learner-based system that could work closely with the schools, thus creating a partnership of significance.

The SGB members also indicated that they had not engaged with the minibus taxi industry as such but engagement had taken place at the level of the scholar transport associations. The SGB members indicated that the school had invited drivers to parents' evenings in the past. Furthermore, they had been invited to the school's safety committee meetings but the drivers rarely attended. According to the SGB members, the safety committee meeting platform could be developed and leveraged to better the conditions of scholar transport. The possibility for a partnership was described by the one SGB member as follows, 'We could use them to do odd jobs around the school and dedicate themselves to only learners of our school so that they need not rush to different schools in morning and afternoon runs' (SGBN113). Although, the safety of learners should be considered, a vetting process would be needed for the scholar minibus taxi drivers. The aforementioned thought pattern is encouraging as it brings the relationship and partnership between the drivers and the

schools to the fore. The SGB members indicated that the school did not have a dedicated portfolio for school transport. The explanation given by the SGB for the absence of such a portfolio was the schools' inability to control or influence minibus taxi transport. On the other hand, the participants reflected positively on this question. While 90 per cent of the learners at the school made use of scholar transport minibus taxis, it seems likely that the views of the different stakeholders could assist if shared with the drivers to render better services to the learners and this school and the education system. However, an innovative pattern of thinking will be needed to address challenges in terms of the relationship between the school/education and the minibus taxi drivers as indicated by the following response,

But the question is a good one to reflect on, thinking about the number of kids utilising public transport and its impact on them, research like this one can help us have a view of what other users think about this. (SGBN214)

The school had the contact details of the drivers and the scholar transport association in the area. The association also provided the drivers with stickers for their vehicles if they were affiliated with them so that they were identifiable. The SGB members indicated that the association shared the list of approved operators with the school which would then be filed. If the parents used the approved operators for their children, the drop-off and pick-up times were recorded by the association. However, the actual vehicles used by the drivers were not always recorded. According to the SGB members, the learner transport association which operated in the geographical area of the school was managed fairly well by passionate leaders who had shown interest in the scholar transport system. However, the SGB members commented that there was room for improvement in terms of the safety and accountability from the scholar transport drivers.

A distinct differentiation should be made between the public minibus taxi industry and scholar transport minibus taxis and their respective associations, according to the SGB members. The SGB members highlighted the use of public minibus taxis to transport learners to school because, according to them, it was not safe and should be addressed by Government.

SGB members did not mention the playing of loud music and the noise made by the constant hooting of minibus taxi drivers as problematic. Passenger care, or in these circumstances learner care, was raised as being of high importance by the SGB. SGB members expected drivers to be very responsible in the manner in which they operated

their vehicles while they transported learners. In view of this point, development and training should be brought to the fore.

The SGB members responded that the school had not initiated any development sessions with scholar transport drivers. The SGB members blamed a shortage of resources as the reason for no development sessions having taken place. The SGB members further indicated that they did not think it was the role of the school to do so, stating,

No, I do not think it is the role of the school except if a partnership is formed between the association and the school, in which case the school facilities/space can be used for workshops or training for the drivers but, a partnership can be formed, in the future where some facilities/space can be used by the association for learning. This will be similar to night school arrangements that are done elsewhere or a private provider using the facility to hold workshops for taxi operators. (SGBN211)

Until the advent of this research study, the SGB members had not thought of development sessions as a potential opportunity for the school to initiate and develop a partnership with the scholar transport drivers. It seemed that these questions made the SGB members ponder a way to initiate partnerships, as indicated by the following response, 'We could use them to do odd jobs around the school and dedicate themselves to only learners of our school so that they need not rush to different schools in morning and afternoon runs' (SGBN113). A vetting process was raised as a necessity to safeguard the learners if the scholar transport minibus taxi drivers worked on the school grounds.

6.2.2 Findings and analysis from the primary school SGB by applying the Johari Window

The intention of presenting the SGB primary school data in the Johari Window below is to inform the researcher and the reader of the views which are held by the primary school SGB members and the scholar transport minibus taxi drivers. Also, why these views are held by them.

Table 6.1: Johari Window for the primary school SGB

Known to primary school SGB		Not known to primary school SGB
Known to scholar transport taxi drivers	KNOWN	BLIND SPOT
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Even if parents are not satisfied with the services of the scholar taxi transport drivers, they have no other well-managed and organised alternative transport available to them • Scholar transport taxi drivers play a valuable role in support of the education system • Scholar transport taxi drivers are invited to the schools' safety committee meetings but rarely attend • Parents do not pay transport fees on time • Parents have expectations form the scholar transport taxi drivers, but they do not consider/respect the 'contract' that should be in place between the parents and the drivers • The scholar transport association shares a list of approved operators with the school • The scholar transport associations provide stickers for the affiliated scholar transport vehicles • SGB makes a clear distinction between scholar transport minibus vehicles and public minibus taxis Drop off and pick up of learners are recorded by the scholar transport association and the scholar transport associations provide stickers for the affiliated scholar transport vehicles. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents not consistent in their behaviour towards the drivers. • Parents rise late which has a negative snowball effect on the services rendered to other learners and ultimately leads to late arrival of all the passengers in the scholar transport vehicle to the school • Negative impact of late fare payment to scholar minibus taxi drivers • Some parents must be woken up by scholar minibus taxi drivers in mornings • Serious discipline challenges drivers have with learners on the journey to school and back • SGB makes a clear differentiation between scholar transport minibus vehicles and public minibus taxis

	HIDDEN	UNKNOWN
<p>Not known to scholar transport taxi drivers</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Primary school SGBs main concern regarding public minibus taxis is the safety of their children. • Primary school SGB views public minibus taxis as unsafe, dangerous, and unlicensed vehicles with drivers who are a law unto themselves. • Primary school SGB members prefer a separate transport option for learners only, as a result of the dangers for learners in the public transport space. • Parents are concerned about their children, not knowing what happens in the vehicle space and en route • Parents want trained scholar transport drivers with a PrDP to transport their children • Parents would like a rating system – may mean they understand and realise that there is poor service which can be improved. SGB members of the opinion that training and development would improve the services rendered by the drivers • SGB viewed a partnership with the drivers and associations as valuable 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A low response rate from the primary SGB. • A lack of trust in the professional relationship leads to suspicion and negative attitudes. • Inadequate communication and feedback between the role players lead to negative views. • A functional portfolio platform at the school should strengthen partnership. • The quality of parent-child relationship plays a role with scholar transport. • Learners are deprived of attention from parents by using public/scholar transport. • Consideration for others - needed from all parties. • SGB members are not aware of the impact of incidental learning and the hidden curriculum. • Circumstances are the net effect of the drivers behaviour. • Learners using public and even scholar transport are exposed to life without filtering by parents' experience and guidance which make them vulnerable and easy targets. • The music played in the vehicle or the hooting of the drivers were not raised as problematic. • The 'minibus taxi/scholar transport rank' at the school is not an 'unfilled' space. Collective ownership taken by the SGB and the drivers to ensure it is a safe area for learners to wait for their transportation. • Opportunity exists to train/develop scholar transport drivers while they are not operational. • The same type of vehicle is used (VW/Quantum combi bus) – general public assume that it is public minibus taxis. Users able to differentiate between scholar and public transport).

It emerged from the data in the open pane that both the SGB and the scholar transport minibus taxi drivers were aware of the 'power' which is held by scholar transport as a

section of the transportation industry. The analysis shows that even when parents were dissatisfied with the scholar transport minibus taxi drivers, they did not have alternatives. The open pane revealed that the school initiated a platform through parents' meetings for communication. It seems the scholar transport drivers had not used it effectively to build a partnership with the school. This may be seen as disinterest on the part of the drivers but it might also be because of the manner in which the parents treat the scholar transport drivers. Parents did not honour the unwritten contract with the scholar transport drivers in terms of fare payments.

Furthermore, the blind spot pane brought to the fore the inconsistent behaviour of some parents towards the drivers but also towards their own children. It is difficult to perceive that certain parents did not realise and understand the snowball effect that their behaviour had not only on their own children but also on the other learner passengers. From the data, it seems that some parents were aggressive and dubious at times.

A cyclical pattern of hidden and unknown issues was revealed that might be the reason for many negative views from both SGB members and scholar transport drivers about each other. I have identified competing goals between the SGB and scholar transport drivers as a possible source of conflict, but a partnership between the parties might have a common vision and goals of which learner safety should be one. While the inclusion of a partnership between the SGB and the drivers is optional, it seems likely that a partnership combined with development and training would lead to support for the schools and education as a whole.

The unknown pane merits consideration because it makes the SGB and drivers aware that neither the 'minibus taxi/scholar transport rank' nor the space inside the vehicle are 'unfilled' spaces. Collective ownership should be taken by the SGB and the drivers to ensure it is a safe educational space for learners in the absence of their parents or caregivers, which emphasises the role of the driver in loco parentis. It is difficult to understand the SGB's concern and seriousness for the learners' transport safety when there was such a low response rate from the primary school SGB members. The unknown pane revealed a very nuanced relationship between the scholar transport drivers and the SGB of the school. After careful examination of the unknown pane, it came to the fore that scholar transport drivers could fulfil the role played by parents when they transport children to school by providing quality interaction about education on their way to school. The unknown pane

exposed the vulnerability of the primary school learners and emphasised the supportive and valuable role scholar transport drivers might play if they were to be involved in development and training.

6.2.3 Views of the SGB of the high school for girls on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education

The language profile and demographics of the SGB members were as follows: English was the choice of language for the focus group survey instrument. This high school is an English medium school with 80 per cent Black learners and 20 per cent White learners. The assumption can be made that the majority of girl learners and their parents were African mother tongue speakers but they were bilingual. The SGB had an equal representation of men and women. All the SGB members had completed Grade 12 and held tertiary qualifications with the majority having attained a postgraduate qualification.

Regardless of the fact, that public minibus taxis are an essential form of public transport for the majority of people in South Africa, lawlessness, violence, aggression, disrespect, and lack of safety were some of the first points that were emphasised by the SGB members. The SGB members from the high school had a negative view of the drivers, to the extent of describing them as evil. The SGB's negative view is tied to the drivers' disregard for road rules and aggressive behaviour and was explained thus, 'Although they provide an essential auxiliary service for the learners who have a distance to travel, they generally are a traffic nuisance. Driver behaviour show disregard for the rules of the road' (JSGB7).

Interestingly these negative views about public minibus taxis were expressed by SGB members who did not make use of public minibus taxis for transport; they were all owners of private vehicles.

This could be interpreted in two ways:

- a) The SGB members might be part of a middle-class income group with the ability to own a motor vehicle; or
- b) The view of the SGB was based on experience as road users, such as drivers of other vehicles who had to navigate their way around minibus taxis which behaved as if the road belonged to them.

The majority of the SGB members viewed the minibus taxi industry and public minibus taxi drivers in a negative light. The SGB members mentioned the minibus taxi drivers' disregard for road rules and disrespect for other road users as their main concern. Even though they did not use minibus taxis, the SGB members highlighted noise pollution, namely the loud music played in the vehicles and the constant hooting by minibus taxi drivers to attract possible passengers/clients as they roamed the streets, as an irritation. The hooting is a means of communication used by minibus taxi drivers. It is very much like the hand signals used by passengers to communicate their wanted destination to the minibus taxi drivers as they stand on the side of the roads. The school context is a very regulated and disciplined space so the 'law unto themselves' attitude of the public minibus taxi drivers creates tension because, in most cases, minibus taxis and their drivers behave in an undisciplined manner.

The important role that public minibus taxis play did not carry much weight in the way the high school SGB members viewed them. Furthermore, the SGB members did not view minibus taxi drivers as an important role player in their school environment. The respondents viewed public minibus taxis merely as cheap transportation moving people from point A to point B. The SGB did not see the human factor nor the value of the space in the minibus taxi vehicle as of high importance. One SGB member referred to the public minibus taxis as 'low cost transport' (JSGB5).

The SGB members appeared unaware of the additional roles that public minibus taxis played in their respective communities but recognised that there was great scope and potential for this auxiliary service. Unfortunately, according to them, there was no national coordination strategy or plan, which might be the reason why they had this unconcerned attitude towards the minibus taxi drivers. The SGB members further mentioned that the South African Government was overwhelmed by infrastructure demands and prioritised other areas, for example, health, water, and electricity generation. Because of the aforementioned reasons, the SGB felt that transport in education did not even warrant being mentioned in the media unless there was a spate of accidents or deaths. This news would be followed by 24 to 48 hours of national outrage but then most communities reverted to using the unsafe, unreliable, affordable, cheap means of transport. The SGB members fully supported a more inclusive approach to keep learners safe. A few SGB members acknowledged that minibus taxis played an important role in the South African economy and, to ensure improvement, better regulation of the industry was deemed necessary.

SGB members stated that the only way they would feel comfortable with public minibus taxis transporting their children was to ensure that the vehicles were roadworthy and safe. Furthermore, they wanted drivers to adhere to the rules of the road. These points were raised as the most important issues to be addressed by minibus taxi drivers. The SGB members suggested that all minibus taxi drivers should be retested with respect to their driver and vehicle licences. They also cited continuous development as possible way to address the challenges experienced with minibus taxi drivers in the South African context.

It appeared that the SGB members were focused on the support needed for the school and education only. It came across that the SGB members had never thought along the lines of a mutually beneficial relationship with the minibus taxi drivers; although, this would mean that the school would have to support the minibus taxi drivers too. The SGB members further alluded to the fact that support for the minibus taxi drivers and scholar transport minibus taxi drivers was the responsibility of the provincial transport and education departments. They felt that the DoE should regulate and manage scholar transport and public minibus taxis should be managed by the Department of Transport. Unfortunately, it is not so simple. The aforementioned response and attitude of the SGB came across as if the minibus taxi drivers and scholar transport minibus taxi drivers were insignificant in the functioning of the school.

The SGB members expressed their dissatisfaction with minibus taxi drivers and the industry at large and provided the following negative points in support of their view.

As stated previously, disregard for learners' safety, noise pollution, overcrowding, safety, no seatbelts, not stopping at traffic lights at school intersections, tardiness in collecting learners, yet will not wait for late learners, won't go out of their way to stop at designated areas for taxis. (JSGB7)

The manner in which this SGB member responded shows a slight irritation with and disregard for the drivers. The expectation was that the school had a dedicated portfolio for scholar transportation. The SGB members were unaware of the contact details of drivers of public minibus taxis which operated in the school area, scholar transport minibus taxis, lift club schemes, and municipal bus services. The SGB members indicated their uneasiness with regard to learner safety more than once but they did not have the basic documents in place. They stated:

Schools are overburdened as it is, with main focus on education, without the additional concern of transport. This should be regulated at a higher level e.g. GDE however a relationship needs to be developed by the school SMT and recognised/regular taxi companies (JSGB7).

This is an indictment on their own lack of responsibility.

The SGB members mentioned that minibus taxi drivers should become role models for learners in the manner that they acted on the road. The SGB members felt that learners unknowingly learned from minibus taxi drivers, therefore, drivers should be polite, considerate, patient, and law-abiding. The SGB members agreed that a partnership between schools and minibus taxi drivers might be a mode to support education. The SGB members pointed out that the minibus taxi vehicles could be used as an educational space for the advertisement of educational items, playing of audio-visual educational programmes, storytelling, or teaching of mathematics basics (timetables) in their vehicles.

As non-users of public minibus taxis, the SGB members also highlighted noise pollution as an irritation saying, ‘Loud music blares from these taxis to such an extent that the floors and window panes of second floor classrooms vibrate when dropping and collecting students’ (JSGB7). The SGB members also mentioned the constant hooting while minibus taxi drivers roamed the streets to find clients/passengers as particularly negative and irritating.

The SGB members indicated that they had not had any constructive engagement or partnership with the minibus taxi industry. According to the SGB members, the school and the minibus taxi industry co-existed as separate entities in the area of the school. The SGB members pointed out that historically both parties viewed each other with suspicion. It seemed that this suspicion held by the SGB tainted their view on the possible utilisation of public minibus taxi drivers by the school. The SGB expressed their negative view and related this directly to the poor safety of the vehicles and the reckless driving behaviour of the minibus taxi drivers. Furthermore, the SGB members viewed the minibus taxi industry as unregulated and a law unto themselves. The SGB members also raised unreliability and poor provisioning of service excellence as negative points. Hence, the SGB argued that public minibus taxis were not ideal for the transportation of learners.

The SGB members responded in an overwhelming negative way with regard to the creation of opportunities at the school for minibus taxi drivers to be active role players in the school. One of the SGB members exclaimed, ‘No! Taxi personal constant turnover, no means of vetting each and every driver, often without legal documentations it is risky to expose teenage girls to drivers that are unknown’ (JSGB7). Rightly, any stranger on the school grounds or school activities might pose a risk to the safety of the teenage girls.

Training and development opportunities were not created for minibus taxi drivers at the school and the SGB members collectively responded with a robust negative reaction to this idea. Crime was cited as an imminent threat. The SGB members explained that for strangers (minibus taxi drivers) to be allowed on campus, inside knowledge and information on the equipment and routines of the school would provide the drivers with the opportunity to reveal the information to a greater audience. Unfortunately, these are valid concerns in South Africa with schools being vandalised and targeted by criminals (Esau, 2007; Zulu, Urbani, Van der Merwe & Van der Walt, 2004). What might be a concern too is that these negative attributes and activities were automatically connected to public minibus taxi drivers, although it might also be ascribed to the high unemployment rate in South Africa. The SGB members maintained that the development and empowerment of the minibus taxi drivers were not the schools’ responsibility:

There is a great scope and potential for this auxiliary service yet unfortunately there is no national coordination strategy or plan. Our country is overwhelmed by infrastructure demands and other prioritised areas i.e.: health and water/electricity generation, so transport in education doesn’t even warrant a mention in the media unless there is a spate of accidents or deaths, baring the 24-48 hours of national outrage most communities revert to using unsafe, unreliable, affordable, cheap means of scholar transport. (JSGB7)

6.2.4 Findings and analysis from the high school for girls’ SGB by applying the Johari Window:

The intention of presenting the data for the high school for girls’ SGB in the Johari Window below is to inform the researcher and the reader of the views which are held by the SGB members. Also, why these views are held by them.

Table 6.2: Johari Window for the SGB from the high school for girls

Known to SGB high school for girls		Not known to SGB high school for girls	
Known to minibus taxi drivers	KNOWN	BLIND SPOT	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Minibus taxis are an essential form of public transportation for the majority of people in South Africa • SGB is distant and disengaged • National coordination strategy or plan for the minibus taxi industry as very problematic and thus they do not see the potential for cooperation • SGBs main concern is passenger care and safety. SGB members view drivers as a law unto themselves, unsafe, dangerous and unlicensed • Emphasise the safety of learners as paramount but the school does not have a dedicated transport portfolio • SGB members do realise a partnership between the school and transportation services can be of value and become an educational space • SGB members support a vetting process for drivers by government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human factor, personalised relationship needed with minibus taxi drivers • Extreme stressful environment drivers operate • Work procedure/business practices of minibus taxi industry as a whole and in the space of the minibus vehicle – communication methods, actions inside the vehicle • Positive actions and behaviour of the drivers 	
Not known to minibus taxi drivers	HIDDEN	UNKNOWN	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SGB members from the high school had a negative view of the drivers, even describing them as evil. • Their negative view is linked to the drivers' disregard for road rules and aggressive behaviour which leads to them being a hazard to other road users. • SGB members view minibus taxis as cheap transportation only. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negative view of minibus taxis is held by people that do not make use of minibus taxis for transportation • A lack of dialogue between the SGB members and drivers • A people-centred view regarding drivers and the minibus taxi space missing • SGB's regard regulation of the industry by government as the only intervention strategy • SGB members acknowledge the space for development and training to improve service 	

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aggressive and disrespectful, furthermore they are agitated by the noise created by the minibus taxis whether it is hooting or playing loud music, noise pollution. • SGB regard development and improvement of the minibus taxi drivers and scholar transport as the responsibility of national and provincial departments. • SGB members viewed drivers with suspicion and did not show any willingness to create development opportunities at the school. • SGB cited criminal behaviour and the vandalism of the school property and resources as a main concern towards a partnership. 	<p>delivery although they have never considered that they as a school governing body can play a collaborative role. SGB members are paradoxical in their view and expectations of drivers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An indictment of absolution of responsibility on the side of the SGB • SGB members have not thought of gainsharing (financial reward for drivers, safety for learners and parents, punctuality for schools) • Lack of communication and dialogue between SGB and minibus taxi drivers prevent a common point of focus for meaningful discussion, thus inquiry and reflection cannot take place • SGB members expect drivers to act as role models but the SGB has an anti-collaborative culture which cannot support transformation • The same vehicle is used VW/Quantum Kombi – general public assume that it is public minibus taxis
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The known pane highlighted that both parties were well aware of the essential role the minibus taxi industry and, in particular, the minibus taxi drivers play in South African society. The approach from members of society was indicative of their dependence on government to handle all challenges with regard to the minibus taxi industry. Furthermore, the known pane uncovered, to a certain extent, a combination of disinterest and a lack of energy for innovative problem-solving strategies to address challenges with the minibus taxi drivers. A vague, underlying possible fear of intimidation held role payers back from acting and addressing the wrongdoing. The aforementioned point came across from SGB members and minibus taxi drivers alike.

The blind spot pane revealed that neither the SGB nor the minibus taxi drivers were informed of the working procedures in their respective working spaces. In addition, the blind spot pane exposed a lack of consideration for the human factor at play in the space occupied by the SGB and minibus taxi drivers. The blind spot gave emphasis to the different meanings individuals attached to a specific space. The possible negative view held about minibus taxis and the minibus taxi drivers by the SGB overshadowed the positive side of the minibus taxi drivers and the industry as a whole.

The hidden pane also exposed the lack of mutual responsibility and accountability of all role players involved in the space that they shared. Moreover, the hidden pane highlighted poor constructive communication and no partnership for each other's views. The hidden pane made sentient the important role of community involvement, education and development to keep possible vandalism and criminal activities at bay in a school community.

The unknown pane further revealed the absence of a people-centred view towards the minibus taxi drivers by the members of the SGB. Also, from the unknown pane, the paradoxical view and expectations of the minibus taxi drivers by the SGB emerged. The unknown pane brought to the fore the value of communication, development, and training to possibly address concerns via constructive goals and partnerships. As in the aforementioned Johari Windows, a cyclical pattern of actions and reactions came to the fore between the window panes which, to a certain extent, played out between the role players involved.

6.2.5 Views of the LSEN school SGB on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education

The third SGB was from the LSEN school and focused on the needs of ASD learners. The language profile and demographics of the SGB members were as follows: English was the language of choice for the focus group survey instrument. This LSEN school was an English medium school with 97 per cent Black learners and 3 per cent White learners. The assumption was made that the majority of learners and their parents were African mother tongue speakers but that they were bilingual. Women were in the majority on the SGB. All the SGB members had completed Grade 12 and held tertiary qualifications. In addition, Makaton was used as method of communication for the ASD learners.

SGB members from the LSEN school viewed transport, whether scholar transport minibus taxis or public minibus taxis, as an option to be used for the learners to travel to school. Furthermore, this was one of the only schools for ASD learners in Johannesburg hence the learners who attended the school travelled from diverse areas in the greater Johannesburg area.

The LSEN school's SGB considered public minibus taxis as lawless, disrespectful, reckless, and not safe to be used. They indicated that scholar transport was a better option

for ASD learners because of their special needs. However, the SGB from the LSEN school raised concerns regarding some scholar transport drivers who disobeyed the rules of the road too. The LSEN schools' SGB indicated that the transport of learners with special educational needs could not be viewed as 'just a job'; scholar transport minibus taxi drivers should want to work with learners because these learners needed extra attention. The LSEN school SGB members were of the same mind on the subject of public minibus taxi drivers' disregard for road rules and the very reckless manner in which they operated. The SGB members also raised the point that the minibus taxi vehicles, whether public or scholar transport, many a time carried learners from mainstream schools in the same vehicle as the ASD learners. This diverse group of learners with the ASD learners caused conflict in the vehicle. One of the SGB members clearly stated:

Public minibus taxis should never be our first option for scholars. GDE should put transport in place for all learners, we [have] lost too many precious little souls in taxi accidents due to negligent reckless driving. (ASGB3)

The SGB members indicated that they did not use public minibus taxis except in the case of emergencies, for example, their private vehicle was out of order. The SGB members had opposing views on whether public minibus taxis did any good. On one side of the scale, the SGB described them as not doing anything positive, being a risk for everyone in the vehicle and everyone else on the road. Then, on the other, they were included on the multidisciplinary team at the school.

The SGB at the LSEN school described a partnership between the school and minibus taxi drivers as limited. The SGB members indicated that the school owned two scholar transport minibuses which were used to transport learners in the case of educational excursions. In instances when the school had to transport a whole phase of learners on an educational excursion, the school used their own vehicles as well as public minibus taxis. The SGB members pointed out that a better quality partnership should be established between the school and the scholar transport/minibus taxi drivers. This partnership should be used as the basis to do training and development of the drivers to possibly improve their understanding of the ASD learners they transport.

The SGB members indicated that transportation of learners was the responsibility of parents. The parents should organise transport to and from school for their own children. The parents contracted a minibus operator to transport their children to and from school.

SGB members' view was that minibus taxis should prioritise the safety of passengers and ensure the roadworthiness of their vehicles before they, as SGB members, would let their children use minibus taxis. Furthermore, the SGB members indicated that minibus taxis should not be pressured to fill their vehicles to full capacity; according to them, that would ensure that there was less pressure on the driver and no speeding. From the manner in which the SGB members responded, it became clear that the SGB members misunderstood the method of operation in the minibus taxi industry.

The SGB members' views were that too many children had lost their lives due to negligent and reckless driving by minibus taxi drivers. It was suggested that the department should formalise scholar transport so that the drivers had a sense of responsibility. According to the SGB members, public minibus taxis should never be the first option for learners. They felt that the GDE should put transport in place for all learners. Once again it was clear that a very distinct differentiation is needed between scholar transport minibus taxis and public minibus taxis. As one SGB member explained, 'We have to sometimes deal with issues like late coming and the fact that the taxi transports learners from main stream schools causes conflict in the taxi between our learners and neurotypical learners' (ASGB4).

The SGB members felt very strongly that minibus taxi drivers should understand the ASD learners. Thus, a solid relationship should be established to ensure that the drivers supported the education of the learners which they transported. One of the SGB members explained, 'Offer them space to park safely so that they can park and take the learners to the classes. Have a newsletter specifically aimed at the taxi drivers to inform them of dates and early closure etc.' (ASGB4). He felt that as scholar transport drivers, they should work closely with the school regarding starting and finishing times so that learners did not have to wait for them since it might lead to anxiety for the ASD learners. The SGB indicated that they had a dedicated portfolio for the scholar transport drivers at the school. The operators' details were recorded as well as the contact details of the chairperson of the taxi association. According to the SGB, class teachers were expected to have the contact details and names of the minibus taxi drivers/scholar transport drivers for the learners in their classes.

The SGB members did not mention noise as problematic or even that they had noticed it when scholar minibus taxis dropped learners off. The reason for this was that the parents were not present at the time of drop-off. The majority of the SGB members indicated that

they were not actively creating opportunities for the minibus taxi drivers to be involved in school activities but they had had two meetings during the past year. Furthermore, the principal organised workshops and oriented the drivers around autism and the basic signs of Makaton.

According to the SGB members, a coffee and muffin morning was organised to provide the drivers with the opportunity to raise questions and concerns. These mornings were arranged to take place once a term. The school's social worker was available for discussions and assistance whenever the drivers needed support. It also seemed that the educators' component of the SGB and SMT were more involved with constructive engagement, training, and developmental activities than the parents' component of the SGB. The Individual Educational Development Programme (IEDP) meeting for each child was constructed in such a manner that the minibus taxi bus driver could be invited to attend as part of the disciplinary team. Furthermore, engagement took place with the drivers in cases where learners were bullied, got hurt, or had a meltdown in a scholar transport vehicle.

The SGB members indicated that they were not as involved as they should be; however, they felt that the school could not encompass everything. Even though the parents were discouraged from using public minibus taxis because, in many cases, the drivers did not understand the special needs of the ASD learners, but it was the only option many parents had. The SGB collectively agreed that the school should endeavour to work well with the drivers and address challenges.

In terms of development and training, the SGB members indicated that the school organised a newspaper craft activity at the school for the drivers. Unfortunately, the drivers did not attend these activities because they did not get remuneration and food. Another reason for not creating more development opportunities for the minibus taxi drivers was a lack of resources, according to the SGB members. It is understandable because the school would have to use the limited resources and facilities which they had at the school to do the development or empowerment. However, development should not be seen as activities which should cost the school money, a talk on autism, discipline, or mentorship would be good empowerment initiatives too. They could be incorporated into the internal whole school evaluation (IWSE) process and be part of the school's improvement plan (DBE, 2002).

6.2.6 Findings and analysis from the LSEN school SGB by applying the Johari

Window

The intention of presenting the SGB data from the LSEN school in the Johari Window below is to inform the researcher and the reader of the views which are held by the SGB members. Also, why these views are held by them.

Table 6.3: Johari Window for the SGB from the LSEN school

Known to SGB		Not known SGB
Known to drivers	KNOWN	BLIND SPOT
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SGB members viewed minibus taxi transportation/scholar transportation as a necessity, thus they were aware of gainsharing • LSEN school SGB felt very strongly that drivers should understand what ASD entails • Solid relationship between the school and drivers are of importance • Close partnership/working relationship between drivers and school to ensure the learners arrive and depart on time • The school has a dedicated portfolio for scholar transport drivers & class teachers have the contact details of the drivers of their learners • SGB creates opportunities to establish and improve partnerships with the drivers by having meetings, workshops and development sessions • Drivers have access to the social worker at the school to address psychosocial needs and assistance with the challenging behaviour of the ASD learners • The school creates development sessions; the drivers do not attend • Drivers overcome the communication barrier between them and the ASD learners by the use of Makaton • Prioritise open communication between school and the scholar transport drivers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The educator component is more involved in the development sessions with the drivers than the parent component • IEDP for each child and the drivers are invited to attend the multidisciplinary team discussion • Quality of parent-child relationship came to the fore – parents not having learners ready when transport arrive, driver has to wake them up

	HIDDEN	UNKNOWN
Not known to drivers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A calling and not merely a job • View the public minibus taxis as reckless and unsafe and view scholar transport as a safer option. • SGB members want the upgrading of passenger care and safety in both public minibus taxis and scholar transport vehicles to improve. • SGB members do not want their children to travel with the broader public in the same vehicle because it causes conflict. SGB view the current partnership between the school and scholar transport drivers as limited. • SGB view a partnership as an opportunity to develop the drivers to deal better with the special needs of their children. • SGB members are positive and see the value of the space in the vehicle as an educational space but they do not view the taxi rank area as a space for their children. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SGB view the transportation of learners as the sole responsibility of parents thus, the minimum involvement of the school. The contract is between the parent and the drivers • Formality of the ‘contract’ between drivers and parents • SGB members did not raise noise pollution as a challenge • Drivers at the ASD school overcome the communication barrier between them and the ASD learners by being trained on Makaton • The scope of responsibilities is extra wide-ranging for ADS drivers than normal scholar transport since it includes the ‘duty of special care’ • ASD drivers display motivation to be of service and not exclusively for commercial reward. In a sense it is a calling to work these learners • VW/Quantum kombi bus – general public assume that it is public minibus taxis. But the users will be able to differentiate between scholar transport and public transport

The known pane of the Johari Window highlighted that gainsharing should be the focus in the continuation and strengthening of a solid relationship between the school and the ASD minibus taxi scholar transport drivers which could then form the basis for a mutual beneficial partnership. The known pane, after careful examination, brought to the fore poor attendance of development sessions by the ASD minibus taxi scholar transport drivers which might be an indication that they were not as committed as they said they were. The known pane further indicated that the school’s social worker delivered support to the drivers, which provided evidence that support and empowerment for drivers were available but it was the responsibility of the drivers to have made use of it. The known pane also highlighted that drivers were trained in the use of Makaton which could be perceived as their commitment and ability to render specialised services to ASD learners. On another

level, it showed that the use of appropriate communication (Makaton) made the unknown, which many times encompassed the needs and emotions of people, known. This point was an important clue by which the researcher's purpose for the study could be recognised.

The blind spot window pane revealed that drivers were invited to attend multidisciplinary meetings, thus they took note of learner IEDPs. The drivers contributed to these meetings through the sharing of information from the space inside the minibus taxi scholar transport vehicle. This might suggest that the school was focused on quality support to the ASD learner. Although the parent-child relationship came to the fore by exposing some parents who did not wake up in time to ensure their child was ready to be picked up for school, it could be argued that the ASD minibus taxi scholar transport drivers then became the 'responsible adult' by being the 'alarm clock' and hooting.

The hidden pane revealed that the space inside the scholar transport minibus taxi vehicle could be used in an educational manner to support education, although the taxi rank area was not considered suitable for children by the SGB. The taxi rank area should, however, not be disregarded entirely as it might be considered a space with unknown potential. The hidden pane further highlighted the importance of the broader public to be informed of ASD. In a way, it mirrored societies' lack of tolerance and inclusion of people with diverse needs – regardless of the space. The hidden pane further revealed that a partnership could be used to improve passenger care, which might go hand in hand with passenger education and consideration with regard to acceptable behaviour in public transport.

The analysis of the unknown pane showed that the content of the unwritten 'contract' between the ASD minibus taxi scholar transport drivers and the parents is unknown. The unknown pane exposed and highlighted the unknown or vague high expectations set by parents but the four panes in the window showed that the ASD minibus scholar transport drivers delivered even beyond expectations. It emerged that their wide-ranging responsibilities included the duty of special care. From the unknown pane, it emerged that the drivers have an intrinsic motivation to be of service.

6.2.7 Views of parents of ASD learners who made use of public minibus taxis or scholar transport minibus taxis

Apart from the SGBs, data was also collected from parents of ASD learners who travelled with their children to school in public minibus taxis or they made use of scholar transport

minibus taxis, in which case the learners travelled on their own with other learners. The reasons for the use of either public minibus taxis or scholar transport minibus taxis depended mostly on the circumstances of the parent.

The main reasons for the use of public minibus taxis given by parents from the LSEN school were the readily availability and affordability. As one parent indicated, ‘It is not by choice but because it’s affordable and is the only transport that is available from home to school’ (AP2). Furthermore, parents indicated that they had to go to work and could not take their children to school. Parents who made use of scholar transport minibus taxis indicated that it was a safer option than public minibus taxis. Furthermore, the parents cited that LSEN scholar transport minibus taxi drivers had a better understanding of the special needs of ASD learners than public minibus taxi drivers. One parent emphasised the importance of the correct transportation for special needs learners, ‘Her safety, avoid misunderstanding of other public transport users hence her condition’ (AP10).

Parents raised definite concerning views regarding the drivers. Public minibus taxi drivers were described by the parents as rude, they were accused of using unroadworthy vehicles and disregarding the rules of the road. This was supported by one parents who claimed, ‘They don’t care about passengers because they associate them with non-roadworthy vehicles, overloading, bad driving and road accidents’ (AP1). On the other hand, the parents described some of the public minibus taxi drivers as nice, stating, ‘The drivers other are bad they insult people they’re very rude and others are nice especially when it comes to my child they speak with her nice and they understand autism’ (AP2). Parents wanted the drivers to treat passengers with respect, communicate with the passengers, and maintain roadworthy vehicles. Furthermore, they should make use of roadworthy vehicles which were maintained. Parents also indicated that these things were not negotiable and they insisted that drivers adhere to the rules of the road at all times. The parents said that even if they raised their concerns with the drivers, it was of no use. For example, AP5 noted, ‘The passengers were not happy about the condition of the minibus. We tried to tell the driver and he didn’t listen to us.’

In Chapter 2, the point was raised that interacting with passengers was very stressful and that passengers gave the most stress as they were mostly demanding. Furthermore, research with bus and truck drivers revealed that the combination of high pressure and low control – especially when drivers had to adhere to a schedule and when traffic conditions were

unpleasant – were associated with mental health risks. The same assumption could be made and applied to minibus taxi drivers (Randall, 2019). It may be the reason why parents felt that it did not help to raise issues with minibus taxi drivers. It seems that it was a challenge for parents to use public minibus taxis as indicated by the one parent, ‘Using taxis is such a hassle because I have to use or take two taxis from home to school and it’s expensive and an inconvenience’ (AP3) and ‘I hate public transport e.g. Rea Vea [buses], people are so judgemental’ (AP6).

Parents who sent their children to school via scholar transport minibus taxis did not know the drivers or what happened in the vehicle, except if they arrived on time or not, because it was recorded and feedback was given to parents by the school. Parents observed behaviour changes from their children which might be an indication of bullying or trauma experienced by the children in the scholar transport minibus taxi.

In terms of service delivery, the parents described the public minibus taxi journey as inconvenient owing to the use of more than one vehicle to reach their destinations. ‘I don’t know much about what is happening in the transport, but sometimes their behaviour change due to change’ (AP6).

The parents indicated that many public minibus taxi drivers were not very accommodating of learners with ASD. The parents described the drivers as rude and also indicated that the passengers did not understand learners with ASD. Parents gave the following explanations:

One day on the taxi my child pulled the wig from the lady who was sitting next to her, she was very angry because people were laughing at her and she slapped my child. (AP2)

My son likes to sit at the back of the taxi so it was full and people didn’t understand why, so he had a tantrum and we waited for another one. (AP3)

Therefore, the passengers made assumptions and judged the parents for not being disciplined and in control of their children. Hence, public transport became a struggle which it should not be. Parents felt that drivers should treat passengers with respect and communicate with them. The parents who used scholar transport for their children, valued the fact that only learners were travelling in the vehicle and that the learners were dropped off at the school. Furthermore, some of the scholar transport drivers walked the learners to the entrance door of the school building with some drivers even escorting the learners to

the classroom. One parent gave the example, ‘They drop my son off directly at the school and walk him to class,’ (AP9). At the same time, parents had to raise the fees to pay for scholar transport, an aspect they did not like.

The parents of the ASD learners had a thought-provoking view about development, education, and training. The parents viewed the use of public minibuses with their ASD children as a learning opportunity for their children. AP2 explained, ‘It helps my child to understand that whenever you want to go somewhere using the taxi you always pay’ while AP3 said, ‘Some people try and understand my son’s condition and be accommodating, but I think not many people know about autism.’ In saying this, the parents were of the opinion that these challenges gave their children the opportunity to interact with other passengers and learn how to deal with the payment of transport fees. The parents further explained that it was not only a learning opportunity for their children but also for the passengers who were not aware of learners with special needs and how these children should be treated. Parents who used public minibuses indicated that they tried to explain to other passengers what ASD was and the reasons for the behaviour of their children. For example, one of the parents explained, ‘Yes, a passenger asked why my child is talking by himself. Then I explained to her that he is autistic’ (AP4).

According to the parents, creating public awareness of LSEN was very important and, according to them, there was an obvious need for awareness. That being said, the parents with ASD learners expressed very strongly that they disliked the use of any public transportation because of the judgemental behaviour of other passengers towards their special need’s children. ‘People judge me and say my son is naughty and they look at my son as if he is crazy when he does the noise and it’s really hurtful,’ AP3 clarified, while AP2 stated, ‘The passengers they don’t treat my child nice and we sometime find a broken taxi so when it’s cold the passengers get cold.’

In terms of scholar transport, the parents vigorously expressed the idea that scholar transport drivers should be trained to handle the needs of ASD learners. They also suggested that drivers should have assistants in the vehicle to assist with the control of the learners. The parents indicated that the ideal would be specific transportation organised by the DoE for special needs learners which would mainly focus on the safety of the learners. All parents concurred that nothing educational happened in the scholar transport minibus

vehicle. This point is debatable because they did not travel with their children in the vehicle and thus did not know what occurred.

The parents expressed a serious concern with regard to the bullying of their ASD children by older learners or learners from mainstream schools. Bullying was mentioned by the parents of learners who made use of scholar transport but not by parents who travelled with their children to school in the public minibus taxi vehicles, because they were there to look after them, whereas in scholar transport bullying might take place between senior ASD learners and junior school learners or from mainstream school learners who did not understand learners with special needs. ‘My son comes home with marks and scratches on his face and the school says it’s the transport but the drivers doesn’t know’ (AP9). The general public made use of public minibus taxis and, according to the parents of the ASD learners, they were not patient with ASD learners and their special needs. It might be the reason that they were not informed about ASD or disregarded the inclusion of all people. ‘If they can be more accommodating of our children and when explain what is going on they must try and understand instead of judging us’ (AP5).

6.2.8 Findings and analysis from the parents of ASD learners using public minibus taxis or scholar transport minibus taxis by applying the Johari Window

The intention of presenting the data from the parents of ASD learners in the Johari Window below is to inform the researcher and the reader of the views which are held by the parents. Also, why these views are held by them.

Table 6.4: Johari Window for parents of ASD-spectrum learners using public or scholar transport minibus taxis

Known to parents of ASD learners		Not known to parents of ASD learners
Known to drivers	<p style="text-align: center;">KNOWN</p> <p>Parent users of public taxis:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Socio-economic reasons main reason to use minibus taxi transportation • Minibus taxi drivers are not open to criticism <p>Scholar transport:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scholar transport minibus taxi drivers are viewed as knowledgeable, safe, and responsible people • ASD learners are extremely vulnerable and rely solely on the scholar transport drivers for care and safety thus adult social and emotional competence is important 	<p style="text-align: center;">BLIND SPOT</p> <p>Scholar transport:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents lack knowledge of what happens in the scholar transport space • Parents do not realise the immense responsibility these drivers have to transport ASD learners • Learners are bullied by other learners in the scholar transport minibus
	<p style="text-align: center;">HIDDEN</p> <p>Parent users of public taxis:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents value passenger care, ethical behaviour, empathy and civic values • ASD parents and learners experience minibus taxis as inconvenient, being marginalised • In many cases members of society are uninformed concerning learners with ASD • Passengers are judgemental towards the parents of ASD learner, poor disciplinarians • Contradiction in the sense that parents view the minibus taxi space in a negative light but they also view it as a space of learning for their children and other passengers <p>Minibus taxi vehicle space is a space for ASD children to execute early learning skills, social interaction, and acceptable behaviour, social and emotional learning which can assist in success in later life.</p> <p>Scholar transport:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scholar transport minibus drivers are viewed as knowledgeable, safe, and responsible people 	<p style="text-align: center;">UNKNOWN</p> <p>Minibus taxis:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Passenger education and civic value training are needed • ASD parents and learners experience systemic oppression • Contradiction, in the sense that parents view the minibus taxi space in a negative light but they also view it as a space of learning for their children and other passengers. Space for their children to execute early learning skills, social interaction, and acceptable behaviour, social and emotional learning which can assist in success in later life • Continuous training and development of scholar transport drivers are needed for conflict resolution and character development • Request for the differentiation of primary, secondary, LSEN learner transportation needed but it will be anti-inclusion – society should change
Not known to drivers		

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What takes place inside the vehicle has a direct impact on the behaviour of ASD learners • Behaviour changes are a barometer for these parents 	
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The known pane highlights socio-economic reasons as one of the main reasons for parents to make use of public minibus taxis and it brings to the fore that public minibus taxi drivers do not appreciate criticism. Scholar transport minibus taxi drivers are viewed as knowledgeable, responsible, and serious about the safety of ASD learners. It emerges from the known pane that ASD learners are extremely vulnerable and reliant on adults. The known pane suggests that drivers, whether public or scholar transport, should be emotionally intelligent, although parents and general passengers should be so too, particularly in the manner in which they behave and interact with the drivers and other passengers in the vehicle.

The blind spot pane subsequently exposed parents' lack of knowledge regarding what happens inside the vehicle, especially if they did not travel with their own children to school. It exposed the reliance of not just the learners but also the parents on the drivers. In this case, the blind spot pane becomes a stop sign which highlights that the most important person in a minibus or scholar transport taxi is the driver. It can be argued that the drivers are aware of this but might not handle this 'power' to the best of their ability. In addition, the blind spot pane emphasised the importance of a constructive partnership between the drivers and role players with mutual consideration and respect as a non-negotiable basis.

The findings from the open pane support the findings from the hidden pane which suggests that society should focus on inclusivity and respect. After careful analysis, the hidden pane sadly showed that the lessons learned from South African history of pushing people outside boundaries, special needs learners in many cases, are marginalised once again. I would have expected that South African society to know better and not to relegate people. The hidden pane revealed that a lack of knowledge is many a time the reason for negative behaviour, which can easily produce a snowball effect. In addition, the hidden pane provided evidence that the space inside the minibus taxi vehicle could be of educational

value on different levels. The impact of the minibus taxi space may be a barometer for parents and teachers alike to judge drivers by, whether it is fair or not.

The unknown pane provided evidence of systemic oppression; however, by providing a direct reading and a comparison of two indicators, the hidden pane also emphasised training and development as a compass. One indicator is set for the desired heading while the other indicator shows the actual heading so both the two indicators point to the desired course, which, in the case of the minibus taxi vehicle, is the destination (school) but they also address the needs of all and simultaneously support education.

All four panes mirrored ambiguity and exposed all the role players and drivers acting ambivalently from time to time, with the negative results felt by all. But most importantly, it emphasised the immense positive impact of parent involvement.

6.2.9 Views of SGBs and parents of ASD-spectrum learners, similarities and differences on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education

It emerged from the four units of analysis (primary school SGB, high school SGB, LSEN school SGB, and parents of ASD learners) that there are obvious differences and similarities in the views and expectations held by role players.

The majority of the South African population is made up of Black people, hence it can be concluded that the majority of SGB members and LSEN parents who made use of public minibus taxis and scholar transport minibus taxis were Black. The SGB members of all three units of analysis and LSEN parents all had a Grade 12 qualification with the majority having obtained a tertiary qualification. The SGB members and LSEN parents all spoke English but it was not necessarily their mother tongue.

The comparison reveals that all SGBs and LSEN parents, regardless of which school they were from, raised violence, aggression, lawlessness, disrespect, and lack of safety as their most significant concerns. It further emerged that the aforementioned points were mainly linked to the public minibus taxi drivers and, to a lesser extent, to the scholar transport minibus taxi drivers. Hence, it was also the motivation for SGBs and LSEN parents to make use of scholar transport, which they assumed was a safer option. The analysis shows that the SGBs and LSEN parents highlighted the necessity for a distinct difference between scholar transport minibus taxis and public minibus taxis. The data from the Johari Window provides evidence that LSEN parents desired scholar transport provided by the DoE. A

rating system might be considered and, according to the careful analysis of the window panes, it seems to give parents a voice to express their views about service delivery. While the inclusion of a dedicated portfolio at the schools and on the SGBs are optional, it seems likely that this could be the basis for the establishment of a better relationship and partnership between role players and ultimately address certain of the concerns held by SGBs and LSEN parents. Having said this, all the groups cited the affordability of public minibus taxis and their ability to reach townships and difficult to reach places as the reason why they made use of them. The analysis of this window has shown that the SGBs and LSEN parents considered the safety of their children as most important. They furthermore expected drivers to look after and take care of their children, stating that drivers should view their work as a calling and not merely a job. It is then difficult to understand why they complained about the transport fees that they had to pay to the drivers for the services they rendered. It might possibly be that a smaller amount is being paid when public minibus taxis are used in comparison to the bigger once-off amount which is paid on a monthly or weekly basis to the drivers of scholar transport minibus taxi drivers.

All three units of analysis expressed concern regarding the safety of their children and the importance thereof. All indicated that the general public minibus taxis are not ideal for the transporting of learners as there are no filters to protect them. It seems that the parents assumed that the learners were safe because it was scholar transport and, in a way, relegated some of their responsibility to the drivers.

SGBs and LSEN parents collectively highlighted the importance and expectation that drivers, whether public, scholar, or LSEN, should bear in mind that they are role models because the learners observe their behaviour. It emerged that SGBs and parents were concerned about the space inside the vehicle while their children travelled to school and the route which was taken to schools, in other words, the geographical space. SGBs and LSEN parents did not condone the roaming around of minibus taxi vehicles. This argument merits greater consideration hence it will be discussed independently in Chapter 7. The comparison of the four units of analysis further revealed that SGBs and LSEN parents realised that there was room for the improvement in the current relationship between the SGBs, LSEN parents, and drivers. In addition, the possibility of a partnership has been considered, and, from the findings, this looks like a worthwhile pursuit. From the units of analysis, the SGB members from the girls' high school were the least positive about a partnership stating that training and development was not the school's responsibility. The

SGB members from the girls' high school further indicated that to use the school grounds for the training and development of minibus taxi drivers who were strangers to the school would put the safety of the girl learners at risk and drivers might bridge the security measures at school which might lead to burglaries at the school. The girls fell into the age group 17 to 18 years, which might be the reason that the SGB considered them to be vulnerable. It might be expected that the general negative perceptions of public minibus taxis had an influence on the SGBs and LSEN parents' thinking. The comparison of data revealed that the LSEN minibus taxi drivers had the most constructive relationship with the school followed by the scholar transport minibus taxi drivers at the primary school to a lesser extent.

The findings imply that training and development played a very important role in the manner the drivers handled and took care of the ASD learners. It was considered a prerequisite, especially for LSEN scholar transport drivers, although the data from the high school for girls showed that training and development was not the school's role.

It can be considered that the educational value of the space in public minibus taxis and scholar transport minibus taxis was not recognised in either of the vehicles and not optimally used to support education, as they simply accommodated as many passengers as possible. The findings brought to the fore the scope for development and training of drivers but also for SGBs and LSEN parents. The space could be used purposefully to support education specifically with reference to incidental learning and the hidden curriculum.

However, it would be misleading not to consider the inconsistent and ambivalent behaviour of the parents of SGBs and the LSEN school with regard to their expectations and their own behaviour towards drivers. SGB and LSEN school parents had high expectations but there was, according to the findings, no formal contract between the drivers and the parents. This raised the question of how to address drivers formally other than verbally. It is clear that parents did not understand the extent to which drivers provided support to learners, especially LSEN scholar transport drivers. Which raises the question, are the drivers paid sufficiently?

Of the four units of analysis, it was evident that the LSEN school parents were regular users of public minibus taxis, while the SGB members from the high school for girls did not make use of public minibus taxis either for themselves or their children.

As a driver sits in his minibus taxi vehicle, whether it is a public minibus taxi or a scholar transport minibus taxi, he is looking out through the windscreen and side windows of the vehicle. On the other hand, SGB members, as adults and drivers of their own vehicles, viewed the drivers from inside their own vehicles (spaces). They observed what the drivers did and how they behaved on the road. Their experiences were also tainted with what they had read about drivers and what their children told them about the transport. It was only the LSEN parents who travelled together with their children who really experienced what happened with children inside the vehicle. It can be argued that because the learners were with their parents (adults) who could intervene in cases of unfair treatment by drivers or other passengers who simply tolerated them. This exposes the vulnerability of learners who travelled on their own in public minibus taxis and scholar transport minibus taxis. Therefore, consideration should be given to the views of learners who are vulnerable and not as ‘powerful’ as adults. It further can be argued that the children unconsciously rely on adults as caregivers.

6.3. Part 2: Views of learners (users and non-users)

Learners who travelled without their parents, regardless of age, did not have an adult to filter the environment and intervene in difficult situations. The learners experienced the space inside the vehicle first-hand therefore their views were deemed very valuable. Part 2 centres on the case study which focuses on learners; there are two units of analysis, namely primary school learners and secondary school learners. The second unit of analysis is divided into two categories, namely users and non-users (observers).

I began each unit of analysis with a discussion on the language profile and demographics of the learners. As in the previous cases involving adults, it seemed that language profile and demographics of the learners might have a meaningful relationship with the rest of the data collected. The themes of language profile and demographics are followed by the themes I identified as I worked with the data. The following themes were identified: reasons for the use of minibus taxis, unroadworthiness of vehicles, drivers, overloading and unemployment, sexual behaviour, disregard for rules and regulations, passenger care, social interaction and activities in the minibus taxi, eco-friendly/respect for the environment, noise or loud music, punctuality, communication, the young transport consumers’ advice to improve service delivery, and topics of conversation.

6.3.1. Mainstream primary school Grade 6 learners on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education

The Grade 6 learners, boys and girls in the age group 11 to 12 years, were not asked to indicate their mother tongue but, for the purpose of the focus group survey instrument, English was the language of choice. This primary school was an English medium school with 100 per cent Black learners who attended at the school. The assumption was made that the majority of learners were African, mother-tongue speakers who were bilingual and capable of understanding and expressing themselves in English. Interestingly, one of the learners responded as follows with regard to the scholar transport minibus taxi driver who used English. ‘I think the minibus taxi driver is horrible at speaking English, so we don’t understand him. He speaks a bizarre language’ (N76W).

The main reason given by the Grade 6 primary school learners for the use of public minibus taxis or scholar transport minibus taxis was to attend school in order to get an education and improve their lives. As one respondent remarked in response to being asked why they used minibus taxis, ‘Because our mothers want us to go to school to have a better life in the future’ (N14M). The learners cited different reasons why they had to make use of scholar transport minibus taxis, namely parents who worked and could not take them to school, parents who had vehicle problems, and learners being sent to shops on their own by their parents.

Learners also cited that their parents did not wake up early enough to take them to school, saying, ‘Because I don’t have any option, if I go with my dad I will be very late for school’ (N44W). The learners did not want to be late for the first class in the mornings therefore they made use of scholar transport. Only a few learners indicated that they were being transported to school by private family vehicle.

Another reason for the use of minibus taxi scholar transport was that learners stayed far from the school. It was not safe for them to walk to school. As one learner indicated, ‘To get to school safely and that I am lazy to walk to school because these days there is human trafficking’ (N83A). It seemed that the use of public minibus taxis or scholar minibus taxis was challenging for the children with one learner stating that he had no other option and described using public transport as follows, ‘To go to school but I hate it’ (N41W) and ‘to get to school, I live in township it is hard’ (N119LMBT). It was clear from the manner in which the learners responded that it was no easy ride on more than one level of their lives.

On the other hand, there were learners who viewed using scholar transport as a status symbol saying, ‘Because our parents can afford it and it’s easier and more efficient’ (N32M).

Learners described the drivers as good if they were punctual when they fetched them for school in the mornings so that they were not late for their first academic period. Late arrival at school was a point mentioned by the majority of learners as problematic, albeit because of their parents or the drivers. The learners stated, ‘The reason why I’m using a minibus because my parents wake up early and too late’ (N108A) and ‘He usually comes very late to my house. He says we are leaving at 06:30 but comes at 06:50 or 06:55 then we get late for school every day’ (N78W). To arrive on time was important for the learners due to the code of conduct at the school. The code of conduct determined that late arrival for school would lead to a demerit. These would eventually lead to detention on a Friday afternoon after school. Detention on a Friday was a punishment for the children since Fridays were days that the learners looked forward to. They described Fridays in the minibus as ‘happy days’.

Drivers were viewed in a negative light when they disregarded the rules of the road. They ignored red robots and stop signs, drove too fast, and overtook other cars without the use of indicators. The drivers even drove on the wrong side of the road, did not wear seatbelts and used their mobile phones while they drove. In addition, the vehicles were not roadworthy and broke down often.

A few learners expressed distress that, on the spur of the moment, their drivers decided not to take them directly to school because they provided service on an ad hoc basis to the general public. If a driver felt like it, on a certain day, he might not even take them to school. The learners were then kept in the vehicle and had to drive around with the driver the entire day or they were loaded into another vehicle with a different driver who took them to the school. As one learner indicated, ‘I thought that he fetches us at his own time and when he doesn’t want to take us to school he will plan with the other drivers and we will be absent at school’ (N24M) while another stated, ‘Sometimes he put me in another transport, I think it is not safe’ (N129ST). This data is very alarming and shows irresponsible behaviour which might have serious implications for the safety and well-being of the learners. Parents paid a monthly fee to the driver to take their children to the school and they were under the impression that their children were safe at school when, in

fact, they were not. Learners linked this driver behaviour to their safety to the vehicles. One learner said, ‘I felt safe because the taxi was clean and not dirty inside and the taxi driver did not drive somewhere else, he took me to school on time and [was] not late and I felt safe and he fetched me early’ (N21M). It was clear that learners did not feel safe if they were not taken directly to school.

Unfortunately, this negative behaviour of some of the drivers leads people to view minibus taxi drivers as bad people. It becomes their trademark. It can be argued that it is not really who they are as human beings, it is their behaviour. Many times, this behaviour is due to the pressure they work under to make more money or to hold on to their jobs which the public and learners are not aware of. On the other hand, it could be greed. Drivers should be made aware of these views.

It seems that learners had to deal with both fellow learners and drivers who showed bullying behaviour. The learners also mentioned that certain drivers were horrible, describing them as forever angry, arguing, and shouting at them. One learner said that a driver exclaimed, ‘You kids make me sick’ (N11M).

Furthermore, drivers were described as follows, ‘He is a bully. He has a knife and shambok⁷ in the vehicle’ (N41W) and ‘He is a bad person, he shouts and swears at us’ (N49W). The learners also raised drunk driving as a concern, which can be seen as emotional bullying because the learners might feel scared and anxious. In terms of bullying behaviour from fellow learners the following were mentioned by the learners. ‘There are bullies’ (N67W) was a very frank response, with one of the learners describing bullying behaviour in the scholar transport as distressing. Drivers did not intervene, which made the children feel unsafe. As one learner explained, ‘In my minibus today it was bad because there were a fight and the people who were fighting are high schools so the fight was scary and one of them pushed my younger brother and everyone was scared’ (N2M) and ‘I did not like the fight that was happening in my transport because it dangerous cause one of them took out a knife’ (N2M). Drivers transported high school and primary school learners in the same vehicle, which was problematic and, in some cases, led to bullying. One learner responded, ‘The attitude the high school girls had. They are very rude and make us late because they

⁷Shambok – a heavy whip, formerly cut from rhinoceros or hippopotamus hide but now often made of plastic or rubber. Used for driving animals or administering punishment.

put make-up' (N66W). The needs of the learners were very different. The primary school learners liked to talk and sing in the vehicle whereas the high school learners were irritated by it. N2M commented, 'The girl from the high school was very angry, that she shouted at the joke makers and we were quiet all the way to the school' and 'Take the high schools out of the transport because they sometimes bully and if you don't want to give them money they beat [you]'. To conclude the point of bullying, one learner expressed his dissatisfaction as follows, 'I didn't like anything about the minibus taxi because in our transport they were fighting that is why I didn't like anything about minibus taxis' (N73W).

Primary school learners referred to the unroadworthiness of vehicles and mentioned broken windows and doors that opened while they were driving. Also, vehicles did not have seatbelts for the learners. Interestingly, the learners were very specific about the issues regarding the vehicles. They gave the following examples, 'They don't service it, it is the exhaust pipe' (N127) and 'I think the taxi is a scrapyard. The driver does not obey the rules of the road. On Monday we had an accident because of the driver' (N137). Learners mentioned that the vehicles were not roadworthy and often had breakdowns. According to N97A, 'When we were coming to school the door of the car opened [and] one kid came out – lucky no car passed'.

The inability of the learners to address the bad driving and behaviour of the drivers is noteworthy. They mentioned that the taxi was the only transportation option for them due to a lack of finances. The learners also mentioned that since their parents worked, they could not take them to school or fetch them. Hence they said, 'Fix the broken door and fix the engine and brakes to make it better' (N65W).

Learners indicated that in most cases the vehicles were overloaded. One learner expressed it as follows, 'The minibus was too mini small' (N28M). The learners described how they were squashed; they even had to sit on each other's laps and had to stand for the duration of the entire journey so more learners could fit into the vehicle. Hence it is clear why so many learners get hurt and die in minibus taxi or scholar transport vehicle accidents.

Owing to the high unemployment rate in South Africa, parents have opted to transport learners to school to create an income. Drivers thus are forced to do this type of work and it might be the reason for some of the drivers' negative attitudes, which came across in the manner they handled learners. As one learner explained:

The transport is not safe because it is overloaded, there is no space for our bags, the transport drivers do not put his seatbelt on, he is old, he drives really fast and overtakes if there is traffic, he doesn't stop when there is a stop sign. He also swears. The car has insects. (N132)

Another said,

The minibus taxi is not really safe. The music is fine but the volume not at all, too loud. The transport driver does not obey the rules at all. It's something we can't change because it is my daddy. (N98A)

Unfortunately, some drivers abused this opportunity by overloading their vehicles. This overloading, which was described by the learners, reminded me of the scholar transport minibus taxi which crammed 58 learners in a 14-seater vehicle (Mokhoali, 2020). This report concurred with the learners' descriptions of overloaded vehicles. If it is considered that drivers charge between R800 and R1 000 per child per month, this means that a driver can make R46 400 per month less his overheads. In cases of overloading, it might be argued that the driver does not care about the safety of the learners but is driven by greed and selfishness. The following response is proof of the selfishness of drivers, 'Our minibus taxi is overloaded so I had to stand from home until. I get to school standing, no place to sit. My feet were very tired, feeling that the driver is selfish' (N3M). Parents' knowledge or lack thereof in terms of overloading and the shortage of maintenance of the vehicles was brought to the fore by the following remark from one learner, 'The minibus was not stable and the doors were loose windows broken which I thought was unacceptable. The taxi driver kept on shouting and I even thought that he was drunk' (N4M). Parents use this type of scholar transport because it is often cheaper than other transport options, which relates to the challenges of poverty which we find in township areas. The learners viewed drivers as good when they adhered to the rules of the road by stopping at red robots, kept to the speed limit, did not overtake other cars on the road, and did not speak on their cell phones. Furthermore, these drivers were described as punctual and they did not roam the streets for other passengers but took the learners directly to school.

It came across that communication, both verbal and non-verbal, played an important role in the interaction of drivers and learners. It also came through that communication and attitude of the drivers could change at a whim. The learners viewed drivers in a positive light if they were friendly and communicated with them. 'The driver was talking to the

passengers about school and the driver was driving carefully on the way to school and also got me to school safely' (N65W).

Learners mentioned days were special when it was the driver's or one of their friends' birthdays. Then they sang songs and might be given something nice to eat. It was understandable that communication played a role in the positive experience learners had about the drivers. It showed interest and care. On the other hand some drivers are not focused on communication which is educational and appropriate to the learners as one learner remarked: ' I didn't like anything at all today because he likes to shout at us and explain things that we don't want to hear' (N57W).

Learners who travelled to school with their parents had the opportunity to interact with their parents. Parents could use the time to talk to the learners about their school day or future or there was time to read a page or two. In the case of public minibus taxis and scholar mini taxi transportation, learners missed out on those educational opportunities if the drivers did not interact with them in a positive manner. Learners were sensitive to the manner in which drivers spoke to them. 'He kept on shouting and explaining why he does not have time because he fetches a lot of children and he made me hold the bags and were squashed' (N57W).

Learners also complained about the noise made by the other children in the vehicle and the loud music which was played inside the vehicle by the drivers. The majority of learners mentioned that the music was too loud and disturbed them. 'The transport was full, he played loud music, and was driving fast not caring if we would fall or get hurt, it was horrible' (N132). Research has shown that music lyrics have become more explicit, particularly with reference to sex, drugs, and violence. The lyrics of heavy metal and 'gangsta rap' music can communicate potentially harmful messages for the behaviour of adolescents and pre-adolescents (Fuld, Mulligan, Altmann, Brown, Christakis, Clarke-Pearson, Dryer, Falik, Nelson, O'Keefe & Strasburger, 2009). Thus, the music played in the minibus taxi has an impact on the learners.

Learners also raised the constant hooting of the drivers to attract the attention of possible passengers and hooting at other vehicles on the road as very noisy and irritating, 'The minibus had loud music and he did not stop when the robot was red – he just go and he did not stop he was busy swearing people' (N87A) and 'I did not like the way our driver made us sit. I also did not like the music that was playing, it was not nice. I liked nothing, nothing'

(N61W). It must be very challenging for young learners to go to school in transport which they do not like on a daily basis, although there were a good number of learners who indicated that they liked the music that the driver played on their way to school if it was piano or romantic music. Primary school learner responses varied from not liking anything about the minibus taxi to liking everything.

While in the vehicle, emotional development might take place. The primary school learners spent time with their friends, which gave them an opportunity to talk and have fun. They played and danced in the vehicle, which might have been fun for the children but it was not safe for them. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the minibus taxi provides space for young adolescents to learn independence and mature, as the following responses might prove: ‘I was sitting near my girlfriend and the taxi driver was playing piano music’ (N137) and ‘I was sit with my crush’ (N136). It was also in this space that they learned interpersonal skills and to tolerate other people. ‘The child that sits next to me did not annoy me today’ (N135). The space in the public minibus taxi or scholar transport minibus taxi provided a space for the development of emotional intelligence and tolerance for others. From the manner in which they responded, it seemed that learners picked up on disrespectful behaviour from the drivers. The learners explained, ‘My transport driver is unfair and he likes shouting and that a girl didn’t want to get into the transport and it made me angry’ (56W) and ‘The two girls sitting in the front are really annoying’ (N45W). One remark from a learner was shocking and must have impacted the learner very negatively on an emotional and psychological level (N18M) shared:

One of my transport mates’ mom and dad past away and she said she ([the] driver) doesn’t care ... all she wants is her money and she said they are burning in hell. Just because my transport mates’ parents couldn’t pay because her parents were sick.

In terms of passenger care, the learners discussed when the drivers were on time for school and if they were fetched on time. Learners also linked the behaviour of the driver to whether they liked the minibus taxi on that day or not. The learners said, ‘They (drivers) can treat us like passengers. They can stop beating us. I can stop disrespecting him. Stop swearing at each other. Make sure that we eat’ (N35M) and ‘I don’t like the driver because he terrorises children and he doesn’t like us’ (N49W). The young learners even gave advice on how drivers could improve, for example, ‘Drive properly, wake up early and drink coffee [to] make sure they are not half asleep’ (N31M).

When the driver treated the learners with respect, kindness, and care, they liked travelling in the minibus taxis. They also mentioned that there were times when the drivers bought them sweets and food. This can be seen as passenger care and, in a way, marketing but there were warning lights too as one learner indicated, ‘He (the driver) gave me a Coca-Cola today. He was making jokes, we made it on time to school. He took a picture of me’ (N81A).

Some learners mentioned negative behaviour patterns of the drivers which included drinking and driving, swearing, and shouting at them. The safety of learners in some cases is worrying as the following response indicated, ‘He fetched me at 04:30 and he bought us cheese snacks [and] because he fetched us early we played touch in the minibus’ (N9M) and another learner responded, ‘He (the driver) shouted at me and he always looks at my older sister badly....’ (N19N). The behaviour of the taxi driver might be seen as manipulative as ‘he did not play music and he did not make my favourite lunch this week, he did not let me connect his phone’ (N81A). Drivers also asked learners to open and close the minibus taxis’ door which the learners did not like doing. It is dangerous for the learners to open and close the sliding door of the vehicle for other learners, especially for the younger learners who tend to hold onto the door as they disembark.

The learners mentioned dirty, stuffy-smelling vehicles as something that they did not like. They stated that the drivers should give attention to their personal hygiene. According to N113, the drivers should ‘wake up and bath’. The public minibus taxi drivers and some scholar transport drivers said that people viewed them in a disrespectful manner. It might be because of the following observations made by learners: ‘Sometimes he comes late or too early and he drives [with] bare feet’ (N117). A learner further explained, ‘People must put [on] perfume and roll-on. They must repair their windows. Put a refresher in the car or keep a perfume to make the car smell nice’ (N49W).

The manner in which the learners responded and explained what drivers should do to improve service delivery was practical and realistic. The learners indicated that the public minibus taxi driver or scholar transport minibus taxi drivers should change their behaviour. This was an objective and positive remark. The learners did not get personal but referred to the behaviour which was in the drivers’ power to change. Here they mentioned that they should change their angry behaviour to being kind and helpful, they should care about their

passengers, and they should ask about their well-being. This included being fair, honest, and respectful to their passengers but also other road users.

The learners foregrounded that the drivers should stop swearing and shouting at passengers and other road users. Shockingly, they also mentioned that certain drivers should stop beating them. For example, N88A claimed that the drivers should ‘always feel free and give us right manners. Stop crossing red lights and stop disobeying road rules. Fetch us on time. Must have a licence. Stop hitting us’ (N88A). Learners also advised drivers not to smoke, drink and drive, and to have valid driver’s licences and adhere to the road rules at all times. It should not be necessary to have to point out these behaviours because they are the laws of the country, nevertheless, they are behaviours exhibited by some drivers.

Roadworthy vehicles which were clean and maintained were mentioned as important; the learners argued that it had an impact on the safety of all passengers and other road users. The cleanliness of the vehicle and hygiene of the drivers were important because learners dressed in school uniform it provided a sense of pride and identity. As mentioned earlier, a dirty environment had a negative impact on the emotional well-being of occupants of the vehicle. The management of noise in the vehicle should be addressed. This includes the very loud music drivers play and their shouting, swearing and hooting as some learners found it disturbing. This came across when the learner responded that the driver should ‘stop what they are doing and stop swearing at other people he must stop screaming like a mad sheep and stop drives fast like a Bugatti’ (N90A). Drivers might not have realised that the noise level was disturbing to the passengers and other road users if they had been drinking, as indicated by one learner in response to the question:

Not to drive drunkenly. Have proper and acceptable car. Have manners. Try to be on time. Not squashing us with 50 other people and follow road rules and drive like other people and be on time for children and don’t drink while transporting children and they must have a licence. (N4M)

A vital point that was mentioned by the majority of learners was functionality. This point, as indicated by the learners, was not negotiable – learners wanted to arrive on time in the mornings and did not want to sit around after school waiting for their transport. It can be argued that functionality goes hand in hand with security and safety.

All the points that the learners mentioned were within the reach and power of drivers as individuals to change for the better. As one respondent said, ‘To work hard and to not do bad things and not to give up on their dreams too. And to be the best taxi drivers in the world’ (N6M) and they can obey the road rules, get a licence and not smoke in front of the children’ (N128) and they ‘can drive nicely not drive at one metre a day ... he drives to[o] slow and he should not sleep when driving’ (N122). It came down to a conscious decision which minibus taxi drivers and scholar transport drivers had to make. It also showed that even these young Grade 6 learners had a certain level of maturity and realised the importance of goal setting and discipline. They viewed the drivers as people with potential. This was the opposite of what the drivers believed about themselves and a misconception about what other people thought about them.

6.3.2. Findings and analysis from primary school learners by applying the Johari Window

The intention of presenting the data from the primary school learners in the Johari Window below is to inform the researcher and the reader of the views which are held by the primary school learners. Also, why these views are held by them.

Table 6.5: Johari Window for Grade 6 primary school learners (girls and boys)

Known to Primary school learners		Not known to the primary school learners
Known to drivers	<p style="text-align: center;">KNOWN</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School attendance is the main reason for primary school learners to use public minibus taxis/scholar minibus taxi transport • Learners are forced to use scholar transport to attend school no other transport available • The cleanliness of the vehicle is of importance to them, linked to their image • Learners are aware of the unroadworthiness of the vehicles which may lead to accidents • Learners were involved in accidents while in the scholar transport vehicle 	<p style="text-align: center;">BLIND SPOT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To a certain extent systemic oppression takes place, learners are not able to take a stand against drivers with regard to their negative behaviour, also it is their only option to reach school • On the spur of the moment drivers decide not to drop the learners at school but drive around with them during the school day providing service on an ad hoc basis to the general public • Drivers reward learners with sweets and fast food it might be marketing, real reward, or a manner of manipulation

	HIDDEN	UNKNOWN
Not known to drivers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Punctuality a higher priority for learners than for drivers • Drivers are viewed in a positive light when they cultivate a climate of support in the vehicle by communicating, caring, and being friendly towards learners. Primary school learners are very sensitive about, hygiene, self-care, and self-respect • The manner in which the driver dress and speak are important aspects for learners • At a young age, primary school learners are aware of their transport consumer rights and have expectations • Primary school learners are aware of service excellence • The learners are aware of the unroadworthiness of the vehicles which may lead to accidents. Majority of cases the adults (drivers & parents) are the reason for late arrival of learners • Primary school learners view their scholar transportation as their ‘vehicle’ to attain their goals out of the low-income area where they travel from • Learners are exposed to sexual harassment and sexual grooming • Learners view the inside of the scholar minibus space as a space where life stories are shared, sad or happy • Learners link the space in the vehicle to their safety • Learners experience disempowerment when in the scholar transport minibus as they are exposed to bullying behaviour from drivers and other learners. Learners are exposed to bullying from adult passengers, peers, and high school learners • Drivers do not intervene to reduce bullying 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Primary school learners are very aware of goal setting and working towards their dreams • They show emotional maturity in the sense that they acknowledge that the drivers also have dreams they want to attain. Motivation is central to learning • Horizontal oppression between learners and drivers • Learners have very high expectations from drivers in terms of caring for them • Social and emotional learning takes place in the scholar transport minibus • Learners are exposed to a variation of cognitive, emotional, social values, perspectives, and identity development • Learners learn independence, peer relationships and mature into adolescents in the scholar minibus space • Quality of parent-child relationship comes to the fore • Adult modelling and norm setting are missing; scholar minibus transport drivers drive when under the influence of alcohol • Hardship is associated with minibus taxi/scholar transportation due to it being used as one of the only means of transport from township areas • Learners linked their safety to the safety of the vehicle • The different levels of maturity between high school learners and primary school learners, the primary school learners do not want to travel in the same vehicle as high school learners. Learners are focused on functionality and efficiency • The personal space of the learners is violated due to overcrowding. Rules lead to expectations

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Noise pollution is an irritation for the learners, learners do not like the noise which comes with the drivers' loud music and hooting • Learners do not like it that the drivers show disregard for the road rules and swear in their presence • Learners view drivers as good if they abide by the rules of the road and bad when they break it 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The same vehicle is used – VW/Quantum Kombi – general public assume that it is public minibus taxis. The users will be able to differentiate between scholar transport and public transport
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From the known pane in Table 6.5 below, it emerged that learners had been in accidents while they travelled to school. The open pane brought to the fore the limited transport options learners from township areas had to reach school and had no other choice other than to make use of unroadworthy vehicles. It further emerged that the cleanliness of the vehicles was of high importance to the learners and to a lesser extent to the drivers.

After careful analysis, the blind spot pane exposed systemic oppression. It also emerged that the behaviour of the driver and the situation in and around the scholar transport minibus taxis could change on the spur of the moment which placed learners at risk. The blind spot pane revealed that the space inside the scholar transport vehicle was filled with invisible happenings from marketing to manipulation. Hence it highlighted the very important role that the drivers play and also brought to the fore the immense power the drivers have.

The hidden pane showed that learners were aware of their transport consumer rights and had very high expectations of the drivers. Learners expected drivers to cultivate a space of caring and respect in the vehicle in order to be seen in a positive light. The analysis of the hidden pane showed that the scholar transport vehicle is literally and figuratively a mode to reach goals and dreams for the learners and drivers. However, it emerged that the drivers did not value the space in the vehicle enough and also did not use it optimally. The hidden pane brought to the fore bullying behaviour from the drivers towards and between the learners. It is difficult to understand why the drivers did not act as a role models. The hidden pane revealed that learners are exposed to sexual harassment and sexual grooming in the space of the vehicle. It can then be said that the space in the vehicle can disempower learners. The hidden pane also revealed that adults (drivers and parents) were the reason for the learners' late arrival at school. From the pane it was clear that good hygiene, self-

care, and self-respect were very important aspects for learners, thus the manner in which the drivers act, speak, and dress is linked to the image of the learners when they share the vehicle space. The analysis of the hidden pane showed that the noise levels brought about by the music and hooting of the minibus taxis were experienced negatively by the learners. In a way, the hidden pane mirrored what learners learned at school. It emerged from the hidden pane that that horizontal oppression takes place between learners and drivers. Furthermore, the hidden pane revealed that learners are exposed to a variety of cognitive, emotional and social values, perspectives and identity development which take place in the scholar transport vehicle space. They learn independence, peer relations, and mature into adolescents. However, the hidden pane also exposed the quality of adult-child relationships. Although hardship is associated with public minibus taxis and scholar transport minibus taxis on different levels, the learners showed emotional intelligence and valued the opportunity to attend school.

Also of importance, which was shown by the unknown pane, was that overcrowding violated the personal space of primary school learners.

6.3.3 High school for Grade 12 girl learners on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education

The Grade 12 learners, who were in the age group 17 to 18 years, were not asked to indicate their mother tongue but for the purpose of the focus group survey instrument, English was the language of choice. This high school was an English medium school with 80 per cent of the school population being Black learners. The assumption was made that the majority of learners were African mother-tongue speakers but that they were bilingual and capable of understanding and expressing themselves in English.

The group of 168 learners at the high school all responded to the questionnaire. There was a marked difference between the views of the users and the non-users (observers) in terms of all aspects of minibus taxi drivers. The reason for the marked difference in views was that they used different modes of transport to get to school. While they made use of different modes of transport, they were all confronted by public minibus taxis on the road as they travelled to and from school. Hence, the responses were categorised according to the different modes of transport used by the learners. The two main categories were: users of minibus taxis (14 minibus taxi users and 17 scholar transport users) and non-users (observers) of minibus taxis.

Only two of the 168 learners made use of buses to travel to school. It seems that taxis were the only transport available for these learners. Of the 168 learners in the sample, 123 made use of private transport. This included their parents or other family members on their way to work. Five of the 168 learners lived within walking distance of the school and therefore walked to school. Seven learners made use of car pool transportation in which a group of two to four learners from the same area travelled together to school, with the parents taking turns to transport the learners to school in private vehicles.

Reasons for the use of public minibus taxi transportation differed. Learners who used minibus taxi transportation to school mentioned the following aspects of minibus taxis which they liked. They found it to be a) affordable b) convenient c) fast and efficient.

The learners indicated that they made use of public minibus taxis to attend school. These girl learners also indicated that it was the only means of transport in the area where they stayed; this may have been due to the geographical divisions from the apartheid era. For this reason, public minibus taxis provided a very important service by bridging the gap between underprivileged areas and more affluent areas where there was better education. Better education related to the life goals, dreams, and future of people. The learners further cited affordability (R11 fares) as another reason for the use of public minibus taxis. In addition, public minibus taxis were generally available with 'stations' everywhere.

Interestingly, the girl learners also indicated that it was a more sustainable manner to travel. It was environmentally friendlier because there were 15 people travelling together in the minibus taxi instead of one to four people in a private sedan vehicle.

Of the 168 learners, 17 made use of scholar transport. The vehicles used for scholar transport are usually Quantum/VW Kombi minibus taxi vehicles or other types of vehicles. Because public minibus taxi drivers use the same type of vehicles, the general public refers to scholar transport vehicles as minibus taxis too, except for those passengers who used it and knew the difference.

With regard to the unroadworthiness of the public minibus taxis, the girl users mentioned that the vehicles needed maintenance. Furthermore, they mentioned that the seats were loose and moved around. The observers mentioned that the public minibus taxis looked dilapidated, full of rust, and that the indicators of the vehicles were not in working condition.

Most of the girl learners described the drivers as impatient, rude, careless, untrustworthy, and unreliable. In contrast, one girl learner indicated that many of the public minibus taxi drivers that she had come across were quiet and polite during the ride unless a disrespectful passenger emerged. The passengers' disrespectful treatment towards the driver then led to the driver being rude and disrespectful in return.

The scholar transport minibus taxi users indicated that their drivers were respectful and most of the time they were quiet; the majority of the learners indicated that the drivers had good driving skills. They further described the scholar transport drivers as cooperative and considerate towards the passengers, although certain scholar transport drivers were described as bad drivers with dirty vehicles. Overloaded vehicles were also mentioned as a concern. Some of the girl learners indicated that they had to change vehicles at some stage during the journey, which was a concern in terms of safety.

Girl learners who were non-users (observers) and made use of Metro buses had the opposite view of the bus drivers. The learners described them as friendly, helpful, and caring. They further described their journey as fun and joyful with everyone in the bus talking and sharing information. The behaviour of the bus drivers may be different from the minibus taxi drivers because they do not have to chase customers to reach a target. Bus drivers receive their salaries from their employers and support from unions, which the minibus taxi drivers do not have.

These learners did not mention the public minibus taxis as problematic or intimidating. This might be because the bus is so much bigger than a minibus taxi. Minibus taxis can intimidate sedan vehicles but not big Metro buses. Metro buses transport the general public, hence, the passengers are not only learners. This has both positive and negative points. In the bus, learners have more personal space than in a minibus taxi or scholar transport taxi.

All the girl learners who made use of public minibus taxi indicated that the taxis were overloaded and passengers sat squeezed in the vehicle. The opinion of one girl learner was, 'The taxis and drivers just want to make as much of an income as possible but it is never anyone's intention to put the lives of others in danger' (J70ST). Although learners expressed understanding for the overloading of vehicles, they were concerned about it. Learners get so used to the lack of personal space, that they might not question actions against them in their space which should actually be questioned. With regard to overcrowding of vehicles, the non-users (observers) indicated that the public minibus taxis

looked overcrowded and disobeyed the road rules. As J37PT noted, ‘I don’t think much can happen in the taxi as it is overcrowded with people, squished in like sardines. They are filled way over capacity.’ Overcrowding has a direct impact on personal space, thus a lot can happen and observers would not be aware.

Bearing in mind that the respondents were from a girls’ school, it was concerning that some of the girls mentioned that the minibus taxi drivers made them feel uncomfortable. As one learner indicated, ‘A lot happens in the back seats which makes passengers, especially women, feel unsafe. A safer environment should be work[ed] towards’ (J134PT). Users of public minibus taxis had a different view of the dangers of overcrowding in the minibus taxi space than was mentioned by the non-users (observers). The girls who used the minibus taxis were aware of the dangers that came with overcrowding inside the vehicle whereas the non-users (observers) saw the overcrowding as a measure of safety. The high rate of crime and abuse against woman in South Africa made the learners very aware of safety and security, although one girl expressed the opposite view saying, ‘Taxi drivers are people who care about the safety of young women. They always make sure that they are okay and feel safe’ (J57PT).

The girls who used minibus taxi transportation mentioned the disregard for rules and regulations. They indicated that the drivers were wilful a disobeyed the rules of the road on purpose. The learners who made use of scholar transport mentioned the lack of punctuality, disregard of rules of the road and the overloading of the vehicle as aspects that they did not like. One learner responded as follows:

We were not dropped off at our school gate but rather across the street from our school (very busy road, four lanes). The driver played music at an extremely loud volume. The driver was also rude and threatened to leave me because I was not outside my house. I also felt isolated because I can’t understand indigenous African languages. (African learner, J12ST)

It is interesting that non-users (observers) of the passengers assumed that everybody in the minibus taxi liked using it, but this was not the case. The issue of safety which was raised is concerning; scholar transport minibus taxis could be more vigilant in terms of safety, show interest in the school work of learners and communicate better to them.

Furthermore, the point that the learner made with regard to feeling isolated by not speaking an African language brings to the fore set views which can possibly be addressed through communication.

The majority of the girl learners who responded as non-users (observers) pointed out that the public minibus taxis were overloaded and not in roadworthy condition. One learner observed that the drivers acted aggressively saying, ‘The minibus taxi skipped the red robot on my way to school and he got quite aggressive with my mother because she hooted at him. The minibus was also quite full’ (J87PT). Another claimed, ‘They drove recklessly and put other road users and passenger lives in danger by disregarding the rules of the road’ (J133PT) While a third said, ‘The minibus taxi went straight through a red robot and almost crushed into my dad and I. Another taxi also almost caused an accident today by swaying across the highway’ (J69PT).

The learners concluded that the drivers had this negative behaviour because they only cared about money. ‘I know other minibus taxi can be in a hurry and cause danger to their passengers and other people around them. They should be more cautious of the safety of others’ (J159PT). In the eyes of the users, this was not a negative point, it was seen as good service because they did not have to walk or it was demanded from the passengers. Only a few non-users (observers) described the minibus taxi vehicles as well maintained with drivers who looked calm, adhering to the rules of the road.

Learners who walked to school and made use of car pool transport also observed the negative behaviour of minibus taxi drivers. As one respondent who used car pool transport remarked, ‘The traffic lights were not working and children needed to cross the road but the minibus taxis did not stop. My thought is that they don’t consider others’ (J120W). The learners who made use of car pool transport also observed that minibus taxi drivers disregarded the road rules and drove irresponsibly. This negative driving behaviour led to road rage from other road users with retaliation from the drivers.

Learners making use of private transport to school, the non-users (observers), indicated that that they did not like the fact that minibus taxi drivers disregarded the rules of the road by speeding, ignoring red robots, cutting vehicles off, venting their road rage, overloading their vehicles, and or having poorly maintained vehicles. One of the non-users (observers) observed, ‘A driver nearly ran children over while crossing the road’ (J55PT).

With regard to passenger care, the users indicated that, for learners in school uniform, some minibus taxi drivers allowed learners to only pay R10 for the ride rather than the normal R12 or R13. They further indicated that they observed minibus taxi drivers who were very caring, for instance, J157PT noted, ‘If there are little kids on the taxi, the driver always assists the kids to cross the road. The taxi driver held their hands while crossing.’

Social interaction and activities in the public minibus taxi were described as follows by the users and non-users (observers) of public minibus taxis. According to the users, passengers aboard the public minibus taxi sent their fares to the driver who was at the front of the vehicle. Usually the passenger who sat in the front seat next to the driver counted the money or the driver did it while driving. Passengers slept, kept themselves busy on their phones or talked to each other about current affairs while the radio was playing. According to the learners who made use of scholar transport minibus taxis, learners listened to the radio and sang along or talked to their friends. A few learners indicated that learners also did their homework in the scholar transport minibus taxi on their way to school, with one confessing, ‘I helped a Grade 5 child with her homework while we listening to the radio. Some children were sleeping’ (J11ST). Learners who had fights were mentioned and this is an indication that the scholar transport drivers whether they drove combis or other vehicles, should be empowered to exercise discipline. The time in the public minibus taxi provided time to interact with friends and listen to music. J63W remarked, ‘The thing that I like about minibus taxis today is that always one to meet new people every day so we learn social skills’.

The learners who made use of scholar minibus taxis described the atmosphere in the vehicle as happy, with music which played and conversations between the learners about activities at school and education in general. The drivers of the scholar transport minibus taxis were described as respectful. They showed an interest in the education of the learners whom they transported. Some of the learners indicated that they read novels on their way to school. They also liked the fact that there were other learners who did homework together and an older student helped them (this was while the taxi waited for learners to be picked up after school).

Non-users (observers) who used car pool transportation were of the view that the minibus taxis provided a necessary service transportation for learners to get to school on time and safely. One non-user (observer) noted, ‘I think that minibuses are extremely important and

every child should have access to transport to school that is safe and reliable’ (J35CP). Learners who made use of private transport indicated that they liked it when the drivers of the public minibus taxis adhered to the rules of the road and were courteous to other road users and when the drivers gave other road users space in the lanes on the road.

Eco-friendliness and respect for the environment featured with the high school learners. Interestingly, the girl learners indicated that it was a more sustainable manner to travel. It was, according to them, environmentally friendlier because there were 15 people travelling together in the public minibus taxi instead of one to four people in a sedan vehicle. Non-users (observers) were of the same mind and indicated that people who made use of public minibus taxis assisted in making the roads less congested.

Learners who used public minibus taxis disliked the high noise levels inside the vehicle which prevented them from studying or reading on their way to school. The constant hooting was mentioned as noise pollution which irritated the learners who were non-users (observers). The following observation from one of the learners demonstrated how people view minibus taxi drivers in a different light, she did not view the hooting in a negative light but in a positive light saying ‘They [drivers] hoot really good and got prints [stickers which look like the national flag of South Africa] on their doors and windows’ (J158PT).

The view that users and non-users (observers) had about drivers depended on the angle from where they had the view. The learners who made use of the scholar transport mentioned a lack of punctuality, this point was not mentioned by observers.

Communication (verbal and non-verbal) came to the fore when the girls who made use of public minibus taxis described what made them feel awkward with regard to public minibus taxis. These girls felt vulnerable when they had to stand next to the road. In the process they got unwanted attention from other road users when they tried to communicate with the drivers. Non-users (observers) again mentioned their dislike for the noise, swearing and shouting of the minibus taxi drivers to attract passengers as one girl mentioned, ‘They scream out of their windows to other people on the road often or point middle fingers’ (J150PT).

The girl learners who used public minibus taxis had the following advice for drivers to improve their service delivery. They said that the drivers should be better by obeying the road rules, being patient, and controlling the learners better. They further indicated that the

vehicles should be well maintained and roadworthy and that the driver should try to engage with the learners in the transport. The one learner also said that to improve the atmosphere inside the vehicle ‘they should play more relaxing music on the radio in the morning to keep children calm and prepared for the day’ (J11ST). In the case of scholar transport users, they indicated that the drivers should be considerate and act in a professional manner towards them. They felt that being punctual should be a priority. Non-users (observers) who made use of car pools had slightly different advice. They indicated that the drivers of the minibus taxis should have valid drivers’ licences and that the drivers should adhere to the rules of the road. Furthermore, they advised the drivers to be patient.

A response from one private transport user summed up the view held by many, ‘Use indicators! I see a lot of them (drivers) are always very full of people which is dangerous too. They could not carry so many passengers’ (J50PT). The drivers should be cautious and put the safety of their passengers and themselves first by driving roadworthy vehicles, according to the rules of the road.

According to the users of scholar transport, schoolwork and education were discussed. As discussed above, learners would also assist younger learners to complete their homework. Furthermore, the learners mentioned that some learners used the time to copy homework from each other which should be addressed by the driver. As indicated in Chapter 2, the space provided young adults a time to emotionally mature outside the safe space of their home away from parents, and the following response is a good example of how they develop emotionally: ‘All the time we speak about our experiences of the day as well as give advice to each other, we are all good friends and speak often’ (J142MBT). It was a different scenario in the public minibus taxi with passengers who kept to themselves and had conversations which focused on their personal lives. It might also be that adults were tired after a day’s work and not interested in talking to learners. A few learners who used public minibus taxis mentioned that some passengers would ask basic questions about school, for example, in which grade the learner was, the subjects that they took, and whether they planned to study after school etc.

Learners who used private transport, mostly travelling with their parents, indicated overwhelmingly that education and schoolwork were discussed. The parents were actively involved with their children. Parents used the opportunity to make use of the space in the vehicle to interact with and educate their children. The time was used to discuss their future

plans and goals. Unfortunately, learners who used scholar transport and public minibus taxi transport did not have that special time in the mornings and afternoons to have constructive discussions with their parents. It is therefore important that the drivers play a more active role by communicating in a constructive manner. As one learner said, ‘Minibus taxis are some people’s only hope. Some are safe and some are not’ (J21MBT).

6.6.4 Findings and analysis from secondary school learners as users and non-users (observers) by applying the Johari Window

The intention of presenting the data from the Grade 12 girl learners in the Johari Window below is to inform the researcher and the reader of the views which are held by the Grade 12 girl learners who are users and non-users who experience and observe the behaviour of minibus taxi drivers. Also, why these views are held by them.

Table 6.6: Johari Window for Grade 12 high school girl learners

Known to HIGH school learners		Not known to the HIGH school learners
Known to drivers	<p style="text-align: center;">KNOWN</p> <p>Users:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The motivation to use minibus taxis is functionality and efficiency, in the sense that it is affordable, convenient, and fast. Minibus taxi drivers purposefully and on a continuous basis disregard the road rules, thus they disregard civic values <p>Observers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Necessary transportation, overloading, and a disregard of road rules Negative behaviour of minibus taxi drivers, disrespectful, and dangerous Road rage by other road users as a result of minibus taxi drivers 	<p style="text-align: center;">BLIND SPOT</p> <p>Users:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The minibus taxi drivers regard learners attending school as important by giving them discount on their taxi fares Learners not always aware of the drivers’ intentions <p>Observers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do not understand the pressure drivers work under Negative and disrespectful treatment drivers must handle from passengers in some cases

	HIDDEN	UNKNOWN
Not known to drivers	<p>Users:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Socio-economic factors are a determining factor to use minibus taxi transportation. • Sustainability and eco- friendliness motivate learners to use minibus taxi transportation. • Personal safety for the girl learners is linked to the roadworthiness of vehicles, overloading, and the minibus taxi rank areas. punctuality is of importance to the girl learners. • Girl learners experience the drivers as rude, disrespectful, and unreliable. • Girl learners demonstrate inhibitory control and problem-solving. • Learners are aware of driver behaviour and passenger behaviour and the cooperative nature which are needed from both parties. girl learners view and experience the minibus taxi space as unsafe. • The girl learners regard passenger care and empathetic behaviour as importance. learners regard the space in the minibus vehicle as noisy a disturbing. • Teenage girls experience the hand signs/communication to attract the minibus taxi driver’s attention as awkward - it is r self-image and impression they want to make. <p>Observers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Main concern for non-users is safety issues and the un-roadworthiness of the vehicles • Identified overloading and a disregard of road rules as problematic • Drivers do act in a caring and respectful manner it is observed/seen/valued by 	<p>Users:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Minibus taxis bridge the space between underprivileged to the possibility of affluence • To a certain extent minibus taxi address social justice – they provide access to socio-economic political space previously enjoyed by some • Vulnerability of girl learners come to the fore • Personal space of girls entrenched on, due to overcrowding and the specific seats they occupy in the vehicle (front or back seats) • Drivers disregard civic values • The space inside the minibus taxi are ‘used’ by passengers according to their needs (read, sleep, cell phone) & communication. environment for learners to build adult competencies, social and emotional learning and character development takes place • Teenage girls experience the hand signs/communication to attract the minibus taxi driver’s attention as awkward. It is linked to their self-image and impression they want to make • The girls are aware and value service excellence and passenger care • Not much focus on education inside the public minibus taxi vehicle <p>Observers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assumptions shape the knowledge non-users (observers) have about the space inside the minibus taxi • The same vehicle is used, VW/Quantum Kombi – general public assume that it is public minibus taxis

	<p>all because it does not happen frequently</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-users value the eco-friendliness of group transportation, less congested roads. non-users are irritated by noise pollution • Constant noise created by minibus taxi drivers (loud music, hooting, swearing and screaming) 	
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The four panes in the window above highlighted the views of users and non-users (observers). The known pane makes it clear that the variation in views occurred based on the situation (experience and perception) of users and non-users (observers). This, it can be argued, provides the basis for non-universal views. Although the known pane revealed that minibus taxis drivers disregarded civic values to a certain extent, it emerged that users and non-users realised the necessity of minibus taxis.

The blind spot revealed that minibus taxi drivers, users, and non-users have reciprocal rights and duties in the space that they all share.

The hidden pane further revealed that socio-economic factors experienced by users and non-users tainted their views about minibus taxis, although sustainability and eco-friendliness motivated the acceptance and use of minibus taxi transportation, while noise pollution was raised as an irritation by both groups. From the hidden pane, it emerged that both users and non-users regarded the absence of safety as a reason for their negative views. However, the hidden pane brought to the fore that users and non-users realised that cooperative behaviour of all parties involved is the basis for a symbiotic relationship. The analysis from the hidden pane showed that minibus taxi drivers have the ability to act in a caring and responsible manner.

After careful analysis, the unknown pane indicated that minibus taxis address social justice to a certain extent. The minibus taxi vehicle can be considered a catalyst between spaces, dreams, and goals for the learners. However, it does not rule out the risks that go hand in hand with the vulnerability of the girl users and non-users.

6.6.5 Views of primary school learners and high school learners (users and observers), similarities and differences

It emerged from the two units of analysis primary school learners (girls and boys) and high school learners (girls, users and non-users) that there are obvious differences and similarities in the views and expectations of learners.

The analysis revealed that the majority of learners who made use of minibus taxis and scholar transport were Black learners. The windows brought to the fore that both primary school learners and high school learners attended English medium schools that were not in walking distance from their residential addresses. It was found that primary school learners, both boys and girls in the age group 12 to 13 years and high school girl learners in the age group 17 to 18 years were vulnerable and relied on the drivers to reach school safely.

The comparison revealed that the primary school learners and the girls high school learners, regardless of being users or non-users, raised aggressiveness, disrespect, overloading of the vehicle, and a lack of safety as their major concerns. It further emerged that the aforementioned points were mainly linked to the public minibus taxi drivers. Hence, it was also the motivation for many of the learners, especially the primary school learners, to make use of scholar transport when they could, which they assumed was a safer option. The data from the Johari Windows provide evidence that learners are seemingly at risk of manipulation, sexual grooming, and harassment.

The analysis showed that the high levels of noise in and around minibus taxis may have a negative impact on the learners and this issue was raised by them as an irritation. The primary school learners enjoyed the music and singing in the vehicles but the high school girls preferred a quieter environment in which they could use to study or read. The cleanliness of the vehicle and the manner in which the drivers communicated and presented themselves were of importance to the learners. These points are linked to their image, which is understandable for their age.

The comparison of the units of analysis indicated that bullying was experienced more by primary school than high school learners, and not only by their peers in the vehicle but also from older learners and the drivers. It also seems that boys were more involved and victims of physical bullying than girls. Having said this, the analysis revealed that the minibus taxi and scholar transport taxi space is also a space for learners to interact, socialise, solve problems, and develop emotional intelligence and independence. Learners expected drivers to be caring and respectful towards them almost to the extent of taking on the role of a parent.

The analysis showed that primary school learners and the high school girl learners were well informed and aware of service delivery. Efficiency and functionality were cited as reasons for their use of minibus taxis and scholar transport minibus taxis.

Both units of analysis expressed concern regarding overloading and personal space. This can be attributed to both groups of learners being in their adolescent phase and very aware of personal space. The disregard for rules and regulations were identified as problematic by both groups.

The findings implied that training and development to address discipline issues in the vehicle can play a valuable role in addressing bullying.

The high school girls managed their space in terms of personal space and safety of the space whereas the primary school girls and boys are not so aware. The high school girls seemed to be more aware of their personal space and safety than the primary school boys and girls. The primary school learners trusted and accepted the drivers as the adult who would look after them whereas the older girls were more critical and wary of the drivers and the space they found themselves in.

It should be considered that the educational value of the space in the minibus taxi and scholar transport vehicles is not recognised and not optimally used to support education. The findings have brought the scope for development and training of drivers to the fore but also that of learners – to ensure their safety. The space in the vehicle provides a little community space where emotional intelligence, unintended learning, and social relationships are enabled.

6.4 Conclusion

The various role players view the public minibus taxi drivers and scholar transport minibus taxi drivers as necessary role players in the economy, rendering a valuable service for learners to attend school although the point was raised that making use of the drivers is not easy because of the manner in which the drivers treat passengers. Furthermore, the drivers are viewed as disrespectful, aggressive, and a law unto themselves. The various role players linked to the drivers' disregard for the rules of the road and their use of unroadworthy vehicles. The majority of role players viewed scholar transport as a safer option for learners to travel to school than public minibus taxis. Although the role players did not acknowledge their own behaviour and the impact that it had on the drivers, they expected minibus taxi

drivers to be exemplary in their behaviour and act in loco parentis. The fact that role players expected drivers to be role models for their children provides a clue by which the researcher's purpose can be recognised. A significant difference between the views of the adult role players (SGBs and LSEN school parents) was in the views of the parents of the ASD learners regarding the minibus taxi and passengers as an educational opportunity not only for the ASD learners but for the passengers too. This views compare favourably with the view of the researcher that the space of the minibus vehicle could be used in an educational manner.

There was a marked difference between the views of the learners and the adult role players which could be attributed to the learners not having the authority as adults to defend themselves against other adult passengers or drivers in the case of disrespectful behaviour or other threats. In contrast the learners had meticulous descriptive views on more than one level (emotional, physical, and psychological) of what happens in the vehicle space. Learners did not experience it as only cheap transportation, to them it was a 'stage' where their life stories and daily experiences, happy and sad, played out and were shared. The space inside the public minibus taxi or scholar transport minibus taxi provided a basis for the start and end of the school day. The learners also experienced bullying from fellow passengers and drivers alike which was not in their power to address. Adult role players also received bullying from drivers but the mere fact that they were adults gave them the ability to handle it.

Although the views of role players are tainted negatively with regard to the minibus taxi drivers and some scholar transport minibus taxi drivers, there were many positive attributes of drivers which should be valued and used to build on in support of education. Public minibus taxi drivers and scholar transport drivers assist on two levels, that is, on a practical level by transporting learners from point A to point B thus providing a bridging space, and a support level, as they unknowingly assist learners to reach their educational goals and dreams. Public minibus taxi drivers and scholar transport minibus taxi drivers and the space in the vehicles are 'facilitators'. This space provides an opportunity to develop the drivers and ultimately to support education.

It can be argued that the various role players assemble their views from the space, position, and experiences that they have had with public minibus taxi and scholar transport drivers. Furthermore, role players have expectations which are unknown to drivers. These should

be communicated to the drivers and partnerships should be established. Ultimately, all the role players are in the same space which makes them community members. Hence, space merits consideration as an independent section in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION: THE EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF THE SPACE IN MINIBUS TAXI VEHICLES

7.1 Introduction

Minibus taxi drivers, whether public or scholar transport drivers, are facilitators between relational spaces (in the vehicle, city, township, home, and schools). They project themselves into these spaces, becoming inscribed there, and in the process producing the space itself (Agbibo, 2019). In the same manner, learners and various role players project themselves into these relational spaces. Thus, minibus taxi drivers, various role players, and learners become part of each other's everyday lives and rhythms.

I used Lefebvre's trilogies of space, namely perceived, conceived and lived space, as a theoretical framework for the study but I also want to use it to reflect and conclude this PhD research journey from the beginning, Chapter 1, to the end, Chapter 7. In the space of Chapter 7, I want to emphasise unheard crystallised views on the spaces occupied by the minibus taxi industry and minibus taxi drivers as it relates to education. Space indicates and connotes all possible spaces, whether abstract or physical, mental or social. This PhD research journey became part of my everyday life. It took up space, time, and energy. I became a rhythm analysis as Lefebvre describes it, by borrowing and receiving data from different sources and disciplines (Middleton, 2014). Thus, I want to view my personal, professional, and methodological journey through the research process. Finally, I want to provide keys to be used to develop minibus taxi drivers to ultimately play a support role in education.

Four research questions were initially posed as a means to investigate the views of minibus taxi drivers and various role players on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education.

The following questions were asked:

- What are the views of minibus taxi drivers on their role in supporting education?
- Why are these views held by minibus taxi drivers on their role in supporting education?
- What are the views of various role players on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education?

- Why are these views held on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education?

In Chapters 5 and 6, bearing in mind my literature review and theoretical literature, I presented, analysed, and discussed the findings in relation to the above-mentioned research questions. In the process of analysis, various conclusions and theorisations were reached on the views held by minibus taxi drivers and role players on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education. In this final chapter, I conclude the study by reflecting on the theory of space, the duality it presents in the taxi industry, and the main findings of my study to advance my thesis and propose recommendations.

I begin with an overall review of the study. Thereafter I provide a discussion on space and the findings related to the research questions. The aforementioned section is followed by a reflection on the suitability and effectiveness of the methodology I used. I then focus on my personal and professional reflections. In conclusion, a section on recommendations based on the study is done, after which I conclude the chapter and study.

7.2 Review of the study

In Chapter 1, I introduced the topic of this study and argued that minibus taxi drivers and the taxi industry have untapped potential that, when utilised appropriately, may support the education system. This, I argued, could be done by shifting the focus of minibus taxi drivers from mere transporters to making them aware of the role they could play in supporting education. The unleashing of potential could be attempted by determining the views on minibus taxi drivers by various stakeholders in the industry. If the minibus taxi industry was viewed through alternative lenses, it might lead to the development of a model which could be used to encourage and guide the empowerment of minibus taxi drivers on a micro level while not ignoring the intermediate and macro levels. Fostering the participation and learning of all role players might lead to more support for education. Hence, I argued, a need to view the minibus taxi industry in an original, people-centred manner was needed. Thus, in identifying their capacity, they might become educational protagonists in their communities. This might ultimately lead to a change in the behaviour of minibus taxi drivers in the manner that they transport, not just learners, but other passengers too. While learners travel in the minibus taxi en route to school, they observe, learn, and ‘become’ adults. The liminal space revolves around interaction with other people. Chapter 1 provided a route map on how and why the research was done.

Chapter 2 focused on the literature review, and how I conducted and presented it. In the literature review, I documented and organised the current academic knowledge about minibus taxi drivers related to the transporting of learners to schools. I presented my literature review according to the following main themes: the need for transportation; mobility, access, and efficiency; and an overview of minibus taxi transportation in Africa and South Africa. The literature review acted as the foundation of my study (Osanloo & Grant, 2016). I structured the above-mentioned themes according to the Johari Window model, a model for analysis with a matrix of knowledge aspects. Applied, it relayed to an open window (known to drivers, known to schools and learners), a hidden window (known to drivers, not known to schools and learners), a blind spot window (not known to drivers, not known to schools and learners), and an unknown window (not known to drivers, not known to schools and learners). No space is empty space and it should be considered/honoured. As an example, the journey from home (a controlled space) to the taxi rank (an uncontrolled space) into the minibus taxi (both controlled in terms of physical features and structure and uncontrolled space in terms of what happens and is being said) and then into the school (a controlled and supposedly deemed safe or liminal space) is imperative and very significant for learners. If a space is not educational, we should improve it to be more beneficial for the minibus taxi drivers and learners. Space, as the literature revealed, is not static. The process to argue that minibus taxi space has meaning was very complex because the general public, learners, parents, educational institutions, adult passengers, and minibus taxi drivers have unique and individual views about the space. It was complicated even more due to views being tainted by individuals' own views as informed by their experiences and expectations of each other. All the role players involved, both consciously and unconsciously, I argued, should work together to create a liminal space that would support education. In my view, this liminal and controlled space should be used in a more effective and pedagogically sound manner.

I began Chapter 3 with a discussion on views regarding theory after which I applied the theoretical perspectives. I utilised the collection of data and placed my investigation inside a theoretical framework of production of space and the asset-based theories which informed the study. In association with these theories, I discussed the Johari Window model. Relying on the literature discussed above, the choice for these theories and the model seemed to be appropriate theoretical frameworks to have strengthened my study. It also assisted in the analysis and explanation of the views of all role players involved in the minibus taxi

industry to ultimately support education, since this was the focus of my study. Furthermore, I made use of the epistemology of constructivism and the theoretical perspectives mentioned above. I used an interpretive approach for the generation of data. The approach provided an interactive element to the manner in which I gathered information and allowed a wide range of qualitative data to be generated from a number of participants and settings.

In Chapter 4, I explained the research design and research methodology that comprehensively informed my study. The research design included the interpretive paradigm which guided my study. That was followed by my epistemology and ontological stance, and the epistemology of constructionism. The research methods constituted a qualitative research approach, purposive sampling, the identification of research sites, research participants, data collection methods, data analysis, trustworthiness, and the ethical considerations I had to make. I discussed the research methods in detail to substantiate the participants involved in the study and the instruments and procedures I used to generate data. The manner in which I analysed the data was also discussed. The chapter concluded with a discussion of the big-tent criteria for qualitative research, which set a benchmark for the demonstration of high-quality research (Tracy & Hinrichs, 2017).

Chapter 5 focused on the data that expressed the possible views held by public minibus taxi drivers, scholar transport minibus taxi drivers, and LSEN scholar transport minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education. In other words, views from the positionality of the drivers (literally and figuratively) on how their personal values and views on location in time and space influenced how they understood their world and their role as minibus taxi drivers. The first level of analysis provided the following themes which were discussed for each unit of analysis, namely, participants' language profile and demographics, hostility and ferocity, work environment and work conditions, money/income, passengers and passenger care, transportation of learners, relationship with education and schools, training and development, and strengths and weaknesses. Thereafter, the data provided insight into the possible views of the drivers which were analysed as I applied the Johari Window. The purpose of the Window was to familiarise the researcher and the reader with the views held by the public minibus taxi drivers, scholar transport drivers, and LSEN scholar transport drivers. It placed the respective window panes in conversation with each other. Thus, the Johari Window provided a basis to rethink and share the data collected from the minibus taxi drivers with other role players that could make them aware of the drivers' views. I argued that it was only when role players (SGBs and learners for example) and minibus

taxi drivers would be open and aware of the hidden and unknown data that the drivers' role to support education could be identified and developed.

Chapter 6 was divided into two parts. In Chapter 6 Part 1, the focus was on the views held by adults, which is the second case in this study, namely the SGB. This case had the following four embedded units of analysis: the primary school SGB, the high school SGB, and the LSEN school SGB. The fourth embedded unit of analysis was the parents from the LSEN school. Some of the parents from the LSEN school travelled with their ASD children in the public minibus taxi vehicle to school and some of the LSEN school parents sent their children on their own with LSEN minibus taxi scholar transport drivers to school. The third case, which is Part 2 of Chapter 6, focuses on the views held by learners, users and non-users (observers), with the following three embedded units of analysis: primary school learners (Grade 6 learners); secondary school girl learners (Grade 12) users; and non-users (observers).

The various role players viewed the minibus taxi drivers and scholar transport drivers as necessary role players in the economy and as rendering a valuable service for learners to attend school although they raised the point that it was not an easy ride or process. Furthermore, they viewed the drivers as disrespectful, aggressive, and a law unto themselves which they linked to their disregard for road rules and the use of unroadworthy vehicles. The majority of role players viewed scholar transport as a safer option for learners to use to travel to school than public minibus taxis. Although the role players did not acknowledge their own behaviour and the impact it had on the drivers, they expected minibus taxi drivers to be exemplary in their behaviour and act in loco parentis. The fact that role players expected drivers to be role models for their children provides a clue by which the researcher's purpose can be recognised. A significant difference between the views of the adult role players (SGBs and LSEN school parents) were the views of the parents of the ASD learners regarding the minibus taxi and passengers as an educational opportunity for not only the ASD learners but for general passengers too. This view compares favourably with the view of the researcher that the space of the minibus vehicle could be used in an educational manner.

There was a marked difference between the views of the learners and the adult role players which could be attributed to the children not having the same self-assertion and authority as adults to defend themselves against other adults or the drivers in the cases of

disrespectful behaviour or other threats. By contrast, learners had meticulous descriptive views on more than one level (emotional, physical and psychological) of what happens in the vehicle space. Learners not only experienced the minibus taxis as cheap transport, to them it was a ‘stage’ during which their life stories and daily experiences, both happy and sad, played out and were shared. The journey provided a basis for the start of the school day and also to end the school day. The learners also experienced bullying from fellow passengers and drivers alike but which they were not empowered to address. Adult role players were also bullied by drivers but the mere fact that they were adults gave them the ability to handle such situations. Although the views of role players regarding the minibus taxi drivers and some scholar transport drivers were negatively tainted, there were many positive attributes of drivers which should be valued and used to build upon in support of education. Minibus taxi drivers and scholar transport drivers assisted on two levels. One was a practical level when they transported learners from point A to point B, thus bridging space. However, on another level, they unknowingly assisted learners to reach their educational goals and dreams without even being aware. Minibus taxi and scholar transport drivers and the space in the vehicles are ‘facilitators’. This space provides an opportunity to develop the drivers and ultimately to support education.

Chapter 7 is the concluding chapter in the study.

7.3 Findings related to space

Minibus taxis and the space they take up as part of our South African society and economy, not only helps to hold it together but also contribute to it. With limited effective top-down control, it has evolved in its own manner of coordination, from the bottom up. The minibus taxi drivers’ order or disorder, evolving from the millions of fairly uncoordinated decisions they make, has an impact on all parties, hence there is a constant passive aggressiveness emanating from drivers to road users from local to national level (Bernheimer, 2017). This economic contribution is made by drivers who sit in their vehicles. So, the question I pondered on was, do I contribute to the economy while I am sitting in my vehicle driving? The question should not inspire pessimism, which can easily happen when minibus taxis are involved, but a renegotiation of views should occur which will hopefully lead to significant change. We find ourselves in a transformative society in which existing interests and power relations must be renegotiated. This view links to the rise of the ‘resilient cities movement’ (Bernheimer, 2017:226). This movement shifts focus from the emphasis on

maintaining the status quo to building societies that can repair and rework themselves in the face of chaotic change, which, in my view, relates to the minibus taxi industry space in South Africa. Minibus taxi drivers should not be alienated. Lefebvre (1991:178) cited in Middleton (2014:19) aptly explains alienation as follows:

The human being – ceasing to be human – is turned into a tool to be used by other tools (the means of production), a thing to be used by another thing (money), and an object to be use by a class, a mass of individuals who are themselves deprived of reality and truth (the capitalists).

The quote can be applied to the minibus taxi drivers who are used and many a time exploited by the minibus taxi owners and abused by the masses of passengers whom they transport on a daily basis. Hence, the focus should not only be on the political economic perspective of the minibus taxi industry but also on the human factors. The minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education will make the ecosystems function better if the individual decisions that drivers make on a daily basis have a pedagogical undertone. The different views of scholar transport minibus taxi drivers and public minibus taxi drivers in general and what happens in the space of a minibus taxi vehicle were tainted by the position from where the participants had the view, which then became the baseline for the views held. A user inside the vehicle who experienced the space and had a view out of the vehicle and non-users or observers who only had a view from a distant space into the vehicle had very different views. Thus, space shapes our views (Bernheimer, 2017). The minibus taxi space becomes a centre to change ourselves, just like education enables us to change.

The SGB members from the primary school viewed the minibus taxi rank space as unsuitable for learners, not even for transition from one minibus taxi to the next. These participants recommended that schools and associations should work harder at understanding the logistics and routes to ensure that learners are transported from the safe space at home directly to the safe space at school, although this concern does not only apply to public minibus taxis, but to the space in the scholar transport minibus taxis too. As some learners mentioned, scholar transport minibus taxi drivers sometimes decided on the spur of the moment not to take the learners to school but would drive around and scout for other passengers or drivers or load learners from one scholar minibus taxi to another one without the knowledge of their parents. Thus, it depended on the driver how he was going to use

the geographical space of his vehicle. Although, the primary school SGB members indicated that it will be too much to ask the drivers to use the space in the vehicle for educational support due to their main responsibility being that of transporting learners safely, the drivers were very positive and willing to change the space in their vehicles to render educational support. The moment people are involved in the spatial environment they occupy, in this case the drivers enabling education in the minibus taxi vehicle, they will have a different relationship with the space (Bernheimer, 2017). It can be argued that parents are not aware of incidental learning, which refers to any learning that is unplanned or unintended. It develops while engaging in a task or activity and may also arise as a by-product of planned learning. Incidental learning happens when we least expect it. It can be while watching television, reading a book, having a conversation with a friend, occupying oneself with a video game, travelling to a to another country to learn a new language, or engaging with fellow passengers in a minibus taxi. However, milieu teaching might be a more effective manner of learning. Milieu teaching can be explained as a practice that entails changing or organising stimuli in a child's natural surroundings to create a setting that stimulates them to participate in a desired behaviour, such as arriving at school calm and disciplined, even if for a short period of time. The hidden curriculum also comes to the fore in the minibus space. The hidden curriculum is a term used to describe the unwritten social standards and behavioural expectations that we all appear to understand but were never taught (Bieber, 1994; Myles & Simpson, 2001). This point links to what the parents mentioned, that is, less noise, discipline, and child-oriented topics being discussed. Hence, the space can be used more effectively even if the learners only spend a short while in the vehicle.

The SGB members from the high school for girls had a very similar negative view of the minibus taxi rank space to the primary school SGB members. One of the SGB members at the high school for girls, who had the experience of using a minibus taxi rank space, had a very negative connotation to it: She noted, ‘My experience of taxi rank environments only has negative connotations, loud, muddled and dirty so I would like clean, ordered and less loud environs’ (JSGB7). Respondents mentioned the placement of tables and chairs for learners to sit at and work, free Wi-Fi, and educational advertisements as possible ways to make the space more educational. With regard to the space inside the minibus taxi, it seemed from the responses that the majority of SGB members have not thought about the possibility of minibus taxi space as educational. Some of the members mentioned on-road

Wi-Fi and the installation of screens to show educational programmes. However, it will be difficult to equip minibus taxi vehicles with screens as many of these vehicles are used by the general public after learners have been dropped off, which is also an indication of the lack of knowledge regarding scholar transport minibus taxis, but because scholar transport only transports learners to school and back home, screens might work.

The respondents agreed and suggested that the space in the minibus taxi/vehicle could be made educational by having books for the learners to page through, TV screens which showed educational programmes, and educational toys. As in the case of the primary and high school SGBs, the LSEN school SGB also indicated that the minibus taxi rank environment was not an ideal space for the learners. The parents recommended that the taxi rank area should be a clean, safe space with clear signage and educational posters for learners. The parents of learners with ASD mentioned that they did not know what happened in the vehicle space on the way to school other than whether the taxi was on time.

Learners, from both primary and high school, who found themselves in the minibus taxi vehicle had their own views regarding the minibus taxi space. Primary school learners had different ways of thinking about the minibus taxi/scholar transport space. The views of the learners can be divided between the space in the vehicle (minibus taxi) and the space in which the minibus taxi operates, which is the geographical area of the megacity of Johannesburg in the case of this study. How learners viewed the space inside the minibus taxi was closely related to what the minibus taxi driver did in this space which means that the behaviour of the drivers should set an example hence they became role models.

Learners highlighted that the minibus taxi space was overcrowded most of the time. So much so that they sometimes had to stand the entire journey to school, placing them inside each other's personal space. This personal space was violated by fellow learners fighting and even adults who disrespected their personal space. This violation of personal space made them scared. A reason for this is that there are high school children and primary school children being transported in the same vehicle which may lead to the bullying of the primary school learners. Learners mentioned that fellow learners carried knives and physically fought in the compact vehicle space with the driver not addressing it. As learners mentioned, there was also a lack of filters provided by parents who accompanied learners on their journey to school. Learners commented, 'There was an impolite man who just had shoved my brother out of his way and kept on annoying my siblings and I. He was holding

a bottle of beer and his mouth smelt very bad’ (N4M) and ‘He (the driver) was swearing as he is not a good person they are cronies in the car and he doesn’t drop me early and he likes to smoke’ (N49W).

The high school girls viewed the space with a certain amount of wariness also linking it to their safety by saying they had to changeover vehicles at some stage during the journey which was a concern in terms of safety. Overcrowding has a direct impact on personal space, thus a great deal can happen and non-users (observers) would not be aware of it.

The space in the minibus taxi/transport vehicle is, in many cases, being used to disregard rules. The driver then also breaks the rules, which should be adhered to in the space outside the vehicle, that is, the geographical area in which the vehicle operates. On a daily basis, these young learners find themselves in this undisciplined, rule-breaking space with the driver being an adult who should set an example. As adults, the drivers should be aware of the example they set for learners in their company. This behaviour places the learner in two minds. On the one hand, the school as a space operates around time, punctuality, discipline, and rules which should be adhered to. On the other hand, many public minibus taxi drivers disregard the road rules and act in a disrespectful manner to other road users. This may lead to learners being confused about rules and it may impact negatively on their behaviour at school and subsequently impact on their academic performance.

Public minibus taxi drivers, and, to a lesser extent, scholar transport minibus taxi drivers, viewed the space they operated in, and many a time the space inside the vehicle, as hostile. According to the public minibus taxi drivers, aggressive behaviour is a common occurrence in their daily operations. Thus, the space inside the minibus taxi vehicle is of cardinal value and has significant education worth – it is truly a liminal space.

If we critically examine the findings of the views about public minibus taxis and scholar transport drivers from the different role players collected via the Johari Window it should be done as a social product.

The windows for each group or the individual panes – known, blind, hidden, or unknown – operate on three levels. This typology treats space as the product of practice, perception, and imagination. Hence the same spaces were reproduced, represented, and experienced in different ways by the various role players (Tonkiss, 2005). This makes understanding and changing the minibus taxi industry very complex. Behaviour cannot be changed without changing the culture, thus we have to address the conditions which encourage and constrain

actions, as much as the actions themselves. Many of our reactions and actions are not logical, we have an emotional relationship with the spaces in our lives, just as we do with people (Bernheimer, 2017). The following findings relate to the research questions and should be read and interpreted with the typology of space in mind.

From the views of the drivers (public minibus taxi, scholar transport, and LSEN school) the following main spatial themes were identified in various degrees of impact: hostility and ferocity; work environment and work conditions; money/income; passengers and passenger care; transporting learners; relationship with education and school; training and development; and strengths and weaknesses. Overall there was a considerable difference in the themes identified according to the views of the various role players on minibus taxis: lawlessness, violence, aggression, disrespect, lack of safety, importance of the role played by minibus taxi drivers, relationship with education and schools, transporting learners, partnership between school and minibus taxis, space (minibus taxi rank/inside minibus/waiting area at school), noise, passenger care (learner care), bullying, and training and development.

There was a marked difference in the views and spatial themes identified from the learners which can be attributed to the fact that they are users of minibus taxis on a daily basis. The themes were: reasons for the use of minibus taxis, unroadworthiness of vehicles, drivers, overloading, unemployment, sexual behaviour, disregard for rules and regulations, passenger care, social interaction and activities in the minibus taxi, eco-friendly/respect for the environment, noise/loud music, punctuality, communication, the young transport consumers' advice to improve service delivery, and topics of conversation.

Below are crystallised findings on the views of public minibus taxi drivers, scholar transport minibus taxi drivers and LSEN scholar transport minibus taxi drivers of their role in supporting education are presented.

In Figure 7.1 below is a diagram illustrating the crystallisation of public minibus taxi drivers on their role in supporting education:

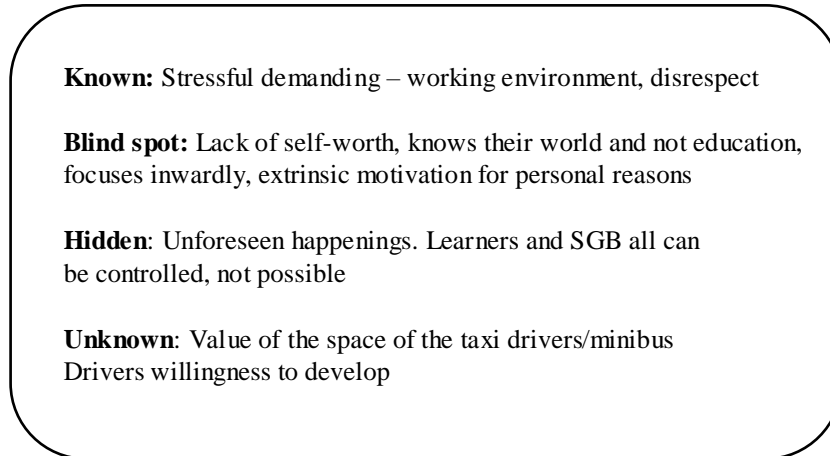


Figure 7.1: Crystallisation of the views of public minibus taxi drivers on their role in supporting education

Overall it appears that the main views of public minibus taxi drivers revolved around their aggressive and hostile work environment in which they were being exploited thus their low self-worth might be expected. Their knowledge is related to the minibus taxi industry and not to education. As a collective they have immense bargaining power and individually they have saleable skills that would suit the small business environment. A key finding was that public minibus taxi drivers work with constant change hence they are agile, resilient, and multitaskers. These findings are in accordance with Agbibo (2019), Woolf and Joubert (2014), Randall (2019), and Schalekamp (2015) as discussed in Chapter 2. Overall it appears that they are not aware of the value of the space inside their vehicles except to fill it with as many passengers as possible.

Figure 7.2 below is a diagram illustrating the crystallisation of the views of scholar transport minibus taxi drivers on their role in supporting education:

Known: Works with school, revolves around school and learners – focused

Blind: Don't act in a responsible manner at all times – In loco parentis. Cannot manage learners in the vehicles struggle with that – do not have the skills or relations

Hidden: Parents and learners contribute to stress

Unknown: The space of the scholar transport inside is an untapped source – do not know they are role models to learners and what that entails.

Figure 7.2: Crystallisation of the views of scholar transport minibus taxi drivers on their role in supporting education

Virtually all the scholar transport drivers' work is focused and revolves around school and the learners. Many of these drivers do not act in loco parentis and do not have the skills or relations to manage the learners in the vehicle. Stress for the scholar transport drivers is created by the parents and learners. These features reveal that the scholar transport drivers are not aware that the space of the vehicle is an untapped source to support education and that they are role models.

Figure 7.3 below is a diagram illustrating the crystallisation of the views of LSEN scholar transport minibus taxi drivers on their role in supporting education:

Known: Good relationship and transparent communication with school and parents. Part of the multi-disciplinary team. Have bigger direct responsibilities and show care

Blind spot: Unspoken Trust from parents and learners. More support can be given in terms of training and education

Hidden: Empathetic and roving care givers. Emotional support needed and specialised training. Deal with aggressive learners and extra duties. See work as a calling

Unknown: Do not know / fully aware how of how much they give / contribute /connected to self/ intentional rituals and patterns followed. problem-solver attitude. Parents not supportive enough

Figure 7.3: Crystallisation of the views of LSEN scholar transport minibus taxi drivers on their role in supporting education

Overall it appears that the main views of LSEN scholar transport drivers are based on a good relationship and daily transparent communication with the school and parents. More support can be given in terms of training and development. Scholar transport drivers deal most of the time with demanding learners and extra duties. They come across as empathetic roving caregivers. These drivers are not fully aware how much they contribute to the success of the learner's school day. They intentionally follow rituals and patterns. Generally it appears that they are aware of the value of the space inside their vehicles but need support to use it optimally. They have a problem-solving attitude.

What can be concluded is that it appears there is a marked difference between the public minibus taxi drivers and the scholar and LSEN minibus taxi drivers. Public minibus taxi drivers act in an aggressive manner to survive whereas the scholar and LSEN drivers are more empathetic and caring. All the drivers are agile, resilient, and multi-taskers. Whereas public minibus taxi drivers are problem-identifiers, the scholar minibus taxi drivers and LSEN drivers especially are problem-solvers. Public minibus taxi drivers have the greatest collective bargaining power but the least pedagogical knowledge. All drivers will benefit from training and development with a pedagogical focus. Furthermore, drivers, schools, and learners will benefit with a partnership thus using the space in the vehicles optimally to support education. The various role players have their own unique view on the role of public minibus and scholar transport minibus taxi drivers.

The next sections focus on the crystallised views of the various role players.

Figure 7.4 below is a diagram illustrating the crystallisation of the primary school SGB on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education:

Known: SGB knows the value of drivers aware limited options and safety of value for SGB and drivers

Blind: Parents are dubious and aggressive at times. Inconsistent behaviour from parents to children and drivers

Hidden: Competing goals between SGB and drivers. Drivers are in a financial predicament not paid on time or not at all – complaints it is expense – financial issue – parents do not know the drivers struggle to manage the learners

Unknown: SGB and drivers are reliant on each other. Unaware of educational value of space in vehicle. Collective ownership and partnership needed. Drivers in loco parentis. Nuanced relationship between SGB and drivers

Figure 7.4: Crystallised views of the primary school SGB on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education

The SGB is aware of the valuable role that scholar transport drivers fulfil and both parties view the safety of learners as a priority. It came to the fore that some parents are dubious and hostile towards the scholar transport drivers. A concerning observation is the inconsistent behaviour from parents towards their own children and drivers. Drivers are in a financial predicament when parents disregard the monthly scholar transport fees. It appears that the SGB and drivers are reliant on each other therefore a partnership will be beneficial for all role players involved. The parents’ expectation is that drivers act in loco parentis when learners are transported.

Figure 7.5 below is a diagram illustrating the crystallisation of the views of the SGB girls high school on the role of minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education:

Known: SGB and drivers aware of essential role minibus taxis play. Drivers and parents reliant on Government to resolve matters.

Blind: SGB and drivers alike not aware of working procedures in respective work spaces. Lack of human consideration. Different meaning given to space. Negative view of SGB overshadow assets of drivers.

Hidden: Absolvent of mutual responsibility and accountability from all role players. Poor communication and no partnership. Sentient of important role of community involvement in education. Paradoxical views and expectations from SGB towards drivers.

Unknown: not aware of value of constructive communication, goals and partnership.

Figure 7.5: Crystallised views of the SGB girls high school on the role of minibus taxi drivers in supporting education

The valuable role played by public minibus taxis are acknowledged by the SGB although parents are reliant on government to resolve challenges. SGB not aware of the working procedures of public minibus taxi drivers and lack human consideration thus their negative view overshadows the assets which drivers have.

Figure 7.6 below is a diagram illustrating the crystallisation of the views of the SGB from LSEN school on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education:

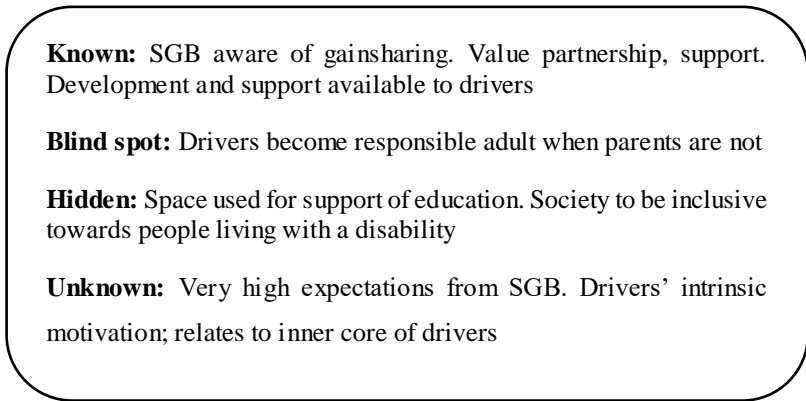


Figure 7.6: Crystallised view of the SGB from LSEN school on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education

The LSEN school SGB members are aware of gainsharing and the value of a partnership with the LSEN scholar transport drivers because of the vulnerability of their children. Development and support is provided to the driver by the school thus drivers become responsible and act in loco parentis. The importance to of the space inside the vehicle is recognised by the SGB and drivers. The SGB have very high expectations of drivers but drivers can only fulfil these expectations due to their own intrinsic motivation which relates to the inner core of the drivers.

Figure 7.7 below is a diagram illustrating the crystallisation of the views of parents of ASD learners on minibus taxi drivers and on their role in supporting education:

Known: LSEN drivers viewed as knowledgeable, responsible and serious about safety

Blind spot: Drivers want development and find management of learners as challenging

Hidden: Learning opportunity for parent a but for the drivers it is a commercial entity - child disrupts his 'working space'

Unknown: Must be a space that are accessible to all/ accommodating all/place of acceptance used to support education

Figure 7.7: Views of parents of ASD learners and their views on the role of minibus taxi drivers in supporting education

Overall it appears that the parents of ASD learners view scholar transport drivers as knowledgeable and responsible which was the opposite of how they viewed public minibus taxi drivers and passengers. Parents of ASD learners viewed the space in the public minibus taxi as a learning opportunity but for drivers it is a commercial entity hence the ASD child disrupts his working space. The minibus taxi space should be accessible for all which support education and development.

In conclusion there is a vast difference in the way the respective SGBs viewed minibus/scholar transport drivers. Of all the SGBs and parents, the LSEN school had the most significant partnership with the scholar transport drivers. The parents of the ASD learners was the only group of parents that viewed and used the space inside the vehicle as a learning for the children but also to advocated for the rights of their children. All the SGBs and parents realise the valuable role the drivers play and expect the drivers to act in loco parentis. There is a need for the space to be used more effectively to support education. ASD parents rely on behaviour changes to determine what happened in the transport space thus the rely immensely on the drivers.

A marked difference was found between the views of the adults and the learners. The next section focus on the crystallised views of the learners, users, and non-users (observers) on the role of minibus taxi drivers.

Figure 7.8 below is a diagram illustrating the crystallisation of the views of Grade 6 learners on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education:

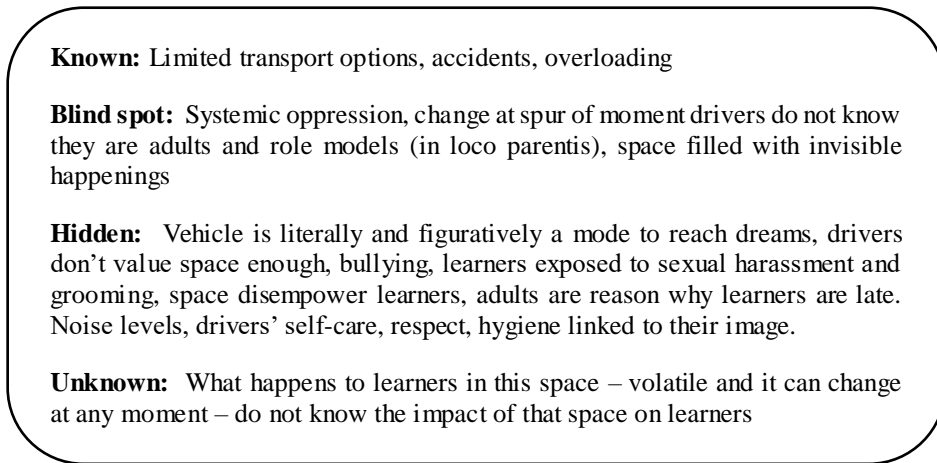


Figure 7.8: Views of primary school Grade 6 learners on minibus taxi drivers and their role in education.

The views from the primary school learners revealed limited scholar transport options. The safety of primary school learners is exposed which might be expected due to regular accidents and overcrowding, sexual harassment, and grooming, thus the space disempowers them learners but emphasised the immense power held by the drivers. Systemic oppression came to the fore. The scholar transport minibus taxi space is characterised by constant happenings, uncertainty, marketing and manipulation learners are aware of their consumer rights and expect respect and care from the driver as an adult. Scholar transport minibus taxi space literally and figuratively a mode to reach goals and dreams. It seems that late arrival at school is because of adults (parents and drivers) not learners, which highlights the quality of adult–child relationships. Drivers image linked by learners to the they portray image. Horizontal discrimination (learners and drivers) where learners are exposed to cognitive, emotional, social values, perspectives, and identity development. Overcrowding violates personal space.

Figure 7.9 below is a diagram illustrating the crystallisation of the views of high school Grade 12 girl learners (users and non-users (observers)) on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education:

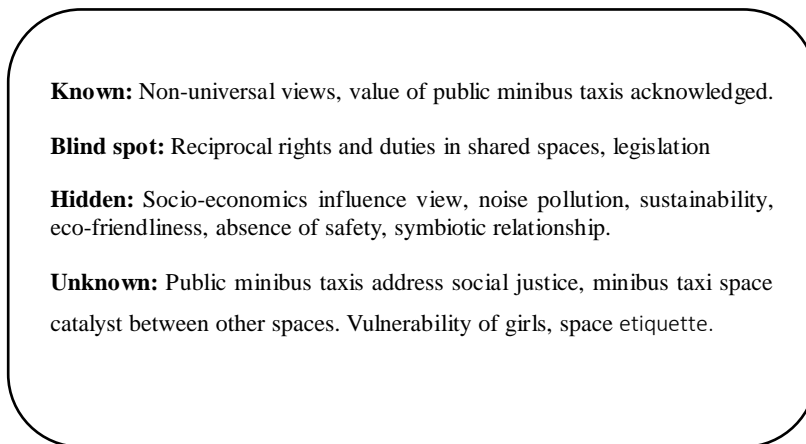


Figure 7.9: Crystallised views of the high school Grade 12 girl learners (users and non-users (observers)) on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education

Non-universal views from high school girl learners (users and non-users(observers)) were identified due to the views formed from different situations of which socio-economic factors and this played a significant role in concerns of safety linked to the vulnerability of women. Users and non-users(observers) acknowledged the valuable role played by paratransit. Reciprocal rights and duties for shared spaces are linked to children law, public law, transport law, road rules and educational law (SASA) of which the aforementioned legislation is embedded in the Constitution. Noise pollution, sustainability, and eco-friendliness highlighted the symbiotic relationship which plays out in the space occupied by paratransit. To a certain extent, minibus taxi drivers address social justice as the space of the minibus taxi vehicle and is a catalyst between spaces, thus space etiquette is of importance.

In closing, for learners, the space of the public minibus and scholar transport minibus vehicle can, at times, be a space of systemic oppression, horizontal discrimination, invader of personal space, unsafe, and prone to accidents, but, at the same time, it is a space which is a space for social justice, a catalyst to attain educational goals and dreams in which learners are exposed to cognitive, emotional, social values, perspectives, and identity development.

The crystallised views discussed above offers suggestive evidence that the views for individuals and each group, applied through the Johari Window with the four panes (known, blind spot, hidden, and unknown) are tainted with the situation, place, and space from where the view originated, hence it is apparent that the views operate on three levels.

This typology treats space as the product of practice, perception, and imagination. Hence, the same spaces were reproduced, represented and experienced in different ways by the various drivers and role players (Tonkiss, 2005) which makes understanding and changing the minibus taxi industry very complex. Behaviour cannot be changed without changing the culture, hence addressing the conditions which encourage and constrain actions and the actions themselves should be addressed. Many of the actions experienced and observed from the data indicates that it is not logical but linked to an emotional relationship that the minibus taxi drivers and various role players alike had with the spaces in life just as we do with people (Bernheimer, 2017). The figure of the adapted Johari Window can then be used to understand and develop minibus taxi drivers and the space of the minibus taxi vehicle to support education.

If we identify the assets of minibus taxi drivers and acknowledge the differences in views which is 'shaded' by the typology or space, it can be the basis for the establishment of a partnership between education and the public minibus taxi drivers and scholar transport minibus taxi drivers to support development and education. According to Bernheimer (2017), if people see themselves and their communities as capable of dealing with a threat, they are far more likely to actively engage, thus collective efficacy is created. Collective efficacy requires social cohesion, combined with a readiness to act for the common good. Collective efficacy inspires people to believe in the power of their actions – individually and communally – to make an impact. 'Space etiquette' will encourage equitable management of shared resources. Respondents viewed minibus taxi transportation as an important mode of transport for many learners, which promotes the accessibility of education in our country. However, the reckless driving of many taxi drivers is inconsiderate. In a way, public minibus taxi drivers and scholar minibus taxi drivers facilitate education because they get students to school. Without this mode of transport, many learners would not be able to get to school and it would hamper education. Although it is an affordable and 'easy' transport option, girls are wary of their safety due to gender-based violence. Unfortunately, passengers do not know which vehicles are safe and which ones are not. In many cases, drivers are people who care about the safety of children and specifically young women. Public minibus taxi drivers should improve their professionalism, self-image, and self-care and realise they do play an educational role. To be a driver of a vehicle places a person in a leadership role. Public minibus taxi drivers should consider their passengers and cater for them by having minibus taxis especially for

school children. Minibus scholar transport drivers should focus on the needs of the children they transport. Therefore, educational radio shows and music can be played to support the education of the learners they transport. Instead of playing general music, playing the radio such as Talk 702 in order to actually hear the news and in order for it to be more educational. It is a manner for learners to interact with other learners to improve their input on academics and general knowledge. Learners using private transport, which most of the time is with their parents, indicates overwhelmingly that education, schoolwork, future plans, and goals are discussed. Unfortunately, learners using scholar transport and minibus taxi transport do not have that time in the mornings and afternoons to have constructive discussions with their parents. It is therefore important that the drivers play a more active role in communicating with learners whom they transport. With reference to the many challenges experienced with minibus taxis, Government should consider investing more money into more affordable and easier public transport. Maybe there could be a ‘support’ company that all minibus taxis and scholar transport minibus taxis belong to, to assist them to develop and be more organised. Respondents indicated that Government should consider a penalty system for careless driving. Furthermore, Government should implement laws surrounding the safety and efficiency of taxis. There are too many minibus taxis in an unroadworthy condition on South African roads.

7.4 Contribution of this study

The following section focuses on the contributions of this study. It addresses the contribution to theory, methodology, and practice.

The findings of this study add to the literature on a people-centred view of minibus taxi drivers. The use of the minibus taxi space to support education is a relatively new concept and the related literature is still limited.

This study proposes an adapted Johari Window model to explain the phenomenon of views, and specifically the views held about minibus taxi by various role players in the education system, why it is held, and their role in supporting education. Views which are embedded in individuals have many facets hence it is of importance to be aware of them to be able to identify the assets of minibus taxi drivers. It might impact positively on the support given to education which further influences development of drivers and education.

The figure below is a representation of a combination of the Johari Window and the typology of space to be applied to views.

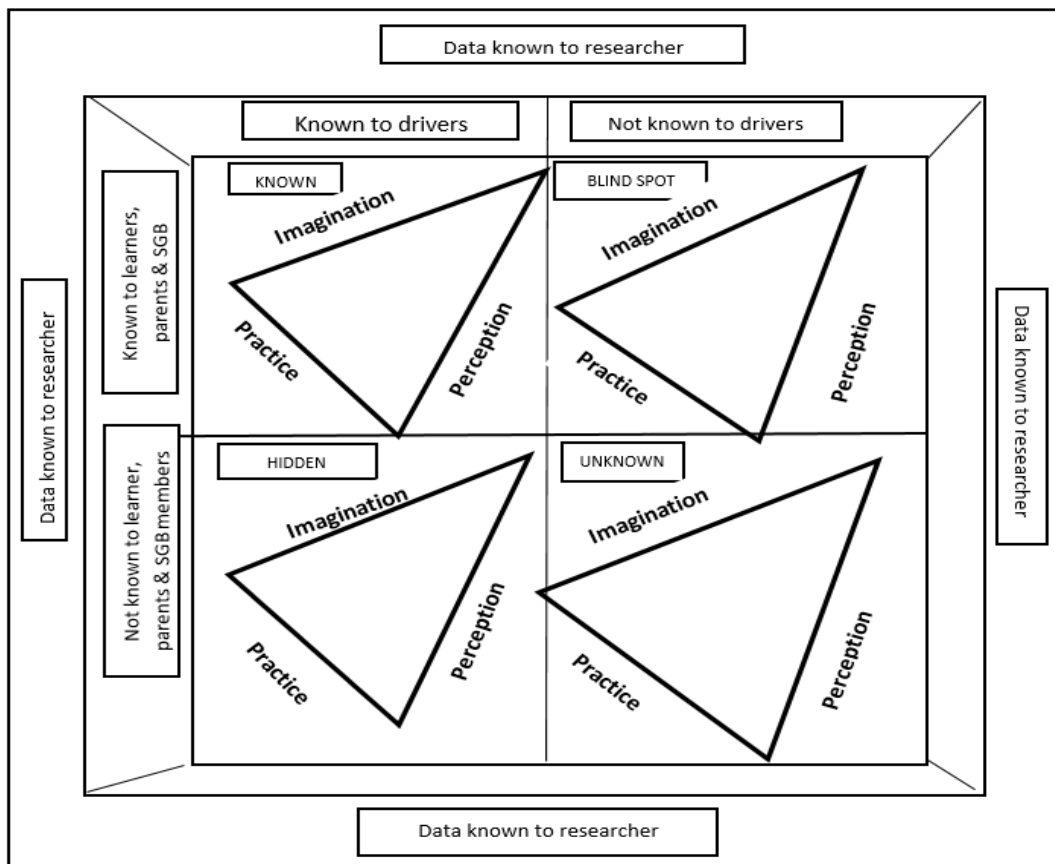


Figure 7.10: Representation of a combination of the Johari Window and the typology of space to be applied to views

On the basis of the findings, this study makes several specific theoretical contributions. First, knowing why specific views are held, tainted with the typology of space, practice, perception, and imagination, highlight that the space in a minibus taxi vehicle is not empty.

Secondly, the study confirms the indirect role that the space inside the minibus taxi and minibus taxi drivers play in promoting support for education.

Thirdly, minibus taxi drivers act as mediators between home and schools, and schools and the future educational goals of learners. In a way, public minibus taxis and scholar minibus drivers facilitate education because they get students to school. Hence, the minibus taxi space plays a vital role in the relationship between education and the minibus taxi industry with the minibus taxi drivers as the link. As a result of the study, the findings should enhance our knowledge of the impact of views on our behaviour and an appreciation for

the role the drivers play in the economy as mobility service providers and employers (Woolf & Joubert, 2014).

This study leads to the conclusion that a partnership between schools and the drivers could significantly contribute towards transformation on a small scale. A partnership between drivers and the school can be a basis for a mutual beneficial supportive relationship in the sense that if drivers receive development with a pedagogical basis, they will then be able to act as role models and realise that the space in their vehicles has an impact on the learners they transport.

Middleton (2014) provides a comprehensive overview of Lefebvre and education theory by focusing on the application of space as a new direction in the philosophy of education. This combination of the minibus taxi space and education in South Africa where we have challenges in both sectors is common. Therefore, I hope that the findings of my study will attract the minibus taxi industry's and schools' attention to this concept of minibus taxi drivers as role models and the use of the space inside the vehicle to enable informal learning, the hidden curriculum, and, at the same time, development of the drivers.

The adapted Johari Window below is one of the key findings of my research (see Table 7.1). It can be used in training and development of public minibus taxi drivers and scholar transport drivers so that they can understand their own behaviour and improve their image, professionalism, and communication to expand their relationships with role players as well as support learners and schools. The relationship and interaction between the minibus taxi drivers and schools should be one that which fosters a culture of trust and responsibility rather than borders and antagonism.

Table 7.1: Adapted Johari Window for the development of public minibus and scholar transport minus taxi driver

KNOWN	BLIND SPOT
<p>It contains all the aspects that are open/known to the drivers and learners, parents & schools/all passengers.</p> <p>This area may assist in promoting the image of the self of the minibus taxi drivers/scholar transport drivers, the minibus taxi industry and profession/skills minibus driver.</p> <p>The good/bad practice in this area attracts/detracts learners, parents, schools & all passengers to approach minibus taxi drivers/scholar transport drivers and may assist in to market ourselves, attracts/detracts our product and service which, in this case, is minibus taxi drivers and minibus taxi transportation/industry. It may assist minibus taxi drivers/scholar transport drivers to manage their resources strategically.</p> <p>In this case the way drivers make use of the space inside their vehicle as well as the space occupied by minibus taxi drivers in a geographical space.</p> <p>Minibus taxi drivers can adopt various methods to promote the service and products on offer to students/change the view held by passengers about them within the minibus space.</p> <p>View their role to support schools/education use of social media in that way ultimately</p>	<p>For drivers this area should be vital. This area contains all that the minibus taxi/scholar transport drivers do not know about themselves, but their passengers (children, parents & schools) know about them.</p> <p>For instance, minibus taxi drivers do their ‘best’ to transport passengers and have a ‘good’ space in the vehicle for passengers, but the “output” /driving is not up to standard.</p> <p>Then taxi drivers should/have to take feedback/be aware of views form the users and know their ‘lacunae’ (‘empty space’) and proceed against it and come to track.</p> <p>No ‘tested tools’ are we aware of/used by minibus taxi drivers/scholar transport drivers to take feedback from the passengers on their minibus taxi use/transportation experience.</p>
HIDDEN	UNKNOWN
<p>As minibus taxi drivers and scholar transport drivers, this quadrant may maintain our experiences/qualifications as taxi drivers/scholar transport drivers; reason for being a minibus taxi drivers/scholar transport driver/dislike/violence from taxi bosses/ ‘harsh’ environment in which drivers must operate/; lack of work satisfaction within the taxi industry/work environment and the like.</p> <p>The things the taxi drivers keep hidden may have an effect on their work (driving & manner in which they treat children/passengers or lack of support to schools; do not realise that they can/should support education).</p> <p>Minibus taxi drivers/scholar transport drivers’ abilities should be explored to carry out various operations like driving in peak traffic, providing service excellence to their passengers, working under extreme pressure and violence</p>	<p>This part of the window represents that which is unknown to both the minibus taxi driver/scholar transport drivers and its passengers (learners, parents, schools/passengers).</p> <p>Take for example a good concept like a cell phone application to track drivers and passengers. It is provided by the Government/coming to the market which it just disregarded. Neither the minibus taxi drivers nor the passengers’/parent’s schools, learners know about it, so both of them miss the opportunity of enjoying its full benefits or the role the minibus taxi drivers, as a community can play in supporting education/schools/children and using their positive points to improve as an industry/community without legislation or government policing them).</p>

<p>in the minibus taxi industry; role that they have to support education/children.</p> <p>Using their skills to promote/support education/schools/children; improve travelling experience will be an advantage/change view about them.</p> <p>Minibus taxi drivers/scholar transport drivers' abilities to be explored and hidden talents to be explored (possibility that they play a more significant supporting role to education/children).</p>	<p>The latest technologies/regulations (support for education which can be used for minibus taxi drivers/scholar transport drivers' betterment can be explored by various means within the minibus taxi drivers/industry and passengers (schools, learners, parents, and all passengers).</p>
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7.5 Assets map of the minibus taxi industry and minibus taxi drivers to support education.

In the figure below, the assets of minibus taxi drivers and the minibus taxi industry are mentioned which can be developed to support education.

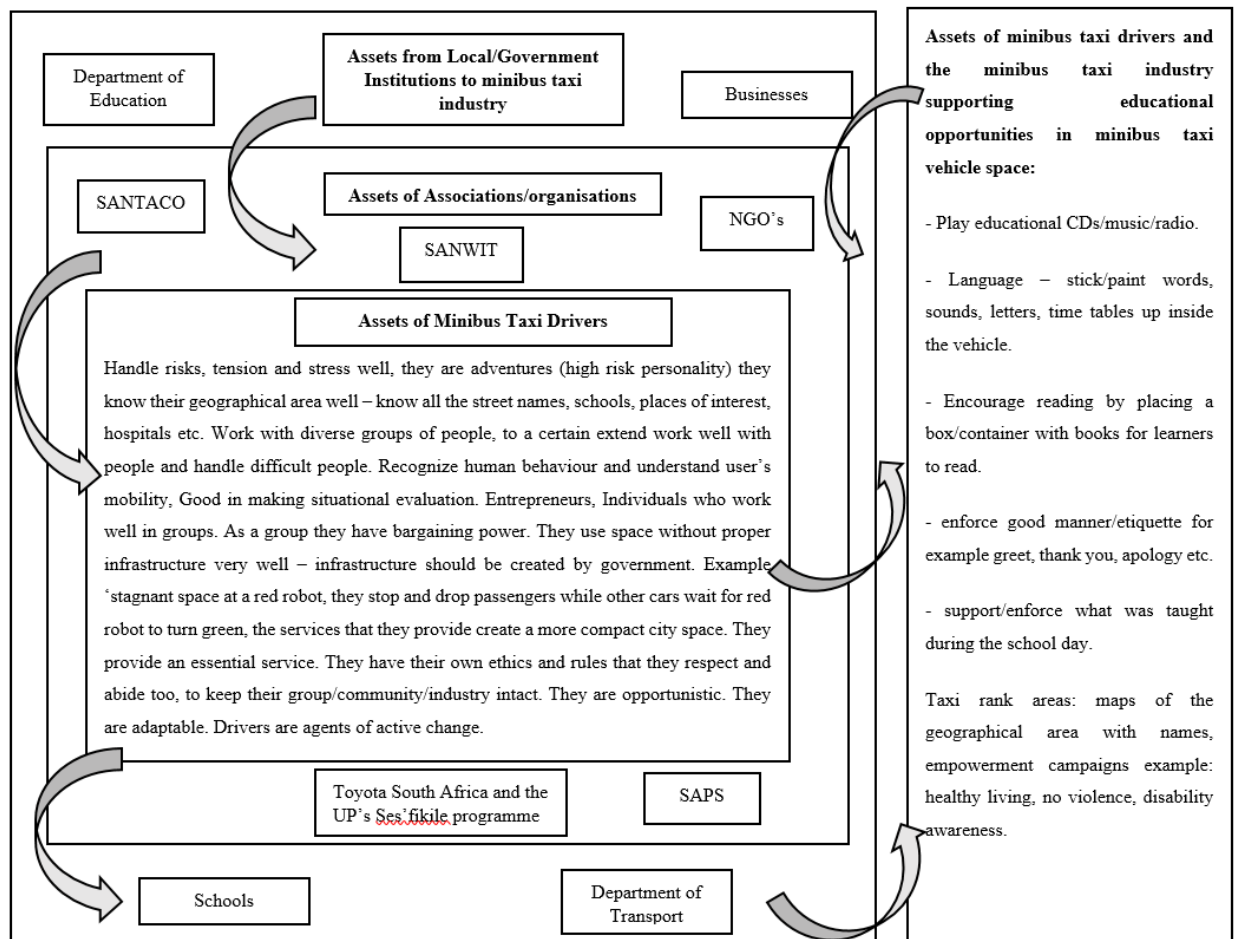


Figure 7.11: Asset map of minibus taxi drivers and possible educational opportunities in the space of the minibus taxi vehicle (Adapted from Kretzman and Mcknight, 1993)

7.5 Methodological reflections on the study

In this section, I critically evaluate and reflect on the research methodology used in this study to address the four research questions. The completion of this research study was, in my view, successful, yet certain methodological limitations were encountered. I had to explain my theoretical perspective, and epistemological and ontological considerations before I could respond to the collection of the data. Finding my feet in this process was challenging and took quite some time, although, when I did it, it brought about a feeling of achievement and also an understanding with regard to the process I was busy with. Furthermore, I realised the importance of the process and the imperative role it plays in ensuring quality research.

I had to collect data from the identified participants, namely public minibus taxi drivers, scholar transport minibus taxi drivers, learners, and SGB members. I neither had control over the actual behaviour of the participants nor the environment in which the participants found themselves. The minibus taxi industry is known for intimidation and violent behaviour. I felt that I risked my own safety a few times to get a group of minibus taxi drivers to take part in the research. They were very wary and suspicious of me at first. It seemed that they were worried about risking their own safety and jobs if they were to be involved. The fact that I was a White woman doing the research at first created challenges in terms of trust. I had to ask a Black colleague to accompany me as an intermediary to explain and ask the questions in an African language in order to gain their trust. I had to go back after the initial focus group interview to clarify some data.

I also experienced a certain degree of gatekeeping from the principals of the schools who indicated after I had explained the process to them that they would communicate and run the process at the schools. It was understandable because the safety of the learners came first. As the process continued, they allowed me to do follow up on the focus group discussions with the learners.

There were also some parents who did not give permission for their children to be involved in the study which I respected but this contingent only numbered a few learners.

The busy schedules of SGB members posed a challenge and they asked to complete the focus group questionnaire in their own time, which they did. I think it might also have been for a fear of intimidation from the drivers.

My sample consisted of 156 Grade 6 learners, 181 Grade 12 learners, 24 SGB members, 10 parents, and 20 drivers. Multiplied by the number of questions (20) on each questionnaire, this eventually added up to almost an overwhelming amount of data that I had to capture and analyse on my own. It took quite a long time and was a tedious process, although it provided rich data and an opportunity for critical and robust analysis. At the same time, I managed to develop my own methods to deal with the data.

This study commenced pre-COVID-19. The pandemic influenced the data collection process to a certain extent. I had collected the data from the SGBs, learners, parents of the LSEN school, and scholar transport minibus taxi drivers before the hard lockdown in South Africa. I had to wait for the hard lockdown to be lifted to do the focus group interview with the public minibus taxi drivers, which I did in the first week after the hard lockdown was lifted. The socio-political space in which the focus group interview took place was tainted with the very difficult time the taxi drivers had due to not having been able to transport passengers and thus not generating an income. Furthermore, they had to abide by the 50 per cent capacity rule after the lockdown and it was their responsibility to provide PPEs like masks and hand sanitiser which the drivers felt was unfair and costly for them.

It was, as I realised during the initial process of the study, challenging to explain the reason for the study to the majority of people who had a very negative view of public minibus taxi drivers. People were so set in their views about minibus taxi drivers that they seemed unable to think about them in a different, people-centred manner, although, after the initial resistance, the participants realised there was merit in further consideration of minibus taxi drivers and their role in education.

The methodology that I used provided a basis for a collaborative process to take place. I had to construct the data based on interaction and collaboration between me and the principals who played a leading role, the learners, the SGB members, and the drivers. In a sense, we all became ‘researchers’.

The methodology used, namely different case studies and units of analysis, allowed for a crystallisation process to take place and the multiple data sources made crystallisation possible.

Although I tried to work against bias by using elicitation processes as accepted criteria, research methods, and theoretical frameworks, there might still be readers who will feel

unsure about the judgement I used to select the various units of analysis. My original idea and the message that I tried to create via the study, are both products of my unique perspective. Hence, portions of it may be completely opaque to the reader. The perceived messages are a product of the readers' perspective and it may be subject to selective editing, I tried to align the original idea that I had as the researcher and writer to that of the readers' understanding of minibus taxis and scholar transport minibus taxis, but I might still not have succeeded (Kendrick, 2012).

Owing to the participants being informed of the study and the consent they had to give, it might have been possible that this could have initiated a change in their behaviour to manipulate the data being collected. They could have had biases of their own that they wanted the public to take note of.

The use of the focus group interviews might not have been efficient to cover the maximum amount of in-depth sharing. Especially the minibus taxi drivers may not have expressed their honest and personal opinions about their work environment due to a fear of intimidation. This fear of intimidation might also have rung true for the SGB members, parents and learners, although I think the focus group interviews assisted to a certain degree in gauging drivers' views. It was a long process and I had to go back to participants to clarify certain responses. This was difficult to do due to the hostile minibus taxi environment and it produced a massive amount of documentation and data that I had to manage and organise systematically, all of which took time. Furthermore, it was challenging to decide how to present the findings so that the case studies and the use of the Johari Window model would be easily understood by the reader.

A further limitation was the minibus taxi industry itself. It is known for violence and intimidation and is not open to constructive critique thus people are very wary to provide information. I did not approach the minibus taxi drivers via their associations for the reason that I wanted to ensure that I collected authentic data from them. I knew it is not going to be an easy task but did not imagine it to be the challenging task that it turned out to be. I approached more than one group of minibus taxi drivers at informal minibus taxi ranks and both times I was not successful. They did not understand what I was doing and viewed me with great suspicion.

In line with the limitation on time, which goes hand in hand with a part-time PhD study and full-time work, the focus group interviews were held within a relatively short period

of time, in order to allow for the completion of the questionnaires. More time between the interviews to analyse, ponder, and read would have been valuable. Transcribing the interviews did provide some thinking time but this was only short periods.

7.6 Personal–professional reflections on the study

Undertaking this research study has been a unique learning experience for me. I have gained a deep understanding of the nature of research. It was a time-consuming, unique, cyclical, and, many times, a confusing process. As the time progressed, my analytical abilities developed in the way I managed the construction of new knowledge and the interpretation thereof. I further learned that concepts and methodology do not fit neatly into categories. The research process for this study was at many times frustrating and tedious. I have learned to make sense of large quantities of information and data. Although it was challenging, at the same time it was immensely gratifying and exhilarating. I broadened my horizons in some new subject areas namely, space and paratransit which were specialised knowledge fields that were previously unfamiliar to me. This process improved my understanding of lifelong learning through a very personal experience. At times it was very challenging to deliver quality work at work and for the research process but there is a measure of self-actualisation and satisfaction in the accomplishment of the process. I had to be disciplined in the use of my time and proceed even when I really struggled to sort the data and relate it to meaningful findings. By doing this PhD, I learned to take personal ownership to attain my goals and ambitions, it was an intangible but powerful process. Furthermore, there is a certain level of satisfaction to be able to contribute to a possible solution in terms of the minibus taxi industry and scholar transport by hopefully influencing policy makers and programme managers to think about minibus taxi drivers in a different way.

The research study has also provided some strategic thinking and ideas which have assisted me to examine my own professional values and provided a guideline for further development and improvement. I shall be able to apply the knowledge and skills I have obtained during the PhD study to the manner in which I manage projects at my workplace such as national surveys to improve service delivery to schools to ensure that all school provided quality basic education across the system. Furthermore, with the learning I have gained, I will be able to share in the development of district officials in creating fundamentals of performance. I shall also be able to use the knowledge and skills I have

gained in rendering support in the implementation of district improvement plans which should reflect development practices for teachers.

By focusing on the phenomenon of views and the trilogy of space and how it impacts an individuals' views, I began to question how I viewed space and how much attention I paid to other people's views. More than once during the analysis and the writing of the findings and conclusions, I caught myself viewing the data from the 'wrong' view. For example, I looked at all the windows (data) from the view of the public minibus taxi drivers; hence I had to go back and correct the interpretations of the data. This highlighted for me how easy it is for us as human beings to only view issues from our own space not to think about how the other person experiences and views issues.

The research process has also encouraged me to view my own spatial context within the wider educational system and has provided a wealth of resources which I can use to learn and improve the quality of my interaction with colleagues and clients.

The positive actions of a minibus taxi driver created the interest in me to do the study but, in the middle of the study, the very violent minibus strike of September 2019 took place. I was held up by those striking minibus taxi drivers in the inner city of Pretoria with a group of them hitting my car windows while they pulled passengers out of the minibus taxis in front of me. It was a very frightening experience and, in a way, made me negative about the research I was busy with. I had to take time to process the incident and also to realise how important it is that development takes place in the industry, even if it is on individual level, so that the assets of the individual drivers can be developed and thus empower them to become positive role models and better serve education.

I cannot but also reflect on COVID-19 and the impact it had on my PhD study. To me, COVID-19 equals liminality, liminality being the quality of ambiguity or disorientation. COVID-19 touched the lives of every single human being on the planet, it had and still has a psychological impact on us on different levels. For me, it provided time to do this study which I would not have had if COVID-19 was not around, simply because I was forced to work from home. COVID-19 created a psychological process of transitioning across boundaries and borders, but it also was a threshold for me personally, separating my space from before the PhD to where I am now. It gave me the opportunity, to look at my own development before and after this study but also before and after COVID-19. COVID-19 emphasised that space matters, has meaning, and should be used constructively by making

me aware of the trilogy of space and how it impacts an individuals' views. As such, this study will act as a springboard for future endeavours which I mention in 7.8.

7.7 Recommendations based on the study

This study focused on the views held by minibus taxi drivers and various role players about minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education. As a result, the following recommendations are made with the aim of involving public minibus taxi drivers and scholar minibus taxi drivers more directly to support education.

Recommendation 1: Development of minibus taxi drivers and scholar transport minibus taxi drivers, in order for them to support education, needs to take place. Scholar minibus taxi drivers' pedagogical understanding should be developed through continuous school-based training and should be specified by circulars in terms of the number of training sessions per annum. These development sessions should focus on communication skills, collaboration, critical thinking and problem-solving, customer care and service excellence, learner discipline, and various educational topics.

Recommendation 2: A series of seminars to share the outcomes of this research and advocate for campaigns for appropriate behaviour by all users in public transportation. Minibus taxi drivers, scholar transport drivers, and passengers need development in appropriate behaviour when using public transportation. I recommend that a toolkit which is appropriate for the South African context be developed and shared at schools and with the minibus taxi drivers and scholar transport drivers to support a positive modification in the collective behaviour.

Recommendation 3: Partnerships between the schools, minibus taxi and scholar transport drivers, and taxi associations should be encouraged and facilitated. Schools could create educational spaces where drivers can sit while they wait for the learners to finish their school day where there are TV monitors so that they can follow the lessons presented in the classes or where they can attend extra classes, for example, computer and financial training. Furthermore, schools can make their Wi-Fi available to the drivers. These are small actions which might show a caring attitude towards those who transport learners to school which may foster mutual support. Such a step will show respect and support from the side of the school.

Recommendation 4: The creation of an educational, developmental, supportive space could be achieved by simple and cost effective ways, for example, a bucket with books in the vehicle for learners/passengers to read, to play educational stories/music on CDs, development of language by writing words of different languages inside the vehicle, calculations such as timetables, first aid rules, idioms or as the examples below.

Recommendation 5: A policy framework and the implementation thereof for scholar transport is needed. The DoE provides a policy framework which integrates a contract that could be used by the parents and drivers which stipulates the expectations of both parties when the transport is used.

Recommendation 6: Schools should have a dedicated portfolio with contact numbers of taxi associations and the specific drivers that service the institution. Likewise, taxi associations and drivers associated with the school should have the contact details of a designated administrator or staff member available to liaise with.

7.8 Future research

Although this study provided valuable insight into the views of various role players about minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education, further research on the following is recommended:

- I think a possible area for further investigation includes the perception that scholar transport minibus taxis are safer than public minibus taxis. It seems that the majority of minibus taxis which transport learners are overloaded and involved in accidents.
- Without further research into the views of various role player, public minibus taxi drivers and scholar transport minibus taxi drivers in the nine provinces, a national picture cannot emerge. Thus, I recommend that the data collection instruments and process are adapted to explore further.
- One avenue for further study would be research into the improvement of taxi rank facilities and other informal hardstanding in terms of location, layout, and general services to such facilities. It is important that the end users, both drivers and general public, should be involved in planning such facilities. Safety of vulnerable groups such as learners should be a primary consideration.

- Further research into the minibus taxi driver space might focus in particular on the role of women in the industry.
- For future policy and action by both the Department of Transport and DoE, the role of the scholar transport minibus taxi driver should unambiguously be mentioned and a contract should be provided.

7.9 Limitations of the study

I completed the research study yet certain methodological limitations were encountered.

In Chapter 4, I provided a detailed explanation of the research design and methodology of this study. I should stress that my study has been primarily concerned with participants selected from schools in Johannesburg, Gauteng. I deliberately made use of purposive sampling to select three schools. These schools were from a variety of socio-economic environments and the study involved learners from different age groups. As it was only three schools, I have addressed only the views of the various role players and minibus taxi drivers in that area. My study does not represent the wider population and, as such, the findings cannot be generalised. This is in spite of the fact that I want to argue that there is almost no school in South Africa that can say that there is not one learner, staff member, or parent who has not, or does not, make use of public minibus taxis or scholar transport minibus taxis. Also, there is not a single person in South Africa who can say that they are not aware of or have not had some experience or interaction with minibus taxi drivers. Thus, I do think the study lends itself to a profound understanding of the views of various role players in South Africa.

Unfortunately, the nature of the minibus taxi industry is that of violence and intimidation. The drivers are not open to critique thus people are very wary about providing information.

Several challenges arose during the data collection process. The most serious of these was obtaining access to public minibus taxi drivers. I intentionally did not make use of the Minibus Taxi Association in the area for a fear of gatekeeping, hence I approached them on my own only to find that they did not view the research process and me favourably. I thus had to get assistance from a Black, African-speaking colleague to approach the minibus taxi drivers with me. Although, we were then treated courteously, the drivers were

very wary of us and sent us away on the first day to return the next day which took extra time and resources. I also failed to get a recording of the focus group interview due to the drivers fearing intimidation and the loss of their work, thus we had to translate and capture responses and verbal observations at the same time.

Although the short questionnaire yielded valuable and useful data, the minibus taxi drivers were wary to open up and spoke as a collective. In future studies, I would obtain data on an individual basis as it might provide more in-depth insight into the views held by the minibus taxi drivers.

The possibility of bias existed since I did the research from the stance that the minibus taxi drivers had assets which could be used.

When we focus on change on an individual level, it might be nearly impossible to achieve the greater collective shifts that are needed in the minibus taxi industry. As humans we have complex views, we act in irrational ways, many time from the bottom up, hence we need collective efficacy with various role players.

7.10 Conclusion

It became clear that we as a society are shaped by the space inside the minibus taxis and scholar transport minibus taxis, but we have lost or never really had the agency we had in villages and smaller communities to shape the industry and minibus taxi due to the immense organic growth of the minibus taxi industry. I believe that collectively (drivers, SGBs, and learners) hold the power to redefine the minibus space through small collective actions – we should create little ecosystems of education. We cannot change the behaviour of the drivers without addressing the culture of the space in which they operate, thus we have to address the conditions of the space which encourage and constrain action as much as the actions of the drivers. As I reflect on the views held by minibus taxi drivers and various role players, it seems that we have a humane and emotional relationship with minibus taxis drivers. Drivers and the general public's actions are not always logical therefore we need an alternative view and use of the minibus taxi space with education and pedagogy as the baseline. Minibus taxi drivers have an obligation, just like any other South African citizen and road user, to obey the rules of the road and build a resilient future in shaping the minibus taxi space but also their own individual futures and those of learners.

Where there is a minibus taxi wheel turning, there should be a minibus taxi driver willing to support education.

Whatever criticisms have been made by participants' views in this study, the strongest single theme in their view and evaluation of minibus taxi drivers is that they are key role players, valuable facilitators, and role models for learners, although educational development is needed. Development with a pedagogical basis was identified by various role players and drivers as an essential aspect for the constructive use of the space in the vehicle to support education. My own view is that this fundamentally optimistic view provides fruitful ground for further study aimed at refining the partnership between minibus tax drivers and schools to the point where it can become a model of educational support and excellence. Imagine if all public minibus taxi and scholar transport drivers and their vehicle spaces could be used for intentional and milieu learning while they operate in city spaces.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: GDE Research approval letter.



GAUTENG PROVINCE
 Department: Education
 REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

8/4/4/1/2

GDE RESEARCH APPROVAL LETTER

Date:	19 March 2019
Validity of Research Approval:	04 February 2019 – 30 September 2019 2018/434
Name of Researcher:	Van Eck Z
Address of Researcher:	Blue Crane Newlands Pretoria
Telephone Number:	082 414 2936
Email address:	zettavaneck@gmail.com
Research Topic:	Views on minibus tax drivers and their role in supporting education
Type of qualification	PhD
Number and type of schools:	One Primary School, One Secondary and One LSEN school
District/s/HO	Johannesburg East

Re: Approval in Respect of Request to Conduct Research

This letter serves to indicate that approval is hereby granted to the above-mentioned researcher to proceed with research in respect of the study indicated above. The onus rests with the researcher to negotiate appropriate and relevant time schedules with the school/s and/or offices involved to conduct the research. A separate copy of this letter must be presented to both the School (both Principal and SGB) and the District/Head Office Senior Manager confirming that permission has been granted for the research to be conducted.

The following conditions apply to GDE research. The researcher may proceed with the above study subject to the conditions listed below being met. Approval may be withdrawn should any of the conditions listed below be flouted:

Making education a societal priority

 19/03/2019
Office of the Director: Education Research and Knowledge Management

7th Floor, 17 Simmonds Street, Johannesburg, 2001

Tel: (011) 355 0488

Email: Faith.Tshabalala@gauteng.gov.za

Website: www.education.gpg.gov.za

Appendix B: Letters of consent for principals, SGBs, parents, learners and drivers



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Tel: (012) 420 5569
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<http://www.up.ac.za>

Dear Principal

REQUEST TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT YOUR SCHOOL

I am a PhD student at the University of Pretoria and the title of my study is: “**Views on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education**”. As part of my study, I need to conduct empirical research, and want to request permission to conduct my research at your school. I have also requested permission from the Gauteng Department of Education.

To fulfil the requirements for my study, I request the involvement off all the Grade six learners at the school. The learners will be given a journal in which they should document their experiences with minibus taxis over a period of 30 days. It will give learners the opportunity to record their opinions and experiences as well as including photos or drawings. These journals will be confidential, as no mention will be made to any individual learner. Only pseudonyms will be used.

Consent will first be gained from all participants before commencing with the research. As learners are not yet eighteen years, parents will also need to sign a letter of consent in which the scope of my study will be explained. Learners will be given assent forms, also explaining their roles in the study, and they will have the opportunity to indicate their willingness (or not) to participate in the study.

I would also like to conduct a focus group interview with the school governing body (SGB) at a suitable time to gain their views on minibus taxi drivers.

Participation will be governed by the following principles:

- Participation in this research is voluntary and participants have the right to withdraw at any time they so wish.
- Participants and schools can be assured of confidentiality. Pseudonyms will be used when at all times during the reporting of the findings.
- Should the participants and school wish to know what was found during the research a summary of the findings will be made available.

The intent of this study is to determine how the minibus taxi industry can support education and also to alert minibus taxi drivers to the expectations of all educational role-players. The contribution of this study will be directed towards developing guidelines for a training programme to equip minibus taxi drivers to support education.

Should you be willing to grant me permission to do research at your school, I kindly need you to complete the attached permission slip, which can be e-mailed to me.

Yours sincerely

Ms Z van Eck
Student

Prof J Wassermann
Supervisor



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<http://www.up.ac.za>

Dear Ms van Eck

I have read the consent letter and have understood the terms of participation.

I do agree/do not agree (delete what does not apply to you) that my school/grade six learners may participate in the research, titled: **“Views on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education”**.

I do agree/do not agree (delete what does not apply to you) that all the Grade six learners attending at my school may participate in this study by documenting their experiences with minibus taxis over a period of 30 school days.

I do agree/do not agree (delete what does not apply to you) to a focus group interview with the SGB which will be audio taped and transcribed by the researcher.

Designation at school: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____



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Dear School Governing Body Members

REQUEST TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT YOUR SCHOOL

I am a PhD student at the University of Pretoria and the title of my study is: **“Views on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education”**. As part of my study, I need to conduct empirical research, and want to request permission to conduct my research at your school. I have also requested permission from the Gauteng Department of Education.

To fulfil the requirements for my study, I request the involvement off all the Grade six learners at the school. The learners will be given a journal in which they should document their experiences with minibus taxis over a period of 30 days. It will give learners the opportunity to record their opinions and experiences as well as including photos or drawings. These journals will be confidential, as no mention will be made to any individual learner. Only pseudonyms will be used.

Consent will first be gained from all participants before commencing with the research. As learners are not yet eighteen years, parents will also need to sign a letter of consent in which the scope of my study will be explained. Learners will be given assent forms, also explaining their roles in the study, and they will have the opportunity to indicate their willingness (or not) to participate in the study.

I would also like to conduct a focus group interview with the school governing body (SGB) at a suitable time to gain their views on minibus taxi drivers.

Participation will be governed by the following principles:

- Participation in this research is voluntary and participants have the right to withdraw at any time they so wish.
- Participants and schools can be assured of confidentiality. Pseudonyms will be used when at all times during the reporting of the findings.

- Should the participants and school wish to know what was found during the research a summary of the findings will be made available.

The intent of this study is to determine how the minibus taxi industry can support education and also to alert minibus taxi drivers to the expectations of all educational role-players. The contribution of this study will be directed towards developing guidelines for a training programme to equip minibus taxi drivers to support education.

Should you be willing to grant me permission to do research at your school, I kindly need you to complete the attached permission slip, which can be e-mailed to me.

Yours sincerely

Ms Z van Eck

Student

Prof J Wassermann

Supervisor

Consent Form: SGB



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Dear Ms van Eck

I have read the consent letter and have understood the terms of participation.

I do agree/do not agree (delete what does not apply to you) that the school/grade six learners may participate in the research, titled: **“Views on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education”**.

I do agree/do not agree (delete what does not apply to you) that all the Grade six learners attending at the school document their experiences with minibus taxis over a period of 30 school days.

I do agree/do not agree (delete what does not apply to you) to a focus group interview with the SGB which will be audio taped and transcribed by the researcher.

Designation on the SGB: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____



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Dear Student

I am studying at the University of Pretoria for a PhD degree. I have chosen to look at minibus taxi transport.

To be able to write about minibus taxis, I want to ask you to do the following:

You will be given a journal in which you should write about your experiences with minibus taxis over a period of 30 days. It means that you should write a few lines every day. It will give you the opportunity to record your opinions and experiences. You may include photos or drawings. These journals will be confidential, as no mention will be made of your name. After the 30 days I'll meet with you again to collect the journals from you.

There are questions in the journals that you have to answer:

1. Why did you use a minibus taxi today?
2. What did you think about the minibus taxi and driver today?
3. Explain what happened in the minibus taxi on your way to your destination today?
4. What did you like about minibus taxis today?
5. What did you not like about minibus taxis today?
6. What can taxi drivers do to be better?

I want this study to help minibus taxis to support education and to learn new skills.

Please be as honest as you can in everything you write. Know that if you feel uncomfortable and want to withdraw from this study you may at any time.

I am looking forward to learning with you.

Yours sincerely

Ms Z van Eck




Prof J Wassermann









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Name of student: _____

	<p>Do you understand the information letter that I read to you and did I explain what today's activities are all about?</p> <p>Yes <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>No <input type="checkbox"/></p>
	 <p>Do you understand that it is your choice to help me today and that you can stop at any time you want to?</p> <p>Yes <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>No <input type="checkbox"/></p>

	
	<p>Do you have any questions?</p> <p>Yes  No </p> 
<p>Student signature:</p> <hr/> <p>Date:</p> <hr/>	



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Dear Parent/Guardian

REQUEST FOR YOUR CHILD'S PARTICIPATION IN A RESEARCH STUDY

I am a PhD student at the University of Pretoria and the title of my study is: "**Views on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education**". As part of my study, I need to conduct empirical research, and want to request permission to conduct my research at your school. I have also requested permission from the Gauteng Department of Education.

To fulfil the requirements for my study, I request the involvement off all the Grade six learners at the school. The learners will be given a journal in which they should document their experiences with minibus taxis over a period of 30 days. It will give learners the opportunity to record their opinions and experiences as well as photos or drawings. These journals will be confidential, as will be explained to the learners in their letters of assent.

The intent of this study is to identify the potential assets of the minibus taxi industry and to alert minibus taxi drivers to the expectation of role-players in education. In so doing, the possibility exists that the minibus taxi industry can become aware of ways and means to support education.

Participants will be governed by the following principles:

- The names of the learners will not be used in the study. I will use a pseudonym (nicknames) if I want to refer to what the child said.

- Participation in this research is voluntary. In other words, if the child does not want to participate, they may continue with other work. Children have the right not to participate.

If you have any questions about the consent letters you may contact me.

Yours sincerely

Ms Z van Eck

Student

Prof J Wassermann

Supervisor

Consent Form: Parents/Legal Guardians



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Dear Ms van Eck

I have read the consent letter and have understood the terms of participation.

I do agree/do not agree (delete what does not apply to you) that my child may participate in the research, titled: **"Views on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education"**.

I do agree/do not agree (delete what does not apply to you) that my child attending at this school document their experiences with minibus taxis over a period of 30 school days.

Parent/Guardian: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Dear Principal

REQUEST TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT YOUR SCHOOL

I am a PhD student at the University of Pretoria and the title of my study is: “**Views on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education**”. As part of my study, I need to conduct empirical research, and want to request permission to conduct my research at your school. I have also requested permission from the Gauteng Department of Education.

To fulfil the requirements for my study, I request the involvement of parents at your school. They will be given a questionnaire which will take them 10 minutes to complete indicating their children and their own experiences with minibus taxis. It will give you the opportunity to record your opinions and experiences. These questionnaires will be anonymous and kept confidential.

I would also like the school governing body (SGB) to complete the questions to gain their views on minibus taxi drivers.

Participation will be governed by the following principles:

- Participation in this research is voluntary and participants have the right to withdraw at any time they so wish.
- Participants and schools can be assured of confidentiality. Pseudonyms will be used when at all times during the reporting of the findings.
- Should the participants and school wish to know what was found during the research a summary of the findings will be made available.

The intent of this study is to determine how the minibus taxi industry can support education and also to alert minibus taxi drivers to the expectations of all educational role-players. The contribution of this study will be directed towards developing

guidelines for a training programme to equip minibus taxi drivers to support education.
Should you be willing to grant me permission to do research at your school, I kindly need you to complete the attached permission slip, which can be e-mailed to me.

Yours sincerely

Ms Z van Eck
Student

Prof J Wassermann
Supervisor



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Dear Ms van Eck

I have read the consent letter and have understood the terms of participation.

I do agree/do not agree (delete what does not apply to you) that my school may participate in the research, titled: **“Views on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education”**.

Designation at school: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____



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Dear School Governing Body Members

REQUEST TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT YOUR SCHOOL

I am a PhD student at the University of Pretoria and the title of my study is: “**Views on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education**”. As part of my study, I need to conduct empirical research, and want to request permission to conduct my research at your school. I have also requested permission from the Gauteng Department of Education.

To fulfil the requirements for my study, I request the involvement of parents whose children make use of minibus taxis/ scholar transport minibus taxis to attend the school. Parents will be given a questionnaire which will take 10 minutes to complete. It will give you the opportunity to record your opinions and experiences. These questionnaires will be anonymous and kept confidential.

Consent will first be gained from all participants before commencing with the research. As learners are not yet eighteen years, parents will also need to sign a letter of consent in which the scope of my study will be explained.

I would also like to conduct a focus group interview with the school governing body (SGB) at a suitable time to gain their views on minibus taxi drivers.

Participation will be governed by the following principles:

- Participation in this research is voluntary and participants have the right to withdraw at any time they so wish.
- Participants and schools can be assured of confidentiality. Pseudonyms will be used when at all times during the reporting of the findings.
- Should the participants and school wish to know what was found during the research a summary of the findings will be made available.

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Should you be willing to grant me permission to do research at your school, I kindly need you to complete the attached permission slip, which can be e-mailed to me.

Yours sincerely

Ms Z van Eck
Student

Prof J Wassermann
Supervisor



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Dear Parent/Guardian

REQUEST FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION IN A RESEARCH STUDY

I am a PhD student at the University of Pretoria and the title of my study is: **“Views on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education”**. As part of my study, I need to conduct empirical research, and want to request permission to conduct my research at your school. I have also requested permission from the Gauteng Department of Education.

To fulfil the requirements for my study, I request your involvement. You will be given a questionnaire which will take you 10 minutes to complete indicating your children and your own experiences with minibus taxis. It will give you the opportunity to record your opinions and experiences. These questionnaires will be anonymous and kept confidential.

Participants will be governed by the following principles:

- Your name will not be used in the study. I will use a pseudonym (nicknames) if I want to refer to what you said.
- Participation in this research is voluntary. In other words, if you do not want to participate you may decline

The intent of this study is to identify the potential assets of the minibus taxi industry and to alert minibus taxi drivers to the expectation of role-players in education. In so doing, the possibility exists that the minibus taxi industry can become aware of ways and means to support education.

If you have any questions about the consent letters you may contact me.

Yours sincerely

Ms Z van Eck
Student

Prof J Wassermann
Supervisor

The intent of this study is to determine how the minibus taxi industry can support education and also to alert minibus taxi drivers to the expectations of all educational role-players. The contribution of this study will be directed towards developing guidelines for a training programme to equip minibus taxi drivers to support education.

Should you be willing to grant me permission to do research at your school, I kindly need you to complete the attached permission slip, which can be e-mailed to me.

Yours sincerely

Ms Z van Eck
Student

Prof J Wassermann
Supervisor



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<http://www.up.ac.za>

Dear Ms van Eck

I have read the consent letter and have understood the terms of participation.

I do agree/do not agree (delete what does not apply to you) that the school may participate in the research, titled: **“Views on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education”**.

I do agree/do not agree (delete what does not apply to you) that the parents of learners attending at the school document their experiences with minibus taxis over a period of 30 school days.

I do agree/do not agree (delete what does not apply to you) to a focus group interview with the SGB which will be audio taped and transcribed by the researcher.

Designation on the SGB: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____



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Dear Parent/Guardian

REQUEST FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION IN A RESEARCH STUDY

I am a PhD student at the University of Pretoria and the title of my study is: **“Views on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education”**. As part of my study, I need to conduct empirical research, and want to request permission to conduct my research at your school. I have also requested permission from the Gauteng Department of Education.

To fulfil the requirements for my study, I request your involvement. You will be given a questionnaire which will take you 10 minutes to complete indicating your children and your own experiences with minibus taxis. It will give you the opportunity to record your opinions and experiences. These questionnaires will be anonymous and kept confidential.

Participants will be governed by the following principles:

- Your name will not be used in the study. I will use a pseudonym (nicknames) if I want to refer to what you said.
- Participation in this research is voluntary. In other words, if you do not want to participate you may decline

The intent of this study is to identify the potential assets of the minibus taxi industry and to alert minibus taxi drivers to the expectation of role-players in education. In so doing, the possibility exists that the minibus taxi industry can become aware of ways and means to support education.

If you have any questions about the consent letters you may contact me.

Yours sincerely

Ms Z van Eck
Student

Prof J Wassermann
Supervisor



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<http://www.up.ac.za>

Dear Principal

REQUEST TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT YOUR SCHOOL

I am a PhD student at the University of Pretoria and the title of my study is: “**Views on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education**”. As part of my study, I need to conduct empirical research, and want to request permission to conduct my research at your school. I have also requested permission from the Gauteng Department of Education.

To fulfil the requirements for my study, I request the involvement of all the Grade eleven learners at the school. The learners will be given a questionnaire which will take about 10 minutes to complete. It will give learners the opportunity to record their opinions and experiences. These questionnaires will be anonymous and kept confidential, as no mention will be made to any individual learner. Only pseudonyms will be used.

Consent will first be gained from all participants before commencing with the research. As learners are not yet eighteen years, parents will also need to sign a letter of consent in which the scope of my study will be explained. Learners will be given assent forms, also explaining their role in the study, and they will have the opportunity to indicate their willingness (or not) to participate in the study.

I would also like to conduct a focus group interview with the school governing body (SGB) at a suitable time to gain their views on minibus taxi drivers.

Participation will be governed by the following principles:

- Participation in this research is voluntary and participants have the right to withdraw at any time they so wish.

- Participants and schools can be assured of confidentiality. Pseudonyms will be used when at all times during the reporting of the findings.
- Should the participants and school wish to know what was found during the research a summary of the findings will be made available.

The intent of this study is to determine how the minibus taxi industry can support education and also to alert minibus taxi drivers to the expectations of all educational role-players. The contribution of this study will be directed towards developing guidelines for a training programme to equip minibus taxi drivers to support education.

Should you be willing to grant me permission to do research at your school, I kindly need you to complete the attached permission slip, which can be e-mailed to me.

Yours sincerely

Ms Z van Eck

Student

Prof J Wassermann

Supervisor



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<http://www.up.ac.za>

Dear Ms van Eck

I have read the consent letter and have understood the terms of participation.

I do agree/do not agree (delete what does not apply to you) that my school/grade eleven learners may participate in the research, titled: **“Views on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education”**.

I do agree/do not agree (delete what does not apply to you) that all the Grade Gr eleven learners attending at my school may participate in this study and complete the questionnaire.

I do agree/do not agree (delete what does not apply to you) to a focus group interview with the SGB which will be audio taped and transcribed by the researcher.

Designation at school: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____



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Dear School Governing Body Members

REQUEST TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT YOUR SCHOOL

I am a PhD student at the University of Pretoria and the title of my study is: “**Views on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education**”. As part of my study, I need to conduct empirical research, and want to request permission to conduct my research at your school. I have also requested permission from the Gauteng Department of Education.

To fulfil the requirements for my study, I request the involvement off all the Grade eleven learners at the school. The learners will be given a questionnaire which will take about 10 minutes to complete. It will give learners the opportunity to record their opinions and experiences regarding minibus taxi transport. These questionnaires will be confidential, as no mention will be made to any individual learner. Only pseudonyms will be used.

Consent will first be gained from all participants before commencing with the research. As learners are not yet eighteen years, parents will also need to sign a letter of consent in which the scope of my study will be explained. Learners will be given assent forms, also explaining their roles in the study, and they will have the opportunity to indicate their willingness (or not) to participate in the study.

I would also like to conduct a focus group interview with the school governing body (SGB) at a suitable time to gain their views on minibus taxi drivers.

Participation will be governed by the following principles:

- Participation in this research is voluntary and participants have the right to withdraw at any time they so wish.
- Participants and schools can be assured of confidentiality. Pseudonyms will be used when at all times during the reporting of the findings.
- Should the participants and school wish to know what was found during the research a summary of the findings will be made available.

The intent of this study is to determine how the minibus taxi industry can support education and also to alert minibus taxi drivers to the expectations of all educational role-players. The contribution of this study will be directed towards developing guidelines for a training programme to equip minibus taxi drivers to support education.

Should you be willing to grant me permission to do research at your school, I kindly need you to complete the attached permission slip, which can be e-mailed to me.

Yours sincerely

Ms Z van Eck

Student

Prof Wassermann

Supervisor



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Dear Ms van Eck

I have read the consent letter and have understood the terms of participation.

I do agree/do not agree (delete what does not apply to you) that the school/grade eleven learners may participate in the research, titled: "Views on minibus taxi drivers and the assets they have to support education".

I do agree/do not agree (delete what does not apply to you) that all the Grade eleven learners attending at the school may complete the questionnaire.

I do agree/do not agree (delete what does not apply to you) to a focus group interview with the SGB which will be audio taped and transcribed by the researcher.

Designation on the SGB: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____



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Dear Student

I am studying at the University of Pretoria for a PhD degree. I have chosen to look at minibus taxi transport.

To be able to write about minibus taxis, I want to ask you to answer the following questions:

1. Why did you use a minibus taxi today?
2. What did you think about the minibus taxi and driver today?
3. Explain what happened in the minibus taxi on your way to your destination today?
4. What did you like about minibus taxis today?
5. What did you not like about minibus taxis today?
6. What can taxi drivers do to be better?

I want this study to help minibus taxis to support education and to learn new skills.

Please be as honest as you can in everything you write. Know that if you feel uncomfortable and want to withdraw from this study you may at any time.

I am looking forward to learning with you.

Yours sincerely

Ms Z van Eck

Prof J Wassermann

Appendix C: Questionnaires for learners, parents, SGB members and minibus taxi drivers

Name: _____

Grade: _____

Answer the following questions:

1. Why did you use a minibus taxi today?

2. What did you think about the minibus taxi and driver today?

3. Explain what happened in the minibus taxi on your way to your destination.

4. What did you like about the minibus taxi today?

5. What did you not like about the minibus taxi today?

6. What can minibus taxi drivers do to be better?

7. Did any of the passengers asked/talked about school/education in the taxi. Explain

8. Any other thoughts:

Thank you for your time.

Parent making use of public minibus taxi transport:

Answer the following questions:

1. Why did you use a minibus taxi today?

2. What did you think about the minibus taxi and driver today?

3. Explain what happened in the minibus taxi on your way to your destination.

4. What did you like about the minibus taxi today?

5. What did you not like about the minibus taxi today?

6. What can minibus taxi drivers do to be better?

7. Did any of the passengers asked/talked about school/education in the taxi. Explain

8. Any other thoughts:

Thank you for your time.

Parent making use of LSEN scholar transport minibus taxis:

Answer the following questions:

1. Why did you make use of scholar transport for your child today?

2. What do you think about the scholar transport and scholar transport driver today?

3. Explain if you know, what happened in the scholar transport with your child today.

4. What about scholar transport do you like?

5. What about scholar transport do you not like?

6. What can scholar transport drivers do to be better?

7. Do you think the space inside the scholar transport is educational? Explain

8. Any other thoughts:

Thank you for your time.

Primary School SGB: Interview Questions
<p>Purpose and instruction</p> <p>In my letter requesting your consent, I indicated to you that I am busy with my PhD study on: Views on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education I would like to reiterate that the aim of these questions are to understand your views and experiences of minibus taxis and minibus taxi drivers.</p> <p>The information obtained will be used only for research purposes and no names of participants or any identifying data will be made known in my thesis and/or future publications.</p> <p>All of your responses are confidential.</p> <p>Please explain in full when responding to the questions.</p>
<p>Interview questions:</p>
1. Explain your views on minibus taxis?
2. When and where do you make use of minibus taxis? Explain.
3. What do minibus taxis do that is positive? Explain.
4. What do minibus taxis do that is negative? Explain.
5. How do you think minibus taxis and minibus taxi drivers can support education? Explain.
6. In your view, what should change to make you feel comfortable to let your children use minibus taxis? Explain.
7. What can the school do to support minibus taxis and minibus taxi drivers? Explain.
8. How can the space in the minibus taxi be facilitated to support education? Explain.
9. How would you like to change the minibus taxi rank environment to make it more supportive for teaching and learning? Explain.
10. At the school, do you create opportunities for minibus taxi drivers to be active role players in school activities? Explain.
11. At the school, do you create opportunities for minibus taxi drivers to develop skills example computer lessons, coaching skills? Explain.
12. Does the SGB/school constructively engage with the minibus taxi industry? Explain
13. In your role as a SGB member what is your view on the schools' utilisation of the minibus taxi industry? Explain.
14. Does the school have a dedicated portfolio for school transport? Explain.
15. Do you know the details of minibus taxi operators? Explain?
16. Are the details of the minibus taxi operators recorded anywhere/ kept on file at the school? Explain.
17. Are there any comments/final remarks that you would like to make before you submit your responses?
<i>Thank you for your participation!</i>

High school SGB interview questions
<p>Purpose and instruction</p> <p>In my letter requesting your consent, I indicated to you that I am busy with my PhD study on Views on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education I would like to reiterate that the aim of this interview is to understand your views and experiences of minibus taxis and minibus taxi drivers.</p> <p>The information obtained will be used only for research purposes and no names of participants or any identifying data will be made known in my thesis and /or future publications.</p> <p>All of your responses are confidential.</p> <p>Please explain in full when responding to the questions.</p>
<p>Questions:</p>
1. Explain your views on minibus taxis?
2. When and where do you make use of minibus taxis?
3. What does minibus taxis do that's positive?
4. What does minibus taxis do that's negative?
5. How do you think minibus taxis and minibus taxi drivers can support education?
6. In your view, what should change to make you feel comfortable to let your children use minibus taxis?
7. What can the school do to support minibus taxis and minibus taxi drivers?
8. How can the space in the minibus taxi be facilitated to support education?
9. How would you like to change the minibus taxi rank environment to make it more supportive for teaching and learning?
10. At the school, do you create opportunities for minibus taxi drivers to be active role players in school activities?
11. At the school, do you create opportunities for minibus taxi drivers to develop skills example computer lessons, coaching skills?
12. Does the SGB/school constructively engage with the minibus taxi industry? Describe
13. In your role as a SGB member what is your view on the schools utilisation of the minibus taxi industry?
14. Does the school have a dedicated portfolio for school transport
15. Do you know the details of minibus taxi operators?
16. Are the details of the minibus taxi operators recorded anywhere/ kept on file by the school?
17. Are there any comments/final remarks that you would like to make before concluding this interview?
<i>Thank you for your participation!</i>

Public or Scholar Minibus Taxi Driver: Semi-structured interview questions								
<p>Purpose and instruction: In my letter requesting your consent, I indicated to you that I am busy with my PhD study on Views on minibus taxi drivers and their role in supporting education. I would like to reiterate that the aim of this interview is to understand your views and experiences on driving a minibus taxis and transporting school children. The information obtained will be used only for research purposes and no names of participants or any identifying data will be made known in my thesis and/or future publications. All of your responses are confidential. Do you have any questions before we start?</p>								
<p>Questions:</p>								
<p>SECTION A</p> <p>Name (Optional):</p>								
Gender:	Female		Male					
Age:	18-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-49yrs		50yrs+	
Number of years as a minibus taxi driver:	0-5yrs		6-10yrs		11-15yrs		16yrs+	
Number of hours that you spend in your taxi (vehicle) as the driver:	1-3 hours		4-10 hours		11-15 hours		16 hours +	

SECTION B:

1. Briefly explain what it entails to be a minibus taxi driver?

2. Why did you choose to become a minibus taxi driver?

3. How do you view your role on transporting school children?

4. Explain what happens in your taxi when you transport passengers?

5. Do you think what happens in your taxi influences the school children at school?

6. Do you think your behaviour has an impact on the school children you transport?

7. How important is the cleanliness of your vehicle to you?

8. Which part of your driving position brings you the most stress?

9. Do you have insurance?

<p>10. Why is it important for you to be part of a taxi union?</p> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
<p>11. Do you feel that you are currently paid what you are worth?</p> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
<p>12. What challenges do you have when transporting school children?</p> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
<p>13. How have you dealt with naughty children in the past?</p> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
<p>14. Have you ever had a meeting with the school principal?</p> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
<p>15. Have you ever been invited to attend a function at the school where you drop learners off?</p> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
<p>16. In what way can you support education and the school children you transport?</p> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
<p>17. What would you do if a child began to do drugs or anything illegal in your taxi?</p> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>

18. What is your greatest weakness? What are you doing to do to improve it?

19. What is your greatest strength? How does it help you as a taxi driver?

20. How would you feel about making you minibus taxi more educational?

21. Would you attend courses presented by the school for example computer classes, coaching courses?

22. If a school child left a sport bag, books or a school case in your taxi, what would you do?

Thank you for your participation!