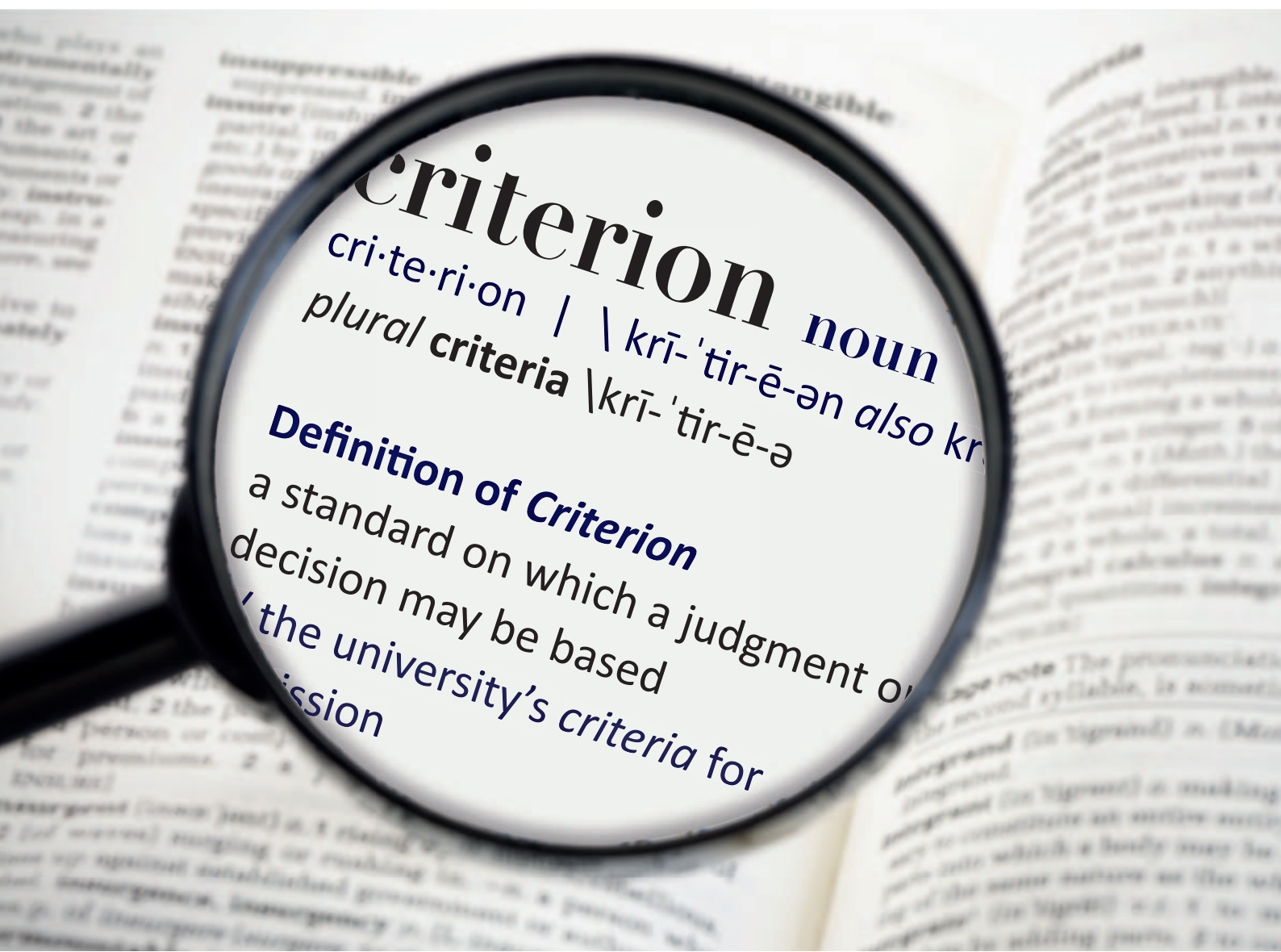


# THE CRITERION REPORT

The Criterion Report is home to the findings and insights drawn from market research conducted by the Institute of Race Relations into the preferences and attitudes of South African citizens.



## PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF TAXI USE, SAFETY AND CRIME



South African Institute of Race Relations

*The power of ideas*

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## INTRODUCTION

In line with the IRR's objective to become an authority on market research, the Institute has undertaken a poll in conjunction with the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom (FNF), focusing exclusively on public perceptions of taxi use, safety, crime and related violence.

The poll was conducted in December 2018 and comprised a representative national sample of 1,237 respondents over the age of 18, with two supplementary sub-samples for KwaZulu-Natal (sample size: 409) and Gauteng (sample size: 505). The provincial samples allowed us to test national trends at provincial level.

This edition of the Criterion Report sets out the key findings, contained in four sections, as well as an accompanying explanation in each case of what the results mean.

Some of the banner headline findings are:

### Taxi Use:

- 82% of all national respondents made use of some form of taxi service.
- The vast majority of taxi users can be said to be black (85%), young (71% below the age of 44), with an educational level of Grade 12 or below (96%), poor or low income (74% with an average household income of below R8,000) and unemployed (55% looking or not looking for work).
- Of the 82% of national respondents who said they made use of some form of taxi service, the overwhelming majority (64%) made use of minibus taxis.
- The average number of trips is one or more times a week for 52% of taxi users (and 65% of minibus users). 25% use taxis "two or three times a week" (32% for minibus users).
- The average distance travelled on a taxi trip is in excess of 10km for 48% of taxi users (57% for minibus users). 25% of taxi users said their average trip was 10km or less (32% for minibus users).
- The average cost of a taxi trip was between R10 and R50 for 56% of taxi users (73% for minibus users). 39% of taxi users paid R20 or less for a trip (32% of minibus users).

### Road Safety

- A small majority of all respondents feel South Africa's roads are more unsafe (29%) than safe (24%).
- Drunk driving is overwhelmingly identified as the biggest threat to road safety both among all national respondents (53%) and minibus taxi users (56%). It is seen as a particularly big threat in KwaZulu-Natal (64% of all KwaZulu-Natal respondents and 69% of all KwaZulu-Natal minibus taxi users), compared to Gauteng (47% of all Gauteng respondents and 55% of all Gauteng minibus taxi users).
- Drunk driving is followed by potholes (31%), bad or illegal driving (28%) and speeding (26%) as the next biggest threats to road safety.

### Taxi Safety

- 32% of all national respondents believe taxis are "very or somewhat unsafe" and 31% believe that taxi drivers are "very or somewhat untrustworthy" with regard to driving safely and responsibly.
- 49% of all national respondents (and 46% of minibus taxi users) believe taxi drivers are "very or somewhat aggressive". 37% of all national respondents (and 45% of minibus taxi users) are primarily concerned they will be involved in a road accident. 50% of all national respondents (and 50% of minibus taxi users) identify overloading as the biggest problem with taxi safety, along with drunk driving (49% nationally, 55% among minibus taxi users) and not obeying the rules of the road (48% nationally and 43% among minibus taxi users).

## Taxi-Related Crime and Violence

- On average, approximately one in two or 50% of all national respondents had witnessed or experienced some taxi-related illegality.
- The most common of these infringements was a taxi driver breaking the rules of the road, which 74% of all respondents (and 70% of minibus taxi users) said they had seen or experienced.
- A majority of all respondents (52%) said they had seen or experienced a road accident for which a taxi driver was responsible (48% of minibus taxi users).
- 43% of all respondents said they had witnessed or experienced a taxi driver offering a bribe to avoid a fine (47% of minibus taxi users); 44% said they had witnessed or experienced a taxi driver being unable to produce a driver's licence (47% of minibus taxi users) and 45% said they witnessed or experienced taxi-related violence (43% of minibus taxi users).

## METHODOLOGY

The poll was conducted between 26 November 2018 and 4 December 2018. The sample was fully demographically representative and comprised citizens over 18 years of age. A total of 1,237 respondents were questioned. The margin of error for the national sample was 3.4%. Supplementing this were two fully demographically representative sub-samples for KwaZulu-Natal (sample size: 409) and Gauteng (sample size: 505), both also comprising citizens over 18 years of age. The margin of error for the KwaZulu-Natal sub-sample was 5.4%, and for the Gauteng sub-sample, 4.8%. The confidence level is 95%. The poll was conducted telephonically, using a single frame, random digit-dialling sampling design. Briefly: The sampling frame consists of every potential cell phone number in existence in South Africa, from which a probability sample is drawn. This approach ensures that every number stands an equal chance of being included in the study, which is the most basic condition that must be met for survey results to be generalizable to the population from which a sample is drawn. A fuller explanation of the methodology is available on request. The poll was conducted by Victory Research.

### Interpretation:

This poll is a snapshot in time, in this case of the market between 26 November 2018 and 4 December 2018. Likewise, the numbers presented in the poll are not absolutely definitive. A 3.4% margin of error means that any percentage may, in reality, vary 3.4 percentage points up or down from our finding. A confidence level of 95% means we are confident 95% of the time the findings will never vary more than 3.4 percentage points up or down from reality. When reporting on the poll, it is important to bear these parameters in mind. Finally, the most valuable aspect of any poll is its ability to identify trends and patterns, particularly over time. One should thus avoid ascribing absolute authority to any given single, isolated finding.

### Structure:

The findings below are grouped into four themes: Section 1: general taxi use (a profile of type, frequency, cost of trips, distance travelled), Section 2: road safety (perceptions of road conditions and safety), Section 3: taxi safety (perceptions of concerns and threats to taxi safety) and, Section 4: taxi-related crime and violence (perceptions of illegality and criminal behaviour). Section 1 is limited to the views of those 82% of all respondents who indicated they use some form of taxi service. Sections 2, 3 and 4 represent the views of all respondents, regardless of whether they use taxis or not. In each section, there is however a table summarising the views of just those respondents who use minibus taxis, which was overwhelmingly the most-used taxi mode. Each section comprises a series of tables, the Key Findings for each table and, at the end of each section, some of the most important national trends. The Key Findings for each section are presented without analysis. In this way, it is the purpose of this report to act primarily as a public database from which information can be drawn and used.

## SECTION 1: GENERAL TAXI USE

**TABLE 1.1:** Taxi Use [All Respondents/KwaZulu-Natal/Gauteng]

**Q: Do you ever use a taxi service of any kind, whether it's a minibus, metered taxi, Uber, Lyft or similar, or other private taxis?**

RESPONSE	ALL RESPONDENTS	KWAZULU-NATAL	GAUTENG
Yes	82%	86%	77%
No	18%	14%	23%
Don't know	0%	0%	0%
Refused	0%	0%	0%

### Key Finding:

- 82% of all national respondents made use of some form of taxi service. In KwaZulu-Natal, the number was higher still, at 86%.

**TABLE 1.2.1:** Demographic Profile of All Taxi Users [All Respondents/All Taxi Users]

ALL TAXI USERS [82%]			
GENDER			
Male		Female	
43%		57%	
RACE			
Black	White	Indian	Coloured
85%	5%	2%	8%
AGE			
18 - 29	30 - 44	45 - 64	65 or older
35%	36%	24%	5%

PROVINCE								
Eastern Cape	Free State	Gauteng	KwaZulu-Natal	Limpopo	Mpumalanga	North West	Northern Cape	Western Cape
14%	5%	23%	21%	11%	7%	7%	2%	10%
URBAN/RURAL								
Suburb	Township	City/Town Centre	Informal Settlement	Commercial Farm	Smallholding	Rural Village		
14%	36%	4%	7%	1%	4%	34%		
EDUCATION								
No Formal Education	Grade R through Grade 7	Grade 8 through Grade 11			Grade 12	University Graduate		
3%	15%	38%			39%	4%		
MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME								
Under R1,999 [LSM 1-3]		R2,000 to R7,999 [LSM 4-6]		R5,000 to R19,999 [LSM 7-9]			R20,000 plus [LSM 10]	
30%		44%		8%			6%	
EMPLOYMENT								
Retired	Not Working/Not Looking	Not Working/Looking	Working Formal	Working Informal	Working Own Business Formal	Working Own Business Informal		
9%	15%	40%	19%	12%	2%	3%		

## Key Findings:

- The key demographic features (indicated in green) of those 82% of national respondents who indicated they made use of a taxi service is as follows: They are 57% female; 85% black; 36% between the age of 30 and 44; 23% reside in Gauteng; 36% in a township; 39% have a Grade 12 educational level; 44% have an average household income of between R2,000 and R7,999 per month and 40% are currently unemployed but looking for work.
- Those indicators in orange are significantly close to the primary indicator as to be worth noting: 35% are between the age of 18 and 29; 21% reside in KwaZulu-Natal; 34% in a rural village (the urban/rural divide, if the sub-categories are amalgamated, is 61% urban, 39% rural); 38% have a Grade 8 through 11 educational level and 30% have an average household income under R1,999.
- Thus, the vast majority of taxi users can be said to be black (85%), young (71% below the age of 44), with an educational level of Grade 12 or below (96%), poor or low income (74% with an average household income of below R8,000) and unemployed (55% looking or not looking for work).

**TABLE 1.2.2: Demographic Profile of KwaZulu-Natal Taxi Users [KwaZulu-Natal/All Taxi Users]**

KWAZULU-NATAL ALL TAXI USERS [86%]								
GENDER								
Male				Female				
46%				54%				
RACE								
Black		White		Indian		Coloured		
90%		1%		8%		1%		
AGE								
18 - 29		30 - 44		45 - 64		65 or older		
36%		35%		23%		6%		
PROVINCE								
Eastern Cape	Free State	Gauteng	KwaZulu-Natal	Limpopo	Mpumalanga	North West	Northern Cape	Western Cape
			100%					
URBAN/RURAL								
Suburb	Township	City/Town Centre	Informal Settlement	Commercial Farm	Smallholding	Rural Village		
13%	30%	5%	4%	4%	0%	44%		
EDUCATION								
No Formal Education	Grade R through Grade 7		Grade 8 through Grade 11		Grade 12		University Graduate	
3%	10%		43%		38%		5%	
MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME								
Under R1,999 [LSM 1-3]		R2,000 to R7,999 [LSM 4-6]		R5,000 to R19,999 [LSM 7-9]		R20,000 plus [LSM 10]		
28%		48%		9%		5%		
EMPLOYMENT								
Retired	Not Working/ Not Looking	Not Working/ Looking	Working Formal	Working Informal	Working Own Business Formal	Working Own Business Informal		
9%	14%	45%	14%	13%	1%	4%		

### Key Findings:

- The key demographic features (indicated in green) of those 86% of KwaZulu-Natal respondents who indicated they made use of a taxi service is as follows: They are 54% female; 90% black; 36% between the age of 18 and 29; 43% reside in a rural village; 43% have between a Grade 8 and Grade 11 educational level; 48% have an average household income of between R2,000 and R7,999 per month and 45% are currently unemployed but looking for work.
- Those indicators in orange are significantly close to the primary indicator as to be worth noting: 35% are between the age of 30 and 44; 30% reside in townships (the urban/rural divide, if the sub-categories are amalgamated, is 52% urban, 48% rural) and 38% have a Grade 12 educational level.
- Thus, the vast majority of taxi users in KwaZulu-Natal can be said to be black (90%), young (71% below the age of 44), with an educational level of Grade 12 or below (95%), poor or low income (76% with an average household income of below R8,000) and unemployed (60% looking or not looking for work).



**TABLE 1.2.3: Demographic Profile of Gauteng Taxi Users [Gauteng/All Taxi Users]**

GAUTENG ALL TAXI USERS [77%]								
GENDER								
Male				Female				
48%				52%				
RACE								
Black		White		Indian		Coloured		
81%		14%		2%		3%		
AGE								
18 - 29		30 - 44		45 - 64		65 or older		
30%		37%		27%		6%		
PROVINCE								
Eastern Cape	Free State	Gauteng	KwaZulu-Natal	Limpopo	Mpumalanga	North West	Northern Cape	Western Cape
		100%						
URBAN/RURAL								
Suburb	Township	City/Town Centre	Informal Settlement	Commercial Farm	Smallholding	Rural Village		
24%	54%	5%	10%	0%	2%	3%		
EDUCATION								
No Formal Education	Grade R through Grade 7		Grade 8 through Grade 11		Grade 12		University Graduate	
2%	6%		31%		51%		10%	
MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME								
Under R1,999 [LSM 1-3]		R2,000 to R7,999 [LSM 4-6]		R5,000 to R19,999 [LSM 7-9]		R20,000 plus [LSM 10]		
20%		44%		10%		14%		
EMPLOYMENT								
Retired	Not Working/Not Looking	Not Working/Looking	Working Formal	Working Informal	Working Own Business Formal	Working Own Business Informal		
8%	10%	33%	27%	12%	5%	4%		

**Key Findings:**

- The key demographic features (indicated in green) of those 77% of Gauteng respondents who indicated they made use of a taxi service is as follows: They are 52% female; 81% black; 37% between the age of 30 and 44; 54% reside in townships; 51% have between a Grade 12 educational level; 44% have an average household income of between R2,000 and R7,999 per month and 33% are currently unemployed but looking for work.
- Those indicators in orange are significantly close to the primary indicator as to be worth noting: 35% are between the age of 30 and 44; 30% reside in townships (the urban/rural divide, if the sub-categories are amalgamated, is 52% urban, 48% rural) and 38% have a Grade 12 educational level.
- Thus, the vast majority of taxi users in Gauteng can be said to be black (81%), young (67% below the age of 44), with an educational level of Grade 12 or below (90%), poor or low income (64% with an average household income of below R8,000) and unemployed (43% looking or not looking for work).

**TABLE 1.3:** Type of Taxi Service [All Respondents/KwaZulu-Natal/Gauteng]

**Q: If you do use a taxi service, which kind of taxi service do you use?**

RESPONSE	ALL RESPONDENTS [82%]	KWAZULU-NATAL [86%]	GAUTENG [77%]
Minibus	64%	72%	55%
Metered	3%	3%	2%
Uber, Lyft or similar	7%	8%	13%
High-end private taxis	5%	1%	3%
Other	2%	2%	3%
Don't know	0%	0%	0%
Refused	0%	0%	0%

**Key Findings:**

- Of the 82% of national respondents who said they made use of some form of taxi service, the overwhelming majority (64%) made use of minibus taxis. In KwaZulu-Natal the percentage was higher still (72%) and in Gauteng, lower (55%).
- The second most common kind of service used was Uber, Lyft or similar services (7% nationally, 8% in KwaZulu-Natal and 13% in Gauteng).

**TABLE 1.4:** Frequency of Use [All Respondents/KwaZulu-Natal/Gauteng]

**Q: How often do you use taxis?**

RESPONSE	ALL RESPONDENTS [82%]	KWAZULU-NATAL [86%]	GAUTENG [77%]
More than once a day	21%	23%	23%
Once a day	6%	4%	6%
Two or three times a week	25%	27%	21%
Monthly	23%	26%	18%
Yearly	6%	5%	8%
Don't know	1%	1%	1%
Refused	0%	0%	0%

**Key Findings:**

- Of the 82% of national respondents who said they made use of some form of taxi service, the majority used that service “two or three times a week” (25%). In KwaZulu-Natal the respective percentage stood at 27% and in Gauteng, 21%. The majority of Gauteng taxi users made use of taxi services “more than once a day” (23%).
- If one takes a broader view of the results, 52% of national taxi users make use of a taxi service at least once a week, if not more. In KwaZulu-Natal the combined percentage is 54%, and in Gauteng, 50%.

**TABLE 1.5: Average Distance Travelled [All Respondents/KwaZulu-Natal/Gauteng]****Q: How long is the distance that you travel in your typical taxi trip?**

RESPONSE	ALL RESPONDENTS [82%]	KWAZULU-NATAL [86%]	GAUTENG [77%]
5km or less	12%	11%	10%
5km to 10km	13%	15%	12%
10km to 20km	18%	19%	19%
20km to 50km	16%	19%	19%
50km or more	14%	14%	11%
Don't know	8%	8%	5%
Refused	0%	0%	0%

**Key Findings:**

- Of the 82% of national respondents who said they made use of some form of taxi service, 18% used the service for an average trip distance of 10km to 20km, 16% for a distance of 20km to 50km and 14% for a trip distance of 50km or more. The corresponding percentages for KwaZulu-Natal were: 19% (10km to 20km), 19% (20km to 50km) and 14% (50km or more). In Gauteng the corresponding numbers were 19% ((10km to 20km), 19% (20km to 50km) and 11% (50km or more).
- If one takes a broader view, nationally 25% of respondents believe their average taxi trip to be 10km or less (26% in KwaZulu-Natal and 22% in Gauteng), while nationally 48% of respondents believe their average taxi trip to be in excess of 10km (52% in KwaZulu-Natal and 49% in Gauteng).

**TABLE 1.6: Average Cost of Trip [All Respondents/KwaZulu-Natal/Gauteng]****Q: How much do you pay for your typical taxi trip?**

RESPONSE	ALL RESPONDENTS [82%]	KWAZULU-NATAL [86%]	GAUTENG [77%]
R10 or less	8%	7%	6%
R10 to R20	31%	28%	27%
R20 to R50	25%	26%	23%
R50 to R100	10%	15%	11%
R100 or more	9%	9%	10%
Don't know	0%	1%	0%
Refused	0%	0%	0%

## Key Findings:

- Of the 82% of national respondents who said they made use of some form of taxi service, 31% said their average taxi trip cost them between R10 and R20 (in KwaZulu-Natal 28% and Gauteng 27%). A further 25% of national taxi users paid between R20 and R50 for their average taxi trip (26% in KwaZulu-Natal and 23% in Gauteng).
- Taking a broader view, 64% of national taxi users said they paid R50 or less for their average taxi trip (in KwaZulu-Natal 61% and in Gauteng 56%).

**TABLE 1.7:** All Taxi Users Satisfaction [All Respondents/KwaZulu-Natal/Gauteng]

**Q: On a scale of zero to 100, where 0 is completely dissatisfied, 50 is neither unsatisfied nor satisfied, and 100 completely satisfied, how satisfied or unsatisfied are you with taxis as a method of public transportation in general?**

RESPONSE	ALL RESPONDENTS [82%]	KWAZULU-NATAL [86%]	GAUTENG [77%]
0 to 24: Very unsatisfied	16%	16%	14%
25 to 49: Somewhat unsatisfied	5%	2%	7%
50: Neutral	28%	33%	26%
51 to 75: Somewhat satisfied	5%	4%	9%
76 to 100: Very satisfied	28%	31%	22%
Don't know	0%	0%	0%
Refused	0%	0%	0%

## Key Findings:

- Of the 82% of national respondents who said they made use of some form of taxi service, 33% said they were “somewhat or very satisfied” with this method of transportation (in KwaZulu-Natal 35% and Gauteng 31%).
- In the other direction, of the 82% of national respondents who said they made use of some form of taxi service, 21% said they were “somewhat or very unsatisfied” with this method of transportation (in KwaZulu-Natal 18% and Gauteng 21%).

**TABLE 1.8:** Minibus User Satisfaction [Minibus Users/All Respondents/KwaZulu-Natal/Gauteng]

**Q: If you do use a taxi service, which kind of taxi service do you use? A: Minibus**

RESPONSE	ALL RESPONDENTS [64%]	KWAZULU-NATAL [72%]	GAUTENG [55%]
<b>Q: How often do you use taxis?</b>			
More than once a day	27%	27%	34%
Once a day	6%	5%	7%
Two or three times a week	32%	33%	30%
Monthly	27%	29%	21%
Yearly	6%	4%	7%
<b>Q: How long is the distance that you travel in your typical taxi trip?</b>			
5km or less	15%	12%	13%
5km to 10km	17%	15%	17%
10km to 20km	20%	20%	21%
20km to 50km	20%	24%	25%
50km or more	17%	18%	16%
Don't know	11%	11%	8%
<b>Q: How much do you pay for your typical taxi trip?</b>			
R10 or less	9%	9%	8%
R10 to R20	42%	35%	42%
R20 to R50	31%	30%	34%
R50 to R100	10%	17%	10%
R100 or more	8%	9%	6%
<b>Q: How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with taxis as a method of public transportation in general?</b>			
0 to 24: Very unsatisfied	18%	18%	16%
25 to 49: Somewhat unsatisfied	6%	5%	7%
50: Neutral	37%	43%	39%
51 to 75: Somewhat satisfied	6%	4%	11%
76 to 100: Very satisfied	33%	30%	28%

## Key Findings:

- Filtering just for those taxi users who make use of minibus taxis, the trends are broadly the same.
- 64% of those national respondents who used a taxi service, used minibus taxis. Of those 64%, 32% used the service “two or three times a week” (compared to 33% in KwaZulu-Natal and 30% in Gauteng).
- The vast majority of minibus taxi users (65%) used the service once or more a week (in KwaZulu-Natal 65% and Gauteng 71%).
- 40% of national minibus taxi users said their average trip was between 10km and 50km (in KwaZulu-Natal 44% and Gauteng 46%), while 32% said their average trip was 10km or less (in KwaZulu-Natal 27% and Gauteng 30%).
- 42% of national minibus taxi users said they paid between R10 and R20 for their average trip (in KwaZulu-Natal 35% and Gauteng 42%). The vast majority (82%) paid R50 or less per trip (in KwaZulu-Natal 74% and Gauteng 84%).
- 39% of national minibus taxi users were “somewhat or very satisfied” with this method of transportation (in KwaZulu-Natal 34% and Gauteng 39%). In the other direction, 24% of national minibus taxi users were “somewhat or very unsatisfied” with this method of transportation (in KwaZulu-Natal 23% and Gauteng 23%).

## National Trends

- An overwhelming number of South Africans (86%) over the age of 18 make use of some form of taxi transportation.
- Of these taxi users, 64% make use of minibus taxis.
- Those South Africans who use taxis are overwhelmingly black (85%), female (57%), young (71% below the age of 44), with an education level of Grade 12 or below (96%, of which 56% have an educational level of Grade 11 or lower), poor or low income (74% with an average household income of below R8,000) and unemployed (55%, of which 40% are looking for work).
- The average number of trips, for 52% of taxi users (and 65% of minibus users), is one or more times a week. 25% use taxis “two or three times a week” (32% for minibus users).
- The average distance travelled on a taxi trip, for 48% of taxi users, is in excess of 10km (57% for minibus users). 25% of taxi users said their average trip was 10km or less (32% for minibus users).
- The average cost of a taxi trip, for 56% of taxi users, was between R10 and R50 (73% for minibus users). 39% of taxi users paid R20 or less for a trip (32% of minibus users).
- A slim majority of all taxi users (33%) were “somewhat or very satisfied” with taxis as a mode of transport (39% of minibus users), while 21% of all taxi users were “somewhat or very unsatisfied” with taxis as a mode of transport (24% of minibus users).

## SECTION 2: PERCEPTIONS OF ROAD SAFETY

**TABLE 2.1:** How Safe do South African Roads Feel? [All Respondents/KwaZulu-Natal/Gauteng]

**Q: On a scale of zero to 100, how safe or unsafe do you feel South Africa's roads are?**

RESPONSE	ALL RESPONDENTS	KWAZULU-NATAL	GAUTENG
0 to 24: Very unsafe	20%	13%	20%
25 to 49: Somewhat safe	9%	6%	11%
50: Neutral	46%	49%	39%
51 to 75: Somewhat safe	6%	9%	10%
76 to 100: Very safe	18%	22%	20%
Don't know	0%	0%	0%
Refused	0%	0%	0%

### Key Findings:

- 29% of all national respondents said South African roads feel “very or somewhat unsafe” (in KwaZulu-Natal 19% and Gauteng 31%).
- In the other direction, 24% of all national respondents said South African roads feel “very or somewhat safe” (in KwaZulu-Natal 29% and Gauteng 30%).

**TABLE 2.2:** Biggest Threats to Road Safety [All Respondents/KwaZulu-Natal/Gauteng]

**Q: Which TWO of the following are the biggest threats to road safety:**

RESPONSE	ALL RESPONDENTS	KWAZULU-NATAL	GAUTENG
Potholes	31%	25%	31%
Broken traffic lights	6%	4%	5%
Bad or broken road signs	6%	8%	5%
Speeding	26%	22%	23%
Bad/illegal driving	28%	28%	33%
Drunk driving	53%	64%	47%
Lack of traffic police	14%	15%	11%
Unroadworthy vehicles	12%	12%	14%
Trucks	8%	9%	9%
Motorcycles	2%	2%	3%
Taxis	7%	6%	13%
Bicycles	2%	2%	3%
Other	2%	1%	1%
Only one chosen	1%	2%	1%
Don't know	1%	0%	1%

### Key Findings:

- Asked to identify two of the biggest threats to road safety, an overwhelming 53% of all national respondents identified drunk driving as either the biggest or second biggest threat (in KwaZulu-Natal, significantly, 64% and Gauteng 47%)
- After drunk driving, potholes (31%), bad or illegal driving (28%) and speeding (26%) were identified by all national respondents as either the biggest or second biggest threat to road safety.

**TABLE 2.3:** Minibus-User Road Safety Perceptions [Minibus Users/All Respondents/KwaZulu-Natal/Gauteng]

**Q: If you do use a taxi service, which kind of taxi service do you use? A: Minibus**

RESPONSE	ALL RESPONDENTS [64%]	KWAZULU-NATAL [72%]	GAUTENG [55%]
<b>Q: Which TWO of the following are the biggest threats to road safety:</b>			
Potholes	31%	23%	30%
Broken traffic lights	7%	4%	6%
Bad or broken road signs	7%	9%	6%
Speeding	26%	22%	27%
Bad /illegal driving	25%	27%	29%
Drunk driving	56%	69%	55%
Lack of traffic police	14%	14%	12%
Unroadworthy vehicles	11%	14%	11%
Trucks	8%	9%	8%
Motorcycles	3%	2%	4%
Taxis	4%	3%	5%
Bicycles	3%	1%	4%
<b>Q: On a scale of zero to 100, how safe or unsafe do you feel South Africa's roads are?</b>			
0 to 24: Very unsafe	19%	13%	18%
25 to 49: Somewhat safe	6%	3%	6%
50: Neutral	48%	53%	39%
51 to 75: Somewhat safe	6%	7%	10%
76 to 100: Very safe	21%	24%	27%

### Key Findings:

- Filtering just for those taxi users who make use of minibus taxis, the trends are broadly the same.
- 56% of all minibus taxi users identify drunk driving as the biggest or second biggest threat to road safety (in KwaZulu-Natal, significantly, 69% and Gauteng 55%).
- Drunk driving is followed by potholes (31%); speeding (26%) and bad or illegal driving (25%).
- 25% of all minibus taxi users feel South African roads are “very or somewhat unsafe” (in KwaZulu-Natal 16% and Gauteng 24%).
- In the other direction, 27% of all minibus taxi users feel South African roads are “very or somewhat safe” (in KwaZulu-Natal 31% and Gauteng 37%).

### National Trends

- A small majority of all respondents feel South Africa’s road are more unsafe (29%) than safe (24%).
- Drunk driving is overwhelmingly identified as the biggest threat to road safety both among all national respondents (53%) and minibus taxi users (56%). It is seen as a particularly big threat in KwaZulu-Natal (64% of all KwaZulu-Natal respondents and 69% of all KwaZulu-Natal minibus taxi users), compared to Gauteng (47% of all Gauteng respondents and 55% of all Gauteng minibus taxi users).
- Drunk driving is followed by potholes (31%), bad or illegal driving (28%) and speeding (26%) as the next biggest threats to road safety.
- It is significant that three of the top four biggest threats (with the exception of potholes) involve bad or illegal driving in some form or another.



## SECTION 3: PERCEPTIONS OF TAXI SAFETY

**TABLE 3.1:** How Safe are Taxis? [All Respondents/KwaZulu-Natal/Gauteng]

**Q: On a scale of zero to 100, how safe or unsafe do you believe taxis to be?**

RESPONSE	ALL RESPONDENTS	KWAZULU-NATAL	GAUTENG
0 to 24: Very unsafe	24%	21%	29%
25 to 49: Somewhat unsafe	8%	6%	13%
50: Neutral	39%	41%	33%
51 to 75: Somewhat safe	4%	5%	5%
76 to 100: Very safe	24%	26%	18%
Don't know	1%	1%	1%
Refused	0%	0%	0%

### Key Findings:

- 32% of all national respondents believe taxis to be “very or somewhat unsafe” (in KwaZulu-Natal 27% and Gauteng, significantly, 42%).
- In the other direction, 28% of all respondents believe taxis to be “very or somewhat safe” (in KwaZulu-Natal 31% and Gauteng 23%).

**TABLE 3.2:** What are the Biggest Safety Concerns? [All Respondents/KwaZulu-Natal/Gauteng]

**Q: What is your main safety concern when using taxis?**

RESPONSE	ALL RESPONDENTS	KWAZULU-NATAL	GAUTENG
Being in an accident	37%	38%	37%
Being assaulted by another passenger or the taxi driver or his staff	12%	17%	11%
Being a victim of violence between taxis	14%	13%	15%
Being mugged, robbed or assaulted while walking to or from the taxi	11%	9%	9%
Other	3%	4%	1%
Don't know	4%	5%	3%
Refused	2%	1%	1%

### Key Findings:

- A majority of all national respondents feel that the possibility of being involved in a road accident is their biggest concern when it comes to taxi use (in KwaZulu-Natal 38% and Gauteng 37%).
- The next three categories – being assaulted (12%), a victim of taxi-related violence (14%) or assaulted while waiting for a taxi (11%) – are all identified to more or less the same degree by all national respondents.

**TABLE 3.3: Biggest Threats to Taxi Safety [All Respondents/KwaZulu-Natal/Gauteng]**

**Q: Which TWO of the following do you believe are the biggest problems with taxi road safety today?**

RESPONSE	ALL RESPONDENTS	KWAZULU-NATAL	GAUTENG
Overloading	50%	49%	47%
Unroadworthy taxis	26%	26%	38%
Not obeying the rules of the road	48%	40%	56%
Drunk driving	49%	57%	38%
Taxi violence	19%	21%	15%
Other	2%	3%	2%
Only one chosen	3%	2%	3%
Don't know	1%	1%	1%
Refused	1%	0%	0%

**Key Findings:**

- The top three problems with taxi safety, as identified by all national respondents, are closely clustered, and significantly higher than their counterparts.
- 50% of all national respondents identified overloading of taxis as the biggest or second biggest problem with taxi safety (in KwaZulu-Natal 49% and Gauteng 47%).
- Overloading was followed closely by drunk driving (49%) and not obeying the rules of the road (48%).
- These two issues fluctuated significantly in the two provinces. In KwaZulu-Natal, 40% of all respondents identified not obeying the rules of the road as the biggest or second biggest problem, compared to 56% of all Gauteng respondents.
- When it came to drunk driving, 57% of all KwaZulu-Natal respondents identified it as the first or second biggest problem, compared to 38% of Gauteng respondents.

**TABLE 3.4: How Roadworthy are Taxis? [All Respondents/KwaZulu-Natal/Gauteng]**

**Q: On a scale of zero to 100, how roadworthy or unroadworthy do you think taxis generally are?**

RESPONSE	ALL RESPONDENTS	KWAZULU-NATAL	GAUTENG
0 to 24: Very unroadworthy	16%	12%	22%
25 to 49: Somewhat unroadworthy	8%	8%	14%
50: Neutral	45%	46%	40%
51 to 75: Somewhat roadworthy	7%	9%	7%
76 to 100: Very roadworthy	22%	23%	16%
Don't know	1%	1%	1%
Refused	1%	1%	1%

**Key Findings:**

- 24% of all national respondents believe taxis are generally “very or somewhat unroadworthy” (in KwaZulu-Natal 20% and Gauteng, significantly, 36%).
- In the other direction, 29% of all national respondents believe taxis are generally “very or somewhat roadworthy” (in KwaZulu-Natal 32% and Gauteng 23%).

**TABLE 3.5:** How Aggressive are Taxi Drivers? [All Respondents/KwaZulu-Natal/Gauteng]

**Q: On a scale of zero to 100, how aggressive or unaggressive do you think taxi drivers generally are?**

RESPONSE	ALL RESPONDENTS	KWAZULU-NATAL	GAUTENG
0 to 24: Very unaggressive	12%	9%	7%
25 to 49: Somewhat unaggressive	4%	2%	8%
50: Neutral	34%	30%	26%
51 to 75 Somewhat aggressive	7%	5%	11%
76 to 100: Very aggressive	42%	52%	47%
Don't know	1%	2%	2%
Refused	0%	0%	0%

### Key Findings:

- 16% of all national respondents believe taxi drivers are “very or somewhat unaggressive” (in KwaZulu-Natal 11% and Gauteng 15%).
- In the other direction, 49% of all national respondents believe taxi drivers are “very or somewhat aggressive” (in KwaZulu-Natal 57% and Gauteng 58%).

**TABLE 3.6:** How Much do you Trust a Taxi Driver? [All Respondents/KwaZulu-Natal/Gauteng]

**Q: On a scale of zero to 100, how much do you trust or distrust that taxi drivers will drive safely and responsibly?**

RESPONSE	ALL RESPONDENTS	KWAZULU-NATAL	GAUTENG
0 to 24: Very untrustworthy	23%	24%	30%
25 to 49: Somewhat untrustworthy	8%	6%	10%
50: Neutral	46%	50%	39%
51 to 75: Somewhat trustworthy	4%	3%	7%
76 to 100: Very trustworthy	18%	17%	13%
Don't know	1%	0%	1%
Refused	0%	0%	0%

### Key Findings:

- 31% of all national respondents believe taxi drivers are “very or somewhat untrustworthy” when it comes to driving safely and responsibly (in KwaZulu-Natal 30% and Gauteng, significantly, 40%).
- In the other direction, 22% of all national respondents believe taxi drivers are “very or somewhat trustworthy” when it comes to driving safely and responsibly (in KwaZulu-Natal 20% and Gauteng 20%).

**TABLE 3.7:** Minibus Users' Taxi Safety Perceptions [Minibus Users/All Respondents/KwaZulu-Natal/Gauteng]

**Q: If you do use a taxi service, which kind of taxi service do you use? A: Minibus**

RESPONSE	ALL RESPONDENTS [64%]	KWAZULU-NATAL [72%]	GAUTENG [55%]
<b>Q: On a scale of zero to 100, how safe or unsafe do you believe taxis to be?</b>			
0 to 24: Very unsafe	22%	18%	24%
25 to 49: Somewhat unsafe	7%	5%	10%
50: Neutral	40%	43%	40%
51 to 75: Somewhat safe	4%	4%	6%
76 to 100: Very safe	27%	30%	19%
<b>Q: What is your main safety concern when using taxis?</b>			
Being in an accident	45%	43%	47%
Being assaulted by another passenger or the taxi driver or his staff	15%	19%	18%
Being a victim of violence between taxis	17%	17%	20%
Being mugged, robbed or assaulted while walking to or from the taxi	12%	9%	9%
<b>Q: Which TWO of the following do you believe are the biggest problems with taxi road safety today?</b>			
Overloading	50%	47%	47%
Unroadworthy taxis	23%	25%	31%
Not obeying the rules of the road	43%	38%	50%
Drunk driving	55%	64%	46%
Taxi violence	21%	22%	19%
<b>Q: On a scale of zero to 100, how roadworthy or unroadworthy do you think taxis generally are?</b>			
0 to 24: Very unroadworthy	14%	11%	17%
25 to 49: Somewhat unroadworthy	6%	5%	7%
50: Neutral	48%	52%	44%
51 to 75: Somewhat roadworthy	7%	7%	8%
76 to 100: Very roadworthy	25%	23%	23%
<b>Q: On a scale of zero to 100, how aggressive or unaggressive do you think taxi drivers generally are?</b>			
0 to 24: Very unaggressive	13%	11%	9%
25 to 49: Somewhat unaggressive	4%	2%	7%
50: Neutral	36%	32%	30%
51 to 75 Somewhat aggressive	5%	2%	5%
76 to 100: Very aggressive	41%	52%	48%
<b>Q: On a scale of zero to 100, how much do you trust or distrust that taxi drivers will drive safely and responsibly?</b>			
0 to 24: Very untrustworthy	19%	20%	20%
25 to 49: Somewhat untrustworthy	6%	5%	7%
50: Neutral	51%	53%	48%
51 to 75: Somewhat trustworthy	4%	3%	8%
76 to 100: Very trustworthy	19%	19%	17%

## Key Findings

- Filtering just for those taxi users who make use of minibus taxis, the trends are broadly the same.
- 29% of all minibus taxi users believe taxis to be “very or somewhat unsafe” (in KwaZulu-Natal 23% and Gauteng, significantly, 34%).
- In the other direction, 31% of all minibus taxi users believe taxis to be “very or somewhat safe” (in KwaZulu-Natal 34% and Gauteng 25%).
- 45% of all minibus taxi users identify being in an accident as their biggest concern when it comes to taxi safety (in KwaZulu-Natal 43% and Gauteng 47%).
- 50% of all minibus taxi users identify drunk driving as the biggest or second biggest problem with taxi safety today (in KwaZulu-Natal, significantly, 64% and Gauteng 46%), followed by overloading (50% nationally, 47% in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng) and not obeying the rules of the road (43% nationally, 38% in KwaZulu-Natal and 50% in Gauteng).
- 20% of all minibus taxi users believe taxis are generally “very or somewhat unroadworthy” (in KwaZulu-Natal 16% and Gauteng 24%).
- In the other direction, 32% of all minibus taxi users believe taxis are generally “very or somewhat roadworthy” (in KwaZulu-Natal 30% and Gauteng 31%).
- 17% of all minibus taxi users believe taxi drivers are “very or somewhat unaggressive” (in KwaZulu-Natal 13% and Gauteng 16%).
- In the other direction, 46% of all minibus taxi users believe taxi drivers are “very or somewhat aggressive” (in KwaZulu-Natal 54% and Gauteng 54%).
- 25% of all minibus taxi users believe taxi drivers are “very or somewhat untrustworthy” when it comes to driving safely and responsibly (in KwaZulu-Natal 25% and Gauteng 27%).
- In the other direction, 23% of all minibus taxi users believe taxi drivers are “very or somewhat trustworthy” when it comes to driving safely and responsibly (in KwaZulu-Natal 22% and Gauteng 25%).

## National Trends

- While there are relatively low perceptions of taxi safety among all national respondents (32% believe taxis “very or somewhat unsafe” and 31% believe that taxi drivers are “very or somewhat untrustworthy” with regard to driving safely and responsibly), when it comes to their perceptions of the consequences, regards taxis roadworthiness and taxi driving, the numbers are high to very high.
- 49% of all national respondents (and 46% of minibus taxi users) believe taxi drivers are “very or somewhat aggressive”. 37% of all national respondents (and 45% of minibus taxi users) are primarily concerned they will be involved in a road accident. 50% of all national respondents (and 50% of minibus taxi users) identify overloading as the biggest problem with taxi safety, along with drunk driving (49% nationally, 55% among minibus taxi users) and not obeying the rules of the road (48% nationally and 43% among minibus taxi users).

## SECTION 4: PERCEPTIONS OF TAXI VIOLENCE AND CRIME

**TABLE 4.1:** How Often Have you Seen Taxi Drivers Driving Illegally? [All Respondents/KwaZulu-Natal/Gauteng]

**Q: Have you ever seen a taxi driver breaking the rules of the road?**

RESPONSE	ALL RESPONDENTS	KWAZULU-NATAL	GAUTENG
Very often	38%	31%	55%
Often	22%	25%	22%
Rarely	14%	16%	10%
Never	25%	27%	11%
Don't know	0%	0%	1%
Refused	0%	0%	0%

### Key Findings:

- 74% of all national respondents said they had witnessed a taxi driver breaking the rules of the road. 38% said they had seen this “very often”, 22% “often” and 14% “rarely”.
- 54% of all national respondents said they had witnessed a taxi driver breaking the rules of the road “very often” or “often”.
- 25% of all respondents said they had “never” seen a taxi driver break the rules of the road.
- In KwaZulu-Natal, 72% of all respondents said they witnessed a taxi driver breaking the rules of the road. In Gauteng, 87% of all respondents said they had witnessed a taxi driver breaking the rules of the road, of which, significantly, 55% said they had witnessed this “very often”.

**TABLE 4.2:** Taxi Driver Culpability for Road Accidents [All Respondents/KwaZulu-Natal/Gauteng]

**Q: Have you ever seen or experienced a road accident in which the taxi driver was responsible for the accident?**

RESPONSE	ALL RESPONDENTS	KWAZULU-NATAL	GAUTENG
Very often	11%	8%	14%
Often	16%	15%	23%
Rarely	25%	20%	25%
Never	47%	56%	37%
Don't know	1%	1%	1%
Refused	0%	0%	0%

## Key Findings:

- 52% of all national respondents said they had witnessed or experienced a road accident for which a taxi driver was responsible. 11% said they had experienced this “very often”, 16% “often” and 25% “rarely”.
- 27% of all national respondents said they had witnessed or experienced a road accident for which a taxi driver was responsible “very often” or “often”.
- 47% of all national respondents said they had “never” witnessed or experienced a road accident for which a taxi driver was responsible.
- In KwaZulu-Natal, 43% of all respondents said they had witnessed or experienced a road accident for which a taxi driver was responsible. In Gauteng, significantly, 62% of all respondents said they had witnessed or experienced a road accident for which a taxi driver was responsible.

**TABLE 4.3:** Have you Ever Seen a Taxi Driver Pay a Bribe? [All Respondents/KwaZulu-Natal/Gauteng]

**Q: Have you ever seen or experienced a taxi driver giving a traffic officer a bribe to avoid a fine?**

RESPONSE	ALL RESPONDENTS	KWAZULU-NATAL	GAUTENG
Very often	16%	11%	21%
Often	14%	11%	22%
Rarely	13%	13%	14%
Never	56%	63%	42%
Don't know	0%	1%	0%
Refused	0%	1%	0%

## Key Findings:

- 43% of all national respondents said they had seen or experienced a taxi driver giving a bribe to avoid a fine. 16% said they had experienced this “very often”, 14% “often” and 13% “rarely”.
- 30% of all national respondents said they had seen or experienced a taxi driver giving a bribe to avoid a fine “very often” or “often”.
- 56% of all national respondents said they had “never” seen or experienced a taxi driver giving a bribe to avoid a fine.
- In KwaZulu-Natal, 35% of all respondents said they had seen or experienced a taxi driver giving a bribe to avoid a fine. In Gauteng, significantly, 57% of all respondents said they had seen or experienced a taxi driver giving a fine to avoid a fine.

**TABLE 4.4:** Seen a Taxi Driver Unable to Produce a Driver's Licence? [All Respondents/KwaZulu-Natal/Gauteng]

**Q: Have you ever seen or experienced a taxi driver stopped by a traffic officer who could not produce a driver's licence?**

RESPONSE	ALL RESPONDENTS	KWAZULU-NATAL	GAUTENG
Very often	11%	6%	13%
Often	15%	17%	20%
Rarely	18%	17%	16%
Never	54%	59%	49%
Don't know	1%	1%	2%
Refused	0%	0%	0%

### Key Findings:

- 44% of all national respondents said they had seen or experienced a taxi driver stopped by a traffic officer and unable to produce a driver's licence. 11% said they had seen this "very often", 15% "often" and 18% "rarely".
- 26% of all national respondents said they had seen or experienced a taxi driver stopped by a traffic officer and unable to produce a driver's licence "very often" or "often".
- 54% of all national respondents said they had "never" seen or experienced a taxi driver stopped by a traffic officer and unable to produce a driver's licence.
- In KwaZulu-Natal, 40% of all respondents said they had seen or experienced a taxi driver stopped by a traffic officer and unable to produce a driver's licence. In Gauteng, 49% of all respondents said they had seen or experienced a taxi driver stopped by a traffic officer and unable to produce a driver's licence.

**TABLE 4.5:** Witnessed Taxi-Related Violence? [All Respondents/KwaZulu-Natal/Gauteng]

**Q: Have you ever seen or experienced taxi-related violence?**

RESPONSE	ALL RESPONDENTS	KWAZULU-NATAL	GAUTENG
Very often	10%	8%	11%
Often	15%	14%	19%
Rarely	20%	16%	25%
Never	55%	62%	46%
Don't know	0%	0%	0%
Refused	0%	0%	0%

### Key Findings:

- 45% of all national respondents said they seen or experienced taxi-related violence. 10% said they had experienced this "very often", 15% "often" and 20% "rarely".
- 25% of all national respondents said they had seen or experienced taxi-related violence "very often" or "often".
- 55% of all national respondents said they had "never" seen or experienced taxi-related violence.
- In KwaZulu-Natal, 38% of all respondents said they had seen or experienced taxi-related violence. In Gauteng, significantly, 55% of all respondents said they had seen or experienced taxi-related violence.



**TABLE 4.6:** Minibus-User Taxi Crime Perceptions [Minibus Users/All Respondents/KwaZulu-Natal/Gauteng]

**Q: If you do use a taxi service, which kind of taxi service do you use? A: Minibus**

RESPONSE	ALL RESPONDENTS [64%]	KWAZULU-NATAL [72%]	GAUTENG [55%]
<b>Q: Have you ever seen a taxi driver breaking the rules of the road?</b>			
Very often	30%	24%	44%
Often	24%	26%	26%
Rarely	16%	18%	14%
Never	29%	31%	14%
<b>Q: Have you ever seen or experienced a road accident in which the taxi driver was responsible for the accident?</b>			
Very often	8%	5%	10%
Often	14%	15%	19%
Rarely	26%	20%	27%
Never	52%	59%	44%
<b>Q: Have you ever seen or experienced a taxi driver giving a traffic officer a bribe to avoid a fine?</b>			
Very often	18%	11%	26%
Often	15%	12%	25%
Rarely	14%	14%	16%
Never	53%	61%	33%
<b>Q: Have you ever seen or experienced a taxi driver stopped by a traffic officer who could not produce a driver's licence?</b>			
Very often	12%	6%	16%
Often	15%	19%	22%
Rarely	20%	18%	19%
Never	53%	56%	42%
<b>Q: Have you ever seen or experienced taxi-related violence?</b>			
Very often	9%	6%	11%
Often	14%	13%	17%
Rarely	20%	17%	25%
Never	57%	64%	48%

## Key Findings

- Filtering just for those taxi users who make use of minibus taxis, the trends are broadly the same.
- 70% of all minibus taxi users said they had seen a taxi driver breaking the rules of the road. 30% said they had experienced this “very often”, 24% “often” and 16% “rarely”.
- 29% of all minibus users said they had “never” seen or experienced a taxi driver breaking the rules of the road.
- 48% of all minibus taxi users said they had seen or experienced a road accident for which a taxi driver was responsible. 8% said they had experienced this “very often”, 14% “often” and 26% “rarely”.
- 22% of all minibus taxi users said they had seen or experienced a road accident for which a taxi driver was responsible “very often” or “often”.
- 52% of all minibus taxi users said they had “never” seen a road accident for which a taxi driver was responsible.
- 47% of all minibus taxi users said they had seen or experienced a taxi driver giving a bribe to avoid a fine. 18% said they had experienced this “very often”, 15% “often” and 14% “rarely”.
- 53% of all minibus taxi users said they had “never” seen or experienced a taxi driver giving a bribe to avoid a fine.
- 47% of all minibus taxi users said they had seen or experienced a taxi driver stopped by a traffic officer and unable to produce a driver’s licence. 12% said they had experienced this “very often”, 15% “often” and 20% “rarely”.
- 53% of all minibus taxi users said they had “never” seen or experienced a taxi driver stopped by a traffic officer and unable to produce a driver’s licence.
- 43% of all minibus taxi users said they seen or experienced taxi-related violence. 9% said they had experienced this “very often”, 14% “often” and 20% “rarely”.
- 57% of all minibus taxi users said they had “never” seen or experienced taxi-related violence.

## National Trends

- On average, approximately one in two or 50% of all national respondents had witnessed or experienced some taxi-related illegality.
- The most common of these infringements was a taxi driver breaking the rules of the road, which 74% of all respondents (and 70% of minibus taxi users) said they seen or experienced.
- A majority of all respondents (52%) said they had seen or experienced a road accident for which a taxi driver was responsible (48% of minibus taxi users).
- 43% of all respondents said they had witnessed or experienced a taxi driver offering a bribe to avoid a fine (47% of minibus taxi users); 44% said they had witnessed or experienced a taxi driver unable to produce a driver’s licence (47% of minibus taxi users) and 45% said they witnessed or experienced taxi-related violence (43% of minibus taxi users).
- At a provincial level, there was a significant spike in these trends in Gauteng.
- 87% of all Gauteng respondents said they had witnessed or experienced a taxi driver breaking the rules of the road (compared to 72% in KwaZulu-Natal); 62% had witnessed or experienced a road accident for which a taxi driver was responsible (compared to 43% in KwaZulu-Natal); 57% had witnessed or experienced a taxi driver offering a bribe to avoid a fine (compared to 35% in KwaZulu-Natal); 49% said they had witnessed or experienced a taxi driver unable to produce a driver’s licence (compared to 40% in KwaZulu-Natal) and 55% said they had witnessed or experienced taxi-related violence (compared to 38% in KwaZulu-Natal). All of these differentials exceed the margin of error for each sample and are thus statistically significant.