

Assessing Public Transport Policies for Driver Fitness in the South African Road Transport Context

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Abstract: This paper analyses the public transport policies with specific reference to driver fitness. The main purpose of this article is to sketch a holistic policy cycle through a historical overview of policy developments. The complexities of developing policy from the governmental to an operational level were attended to. Directions towards online booking systems and electronic drivers licence cards were established by identifying significant features in the formation of transport policy from the early 1800s to 2022. Primary information was acquired from licensing and road traffic legislation, policy circulars issued by the national Department of Transport as well as official eNaTIS guidelines. The literature found that: (1) the provision of driver fitness and related licensing and transport services remains a crucial challenge for the government, and (2) there is a need for online booking systems and digital driver's licences in all provinces. In essence, the literature review specifies how the history of public transport policies shaped the future of driver fitness in a predominantly new online environment. The primary limitation of this study was that it is a policy review, relying heavily on a document analysis to set the scene for future research. The research results are useful in the legislative environment, law enforcement practice fields, and in scientific research in this area.

Keywords: Driver fitness, Driving licence, eNaTIS, Public transport, NRTA

1. Introduction

Lengthy queues, unjustifiable delays and incorrect details on driver's licence cards are all familiar sights at Driving Licence Testing Centres (DLTCs). Moreover, supervision and authorisation processes seem not to be optimised for the effective issuing of driver's licences. In addition, internal procedures are often not aligned with policy amendments. Although good legislation does not necessarily deliver good services, the question is how transport policies have contributed to the current challenges associated with issuing driver's licences in South Africa.

This paper presents a historical overview of how public transport and driver fitness policy developed in South Africa from 1843 until 2022. The historical overview includes international highlights before developments in South Africa and underscores significant periods in the development of driver licence related matters. The historical overview is presented in chronological order: the first commissions of inquiry in the transport environment; significant developments in the 1980s and 1990s; towards sophisticated transport and traffic information systems after 2000 including 2013 when customer and customer satisfaction became a point for concern at the DLTCs. Trivial matters that do not

necessarily affect political policy are embraced to present a holistic overview of operational issues at the selected case.

2. Research Methodology

The study adopted a non-empirical research methodology. The utilisation of documents as a data-collection technique included various written communications that contributed towards the study. From a qualitative perspective, legislation, relevant Acts, Regulations and Government Gazettes, official documents, such as eNaTIS policy documents and audit reports were consulted. Internet searches provided valuable information about the real-live context of driver fitness in South Africa. The content was verified against at least two other sources before it was acknowledged in the relevant context.

3. Global Overview (The Early Years)

The world's first license to drive a motor vehicle was issued in 1888 to Mr Karl Friedrich Benz upon his request after the residents complained about the noise and smell his motor vehicle emitted. Upon approving his request, Mr Benz, the inventor of the modern automobile, received written permission from the Grand Ducal authorities in

Germany to operate his vehicle on a public road. Karl Benz's request for a written driver's permit was the initial point for issuing driver's licences globally (Lutteroth, 2008).

In the years that followed, authorities globally required driver licenses for horseless carriages. In the United States of America (USA), the mayor of New York wrote a letter in 1899 granting permission to operate a horseless carriage up to 6mph on city streets. In the same year, Chicago required driver certification to operate vehicles powered by steam. In 1900 in Washington D.C., Ms Anne French claimed her early spot in the driver's seat when she became the first female driver to acquire a licence to operate a four-wheeled vehicle. In this period, licenses were required in most cities in the USA. In 1909, an age restriction to acquire a license was set at 18 years in Pennsylvania, while the city of New Jersey required a simple written examination and a road test for drivers from 1913. In 1954, South Dakota became the last city in the USA to require driver's licenses (Pirie, 2004:67). Photographs first appear on California's driver licenses in 1958 (Automobile, 2012; Tate, 2013).

Within the German Empire, Prussia introduced compulsory licensing in 1903 upon passing a test on mechanical fitness, and in 1910, the German Imperial Government mandated the licensing of drivers on a national scale and established requirements for yard tests and driver education. In the United Kingdom, mandatory licensing for drivers was legislated on 1 January 1904 with the implementation of the Motor Car Act of 1903. Every car owner in the United Kingdom had to register his vehicle and identify the driver of the vehicle at the Local Government Authority. Drivers needed to renew their licences annually. Compulsory testing was only introduced in 1934, with the passing of the Road Traffic Act of 1935 of the United Kingdom. Until the start of the 20th century, local authorities followed the practice of issuing licenses to drive motor vehicles on an *ad hoc* basis (Cerveroa & Golubb, 2007: 445-446).

4. Early Road Management in South Africa

In South Africa, the first road authority known as the Central Road Board, was established in 1843 under the chairmanship of Mr John Montagu. The Board was primarily concerned with the construction and

maintenance of rural roads, and one of the first tasks undertaken by the Board was the construction of a hard road over the Cape Flats, from Cape Town to Eerste River. The road was constructed and completed in 1845, and was named after the chair of the Board, Mr Montagu. The Montagu Pass was opened for traffic in December 1847, and in 1848 a tollgate was established. In 1902, the first motorcar driver drove through the pass (Lishman, 2013:11-12).

4.1 Transportation in South Africa (1843 to 1948)

During the early years from 1843 to 1925, limited attention, if any, was paid to driver fitness development. By the end of the nineteenth century, motor vehicles were hardly ever seen on the formerly rural roads, because railway transport dominated the transport scene. Before colonial conquest, indigenous peoples had developed their own independent culture and civilisation. Their transport system was well-suited to the type of country and tools at their disposal. Private property was unknown, and transport and travel opportunities were freely shared, even with strangers. But when the colonists began their ceaseless acts of aggression, the African people resisted bravely to defend their traditions and people from enslavement (SACP, 1989:13-14).

At the time of unification in 1910 when Britain ceded political power to the white minority, rail transport was the only effective means of public transportation (Pereira, 2021:60-61). To regulate the railways, the Interstate Commerce Act was passed in 1887 (Janse van Rensburg, 1996:1-8). Before 1910, most road links between towns catered for ox wagons and were comprised primarily of tracks. Between 1910 and the middle of the thirties, motorised vehicles started to replace ox wagons. With the growth in the motor vehicle population, the demand for blacktop surfaces on rural roads has become increasingly real. By late 1920, the great railway construction era in South Africa had reached its end. The rapid development of motor vehicles hurt the railways, making further construction of branch lines economically unviable. By 1925, it was accepted that road transport would be used as far as practically possible (Stander & Pienaar, 2002:2-4).

Following the increase in road transportation, a commission of inquiry, the Road Motor Competition Commission, was appointed by the then Minister of Transport, Mr FC Sturrock, on 21 January 1929 under

the chairmanship of Mr JC le Roux to inquire into and report on challenges relating to road transportation. Competition between road and railway transportation, and its effect on the road and rail services of the South African Railways Administration had to be investigated. Measures to be taken to improve road transportation regulation, coordination and control also had to be reported. The Commission reported to the Minister of Transport on 6 December 1929. It was revealed that road transportation was disordered, unrestricted and uncontrolled. The Commission recommended a fair degree of control over road transportation by proposing the creation of a National Roads Board (Buthelezi, 2014).

Based on the Motor Car Act of 1903 of the United Kingdom, the regulation of road motor transport and mandatory licensing came into being in South Africa with the implementation of the Motor Carrier Transportation Act 39 of 1930, a year after the Le Roux Commission Report. Under this Act, a Central Road Transportation Board and ten Local Road Transportation Boards were established in the then four Provinces of the Union to execute general administrative related matters. Before the Motor Carrier Transportation Act 39 of 1930, there was no control over the conveyance of persons and goods by road. Road transportation in South Africa at the beginning of the twentieth century was still in its infancy, and the primary objective of the Motor Carrier Transportation Act 39 of 1930 was to provide a system of control over the particular unauthorised road transportation. Regrettably, this legislation also banned many African bus companies and taxis in certain areas. This is how the indigenous people's entrepreneurship, transport and freedom were taken (Buthelezi, 2014).

In 1932, the Act was amended, and control was tightened. Although various amendments to the Motor Carrier Transportation Act 39 of 1930 had been made since 1930, the principles underlying the regulation and control of transportation remained unchanged. In summary, the transportation of persons and goods by a motor vehicle on a public road for reward was prohibited, unless the necessary authorisation had been obtained in the prescribed manner. In 1933 the Act was extended to the then South West Africa territory. By 1941, motor carrier transportation on all the roads was brought under the control of the Motor Carrier Transportation Act 39 of 1930, and more effective control of taxi operations was provided (Janse van Rensburg, 1996:10).

The Apartheid system got solid consolidation in the 1948 White-only general elections. Further developments in the early years included the Page Commission of 1945 and the acceptance of the Transport Coordination Act 44 of 1948. Although these two highlights affected the transport history of South Africa, they did not contribute meaningfully towards the nature and scope of driver fitness as currently outlined in the NRTA of 1996. The Page Commission of inquiry into road transportation conditions was appointed on 17 October 1945 under the chairmanship of Major SM Page to provide recommendations on the coordination and further regulation of transport operators. Following the Page Commission, the Transport Coordination Act 44 of 1948 was promulgated to stipulate the objectives and tasks of the National Transport Commission as mainly to promote and co-ordinate the development of transport in the Union (Pirie, 1993:70). By this time, Africans lost ownership and control of transport businesses to the white minority (Sekhonyane & Dugard, 2004:12).

4.2 From No Competition to Deregulated Road Transportation (1960 to 1977)

On 5 March 1965, yet another commission of inquiry, the Commission of Inquiry into the Coordination of Transport in South Africa was appointed under the chairmanship of Dr MD Marais to investigate and report on how the different modes of transport could promote the development of the national economy. The Commission published its report on 30 January 1969. During this period, spatial planning under the Apartheid laws impacted directly on the public transport provided by buses and trains. As a result, public transport became increasingly expensive for commuters (Buthelezi, 2014).

The commission under chairmanship of Mr A van Breda was appointed on 21 July 1975 to inquire into, consider and report upon the Road Transportation Bill that provided for a system of control for the so-called unauthorised taxi industry. The Van Breda Commission rejected free competition in the public transport arena on the grounds that it could lead to an oversupply of services in urban areas and an undersupply in outlying areas. The Van Breda Commission recommended a regulated competition. This led to the enactment of the Road Transportation Act 74 of 1977, which replaced the Motor Carrier Transportation Act 39 of 1930 (Sekhonyane & Dugard, 2004:14).

The Road Transportation Act 74 of 1977 was promulgated on 1 January 1978 to control certain forms of road transportation. Under the Road Transportation Act of 1977, concessions were made to achieve free competition within the road transportation industry. However, although the Act allowed more freedom, it also controlled what may be transported where, and by whom. A road carrier, or a person whose business it was to convey persons or goods for reward, had to apply for a permit at an applicable local road transportation board. A public, private or temporary permit was then issued to the road carrier to allow the transportation of goods on certain conditions (Road Transportation Act, 1977: Sections 1, 12 & 17).

The greatest impact on the history of how public transport and driver fitness policy developed in South Africa was made by European colonial influences like the United Kingdom's Motor Car Act of 1903. During the 1960s and 1970s, colonialism continued to interrupt the internally-driven advancement of indigenous South African communities. For example, the Road Transportation Act 74 of 1977 thus established the concept of 'public permit' that led to what is known today as professional driving permits, as defined in Section 32 of the NRTA of 1996. Hence, the Road Transportation Act 74 of 1977 provided the foundation for issuing professional driving permits to professional drivers as set in Chapter V (Regulations 115 to 127B) of the NRTRs of 2000 published under the NRTA of 1996.

4.3 Introducing a Road Transport Quality System (1980 to 1989)

According to Sohail, Maunder and Cavill (2006:179), deregulation in the 1980s was intended to improve access to transport by responding to consumer needs and by providing a variety of services. Meaningful to the historical development of driver fitness in South Africa, was the acceptance of the K53 test manuals in the early 1980s. Complementing the development and acceptance of the driver licence test manuals, the 1980s also rendered the Road Transport Quality System, the White Paper on National Transport Policy of 1986 and the Road Traffic Act 29 of 1989. These developments further laid down the foundation of the European dominated driver fitness scene in use in South Africa.

From 1979 to 1981, proposals for new driver test manuals were invited and assessed by the Department of Transport. The number K53 was

based on the number of proposals submitted and the total upgraded versions during this period. Test number K53, based on the United Kingdom system – known as the Highway Code, was finally accepted as the most suitable way to test aspirant drivers. The system was implemented in January 1992, but it was only later in 1998 that the K53 was officially published in Government Gazette 19571 on 8 December 1998. An amended version of the K53 practical drivers test was compiled in August 2005. The K53 manuals were amended in 2018 (Government Gazette 28446, 2006:1; Wheels24, 2016; Arrive Alive, 2022(a)).

Still in the 1980s, a National Transport Commission was established under the chairmanship of Mr RAF Smith, the then chief director of Land Transport at the Department of Transport, to investigate road, rail, sea and air transport. Realising the need to replace the permit system introduced by the Road Transportation Act 74 of 1977 in which a road carrier permit was required for the conveyance of goods in selected areas, it was decided to introduce a quality control system. The enquiry into the quality control system was done under the banner of the National Transport Policy Study, a sub-committee of the National Transport Commission. After many deliberations, recommendations to implement the Road Transport Quality System (RTQS) were submitted to the National Transport Commission and accepted by Government in 1986. As a result, Section 74 of the Road Traffic Act 29 of 1989 was amended, which required the owner of certain prescribed classes of motor vehicles to be registered as the operator of such a motor vehicle. This requirement was carried over to Section 45 of the NRTA of 1996 and Regulations 265 and 267 of the NRTRs of 2000 to prescribe that the registered owner of a goods vehicle above 3 500kg must be registered as the operator when licensing the vehicle. The RTQS thus sets a direct link between operators of heavy goods vehicles and professional drivers (Sohail, Maunder & Cavill, 2006:179-180). Consequently, DLTCs gained administrative control over the operators and professional drivers who needed to comply with predetermined minimum requirements (NRTA, 1989: Section 74; NRTA, 1996: Section 45; NRTR, 2000: Regulations 265-267; Webster, 2001).

The recommendations provided by the National Transport Policy Study that the National Transport Commission accepted, resulted in the White Paper on National Policy of 1986. Among various

formulated recommendations, the most notable recommendation relating to DLTCs, was the introduction of certain prerequisites for appropriate and sufficient infrastructure at DLTCs, such as driving licence yard test facilities. Government accepted these and other preconditions, and eventually included them in the then Road Traffic Act 29 of 1989 (White Paper on National Transport Policy, 1986: 3-4). The Road Traffic Act 29 of 1989 consolidated and repealed four provincial Road Traffic Ordinances, like the Road Traffic Ordinance of the Province of Transvaal of 1957, to achieve national uniformity within the transport environment. Under the Road Traffic Act 29 of 1989, regulating the registration and licensing of motor vehicles and the drivers thereof, as well as regulating traffic on the public roads, were simplified. Moreover, the economic regulation of the road transport industry was abolished and replaced by the technical regulation of operators and vehicles. The Road Traffic Act of 1989 was eventually repealed in 1996 by the NRTA of 1996.

4.4 Setting the Scene for Driver Fitness (1990 to 1998)

The Forum on National Transport Policy was established in 1992 and operated until 1995 when it was replaced by the National Transport Policy Review Panel established by the then Minister of Transport. Until the 1990s, various pieces of road transport legislation were a direct response to the resistance struggles of Black people. Therefore, the National Transport Policy Review was initiated as a consultative process to revisit transport policy and formulate a new policy, where needed. This resulted in the publication of the Green Paper on National Transport Policy. Following several consultative sessions and written submissions, the White Paper on National Transport Policy of 1996 was published in September 1996. The White Paper asserted the significance of road traffic and safety, and was used as a point of departure for any discussion on driver fitness. The National Transport Policy outlined the role and responsibilities of the Department of Transport and set out the vision for South African Transport as being to provide safe and fully integrated transport operations and infrastructure. The White Paper recognised the professional driver as at the core of public transport policy development. These elements of the White Paper eventually found expression in the NRTA of 1996 (South African Government, 1996; NRTA, 1996: Chapter IV).

Since the 1990s, a growing body of research has linked transportation to social and economic well-being (Lee & Sener, 2016:148). In line with this trend, the national Department of Transport established a new policy framework for transport in 1996. The foundation of the new policy approach was embedded in the White Paper on National Transport Policy of 1996. To manage driver and road traffic related matters in a responsible and accountable manner, reliable information and data on vehicles, owners, motor vehicle drivers and operators, are required. Information management, specifically the development and implementation of the NaTIS, has consequently been identified as critical to driver fitness. As far as road traffic as a key focus area of transport policy is concerned, the White Paper also recommended that NaTIS be made fully operational. NaTIS was rolled-out nationally during 1997/1998 and replaced the dated Motor Vehicle Registers (MVRs) previously utilised as data capturing and storage systems in the then four provinces, namely: Transvaal, the Cape Province, Natal and the Orange Free State (White Paper on National Transport Policy, 1996). NaTIS included, amongst other modules, a driver fitness module that controlled the management and administration of testing centres; from applications for learner's licences, driver licences and professional driving permits, to administering endorsement of licences. NaTIS was operational for ten years until the advanced electronic version thereof, eNaTIS, was introduced in 2007 (RTMC, 2020).

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 was published in the same year the White Paper on National Transport Policy was accepted. The Constitution regulates transport service delivery as the primary pillar of the South African democracy and as the supreme authority in South Africa. Section 85(2)(b) of the Constitution of 1996 mandates the Department of Transport to develop and implement transport policy, including driver fitness and issuing of drivers licences. The mandate places a huge responsibility on the Department to ensure that transport policy development addresses driver fitness needs, such as timeous bookings for learner licence tests, speedy and accurate issuing of driver licence cards and maintaining a high standard of practical driving licence tests. Furthermore, the Constitution identifies transport as a function that is legislated and executed at all three spheres of government (Constitution, 1996: Schedules 4-5).

Following the policy developments, the AARTO Act 46 of 1998 was enacted in 1998 and a pilot phase was introduced in Pretoria in 2008 under the administration of the Tshwane Metropolitan Police Department. In November 2008, the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department also adopted AARTO to manage traffic offences. The AARTO Act 46 of 1998 allegedly aims to promote road traffic quality by providing a scheme to discourage road traffic contraventions, facilitate the adjudication of road traffic infringements and support the prosecution of offences. It is anticipated that should the demerit point system be implemented, the driver licences in question will be cancelled after it has been suspended for a third time, depending on the number of demerit points (AARTO Act, 1998: Section 2; AARTOfacts, 2021).

In South Africa, a driver's licence is an official document that authorises the holder to drive a motor vehicle of a specific class on a public road. Driver licences are issued by appropriately graded DLTCs, managed by municipalities in the local sphere of government under the supervision of the provincial and national Departments of Transport. Until 1997, driver licences were recorded by the Department of Home Affairs in identity documents. Close collaboration existed between the national Department of Transport, provincial Departments of Transport, the Department of Home Affairs and DLTCs to regulate and accurately record driver licences. It was only in 1998, when driver's licences were recorded and issued in a 'credit card' format, that DLTCs ordered driver licence cards directly from a drivers licence card production facility (NRTR, 2000: Regulations 101(2)(a) & 108(5)(a)).

4.5 Minimum Requirements for DLTCs and the Launch of eNaTIS (2000 to 2009)

Minimum requirements for the registration and the grading for DLTCs were published as General Notice 735 on 27 May 2005 in Government Notice 27589 (Government Notice 27589, 2005:3). eNaTIS was officially launched on 17 April 2007. It is a vehicle used by DLTCs to, amongst other functions, record and manage applications for learners and drivers licences. The eNaTIS is a key driver and the operating system for issuing driver licences and recording drivers' road traffic offences (Tasima, 2011; RTMC, 2021). eNaTIS is currently (in 2022) the official national database for all vehicles and driver licences, and stores, records, manages and enforces the requirements

of the NRTA of 1996, the AARTO Act 46 of 1998 and the NRTRs of 2000, as amended. It provides vehicles registration and licensing, and manages and records applications for and authorisations of drivers and learner's licenses. The driver license module on eNaTIS validates the examiners for driving licences, testing centres' details and the appointments for written and practical tests (RTMC, 2020; Arrive Alive, 2022(b); SABS, 2022).

4.6 The Period 2010 to 2019

The eNaTIS drivers licence appointment booking system was fully deployed in 2010 after its launch in 2007/2008 through various pilot project sites. Since the launch of the booking system, the manual recording of test appointments was phased out. All the appointments for driver's licence tests are subsequently recorded on eNaTIS. The electronic booking system was prompted by an increasing need for a standardised, uniform and secure learner and driver licence test appointment system (South African Government, 2022). The online booking system further ensures that the DLTC facilities and examiners are utilised optimally, thus alleviating delayed practical driver tests, which resulted in numerous advantages (Arrive Alive, 2022(c)).

In 2011, the Eastern Cape Provincial Department of Transport launched the first computerised Learner's Licence Testing Centre in South Africa. The computer-based licence testing allows prospective candidates to complete their learners' licence tests electronically. The learners' licence tests are administered via computer touch screens which facilitate immediate capturing of the test results on eNaTIS (Tasima, 2013).

With the implementation of computerised learner licence testing in 2011, the learner licence application process was completely automated in selected DLTCs; from the online booking system, computerised completion of the test; and issuing learner licences on eNaTIS. In the same year, the National Planning Commission published the National Development Plan (NDP). The NDP is considered the highest level of summary of the government's overall strategic objectives. The NDP informs all the government departments' Medium Term Strategic Frameworks (MTSFs) and aims to eradicate poverty and reduce inequality by 2030. Although driver fitness and the issuing of learner and driver licences are not explicitly mentioned in the NDP, the

development and maintenance of an efficient and competitive transport system are listed as one of the key objectives of the South African Government (NLTSF, 2015:5; Government of South Africa, 2022).

In 2013, a minimum service delivery standard for DLTCs was published for public comment in Government Gazette 36520 on the 31st of May. The focus of the standard is to prescribe minimum requirements for service delivery to the applicants for learner and driver's licences. The standard aims to streamline customer service that should be rendered in compliance with the *Batho Pele* principles. More significant requirements built into Government Gazette 36520 of 2013 included that DLTCs must sign service level agreements with their relevant provinces and implement complaints management processes (Government Gazette 36520, 2013:4-5).

Customer care at DLTCs is relationship-orientated in that it centres on the interaction between the applicants for driver's licences and the staff. Unfortunately, the provision of driver fitness and related licensing and transport services remains a key challenge for the government in the post-apartheid era. One of the reasons for the challenge is the result of dated and rejected apartheid practices that have led to the majority of the citizenry being placed in largely inaccessible areas. Consequently, DLTCs still reflect the disparities arising from previous patterns of spatial development created by apartheid. Although DLTCs are situated in urban areas, most are situated a distance from rural areas. A significant portion of the rural population is still affected by poor availability and accessibility to these Centres (Department of National Treasury, 2016:117-142).

The National Land Transport Strategic Framework (NLTSF) of 2015 is a legal requirement set by Section 34 of the National Land Transport Act 5 of 2009. It embodies the national five-year (2015 to 2020) land transport strategy. The purpose of the National Land Transport Act 5 of 2009 is to further the transformation and restructuring of the national land transport system. Within this context, the NLTSF guides transport planning and land transport delivery by delineating strategic priorities that include the management of transport information systems such as eNaTIS. More specifically, the NLTSF pointed out that eNaTIS needs to provide reliable and accessible driver related information. This aspect highlighted the need for accurate data capturing at DLTCs. With the acceptance of the NLTSF in 2015,

the trend towards more sophisticated transport and traffic information systems was reinforced (National Land Transport Act, 2009: Sections 1-2; NLTSF, 2015:i).

4.7 Questions Raised and Promises Made (2020 to 2022)

A driver's licence card expires every five years after which it needs to be renewed. In contrast a driver's licence does not expire, meaning that when drivers renew their driver's licence card, they will not be expected to undergo a driver's license test. From 2020 to 2022, more and more motorists asked questions and raised their grievances about the renewal of driver's licence cards with the Transport Minister. It was announced early in 2022 that the driving licence system would be digitised to avoid backlogs. If promises are kept, driving licence cards will soon be phased out and upgraded (Masikane, 2022).

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

This paper aimed to provide a historical overview of how public transport and driver fitness policy developed in South Africa from 1843 until 2022. It became clear that the greatest impact on the history of how public transport and driver fitness policy developed in South Africa was made by colonial influences like the United Kingdom's Motor Car Act of 1903. The historical developments highlighted in the article laid down the foundation of the European dominated driver fitness scene in use in South Africa.

Today, public transport policy-making is executed in various spheres of government. The cascading nature of the transport policy consequently leads to national government policy which is generally broad in nature to provide the reference framework within which additional detailed policy is formulated at the provincial and local government spheres. The responsibility for transport is divided between the three spheres of government. Yet, the colonial top-down policy-making approach in which end-users are excluded from the transport policy-making environment must be replaced by a high level of co-operation. Therefore, a much more responsive system of governance is required to ensure accountability, transparency and responsiveness to the needs of society. The relationship that government has with the citizens, stake-holders and public administrators must be placed at the core of future public transport policy developments.

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