

**THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SERVICE DELIVERY PROTESTS AND VOTER  
TURNOUT IN SOUTH AFRICA BETWEEN 2004 AND 2015: THE CASE OF THE  
NORTH WEST PROVINCE, SOUTH AFRICA**

**BY**

**TEBOGO DANIEL NTJANYANA**

**STUDENT NUMBER 16758943**

**ORCID iD 000-0002-3323-1580**

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**SUPERVISOR: Mr J.O MASENG**

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## **DECLARATION**

I declare that this mini-dissertation is my original work and it has never been submitted anywhere in full or partially to any university for another degree. All contributions and sources cited here have been duly acknowledged through complete and acceptable references.

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**Tebogo Ntjanyana**

**30 November 2016**

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## **DEDICATIONS**

I dedicate this study to my late beautiful, caring and loving mother; a true woman of substance, Nokonzima!

## **ABSTRACT**

A growing and healthy democracy is a system compounded by regular free, fair and credible elections, in which the ruling elites and political parties are elected into government. This process is legitimized by a popular participation of the electorate. Since 1994, the African National Congress (ANC) has dominated electoral politics of the North West Province through consistently attaining majority votes from the electorate.. However, this is one of the provinces in the Republic of South Africa characterised by the rise of violent service delivery protests. The electorate continuously votes the ANC into government despite the protests against poor delivery of services. Against this backdrop, this study examines the relationship between service delivery protests and voter turn-out in South Africa from 2004 until 2015, with specific reference to the North West Province. The study specifically answers the question as to whether service delivery protests achieve their intended objectives. This study further revealed that the inputs of the residents of various communities are not appreciated and considered sufficiently in the local development plans that guide delivery of services by the local municipalities within the province. Furthermore, the study found that, the dominant support towards the ANC is based on perceptions and fears that should any political party take over (specifically the DA), South Africa may possibly slide back to the Apartheid era established upon segregatory and oppressive policies towards non-whites. In sourcing data the study employed qualitative a research method through specifically utilizing techniques such as participant observation, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. Data was sourced from protesting members of the communities residing in the Ratlou, Tswaing, Mahikeng, Ditsobotla and Ramotshere Moiloa local municipalities, which respectively fall under the Ngaka Modiri Molema district municipality in the North West Province.

## **LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

ACDP	African Christian Democratic Party
ANC	African National Congress
BEC	Branch Executive Committee
CEO	Chief Electoral Officer
COGTA	Corporative Governance and Traditional Affairs
COPE	Congress of the People
DA	Democratic Alliance
DPLG	Department of Provincial and Local Government
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
FPTP	First-Past-The-Post
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
INC	Indian National Congress
LGE	Local Government Elections
MEC	Member of Executive Council
MoD	Memorandum of Demands
NA	National Assembly
NFP	National Freedom Party
NPE	National and Provincial Elections
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PPLC	Provincial Party Liaison Committee
PR	Proportional Representation
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SALGA	South African Local Government Association
SASSA	South African Social Security Agency
SOCDEV	Social Development
UCDP	United Christian Democratic Party
UFS	University of Free State
VF+	Freedom Front Plus

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## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1. Background**

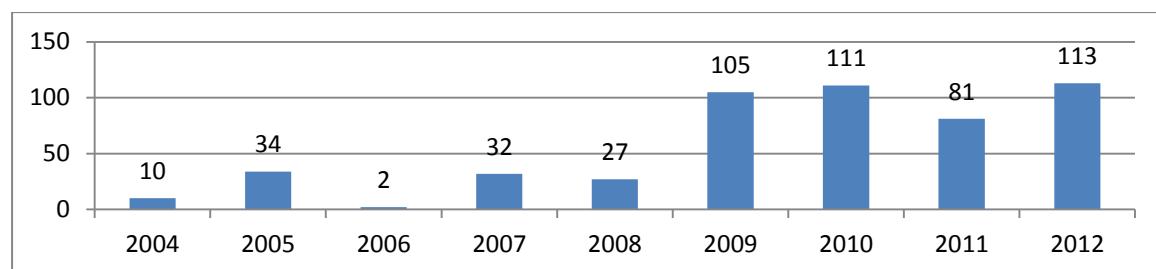
The year 2015 marked 21<sup>st</sup> years of South Africa's democratic dispensation. Since 1994 the country has been viewed as a standard bearer for democracy and a beacon for democratic change within the African continent and globally. However the country presents an array of contradictory images, some of which are profoundly depressing; cold, under-clad children huddled outside shacks juxtaposed with all the urbanity of high rise, modern society; groups of unemployed young men idling on the street corners or rummaging through rubbish bins; and the continuing poverty of under-resourced rural areas. Conversely, a whole range of sights are immensely positive, for example, confident, emancipated individuals, for the first time taking opportunities previously denied to them; the belief of a range of political representatives in public service and commitment to the community; and the genuine feelings of many black, coloured and white South Africans that all people can work together in peace and harmony (Deegan, 2003: xvii).

Though South Africa is observed as a standard bearer for democracy and a beacon for democratic change continentally and globally, since 2004 service delivery protests have been widespread in local communities across the country, with angry residents taking to the streets in demonstration against the poor delivery of services by municipalities. These protests have at times turned violent and led to the destruction of properties, clashes with security leading to injuries and even deaths. May 18, 2011 saw South Africans once again going to the elections to vote for their preferred municipal councillors and political parties. These elections and others in the past were significant in the work of local government and democratic political participation in local communities. This is because these elections legitimize and obligate this sphere of government as a custodian of service delivery to local communities. Section 152 (b) of chapter 7 of

the constitution empowers the local sphere of government, through municipalities, to deliver services such as water, housing and electricity (Act 108 of 1996).

To this end, residents across South Africa have been demanding better quality services from their local authorities. For example, in the year 2009, 3000 residents of Diepsloot (Gauteng province) took to the streets demanding basic services. In 2013 in Durban (KwaZulu-Natal province), 5000 people from informal settlements marched through the city centre demanding houses and services. In 2007, in Mitchells Plain (Western Cape Province) barricades were erected and tyres were burned, excrement and rubbish were dumped onto the streets. In a protest in 2011, in Ficksburg (Free State Province) a boy and a community activist were killed during a brawl with police. In 2006, a typhoid outbreak in Delmas (Mpumalanga Province) led to protesters demanding the resignation of the municipal manager who according to them stalled provision of service delivery to the community. In 2011, in Mahikeng (North West Province) a youth activist was killed by a bullet from the police during a brawl with protesters. Port Elizabeth (Eastern Cape Province) suffered weeks of protest in 2012 by thousands of people from informal settlements who demanded public services. Angry residents complained about dirty water, frequent electricity outages, faulty street lights and overflowing sanitation infrastructure (Stanton, 2009). Figure 1 below quantifies service delivery protests in South Africa since 2004 to July 2012 in numbers.

**Figure 1: The Number of Service Delivery Protests between 2004 and 2012**



Source: Municipal IQ, 2012

In analysing reasons behind service delivery protests, Burger (2009) posits that there appears to be frustrations and displeasure with the slow pace at which municipalities

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are delivering basic services such as electricity, running water and toilets, more so at squatter camps which are lately known as informal settlements within various local communities. Unemployment which is officially at around 23% worsens the problems of overcrowding at informal settlements, lack of houses, high levels of poverty and poor infrastructure at poor local communities. This is as a result of promises expressed in various political party manifestos during the election period. Electorates are promised that their service delivery needs would be addressed once the new government is in place. In this regard it is perhaps also worth considering the fact that South African elections normally take place in the April/May period, immediately before winter when its harsh realities exacerbate the absence of life's immediate necessities such as decent housing and electricity. Burger (2009) contends that a number of other reasons or causes of the public protests are also provided which include allegations of rampant corruption and nepotism within local government structures. The late Minister of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, Sicelo Shiceka, speaking to the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) in East London on Wednesday 22 April 2009, admitted that many of South Africa's municipalities are in a state of paralysis and dysfunction.

Despite the above socio-economic difficulties, the election process has become tremendously peaceful, effectively managed, and increasingly routine. Many who lived through the apartheid years marvel at the fact that they can now discuss South African politics in terms of non-violent political competition, rather than by counting politically motivated incidents of intimidation, violence and intolerance (Piombo and Nijzink, 2006:03). The African National Congress (ANC) has since 1994 managed to gather the necessary electoral support during their election campaigns through their well thought-out and coherent manifestos. In all their election manifestos the line "Better life for all" keeps cropping up. Many voters (especially the poor) embraced these manifestos primarily because they could easily relate to them and such manifestos addressed their situation directly. As was expected, these manifestos appealed to the majority of voters, most of whom are black and poor. For instance, in the ANC's 1994 national election manifesto (ANC, 1994) they promised among others; a government of the people, improved quality of life, jobs and better salaries through the introduction of a minimum wage, a growing economy, opportunities for small businesses, workers' rights, ending rural poverty, housing and services for all.

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Furthermore manifestos that have followed since 1994 have had the above as central themes, hence the ANC 2006 Local Government Manifesto pledged that by 2014 the ANC-led local governments would have built a South Africa where:

“a growing economy will enable us to reduce unemployment and poverty by half; the economy will have the skills it needs to grow and our people the education they need to find employment; everyone will have access to water, electricity and sanitation; every South African will be able progressively to exercise their constitutional rights and enjoy the full dignity of freedom; there will be fairer distribution of land; there will be compassionate government service to the people; health services will be better for all and fewer people will be victims of tuberculosis, diabetes and other diseases; serious and priority crimes will be reduced, and the time for accused persons to await trial will be reduced; our country will be an effective force in international relations, and contribute to peace and development in Africa and the creation of a better world.”

These ANC manifestos were inspired by the previous denial of socio-economic rights to black South Africans starting with secure residence, decent houses, water, electricity and other services during apartheid. Hence the expectation by local communities in various municipalities was that all these promises made through manifestos should become a reality. Similarly a fast turnaround was not only expected, but also demanded, particularly by the urban constituencies (Hemson and Owusu-Ampomah. 2005:511). The contents of these election manifestos provided comfort, solace and hope to the political and socio-economic historical situation of majority of the black South Africans.

It is against this backdrop that the constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996 granted local government unprecedented status as a sphere of government ‘distinctive, interdependent and interrelated’ with national and provincial spheres, which is charged with the responsibility of addressing years of service delivery backlogs created by apartheid.

The municipality’s right to govern ‘on its own initiative’ and subject only to national and provincial legislation has been widely hailed as creating an unusually autonomous model of local government. Greylings (2012) posits that national and provincial governments should not hinder or inhibit the right or ability of a

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municipality to exercise its legislative powers to perform its constitutional functions. The objects of local government is to provide a democratic and accountable government at local communities, promote social and economic development, promote a healthy and safe environment, encourage community involvement in local government matters and to provide sustainable services to local communities (Act 108 of 1996).

Moreover, municipalities are charged with the responsibility to put in place effective administration, budget, plans and develop the communities economically (Hollands and Mageza, 2010:09). However, governance failures of municipalities have been highlighted by the growing service delivery protests in local communities, which have become a routine feature of municipal governance in South Africa in recent years. According to Municipal IQ (2012), 2009 and 2010 recorded the highest number of service delivery protests and 2011 recorded a decline (Municipal IQ 2012). This decline in 2011 is a result of municipal elections of May 2011, which recorded the highest voter turnout in the history of municipal elections since 1994 (Independent Electoral Commission, 2011). The period leading to the 2011 municipal elections was volatile, mainly due to the candidate nomination process of the ANC (Ndletyana, 2011).

At the centre of the community protests across the country were service delivery issues. In Ficksburg, Andries Tatane one of the protestors died at the hands of the police during a community protest (Municipal IQ, 2012). However, these protests declined during the months of April and May 2011, this prompted Municipal IQ (2012) to conclude that the community consultations during election period by political parties mitigated against protest actions by communities.

There is a likelihood that a number of voters may have made political decisions without comparing party manifestos in order to make informed political choice, let alone an honest one. Manifestos provide voters with an opportunity to choose the party that promises them relevant and realistic policies (Chazan, 1983). The fact that voters may not be knowledgeable about politics does not suggest that they vote haphazardly (Wittman, 1989). Voters use other methods to receive information about candidates and contesting parties such as following news on the media and interaction with peers (Downs, 1957; Lupia and McCunnins, 1998; Key, 1966). North

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West is among the 8 provinces governed by the ANC in both provincial and local government, and also falls amongst the provinces that experience service delivery protests. This study has its focus in investigating the relationship between service delivery protest and voter turnout in the North West province between 2004 and 2015.

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

Although South Africa is characterized and described as arguably the most excellent model of democracy in Africa and the world, the country has experienced an increased number of service delivery protests since the year 2004. North West has been one of the provinces experiencing such protests. The consequences for some of these protests have been property destruction, injuries and even worse - deaths. Despite people taking to the streets year in and year out since 2004, the ANC has continued to enjoy the overwhelming support and confidence of electorates during elections, and North West Province remains one province where the ANC has remained unshaken at provincial and local government polls. This is because since the dawn of democracy the ANC has governed the North West provincial government and all local and district municipalities. This therefore suggests that there are underlying reasons why people continue to vote for the ANC at every election, but soon after stage socio-economic protests demanding basic services which include water, electricity, health, education and road infrastructure and houses from the ANC-led government. North West province remains amongst those provinces where the ANC has consistently maintained dominance in municipalities since the advent of democracy.

Various studies are yet to succinctly provide scientific explanations why local communities protest against the sitting government but during elections, vote the ruling party back into office despite its failures in terms of provision of basic services. Thus studies conducted prior to the current study have inadequacies in terms of offering explanations on whether such service delivery protests ultimately achieve their intended objectives or not. In addition from the perspective of this study, reasons for voter turnout appear not to have been thoroughly scholarly examined, despite the fact that the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) has played a

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significant role (through its civic and voter education programmes) in ensuring that the majority of South Africans went to voting stations across the country to cast their votes. Also of importance is whether there is a relationship between service delivery protests and voter turnout. Though this study focuses on the North West, it can provide hypotheses on the relationship between service delivery protests and voter turnout that could possibly be tested against the rest of South Africa, particularly provinces where the ANC consistently takes the leadership of municipalities.

### **1.3. Research Questions**

Based on the above background and problem statement the following questions can be posed:

- Have service delivery protests achieved their objectives in various communities in the North West Province?
- What informs voter support for the ANC irrespective of dissatisfaction with service delivery in the North West Province?
- What informs voter turnout at the voting stations in the North West Province?

### **1.4. Aim and Objectives**

The main aim of this study is to examine the relationship between service delivery protests and voter turnout in the North West Province. The specific objectives of the study are to:

- Investigate whether service delivery protest do achieve their objectives in various communities in the North West Province.
- Provide reasons for what informs voter support for the African National Congress irrespective of dissatisfaction with service delivery the North West Province.
- To investigate and explain factors contributing to voter turnout at various voting stations.

### **1.5. Outline of Chapters**

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The chapters are structured and briefly elucidated below:

### **Chapter One-Introduction**

This chapter provides an overview of this current study. This is carried out through providing the background and research problem and also outlining the research questions and objectives which guide the empirical inquiry of the study.

### **Chapter Two- Theoretical Framework and Literature Review**

Chapter two presents the theory guiding the study scholarly inquiry of this study. The chapter further pounds on the existing literature on this subject through specifically revealing the gaps and limitations providing the necessity for this study to be carried out.

### **Chapter Three-Research Methodology**

Chapter three outlines and explains the research method and data collection techniques employed in the process of sourcing data. In addition, explanations are provided to justify the usage of the research methods and data collection techniques. Included also in this chapter is the presentation of the research site. Moreover, reasons are also provided for choosing this specific site.

### **Chapter Four-Presentation of Findings**

This chapter presents the research findings from the fieldwork in line with the research questions posed and the research instruments.

### **Chapter Five-Discussion of Findings**

Chapter five discusses the findings presented in chapter four against the literature reviewed in chapter two. This is carried out to map out the correlation of the findings with the literature and also indicate contribution of this current study in expanding on the existing literature.

### **Chapter Six-Conclusion and Recommendations**

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This chapter presents conclusions of this study and also attempts to suggest and identify future research that could possibly be conducted on this subject. Finally, recommendations are presented for various parties that may be interested such as government, political parties and Electoral Commission for future policy implementation and actions.

## **1.6 Summary**

This chapter presented the background to the study and the problem statement. It further presented the research questions which were followed by the objectives of the study. The chapter presented the layout of the study from the first to the last chapter. The following chapter has its focus on the theoretical framework and the literature review.

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## CHAPTER TWO

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the theoretical lenses applied in the study. It is a composition of a theoretical framework and review of literature on elections, political participation and service delivery. Literature is captured on variables of the study from credible sources and in the end, the study gap is succinctly demonstrated emerging from the literature presented.

#### 2.2 Theoretical Framework

The following section specifically focuses on the theory guiding the study.

##### 2.2.1. Relative Deprivation Theory

Relative deprivation theory was employed because of its specific applicability to the study on the basis that it captures adequately and further characterizes factors that explain social discontentment and social movements for change. According to Flynn (2011) social deprivation theory refers to feelings of deprivation and discontent which arise when desires become legitimate expectations and those desires are not met. It has two variants: egoistic and fraternal deprivation (group deprivation). On the one hand, egoistic deprivation refers to single individual feelings of comparative deprivation. On the other hand, fraternal deprivation refers to the discontent arising from the status of the entire group as compared to another group as a reference. In situation were fraternal deprivation is too extensive and widespread the possibility of violence becomes high (Gurr, 1975). Thus, when people have a feeling and are aware that there is an impediment to the realization of their expectations, there is the likelihood of a social protest (Gurr, 1975). Relative deprivation is what people perceive as a contradiction between value expectation and value capability (Runciman, 1966). The essence of social deprivation is that people's expectations are not in line with the realities.

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This explanation of relative deprivation theory is helpful because it teases-out major characteristics of the drivers of social unrest and their linkages to service delivery in South Africa. The objects of local government for instance legally oblige local government in particular to ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner and also promote social and economic development (RSA, 1996). However, most local communities embark on protest or social unrest due to the failure of local government to meet its constitutional obligations. To this end, the social deprivation theory resonates well with this situation since there is an impediment to people's realization of their expectations and constitutional rights and this result in protests. In this regard, local communities that are often protesting against local government feel that their expectations of government concerning its responsibility of providing basic services are not in line with their reality. Due to the latter observation, unmet expectations mount into frustrations which instigate violent community protest against local government.

## **2.3. Literature Review**

The following section specifically looks into the theory guiding this study.

### **2.3.1. Service Delivery Protests and their objectives in South Africa**

It is commonly understood that service delivery is the provision of public goods or services to the public or those who need such service by an organization or government (Mc Lennan and Munslow, 2009). In the context of South Africa, service delivery can be defined in line with the history of the country. According to Hemson and Owusu-Ampomah (2005), it encompasses the social, economic and political redress in order to uplift the living standard of the majority in the country and to affirm that the previously disadvantaged groups are part of the new South Africa. For instance, given the apartheid legacy and history of South Africa, service delivery by government is strongly associated with social justice, economic growth, poverty alleviation and redistribution (Shaidi, 2013). This is in line with section 152 (1) (b) of the constitution which states that the object of local governments is "to ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner".

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Government has been implementing such section of the constitution through providing quality services to the many local communities across the country. Contrary to this, the government has equally failed to optimally render services needed by the local communities timeously if they do at all. The failure of government to provide quality services to the communities can be attributed to the three factors as it is described by Nyamukachi (2009). According to Nyamukachi (2009) government is unable to achieve the service delivery targets it has budgeted and planned for. While at the same time, government is also unable to provide services that are not budgeted and planned for (Nyamukachi, 2009) ; and the incompetency of government to render services, for instance, the poor state or quality of built RDP houses, roads and the number of hospitals and clinics that are poorly equipped.

Likewise, Hemson (2009) also opined that it is evident that South African government lacked the skills, relevant human capital and the know-how to manage the sophisticated systems put in place by government and the competency to efficiently deliver on its constitutional mandate of public service provision. Naturally, this point is exonerated by the high number of protests reported in many communities since 2004. As a sphere that is closer to the people, municipalities find it hard to come up with coherent strategies for provision of affordable public services to the people. To circumvent this competency problem Ntlebi and Maphunye (2003) contend that municipal workers must at all times endeavour to perform in a manner that will optimally increase their efficiency and improvement of the quality of service delivery by such an important institution.

However, Ntlebi and Maphunye (2003) and Hemson (2009) do not suggest concrete ways in which local government can effectively deliver services to the communities. Additionally, these scholars do not reveal whether service delivery protests are justified or have an objective they intend to achieve. In light of this, this study acknowledges the efforts made by government to render services to the people, albeit not effectively and timeously as it would have liked. In order to circumvent the incapacity of public officials and improve the speed at which services are rendered, the national sphere of government should conduct qualifications and relevant experience audit on all its employees especially at local government level. This is

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important because this sphere is closer to the people and it is empowered by the constitution to render services to the people.

On the other hand, South Africa has recorded a steady rise in the number of service delivery protests since 2004. In 2004 the accounted numbers of protests stood at 10; in 2012 they dramatically rose to 173. The causes of these protests elude the policy-makers and the academic fraternity. This has as a result made efforts to resolve this phenomenon difficult. Kunene and Maseng (2011) assert that 'causes of service delivery protests in South Africa are seriously complex.' Therefore it means efforts to resolve them would vary according to the specific demands and necessities from one community to another, rather than just using a blanket approach.

A layman would argue that the causes of this phenomenon are very simple and direct, and state the lack of delivery of services. Therefore delivery of services would solve this problem. Questions that arise are who determines what services should be delivered to the masses how and when, and what are the expectations of the people as far as delivery of services is concerned. Do the people demand what has been promised by political parties, do they get mobilized to fight political battles of some political principals or are they genuine about lack of delivery of services and why is the government not able to deliver services? As South Africans demonstrate their dissatisfaction about the lack of service delivery, they engage in other criminal activities.

Allan and Heese (2014) argue the common class that protests are the poorer, in particular the marginalized parts of urban townships. Members of these communities compare their sense of deprivation with their daily misfortunes, lack of sanitation, lack of water and electricity and marginally more developed neighbouring towns and townships. As such, more developed area in which RDP houses have been built, or schools built or roads constructed become magnets for migration.

This consistent eruption of service delivery protest in South Africa led Alexandra (2012) to declare South Africa a 'protest capital of the world'. Ngwane (2014) asserts that protests and strikes are an expression of the organic capacity of the working

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class to engage in collective action and organization that can effect fundamental change because of its historical and structural location in capitalist society (Grossman, 1985; Marx and Engels, 2005). This premise is at the centre of practical Marxism but the advent of “globalisation” and the changes that it engenders has raised new questions and new difficulties, including the argument that the changing composition of the working class has greatly reduced the scope and applicability of this notion. It has been suggested, for example, that labour market bifurcation in South Africa has led to the fragmentation of the working class creating divisions between employed, unemployed and precariously employed workers (Moody, 1997; Munck, 1999; Standing, 1999). This has led to the argument that: “In Marxist terms, the [economic] growth path had the consequence of putting the unemployed, most of whom were unskilled and inexperienced, in an objectively different relation to productive forces than the employed” (Seekings and Nattrass, 2005, p. 294). This raises the question of whether: “Can we still speak about the working class in South Africa?” (Ceruti, 2010a).

Nleya (2011) asks if community protests take place in high number at informal settlements than formal settlement. In other words, if the service delivery is at the core of community protests then informal settlements would be recording higher number of protests than formal settlement. It should be considered that informal settlements are the host of unemployment and poverty (CCT, 2005). With this in mind, it is possible that both unemployment and poverty could be the main catalysts of community protests. The three realities of unemployment, poverty and lack of service delivery at local communities might gather the feelings of deprivation suffered residents of informal settlements and decide to protest and not necessarily protesting for poor service delivery.

Allan and Heese (2014) maintain that with high number of protests taking place during 2014 the public could be concerned about when, why and where will they happen next. The absence of response from authorities and analysts do not help to cool off this public concern. The real causes of the protest are generally misunderstood and this has allowed for many speculations and even questioning if indeed the protests are as a result of poor service delivery. But for Municipal IQ (2012), the term “service delivery protest if not always absolutely accurate is wholly adequate – it describes a protest which is galvanized by inadequate local services or

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tardy service delivery, the responsibility for which lies with a municipality. The term is also useful in that it makes clear that there are similar protests occurring across the country – to re-define such protests in different ways confuses the issue and draws attention away from the fact that this is a national phenomenon with some pressing causes.”

Futhermore, protest happens because the people can do it and they want to engage in it. The question that follows now is what do the protests intend to achieve. According to Klandermans (1984) people participate in protest because they are motivated to do so. In this case such a motivation is the non-provision of services to the people by the government. These services (water, electricity, clinics, and roads) are regarded as very essential to the communities as they are needed for daily lively hood. Once they find the motivation they weigh it against the cost of the protest action so that they can reap the benefits from such actions.

Related to service delivery, Seokoma (2010) asserts that in a democratic country municipalities should prioritize meetings between the people and municipalities regarding which services are mostly needed over others. This will establish a good partnership between the people and municipalities; and will allow government to know which services are needed and also give account of their progress on service delivery issues. This assertion does not guarantee whether or not service delivery protests will stop should municipalities prioritise community engagements. Community engagements are encouraged but there is no guarantee that public officials will do the actual implementation of what was agreed on during the meetings.

As such, service delivery protests have taken many forms in different communities depending on their causes. It can only be observed that different community needs caused protests. However, there are services that are common to majority of communities; such are water, electricity, employment and health care services. What is also observed from this section is that many communities do not achieve the objectives of their protests. Some reasons for this is that after the a community engages in a protest more than once with similar demands, the public officials do not respect and stick to the response period given by protestors and in some instances

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those who lead protests withdraw themselves from it due to being employed or have a position in a party.

Although the literature reviewed in this section points out the reasons and causes of service delivery protests in commonly rural or township areas, scholarship reviewed did not conduct a comparative analysis between service delivery protests that are taking place at rural and urban areas. The two settings are not the same in terms of services they require hence it is vital that scholars draw a link between service delivery protests objectives and voting behaviour in a rural setting versus the one in an urban setting. The existing literature fails to provide insights on whether service delivery protests do achieve their intended objectives. On the same note, the current literature does not provide accounts on why communities protest against the ruling party and at the same time vote for this party during elections.

### **2.3.2. The politics of voting and party preferences**

Studies conducted by Merriam and Gosnell (1924) reveal that the major cause of non-voting is indifference whereas those who vote do so due to the political or candidate preferences they need to express, and those who abstain from voting do not simply care about who wins or loses elections. Political and journalism scholars agree that a low or high voter turnout is informed by the voters' preference on candidates or parties contesting elections at that time (Blais, 2010).

In order to understand the voting and party preferences in a society, Letsholo (2005) argues that the concept of voting behaviour must be examined. As such, voting behaviour means that there are elements which electorates use to determine which political parties they should vote for and why. These determinants include public policy preference, political attitude and partisanship and the current socio-political and economic conditions within which elections are taking place (Letsholo, 2005).

According to Redlawsk and Lau (2006), the main platform for political and electoral representation in contemporary system of representative democracy is competitive,

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regular, free and credible elections. Such elections allow the citizens to influence which party must be elected, the shape of public policy of the party and the shape of government. It is imperative that on election day every eligible voter goes to the voting station and make the correct choice on the ballot. Barro (1973) and Ferejohn (1986) add that elections are a critical bridge between the politicians and party and the citizens in that if the citizens are not happy with parties or politicians performance in office, elections afford them the chance to 'throw the rascals out'. However, the electoral system used, such as PR, may limit the power of that vote. PR allows for parties to identify who becomes a leader and it gives the parties the power to recall or not elected representatives irrespective of their performance. Marsh and Gallagher (1998) stress that even if the constituency-based system is used in an election, political parties present a very restricted list of candidates for different constituencies. In this manner, candidates are selected by parties through what Marsh and Gallagher (1998) label 'black box of party politics or the secret garden of candidate nomination'. There are number of ways to examine party support during elections and some are discussed briefly below:

These days political parties are engaged in constant and permanent political campaigning to get voter support during elections (Norris, 2000). But, before any campaigning can be effectively carried out by political parties or candidates the election date must be known by everybody. Political campaigns are regarded as worthy as they permit voters to choose wisely. The importance of political campaigning in electoral democracy is that it serves the purpose of influencing the voters to vote for a party that is campaigning. The nature of the campaign will either induce the voters or make no impact on their choice of parties (Baron, 1994). Moreover, political parties use informative campaigns to induce voters to support them and believe in their policies. Differently put, Baron (1994) says the electorates believe, follow and support a party that invests in informative campaigning. Therefore, political parties tend to focus more on groups that their campaigns may have more impact. As a result, these groups produce high voter turnout in relation to campaigning, change of mind from the opposition members to a campaigning party and secure voter support from such electorate (Butler, 2003).

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Attached to political campaigning is the funding for political parties. Opposition parties contend that the current system of funds allocation puts the ruling party at an advantage as it allocates the ruling party far more than other political parties. The system that is in use in South Africa is guided by the public funding of represented political parties Act 103 of 1997. In terms of allocation of funds the Act states under section 2 that “*(2) (a) Allocations from the Fund must be made and paid to each of the political parties concerned in accordance with a prescribed formula based*

- *a weighted scale of representation for an allocation to each of the political parties represented*
- *(aaa) in the National Assembly; or (bbb) in any provincial legislature; or (ccc) both in the National Assembly and any provincial legislature.”*

In other words, the Act and its regulations allocate the funds to political parties according to proportional representation of parties at National Assembly and / or the Provincial Legislatures. This funding has helped the ANC to consolidate its power over the years in South African politics to the disadvantage of other parties (Booysen and Masterson, 2009). The ruling ANC has more resources than any other party to effectively engage in mobilization during election time. For instance, the IEC in 2009 made an allocation of R 88 million to all represented parties and the ANC alone received R 61 million, the DA received R 10.5 million and the rest of the parties shared the remaining R16.5 million (Booysen and Masterson, 2009). This means that, according to this Act, the smaller parties such as UCDP, PAC, ACDP that are contesting elections in the Ngaka Modiri Molema district municipality do not stand a chance against the ANC. Therefore, the application of this Act arguably continues to put the ruling ANC as the favourite party as its financial strength allows it to distribute resources to its constituencies and the constituencies in turn continue to vote for the ANC.

Another factor associated with party preference is partisanship. Partisanship permits voters of each party to stand out from the rest. This is because a party would distribute resources to its stronghold in a ward and such stronghold voters tend to brag to the others about how effective and considerate their party is. To these voters, it does not really matter if their party’s leadership is credible, or their policies are

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good or bad, they only support their party due to being provided for by the party in the past and the present (Gerber and Huber, 2010; Green, Schickler, and Palmquist, 2002). As such, if one party constantly provides and distributes resources to a constituency, such constituency is more likely to vote for that party over and over again (Holbrook and McClurg, 2005).

In other instances voting and party preference are realised on the basis of an established clientelism. The people who are in an established clientele relationship do not care too much about the ideology of a candidate or party, they simply vote on the basis of their relationship. Vicente and Wantchkon (2009) argue that in most democratic systems around the world the bad policies make good politics and conversely, good policies make bad politics. During election period all that is important to parties and candidates is the voting support and not necessarily good policies.

Although clientelism has different forms, in the end it involves a patron and client service which benefits both parties. Young (2009) posits that clientelism is generally regarded as a constituency service where no personal favours is given to the client by the patron in exchange for a vote; a case in point is that of Robert Byrd who built bridges for the people of West Virginia and in returns they continuously vote for him every elections. Naturally, voters (clients) feel a sense of obligation to vote for the buyer (patron) after an exchange of any material resource in return of a vote. This compels the voters to party preferences in accordance with the gentlemen agreement into between client and patron. Obviously, such a material or any benefit would force voters to one party or candidate over others even if their policies are bad.

Given this, both participants of the client-patron relationship are automatically participants in elections and have a reasonable expectation of election victory. As much as the Young and Vicente and Wantchkon have conducted studies on this clientelism subject, they have not tested whether clientelism is bad or good for Africa in particular. Despite the fact that clientelism is closer to vote buying, it should be credited for ensuring that many voters participate in elections to determine who should be in government even if they have illicit voting reasons.

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This section revealed that a majority of voters in SA continues to vote for the ANC despite any negative evaluation that can be made against it. The ANC's dominance and historic position as the liberation movement also play a role on why it still commands the voters' respect in every election as many voters want to be associated with it. The opposition parties continue to cry foul at the implementation of the public funding system in the country in that it is not inclusive, and advantages the ANC as a party with majority in parliament at the expense of other parties. This section also observed that the electoral system (PR) currently used in South Africa also ensures that many parties get representation in parliament with ANC as a dominant party. This dominance allows and gives platform to the ANC to cover broader parts of the country during their campaigns, to have a possible clientelism character and attract private investment and funding. These are the most probable reasons behind ANC's electoral victory over the years.

Protests do not necessarily suggest that the protesters do not support the incumbent political party (Booysen, 2011). If anything, protesters may as well be members of the ruling party that protestation is staged against. What can be deduced from this section is that voter support for the ANC is not impacted by community protests or the causes/reasons thereof. Even though scholars reviewed in this section point out various reasons for party preference and support during elections, it also provide very limited explanations and reasons why communities protests against the lack of service delivery by ANC government but still continue to vote for the ANC in majority during elections.

### **2.3.3. Factors of Voter-turnout in South Africa**

Voter turnout is defined as the total number of people who cast their vote in a particular election and normally is announced in a percentage format. Contrary to how simple this definition sounds, there is a controversy about the methods of achieving a voter turnout percentage. Pintor (2002) states that the main method for achieving voter turnout percentage is through determining the total votes cast. One negative factor about this method is that it includes both valid and invalid votes. It

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also provides no independent comparison to voters who decided to abstain in an election. On the other hand, this method takes the total votes cast and divides that number by the number of registered voters on the voters roll. This is the method that is used by the IEC in SA.

According to Schulz-Herzenberg (2014) and Malada (2015), for the May 2014 national and provincial elections of South Africa, the Electoral Commission of South Africa (IEC) registered 25, 3 million voters. According to the IEC, the overall registration level increased to 81% of all eligible voters (the voting age population, or VAP, constitutes all citizens aged 18 years and over). The IEC bases its calculations on Statistics South Africa census figures, which indicated that there were 31, 4 million eligible voters in 2011. However, South Africa's population has grown since 2011. The 2013 population estimates suggest that the VAP is 32,7 million people (Figure 1). On this basis, the overall registration level was 78% in 2014. The recalculation of the VAP using the latest census estimates makes it clear that well over 7 million people remained unregistered at the 2014 elections, instead of the 6 million suggested by IEC figures. Registration levels at provincial level show that the largest voter populations are found in Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), and the Eastern and Western Cape. The highest voter registration levels are in the Free State and the Eastern Cape, while the lowest are in Gauteng, Mpumalanga and the Western Cape. Some of the most populous provinces thus have the lowest levels of registered voters (Gauteng and Western Cape).

73% of voters participated in the 2014 national elections was 73%, this points out that there is a decline of 4% if compared to the last two elections' turnouts of 77%. Voter turnout is examined as a proportion of the eligible voting-age population turnout that participated in a specific election. Therefore, the above statistics indicate that voter turnout has declined from 86% in 1994 to 72% in 1999 and 58% in 2004. Although there was small voter turnout increase to 60% in 2009, in 2014 voter turnout decreased by 3% and dropped to 57%. Drawing from these figures, it appears that the number of South Africans who are eligible to vote but are not participating in elections is growing steadily. This fact might be due to the fact that

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the fraternal deprivation group lost hope on participating in the elections due to lack of changes in their socio-economic status.

To this end, this study focuses on partisanship and voter apathy as voter turnout factors. Partisanship is seen when political parties favour constituencies that have a majority of their support. Larcinese, Snyder and Testa (2013) hold the view that parties pay attention to such constituencies in order to induce high voter turnout during elections, or even to soften them for their support for major policy shifts. The primary purpose of this inducement is for parties to receive more votes come election time. Cox and McCubbins (1986), Dixit (1998) and Londregan (1996) go further to agree that parties even use ‘political networks’ as researchers of the urgent needs of the people so that distribution of resources and goods are well facilitated. The two main reasons for this approach is for parties to build permanent party loyalists and have a long term electoral benefit (Dixit and Londregan, 1996).

Abramowitz and Webster (2015) add that partisanship also divides communities as supporters of different major parties do not get along due to political affiliations. Due to this, voters of each party regard others as different from themselves in relation to their social beliefs, norms and values. Given this, supporters of each party view other party leaders negatively and are very unlikely to vote for them in any election (Bafumi and Shapiro, 2009). In many instances partisanship affects the ability of voters to make subjective judgements such as which leader would make a better president, and objective assessment such as evaluation of the economy (Bartels, 2002 and Gerber and Huber, 2010). Supporters may support a certain party position that is in line with their partisanship, not because it necessarily correct but because it is a way Act of displaying their support to their party (Gerber and Huber, 2010; Green, Schickler, and Palmquist, 2002)

Partisanship and distributive politics normally happen in the pre-election period. They have electoral effects on voter participation in elections. According to Dixit and Londregan (1996) and Stokes (2005), voters have two interests during elections: ideological preferences and receiving distributive benefits. Aldrich (1993) also states that because the Act of turnout is costly to voters, voters go out and vote only if their preferred candidate is adequately strong.

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Moreover, Chen (2012) posits that partisanship and distributive politics (before elections) may have one of three effects on voters. Firstly, the delivering of resources before elections to a voter with a strong ideological favour towards the incumbent may motivate them to turn out and secure re-election of the incumbent. Secondly, the delivering of resources before elections to a voter with a strong ideological favour to the challenger may persuade the voter not to turn out to justify their indifference towards the incumbent. And lastly, the delivering of resources before elections to a voter with no ideological favour to the two candidates may influence the voter to a preferred candidate and turn out.

Furthermore, partisanship is not a cast in stone; it may shift from one election to another (Sigelman and Jewell, 1986). In order to realize this shift, voters of one party must increase and be more than those of the opposition. This shift may not be too large though, as partisanship shift is quite a mammoth experience. According to Holbrook and McClurg (2005) parties should spend their money to efficiently mobilize and canvass support of partisans and non-partisans in order to secure election victory. There are two reasons for turnout increase through effective mobilization campaign. The first benefit is that it provides partisans with voter education and much-needed resources. This mobilization will create an exciting election atmosphere and boost the psychological benefits of turnout (Verba et al, 1995). The second benefit is that it activates the electorates about the election day. Coates and Humphreys (2005) add that this is a psychological benefit of turnout. Some supporters are like sports supporters who are most likely to go to a stadium to support their team if does well. Similarly, if their party is not doing well they do not go and vote during elections (Marcus et al, 2000).

Another factor of voter turnout is voter apathy. According to Crewe et al (1992) there exist different perceptions that explain voter apathy. According to Yakubu (2012) voter apathy is the lack of interest on the part of a voter to participate in election processes, including voting on election day. Cloud (2010) also suggests that low voter turnout is brought about voter electorates who are eligible to vote in elections but do not. While both Yakubu (2012) and Cloud (2010) maintain that voters may lose interest in participating in elections and be discouraged to take part in voting,

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they do not clarify further why is that voter turnout continue to be high during general elections. Taking this to South African context, both scholars do not explain the reasons for over 50% voter turnout in all national and provincial elections in South Africa since 1994. To take it further, voter apathy as a political behaviour may be giving allowing a dominant party (in this case the ANC) to win elections and disadvantage opposition parties. As discussed in the previous sections, ANC's electoral strength is historical and very unlikely to lose power any time soon. This is despite all the negative perceptions or facts associated with it and are validated by the ANC's victory in previous polls.

At the same time qualifying non-voters and inactive citizens could be a problem to the legitimacy of a properly elected government. This is because a government that is elected by few voters does not reflect and represent the aspirations, values and beliefs of the greater citizenry (Roberts 2009). Chinsinga (2006) points out that even if voter turnout is an important measure of electoral democracy and legitimacy of elected officials, voters could be expressing their indifference towards the system.

During election campaigns, the candidates and parties use the election hype atmosphere to make promises to the electorates that are often not met after elections and this leads to voter apathy and low voter turnout (Falade, 2008). The expectation of voters from parties is for parties to present good candidates and relevant policy positions (Amdi, 2014). This means that voters are more likely to vote for a party that meets their expectation. If their expectations are not represented by any party they are likely to stay away from voting.

In the end,, efforts made by political parties through canvassing and servicing their constituencies play a significant role in whether people go out and vote on election day. Through partisanship, this section revealed that if parties are taking care of their strong holds such masses are more likely to vote on election day as opposed to constituencies that are not attended. However, the scholars reviewed above do give a good account on factors affecting voter turnout at voting stations but does not sharply give an insight on which party benefit directly through such a turnout. There is a possibility of an election victory for the opposition even if such voters have received distributed resources. Conversely, voters may decide not to vote in an

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election due to not preferred candidates contesting, corruption or perceived corruption of the candidates or parties. Thus, a positive voter turnout is entirely a shared responsibility between election contestants, election management body, voters and all election stakeholders.

#### **2.3.4. Elections in South Africa, a vehicle of political contestations**

Elections are a prominent vehicle in terms of facilitating political participation and procedural democracy. For instance, Huntington (1991) and Ndletyana (2015) state that elections have been identified as one the most significant elements of democratisation. The more regularly elections are held the better, and the likelihood of chances for democratic consolidation.

Some scholars hold the view that regular elections provide an important accountability mechanism by allowing citizens to decide whether or not to extend a government's tenure (Lumumba-Kasongo, 2005; Schulz-Herzenberg, 2009a; Ndletyana, 2015). De Kock (2011), also contributes to the latter assertion through observing that elections contribute to consolidation of democracy in the following facets of political life:

- Political participation
- Deciding who leads or not,
- Consolidation of power of the ruling party or leaders,
- Campaign by leaders to occupy political office and also
- Political socialization of society.

Regarding political participation, in accordance with Munroe's (2002) definition, political participation is the extent to which voters' involvement in political processes is very active. For Huntington and Nelson (1976) political participation is an Act of private citizens to make a contribution and influence how the government is run, and its decision making. These Acts and involvement should not be restricted to conventional forms such as participation in protest, hunger strikes, demonstrations, sit-ins, boycotts, free speech and voting (Martiniello, 2005).

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The above stated authors' arguments importantly are in line with the assertion that democracy is regarded as the rule of the people for the people and by the people. This places the word "the people" as the common denominator, that is, in the centre of any democratic government. Therefore participatory democracy demands involvement of active citizenship in the affairs of the any democratic nation. According to Kanyinga (2014), this is a democratic principle that is accepted universally as a basis for a just and inclusive society.

Furthermore, political participation is not just a domestic affair of a country but an international principle. It is stated under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (1948) that "everyone has the right to take part in the government of his/her country, directly or through freely chosen representatives". To emphasize this further, it is also stated under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) (1996) that all citizens shall have the opportunity and rights to "(a) take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives, (b) vote and be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors and (c) have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his (or her) country".

Kanyinga (2014) states that if government provides to the citizens platforms of participation, making political choices during elections and referenda, such actions are very significant in consolidating democracy. Such participation permits the citizens to install a government that is responsive to their needs and can hold such government accountable during their tenure in office. This could allow a democratic space wherein government enforces laws without favour or prejudice and in turn the citizens obey and respect the laws conscientiously (Kanyinga, 2014).

According to Mapuva (2010), in Africa, elections are a period where the next day is not guaranteed to be seen. This is the period where contesting parties and candidates despair. For a number of stakeholder it is a time of anxiety, it is a time where the ruling parties and politicians assess whether the masses will put them back into power or not (Masunugure, 2009 and Vorobyev, 2010). As for the opposition parties, elections are a time where they need to prove and display that

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their policies are far better than those of the incumbent parties, the time to illustrate that they may be a better option for the people (Mapuva, 2014). Melber (2002) adds that it is a time for opposition to develop a thick skin to face the harsh reality of an uneven playing field, harassment of its members, abuse of state resources, and even worse, killings of their members. And, Hammar (2008) states, that it is a time where electorates are being taken for a ride with false promises and subjected to distributive (especially food) politics. It is for these reasons that Duodu (2010) loosely defines elections as the most dangerous period in politics.

According to Stigler (1972) political contestation is a feature of any democratic politics and as such Frejohn (1986) points out that the ruling party provides the policies that are in sync with the needs and aspirations of the electorates during election time. Dahl (1971) argues that this contestation may be dissected into two parts, namely (a) the rationality of the contestation is that there is political power competition and (b) it is the cornerstone for free and fair elections and credible democracy. Therefore Vanhanen (1990 and 1997) argues that political party competition is beneficial to the voters in that they seek to develop and implement programmes that are demanded by electorates. Political plurality is the demand that occurs equally at all levels of elections (local, regional or national). Chhibber and Kollman (1998) and Cox (1999) assert that if there is a close linkage of elections at different levels then it implies that there is more political plurality at national level than in other spheres.

Finally, Cox (1997) and Iversen (1994) argue that it is important for power contestation to exist because the needs and preferences of the leaders and voters diverge. This is because the leaders have a better knowledge of how government is run and can abuse their power easily. The self-imposed leader tends to have different preferences to those of the people (Iversen, 1994). Similarly, emphasis is made by Lust (2009) that elections play an important role in facilitating the access to state power and resources by the political parties through political contestation. This contestation implies that there is varying party preferences and parties contest for votes of such voters who may still to decide which party to vote for. As discussed above, elections are the main event for political participation and contestation in every country. However, not much is discussed about how such contestation

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encourages voter turnout or even whether such contestation helps protests achieve their objectives or not.

### **2.3.5. Functions of Elections in the South African Context**

Anglin (1998) contends that elections remain the primary cardinal of any democratic system which the citizens could use to elect and remove leaders from power. At the same time, Powel (2000) contends that elections are the mechanism which the citizens can utilize to ‘compel or encourage the policy-makers to pay attention to citizens’. This implies that the ruling party is temporarily holding power and mandate of all the citizens until fresh elections are due. The opposition parties are important role-players in a democracy as they provide a test to the ruling party and without them there is no way to test the competency of the ruling party (Mesfin, 2008).

Furthermore, studies conducted by Kiisa (2005), Lonescu and Madariaga (1968) reveal that elections need the existence of multipartyism in order for citizens to make informed political decisions when voting for parties with programmes that are in line with their political beliefs, norms and values. Multipartyism should be in a form of different opposition parties so that they can criticise and check the performance of the ruling party by pointing out flaws of the governing party’s policies and provide alternatives with the hope that voters will put them into power during the next elections (Kiisa, 2005).

Since 1994, South Africa has held consecutive elections for national, provincial and local government levels. If it is true that ‘elections are regarded as a sanctioning device that induces elected officials to do what the voters want,’ then in South Africa and probably in other parts of the world, elections can be a device that the ruling party can use to remain in power.

Different meaning can be attached to the outcome of elections. For an example, Mqobsi (2008) captured the views of Afrikaners in their election victory of 1948 thus; ‘the Afrikaners’ historical source of anxiety, the fear that their language and culture would be buried in the darkness of barbarism from within or swamped by the predators from abroad was momentarily allayed. So to some, elections symbolise

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cultural, religious, ethnic, racial and ideological value. In supporting this view, Terreblanch (1999) observes that ‘without any experience of the proper use of the political power, and carried away by the emotional élan of the volksbewegin (nationalist movement) the NP (National Party) misused its political power on a grand scale: it manipulated the constitutional system to perpetuate NP rule, and passed a plethora of racial laws to suppress and exploit blacks to an greater degree than the white governments that had preceded it.’ This view purports the sentiments that elections are indeed a device that can be used in a good or bad way in a particular political system. Elections are not exclusively a feature for a democratic rule. Mqobsi (2008) regards the 1948 election as a travesty, a mockery and can be utterly discredited.

Generally, the success and shortfalls of an election can be measured by the degree to which it contributes to or sabotages political stability in a country. The quality of elections has important domestic and international consequences worthy of consideration by all election stakeholders (Abuya, 2010). For example, the outcome of the Zimbabwean presidential elections of 2008 did not trigger destruction of properties, widespread violence or death of civilians as was the case in Kenya’s 2007 presidential elections. However, the situation in the country (Zimbabwe) was not calm, in fact widespread violation of human rights were reported in the period leading up to, during and after elections.

In addition, the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Good Governance stresses the significance of elections in the process of power change. In line with these assertions, it is supposed that political elections afford the people the chance to vote and choose what happens to the future of their country (Heywood, 2002). This gives the impression that elections are equal to democracy, but this statement is hotly debated in the corners of academia. For example, elections are perceived as a platform that gives the public an opportunity to hold politicians accountable and coerce them to introduce policies that reflect the opinion of the public. Conversely, Ginsberg (1982) radically states that elections are a platform, through which politicians and governments nicely control their constituency, inactivating their activeness and govern them without any problem or opposition.

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In line with the assertion of Wojtasik (2013), competitive elections are key determinants of public authority legitimacy. Such competition ensures legitimacy of public representative's decision provided that all eligible adults are able to participate in an election freely. What adds more legitimacy in any democratic system is three features, (a) the electoral outcome must remain uncertain to everybody until election results are formally announced, (b) real chances of power alternation and (c) the emergence of splinter group formations from those in power (Wojtasik, 2013). Heywood (2000) argues that through these features the citizens may decide who ascends power, for how long and to what degree they give a party legitimacy to run state affairs on their behalf.

Further, Heywood (2000) notes that what is very significant is that the decisions taken during elections are binding and not reversible until the next election. The possible inclusive electoral participation, the decision-making and mandate provision to the representatives and legitimization of those in power are the levelling features that give legitimacy to the political system (Banducci and Karp, 2003). General elections also assist in the maintenance and legitimacy of the democracy and political systems by mobilizing and lobbying participation from voters who according to Rose and Mosswhir (1967), will vote against the radical politicians, candidates, political parties and their radical postulates.

One critical means for the promotion of accountability is elections. This involves not only the decision to recall elected officials out of office, holding them to account, but also providing an opportunity for politicians to clarify policies and issues and offering the public the space to renew their mandate. Similarly, trust is an important element in elections. Voters should be able to have trust in the elected officials and also trust that officials will carry out their mandate as deployed, officials will not misuse public funds, will respond to the needs of their constituency and will govern democratically. Voters should have trust that even if their preferred parties (officials) lose elections they still stand a free and equal chance to participate and win them next time, and the administration of the election processes is free and fair.

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Finally, elections bring democratic legitimacy to those in power (Raciborski, 2003). They offer a moral right to rule and allow politicians to make decisions on behalf of the people. Ghandi and Przeworski (2009) suggest that outside the political system, elections can be examined as a result of those in power and their strategies to maintain power in every election. Heywood (2000), Banducci and Karp (2003) et al agree on the importance of elections and its function in ensuring stable democracy and freedom. However, their work does not assist in explaining why people vote for the ANC but protests against it, nor whether such protests do achieve their intended objectives or not.

### **2.3.6. Electoral system and One Party Dominance in South Africa**

Globally, there are many electoral systems in the world and there is none that has been proven to be the best system to promote and political stability and political governance. The country's history and political context influences the choice of a certain electoral system. The chosen system is also expected to contribute toward democratic consolidation and democratic governance.

Some African countries have decided to enforce electoral reforms in order for their electoral systems to equally address challenges of mis-representation, political instability and unaccountability. However, some countries still use electoral systems that were used by their colonizers, some of which are expensive and don't have relevance to the socio-economy and political conditions of the country.

Norris (1997) holds that the most stable democratic institution is electoral system. Minor tampering with political and election rules in before and during elections is common in many election competition. Such rules include legislative amendments related to electoral broadcast, demarcation of constituency boundaries or party funding disclosure. Sometimes in other countries during the post-war period the law makers swaps electoral systems between d'Hondt and LR-Hare, adjusting the current election threshold, and increase the size of their assemblies (Lijphart, 1994). France has been consistent in its hesitation between proportional and majoritarian systems during its elections. Lipset and Rokkan (1967) describe the Western Europe

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party system as "frozen" in the mould established at the turn of the century with the enfranchisement of the working class."

Similar, liberal democracies have concretised their application of electoral systems. Generally, the ruling parties prefer and maintain the systems that put them into power. The endeavours of opposition parties and civil society organizations that are defeated by the election process to amend the electoral system fall into deaf ears as nothing changes.

In South Africa, the PR system was adopted by the interim constitution as the electoral system for the first national elections. It was adopted with the condition that it would be reviewed once the final constitution had been adopted. In 2003 the task team appointed by the Cabinet adopted the guidelines that would guide the appropriate system. These included accountability, inclusiveness, simplicity, legitimacy and fairness.

The South African Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) necessitates an electoral system which results in proportional representation (PR). All elections held in South Africa from 1994 to 2014 were administered through the single party list of PR. The PR system is used for national, provincial and half of all municipal elections in South Africa. On the local level a constituency-based system is used for half the seats and the PR system is used for the other half. The constituency-based system allows for half of the councillors to be elected in the first-past-the-post (FPTP) ward elections, and the other half of the councillors are elected through the PR system on a local list.

In the South African context, a closed PR system allows voters to vote for parties and not individual candidates in an election. The parties contesting election submit a list of candidates (in order of preference) and the candidates from the list are awarded seats according to the percentage of votes the party won in an election.

There are 400 seats in the National Assembly (NA). The number of seats a party occupies is proportionate to the total votes the party received in an election. For instance, figure 2 below shows percentage of votes and seat allocation for the top four parties in the NA. Giliomee (1999) emphasizes the significance of the selected election system in shaping the type of ruling party, how the ruling party governs its constituency and the nature of its opposition parties. For instance, de Jager (2010)

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points out that in South Africa, the PR system gave the ruling ANC the capacity to manage its constituency and deployed members of parliament.

**Figure 2: 2014 National Election Results**

Party	Votes	%	Seat in National Parliament
ANC	11 436 921	62,15	249
DA	4 091 584	22,23	89
EFF	1 169 259	6,35	25
IFP	441 854	2,40	10

Source: IEC, 2015

The first ten years of democracy in SA saw party politics changing to the establishment of the ANC as the dominant party while recording the demise and hegemony of the National Party (NP). The ANC has been winning elections in SA since 1994 under the PR electoral system. SA has held five (1994, 1999, 2004, 2009 and 2014) general elections since 1994 and South African voters have pledged their support to this former liberation movement by ensuring its victory in all general elections. This outright election victory of the ANC prompts us to check if the ANC has asserted itself as a dominant party in South African politics. According to de Jager (2010), since 1994 the PR system is regarded as being very instrumental in nation-building due to its ability to allow for representation of minority parties in parliament. This is an important positive aspect because it is the direct opposite of the system that was used under the apartheid regime.

de Jager (2010) holds that the many dominant parties have more cordial and close links with social interest groups than the opposition parties because they have established themselves as broad multi-class and multi-ethnic character. Be that as it may, because this dominance is in a democracy, it therefore needs to be continuously maintained through methods such as (a) delegitimization of the opposition parties, (b) constant emphasis of 'kingship' link between the state and the people, (c) the public agenda monopoly and (d) unite people against a created or real common enemy (Duverger, 1959).

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In a democratic country, a party aspiring to be dominant must transcend various cleavages, mobilize and canvass different interest groups of society and incorporate them into the party (Erdmann, 2004). In countries like Malaysia, Mexico and South Africa the dominant parties mastered transcending class divisions successfully (Giliomee, 1999). Immediately after a party has attained its position of dominance it looks to strengthen its relations with society.

The dominance of the ANC in South Africa as a dominant party is demonstrated by the election victories in 1994, 1999, 2004, 2009 and 2014. A dominant party system allows for contestation of multiple parties and the party that wins elections consecutively is regarded as a dominant party (Lodge, 2003). Being the liberation party has positioned the ANC as the preferred party by its majority during elections regardless of the performance of the party (Lodge, 2003). This suggests that in South Africa the ANC is regarded as the driving force and true driver of the struggle for liberation for the majority of South Africans.

Ferim (2010) argues that the result of having a dominant party in some democracies renders democracy uncompetitive because the dominant party tends to deploy loyalists and elites to strategic positions in government, and portrays government functions as their own through songs and slogans praising the ruling party. The dominant party system encourages the ruling party to restrict the influence of the opposition parties and there is very little the opposition parties can do to win elections (de Jager, 2010). In other instances, Butler (2005) stresses that dominant parties tend to be very undemocratic through suppression and intimidation of the opposition parties and minorities, state looting, abuse of power and participating only in elections where they are guaranteed a victory. Brandtstedt (2012) further adds that in South Africa, the ANC's dominance has harmful effects on the democratic system of the country. The socio-economic conditions (poverty, unemployment, and growing inequality) have not changed for the better for the past 12 years. The black majority have expressed their dissatisfaction towards the government through a series of service delivery protests (Brooks, 2004). KAS (2006) seminar report states that the failure of 6.76 million voters to register for the 2004 elections should be interpreted in the context of the rising ANC dominance. Accordingly, Butler (2005)

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adds, that the longer dominant parties stay in power the more undemocratic they become.

Scholars such as Pempel (1990), Arian and Barnes (1974), Reddy (2006), Middlebrook (2004) and Baer (1999) argue that one party dominance is not always a bad system and its positives are very significant and should be appreciated. This dominance, they assert, can be used to maintain and sustain political stability of a country thereby ensuring the creation of long term entrenchment of democracy in a country (de Jager, 2010). The dominant party is a better instrument for political stability than fragmented political parties because it marginalises radical politics, entrenches institutions of democracy and neutralizes the ethnic divisions through establishing a platform for compromise for all (Pempel, 1990).

In support of this argument, de Jager (2010) picks up the ANC in SA as an example. The first democratically elected president of SA, Nelson Mandela, implemented a policy of reconciliation which sought to unite all racial and ethnic groups. More so, in Mexico, Middlebrook (2004) states that the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) ended the factional groups and attained political stability through uniting the 'revolutionary forces' from Mexico's 1910 to 1920's social revolution. This dominance serves as a key element for a durable liberal democracy once its rule is combined with the protection and respect of the rule of law and electoral and political completions (Arian and Barnes, 1974). Reddy (2006) gives credence to this argument by making an example about the Indian National Congress (INC) party which defined itself as a 'broad-based movement' with various diverse factions of interest groups. In doing so, the factions allowed the appointment of new leadership and managed to avoid breakaway grouping through internal dialogues through debates (de Jager, 2010).

In conclusion, Brooks (2004) still contends that these have little if any impact on the results of elections in SA because voters who are affected by these service delivery problems are either loyal to the ANC or refrain from voting. This is demonstrable by the decline in voter turnout (1999 recorded 89.3% and 2004 recorded 76.73%) during elections which is attributed to the ANC's dominance in SA politics

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(Brandtstedt, 2012). The black majority vote for the ANC is not guaranteed forever but unless the opposition parties position themselves as the credible and relevant alternative to the ANC, the majority of the voters will continue to vote along racial and historical lines (Brooks, 2004). The PR system in SA has significantly shaped the political discourse of the country and the type and nature of the opposition parties. Despite the dominance of the ANC the PR system has allowed the opposition parties and minorities to be represented in parliament. Despite the negative criticism of the PR system on positioning constituencies away from elected representatives (discouraging direct accountability) and the delegitimization of opposition parties by the dominant parties, both the PR system and dominant party system of SA unified historically divided races and allowed civil and political liberties for all groups. This is very important for democratic participation and consolidation; such liberties and unity were never a priority for the pre-1994 regime. Having said this, the reviewed literature still does not indicate how the current electoral system helps the ANC to enjoy voter support during elections. Similarly, the Brooks (2004), Brandtstedt (2012) et al fall short in their arguments about the contribution of ANCs dominance on voter turnout at various voting stations.

### **2.3.7. The Role of Political Participation in South Africa's Electoral Democracy**

South Africa's history was described by elevated amounts of state tyranny and state-societal clash from colonialism period through to the start of an inclusive and representative democracy in 1994. Social movements that opposed the apartheid state began to emerge during the period of 1950s and 1980s. This emergence of strong social movements especially in the 1980s gave a platform for the formation of political parties, civic, labour and youth movements which fought apartheid through mobilization of communities against the state. To a great extent, this period meant the time of the headway of the idea of People's Power towards a People's Government.

The South African political environment has been marked by political participation by the population since 1994. This is arguably because the apartheid system had for a

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long time excluded the general public from participating in political and electoral processes of the country (De Villiers, 2001). The apartheid system had specifically excluded other racial groups from participating in such processes except the white minority group. Gomolia (2006) argues that given this historic limitation of political processes from everybody, organizations and strong activism were founded with intentions to redress the situation. This history explains the high political culture in South Africa post-1994.

This experience of participation and representative democracy gave the premise to majority rule government in South Africa. For many political leaders and activists, exposure to political participation was a result of participation in community structures, youth organizations, trade unions and civic associations. South Africans of all political beliefs organized themselves into multitude of groupings to establish political parties and organisations, this advanced democratic ideals. The drafting of the South African constitution in 1996 changed the character and focus of public participation in South Africa.

Since 1994, the policy-making processes followed by government changed drastically. During the apartheid era, policy-making process was an elitist business with little public participation. The new South African constitution changed this; it puts the people in the centre of participatory and representative democracy. The Constitution asserts for transparency and public access and involvement in the state affairs.

All South Africans are permitted to participate in all legislative process irrespective of their status in society. The nine provincial legislatures in the provinces are entrusted with the legislative authority. As spheres of government, provincial governments are detached from the nation sphere in order to allow them to design and implement systems, policies and legislation that would have direct impact on the people of such province. This suggests that it is the responsibility of every provincial legislature to ensure maximum public participation of the people in decision-making processes in their provinces.

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The main aim of the provision of public participation in the constitution is to influence and direct policy outcomes of government to directly reflect the will of the people. Consequently, an active civil society contributes meaningfully in nurturing democracy. Its role is to ensure public interaction with government departments, including parliament and legislatures, and asserts the legitimacy of policies, laws and institutions among the people. A vibrant parliament and legislatures need a vibrant civil society and people in order to remain relevant and reflect the will of the people. Above all, legislatures and parliament are designed to be people orientated; hence they are referred to as the people's parliament and legislatures. Therefore, as a defining character of a vibrant parliament and legislature- it must be inclusive and strive for the involvement of all citizens in issues pertinent to service delivery and governance.

Another important role of parliament and provincial legislatures is not to only to hold the executive and government accountable but also hold itself very accountable to the people. The constitution created them to be the most powerful institutions in the world. Although the political landscape of South Africa has progressively transformed to the better, it also worth noting that all cases of unemployment, poverty, inequality, poor service delivery are as a result of the apartheid legacy. Therefore, by encouraging public participation in all legislative bodies empowers those who were excluded by the previous apartheid regime.

Participation of the people in the elections is a key feature of democracy. The most common form of political participation is registering for elections and voting during elections. These encompass a number of electoral processes such as participation in election-related political party campaigns, standing for political office, attending and taking part in political meetings. The Constitution of Republic of the South Africa (Act 108 of 1998) under chapter 2 of the Bill of Rights (sec 19) gives provision for political rights which include:

- To form a political party.
- To participate in activities of, or recruit members for, a political party.
- To campaign for a political party or cause.
- To vote in all legislative elections in the country, and

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- To stand for public office and if elected, to hold that office.

This confirms that South African citizens' rights to participate in elections and politics are protected by the biggest law of the country. Other political participation involves citizens engaging at community level where they reside or interacting with their local councillors through meetings signing petitions on burning issues, being part of civil protests. The above listed forms of participation are not exhaustive.

In addition, public participation refers to the role played by the members of the community in the elections that would determine the health and strength of democratic system (Lumumba-Kasongo, 2005). To further validate this view, the public participation framework for the South African Legislative Sector of 2013 states that, "the South African Constitution asserts the need for the realisation of a participatory democracy which calls for the active involvement and participation of the citizenry as well as more defined interest groups."

Public participation serves to reinforce foundations of representative democracy by democratizing those organizations. The people are at the centre of a participatory democracy and at the heart of every decision making process. Many elements of political participation were confirmed by the interfaces between constituencies and their elected representatives including through the introduction of ward committees in 1999. Other initiatives such as the Izimbizo project which was launched in 2001, and the Community Development Workers (CDW) programme that was launched in 2003 were established to create effective participatory relations between the government and the people (DPLG, 2005).

This section showed that political participation is an important activity in any country, especially in a young democracy like South Africa. Government, political parties, academia should play meaningful role in encouraging and canvassing the people to participate in the politics of the country. Of course, active political participation does not guarantee that all will be well in a country. In fact, such participation should provide a platform for the people to influence the character and quality of their leadership, policies and systems of government as well improving their socio-economic material conditions. Even though the literature reviewed in this section

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indicated various ways, reasons and methods of political participation, it was notably inadequate in showing how such participation give the ANC electoral support more than other parties. Also, not much factual information is provided to indicate whether service delivery protests achieve their intended goals in such a participatory environment.

## **2.4 Conclusion**

This section of the dissertation started with the theoretical framework employed in the study. The study used relative deprivation theory due to characterise and explain the social discontentment and social movements for change. The section continued to review a wide range of literature through certain lenses. This review was divided into different topical themes as summarised here under. .

An election is a process through which the leadership is put in positions of authority for distribution and allocation of values in a society. It is a process that strengthens and consolidates democracy. However, of paramount importance to this process is the participation of voters. Ideally, voters elect their leaders on the basis of the fact that the parties that were in power delivered required services for improvement of their lives. A party that has failed to deliver required services is, ideally, replaced by a party that carries the potential to deliver on its promises. In South Africa, parties get seats in parliament according to the percentage of votes they accumulated in an election. This system is called proportional representation. Parties are proportionally allocated seats according to the votes cast in their favour. Since 1994, the ANC has been dominating in occupation of seats in parliament. Of greatest concern to this study is the fact that since 2004, there has been rise of protests among South African communities, pertaining among others to lack of service delivery by the ANC-led government, but it continues to enjoy popularity among South Africans. The question is, how South Africans could continuously vote for a party that doesn't deliver on its promises. The media has dubbed these protests, 'service delivery protests', however, given the complexities of their nature, it is safe to argue that they are community protests.

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As Mafeje (2008) argues, the electoral dominance of the ANC should not be blamed on this party, but the weakness of opposition parties. And this phenomenon does not qualify the political system in South Africa, as a one-party State. There is a difference between a party's dominance on the basis of weak opposition parties, or lack of appeal to the voters, and one party with no opposition altogether. Democracy cannot be defined by the existence of political parties contesting elections but the social, political and economic liberties afforded to the citizens by the State, and furthermore, the protection of vulnerable groups by the State. All of these should be prescribed in the constitution, as a supreme document guiding the political, economic, and social relations of the people in a particular State. The glaring gap from the literature is the reason for the continuous electoral dominance of the ANC regardless of the dissatisfaction by the citizenry about the government's lack of delivery of services. This study seeks to close this gap by analysing the linkage between service delivery protests and voter turnout during elections.

Election period presents candidates and parties with platform to deliver their election manifestos to their constituencies. The content of the manifesto will either entice or discourage voters to go out and vote on election day. Voters use the promises made by parties as voting yardstick in that they expect delivery of the promises after elections. In the quest to lure voters parties and candidates go all out to be seen on the ground and working for their constituencies. Given the stiff competition between parties contesting election, no election victory is guaranteed until results are declared, even at the perceived or previously strong hold a party.

Service delivery protests have been on the rise since 2004 in South Africa. Some scholars likened them to protests that took place before 1994 during the apartheid regime. Clearly, both the condition and environment under which the protests are taking place differ drastically. One was under a government that was not willing to uplift the lives of black majority in the country and the other is under the liberation party which has always assured the black majority of its commitment to give them a better life. These protests are triggered by the lack or non-provision of public services to the communities. Mostly, these protests are directed at government at local municipalities where the people are close to. Despite the commitment by

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government to positively respond to the demands of the protestors, no actual results are achieved after protests.

The above shortcomings from the ruling party do not have a significant negative bearing on the general performance of the ANC during elections. Voters still regard the ANC as their saviour from the oppressive apartheid government which denied them all sorts of franchises, especially voting right. As a result of this sentimental relationship between the ANC and black voters- the ANC still enjoys electoral hegemony in South Africa. However, the opposition parties attribute the electoral success of the ANC to the currently used electoral system (Proportional Representation System) and party funding system (Public Funding of Represented Political Parties Act). Both these laws allocate votes and funds according to the numbers of votes and seats allocated to a party. In respect of party funding, the ANC gets more party funding than all political parties represented due to its high number of seats in parliament. This advantage allows the ANC to have efficient campaigns, mobilization and wider coverage of its constituencies given the money it gets as a result of the party funding act. This suggests that the ANC is more likely to win elections for a while as long as laws and political environment remain unchanged.

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## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### **3.1 Research Design**

This study utilized the qualitative research method. Qualitative research method is mostly concerned with understanding why people behave the way they do and how their knowledge, attitude, beliefs, and fears structure behaviour. This type of research builds a natural relationship between the participants and a researcher about a study as revealed by Halloway and Wheeler (1996). Unlike quantitative method which focuses on posed questions be clearly answered and very rigid on its intended results of the questionnaire (Broom and Willies, 2007), qualitative method is relevant to this study as it (Nicholls, 2009) allows participants to be free and engage with the questions posed to them freely and even provide additional information. The researcher did not use quantitative method because this type of research mainly uses data analysis techniques and questionnaires that utilize numerical statistics (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2007). Cresswell (2009) observes that qualitative research is a means of exploring and understanding the meaning individuals ascribe to a social or human problem (see also Penskin, 1993) hence its usage its usage in the current study. This study therefore employed qualitative research method through using primary and secondary sources of data in order to examine the relationship between service delivery protests and voter turnout in the North West Province.

#### **3.2 Research Site**

The study was conducted in the Ngaka Modiri Molema region of the North West province. The specific area of focus was Ngaka Modiri Molema district municipality which comprises of Ratlou, Tswaing, Mahikeng, Ditsobotla and Ramotshere Moiloa local municipalities. This region was chosen primarily because it has experienced more service delivery protests than the other three regions (Bojanala, Dr Ruth

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Segomotsi Mompati and Dr Kenneth Kaunda) in the province. In addition, the region was chosen because it has proven to be a strong hold of the ANC, meaning that the ANC has won both provincial and municipal elections in this region since 1994. This region is also hosting the capital city (Mahikeng) of the province, provincial government (including provincial legislature) as well as the provincial office of the ANC. The following sections present the manner in which primary and secondary data were sourced.

### **3.3 Data Collection Techniques**

In their study, Leedy and Ormrod (2005) explain primary data collection as information collected and used by the researcher to address the current study. Just as it is the case with this study, this included gathering information through surveys and interviews from participants. The Primary data used included the following:

#### **3.3.1. Document Analysis**

The main purpose of document analysis is to provide and clarify relevance of the policies, regulations, policies and reforms through highlighting the methodology used to analyze documents. As shown in figure 3, the researcher analyzed the below documents as justified:

**Figure 3: Acts and Reports**

<b>Document</b>	<b>Justification</b>
RSA. 1998. <i>Electoral Act 73 of 1998</i>	The researcher used this act to provide insight into the electoral processes in South Africa.
RSA. 1996. <i>Electoral Commission Act 51 of 1996</i>	The researcher used this act to provide insight into the responsibility of the IEC regarding voter registration, voter education and political party's engagement.
RSA. 2000. <i>Local Government: Municipal Electoral Act 27 of 2000</i>	The researcher used this act to provide insight into the electoral processes in

	South Africa
RSA. 1998. <i>Local Government: Municipal Structures Act 117 of 1998</i>	The researcher used this act to provide insight into the responsibilities of elected councillors toward their constituencies.
RSA. 1999. <i>Public Finance Management Act 29 of 1999</i>	The researcher used this act to provide insight into financial compliance or contraventions by public institutions and officials.
RSA. 1997. <i>Public Funding of Represented Political Parties Act 103 of 1997</i>	The researcher used this act to analyze the funding model and framework used to fund political parties in South Africa.
RSA. 1996. <i>Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996</i>	The researcher used this act to analyze the obligation and responsibilities of local government in service delivery.
Independent Electoral Commission. Introduction. <i>An end to waiting: the story of South Africa's elections</i>	The researcher used this report to provide insight into voting statistics during elections in South Africa.
Independent Electoral Commission. Introduction. <i>Electoral Democracy in South Africa</i>	The researcher used this report to provide insight into activities and efforts employed by the IEC to encourage communities to participation in elections.
Municipal IQ. 2012. <i>Press Release: Municipal IQ's Municipal Hotspot Results, 16 February 2012.</i>	The researcher used this report to provide insight into the nature and causes of community protests.
Public Service Commission. 2011. <i>Citizens Talk – A Citizen Satisfaction Survey Report. Commission House.</i>	The researcher used this report to provide insight into analyzing the perceptions of communities regarding the state of service delivery in South Africa.

### 3.3.2. In-depth interview with protesting communities

The researcher conducted in depth interviews with protesting community members from Ratlou, Tswaing, Mahikeng, Ditsobotla and Ramotshere Moiloa local

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municipalities falling under the Ngaka Modiri Molema district municipality. Ten participants from each municipality were interviewed. These five municipalities fall under Ngaka Modiri Molema district municipality.

### **3.3.3. Focus Group Discussions with BECs**

In-depth interviews were also conducted with Branch Executive Committee members of various political parties registered with the IEC within the Ngaka Modiri Molema district. These parties were selected on the basis that they were registered for elections in the Ngaka Modiri Molema district. These political parties include the ANC, COPE, DA, EFF, UCDP and PAC. The researcher chose these parties because they were available and willing to meet with the researcher. These groups were key in explaining the reasons majority of voters continuously vote for the ANC and not other political parties. This despite these parties having election manifestos and the rise in service delivery protests in their communities.

### **3.3.4. In-depth interview with PPLC members**

The researcher interviewed members of the Provincial Party Liaison Committee (PPLC).<sup>1</sup> The in-depth interviews with members of the PPLC were significant for providing insights into the reasons why people still turn out to vote amid lack of service delivery. Furthermore, PPLC members elucidated narratives regarding the organization of elections, voter education campaigns and general mobilization of voters to participate in elections. Narratives of the PPLC members are presented in chapter four.

## **3.4 Sourcing of Secondary Data**

The secondary data was sourced from various scholarly publications on the subject of this study. The researcher used key words of the topic, research questions and objectives to solicit secondary data. Through gathering of data on secondary sources the researcher evaluated tested the existing literature against the findings of the current study as will be observed in chapter five. Thus the researcher utilized secondary data to validate and refute the previous scholarly findings.

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<sup>1</sup> PPLC is a provincial structure that comprises of the Electoral Commission and two representatives from political parties that are registered to contest elections in the province.

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### **3.5 Sample of the Study**

The sample of the study was 121 respondents. Out of the 121 respondents, 100 were Protesters (40 from Mahikeng, 10 from Ratlou, 20 from Ramotshere Moiloa, 10 from Tswaing and 20 Ditsobotla local municipalities), six were Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) with branch members of the Executive Committees (ECs) of the ANC of ward 27, Congress of the People (COPE) of ward 26, Democratic Alliance (DA) of ward 9, Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) of ward 15, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of ward 28, United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP) of ward 26 in Mahikeng Local Municipality because these are active and reachable political parties, and 16 members of the Provincial Party Liaison Committee (PPLC) of the IEC.

### **3.6 Applicability of the Objectives against Data Collection Techniques**

In the light of the research questions and study objectives stated earlier, the following techniques were deemed appropriate and adequate for collecting the requisite primary data: (a) in-depth interview, (b) focus group discussion (FGD) and (c) key informant interview, and review of relevant official (government) documents.

Data collection techniques were employed for each of the research questions. Each research question had specific data collection technique(s) used to source information. This is elucidated below:

- For research question one, the researcher employed in-depth interview to source data. This was done to obtain data through a conversational method in order to elicit in-depth knowledge about respondents' views and feelings on whether service delivery protests achieve their objectives in various communities in the North West Province. The researcher conducted interviews with 50 respondents who participated in service delivery protests in the five municipalities of Ngaka Modiri Molema region.
- For research question two, the researcher employed FGDs with EC members of ANC, COPE, DA, EFF, UCDP and PAC to elicit rich responses from small groups of respondents in an interactive situation to elicit what informs voter

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support for the African National Congress irrespective of their dissatisfaction with service delivery in the North West Province. The researcher conducted six FGDs with respondents.

- For research question three, the researcher employed in-depth interview which is a conversational method eliciting in-depth knowledge to explain factors contributing to voter turnout at various voting stations. The researcher conducted interviews with 50 respondents who participated in service delivery protests in the five municipalities of Ngaka Modiri Molema region.

### **3.7 Ethical Consideration**

The researcher abided by the North West University's ethical code guiding all social researchers. Beyond this, the study adhered strictly to the ethics of informed consent, voluntary participation, respondent anonymity, and the freedom to withdraw from the study at any time should they feel uncomfortable with the study. In other words, the physical and psychological welfare of participants will be of great importance throughout the data collection process.

As indicated in the previous chapter under in-depth interview sections, the researcher relied on the availability of respondents and the times convenient to them. Bogdan and Biklen (2003) assert that this approach enhance free participation and encourages dialogue between the respondents and the researcher. Despite this, some of the respondents withdrew from participating in fear of victimization by other community members and ward councillors. As such the researcher used the interviewed respondents to recommend potential respondents who would be free to participate in the study. Regarding FGDs with BEC members of political parties, some parties had to seek approval from their provincial executive committees before they could participate in the study. The researcher had to wait for such an approval even though it took few rescheduling before FGDs could be conducted.

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## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS**

#### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

As indicated in chapter one, this study is informed by three research questions, namely:

- Have service delivery protests achieved their objectives in various communities in the North West Province?
- What informs voter support for the ANC irrespective of their dissatisfaction with service delivery in the North West Province?
- What informs voter turnout at the voting stations in the North West Province?

As such, each of the three research questions informed the themes of parts one, two and three of this chapter. The subthemes were developed through a coding system informed by the questions posed to respondents to elicit primary data. The sections are thus titled in the following manner:

- Part One: Service Delivery Protests In North West Province Communities: are they meeting intended objectives?
- Part Two: Understanding the ANC support and service delivery dissatisfactions
- Part Three: Understanding reasons for voter participation in elections

Findings of this study in the above themes are elucidated in the following sections divided into three parts.

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## PART ONE

### **Service Delivery Protests In North West Province Communities: Are They Meeting Intended Objectives?**

#### **4.2.1 Examining the Objective of Service Delivery Protests**

Noted from the collected data, the general response from the respondents was that service delivery protests did not fully achieve their objectives. This is because after handing of a memorandum to the authorities such as their respective municipal and other provincial authorities, the situation subsides while waiting for the response, which is normally a maximum of one month. One of the reason the protests did not yield fruitful results was that the authorities, including, amongst others, the Mayor, Member of Executive Council (MEC) or the Premier are rarely available to address their grievances and receive the Memoranda of their demands. Rather, local communities often meet with junior government officials deployed by senior government officials to receive the memoranda of demands. Another reason they expressed is that after the protest nothing happens regarding their demands due to the unresponsiveness of municipal and provincial authorities. Finally, participants in the protest lose hope and the protest loses a momentum for lack of sustenance.

Moreover, respondents indicated that there is nothing to show after their protest. They listed lack of or access to clean water, lack of housing and unemployment as the biggest services they need. Their frustration is that only those who have money are able to install borehole water system in their yards. This system costs about R40 000 and all households that do not have money for this service would wait for water that is brought by water tank truck. The truck comes twice a week to service a particular point in a village and villagers have to queue in line a long time and others still had to travel about 2 kilometres to go home. Others complained that government builds houses in a certain area within the ward and not in other areas. There is an assumption that the houses that were built were given to friends, relatives and close comrades of the Councillors and Mayors. This is the same with unemployment. Many young people went to school and finished their matric but they are sitting at

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home doing nothing because their parents did not have money for them to access higher education. They said they saw some people working on contracts in municipality and learnerships in departments like Department of Social Development (Socdev) and South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) without posts having being advertised.

From a sample of 50 only 7 responded that indeed the service delivery protests they participated in yielded positive results. They listed the installation of street lights, levelling of the roads and a promise of houses from the municipality as a positive sign. They strongly believe that such developments were as a result of the service delivery protest embarked on. These respondents also confessed that not all of their demands were met by government but the little the government gave to them makes a difference in their lives.

#### **4.2.2 Government Responsiveness to Community Grievances**

The respondents indicated that in many instances government has never responded timeously to address their demands. Even when the government responds, they said, such responses are not satisfactory because they always keep shifting the responsibilities, and blame shortage of funds allocation for adequate service provision. For instance, the respondents indicated that a municipality would inform them that certain services are a provincial competency which must be sourced from the provincial government, such as housing. The government only takes the Memorandum of Demands (MoD) and promises to respond within the time frame set in the MoD but they will not respond until the next protest which would not be less than six years.

#### **4.2.3 Effectiveness of Protests in Raising Grievances**

The respondents indicated that government is never around to listen to their issues and concerns. They also believe that a group voice is better than that of an

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individual. Some also indicated that since they elected a Ward Councillor in the 2011 Local Government Elections, the Ward Councillors have never had a single meeting with the people in the ward. This created a communication space between the people in the municipalities and their authorities in government.

In the absence of any platform to use to communicate their demands to government, they opted to be part of the service delivery protests. The protests were organized by active and influential people in the communities.

#### **4.2.4 Competencies of Levels of Government: Protest Against Who?**

The respondents demonstrated no knowledge of different spheres of government and their competences and mandates for service delivery for residents of municipalities. A majority of the respondents classify all spheres of government as one entity which must deliver services to the people. In addition to this, some respondents believed very strongly that municipalities must be able to provide services to the people in its jurisdiction. This belief led the respondents to expect all services from the municipalities irrespective of whether it is the competency of the municipalities, provincial or national government. Every respondent did not show interest in knowing which sphere of government is responsible for delivery of a specific service. To them, the interest lies in the delivery of services; whether by municipality or not, they do not care.

#### **4.2.5 Disgruntlement or Genuine Participation in Protest**

When asked of the possible involvement of disgruntled members of various political parties in the protest, a majority of the respondents indicated that they had no knowledge of the internal fighting of any political parties and as such they did not think the protest was influenced by it. These respondents admitted that they may be used by such people, especially those leading the protests to fight their own battles. However, they remained resolute that there was no sign of such an action during the protest.

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However, some respondents indicated that they were aware of the political factions that preoccupied their municipalities and that had negative results on the governance of the municipalities. Many participants in the protest seemed to be blaming those occupying strategic position of power for imposing their ideas on the people. For instance, the respondents indicated that back in 2011 municipal elections, their preferred candidates for ward councillors were ignored and those who are in power now were imposed on them.

#### **4.2.6 Opposition Parties: Motives of Involvement in Protests**

The respondents have indicated that the protests in their areas were not driven by a certain political party. The participants were ordinary community members who have lost hope in the system and are frustrated by the situation on the ground. However, the participants acknowledged the presence of people who are supporters of different political parties mainly the ANC, DA and UCDP.

## **PART TWO**

### **Understanding the ANC Support and Service Delivery Dissatisfactions**

#### **4.3.1 ANC Service Delivery Performance**

The ANC group stated that the ANC is the only political party that has fought for the total liberation of South Africans and blacks in particular. Since 1994 the ANC said they had been successful in changing the lives of the majority of South Africans for the better. They indicated that they have built Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) houses, built schools, clinics, hospitals, road infrastructure and water and electricity for the majority of poor people in the Mahikeng Local Municipality and the province. They also acknowledged that they did not cover everybody who needs such services but plans are in place every financial year to deliver services to the people. They added that water provision is the biggest

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challenge the party and government is faced with. There were also plans in place to correct and save the situation in the interim such as provision of water tanks across the villages where there is a lack of water. The tanks will be filled with water every twice a week to ensure that people have access to water whilst waiting for a long term provision of water.

The group indicated that they were confident that the people are satisfied with the service delivery that the ANC-led government is providing to them.

The other respondent groups (COPE, DA, EFF, PAC and UCDP) agreed that the people are not satisfied with service delivery by government because they are still poor, they do not have houses, water and electricity and that is the reason they are protesting from time to time. These groups cited corruption by the ruling ANC government as one of the factors stalling the service delivery to the people. This corruption was through nepotism, cadre deployment and abuse of power by those in power.

These groups believed that people seem to find it hard to vote the ANC out of power for because of the following reasons:

- The people believe that the ANC is the only party that should govern SA because it has liberated them from a brutal apartheid system.
- The ANC misled people in to believing that if they don't vote for it then their social grants would be cut.
- Others fear victimization after elections especially in areas where ANC is dominant.

They further acknowledged that things are slowly changing where people get tired and understand that the above stated reasons for people voting for the ANC are misleading and they can choose to vote for any party of their choice. Despite these reasons, recent development where, during the 2014 NPE, people decided to vote for the EFF as a new official opposition party in NW showed that people are not satisfied with the service delivery by the ANC government.

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It was also interesting how the groups of EFF and DA believed that the ANC's factionalism or internal fighting is also a major contributing factor to non-delivery of services. They believe that the ANC uses state resources to fund a faction they belong to within the ANC and in retaliation the other faction (s) would fight them internally and through the protests in the disguise of service delivery protests. According to them, the ANC employees in government are pre-occupied with pleasing the factions they belong to and purging dissenting groups instead of ensuring effective service delivery to the people and especially the poor.

#### **4.3.2 Service Delivery Protests: Who are Participants?**

The ANC group indicated that a minority of the people that participated in protests are ordinary citizens and the majority were members of the opposition parties. They believe that opposition parties mobilized community members to protest against the ANC government so that they can destabilize governance. They believe that protesting was the only way for opposition parties to get rid of the incumbent ruling ANC because the people continued to show their faith in the ANC through votes.

The COPE, DA, EFF, PAC and UCDP groups however, say that the participants in the protests were ordinary citizens who were tired of empty promises by the ANC, corruption, mal-administration, nepotism, cadre deployment and lack of service delivery.

#### **4.3.3 Differentiation between ANC and Government on Service Delivery Responsibility**

The ANC group stated that the voters understood the difference between the ANC as a party and government as the ruling party. They further stated that when the people engaged in protests they are not confronting the ANC or destroying its properties but they direct their grievance and frustrations to the government directly. According to them, this was a clear sign of maturity on the part of the people and understanding each entity's competency.

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However, the COPE, DA, EFF, PAC and UCDP groups responded that it was difficult to assess whether the people understood who is responsible for service delivery between the ANC and government. According to them, this was made difficult by the ANC leaders who publicly claimed that the ANC-led government built schools, clinics, roads, etc. They felt that such statements confused the people and made it difficult for them to appreciate the difference between the ANC and government. The government officials who used the government platform to address and campaign for the ANC made it even more confusing.

#### **4.3.4 ANC and Government: Viewed Using the Same Lens**

The ANC group stated that South Africa is a constitutional country and the state is obliged to provide services to the whole population. They (ANC group) believe that voting is a personal choice and the majority of South Africans chose to vote for the ANC as a party and gave it the mandate to deploy its candidate into government to work for the people.

The group stated that it was not a problem for people to vote for the ANC and protest against its government. This was because the people were impatient with the rate of service delivery to them because they see that other people already got service delivery. This group believes the people were influenced by the opposition parties to protest but naturally the people understood that service delivery to all South Africans would not be done in 21 years.

This group further believes that protesting against government is everybody's constitutional right and due to the services they provide to the people they turn to protests for not more than five days believing their demands would be met or plans would be put in place to meet them. The prolonged protests, they say, is because there is a third force which has its own selfish expectations.

Respondents from opposition parties such as COPE, DA, EFF, PAC and UCDP accused the ANC of vote-buying and abuse of state power. They indicated that the ANC used government programmes to campaign and attract voters. For instance

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they mentioned the Minister of Social Development, Bathabile Dlamini, who allegedly distributed food parcels in Tlokwe Local Municipality in 2014 on the same day that the ANC was to hold a rally a few hours later. The respondents stated that the people were bought by the food parcels, blankets, and alcohol during election time or even on election day itself. Therefore, people would vote out of excitement. A few months after elections the reality sets in and they resort to protestation. Another example they related as to why people vote for the ANC and protest against the same government is that on election day, the ANC give the voters the names of their candidates on a small folded paper for voters to refer to when they cast their votes at the voting booth. Accordingly, this group believe that such a coercion by ANC on voters does not takes the country anywhere because people vote today and destroy the state property next month during violent service delivery protests.

## PART THREE

### **Understanding Reasons for Voter Participation in Elections**

#### **4.4.1 Voter Apathy and Participation since 1994**

The majority of the respondents stated that they have participated in elections because they understood the importance of voting as a way of expressing their democratic rights. They believe that it was through voting that they can have a say on who is running affairs of the country.

Few respondents indicated that they have participated in elections before but they will never participate again. Their reasons were that:

- The political parties only come to them during election period.
- There is too much corruption and nepotism by public servants.
- That the ANC will always win elections because they are favoured by the IEC (citing that the Commissioners of the IEC are appointed by the President of South Africa who is the president of the ANC).
- Their votes will not make any difference because the ANC has a majority of supporters in South Africa which made it a dominant party in all elections.

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- There were no changes (schools, water, roads, employment) in their lives after voting for the ANC since 1994.

#### **4.4.2 The Impact of Voting on Service Delivery Provision**

The respondents indicated that voter turnout was as result of people determined to keep their favourite political parties in power. They also believe that voter turnout at the voting station was a result of strong campaigning by ANC. According to them, the ANC is the only party that is very visible during election and non-election periods. They stated that voter turnout was influenced directly by the service delivery that the government is giving to them. Some appreciated the efforts of the government to provide services to the people but some said they were still to experience service delivery in their communities. Few respondents contend that people go out and vote purely on political reasons and it had nothing to do with provision of service delivery.

#### **4.4.3 The Effect of Party Manifestos on Voter Turnout**

The respondents posited that only during term of the late President Nelson Mandela the ANC delivered on its election manifestos after elections. They added that following 1994 and 1999 election manifestos the majority of the services that the government provided such as houses, water, roads, clinics and schools were during Mandela's tenure and shortly after it. After all other elections, no party, including the ANC ever delivered the election manifesto promises. They contended that all these parties speak without any Action. Therefore, the people vote out of their own free will instead of being attracted by party manifestos.

#### **4.4.4 The Contribution of Participation to Electoral Democracy**

The respondents indicated that they did not think that there was any relationship between voting and democracy. They conceded that SA is a democratic country and it was in the nature of democracy that elections are held for people to vote. Beside that natural relationship there was nothing that could prove that voting had any

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impact on democracy. If it were to have any impact on democracy then SA would be a better country and people of Ngaka Modiri Molema district would be having access to an uninterrupted water supply, villages in the district would be developed with road infrastructure, electricity, schools and transport. They stated that the saying “democracy is a government of the people for the people by the people” was just rhetoric because in their case it was a “government of the few for the few” where only the few rich and relatives benefit.

#### **4.4.5 The Track Record of IEC and Party Promises**

The respondents stated that the reasons they vote is not because they believed that the parties had better election manifestos or they trusted the IEC. Some explained that they voted because they wanted to prevent white apartheid rule to come back and they voted for any black politically dominant party like the UCDP, COPE and EFF. They further explained that they do not have trust in the IEC because it is an institution created by the government and the government is the ruling party, especially that the IEC Commissioners were appointed by the President of the country. They further expressed concerns that the IEC employs people secretly and the same people have worked for all previous elections; as such those people were loyal to the IEC. They were not aware of the counting processes of the IEC to satisfy themselves of the outcome of the elections. Such factors indicted that they did not trust the IEC and believe the political parties’ manifestos to draw them to voting stations.

#### **4.4.6 The Impact of Service Delivery to Communities on Voter Turnout**

Few respondents stated that they believed that service delivery by municipalities motivated the people to go out and vote so that they can receive more services. They also conceded that such belief was changed after elections as soon as people see that the municipalities forgot to bring them services.

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However, the majority of the respondents strongly believe that there are other factors motivating the people to go out and vote instead of municipal service delivery. Such factors included:

- Some voters, especially the elders voted for the ANC out of loyalty and believe that it is the only party that would prevent apartheid coming back.
- Government people intimidate the people, especially the elderly, and recipients of social grants that they would no longer receive social grants if they don't vote for a certain party.
- During election day the ruling party buys people through food parcels, alcohol and food to vote for them.

#### **4.4.7 The Impact of Voting Logistics on Voter Participation**

The majority of the respondents commended the IEC for setting up voting stations at their communities. They stated that the stations were clearly visible and during elections the people who did not even know about the elections were able to see movements and IEC signage and end up going to vote. They have also conceded that a few of the voting stations were far from the majority of the people, which made some people not to vote due to long distance between voting stations and their place of residence.

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## **CHAPTER 5**

### **DISCUSSIONS OF FINDINGS**

#### **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

The key findings of this study are presented in this chapter. The data was collected through in-depth interviews from protestors in communities of Ngaka Modiri Molema. This data was collected in order to answer the research questions posed in chapter one. In doing so, the study intended to:

- Examine if service delivery protests achieve their objectives in North West communities.
- Have an understanding of ANC support and service delivery dissatisfaction.
- Have an understanding of reasons for voter participation in elections.

These questions were answered adequately by respondents interviewed. The presented findings in this chapter validate the possibility of merging practice and theory.

#### **5.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS**

The findings of the study are as follows:

The protests did not yield their intended objectives because the local government did not respond adequately to the demands of the protestors. In the majority of cases, protestors pushed the local government to respond but the local government officials only gave a verbal response. At some point protest leaders got tired and decided to leave pushing local government officials for response as no one listened to them.

The protest leaders are people who were influential (socially and politically) in the communities. The University of Free State released a press release about the study they conducted in 2014 which found that the majority of the people who lead these

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protests are former ANC member who previously held key and prominent positions within the communities and ANC. In the main these are male leaders.

There was a clear misunderstanding on the part of the respondents about which sphere of government must deliver which service. The people seemed to believe that the mandate of the local government is to deliver all needed services to the people. This suggests that there is an existing poor communication or lack of public education by the municipalities to the communities about service delivery points of government. Hence Botes et al (2007) state that the lack of institutional transparency was the main reason for community unrest. In this context there is no client interface<sup>2</sup> between local government and citizens. If a client interface relationship existed effectively in this case, the communities would most probably target the relevant sphere of government.

The IEC is mostly visible during the elections, and their outreach and communication programmes do not reach everybody, especially in rural communities. This is affirmed by Booysen and Masterson (2009) who argue that, even though the Electoral Commission used the low percentage of spoilt ballots as a measurement for their success of its outreach programmes during the 2009 NPE, a Citizen Satisfaction Survey report conducted by the Public Service Commission (2011) shows that just 9 percent of the voters believe that the outreach and communication programme is effective. Given this, the intended message by the IEC to the voters did not yield the results they anticipated.

The people did not have knowledge about the difference between the government and the ANC as a party. This meant that the people directed their demands straight to the municipalities and did not canvass or lobby structures of the ANC to intervene. This further suggests that people could protest for service delivery against the ANC-led government just days or months before elections and still vote for the ANC even if their demands were not met.

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<sup>2</sup> Client interface refers to a common point where the state meets the citizens with the objective of citizens getting attention, feedback or action from the state and the state representative give responses to the raised issues

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The opposition parties have admitted that they did not adequately and efficiently campaign for elections and conduct voter education to their entire constituency due to the lack of financial resources. This was attributed to the current system of party funding which allocates more funds to a bigger party and less funds to a smaller party. Public Funding of Represented Political Parties Act 1997 regulates how the Chief Electoral Officer (CEO) of the IEC must administer the allocation of funds to represented political parties.

Booysen and Masterson (2009) support this finding that, if anything, the public funding in South Africa has greatly empowered the ANC to consolidate its dominance at the expense of opposition parties. They made an example about the imbalance of the allocated funds to the ANC by making comparison with the DA and IFP parties: "Of the R88 million that the IEC distributed to parties in 2009, R61 million went to the ANC, R10.5 million to the DA [Democratic Alliance] and R5.4 million to the Inkatha Freedom Party" (Booysen & Masterson 2009). Simply put, the system allocated the ANC about 5½ times as much of the taxpayer's money in 2009 compared to the next two opposition parties combined. As a result of this Act, the dominance of the ANC will be prolonged whereas opposition parties will find it hard to compete adequately. Additionally, opposition parties have been severely disadvantaged by the Funding Act due to its unequal funds allocation in a multi-party system under a dominant party system in South Africa (Weissenbach, 2011). In turn, this Act allows the ANC to cover greater areas during election campaigns which voters construe as the only party that cares for them in communities that the opposition parties are unable to cover due to lack of financial resources.

Contrarily, Sefakor (2014) maintains that public funding system is not the only legal avenue for parties to receive funds for their operations. In South Africa there is no law that curbs any party from receiving funding from any source. Thus, opposition parties may still be funded privately apart from public funding during or after elections. This speaks to the ability of all parties to fundraise and strengthen themselves to be very competitive during elections.

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The government and Ward Councillors do not hold meetings with the people and share their programmes, budgets and time frame of their service delivery. This is contrary to the Batho Pele principles. This suggested that there was a lack of accountability by the government and Ward Councillors. Due to this the people felt neglected and used for the purpose of voting and immediately after elections their needs are disregarded. This means that officials in local government are undermining the prescripts of the constitution which provides local government with the power of promoting democratic and accountable government to local communities. To this end, local government in the Ngaka Modiri Molema Municipality fails to consider that government officials must be accountable to the public (Chapman, 2000). In this vein, it is not surprising that Alexander (2010) and Booyse (2009) argue that lack of service delivery and lack of accountability by government officials and councillors are adequate reasons justifying community protests.

Moreover, the ward councillor as the representative of the people must understand and present the needs of the constituency in the council (Sibanda, 2012). This is in line with section 58 of the Local Government: Municipal Structures Act (1998) which states that the council should understand the needs of the residents and recommend the best solution for service delivery to the benefit of the local communities. This is further articulated in the Batho Pele framework established in 2002 which sought to overcome the challenges of service delivery by government. Specifically, the ignorance of the protestors (voters) about by whom and how service should be rendered is due to the government contravention of the principles of Batho Pele (World Bank, 2011) set out below:

- **Consultation and choice.** *Citizen-users should be consulted in a number of ways: customer surveys; interviews; group consultations; meetings with consumer representative bodies, non-governmental organizations, and community-based organizations; and Integrated Development Plans. Consumers should also be given real choices.*
- **Providing of information.** *Information on services should be available at the point of delivery, but other arrangements will be needed for users who are far from the point of delivery.*

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- *Openness and transparency.* The public should know how national, provincial, and local government institutions operate, how well they use resources, and who is in charge. It is anticipated that the public will take advantage of this principle by suggesting improvements to service delivery mechanisms and raising queries with government employees to hold them accountable and responsible.

As a result of this neglected responsibility by the local government, the people think that every service to the communities is the sole responsibility of the local government. Therefore, in the absence of the service provision knowledge by the communities they expect government to provide services and if this is not done protests erupt.

Meanwhile Raga and Tylor (2005) argue that accountability is the ‘fundamental prerequisite’ for averting the state and its official from abuse of power, and making sure that such power is channelled towards achieving responsiveness, effectiveness, transparency, and efficiency, and also ensuring that government does what is mandated to do and embraces the responsibility of being accountable to the communities.

Many people vote out of their own interest not because of the party manifestos whereas others vote to preserve the history of the ANC as they believe it is the only party that should rule SA. They believe that a change in their vote will give the apartheid government a window to come back. Schlemmer (2004) also attributes ANC support partly to the “symbolism of liberation” as majority of electorates associate it with the struggle against apartheid. These liberation credentials have sentimental attachment for the majority of electorates in the country, especially the black people who used to be marginalised and oppressed electorates. In just over 20 years since the attainment of democracy in South Africa it will take many years for the majority of electorates to take power away from the ANC. The ANC is also given credence by the significant role it played during the crafting of the constitution of South Africa (Giliomee and Simkins, 1999). This role has made the ANC to be

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perceived as the peaceful, inclusive, caring and a democratic party which a majority of electorates want to be associated with.

However, Managa (2012) disagrees by stating that political party manifestos have contributed to the situation by making temporary and opportunistic promises that attract voters during election time. These promises raises the expectations which then create the wrong perception that once such party or candidate wins the community will be provided with what was promised. Since 1994, many of the party manifestos addressed the primary needs of the communities such as curbing corruption, improving service delivery, job creation, provision of water and electricity. Once these promises are not met after elections, the local communities feel deprived, frustrated and decide to protest.

The opposition parties believe that the ANC intimidates people and blackmails them to vote for the ANC if they still want to benefit from social grants and other state services. This view was also expressed in a news24 article of 17 April 2012 which stated that "The first is that the ANC, by spending government money on 16 million social grants per year, and by telling those grant recipients that they won't get their money if anyone else is in power, are buying votes. They're buying votes from the same desperate people they have been failing for 20 years, but they are buying votes none the less". Seale (2014) also asserts that the ANC side-lines people associated with opposition parties through tenders, jobs, service delivery and opportunities for development. Seale (2014) further argues that the main way the ANC carried out political intimidation was through deceiving voters, giving misinformation through threats regarding social grants and pensions, denying other parties access to government meeting facilities. Times Live (2014) published an article about the ANC MEC for Agriculture in Kwazulu Natal who warned everyone who did not vote for the ANC to stay away from the social grants. Mr Meshack Radebe said "Nxamalala [Zuma] has increased grants, but there are people who are stealing them by voting for opposition parties, if you are in the opposition, you are like a person who comes to my house, eats my food and then insults me."

The respondents indicated personal interest as the reason for voting during elections. This interest includes ensuring continuous social grants payment and

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possibly securing employment. Related to social grants, the respondents commended the ANC for continuous monthly payments and acknowledged that in many regards the grant is better than it was during the apartheid system. The apartheid regime implemented the social grants that met the needs of the whites (Inter-Regional Inequality Facility, 2012). The introduction of the social grants under the ANC government is seen a better and inclusive one that to some degree alleviate poverty in some households in communities. Samson et al (2004) confirm that a household that receives a social grant has much better opportunities of taking children to school, extensively look for employment and have a decent meal than a household that is not receiving social grants. Social grants remain the only form of income for many households that do not have workers, have children and some illiteracy to find employment.

Nonetheless, there is not enough evidence regarding the impact social grants have on the lives of the recipients. One of the perceptions is that the social grants create dependency by the recipients on the state who end up not willing to fend for themselves (Potts, 2005). This could well be motivating women or men to intentionally fall pregnant, not look for employment and rely solely on social grants.

The study also established that the members of the communities participated in elections to get employed or enhance their chances of being employed. The people especially youth, use voting as a transaction for employment after elections (Booysen, 2015). The unemployed people seem to be actively campaigning for politicians or influential people and vote during elections so that they can be rewarded with employment. Booysen (2015) emphasises that such people do this with the expectation that they are seen, recognized and their Actions will be rewarded by the ruling ANC. Statistics South Africa (2013) justifies this thinking when it revealed that youth between the ages of 15 – 24 years in South Africa are unemployed and therefore dependent on their families or the state for any income and care.

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## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **6.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter provides the recommendations the study believes will enhance effective service delivery in local communities and strengthen better rapport between the local government authorities and communities. It further revisits the three research objectives of the study, revisits the theoretical underpinning of the study and in the end gives a comprehensive conclusion of the study.

#### **6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPLEMENTATION**

The recommendations are aimed at assisting the government to reduce the high culture of service delivery protests and provide services effectively; to improve the people's understanding of the spheres of government; promote active citizenry and promote voter participation during elections in SA generally. The below recommendations were influenced by the reviewed literature and observation of the findings. As such, the recommendations are as follows:

- The government needs to establish a relation with the people in order for each to access the other. This study showed that government was not accountable to the people and did not have meetings to find each other on the needs and demands of the people. The local council must enact a policy that is in line with this. Each Ward Councillor must hold quarterly meetings with their constituencies in order to share feedback and progress. There must be a penalty for non-compliance regarding such policy. Such meetings would also assist by informing the people about the different spheres of government and their responsibilities for service delivery competencies.

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- The government must create a platform for communication with people especially after receiving the protestor demands. They must respond to the demands accordingly, in line with the turnaround time stipulated in the Memorandum of Demands (MoD).
  - Government must provide services equally and fairly to the people to avoid nepotism and corruption. According to section 195 (1) (d) of the Constitution of the Republic 1996, the services must be delivered impartially, fairly and without bias. The respondents stated that government officials are corrupt and practice nepotism, so if this section of the constitution could be adhered to then service delivery could be effective.
  - The IEC must restore its credibility through a *zero mistake approach* in the delivery of their mandate to run free, fair and credible elections. This includes making sure that their employees' credentials are credible and trust worthy. Their outreach and communication programmes must be continuous through field work, television, radio and social media. These will solve the reality of only seeing the IEC on the streets and media around the elections. Moreover, the IEC needs to find ways of explaining to the voters that a voter's choice is their secret in any elections to deal with intimidation and historic vote perceptions.
  - The political parties must also do their bit to provide voter education in any forum they have. Seemingly, they all wait for the announcement of the election date to start campaigning for votes. This would spark interest in the people to participate in big numbers during elections as opposed to seeing parties only during elections.
  - The political parties must craft their election manifestos in a manner that will appeal to the majority of the people. Such manifestos will attract voters and improve voter turnout and votes of that party. After elections, the election manifesto should not be in paper only but must be translated into actual delivery of promises the manifesto made to the people.

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### **6.3 REVISITATION OF THE RESEARCH OBJECTIVES**

The aim and objectives of this study as set out in chapter one of this mini-dissertation are revisited and addressed under thematic areas in chapter two as follows:

Chapter two investigated research objective one which was to investigate whether service delivery protests do achieve their objectives. This was carried out through discussing the politics of service delivery and protest in South Africa before and after 1994. Different literature on the achievement of the objectives of the protests was reviewed and it showed that in some instances they do achieve their objectives but the findings revealed that in Ngaka Modiri Molema municipality they did not achieve their objective. Chapter two formed the theoretical basis for further discussions on the service delivery protests and their objectives in chapter four, part one.

Research objective two which is the examination of the reasons that inform voter support for the ANC irrespective of their dissatisfaction in the NW province was also discussed in chapter two. This topical theme discussed voting and party preferences in order to arrive at the reasons for ANC support despite providing poor service delivery to local communities. The reviewed literature confirmed that the voter support is influenced by factors such as partisanship, effective campaigns, party dominance and party funding. Interestingly, the findings also affirmed these narratives. This also formed the theoretical basis for the discussions on the understanding of the ANC support and dissatisfaction in chapter four, part two.

Also in chapter two, research objective three which is to investigate and explain factors contributing to voter turnout at various voting stations was reviewed through literature. This was discussed under the topical theme of factors of voter turnout which viewed the literature and statistics from the first elections in 1994 in South Africa until 2014 NPE. Factors such as voter turnout and partisanship were also reviewed to explain voter turnout. The reviewed literature and finding revealed that voters tend to participate in elections due to partisanship; others showed no interest in participating in elections because they believe that only the ruling party will win elections.

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## **6.4 REVISITATION OF THEORETICAL UNDERPINNING**

This study employed the relative deprivation theory as its basis for theoretical foundation. Relative deprivation theory provided a reasonable understanding and account of the protest Action in local communities. This theory is relevant to the study in that it adequately captures and characterizes factors that explain discontentment and social movements for change in communities. Service delivery protest Actions were prompted by the protestors' senses of entitlement for services which they did not receive from the ruling ANC at local government level. This feeling of discontentment and marginalization is guided by the election manifestos delivered by the ANC during elections, which promised a better life for all and quality services to the people. Also, the constitution provides (under chapter 2) that every citizen has a right to housing, health care, food, water, social security and education.

Due to non-fulfilment of these promises by the ANC-led local government, the protestors felt disregarded and frustrated and decided to stage protest. These protests, as better explained by relative deprivation theory, are used as a platform for local government to listen to and address the issues protestors are unhappy about. Therefore relative deprivation theory assisted with the understanding of the reasons communities protest. However, the shortcoming of relative deprivation theory in this study is that it could not explain the reasons people vote for the ANC despite being unhappy about its service delivery performance at local communities.

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## **6.5 CONCLUSION**

This study attempted to examine the relationship between service delivery protest and voter turnout in SA since 2004 – 2015. The specific focus area of the study was the Ngaka Modiri Molema district municipality in the North West province. This is because service delivery protests that have been staged were directed to the people that were elected into office by the protesting communities. Clearly, elections provide the protesting communities with the platform to either elect new candidates or parties into power or re-elect them once more. The Ngaka Modiri Molema situation shows

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that the communities have been voting the ANC into office every election. The arguments presented by the authors cited in chapter two and the findings in chapter four, interviewees tell us that there are elements such as the PR electoral system, ANC partisanship, current proportional fund allocation law on public funding and the weak state of opposition parties that explain the reasons for voting for the ANC irrespective of their performance in government. The protesting communities join the protest mainly because it is already organized and they are affected by the lack of water, unemployment and other service delivery issues. This then suggests that even if there is no positive response from government, the people will wait for another protest to be organized so that they can join in. Thus, one can deduce that the majority of the protestors are not able to link the relationship between service delivery and voter turnout during elections. In other words, protestors do not understand the power of their vote in changing the plight of service delivery in their area.

It is therefore very important that future studies provide a further but different approach to the examination of the relationship between service delivery protest and voter turnout in SA and Africa generally. Such studies should look into the reasons why voters, especially in rural or semi-rural areas are not prepared to vote for any party other than the ruling ANC even if such opposition parties' manifesto and policies promise better life and quality service delivery. This will be helpful in that it will assess the voting patterns of rural and urban protesting communities which this study did not cover.

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## APPENDIX 1

Have service delivery protests achieved their objectives in various communities in the North West Province?

Data Collection Technique	Questions
In-depth interview with 50 protesters residing in the Ngaka Modiri Molema region.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. What did your community intend to achieve through engaging in a service delivery protest?</li> <li>2. Has government responded to your demands raised through your engagement in the protest as a community?</li> <li>3. Do you think that protests were the only viable option to raise issues of lack or inadequate service delivery in your community or are there other means of raising issues that the community could have explored?</li> <li>4. Does your community protest for services that are provincial or national government or municipal competence? If so mention such.</li> <li>5. Do you think ANC members who are unsatisfied with the party's internal politics might be involved in protests to destabilize the term of incumbents?</li> <li>6. Are opposition parties involved in protests and what do you think motivates their involvement?</li> </ol>

What informs voter support for the ANC irrespective of their dissatisfaction with service delivery in the North West Province?

Data Collection Technique	Questions
Six (6) FGDs with local branches of ANC, COPE, DA, EFF, UCDP, PAC and in Mahikeng Local	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. In your view, do you think that people are satisfied with service delivery from the ANC led government?</li> <li>2. Do you think that people who participate in service delivery protest are ordinary community members or are they members of the ANC or other political parties?</li> </ol>

Municipality.	3. Do you think communities can differentiate between government and the ruling party and which of the two should be blamed for inadequate service delivery to communities?
	4. The ANC is ruling most municipalities in the province, in your view, why are people still voting for ANC in majority whereas they protest against its government?

What informs voter turnout at the voting stations in the North West Province?	
Data Collection Technique	Questions
In-depth interview with 50 Protesters	<p>1. Did you ever abstain from voting and why?</p> <p>2. Is voter turnout based on the importance of voting as it relates to holding government accountable for issues pertaining to service delivery?</p> <p>3. Are political parties delivering realistic manifestos (promises) to attract voters?</p> <p>4. Do you feel that voting makes a difference in terms of contributing to the country's democracy hence people vote?</p> <p>5. Whenever you vote is it because of what the parties promise the community or trust and confidence in the IEC?</p> <p>6. Do you think people vote because of municipal performance on service delivery or are there other factors involved (name and explain such)?</p> <p>7. Is voter turnout motivated by visibility of the IEC and/or distance from the voting stations in your community?</p>

What is the possible relationship between service delivery, protests and voter

turnout in the North West Province?

<b>Data Collection Technique</b>	<b>Questions</b>
In-depth interviews with members of the IECs Party Liaison Committee	<p>1. Do you think high voter turnout might be as result of people trying to depose the incumbents to introduce new political leadership?</p> <p>2. Do you think community protests might be as result of people trying to depose the incumbents to introduce new political leadership or for mere demands of basic services?</p> <p>3. What programmes does the IEC have to attract voters and educate them about the importance of voting and do you think they are working?</p> <p>4. In your view, are political parties doing enough to educate and give people feedback on service delivery issues in order to attract voters?</p> <p>5. Do you think the low socio-economic status of communities drives them to continue to vote hoping for delivery of services?</p> <p>6. Do you think provision, lack or inadequate service delivery has an impact on voter participation and non-participation? Please explain.</p> <p>7. Do people vote because of promises by parties or trust and confidence in the IEC?</p> <p>8. Do you think people vote because of municipal performance on service delivery or are there other factors involved (name and explain such)?</p> <p>9. Having engaged in a protest as a community, do you think people don't vote if demands are not met and vote if their demands are met by municipalities?</p>

