RESEARCH PAPER

Unpacking implementation

The case of the MyCiTi Bus Rapid Transit in Cape Town

ISSUE 32
Unpacking implementation

The case of the MyCiTi Bus Rapid Transit in Cape Town

Date: 15/06/2015

Country: South Africa

Authors:

Michael Boulle, ERC UCT

Philip van Ryneveld, Hunter van Ryneveld (Pty) Ltd

Reviewers: Lisa Kane, Independent and Hilton Trollip, ERC UCT

© MAPS [2015]

Disclaimer: the contents of these briefings are the responsibility of the authors, and the views expressed therein those of the author alone.

The following citation should be used for this document:

Boulle, M., van Ryneveld, P. 2015. Unpacking implementation – understanding the case of the MyCiTi. Cape Town. MAPS.
Table of Contents

1. Introduction 1
2. MyCiTi – the story so far 6
   2.1 National transport policy and objectives 7
   2.2 TransMilenio: The Bogota experience 8
   2.3 Funding and subsidies 9
   2.4 The role of ITDP throughout 10
   2.5 Transport week and ‘The Green Book’ 11
   2.6 Engaging the minibus taxi industry 12
   2.7 MyCiTi management 14
   2.8 The post-2010 MyCiTi 16
3. Lessons learnt from the MyCiTi experience – key factors for implementation 17
   3.1 A capable city government 17
   3.2 A single-tier city government 17
   3.3 National government support 18
   3.4 Leadership 19
   3.5 The project team 20
   3.6 Addressing industry transition 20
   3.7 The World Cup 22
4. Conclusions 23
5. References 24
6. List of interviews 26
1. INTRODUCTION

This case study of the implementation of the MyCiTi Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system in Cape Town is one of a series of studies within the MAPS Programme (http://www.mapsprogramme.org/) which seek to identify key drivers and barriers that have contributed to or hindered the implementation in developing countries of past or current interventions which have climate mitigation benefits. Collectively, the case studies inform a comparative research paper, which aims to collate insights and draw lessons on the ‘implementability’ of climate projects within national planning processes.

While the MAPS Programme is concerned with incorporating climate change mitigation into long-term planning, the MyCiTi project, as with a number of the other cases, was not conceived primarily as a mitigation activity, but was driven by other policy priorities. Nevertheless, as further phases are rolled out, it will have significant long-term mitigation co-benefits arising from changes in mobility choices and urban form in Cape Town. It thus demonstrates how, in South Africa, as in many other developing country contexts, the success of implementing projects with mitigation benefits is often largely dependent on the ability of such actions to align with other policy priorities.

Whilst the study does make observations related to the project’s success, the objective of the research is not to evaluate whether the MyCiTi BRT is successful in terms of transport objectives, but rather to understand the reasons for its implementation, from its initial conceptualisation as a project, to its entrenchment as a key element within Cape Town’s public transport system.

1.1 Background

The implementation of a BRT project had been attempted previously in Cape Town by the Provincial Government of the Western Cape (Wood, 2014a), but the initial conceptualisation of the MyCiTi project can be traced directly to January 2007, when a proposal was put to the then Mayor of Cape Town, Helen Zille, initiating a process which eventually saw the first vehicles running in May 2010 as part of transport arrangements in support of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. This was followed by an incremental expansion of services, based on interim contractual arrangements, leading eventually in October 2013 to the signing of 12-year contracts with three companies to provide ongoing vehicle operations for the first of four envisaged phases, thus signalling the entrenchment of MyCiTi within Cape Town’s public transport system. Figure 1 illustrates the coverage of the four phases of the MyCiTi, as envisaged at the time of implementation of the first phase.
As at April 2015 the roll out of Phase One is still underway, but substantially complete. The system now carries approximately 54 000 passengers per weekday, with services provided by a fleet (including engineering spares) of 214 vehicles, employing over 402 drivers. This will rise to 336 vehicles carrying an expected 85 000 passengers per day once Phase One and the small N2 Express service are fully in place. The core of the service currently is a 26 km trunk route running northwards from the Waterfront to the City Centre and along the west coast to the informal settlement of Dunoon, with major transfers to feeder networks occurring at Tableview. However, the network is significantly larger, consisting of 28 routes and stretching from Hout Bay, south west of the city centre, to Atlantis to the north of the city. There is also an airport service and an express route (referred to as the N2 Express) running to the southeast along the highway to Mitchell’s Plain and Khayelitsha, which is where most of the city’s low-income population resides. Further trunks are being constructed, linking Montague Gardens (an industrial area) and Century City (a large commercial and residential area) to the system (CCT, 2015).

Phase 1 and the N2 Express currently consist of 35 enclosed stations, with fare verification occurring on the station, thus allowing for rapid boarding and alighting. This will rise to 40 stations on completion of Phase 1 and the N2 Express. There are currently 630 stops, rising to approximately 720 on completion (CCT, 2015).
Figure 2: MyCiTi bus running in its dedicated roadway towards Tableview

Figure 3: Route Map of MyCiTi as at March 2015
Part of the significance of the MyCiTi project is that it is leading a larger initiative to transform public transport in Cape Town over a period of at least 15 years, including a major renewal of commuter rail services as well as the establishment of the City of Cape Town municipality as the key locus of responsibility for public transport in the metropolitan area. In line with the National Land Transport Act (Act 5 of 2009), this is expected to include the transfer of authority of all road-based public transport contracts from provincial government to the City and facilitate the integrated management of all public transport services, including the regulation of informal sector minibus taxi services, under a single authority allowing, inter alia, for integrated ticketing and timetabling. To this end, Transport for Cape Town was established as a directorate within the city administration from 2013. Transport for Cape Town includes both the roads and storm water services of the City of Cape Town as well as the public transport-related services. Prior to the implementation of the MyCiTi project the City of Cape Town had no responsibility for operating any public transport systems other than a very limited Dial-a-Ride service for disabled people; their responsibilities were confined to the management of taxi ranks together with a fairly limited public transport planning function.

A key element of the MyCiTi project has been the implementation of a card-based automated fare system, which is intended to be extended to all public transport services in the city over time as part of the intended establishment of seamless, modally integrated travel across the metropolitan area in future. In line with national regulations, the system uses bank cards, rather than cards issued by MyCiTi itself. Bank card-based systems for public transit - integrated into the wider retail payments system - are relatively new internationally; thus the MyCiTi system represents pioneering technology in this regard.1

Two of the three private companies now providing MyCiTi vehicle services are owned and run by the previous informal minibus taxi operators that the system has replaced, representing arguably the largest single black economic empowerment business initiative in Cape Town since the end of apartheid in 1994.

While, as indicated at the outset, this study does not seek to evaluate MyCiTi from a transport perspective but rather as a case study on implementation, key criticisms of the project should also be noted. These include whether the BRT model as implemented is appropriate to the Cape Town context, whether the re-organisation of informal minibus taxi operators into formal companies has truly been to the benefit of all such operators, and whether routes selected for Phase 1 adequately serve low-income communities in Cape Town (Schalekamp and Behrens, 2013). Perhaps the most significant questions have related to costs. Capital investment for Phase 1 totalled R5.786 billion, including nearly R800 million paid in compensation to existing informal sector operators in order to buy out their operating licences and capitalise the new vehicle operating companies. Ongoing operational subsidies are also high (CCT 2015).2 Nevertheless, the project has found widespread approval resulting in the City of Cape Town now commencing with the implementation of Phase 2, albeit with a number of design changes aimed at addressing Phase 1 shortcomings. Phase 2 represents the area of highest public transport demand in the city, including the large residential areas of Khayelitsha and Mitchell’s Plain.

---

1 The fare system won the international Mastercard award in 2014 for the best bank based fare system project in the world and has been shortlisted for the 2015 award.

2 While these costs should be viewed against the high costs of alternatives such as rail or the costs of an extensive private vehicle road network, the operating subsidy requirement does represent an ongoing risk which will need to be managed.
1.2 Research approach

This research began with discussions within the MAPS implementation research team aimed at identifying a set of case studies to better understand implementation in the South African context. Theoretical frameworks intended to guide the analysis were also examined. In order to investigate the case of the MyCiTi, Michael Boulle, a researcher at the Energy Research Centre, within which the MAPS programme is housed, was joined by Philip van Ryneveld (former Chief Financial Officer of the City of Cape Town and current partner with Hunter van Ryneveld (Pty) Ltd) to undertake the research.

Based on initial discussions and the literature review, a series of open-ended interviews was conducted with a number of stakeholders who have been involved in the MyCiTi project, representing a varied set of perspectives. This was intended as a means to construct a textured analysis of some of the unique features that have contributed to the implementation as achieved up until now.

What follows is a narrative that has been constructed (based on the data sources discussed) setting out the evolution of the MyCiTi from the initial idea to the signing of the long term operating contracts in October 2013. A set of lessons learned are presented, highlighting key factors that helped drive implementation.

Primary research question

- What were the key drivers behind the implementation of Cape Town’s MyCiTi?

Secondary research questions

- What can we learn about implementation from the specific case of the MyCiTi?
- What were some of the barriers to implementation that needed to be overcome to allow the project to proceed?
- What were the key policies and who were the key actors in the implementation of the MyCiTi?
2. **MYCITI – THE STORY SO FAR**

This section describes the evolution of the MyCiTi from the introduction of the BRT concept to South Africa, to the signing of the long-term operating contracts between the City of Cape Town and vehicle operating companies (VOCs).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Timeline of milestones for the MyCiTi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>November 2006</strong> - City of Johannesburg completes scoping study to re-configure their Strategic Public Transport Network plans into the Rea Vaya BRT project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>April 2007</strong> - Green Book launched and Transport Week held in Cape Town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substantial PTISG allocations made to the City of Cape Town (CCT) for the period 2007-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007-8 representatives from CCT and minibus taxi industry go on study tours to Bogota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>October 2008</strong> – Public information meeting disrupted by representatives from the minibus taxi industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>February 2009</strong> - Draft Prospectus released by CCT to guide negotiations with the minibus taxi industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NLTA 2009</strong> passed providing for devolution of responsibility for public transport to municipal government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mike Marsden appointed as project manager, cost reappraisal conducted, stringent reporting system introduced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>April 2010</strong> – An additional R3.42 billion allocated by national government to the PTISG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>July 2010</strong> – Detailed draft business plan presented for implementation of the full Phase 1 of MyCiTi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>May 2011</strong> - Table View trunk route begins operating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ongoing negotiations around the long term operating contracts between VOCs and CCT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1 is a timeline summarising the events within the MyCiTi.

2.1 National transport policy and objectives

The decision in August 2008, by the Council of the City of Cape Town for its administration to proceed with the initial phase of the implementation of Cape Town’s Integrated Rapid Transit System (IRT), subsequently to be branded MyCiTi, marks the official formal initiation of the project (CCT, 2011). Phase 1A had two major aims: firstly to fulfil the requirements of the 2010 World Cup Host City Transport Operations Plan; secondly, to begin developing an improved public transport network for Cape Town, leveraging the investment made for the FIFA World Cup (CCT, 2012). In addition it was consistent with wider national policy objectives.

South African cities reflect severe inequality of access to opportunities, due to a combination of urban form and differing levels of mobility amongst citizens. Like other South African cities, Cape Town’s urban form is significantly influenced by apartheid policies, which sought to segregate the population, based on race, and placed low-income communities, in particular, far from the urban centre. This was combined with a strong private car orientation from the 1960s onwards, underpinned by substantial investment in roads and highways, leading to low densities and travel patterns which are difficult to service cost-effectively with public transport (Walters, 2008).

In post-apartheid South Africa, three significant national policy initiatives have sought to address this challenge, including a White Paper on National Transport Policy (1996), a study which sought to build on this known as Moving South Africa (1999), and the Public Transport Strategy and Action Plan (PTSAP) (2007). This Public Transport Strategy and Action Plan (PTSAP), was developed by the National Department of Transport (NDoT), and after a process of public consultation was approved in 2007 by Cabinet (Pillay and Seedat, 2007).

Through three phases from 2007 to 2020, the Plan aimed to develop ‘integrated rapid public transport networks’ (IRPTNs) for the major cities in South Africa, as well as develop systems that are suitable for smaller urban and rural areas (Pillay and Seedat, 2007). It also sought to provide a strategy whereby projects implemented to serve the 2010 FIFA World Cup, could be configured so as to align with a longer-term strategy and plan (NDoT, 2007).

The objectives contained in the PTSAP can be summarised as follows (NDoT, 2007):

- 85% of all residents within 1km of Rapid PT Network by 2020.
- Upgraded modal fleet, facilities, stops and stations.
- Extended hours of operations (16-24 hours).
- Peak frequencies (5-10 minutes) – off-peak frequencies (10-30 minutes).
- Full special needs and wheelchair access.
- Safe and secure operations monitored by a control centre.
- Electronic fare integration when making transfers.
- Integrated feeder services including walking, cycling and taxi networks.
- Integration with metered taxi services and long distance intercity services.
- Car-competitive public transport options enabling strict peak period car use management.

Combined with these service characteristics was an emphasis on the creation of multi-modal public transport networks to be managed by metropolitan and city-wide local government. The PTSAP identified the need for clarity of accountability for
IRPTNs (NDOT, 2007). The decision to make city government the key locus of responsibility for public transport was driven by challenges arising from the existing fragmentation of such responsibility between national, provincial and local government, and was consistent with the intentions of the *White Paper on National Transport Policy* (1996) and the National Land Transport Act (Act 22 of 2000). Given South Africa’s widely drawn urban local government boundaries, the cities were viewed as the optimal locus of responsibility, enabling public transport to be integrated with land use planning and other built environment related responsibilities.

### 2.2 TransMilenio: The Bogota experience

While the PTSAP does not articulate it directly, national government thinking was strongly informed by the BRT concept as implemented in Bogota, Colombia, around 2000. Apart from Bogota, BRT was already a growing feature of public transport systems in many parts of the developing world in particular, having originated in Curitiba, Brazil, and now found across not only Latin America, but also Asia (Wood, 2014b).

This model can be thought of as a metropolitan light rail-type service, but using the city’s road system. Main trunk routes run on dedicated roadways thus avoiding congestion and significantly increasing travel speeds. The trunk routes run in the road median because this minimises interference with left-turning vehicles. Boarding is from enclosed stations in the median, with users showing their tickets as they enter the station rather than as they enter the bus, with the result that many passengers can board and alight in a very short time. The short dwell times at stations combined with the dedicated roadways result in a rapid service which not only enhances traveller convenience but reduces the fleet size required to run a route and thus costs; since in peak periods there is potential for vehicles to return to the origin and serve the forward direction a second time. In the Bogota model, which was subsequently followed by South Africa, fares are collected by an agency independent of the vehicle operator, which enables vehicle operators to be paid on a per kilometre or on a similar basis. This in turn means that more than one operator can be active in the same area, something which is not feasible in a traditional approach where the operators’ income depends on collection of the farebox, since to do so would lead to destructive and dangerous competitive practices as is evident in the informal minibus taxi industry. Having multiple operators in an area provides scope for managed competition, avoiding the monopolisation inherent in traditional bus models (Institute for Transportation & Development Policy [ITDP], 2007).

The BRT concept was presented by the ITDP to the South African government in 2006 at a time when traffic congestion was worsening due to the rise in private vehicle ownership associated with a growing middle class, and was forecast to increase exponentially.\(^3\) There was a realisation in the NDoT and city transport departments that expanding the road network would not alleviate the congestion; instead, a sufficiently attractive alternative was required to entice private vehicle users away from their cars, and prevent existing public transport users from moving to private vehicles. The existing buses and trains were unlikely to induce this shift, but BRT could, it was thought, be such an alternative.\(^4\)

Alongside this, the hope that the efficiencies it brought through its competitive business model and its faster speeds leading to reduced fleet size; would help contain the need for transport subsidies even while delivering a much higher quality of services, was key in developing support for the BRT concept.\(^5\)

---

\(^3\) Interview 6.
\(^4\) Interview 6.
\(^5\) Interview 6.
2.3 Funding and subsidies

Both rail and existing formal bus services in South Africa receive significant subsidies. The majority of road-based public transport users commuting to work do not, however, use the formal buses, but rather the unsubsidised informal minibus taxi services. The following chart shows the composition of modes for travelling to work in Cape Town in 2013, according to the 2013 National Household Travel Survey. When looking at the national modal split, the picture is different: train – 5%, Bus – 7.6%, taxi – 26.5% (NDoT, 2014).

![Modal split for travel to work in Cape Town](image)

Figure 4: Modal share for work commuters in Cape Town (NDoT, 2014).

This has led to ongoing pressure to subsidise the minibus taxi industry. The vision that by bringing minibus taxi operators in as owners and operators of the new BRT systems they could indeed receive subsidies, but within a much improved system that was also able to contain subsidy requirements, was a crucial motivation behind support for BRT. For a variety of reasons this envisaged containment of the subsidy requirement has not materialised as anticipated either in Cape Town or elsewhere in the country. The latest information indicates that fares on the Dunoon-Tableview-Civic Centre trunk route, which is the key route displaying BRT characteristics in MyCiTi Phase 1, are now covering direct operating costs. Contrastingly, the feeder routes, which are more like conventional bus services, are showing significant losses. The continued subsidy requirements have resulted in questioning about the appropriateness of the BRT model and debate as to how it can be adapted to contain costs, but this paper does not seek to address this issue.

---

6 The total annual Public Transport Operating Grant paid to the Provincial Government of the Western Cape for operational subsidies for bus services, of which almost all is paid to Golden Arrow Bus Services for services supplied within the area of the City of Cape Town, was R796 million in 2015/16 (Division of Revenue Bill 2015). Rail subsidies flow through the Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (PRASA) and are not made public by region.

7 Interviews 6 and 7.

8 Interview 9.

9 For a discussion of subsidies in the Cape Town context see City of Cape Town 2015, especially chapter 9 and Annexure J: Making MyCiTi Financially Sustainable.
The alignment of BRT investment with the 2010 FIFA World Cup played a significant role in ramping up national support for the PTSAP. National government was seeking to leverage the FIFA World Cup to bring about long-term benefits. By producing a strategy and plan that could contextualise investments made in transport arrangements to host the FIFA World Cup within a longer-term vision of transforming public transport in the major cities, the transport sector was able to attract significant portions of the funding that national government was prepared to allocate to the World Cup. While the largest proportion of this funding went to the Gautrain, the PTSAP was also a major beneficiary. Funding for FIFA 2010 World Cup city transport projects and funding for the implementation of the strategy and action plan were combined within the single vehicle of the Public Transport Infrastructure and Systems Grant (PTISG). The initial allocation under the PTISG for municipalities for the period 2007-2010 was R5.5 billion, which was later increased (NDoT, 2007).

Thus the central thrust of the PTSAP became the implementation of such systems in all South Africa’s main cities, backed by significant funding made available to cities implementing the program through the PTISG.

### 2.4 The role of ITDP throughout

The development of BRT systems in Latin America and elsewhere has demonstrated their value as a solution for urban road-based public transport systems. Given this success, it is now widely cited as best practice for public transport in developing countries (Wood, 2014b). The BRT concept was introduced to South Africa by the ITDP, a New York-based non-government organisation and lobby group, which included influential individuals such as the former mayor of Bogota, Enrique Penalosa, during whose term as mayor the TransMilenio BRT system was implemented, and Lloyd Wright (international transport expert). ITDP has played a key role in promoting the concept of BRT worldwide. In South Africa ITDP was instrumental in introducing the concept at both national and city level and played an important role in its implementation, particularly in the initial stages, first in Johannesburg and subsequently in Cape Town (Wood, 2014a). It was ITDP who arranged a series of study tours to Bogota especially for representatives from the City of Johannesburg in 2006 and 2007 to visit the TransMilenio system (Wood, 2014b).

While support at national government for the BRT concept grew, it was Johannesburg that was the first city to adopt the concept, beginning in late 2006 to conceptualise, with the assistance of ITDP, what was to become the Rea Vaya project.

Lloyd Wright played a key role in bringing the BRT idea to Cape Town. According to Wood (2014a), in order to translate the international concept of BRT into a local municipal project in South Africa, Wright required assistance from local actors. One of these was Philip van Ryneveld, a former Chief Financial Officer of the City of Cape Town, who, inter alia, set up a meeting in January 2007 between the then Mayor of Cape Town, Helen Zille, Lloyd Wright and Ibrahim Seedat, who was the official within the NDoT responsible for driving the PTSAP, where Lloyd Wright presented the concept to the Mayor (Wood, 2014a). The Mayor signalled her initial support and requested further work be done to elaborate on the idea. This preliminary work culminated in the production of *The Green Book – City of Cape Town Public Transport Implementation Framework* in 2007 (CCT, 2007).  

---

10 Interview 8.
11 The role of ITDP and the manner in which the BRT concept was introduced into South Africa and adopted, including in Cape Town, is dealt with in detail by Astrid Wood in various published articles – see Wood A (2014a and 2014b).
12 The Green Book was compiled by Lloyd Wright with the assistance of Charles Fuller, Zaida Tofie and Philip van Ryneveld – all local consultants.
2.5 Transport week and ‘The Green Book’

The process accompanying the development of the Green Book informed a ‘Transport Week’ held in April 2007 in Cape Town. While the City of Cape Town was run by the opposition Democratic Party, the guest speaker invited to open the Transport Week along with the Mayor, was Jeremy Cronin. Cronin was a leading figure in the South African Communist Party and key member of the African National Congress (ANC) led alliance, which was the ruling party in the national legislature. At the time he was the Chair of the National Legislature Transport Portfolio Committee in the national parliament, and subsequently became Deputy Minister of Transport in the national government (Wood, 2014a).

The Green Book – City of Cape Town Public Transport Implementation Framework was launched at the Transport Week. The Green Book was not only about implementing BRT in Cape Town but sought to present a plan for a high quality IRPTN in Cape Town. It noted that the existing public transport system was characterised by poor operations, and safety and security concerns. There was fragmentation of authority with no coordinating body entrusted with the responsibility of integrating the planning, fares and operations of the different public transport modes available across the city, resulting in a disjointed public transport system. This system was predominantly utilised by captive users, who, as soon as circumstances permitted, would purchase a private vehicle so as to be no longer dependent on public transport (CCT, 2007).

The network improvements proposed by the Green Book consisted of (CCT, 2007):

- Improvements in the rail services in accordance with an existing Regional Rail Plan, with a focus on high-demand corridors.
- Development of a bus service consisting of trunk routes (based on segregated median bus-ways and pre-board fare collection), conventional services (where designated lanes are not feasible), and feeder services (that connect customers to the trunk services).
- Complementary services to ensure integration between modes, such as park-and-ride facilities, metered taxis, bicycle and pedestrian infrastructure.

The plan noted that to achieve the multiple objectives within available resources, a phased approach was essential, and prioritised those services required for the 2010 FIFA World Cup (CCT, 2007). In essence the Green Book represented the vision as set out in the PTSAP and developed by the NDoT, applied to the context of Cape Town.

As demonstrated by their subsequent support, the Transport Week proved successful in establishing the BRT concept in the minds of the councillors of the City of Cape Town. It also resulted in the Mayor inviting Lloyd Wright to come to Cape Town and help the City in getting the project going. He agreed to this, resulting in his employment by the City of Cape Town from October 2007 until 2009 (Wood, 2014a). Given that the intention was to launch a service in time for the World Cup starting in June 2010, the project had to be implemented within tight timeframes, yet the process of even procuring consultants to work on the detail of the project was a slow one. In the initial months the project was run by Wright assisted mainly by a key, experienced transport engineer within the City, Ron Haiden, who drove the infrastructure design and implementation. However, in the first half of 2008 various consultants began to be contracted, initially to assist in the operations design and subsequently to support the institutional and business elements of the project. A local consortium of consultants managed

---

13 South Africa has three tiers of government which are elected independently of one another. As is the case in Cape Town, it is possible for a city to be run by a different political party from that running national government.

14 Interviews 5–8.
to procure the services of a number of firms and individuals who had been involved in the Colombian TransMilenio project, including the first managing director of the public agency responsible for TransMilenio, and individuals from ITDP.\textsuperscript{15}

The implementation of any significantly new urban transport initiative is always complex. Simply appropriating space to run a dedicated roadway for public transport vehicles along a key existing trafficked route is a major challenge under the best of circumstances. In this regard, the MyCiTi planners were fortunate in being able to take over an old disused rail line through the Paarden Eiland industrial area, accounting for a significant part of the initial sections of what otherwise would have been a highly challenging area to build through. Despite this, there were many obstacles to overcome. In one instance a bridge had to be constructed because the process to buy the existing occupiers out of a lease would not have been able to be completed in time for the 2010 deadline.

\section*{2.6 Engaging the minibus taxi industry}

At the heart of the IRPTN programme – alongside the recapitalisation of rail services, which are run by a national agency – was the implementation of BRT networks (Schalekamp and Behrens, 2010). Part of the transformation of the public transport system was the reform of the minibus taxi industry, an informal industry which, according to Khosa (1992), dates back to as early as the 1920s, although it was then limited to a few independent operators. The industry really began to establish itself in the 1960s, to provide for a market that emerged from the relocation of the black urban population and inadequate public transport to serve these communities (Barrett, 2003). Nationally it is now responsible for the largest share of public transport trips in the country, although, as indicated above, rail still had the largest modal share of public transport in Cape Town in 2013, according to the NHTS (NDoT, 2014). The vision of the BRT project – both at national and local levels – was that existing bus and taxi operators should run the new services. Part of an agreement to run the new services would include operators discontinuing their existing services (giving up their licences and vehicles, for which they would be compensated). However, the proposed reform was met by considerable opposition from the taxi industry. Bringing the industry on board was dependent on the attractiveness of the new opportunities offered to them, including compensation as well as the opportunity to be shareholders in the new vehicle operating companies, and the way in which the City engaged with the industry (Schalekamp and Behrens, 2013).

In developing the highly contested compensation model, national government made a public commitment to the existing taxi operators that they would be no worse off in terms of income and employment opportunities, as a result of participating in the new system (CCT, 2010; NDoT, 2006; Viva, 2007). The compensation model had two main elements, generating a total compensation value which owners then had the option to exchange for an equity stake in the newly formed operating company capitalising the company in the process, or to take as cash and leave the sector (Schalekamp and Behrens, 2013). The first element was a calculation of the monetary value of the vehicle which operators had to surrender to the City. Drawing on the experience from the taxi recapitalisation scheme,\textsuperscript{16} this was fairly simple (CCT, 2010). However, the more contentious and difficult process was determining the value of the businesses for which operators had to be compensated. Based on detailed surveys, the monthly profits of operators were calculated based on income earned, market share held, and operating

\textsuperscript{15} A tender to provide business planning services was won by a consortium called the Cape Town BRT Joint Venture consisting of three firms, namely Axios Consulting, Hunter van Ryneveld, and Webber Wentzel. Sub-contractors to the joint venture included, inter alia, Walter Hook and other individuals from ITDP, and a Colombian firm (GSD+) and a Brazilian firm (Logit) that included individuals who had played a significant role in the establishment of Transmilenio in Bogota.

\textsuperscript{16} The Taxi Recapitalisation Programme introduced in 1999 and had the intention of legalising the minibus taxi industry through the formalisation of the business model and labour operations, and in order to bring about a fleet renewal, provide a scrapping allowance for old vehicles (Walters, 2008).
expenses. To arrive at the future profit foregone, monthly profits were then multiplied by the validity period of each license (CCT, 2010; Schalekamp and Behrens, 2013).

Many of the participants in the minibus taxi industry are not vehicle owners, but drivers, or mechanics. Their interests were addressed by requiring that firms winning BRT linked tenders, such as vehicle operations or station management services, were required to employ the majority of their workers from those previously employed in those taxi operations.

The minibus taxi sector in Cape Town, as elsewhere in the country, has a reputation for high levels of volatility, often leading to violent conflicts over routes. Organising the industry into companies able to run an integrated BRT network represents a significant departure from their historic business model, and a complex process. The diversity and fragmentation within the industry has added to the complexity of the negotiations to reach consensus between all affected parties on a way forward (Schalekamp and Behrens, 2010). The sustained facilitated dialogue between the City and the taxi industry has been an essential part of the contentious negotiations process, with multiple challenges. This process is still continuing in order to determine the participation of the industry in upcoming phases.¹⁷

In October 2008 the first public information meeting was held in Bloubergstrand to inform residents of the proposed BRT system. The meeting was disrupted by minibus taxi operators, who refused to allow the presentation to proceed. A month later, a minibus taxi summit with 300 representatives of the broader minibus taxi industry was also disrupted. The disruptions, which reflected a long history of mistrust between government and the taxi industry, were motivated by those taxi associations who felt their members had been excluded from the first phase negotiations (Schalekamp and Behrens, 2010).

Despite the antagonism, the City officials did have a history of engaging with the leadership of the taxi associations, mainly around managing taxi ranks and issuing permits to operate, as well as conducting surveys to assess permit applications.¹⁸ In order to contain the negotiations and keep the numbers of people they engaged with manageable, the City took a decision to engage with the industry at the level of associations, and to do so primarily with those directly affected by the proposed Phase 1 of the project. Although this meant that not all the diverse range of views constituting the industry were present in negotiations (Schalekamp and Behrens, 2013), the fact that the leadership was extensively engaged with was crucial to the progress that has been achieved so far.

In order to enhance the understanding of BRT amongst stakeholders in South Africa, study tours by a number of cities to Latin America were conducted. In 2007 and 2008, political and technical officials and minibus taxi industry representatives from Cape Town went on study tours to visit BRT systems in Brazil, Colombia and Ecuador (Wood, 2014b; Haferburg and Huchzermeyer, 2015). These tours demonstrated the successes achieved by BRT systems in Latin American cities. They tended to convey the positive image of the BRT systems studied, rather than the difficulties they experienced as well, but did give industry participants a much clearer understanding of what was being proposed (Wood, 2014b; Haferburg and Huchzermeyer, 2015). Despite these efforts to bring the minibus taxi industry on board, disruptions instigated by those within the industry who felt threatened by the MyCiTi project or excluded from the process, continued.

In February 2009 the city issued a draft prospectus to be used as a basis for negotiations with the industry setting out how the new system was envisaged to be run, including the role of existing operators in it. Thus began a long and complex process of engagement and negotiation which was to conclude only in October 2013 when long term contracts were eventually signed.

¹⁷ Interview 8.
¹⁸ Interview 6.
with two companies consisting of former minibus taxi operators (TPI and Kidgrogen), and a company largely consisting of Golden Arrow Bus Services (the legacy formal bus operator in the City) called TBART (CCT, 2015).

2.7 MyCiTi management

The official decision to proceed with the first phase of MyCiTi was taken by the full Council of the City of Cape Town on 27 August 2008, allowing for the implementation of Phase 1A (CCT, 2012). However, in the course of 2009 it became evident that there would be substantial cost and time overruns, and by September 2009 the project was in danger of potential termination. But two key developments in subsequent months re-established momentum. Firstly, the project was brought under the responsibility of an experienced official, Mike Marsden,19 who was also part of the team responsible for the City’s 2010 FIFA World Cup stadium. He led an intensive two-week re-appraisal of costs, developing a number of different scenarios. At this point a priority became to decide how to address requirements that the City had committed to for staging of the World Cup; and making use of infrastructure that had already been constructed, while minimising the City’s financial exposure. While it was clear that it was impossible to begin using the trunk route from the city centre to Tableview in time for the World Cup, construction of this route was already substantially underway.

Although the project was supported by substantial grants from national government, there was no legal guarantee that funds earmarked in the outer years of its medium-term expenditure framework would actually be forthcoming. Even implementing the minimalist scenarios involved the City in finding bridging funds in order to be able to purchase vehicles to provide a World Cup service.

In late October 2009 the City Council resolved to continue with the project, limiting initial implementation to that covered by the R1 956 million national funding already allocated from project conception, together with Council contributions totalling R341 million (Council report TR&S 21/08/09) and providing initial services to meet the agreed FIFA requirements for hosting of the World Cup. It also resolved that an Integrated Rapid Transit (IRT) sub-committee be established within the City’s Executive Management Team (the most senior administrative committee) ensuring both transport and financial oversight, and that a detailed re-assessment of the project be undertaken under its auspices (CCT, 2010a).

The second key development was that the national budget published in February 2010, and gazetted in April, allocated to the project R3 425 million through the PTISG for the period 2010/11 to 2012/13, representing an increase of R1 903 million over the amounts previously gazetted for that period (CCT, 2012). This financial boost at a critical stage of the project not only meant that the project did not have to resort to the least ambitious scenario for Phase 1, but also demonstrated strong support from national government – well beyond any World Cup commitments. This suggested that the City could move ahead with the project with confidence. From the start of the project to end June 2014 national government allocated a total of R5 091 million to the project (CCT, 2015).

In agreeing to take responsibility for the project, Marsden was able to get support for a number of measures, including putting in place comprehensive project management mechanisms. A dedicated IRT Project Team was now established with a project manager, professional project management support services, work stream managers and seconded specialists both from within the city and external consultants. A strong reporting structure, including measures to closely track project finances, was put in place to keep councillors and other decision makers fully informed. Alignment with a committee responsible for the 2010 FIFA World Cup, which included the Deputy Mayor, Ian Neilson, who was also the mayoral committee member for

19 Interviews 2, 4 and 5.
finance, meant that key decisions were able to be taken quickly and authoritatively. Processes were put in place not only to keep the City of Cape Town informed, but also to engage with key stakeholders outside of the city administration, including the NDoT, National Treasury, Provincial Government of the Western Cape, Taxi Associations and Civic Associations.

Given Marsden’s strong reputation, combined with the size and importance of the project, meant it was possible to attract high quality people when assembling the project team, many of whom came from inside the city administration. The project was further bolstered after the successful completion of the World Cup in July 2010 by being able to attract some of the key managers responsible for the construction of the new World Cup stadium.

Even while the project underwent a critical review and due diligence exercise, measures continued to ensure the delivery of a successful World Cup service. Vehicles were ordered and delivered and negotiations concluded with Transpeninsula Holdings to provide the World Cup services (CCT, 2010b). On 29 May 2010 the first MyCiTi services were launched for the 2010 FIFA World Cup (CCT, 2010b).

Transpeninsula Holdings was a company that had previously been established by members of the Peninsula Taxi Association (PTA) to capitalise on business opportunities in the transport sector, such as through bulk purchase of spares for its members. It effectively represented taxi interests from PTA, combined with two other smaller associations, which collectively managed operators with permits to operate in the central city area. The fact that these taxi interests had already formed a company independently of the MyCiTi project put them a step ahead of other taxi operators who had yet to develop these institutional forms. In April 2010 the name MyCiTi was chosen for the system, along with vehicle livery and other branding features.

In preparation for the World Cup there were a number of test events as prelude to the World Cup ‘peak period’ which ran from 29 May to 17 July 2010. The key feature was a free shuttle service on event days running between the Civic Station, and the stadium. Train services were used to reach the city centre (CBD) and then the MyCiTi service to reach the stadium itself. Services were also provided between the airport and the CBD, as well as an inner city loop service. The MyCiTi services were responsible for 248 156 passenger trips during the World Cup period. The breakdown of these trips is contained in Table 2 (CCT, 2010b).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>World Cup services</th>
<th>Passenger trips</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stadium shuttle</td>
<td>139 991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airport shuttle</td>
<td>12 444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner City Loop</td>
<td>17 444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All other event transport services</td>
<td>78 277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>248 156</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This offered a way of introducing the people of Cape Town to the new system. Many people who do not usually use public transport, together with those who do, but live in areas where the system does not run, were able to experience MyCiTi’s quality service. As reflected in the numbers there was a positive response to the service. The World Cup was also critical in generating support for the project from the minibus taxi industry. For the first time taxi operators were responsible for running a formal, publicly funded public transport service. As part of the World Cup event minibus taxi operators were also contracted to provide the ‘last mile home’ service using their own vehicles (CCT, 2010b).
2.8 The post-2010 MyCiTi

One of the conditions attached to the additional funding made available by national government was that the City should submit a detailed business plan to national government by end July 2010. This was done, but the Council of the City of Cape Town took the view that the full business plan should be published for public comment. While some questioned the fundamentals of the project, most comments received were generally positive but made specific suggestions to enhance the project or object to a particular element. Comment from the NDoT added that the plan ‘in many respects can serve as an example for other South African cities’ (CCT, 2012). National Treasury comments were also positive and confirmed the allocations of additional funding (CCT, 2012). The 2010 Business Plan was thus formally adopted by Council in October 2010 (CCT, 2011). This document, which was amended in 2012 (CCT, 2012) to take into account adjustments arising from the implementation process, then formed the basis for the implementation of Phase 1A which was eventually fully completed by 2014.

With the World Cup over, but the trunk route to Table View not yet fully functional, the City decided to operate a low-level interim service, consisting of the airport to CBD trunk route, and subsequently a limited inner city route. This continued until May 2011, when the trunk route between the CBD and Table View began operating, including a number of feeder services in the central city and Table View areas using the 12-metre buses available. This was an important milestone in that the key benefit of the dedicated roadway, allowing 30-minute trips from Table View to the CBD in the peak, became evident; travel time for motorists in mixed traffic was one-and-a-half hours or more (CCT, 2012).

It was also critical in that the second minibus taxi operator company, Kidrogen, as well as the formal operator, TBART, began operating some of the services. Thus, by now, all three companies with which the City was negotiating long-term contracts were operating the system on an interim contract basis. And from May 2013 a contract for the management of stations took effect; previously stations had been managed on an interim basis by the minibus taxi companies.

From May 2011, when the interim services began, there were ongoing negotiations with the three operators which included both the terms upon which they were to operate the system and the mechanisms for compensating existing operators who were to surrender their operating licences as the new service was implemented. After five years of dialogue, negotiations, and interim contracts, in August 2013, the long-term 12-year contracts were signed between the City and vehicle operating companies (VOCs) of the MyCiTi. This cleared the way for the rollout of Phase 1 services to take place, accompanied by the process of existing minibus taxi operators relinquishing their permits to operate minibus taxis in the area. This was in the form of giving up their vehicles for sale or scrapping, and either investing their compensation payments in the new system or exiting the industry. In addition, bus companies were required to give up subsidies for competing routes (CCT, 2015).
3. LESSONS LEARNT FROM THE MYCITI EXPERIENCE – KEY FACTORS FOR IMPLEMENTATION

There are numerous factors that have been influential in bringing about the implementation of the MyCiTi up until now, a process which still continues, although Phase 1A is now fully implemented. The following section aims to highlight some of the most significant elements that contributed to implementation of the initial phase.

3.1 A capable city government

A project of this nature cannot be implemented successfully without the organization responsible being competent and having the ability and experience to manage projects of this scale. Well-designed and administered systems are crucial in delivering a project as complex as MyCiTi. Many municipalities around the world do not display this level of administrative capability and this is often an underlying limiting factor in implementation of plans.

The City of Cape Town is a large organization, with responsibility for all of Cape Town’s 3.7 million inhabitants has a budget of over R30 billion a year and employs approximately 25 000 people. It has developed a reputation for sound administration, illustrated by the fact that, according to credible annual surveys, in 2012/13 69% of residents rated the City’s performance as either good, very good or excellent, up from 54% in 2008/9. The figure for businesses was 87% (van Ryneveld, 2014).

National Census figures show that while the number of households increased 40.7% in the period 2001 to 2011 – driven mainly by an influx of poor families from rural areas – the proportion of households receiving services has increased (Statistics South Africa, 2001; Statistics South Africa, 2011). The proportion of households with flush toilets connected to sewerage has increased from 85.4% to 88.2%; those with piped water inside the dwelling have increased from 69.4% to 75%; and those with electricity for lighting have increased from 88.8% to 94%.

Many of the challenges that the MyCiTi project presented have been new challenges, related for example to managing the transitioning of the minibus taxi industry into new vehicle operating companies. However, the depth of organisational capacity that existed in other areas made it possible for new competencies to be developed.

3.2 A single-tier city government

The City of Cape Town is a single-tier, metropolitan-wide municipality, which is unusual internationally. In many cases where metropolitan governments exist they form an additional over-arching tier, combining the areas of a number of lower-tier municipalities in order to address issues of metropolitan-wide significance. The South African model emerged as a result of a redesign of city and local government after a new, post-apartheid constitution was adopted in 1996. While it does have local sub-structures, these are relatively weak bodies, with no independent administration and no power to pass budgets. The main purpose of the sub-structures is to help address local planning decisions.

The single-tier metropolitan structure is ideally suited to addressing issues such as public transport because it is able to encompass the full daily movement patterns of the functional area. The devolution of public transport to metropolitan cities is part of an approach, consistent with the constitution, which combines the built environment related functions in a single

---

20 While these surveys are contracted by the City of Cape Town they are conducted by well established private market research companies.
authority. Thus, functions such as land use planning, transport, housing and the infrastructure and service provision, can all be addressed in a combined manner. One of the key benefits of the MyCiTi project is that it represents an important step forward in consolidating the city government’s role as the key locus of responsibility for the built environment related functions.

While more fragmented systems can develop mechanisms whereby the different jurisdictions co-operate to implement public transport projects, the clarity and simplicity of accountability of the single-tier metropolitan system undoubtedly reduced the complexity of implementing a project of this nature.

3.3 National government support

The support of national government for BRT has been a key element in the implementation of MyCiTi. In terms of policy, the *White Paper on National Transport Policy* (1996) and the strategy developed to implement it, *Moving South Africa* (1999) helped lay a foundation for the BRT programme. However, the PTSAP released in 2007 gave the crucial emphasis to BRT itself. The plan presented a vision for developing integrated rapid public transport networks in South African cities, with BRT being part of this network. Essentially it provided the guiding vision for the country, one that municipal governments would be responsible for implementing. An important aspect of the plan was the definition of roles, which sought to achieve clarity of accountability for public transport across different spheres of government. Through addressing this matter in the National Land Transport Act (2009), municipalities were equipped with the necessary mandate to implement BRT projects.

Of paramount importance were the funding streams for the capital financing of infrastructure channelled through the PTISG (NDoT, 2007). Access to funding is crucial for properly initiating any project, and for its sustained progress. MyCiTi would not have been approved by the City of Cape Town at the outset without the funding provided by national government, and without the increased allocations over the course of the first few years, the project would almost certainly have been halted.21 The success that was demonstrated by MyCiTi in terms of incrementally implementing a service, and the fact that it was ahead of all other BRT projects in the country, apart from Rea Vaya in Johannesburg, allowed it to access larger portions of the national funding.22 With more projects across the country now drawing on the same national funding source, the extent of funding is diminishing. With capital and operational costs subsidised to a significant level through national grants in a fiscally constrained national environment, fares, which are generating lower than forecast revenues, and local taxes, which are politically unpopular, the financial well-being of the project going forward is under increasing scrutiny.23 Nevertheless, the funding that enabled Phase 1A and the N2 Express to be implemented has now created a momentum that will not easily be halted.

At the time when the MyCiTi was proposed, Cape Town was – and currently still is – the only municipality under the leadership of the Democratic Alliance, the main opposition party to the African National Congress which holds power at national level. This has not, however, presented any significant obstacles thus far to the strong national support for the project. This is partly because the MyCiTi project was perceived as part of a national programme, which thus played a role in depoliticising the

---

21 Interviews 1–9.
22 Interview 5.
23 Interview 5.
However it is also testimony to a significant degree of political maturity and constitutional rigour in relation to fiscal relations within a decentralised political environment.

### 3.4 Leadership

A project of the scale and complexity of MyCiTi encounters numerous stumbling blocks. To navigate this terrain, leadership has been required at all levels of the project, at different stages.

Helen Zille, the then Mayor of Cape Town, played a pivotal role in grasping the opportunity when it was presented and initiating the project, and in continuing to support it along with representatives and the chair of the political steering committee (Wood, 2014a). These were key figures for championing the project at a political level, providing leadership in resisting external pressures and internally keeping the City of Cape Town supportive of the project, a role which those within the project team could not easily fulfil.

At early stages of project conception the Deputy Minister of Transport, Jeremy Cronin, also played an important leadership role by being supportive of the concept and publicly endorsing Cape Town’s pursuit of the idea, first as part of the transport week hosted by the City of Cape Town in 2007 at which The Green Book – City of Cape Town Public Transport Implementation Framework was launched, which provided the first relatively detailed motivation for the proposed BRT project (Wood, 2014a), and subsequently in his role as Deputy Minister.

Leadership within the project team was as imperative for ensuring a team that functioned well under the pressure of delivering a very substantial project within the designated time frames. It was ultimately up to this team to work together to make the project happen. A crucial moment here was when the project was put under the administrative leadership of Mike Marsden, a highly capable City municipal engineer with many years of project leadership experience. He was a key government official responsible for the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Cape Town, which included responsibility for the construction of the Cape Town Stadium. He took the MyCiTi project over in 2009 at a time when cost overruns threatened to derail it completely, but was able to get it back on track, placing the project on a firm project management footing, with a revised budget and business plan, implementing sound reporting procedures, getting clear political support, building a strong implementation team, and managing it effectively.

While broad support from within government for the project was clear, and vital for the progress of the project, support was also needed across a broad spectrum of other stakeholders. At its inception the MyCiTi was perceived as threat to the minibus taxi industry, and hence opposition from the industry has been a feature. The leadership demonstrated from within the industry has been invaluable, as it has come to terms with the opportunities and challenges of integrating with the MyCiTi. Given the low levels of trust between the taxi industry and government, and within the industry itself, it required strength in leadership amongst key figures within the taxi industry to realise the vision of MyCiTi in the face of intimidation and often strong opposition. Until the project was realised, there were few concrete guarantees for industry participants, for whom it

---

24 Interviews 1 and 3.
25 Interviews 1, 3, 4 and 5.
26 Interview 1.
27 Interviews 1, 2, 4–7 and 9.
28 Interviews 1, 2, 3, 6 and 8.
represented a serious potential threat to their established livelihoods. Without this level of leadership the project would not have been able to move ahead, incorporating the industry and demonstrating the opportunity the project presented for it.²⁹

### 3.5 The project team

The significance of the MyCiTi project team has been alluded to, but warrants specific mention, as the ability of the project to attract a highly competent group of individuals with wide experience was a crucial factor in its implementation.³⁰ During the initial stages Lloyd Wright moved to Cape Town to be part of the project team and played a key role in driving the project from 2007 to 2009. The team also included a mix of local business planning consultants³¹ as well as international consultants, including key people responsible for the TransMilenio system.³² This contributed to a transfer of skills from international to local members of the project team. Subsequently the project was able to draw highly competent officials from within the municipality into the project team, including from the City’s FIFA World Cup project team when it was dismantled after the tournament. A crucial aspect of this was setting up the project outside of the line function departments, thus enabling the project team to focus exclusively on MyCiTi, especially in initial years.

Collectively, significant competencies in the team were demonstrated in terms of technical skills, project management, facilitation expertise, knowledge of the political landscape and the taxi industry.³³ The contribution of the communications officer, who played a key role in the socialisation of the project and building public support needs emphasis here, as this role is often underestimated in a project of this nature.

The high levels of competency in various forms at different levels of the project team equipped the team to deal with the multiple challenges facing it. A strong feature was building on the core competencies possessed and allowing a process of ‘learning by doing’ to build the capacity required to deliver on a project of this complexity.

### 3.6 Addressing industry transition

The further key element was the attention paid to gaining the support of the minibus taxi industry operators and managing the transitioning of the industry into formal vehicle operating companies. Right from the initial stages of the project, the minibus taxi industry was a powerful interest group, holding significant influence over the likelihood of implementation of the MyCiTi. Without the taxi industry on board, the MyCiTi project would almost certainly have been blocked. Furthermore, without the involvement of the taxi industry in the MyCiTi programme, the City would have failed to realise the objectives of transforming public transport, and reforming the taxi industry as outlined in the City’s planning vision.

---

²⁹ Interviews 1 and 8.
³⁰ Interviews 7 and 9.
³¹ The local business planning consultants, which referred to itself as the Cape Town BRT-JV was led by Philip van Ryneveld, a former CFO of the City of Cape Town, Mike Evans, the head of the largest public sector law unit in the country, and Charles Fuller, an experienced transport planner. Other key local consultants included Nico McLachlan and David Schmidt who facilitated the industry transition process.
³² International consultants included, Edgar Enrique Sandoval, who was the first Transmilenio CEO, Fabio Gordillo, who designed its fare systems, Wagner Colombini and Diogo Bareto from Logit, an experienced Brazilian logistics firm, Walter Hook from ITDP, Enrique Penalosa, the former mayor of Bogota amongst others.
³³ Interviews 1–9.
A key challenge of the engagement was to overcome the deep levels of mistrust historically present in the relationship between the City and the taxi industry (Schalekamp and Behrens, 2010; 2013). Because of this mistrust and the highly complex nature of the process, negotiations were only able to evolve slowly and were highly contested, taking almost five years between initial engagements and final signing of long-term vehicle operating contracts.

The low-trust environment had significant implications for how negotiations could be conducted. Despite the lack of trust, the existing relationship between the taxi industry and the City of Cape Town, which was based on their interactions in the issuing of operating licences and management of minibus taxi ranks, did create a foundation for engagement. Although the relationship between the City and minibus taxi industry was an acrimonious one, the City of Cape Town had developed an in-depth knowledge and understanding of the industry based on these engagements.

Out of necessity, an incremental approach was adopted and this was able to achieve a degree of progress, despite sustained opposition. Key initial steps included opening of negotiations with some of the industry players, and a visit to Bogota for some of the operators. But it was the incorporation of the taxi industry in the World Cup services through the short-term contracts for running both the incipient MyCiTi service and the ‘Last mile home’ service which was one of the major turning points in building the support of the industry for the project. The awarding of the interim contracts demonstrated the seriousness of local government’s intentions to involve the taxi industry in the project, and the World Cup provided an example to the taxi industry of the business opportunities available to the industry through participation in MyCiTi. This helped create an environment in which the longer-term negotiations could begin for the eventual goal of awarding the 12-year contracts. Experienced facilitators such as Nico McLachlan and Dave Schmidt were employed to manage the turbulent environment; they were key to shaping a productive negotiation process, resolving conflict and building consensus (Schalekamp and Behrens, 2013).

Given the highly fragmented and diverse nature of the industry, obtaining support has been incremental, and continues today in the negotiations for Phase 2 of MyCiTi. While support was obviously concentrated amongst those that stood to gain from involvement in Phase 1, enough support was spread across the industry to prevent it from being undermined. A particularly challenging aspect is how to incorporate those in the industry that will not be directly affected by the particular phase under negotiation, since they do not qualify for the compensation payments. Such questions are ongoing, and for the most part have only been partially answered. In order to accommodate the needs of the minibus taxi industry in this transition, modes of engagement will need to be

---

34 Interviews 1, 2, 4 and 8.
35 Interviews 6 and 8.
36 Interviews 1 – 3, 5 and 8.
37 Interview 6.
38 Interviews 5 and 6.
39 Interview 5.
adapted continuously, as part of the learning that has been a strong element of this project, to develop the most beneficial solutions and achieve the desired transition.

3.7 The World Cup

The World Cup in 2010 had a number of impacts on the implementation of the MyCity BRT. It enforced an external deadline that had to be adhered to, which ensured that non-delivery was not entertained as an option and created an overriding attitude within the project team of the need to deliver on time, and to do everything necessary to make delivery possible.40

The World Cup phase of the MyCiTi focused on the operation of a limited service, and acted as a pilot. The pilot was ambitious but feasible, and through successfully delivering this service, MyCiTi was able to achieve an impact reaching further than the just the services themselves. It showed the potential of a vastly improved public transport service, and the opportunity to incorporate the taxi industry. The public relations campaign around the World Cup increased the visibility of the new service, and because a broad range of residents utilised the service during the World Cup to reach the stadium public support for the project was strengthened. The construction of the Cape Town Stadium itself also provided valuable experience for team members who subsequently joined the MyCiTi project once the World Cup was over.41

The World Cup had further key relevance in that national government sought to make improved public transport one of the key legacies of the tournament. This translated into a readiness to fund transport projects such as MyCiTi to a degree that may otherwise not have been present (NDOT, 2007; CCT, 2007).

40 Interviews 1–9.
41 Interview 4.
4. CONCLUSIONS

It is clear that there was, and continues to be, no shortage of obstacles and opposition at all stages of the implementation of MyCiTi that, given the project’s complexity, were potentially more than able to derail the project. However, a distinguishing feature of the MyCiTi implementation narrative is how the forces for change were able to overcome both the obstacles and the opposition, and devise solutions to the challenges. This study has sought to uncover some of the major factors that were instrumental in achieving implementation up to now. But while the existence of a capable city government was a fundamental prerequisite for success, it appears to have been the unique combination of factors and the sequencing of these, as well as the incremental approach adopted to achieving progress and garnering support that resulted in the implementation that has been achieved to date. This combination of factors makes it difficult to replicate this success – which is not an uncommon feature of case-specific examples of successful implementation.

The implementation process continues to unfold, and new challenges are consistently being confronted. It remains to be seen whether the MyCiTi project will be able to navigate its way successfully through this evolving landscape. It is evident that the project itself has created expectations around what public transport services in Cape Town can offer, and built a team of competent individuals which has significantly altered the trajectory of public transport development in Cape Town.
5. REFERENCES


City of Cape Town. 2015. MyCiTi Business Plan Update Phase 1A, 1B and N2 Express. City of Cape Town.


van Ryneveld, P. 2014. Revenue generation in the City of Cape Town, South Africa; case study prepared for UN Expert Group Meeting on the challenge of local government financing in developing countries, June 25-26, 2014, Barcelona, Spain


6. LIST OF INTERVIEWS

1. Independent facilitator, 18 November 2014.
3. Former Deputy City Manager, City of Cape Town, 26 November 2014.
4. Former Director IRT Implementation, City of Cape Town 26 November 2014.
6. Director IRT Operations, City of Cape Town, 4 February 2015.
8. Researcher, Centre for Transport Studies, University of Cape Town, 24 March 2015.
9. Independent international transport specialist, formerly part of the MyCiTi project team, 17 April 2015