

An analysis of increasing voter apathy
amongst the youth towards the electoral
process (es) in South Africa

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Dissertation accepted in fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree *Master of Arts in Political Studies* at the North-
West University

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Graduation: April 2024

Acknowledgement

- First and foremost, I want to express my heartfelt gratitude to God Almighty for His incalculable gifts, wisdom, and strength, without which this project would have been impossible to finish.
- I would like to sincerely acknowledge and extend my thanks to the people who have made it possible for the completion of this study. I offer my heartfelt appreciation to my mother, Joyce Gopane, for her encouragement and support throughout my studies, she is my pillar of strength and I deeply thank her for believing in me and teaching me the value of education. I pray that the Lord continues to strengthen you. To my sister, Jennefer Matlhogonolo Gopane, who has become my source of inspiration and role model, thank you for your support ever since I started at the North West University. Malebogo Ndlela, thank you for your encouraging words and wisdom. I am the lady that I am now because of your efforts. To my three niece Molebogang, Masego, and Amogelang, as well as my nephew Kgosietsile, thank you for always making me smile when I was anxious and unhappy.
- Secondly, I want to express my gratitude to Dr. Heydenrych, my supervisor, for his care, advice, and encouragement in pushing me to think outside the box. It has been a great honour and privilege to learn under the guidance of a great academic and researcher such as yourself. Your expertise and willingness to share knowledge have played an invaluable role in my personal and professional development. I am deeply grateful for the opportunities you have provided me to grow and learn, helping me become the best version of myself.
- Thirdly, this is a special dedication to my late partner Teboho Morule who was so passionate about education, your spirit will carry on forever. This is also dedicated to my late Father and Grandmother.
- Finally, I'd like to express my gratitude to my friends for their encouragement and motivation, even when the problems seemed insurmountable. They were there for me in good times and bad.

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Abstract

It is vital to understand what motivates South Africans to vote or not to vote in order to strengthen democracy. The goal of this study was to learn more about the factors that influenced the voting behavior of South Africans aged 18 to 35, in order to better inform activities targeted at boosting democratic engagement within this demographic. This study shows that, while young people recognize the importance of voting, they do not always see it as the greatest means to effect change. This study depicts a demographic group that is becoming increasingly frustrated by the issues they are still facing. Unemployment is high, there is corruption, there is poor infrastructure (i.e. housing), and there is poor education.

The youth care about the country's well-being, and they will only support leaders who are not corrupt, with whom they can identify, and whom they admire. Low levels of trust in government, which the youth frequently describe as unresponsive to their demands, and the limitations of current South African politics (despite all of the problems with the current ruling party, the youth also find alternative political parties and leaders unsatisfactory in some way) are factors that frequently discourage citizens from participating in politics and voting.

The issues offered here lead to a conclusion that young people are not as indifferent as popular belief would have us believe. Their willingness to participate in politics and vote is determined by their level of satisfaction with democracy, as well as the effectiveness of the ruling party and opposition political parties in tackling the socioeconomic difficulties they face. This is a group of people that want to see action and change in their neighborhoods. Words and promises do not entice them. The demographic group in this study continues to feel alienated and disenfranchised from politics, claiming that it is too complicated and something they do not know enough about to participate effectively.

Abbreviation and Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
CWSA	Corruption Watch South Africa
DA	Democratic Alliance
DZP	Dispensation for Zimbabwe Project
DPLG	Department of Provincial and Local Government
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
FEPD	Forum for Effective Planning and Development
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission of South Africa
IDP	Integrated Development Planning
IDEA	Institution for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy
LED	Local Economic Development
LGTS	Local Government Turnaround Strategy
MSA	Municipal Systems Act
MSP	Municipal Service Partnership
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
NDP	National Development Plan
NPC	National Planning Commission
PSA	Public Service Act
QDA	Qualitative Data Analysis
RSA	Republic of South Africa

RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RCT	Rational Choice Theory
StatsSA	Statistics South Africa
SA	South Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WPTPS	White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Services
YVSA	Youth Vote South Africa
ZSP	Zimbabwe Special Dispensation Permits

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION AND ORIENTATION

1.1 Introduction

A broad lack of interest in and indifference toward politics is referred to as political apathy. In democratic systems, a high degree of political indifference may be a severe issue since it can halt the progress and development of the nation (Pap *et al.*, 2019:579). An electoral democracy is expected to be supported by an election process in which citizens elect politicians to serve as its representatives in order to resolve and avert this issue (Asamoah, 2018:33). For young people, electoral democracy implies that everyone should be given an equal opportunity to participate in the democratic process freely and without fear of intimidation or prejudice.

Democracy is a form of government in which citizens actively engage in the governance of their nation by electing or removing the representatives who serve in that capacity (Nwogu, 2015). In a political party system known as a multi-party constitutional democracy, multiple political parties compete in municipal, provincial, or national elections for seats in the government. Through the use of elections, a multiparty constitutional democracy attempts to include everyone in the political process (Bogaards, 2013). In an electoral democracy, young apathy is characterized as an absence of interest in, or carelessness about, voter registration or participation in a general election (Wehmeier, 2010).

1.2 Orientation and Background

Colonialism, oppression, brutality, prejudice, and exploitation have all played a role in South Africa's history (Shongwe, 2017:1). Apartheid, which began in 1948 under the racist National Party, meant not only separate and inferior public services, but it also stripped South African Blacks of their citizenship (placing them instead in tribally based Bantustans) and abolished all non-white political representation (Bynes, 2013:1). Black people in South Africa had no citizenship rights, including civil, economic, and political rights, until 1994, when democracy was established following decades of

Apartheid. The all-important and all-encompassing right to vote was incorporated in this (Shongwe, 2017:1).

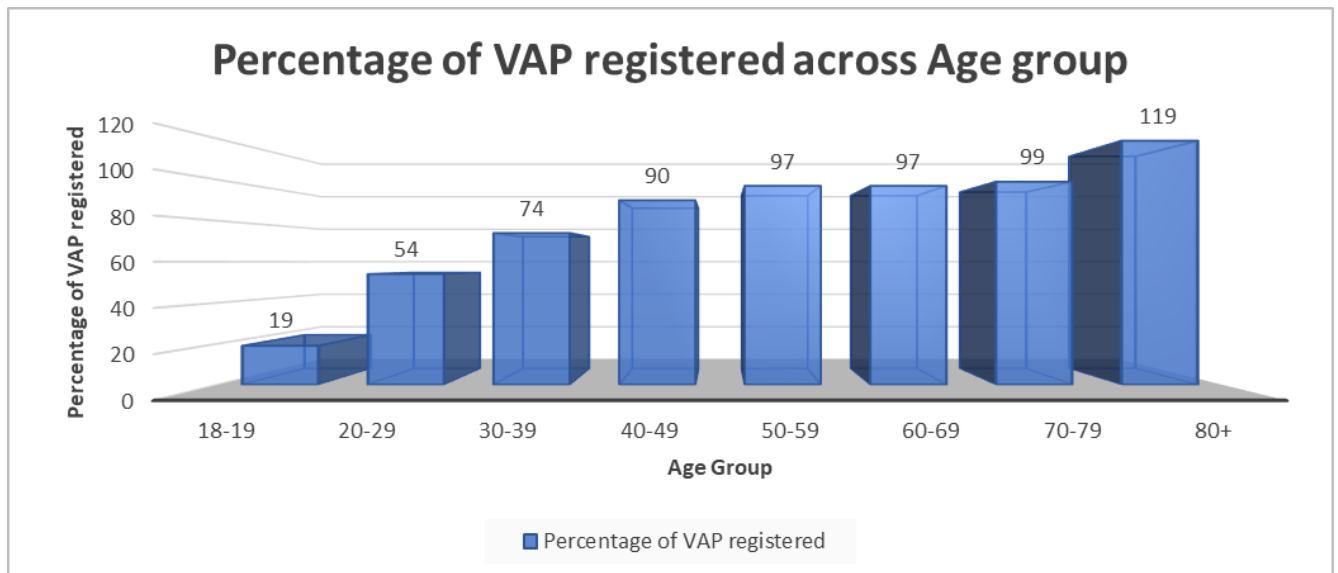
According to Letsholo (2006:2), South Africa transitioned from apartheid to democracy in 1994, an accomplishment heralded as one of the 20th century's Great Stories (Letsholo, 2006:2). South Africa held its first ever all-race inclusive national elections in 1994, and they were held in settings that were favourable to good electoral procedure (Mangcu, 2003:15).

National and provincial elections are held every five years in South Africa (Mangcu 2003:15). In these elections, voters cast ballots for political parties rather than individuals. The political party then receives a proportional share of seats in Parliament based on the number of votes it received in the elections (Mangcu 2003:15). The proportional representation voting mechanism then selects members to fill the seats won by each party. Since 1994, the electoral system in South Africa has been a national list proportional representation system (Vicky & Svasand, 2001:1). As a result, political parties play a critical role in the consolidation and institutionalization of democracy, as well-functioning, effective political parties are required for long-term democracy (Vicky & Svasand, 2001:1).

Some scholars dispute the charge of simple apathy, claiming that it is a matter of political institutions failing to engage South African residents, leading to a lack of participation (Sachs, 2006:1). According to Sader and Weideman (2004:5), as a democracy matures, citizens become less likely to engage in elections. Sader and Weideman (2004:5-7) came to the conclusion that South Africans can be split into three groups. Voting is seen as having no significance by the first group, the only vehicle by which they can express their political beliefs by the second, and making a difference by the third. Though South Africa has never been known for passivity and citizens played a crucial part in the fight for democracy, many scholars seem baffled by the growing citizen (especially young) disengagement from the political process. (Sader & Weideman 2004:7).

Citizens appear to be distancing themselves from formal party politics, which includes the electoral process in particular, according to Hofmeyer (2004:11). He went on to

say that because South African aspirations are unique, they have turned to non-parliamentary means to attain their issue-specific goals (Hofmeyer 2004:14). Low registration levels, according to Hofmeyer (2004:14), may be a sign of voters' lack of trust in political systems' ability to handle their unique demands.



Source: Herzenberg, 2020: 9

South African youth are not apathetic, but rather not engaging in formal politics. According, to Olaleye (2004:20), this could be because South Africans have lost faith in formal democratic processes and are consequently becoming increasingly disengaged from it. However, because the vast majority of the South African population is under the age of 35, and because they are not participating in the electoral process, their interests are less likely to be reflected through parliamentary representatives, and democracy itself may be jeopardized (Olaleye, 2004:21). Citizens must be integrated into the political process in order to participate in elections in a sustainable and successful manner. Young citizens are the "leaders of tomorrow" and the country's greatest age group, so their importance cannot be overstated (Schoeman & Puttegil 2007:159).

Ngcobe (2004:17) states that, while active participation in politics has always been a hallmark of South African youth, a transition happened after 1994, when young people

were no longer in the frontlines of the struggle. Ngcobo (2004:7) agrees with Sader and Weideman (2004:5), Hofmeyr (2004:13), and Sader and Muller (2004:7) that young engagement occurs in various areas and at various levels of civil society, and that focusing on a single topic, such as voting, would be restrictive (Ngcobo 2004:18). Mtaka (2004:52) agrees with Ngcobo and goes on to say that the youth are more preoccupied with other concerns connected to youth development, such as socio-economic variables like HIV/AIDS and unemployment, because political institutions have failed to prioritize their interests.

The failure of political institutions to prioritize the interests of the youth as a result of these development issues contributes to disengagement from political processes in an attempt to support themselves (Ngcobo 2004:18). Many towns and government agencies had previously stated a willingness to engage with youth organizations and structures, as well as to establish youth committees, according to Mtaka (2004:52), but these intentions were never carried through. There also appears to be a lack of understanding within political organizations and structures about the significance of youth engagement, as there is a distinction between involvement and true participation (Mtaka, 2004:52).

Young people should not only be participating in political processes, but also have the ability to influence decision-making processes, as Ngcobo (2004:11) correctly said. Ngcobo (2004:12) goes on to say that meaningful youth engagement entails recognizing and encouraging young people's qualities, interests, and abilities by giving them opportunity to participate in decisions that affect them (Ngcobo 2004:12). Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that democracy cannot be built without public participation in various processes, such as the legislative process, and that once young people have the chance to influence these processes, willingness to participate will increase (Ngcobo 2004:12).

1.3 Problem statement

The focus of this study is on South Africa's growing voter apathy toward the political process, with a particular focus on the youth. South Africa is characterized by unequal growth and development, a high rate of poverty, inadequate service delivery, rising

demand and scarce resources, and the difficulty of integration. The need for higher living standards and access to effective service delivery, as well as economic growth and better infrastructure, are all considered as critical factors in tackling poverty, yet poor service delivery and a weak municipal economic base have contributed to voter indifference (Befile, 2009).

Marginalized groups, particularly young people, are increasingly turning to rallies and demonstrations in South Africa to have their voices heard and their problems addressed. According to the ISS Public Violence Monitoring Project (2016), which tracks the extent and nature of various forms of violence that occur in public spaces, between 2013 and 2015, there were 2880 incidents of public gatherings and protests related to housing, electricity, and education, among other topics (ISS, 2016). Many of these demonstrations became violent. The despair and fury felt by many young South African students in 2015, as a result of the continuing inequities they confront, resulted in the #RhodesMustFall and later the #FeesMustFall movements.

The likelihood of participating in democratic processes is often determined by one's satisfaction with democracy and party' and leaders' performance in addressing various socio-economic factors that directly affect them, such as youth unemployment, crime, and corruption, among others (Tracey, 2016:19). These social demonstrations precisely exemplified the essential role that young people play, or can play, in bringing about social and political change (Tracy, 2016:19). The results of this study show that South African citizens have doubts about the election's effectiveness (Tracy, 2016:19).

The systematic isolation of young people from political matters and their engagement behaviors in modern-day Africa may have contributed to the development of youth activism (Enaifoghe 2019). Building a feeling of responsiveness and accountability in government requires their involvement and empowerment in state politics, which is essential for socioeconomic growth. Because of deprivation, the youth may suffer as a result of not being included in politics or not being given the proper platform to engage in political events. Therefore, issues of social, political, and economic exclusion must be taken into consideration in addition to the question of young political involvement.

The allocation of financial resources is cited by International IDEA (2014) as a factor that may have an impact on the representation of young people in political parties and the election process. Regardless of how willing they are to run for government, high and frequently rising costs sometimes limit prospects for young individuals with comparatively less power or financial resources. In several nations, resources from the state and the government are routinely exploited to the incumbents' benefit during election seasons. Many nations have used public subsidies to level the playing field and promote political plurality because they recognize that political activities sometimes need finance. This is not new to designate public funding for particular endeavors or target populations; some nations have done so to advance the participation of marginalized groups in political institutions.

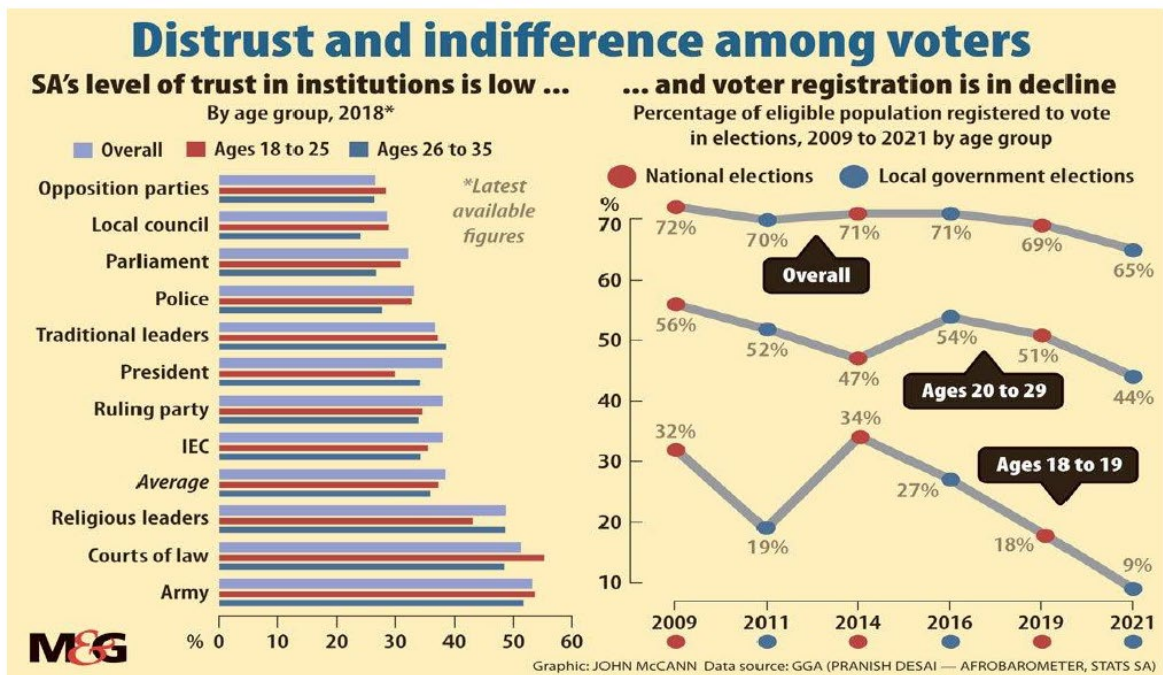


Figure 1.1 Distrust and indifference among voters [adapted from *Mail and Guardian* (2019) and Mbanye (2021)]

The main research question this study therefore asks is: *What factors and reasons influence increasing voter apathy amongst the South African youth?*

1.4 Research questions

1. What is the theoretical explanation of voting behaviour and its relationship to democracy?
2. What are the contributing factors and reasons influencing increasing voter apathy amongst the youth?
3. What is the nature of the youth's participation in the South African political process ?
4. What measures can address the increasing voter apathy amongst the youth?

1.5 Research objectives and aims

The main objective of the study is to understand the factors that influence youth participation in elections, as to inform efforts to increase democratic participation. From the research questions outlined above, the aim of this study is to gain an in-depth understanding of the factors and reasons that influences the increasing voter apathy towards the electoral process in South Africa.

1. To analyse the theoretical explanations of voting behaviour and its relationship to democracy
2. To analyse the contributing reasons and factors that lead to the increase in voter apathy amongst the youth
3. To analyse the nature of the youth's participation in the South African political process
4. To suggest measures to address the increasing voter apathy amongst the youth

1.6 Central theoretical statement

In many countries, fluctuating levels of youth involvement are a source of concern. An examination of the literature on the youth voting behavior and political involvement in nations like South Africa reveals similar patterns. Political apathy is frequently identified as a contributing factor to poor voter turnout among young people. Young people have been characterized as having low levels of political interest, with many choosing not to vote. Other experts, on the other hand, believe that young people are

not politically apathetic, but rather are influenced by broader socioeconomic variables that impact whether or not they participate in politics. Young people in South Africa, for example, face a variety of issues, including youth unemployment, a dysfunctional school system, and crime and corruption.

A large number of these young individuals have given up looking for work. Given this, some academics argue that the issue is that democratic institutions have failed to engage young people rather than that young people are indifferent. The youth are becoming increasingly alienated and marginalized from political life; some do not believe they can participate in formal politics, while others believe that topics that are essential to them are not included in government agendas (Lloyd and Scullion, 2010:10). This results in turning away from traditional forms of political participation, feeling that the political system is incapable of addressing pressing concerns such as youth unemployment and joblessness. According to research, young people are becoming more sceptical about political parties. Young people, according to Lloyd and Scullion (2010:10), regard politicians and governments as dishonest and ineffective, which contributes to their belief that voting is a pointless act, causing dissatisfaction and the withholding of their vote.

Lack of accountability by political leaders, and frequently only communicating with the youth during election season, appear to have an impact on whether or not young people vote. Low voter turnout in South Africa may not be indicative of a lack of participation by young people in political processes or activities. Furthermore, the internet and social media are becoming increasingly important in finding new kinds of political participation among individuals, particularly among millennials. In recent years, social networking has evolved into forums for young people to express their political opinions and interests. Technology has been seen as having the potential to connect decision-makers and political leaders with citizens and 'hard to reach' groups like young people.

A survey of the literature shows that there is still a dearth of understanding regarding the elements that influence whether or not young people participate in democratic processes such as elections (Sachs, 2006:1). Political alienation, falling faith in political leadership, social media, and the socio-economic obstacles that young people

confront in South Africa are all variables that influence their voting behavior and likelihood of participation in elections. Given concerns about decreased voter turnout and low levels of political interest among young South Africans, it is vital to understand what motivates those who participate and what deters those who do not if we are to strengthen democracy (Sader and Weideman 2004:5).

1.7 Theoretical framework

As a broad theoretical framework, the study will use voting behavior models. The Sociological Model, the Michigan Model, the Party Identification Model, the Media/Dominate Ideology Model, and the Rational Choice Model are all models of voting behaviour. The Sociological Model is based on social factors rather than attitudes, and it claims that voting behavior is ultimately determined by social traits (Catt, 1996:8). Gender, ethnicity, language, religion, and socioeconomic class are examples of social traits (Bell & Peters, 2005:175). Thus, this model emphasizes voter group affiliation (Schoeman & Puttergill, 2007:155). Despite the limitations that this voting behavior model faces, it is nevertheless quite relevant (Brook et al., 2006: 89). In contrast, the Michigan Model concentrates on long-term partisanship trends and holds that people's political party preference and areas of concern are influenced by their social location (Catt, 1996:5). Elcock (1976:220) notes that a lot of people vote for the same party or candidate as their friends and family because they have an ingrained partisan self-image. According to this paradigm, early socialization is important because it influences how people receive information later on and behave politically, which helps people build stable political participation and partisan orientations (Goldberg, 1966:914).

According to the Party Identification Model, voters vote based on long-term allegiance and identification with a certain political party (Bartle, 2003:223). Party identification is a factor of voting behavior and a consistent political predilection. It is difficult to change one's feeling of party identity, according to Franklin and Jackson (1983:957). As a result, the media and its function in informing citizens and developing attitudes can play a role in deciding voting behavior. Ball and Peters (2005:180) assert that media in particular is playing a bigger part in influencing election outcomes.

Images and texts in the media are used to influence public opinion about political parties and their leaders, as well as to inform voters during elections (Grabe, 2009:55). Heywood (2002:244) associates mass media influence with the Dominate-ideology Model, in which radical theories of voting and ideologies-visions of an ideal society stress the extent to which human decisions are affected by a process of ideological manipulation and control (Heywood 2002:224). The emphasis in this approach is on how individuals and groups understand their position, which is based on how it has been given to them through the media, education, and the government (Heywood 2002:224).

Furthermore, the Rational Choice Model views voters as individuals who make judgments about whether or not to vote and who to vote for based on the conclusions obtained after a thorough examination of a variety of important problems (Catt, 1996:7). Proponents of this paradigm say that voters make voting decisions based on reasonable factors, such as personal self-interest (Ball & Peters 2005:173). Electoral involvement thus becomes utilities for outcomes when citizens choose outcomes with higher utility over those with lower utility (Aldrich, 1993:247). Furthermore, if people opt to change their voting behavior, political elites can be held accountable through retroactive appraisal (Darmofal & Nardulli, 2010:255). In addition, according to this model, voters weigh the costs and advantages of voting and may elect to abstain, which may not be beneficial to opposition parties (Sanders, 2003:261).

These voting behavior models are not mutually exclusive, and they may overlap, as will be described further in the study. Moreover, although their relative relevance varies, several of them may simultaneously apply to particular situations. Various scholars have sought to integrate some of these models or developed models that contain some or all of these models of voting behavior in various circumstances. The appearance of occasional overlaps between models, which can lead to misunderstanding, revealed that these models can be linked and should be viewed as complementary rather than competitive (Andersen & Heath, 2000:1). The models will, however, stay separate in the analytical framework for the purposes of this study.

1.8 Research Methodology

A qualitative research approach is used in this study. According to Du Plooy (2013:30), a qualitative technique enables for pattern interpretation and subjective communication. Coles (2014:4) adds to this definition by stating that qualitative research strives to gain a better understanding of a certain study problem or topic. The goal of this study is to obtain a better knowledge of the phenomena of youth voter apathy in South Africa, which adds to the study's importance. This study adopted a qualitative research approach as its focus is on the nature of social reality. This means that the study will search and explain the meanings ascribed to social or human problems (Creswell, 2009:4). The qualitative approach therefore provides for a detailed approach that offers thorough descriptions and leaves room for subjective constructions. (Creswell, 2009:12-14).

To determine the emergence of certain patterns or interactions, data analysis will take an inductive method. The inductive process, according to Coles (2009:3), is a research method in which one studies a single instance before identifying a theory on which to base the conclusions obtained by the findings. Journal articles, books, literature reviews, election reports and statistics, as well as newspapers, were used as sources for this study. The major method used in this research will be a qualitative approach, which will entail reading and analyzing books, articles, and papers in order to find evidence for and against the key theoretical assertion, as well as empirical data (Mouton 1996:36).

The desktop study entails a thorough search for academic articles, books, and news stories, as well as other researchers' investigations (Andersen & Heath, 2000:1). Secondary data for this study will come from national and international scholarly books, journals, publications, conference papers, laws, newspapers, and electronic databases. Secondary data was gathered from important government papers such as Stats SA, the IEC, and the A-G Reports. The study's limitations are related to the accuracy of the data and sources employed.

1.9 Ethics

It is critical that the conduct of research is systematic and accountable. A regulatory environment exists which control access to information as well as the behaviour of

researchers. Also, codes of ethics have been formulated within institutions to ensure that research is delivered following professional and ethical standards (Sarantakos, 2013:17). Researchers are expected to uphold ethical standards that avoid the fabrication or falsification of data, the misuse of authority, and misleading ownership ascriptions (Sarantakos, 2013:17-18). Du Plooy (2009:109) also defines ethics as a set of rules that a community or group agrees to follow in order to manage their behavior. When we talk about research ethics, we're talking about a set of guidelines that govern how one should conduct themselves when conducting research. Scholarly books, journals, publications, conference papers, legislation, media, and electronic databases will be used to gather secondary material for this study and no primary research is conducted for this study. The study adheres to the rules for avoiding plagiarism, and all information gathered from the papers was reported in an honest and accurate manner, with no data fabrication. Stangor (2007:58) emphasizes the need of honesty in social science, not just in performing research but also in publishing it and properly crediting ideas. As a result, the information gleaned from documents was solely for scholarly purposes.

1.10 Chapter outline

The study will unfold in the following chapters:

1.10.1 The introduction and context, as well as the presentation of the problem, research questions, objectives, central theoretical statement, and conceptual framework, are all covered in Chapter One.

1.10.2 The theory of voting behavior and its link to democracy are presented in Chapter Two. The theoretical lenses used in the investigation are the subject of this chapter. It's made up of a theoretical framework and a literature evaluation on elections, political involvement, and democracy.

1.10.3 The third chapter discusses the research findings that contribute to causes that create youth voter indifference, as well as the impact of alternate forms of youth political participation.

1.10.4 The findings reported in Chapter three are compared to the theoretical context discussed in Chapter two in Chapter four. The purpose of this study is to map out the relationship between the findings and the literature.

1.10.5 The study's summary, recommendations and conclusion are presented in Chapter five and Chapter six.

CHAPTER TWO:

WHAT IS THE THEORETICAL EXPLANATION OF VOTING BEHAVIOUR AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO DEMOCRACY?

2. Introduction

The theoretical frameworks used in the study are the main topic of this chapter. Along with a theoretical framework, a review of the literature on elections, political involvement, and democracy is provided. Specialists in both human rights and democracy concur with Waldron (2013:152) that certain essential human rights are necessary for democracy to survive. Human rights and democracy are matters of empowerment: when they are combined, they provide regular people the power to vote and make decisions about their lives (Waldron, 2013: 158). Without participation, there is no democracy.

Even in the most basic conceptions of democracy or in theories of democracy that emphasize its purposeful side, where there is dispute over the requirements for a political system to be referred to as democratic, citizen engagement is a requirement (Schumpeter, 1950:45). (Habermas, 1996:58). Focusing on elections, a major argument is that they are essential for a nation's governance to reflect the desire of the people rather than the narrow interests of political and economic elites. Citizens must react to elite attempts to take more of the social surplus in order for elections to serve this purpose.

Elections are a crucial component of democratic political systems because they allow political actors to actively contribute to the formulation of laws governing social relations, which gives them legitimacy (Sarlamonov and Jovanoski, 2014:2). Politics therefore mostly keeps track of, observes, and analyzes voter behavior during elections, which includes, among other things, voter turnout and voting behavior. Over time, the learned understandings allow for the development of specific voting theories aimed at explaining citizens' voting behavior (Sarlamonov and Jovanoski, 2014:2).

2.1 Social Choice Theory

Sen (2008) defines social choice theory as a theoretical framework for examining how the combined ideas, preferences, interests, or welfares of various parties result in a decision that is advantageous to society as a whole. While social choice theory concentrates on how to transform an individual's preferences into the goals of a group, choice theory concentrates on how people make decisions based on their preferences. An actual example of a collective choice is the enactment of a law or set of laws under a constitution. Voting is another example, where voters' choices are totaled to determine which candidate best represents the group's opinions (Zwicker & Herve 2016).

As far as voting is concerned, social choice theory seeks to address two key issues, according to Lehtinen (2015:35). First, how effective is voting at gathering data about personal preferences? Second, what is the comparative effectiveness of different voting rules? By placing restrictions on aggregation rules meant to approximate voting rules, the theory seeks to provide answers to these queries. The requirements are considered normatively in the sense that they ought to be met. They describe how supplied information regarding individual preferences are to be converted into group choices or judgements. After that, the voting rules are assessed in light of the requirements that the relevant aggregate rules meet. The aggregation rule that meets the most normatively significant requirements is the best one. According to this, the solution to the second question is given. (Lehtinen, 2015: 34).

The only thing that social choice theory is interested in is adding up preferences or votes. In other words, it assumes people will vote truthfully (i.e., without using a strategy) and does not account for behavioural assumptions. Strategic voting, as defined by the majority of voting laws, is when a voter casts a ballot for an option she does not think is the most preferable. The presumption of sincerity can be seen as merely the result of the division of labor among the approaches currently in use: while various decision- and game-theoretical approaches examine the positive characteristics of voting rules, social choice theory evaluates voting procedures normatively by imposing conditions on aggregation rules. Finally, the normative and positive methods are combined in implementation theory. Given that strategic voting is often seen to be self-evidently damaging and so inappropriate in a normative evaluation of voting, this division of labor appears reasonable. In addition to providing

tools for thinking about the situated character of people's agency, disparities between them, and gender concerns, social choice theory can develop into a more viable framework for policy assessment (Peter, 2003). Mathematical theory called Social Choice Theory discusses how individual choices are combined. A presidential election, for instance, is a very straightforward illustration of social choice since voters cast their ballots according to the candidates they favor.

Voters' worries about the disadvantaged groups in their nation are measured by the social considerations construct. Two disadvantaged groups of society, farmers and women, take up a significant portion of political discourse in many nations. Frustration has been caused by problems such as low agricultural product prices, crop failure, excessive debt, and low income (Basu 2016; Desai and Mehta 2017; Kaushal 2018; Menon and Allen 2018; Sunder 2018).

According to Farthing (2012), numerous strategies may be utilized to include young people into society:

- Since young people are viewed as right holders, including the ability to participate in politics and make decisions, voting is viewed as a rights-based activity, with the candidate who best represents the group's opinions being chosen (Zwicker & Herve 2016).
- Participation-based empowerment of youth. This tactic proposes a more progressive interpretation of participation as a means of reducing youth political marginalization, providing them with a voice in society, and changing the balance of power between generations.
- Engagement as an indicator of successful practices, policies, and services. This tactic is based on the understanding that youth are the most self-aware and imaginative age group.
- Youth engagement is therefore viewed as a way for the youth to "enlighten" policy makers and increase their understanding of and sensitivity to the realities of young people in order to "rejuvenate" the political system and create better policies and services.
- The use of participation as a tool for youth development. Through decision-making, youth not only learn about the political systems in their communities, but they also develop the necessary skills, including confidence, self-worth,

negotiating skills, and a sense of independence. According to Farthing (2012), involvement is therefore viewed as a tool for a young person's unique civic development.

2.2 Theory of Democracy

In the modern era of democratic politics, one of the most often used words is "voting." This phrase has been widely known as a result of the democratic idea and practice's rising popularity. In a democracy, every adult citizen uses voting to express his or her support for or opposition to political candidates' qualifications for the position of people's representative, as well as the decisions, policies, and programs of the government and various political parties. Voting, in a restricted sense, refers to the process of choosing representatives by ballots during elections.

However, in overall, Akhter and Sheikh (2014) note that voting fulfills up to six significant democratic duties, namely:

- Individuals' choice of the government or significant government policy is involved.
- It enables people to engage in a continuous and reciprocal exchange of influence with those elected to office and candidates.
- It helps to strengthen or maintain a person's devotion to the current constitutional system.
- It helps to grow or maintain a voter's dissatisfaction with the current constitutional system.
- It has emotional value for some people, while being functionally meaningless for others, such as when there are no big political or personally important emotional repercussions; and
- The act of voting itself is incredibly important to voters, candidates, and political science students. Voting behavior research is now recognized as a crucial component of modern political theory and research.

A democratic state's citizens are responsible for providing the public benefit of democracy. Although no state will rely on the opinions of all residents equally, the egalitarian and inclusive values that underpin representative democracy require

that everyone take part in at least a minimal amount of the fundamental decisions made under a representative system (Elliott, 2017:44).

Young people vote for a variety of reasons, including getting involved in politics to significantly improve their society, but many also do so because they want to see change in the current administration. Young people who want to get active in politics often have a better understanding of what is going on in their own nation. They are therefore aware of political issues including poor management, corruption, and poor service delivery. When that happens, they will be prepared to voice their complaints to the administration, which should then comprehend why people are unhappy with the state of their nation. The government will benefit from this engaged citizenship, which will also improve democracy (Elliott 2017:23).

Public engagement is a priority for democratic governments and civil society; democracy cannot function effectively without it. Democracy may be direct, demonstrative, deliberate, shared, or engaging, among other things. However, there will always be divergent opinions or even dispute about which democratic system is the most correct. The contemporary democratic system allows for citizens to have opportunities and options while casting their ballots (Whiteley 2012:34).

Voting, taking part in election campaigns, community involvement, and the voicing of thoughts on social issues are now all kinds of political engagement as a result of democratization, particularly in many developing nations. As other studies have shown, participation has grown even more, including protests, participation in institutional policies, engagement in social movements, and participation in young political discussions (Roth & Saunders 2019:12).

Regarding the connection between democracy and trust, several perspectives exist. According to Abramson (2017:17), trust and mistrust should ideally play complimentary roles in a democracy. Democracy, which is a decentralized action system, is known to increase the rate of uncertainty, whereas generalized trust via risk mitigation amortizes a variety of daily uncertainties (Volchenko & Shirokanova 2017:10) There are several distinct trust categories and degrees. Theoretically, trust may be categorized in a number of different ways. Political trust and social trust are the two most prevalent types. Social trust, which is described as having

faith in other people, is crucial for fostering harmony and peace in relationships, which serve as the cornerstones of effective human collaboration. Generalized trust (in people generally) and particularized trust (in groups and persons they come into touch with) are other categories of social trust.

Political trust refers to a government's capacity to operate successfully and efficiently without resorting to force. Political trust may be defined as a person's belief that a political actor would act in his or her best interests (Bauer & Fatke 2014:51). Political trust is further broken down into two categories: trust in political actors and faith in political institutions. Political trust, which increases the legitimacy of the system, is a crucial component of democracy's stability and efficacy.

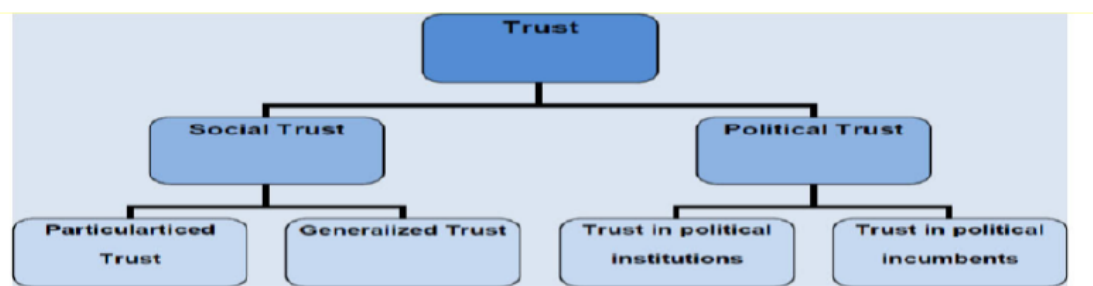


Figure 6 Categories of trust

[Source: Soithong (2011:31)]

Five essential behaviors can be identified that can guarantee confidence in a democratic system:

- (1) Citizen interaction to establish public objectives.
- (2) Pluralism acceptance and tolerance.
- (3) An agreement on democratic practices.
- (4) Civic consciousness among the players fighting for various objectives;
- (5) Citizen involvement in governing bodies (Carreira *et al.* 2016:6).

Trust should be viewed as a necessary component of democracy on the one hand, and as a byproduct of democratic government on the other. According to Camaj (2014:187), trust has a direct impact on views of the democratic regime's quality and political participation, which in turn influences opinions of the regime's

longevity and effective functioning. There are variances in the characteristics of democracy when evaluating the connection between it and trust, namely:

- (1) democracy's long-term stability.
- (2) degree of democracy at specific times; and
- (3) transient shifts in democratic standards.

According to Jamal and Nooruddin (2010:45), particularized trust is frequently associated with the sorts of group identities that are firmly anchored against outsiders, which in turn fosters factionalization and lessens the likelihood that disputes can be resolved through democratic channels. On the other hand, generalized trust is associated with a number of character traits that support democratic society, such as tolerance for criticism and pluralism. Given that it boosts tolerance and promotes empathy for others, generalized trust is an essential part of the democratic transition since it solves the problem of collective action. As a measure of the level of social involvement, trusting people are more inclined to volunteer in associations.

Generalized trust influences the degree of political engagement in addition to improving connectedness through social networks and mobilizing shared resources. Generalized trust, on the other hand, is an attitude glue that, specifically in a democracy, calls on people to embrace their fellow citizens as equal participants in the democratic process (Abramson 2017:3). Generalized trust is crucial for democracies, claim Jamal and Nooruddin (2010:45), since it strengthens social bonds, reciprocity standards, and citizen participation. Numerous studies have established the strong link between interpersonal trust and the health of democracy.

Given that the legitimacy of representative democracy determines how voters feel about institutions and politicians, political trust is not merely a sign of a democratic system's quality; it is also essential to democratic administration. Democracy will operate as intended if people have faith in the democratic process and their elected representatives. Political authoritarianism, personal socioeconomic status, assessment of the economy, trust in others, political efficiency, education, and political knowledge are all significant determinants of political satisfaction and trust

(Henjak 2017:352). For instance, Bauer (2018) investigated the relationship between political evaluations (such as confidence in the government and contentment with democracy) and unemployment.

Political legitimacy, which is required for a democracy to be stable and successful, may be measured in part by political trust. Furthermore, the representative relationship, a fundamental aspect of most democratic systems, depends on this form of confidence. The following illustrates how important institutional trust is for democracy:

- (1) It offers public backing for essential political and economic reforms.
- (2) It establishes the necessary framework for compromise and agreement.
- (3) It makes it more likely that non-democratic options will be rejected, hastening the consolidation of democracy.
- (4) It makes an assertion that it is the "creator of collective power";
- (5) it increases the system's ability for sustaining and enhancing wealth, boosting government effectiveness by fostering closer ties between voters and the institutions they elect to represent them, and
- (6) It promotes advocacy for civil rights, political participation, and community involvement.

The stability of existing democracies, as well as emerging or imperfect democracies and other regimes depends on political trust. Modern democracies are characterized by trust in institutions, which is a fundamental component of ensuring social, economic, and political stability (Bonasiaa *et al.*,2016:4). Whether political institutions live up to citizens' expectations will determine public support for democracy (Ching-Hsing 2015:9).

2.3 Behavioural Theory of Elections

The majority of election theories, according to Bendor (2011), presuppose that political players and voters are completely rational. Although these formulations result in a

wealth of information, they also lead to oddities, most notably regarding turnout. The development of behavioral economics presented fresh problems for the rationality assumption. The study offers an election behavior theory based on the idea that all roleplayers are solely constrained by reason.

Voting behavior explains why people vote the way they do (Van Deth, Abendschön, and Vollmar, 2011). The examination of voting behavior places a focus on the motivations behind voters' decisions and how they arrive at those judgments. The goal of understanding voting behavior is to comprehend how voters make decisions, which can be influenced by a variety of factors. These include the issues that were brought up during the campaign, the state of the economy, the candidate's personality, party identification, ideological inclinations, and other sociological factors like religion and ethnicity (Schlozman et al., 2010).

According to Harder and Krosnick (2008), a person's motivation, capacity, and capacity to vote are determined by their ability to participate in the elections. These behavioral economic theories would promote voting among young people and boost turnout at the polls. Voting is more common among young people who live with their parents than among those who live alone. According to this, parents and close friends may have a significant impact on how the youth behave (Fieldhouse, Lessard-Phillips, & Edmonds 2016:241).

As a result, this happens through the heritage of behavior and political sharing inside the family through mimicking ideals and learning by copying what others do, such as having political talks (Bhatti & Hansen 2012:386). This may imply that they would accompany their parents to the polls. Klass (2016) concurs that parents have a significant influence on their children's voting behavior, regardless of the aforementioned cultural elements. When analyzing young people's voting behavior, it is crucial to include their exposure to political discourse at home and their parents' political beliefs.

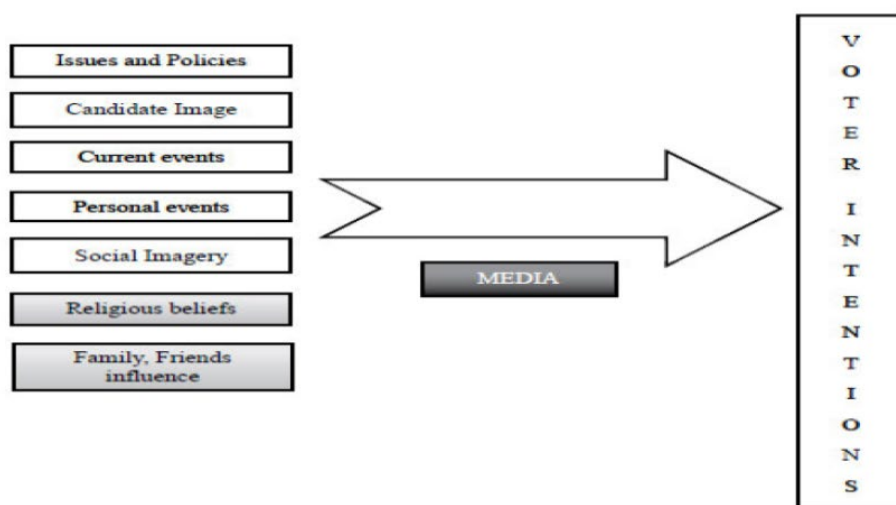
The behaviour-learning model, according to Bhatti and Hansen (2012), includes exposure, attention, memory, and motivation, which lead to reproduction. When children are young, they recall the lessons learned and the ways in which their parents inspired them; but later the example provided by their parents typically fades (Tuorto 2014). Voting decisions are shaped or impacted by interest or curiosity, information,

awareness, comprehension, and participation in political discourse. Youth perceptions on voting decisions will be positively impacted by all of these elements (Kudrná & Lyons 2017:43). Young people's decision to vote may also be influenced by gender, election news, and peer communication (Muralidharan 2015).

According to Hayes and Lawless (2016), young women and men are not handled differently by the media during election campaigns based on gender. Further research revealed that while young women are often unaffected by gender stereotypes, they are aware of unconscious prejudice in the voting process and are able to regulate their voting behavior.

Young people from rural regions who did not pursue higher education may lose the chance to participate in politics and may not be exposed to emerging trends (Amn & Ekman, 2014). They eventually behave badly after becoming demoralized and cut off from their friends. These young people show no interest in democracy and have limited political knowledge (Mahéo, 2018). They won't get interested in politics until they are engaged, inspired, and learn more about democracy (Mahéo, 2018).

Voter behavior is impacted by a variety of elements, including subject matter, the candidate's image, current events, private events, popular culture, the media, religious convictions, and the influence of family and friends. These all result in voter intentions.



Source: Adopted from Newman and Sheth (1985, p. 179)

Figure 2.3 Voter Intention

- **Subject matter**

Politicians use policies and ideologies to convey their values to their constituents, according to scholars like Winter (2015). Voters are therefore more likely to support politicians who share their values and behavioural characteristics. This conduct creates incentives for candidates or political parties to adhere to a specific ideology that appeals to the electorate despite not being in the general public's best interests. Every facet of policymaking requires a unique combination of attitudes and techniques to be handled, and no ideology can be applied to all parts of governing. According to Winter (2015), "A wise choice might be liberal or conservative depending on the situation".

Variables related to policy and personality have a variety of numerical properties. The handling of policy variables is similar to that of other economic decisions in a vast universe. Voters support people or organizations whose policies align with their own. However, because identity variables are viewed as a collection of social categories, voters favor candidates to the degree that doing so elevates their perceptions of their own standing in each category. Importantly, policy and identity compete to influence voters' decisions (Milazzo *et al.*, 2012).

The formality of voting ensures that public expectations are reflected in governmental policy (Birch *et al.*, 2013) and that elected representatives may be held accountable by the people (Bechtel *et al.*, 2017). Young individuals who are eligible to vote are more likely to vote, which helps to validate elected politicians and public policy.

Transparent democracies have the most potential when they allow citizens to influence policy without going through the formal legislative process. This aids voters in endorsing initiatives that the legislature could be compelled to consider, as well as motivating the legislature to draft policies that are more in line with the views of the typical voter (Lupia *et al.*, 2010). The majority of voters, however, rely on succinct descriptions written on the ballot since they are ignorant of the overwhelming number of factors they must take into account (Burnett 2013). Thus, the capacity to request

the ballot version allows those who are politically powerful and elected the opportunity to thwart the will of the public.

Voting behavior in terms of elections relates to individual interests. It describes a range of publicly expressed individual and political behaviors, such as voting decisions and involvement in political campaigns (Bratton, 2013). Numerous factors affect voters' decisions. Hazarika (2015) claims that a number of studies have demonstrated that voters may base their decisions on one or more of the following factors:

- **Candidate image**

In a democratic nation, elections are a crucial institution. Elections now have a legal foundation thanks to the law, which also established the procedure for direct community elections to local governments. Youth participation in selecting their leaders is a sign that democratization is actually taking place.

The candidate's image is a key component of the campaign strategy. Voters might be conflicted about topics during elections, unsure of whether they prefer to hear a serious debate or catchy slogans. Political decisions, according to Eravia and Qomariah (2015), may be understood from the perspective of identities as voters select the option with which they can identify. Determining the identifying aspects that could inspire voters is one of the candidate's campaign aims (Khatib 2012).

In electoral competitiveness, candidate quality is seen as a key factor. There are several factors that might cause candidate quality variations, including charisma, leadership experience, incumbent status, advertising, controversy, and other non-policy factors. According to research by Beth *et al.*, (2014), leaders' educational background has a favorable impact on governance results.

- **Current affairs**

Unlike certain other age groups, young people may contribute to political concerns in a variety of ways. Voting is simply one part of a much larger set of political collaboration, but it is the most essential majority rule action that all citizens should regularly carry out. Some factors are the same for all voting groups; others are particular to young people. Others are exclusive to young people, while some characteristics are universal to all voting groups.

Following is a list of these elements:

- Voting among young people will generally result in high voter turnout.
- Youth representation that matters: Young people may have different political interests than older voters, and their interests should be reflected. It is believed that voting affects the nature of representation and of public policy. Young people and their unique interests are more likely to be disregarded by policymakers if they do not vote (Bröderna *et al.*, 1999).
- Voting when young creates a propensity to vote, according to political socialization. This ensures that voters will turn out in large numbers in the future. Young people's political socialization depends on encouraging them to vote. Conduct and attitude are two viewpoints that are included. Conduct includes engaging in political activity based on opinions, dispositions, and presumptions, such as discussing political matters with others, attending political gatherings, and voting. A person's attitude may be changed through learning about how the government works and current events, as well as by developing an interest in and coming to conclusions about current policy-related topics. For children, the socialization debate is well defined. It muses on the long-term effects of inadequate political education. The future of a majority rule government may be in peril if young people fail to develop an early inclination for citizenship and the associated obligations.
- Ability to exert political influence: Young people may be expected to have fewer resources to influence policymaking, similar to how underprivileged groups of the community may feel they lack the maturity to advocate for themselves or even understand what they want. In any case, the voting system is a remarkable leveller. Whether there are differences in assets or not, everyone's vote counts equally. Young people can exert their political influence in the same way as others by exercising their right to vote.
- Political integration improves democracy because it gives young people a stake in the system and a sense that they, too, can affect policy. Young people who participate in elections affirm their support for a majority-rule government. Young people's political awareness undoubtedly has the potential to promote popular aspirations.

- **Social Imagery**

The media's impact on political engagement has evolved. Many youths choose to talk only about the subjects that interest them or to ignore political news (Moeller et al., 2014). For youths who still wish to be exposed to general news, the news effect now depends on information processing factors, such as conversations about politics with others (Lee, et al 2012). The youth relevant content is even more successful on digital media platforms because of the benefits of online news media.

First off, internet news sources adapt their content to the preferences of younger readers. All users' information processing is stimulated by features like multi-media presentation and interaction (Kruikemeier *et al.*,2014), but online news has a particularly powerful impact on younger users. Second, using online news also makes it possible to follow up on news events online via social media, which has been demonstrated to be essential for information processing (Lee *et al.*, 2012). Thirdly, consumers may rapidly scan the content in internet news and choose the stories they wish to go more into.

The usage of news has changed over recent years from being generic to being focused on particular issues. Young people tend to pay little attention to general news and instead concentrate on staying updated on a small number of problems (Mindich, 2005). Young people may quickly ignore a message and move on to the next news item if they come across material online that has little bearing on them. On the other hand, if a message is extremely pertinent to them, they may interact with it right away by passing it via social media, responding to it in the comments area, or storing the material to re-read at a later time. Last but not least, compared to access to offline news media like newspapers or television news, young people often consume internet news on personal digital devices, such as a mobile phone or a laptop (Lee et al., 2012).

- **Voter intentions**

According to Smith et al., (2016), young people must have a variety of intellectual, social, and emotional skills in order to participate in civic and political life. Teachers require knowledge of the environments in which students learn meaningfully, try to comprehend the perspectives of others, make judgments about problems, and

develop a sense of identity as someone who is ready to act. Schools are in a unique position to offer these chances for learning. This relies on the understanding that throughout their interactions, kids form normative expectations, a process that may have an impact on subsequent adult political engagement (Levine 2010). A wide conceptual framework for comprehending these social dynamics is a community of practice. This covers the ways in which young people construct identities, create a feeling of community, and interpret their experiences. To put it briefly, the idea of communities of practice helps put the concept of school democracy into reality.

2.4 Political Socialisation

Political socialization is the transmission of a society's political values, customs, and culture to younger generations (Almond & Verba, 1963:55). Political socialization is a process that spans the entire lives of social actors, albeit it is most intense during childhood. It is crucial to acquire the initial perceptions of political socialization (Almond & Verba, 1963:55). The first acquired values and norms serve as a guide for the adoption and organization of the remaining values and norms. Politics-related attitudes typically start to develop in childhood (Sarlamonov & Jovanoski, 2014:5). The pre-election campaigns, in the opinion of supporters of the sociological theory of voting, do not cause citizens' sentiments toward particular political ideologies, parties, or leaders to change; rather, they serve to reinforce them. The result of the influence of mass media is comparable (Sarlamonov & Jovanoski, 2014:5).

Another perspective on political socialization is the concept of habit development, which is frequently studied in relation to individual level voter participation, or people's decisions to vote or not. The political learning perspective on political behavior argues that citizens develop the habit of voting or not voting in the early years of adulthood and that past behavior predicts present behavior (Green and Shachar, 2000; Kanzawa, 2000; Bendor et al., 2003; Gerber et al., 2003 and Plutzer, 2002:44) they illustrate this perspective with the case of a 40-year-old with a higher-than-average income. With this knowledge, we can anticipate that this person participates in politics to a degree that is about average. Even if the prospect of a disruption in the habit of voting cannot be entirely ruled out, seeing voting as a habit, a change in income is not expected to have an impact on levels of political participation (Strate et al., 1989:10).

Intellectuals' skills might change their early political socialization as they become adults and enter the labor market. An excess of stable employment that promotes free speech can quell an intellectual's early radical tendencies (Kent, 2015: 3); a dearth of such employment can have the opposite impact. After accepting positions that fit them professionally, some intellectuals may continue to voice strong political views. However, when there are fewer of them, radicalization tends to occur more quickly and intensely (Kent, 2015: 4). For instance, in the 1960s, the Quebec Educational System started to generate a sizable number of highly educated French-speaking graduates. The newly graduated discovered that the bigger and more effective companies in the private sector of the economy were dominated by an English-speaking minority. Many Quebecois with advanced degrees discovered that they couldn't get good jobs. This and other considerations inspired some of them to believe that Quebec needed to become a sovereign state in order to become "masters in their own house." According to surveys, a significant portion of intellectuals joined the separatist movement and played a role in the election of separatist governments in 1976 and 1994. (Kent, 2015: 3).

The literature explains the significant influence of prior voting behavior on current decisions using a number of techniques (Cutts, Fieldhouse and John, 2009; Aldrich, Montgomery and Wood, 2011; Dinas, 2012). First, a number of variables, such as political partisanship or hobbies, that are generally consistent over a lifetime influence turnout (Prior 2010; Neundorf, Smets and Garcia Albacete 2013). These variables may have an impact on one's initial degree of political participation, but not necessarily on future levels over the course of one's lifetime (Plutzer, 2002). Second, voting has a self-reinforcing effect since it raises pro-voting attitudes and improves self-image to the extent that voting affects it. Thirdly, after casting their ballots, voters encounter fewer informational obstacles and can apply their practical experience and understanding of the political system to future elections (Plutzer, 2002). Although there is some empirical support for the habitual effect, the research is still divided as to what exactly causes repeated behavior.

2.5 Economic theory of voting

Downs, (1957) sees citizens as active, rather than passive, objects that political parties should be concerned with. As a result, when deciding whether to cast a ballot, citizens

are motivated by their own personal interests and assess the cost of voting against the potential rewards. They always seek to maximize their gain during this process, choosing the political party they believe will bring about this gain (Fiorina 1976:8). Specifically, in an ideal scenario, the voter measures the benefits he has received from a particular ruling political party against the benefits he anticipates receiving from the parties in opposition. Consequently, the voter ballots for the party he or she feels will provide them the greatest and most assured advantage.

According to Fiorina (1976:8), voters' voting decisions are influenced by a variety of factors, but instrumental reasons predominate in her view. She is attempting to fix the voter turnout issue in this way as well. A tautological explanation is also regarded as such. Voting in elections has a reasonable psychological basis since voters do not choose candidates out of a desire to do so, but rather out of practical considerations. Indicating that tangible personal interest lies at the core of every motivation, Overbye (1995:10) concurs that the rational choice is instrumental.

It is essential to examine the effects of economic issues in an effort to understand South Africa's voting behavior (Taylor, 1999:15). The ANC's success in the 2004 elections can be attributed to its economic programs. Even if the bulk of the population continues to struggle with unemployment, the populace still believes that the ANC best serves their economic interests (Friedman, 1999:2). In the 2004 elections, the ANC won a two-thirds majority, which can be attributed to its economic policies, which are generally not counterproductive to the interests of South Africans but rather serve their own self-interest.

Additionally, the party enjoys a constant base of working-class support thanks to its strategy with the COSATU and SACP (Friedman, 1999:2). On the other hand, political analysts argue that the opposition parties' economic plans are overwhelmingly less appealing. Hoene (2004:58) goes on to claim that policies that do not appeal to the majority of the South African public are the direct cause of the people's rejection of the IFP and the DA. The majority of the electorate is skeptical of the free market system that both parties advocate.

South Africa's current economic trajectory is unsustainable because of sluggish growth, rising unemployment, and significant inequality. To boost short-term growth in South Africa while also creating the circumstances for long-term growth, the

government should implement a number of reforms as quickly as possible. These consist of:

- Improving the alignment of learning outcomes with labor market demands, with an emphasis on early childhood development (which yields the highest return on educational investment), in order to make educational systems more relevant.
- Implementing programs for youth employment, such as continuous support for government initiatives (such as learnerships) that promote job creation and apprenticeships that facilitate the transition from education to the workforce through close cooperation between educational institutions and the private sector.
- To address spatial legacies by prioritizing targeted housing and urban development initiatives and growing effective, affordable, and integrated public transportation networks. Procedures are included in the latter to facilitate the emergence of social housing resale markets, expedite the distribution of title documents to beneficiaries, and leverage private sector funding for low-income housing constructions.
- Addressing the skills gap by combining short-term initiatives, like lifting immigration restrictions for individuals holding post-secondary degrees from accredited universities, with long-term educational reforms.
- Establishing a powerful state supported by a fresh pact between the public, private, and other social partners. The government's commitment to the pact should prioritize strengthening the capabilities of the public sector and state-owned enterprises as well as finding the right balance between policy advancement and certainty in order to ensure that the economy can attract investment. Companies have to be dedicated to advocating for laws that are clearly in the best interests of the general public.
- A solid foundation for macroeconomic policy, bolstered by inflation targeting, a stable and credible fiscal policy, and a flexible exchange rate. Productivity is boosted by a number of variables, including decreased uncertainty, cheaper borrowing costs overall, anchored return expectations for investments, and higher business confidence. A more sustainable fiscal trajectory and low and consistent inflation are also advantageous.

The Economic Voting Theory asserts that voters' choices are mostly affected by their financial situation. According to the Economic Voting Theory, voters will pay close attention to how the economy is managed since they all desire wealth or a strong economy. When the economy is booming, the electorate will praise the incumbent, while doing the opposite when it is not. Elections are extremely competitive, which supports this hypothesis.

Except for economic success, the majority of voters lack traits that are expected to be powerful indicators of voting behavior.

According to Hazelkorn (2014), voter economic preferences have a significant impact on election outcomes globally. According to Vaishnav and Swanson (2015), voters should carefully consider the economic policies of the existing administrations before casting their ballots. This shows that voters' opinions on the economic policies of previous administrations may be a good indicator of how satisfied they are with the nation's current political structure. Furthermore, Hazelkorn (2014) contends that a country's continued economic expansion raises its standing on the world stage.

Economic management may be viewed as being at the center of the examination of governmental performance. The majority of economic voting research, however, focuses on how national circumstances or an individual's wellbeing impact voting preferences. Studies have examined the impact of local economic factors on voting decisions, which creates questions because the theoretical underpinning of the literature on economic voting views local economic factors as important. Additionally, if the estimated response to the majority of the commonly used levels of analysis is significant, the results at the individual or national levels may be false (Elinder 2010; Ansolabehere, Meredith, & Snowberg 2014).

The notion that the government has a direct impact on the nation's economic success is an essential principle of both prospective and retrospective voting theories. As a result, an improvement in economic conditions enhances the likelihood that people would vote for the party they believe is to blame for the outcome. Better economic success also often reflects stronger administration capabilities and benefits voters who do not associate with any particular party (Anderson & Morgan 2011). These factors are influenced by both short- and long-term factors. The short-term variables vary greatly from election to election and are unique to that particular election. Some

instances of this are the state of the economy, the efficiency of the administration, or the candidate's demeanor.

2.6 The Michigan approach to voting action

A psychological theory of voting known as the theory of party identification was established by the Michigan School (Converse et al., 1960). According to the notion of party identification and civic participation, politics is an expressive identification phenomenon in which group members share values that are conducive to the interests of the group. Voters perceive the act of voting as a manifestation of their loyalty to a certain political alternative, claims the representative of the party identification hypothesis (Converse et al., 1960). This idea explains why voting patterns during elections don't always reflect variations in social standing.

The Michigan School assert that although people are irrationally drawn to a particular political issue despite having few other options to choose from, people naturally desire to be a part of a significant social group. Political parties draw people in by bringing meaning to their lives through their political ideologies, values, and rituals. According to these scholars, party identification refers to a voter's propensity to consistently support politicians who are affiliated with a particular political party. Identification with a particular party entails more than just passing votes for it; it also involves devotion to that party and a sense of responsibility for it. Additionally, social actors evaluate politically significant events using the psychological force of party identity.

According to the writers of Michigan School (1960), there are several enduring variables that have shaped citizens' voting behavior that must be taken into account in order to comprehend how they vote. As a result, the funnel model, which explains voting in accordance with the notion of party identification, is known in theory. The social actors in the process of socialization inside the family become more familiar with specific political worldviews, values, viewpoints, ideas, and attitudes. Both their social behavior and their social growth are influenced by these principles. Even how social actors feel about political issues is influenced and moulded by their identification with a certain political party, claim Campbell et al. (1971:2).

Party affiliation was also influenced by social milieu and parental figures (Campbell et al., 1971:2). The degree to which party identification and partisan attitude dimensions

are correlated indicates that an individual's long-term partisan affiliations have a significant impact on how they respond to various facets of national politics. On the other hand, the rejection of the opposing effects strengthens identification, and the party has a significant impact on the entire spectrum of political objects to which each voter reacts. Citizens learn to subscribe to a particular political philosophy through their families. Young people frequently maintain their political stance throughout their entire lives. There are several families where members have been committed to a certain political position for many generations (Campbell et al., 1971:8). The younger member of the family who gains the right to vote, but due to inexperience, uses their parents as a reference during the selection of the political subject, is just one example of the rational reasons why one might assume that many generations in the same family vote for the same political subject.

The division and expression of group members are identified with a particular social group. When outside the group, the individual is not required to adhere to the same internal group values. Internal relationships in a community may be cooperative or uncooperative, and their model defines the style of electoral politics, which is reflected in the composition of the group (Campbell et al., 1971:2). According to this voting theory, voting for a particular political issue and party affiliation are inextricably linked. The following list of distinctions between them emerges:

1. *Voting is primarily a social act, whereas identification is primarily psychological. Voting is a specific act in which the citizens' candidate is in the elections, even though we cannot directly observe identification; only its manifestations.*
2. *Unlike the identification, the voting period is regulated and constrained.*
3. *In contrast to identification, voting is a social action that is subject to legal regulation.*
4. *Different citizens support political parties in varying ways and to different degrees. No of which party a person identifies with, their level of skill, or their social and economic standing, everyone is only allowed one vote in elections.*
5. *Voting for a political party is motivated by party identification, which is distinct from how voters choose to cast their ballots.*

The ideological foundation of the party identification model is a point of criticism (ideology is a type of social or political philosophy that aims to both explain and alter the world, with a strong emphasis on practical aspects as well as theoretical ones). For a person, the party identity plays a crucial function. Citizens are more easily orientated in the complex world of politics through simplification. They can avoid paying close attention to and paying attention to the political discourse since they are aware of which politicians are good and which ones are harmful. The identification serves as a prism through which the populace views the political parties' rhetoric.

2.7 Relative Deprivation Theory

The Relative Deprivation Theory is applicable to the study because it characterizes elements that contribute to social unrest and movements for change and captures them accurately. The Social Deprivation Theory, according to Flynn (2011:3), describes the deprivation and dissatisfaction that result when expectations are raised from demands and then not realized. Consequently, it exists in two forms: brotherly deprivation and egoistic deprivation. Conversely, the term "fraternal deprivation" describes the discontent caused by the group's overall position in relation to another group. Egoistic deprivation refers to the sensations of comparative deprivation experienced by a single individual. Violence becomes more likely in circumstances where fraternal deprivation is excessively severe and pervasive (Gurr, 1975:5). Therefore, there is a chance of a social protest when individuals feel and are aware that there is a barrier to the realization of their aspirations (Gurr, 1975:5). Additionally, people experience relative deprivation as a conflict between expected value and actual value (Runciman, 1966:2). People's expectations match their circumstances, which is the core of social deprivation.

In *Why Men Rebel* (1970:27), Ted Robert Gurr argues that, as opposed to an absolute standard of deprivation, a discrepancy between predicted and actual welfare levels causes social unrest. This notion also applies to people who believe that their own welfare is less than that of others with whom they are compared. Political violence, according to Gurr (1970:27), is the result of widespread unhappiness brought on by a feeling of relative deprivation. According to him, "Relative deprivation" refers to the tension that results from a mismatch between the fulfillment of community values' "ought" and "is," which makes males more likely to use violence. Collective

unhappiness is shown in the difference between an individual's predicted and actual welfare results. Relative deprivation has been a concept since classical Greece. According to Aristotle, rather than an absolute measure of inequality, a sentiment or a relative perception of disparity is what sparks revolution. According to Gurr (1970:28), "For Aristotle, the principal cause of revolution is the aspiration of oligarchs for greater inequality than they have, and the aspiration of the common people for economic or political equality, i.e., a discrepancy in both instances between what people have in terms of political and economic goods relative to what they think is justly theirs."

Consider the case of a millionaire with an olympic-sized pool who currently resides in Beverly Hills. Looking at this man's life, one would likely come to the conclusion that he was not "deprived." Even though the millionaire is objectively wealthy, he might feel rather underprivileged if his neighbor across the street has ten Olympic-sized swimming pools. According to Gurr (1970:29), this "perceived mismatch between value expectations and value capabilities"—rather than the millionaire's actual financial situation is what causes discontent. The following are the prerequisites for "relative deprivation," which is when Person A feels deprived of object X, according to Runciman (1966:44): Person A does not possess X; Person A desires X; Person A is aware of those who possess X; and Person A thinks attaining X is feasible.

How may terrorism be influenced by sentiments of relative deprivation? In order to explain how widespread unrest appears as political violence, Ted Robert Gurr (1970:20) offers a psychological explanation. The rage brought on by frustration is a driving drive that predisposes individuals to aggression, regardless of its means. "The basic basis of the human capacity for violence appears to be the frustration aggression mechanism." Gurr (1970:30) was not the first expert in his area to suggest a connection between anger and aggression, though. The notion, first put forth by Dollard and Millard in 1939:12, contends that male aggression is a result of frustration. The theory holds that relative deprivation is the root of this frustration, and the ensuing hostility takes the form of terrorism.

This relative deprivation theory explanation is beneficial because it highlights key aspects of the causes of social unrest and how they relate to service delivery in South Africa (RSA, 1996). For example, the goals of local government are legally required to ensure the sustainable delivery of services to communities and to foster social and

economic growth (RSA, 1996). However, the majority of local communities engage in social unrest or protest because local government does not uphold its constitutional commitments (Bueno, 2005:530). The Social Deprivation hypothesis fits this situation well because there are obstacles preventing individuals from realizing their expectations and constitutional rights, which leads to protests. Local communities that frequently protest local government feel that their expectations of it regarding its duty to provide basic services are out of sync with their reality in this regard (Bueno, 2005:530).

2.8 Lewin's Gestalt Theory of Motivation

In the late 19th century, Gestalt psychology was born in Germany (Lewin, 2001:1). Gestalt psychologists were scientists who sought to comprehend the mind. The best way to describe Lewin's (1947:1) theory is as a method, a method for analyzing causal relationships and creating scientific constructs. According to this perspective, rather than gradually focusing attention on a small number of factors, it is necessary to continually cross traditional boundaries of the social sciences in order to accurately depict and explain the complexity of concrete reality (Lewin, 1947:1). This theory, also known as dynamic theory and topological psychology, calls for an integrative approach to comprehending concrete reality. It claims that forces acting on events in a nearly instantaneous manner from a distance determine them. Lewin (1947) held the opinion that a social science has a duty to use its resources to address social issues, according to Marrow (1977:185).

As a result, because he pioneered the use of scientific techniques and experiments in the study of social behavior, Lewin (2013:44) is sometimes referred to be the father of modern social psychology. As a result, Lewin (2013) explained human behavior by emphasizing the pressures and forces that shape it. According to him, every person's behavior is directed toward a specific aim or objective, and it is this intention that is most important when a behavior is carried out. Lewin (2013:45) asserts that behavior is the culmination of a series of interconnected facts that make up a dynamic trail. This psychological area, which includes the person and his psychological thoughts at a particular time, is also known as life space.

2.9 Party Identification Model

The Party Identification Model asserts that mainly voters participate in politics out of a sense of long-term devotion to a certain political party (Ball & Peters, 2005:172). Heywood (2002:242) continues by pointing out that the Party Identification Model views voters as loyal, long-term supporters of a political party who perceive that party to be "their party. Consequently, voting turns into, as Catt (1996:5) put it, a sign of partisanship. Therefore, political parties are highlighted, and voters are classified based on which party, if any, they identify with and how committed they are to it. (Kovenock & Robertson, 2008:277). Additionally, emphasis is focused on early political socialization, during which time the family primarily "forges" political allegiances that are then typically reinforced through social interactions and group affiliations (Heywood, 2002:242). Party identification is also one of the notions that electoral analysts have used for the longest (Sanders, 2003:260), and it is included in a large body of research that uses other models of voting behavior.

Franklin and Jackson (1983:957) claim that party identification helps people "know" more about the individuals and policies associated with political parties and that party identification is stable, indicating that the feeling of party affiliation is not easily altered. Stronger identification increases the likelihood that the individual will take party positions on issues and believe the party is promoting policies that they support; this will result in a very "consistent-appearing voter. However, voters will re-evaluate their party preferences once they receive new information (Franklin & Jackson, 1983:958). (Franklin & Jackson, 1983:969). Additionally, political parties look for methods to boost allegiances and party identification (Wolf, 2010:93). It is also possible, though, that identification shifts resulting in new issue positions and changed perceptions of the relative positions of the parties will occur as party structures, etc., change and more accurately reflect the newly emerging set of preferences, evaluations, and identifications (Franklin & Jackson, 1983:969).

Four claims are made in relation to the Party Identification Model (see Green et al., 2002; (1) Voters' party loyalty is largely insulated from the effects of current issues, such as the state of the economy and the president's performance; (2) Party loyalties exercise a powerful influence on citizens' issues; (3) Party loyalties exercise a powerful influence on citizens' issues; (4) Party identification is primarily focused on affiliation with social groups rather than evaluating the ideologies or policies of the parties.

These findings contradict recent scholarship. These assertions are at odds with the Rational Choice Model, which maintains that each voter evaluates the performance of political parties and bases their choices on reason (see section 2.5).

Party identification is an extraordinarily constant tendency, according to Goren (2005:882), who agrees with Friedman (1999:214 and 2004:2) that it shapes a wide spectrum of political perceptions and, for the most part, is unaffected. Political values, according to him, have five conceptual characteristics in common, including "abstract views about desired end states or behaviors that transcend specific situations; and influence appraisal and behavior, and can be rank-ordered in terms of relative importance" (Goren, 2005:882). In some circumstances, voting behavior is heavily influenced by party identity. According to Friedman (1999:214 and 2004:2), identification may be the most important factor in determining voter behavior in South Africa, where people tend to support political parties that they most strongly identify with, regardless of how well their policies or services are implemented by the government.

Party identification is especially important since it is well-established and strongly correlated with voting behavior (Goldberg, 1966:915). Party identity is not unchangeable, even though it is firmly established. According to Franklin and Jackson (1983), a person's party identification may alter as a result of shifting individual preferences, party positions, or both. Party identification can also change as a result of shifting party positions if personal preferences remain constant. Party identification is not only the product of early socialization; it also considers the opinions that a person has held throughout the course of previous elections and is impacted by events and actions taken by political.

Every campaign leaves its "imprint" on an individual's identity, and shifts in individuals' perceptions of the gaps between other parties and their own preferences serve as the impetus for change (Franklin & Jackson, 1983:968). Individual opinions and general partisanship may fluctuate for a variety of reasons; preferences may occasionally shift, and both novel and enduring issues may give rise to fresh conflicts. Partisanship and party positions may shift if the incumbent party's performance is judged to be inadequate (Linking Party Identification to the Michigan Model) (Franklin & Jackson, 1983:968).

2.10 Media/Dominant Ideology

The media, and the part it plays in informing the public and developing ideas, is another element that affects voting behavior. Ball and Peters (2005:180) correctly note the growing significance of the mass media's involvement in determining election outcomes, notably that of television and social media. For knowledge about politicians and their behavior, the public relies on the media (Ladd 2010). Additionally, news media is crucial to democratic administration since it influences political stances and voting preferences, among other things (Ladd, 2010).

The public's perceptions of political figures, parties, etc. are frequently shaped by the images and texts used in the media (Grabe, 2009). By regularly exposing their audiences to certain texts and conveying messages about political figures, public affairs, political behavior, etc., certain mental images are created in the recipients' minds, which can result in the formation of political opinions and the decision and expression of political support as a result (Grabe, 2009). The majority of the information used by the voters when it comes to voting and elections is provided by the media (Stromberg, 2004:265). Information is disseminated to large audiences by the media. Television and newspapers were cited by American voters as their primary sources of information during the 1996 election (Stromberg, 2004:265). The media serves as a vehicle for the communication of political messages (and promises), but they are not neutral instruments that disseminate information equitably (Stromberg, 2004:266). Additionally, political knowledge and direct persuasion from media messages influence voting preferences, however innovative study approaches or uncommon historical circumstances are required to obtain that data (Ladd, 2010). Political knowledge rises when politics receives more coverage in the mass media, especially the print media (Jankowski & Strate, 1995:91).

It's also critical to recognize the distinction between "newspaper competition" and "political competition," where the former targets particular demographics while the latter does not (Stromberg, 2004:271). Newspapers aim to "attract the largest group." Additionally, the media may significantly influence policy without altering public opinion or voting patterns. Politicians respond to changes in media coverage at the same time and in a similar manner, keeping voting issues consistent (Stromberg, 2004:271).

However, other scholars claim that the press's standing has declined over time (Ladd, 2010), and there is little consensus regarding the significance of the media's influence on voters' choices (Ball & Peters, 2005:180). However, according to Stromberg (2004:266), while policies vary significantly, voting intentions and public opinion may remain stable due to the political parties' simultaneous responses to media coverage.

What transpires if information sources such as the media are no longer trusted? Partisan voting is more prevalent among people who distrust the media, claims Ladd (2010). Voters in contemporary democracies must make critical judgments using their existing knowledge rather than having access to all available facts (Ladd, 2010). Voters are compelled to rely on "existing stores of information" when they mistrust the messaging in the news media, which makes the political landscape more "ambiguous" (Ladd, 2010). Voting based on party identification becomes the most useful option when a voter has mistrust for the news or media (Ladd, 2010).

Media effects may encompass a wider spectrum of phenomena (Ladd, 2010). The first focus of media effects study was on the public's ability to be persuaded by media messages. But more and more, political behavior is influenced by views toward the media as well as the volume and content of media communications (Ladd, 2010). Even when media messaging remain consistent, shifts in the news media's standing as an institution can have a significant impact on political ideas and opinions as well as voting preferences (Ladd, 2010).

Heywood (2002:244) makes a connection between the mass media's power and what he refers to as the Dominant-ideology Model, where basic theories of voting show how much "ideological manipulation and control" has an impact on people's preferences. This concept highlights how people and organizations perceive their own positions, and that this interpretation depends on how those positions were presented in the media, in the classroom, and by the government (Heywood, 2002:244). Additionally, Heywood (2002:244) asserts that the media can also stifle political discourse by establishing the topics for discussion and by structuring or influencing sympathies and preferences. The media portrays prevailing ideologies, which causes the voters to form political beliefs and support in accordance. As a result, the dominant ideology model and the media go hand in hand. Because it includes print media, electronic media, and broadcast media in addition to being a significant source of

communication, the media also acts as the primary source of information. Given that the media is the most logical means of forming dominant or desired ideologies in the minds of the public, it is not surprising that it can be a significant part of the Dominant-ideology Model.

The electorate is purposefully conditioned or "indoctrinated" into holding particular political opinions or endorsing particular political candidates or parties, rather than being socially influenced in a way that "forges" or dictates their political behavior. This voting behavior model is different from others in that it emphasizes the control of personal preferences and the manipulation of ideologies.

Ideologies function as coordinating systems for people's views about what the future should hold in terms of political outcomes and social values. They have programmatic and consistency qualities (Bisin & Verdier, 2000:7). The programmatic function of ideology as well as its information processing and communication role are two traits that Bisin and Verdier (2000:14) note are shared by all definitions of ideology. An ideology is a vision of the perfect society and the methods to get there (Jacoby, 2009:591; 593). The audience's value systems are somehow altered as a result of the continual broadcasting of these ideals to them. Additionally, an ideology offers criteria for judging the leadership potential of public people, the relative merits of competing policy stances, and the severity of the current social, political, and economic issues (Jacoby, 2009:593).

Uninformed voters are less likely to cast ballots, and if they do, they will react negatively to the issues raised by the candidates because they are unaware of their true positions (Palfrey, 1987:512). According to Palfrey (1987:512), there are three sets of correlations that exist between a voter's information or political awareness level and their preferences for issues, candidates, and voting behavior (including abstaining from voting).

Voter information is favorably correlated with ideological "extremism" and negatively correlated with lack of interest in the candidates, according to Palfrey (1987:530). He provides an explanation for this by claiming that highly informed voters are a substantially more polarized part of the population than are uninformed voters, and that a voter's level of information has a considerable positive impact on their chance

of casting a ballot (Palfrey, 1987:530). Voter behavior of informed voters is substantially more predictable than that of uninformed ones (Palfrey, 1987:530).

Furthermore, voters select a party based on their personal ideological preferences, according to Abramowitz and Saunders (2006:175), which causes a consistent realignment of party loyalties along ideological lines. The "increasing ideological polarisation" of major parties is the cause of this. Individual differences exist among the electorate in terms of the propensity to view the world through a "liberal-conservative" lens, and some people organize their beliefs and behavior along ideological lines (Jacoby, 2009:584). Jacoby (2009:591) offered the 2004 US presidential election as an example, noting that voters rated their choices according to their own liberal-conservative leanings.

The overemphasis on the process of social conditioning completely ignores individual choice and personal autonomy, which is a flaw in this approach (Heywood, 2002:244). People also have a propensity to read and listen to texts in the media selectively, which is something that needs to be taken into account. According to how well the knowledge fits with their existing or present values and beliefs, audiences often choose information and retain it.

2.11 Sociological Model

Social factors, not attitudes, are the main factor influencing voting, according to the sociological model's foundation (Catt 1996:8). As a result, a person's perceptions of how the government should operate will depend on their access to healthcare, housing, transportation, and education (Catt 1996:8). This approach also highlights the voter's affiliation with a particular group and takes into account social factors such as age, gender, and language prominence, as well as socioeconomic class, religion, community size, and regional or ethnic loyalties. According to Brooks et al. (2006:89), once established, these social "cleavages" provide the groundwork for "political strife articulated through the ballot box."

In other words, this paradigm contends that a person's circumstances and social status ultimately dictate their voting behaviour. Declaring that the Sociological Model links voting behavior to membership in a group and maintains that voters typically adopt a voting pattern that mirrors the social and economic status or circumstances of the

group they are a part of, Heywood (2002:243) concurs with the authors mentioned above. This concept emphasizes a voter's participation in a group and sees social traits like those stated before as influencing voter behavior (Schoeman & Puttergill, 2007:155).

On the surface, social class appears to be a strong predictor of voting intentions when it comes to social characteristics. For instance, the working class is typically more likely to support a left-of-center party, whereas the middle class is typically more likely to support a right-of-center party (Ball & Peters, 2005:176). In other words, one's priorities will rely on their socioeconomic situation or participation in a group, therefore they will vote for the party that shares their priorities. However, this indication, which indicates that class distinctions in voting behavior are becoming less important, has also come under fire (Brooks et al., 2006:92). Political scientists disagree over whether the weakening of this association between class and voting is due to voters who have simply stopped voting along class lines (Ball & Peters, 2005:177) or whether the class structure itself in mature capitalist democracies is changing (Brooks et al., 2006:92).

Regarding the use of religion as a voting predictor, it has been said that these divisions serve as an extremely significant "social-structural source of voter alignments" (Brooks et al., 2006:92). Although considered an important indicator, its influence has been found to be declining (Ball & Peters, 2005:178; Brooks et al., 2006:92). Due to overall secularization associated with economic prosperity and rising socioeconomic differentiation in cultures, the influence of religious identity on voting behavior has decreased (Brooks et al., 2006:92).

According to Ball and Peters (2005:179), majority parties can sometimes be divided based on linguistic and ethnic differences. Voters in this situation are more likely to support political parties that share their ethnicity and language, probably because they will be able to better comprehend one another's customs and demands.

Ball and Peters (2005:178) claim that age is a variable that is too complex to explain voting behavior. They provide an example of this by claiming that older individuals tend to vote for conservative parties, although caution must be exercised to ensure that this tendency is not partially caused by the demographic trend of older voters being disproportionately female (Ball & Peters, 2005:179). According to Moller et al. (2009), 357, it would be oversimplified to state that older individuals tend to vote more

conservatively because there are other variables that may influence their decisions. For example, women typically live longer than men. Therefore, it may be true that older women vote more conservatively than older men who no longer see the need to vote, rather than that older people generally vote more conservatively.

There are some differences between the political party support of male and female voters based on gender. For instance, a widening gender gap has been noted where female voters tend to support Left-leaning parties more than their male counterparts in the United States and Scandinavian social democratic welfare states (Brooks et al., 2006:93). Employment may be a factor in the shift in political alignments, and Brooks et al. (2006:93) made two broad interpretations to try to explain it. First, they suggested that since women are more likely to work in the public sector, they are more likely to support political parties that support growth or employment in the government. Second, they suggested that working women may be more reliant on welfare state programs that support work and childcare.

The aforementioned social divisions can change over time and take one of two forms, according to Brooks et al. (2006:91): they can change in the relative number of groups or in the partisan alignments of specific groups.

However, Heywood (2002:243) points out that some empirical data suggests that in modern societies, the relationship between party support and sociological determinants has weakened. The sociological model started to lose favor after the 1960s as researchers started to focus more on nearby cognitive, economic, cultural, ideological, or partisanship factors when creating models of political behavior. It also started to receive harsh criticism and rejection at this time (Brooks et al., 2006:89). Additionally, voters are increasingly choosing their political parties independently of their memberships in or identities within social groups, according to Brooks et al. (2006:90). As a result, class dealignment and the weakening of the relationship between party support and social class has drawn attention. However, social class may still have a big influence on voting behavior (Heywood 2002:243). As a result, arguments were raised concerning the significance of a decrease in social divisions in voting behavior (See Evans 1999, as cited in Brooks et al., 2006:90). Brooks et al. (2006:89; 90; 113) found no evidence for a general decline in the relevance of the sociological model.

Some analysts employed sociological traits and social groups as indicators and factors in their studies in comparison to other theories of voting behavior. In his study on voting behavior, Goldberg (1966:915; 916) employed sociological traits to analyze voting behavior and determine early socialization. In addition, he asserts that adult sociological traits also have an impact on Party Identification.

Miller (1991:560), in keeping with the Party Identification Model, employed social categories including gender, religion, and race to gauge party identification levels. The same was said by Abramowitz and Saunders (2006:182) who divided social groups based on racial, gender, and religious affiliations as the basis for party identification.

As a result, the Sociological Model is not only still applicable as a model of voting behavior but also has connections to other models, including the Michigan Model.

2.12 Theory of Rational Choice

In his essay "An Economic Theory of Democracy," usually referred to as rational choice theory, Anthony Downs (1957) provided the theoretical underpinnings for an economics explanation of voting behavior. By starting with the work in political economy (Kenneth Arrow, 1951:4), which connects economic attributes like resources, goods, and technology with a political outcome or choice, this explains electoral behavior. The rational choice hypothesis is supposed to be able to explain not only how markets function but also how governments are run. It draws a glaring parallel between consumers and voters, and between corporations and political parties. If businesses aim to maximize profit and consumers act to maximize utility, we can theorize that voters try to maximize the value of their vote while the parties act to maximize electoral wins from their political promises.

The model operates on three fundamental presumptions: (1) that all decisions made by political parties and voters are rational (Antunes, 2008: 153), that is, driven by self-interest and upheld in accordance with the maximization of an action's utility principle; (2) that the political system in a democracy implies a degree of consistency that supports predictions about the outcomes of those decisions (i.e., that political parties, voters, and the government will all act in the same way); and (3) despite the consistency mentioned in the previous paragraph, the democratic system presupposes a level of uncertainty that is significant enough to allow for different

options. The model operates on the basis of these three fundamental suppositions (Antunes, 2008: 154).

The diversity and quality of the information that social actors use to decide who to vote for in elections are crucial considerations, according to the idea of rational voting (Lupia and McCubbins, 1998:10). It is unusual for social actors to have perfect knowledge of politics and the potential effects such processes may have on their lives. According to the notion, voters frequently base their choices based on just a few aspects of how the ruling party operates (Lupia and McCubbins, 1998:10). This method assumes that voters share knowledge that they each own a different quantity of in the asymmetric information game. Sometimes a citizen possesses knowledge that is unfamiliar to other citizens. The citizen may or may not have preferences, and these preferences may or may not be truthful to other citizens.

Therefore, because they have altruistic moods and are not directed by the metrics of the personal interesting model, this model does not apply when citizens are truthful and cooperative (Cox, 1997:21). The model cannot function as a personal fascinating model in a different scenario when the citizen may have a large discount factor or dislike options for alternate voting decisions. The main distinction between the political subjects' constructive efforts and the voting process is that the legitimacy of the political subjects is irrelevant. The voter has a choice among several political parties with comparable policies when deciding who to support, and he will pick the party he thinks will be most advantageous. As one can see, voter confidence in political parties plays a critical role in determining their legitimacy. At the same time, voters in multi-party systems occasionally cast a strategic ballot for their second or third choice, which has a genuine chance of winning the elections; in other words, voters may not vote for their first choice, which may be a minor party with no chance of winning the elections (Cox, 1997:22).

The Rational Choice Theory underpins this study, which helps crystallise the reasons for election (de)motivation during the voting process. "The purpose of rational choice theory (RCT) is to show that certain social phenomena may be explained with reference to their effectiveness in solving difficulties resulting from the general pursuit of self-interest," as indicated by Lovette (2006:238). This hypothesis states that voters will only vote if they have assurance of receiving assistance from the current

government. It emphasises that people vote based on sensible considerations; their reasonable voting judgments have demotivated their behaviour pattern. Furthermore, this idea serves as a marker for this study in that it aids the reader's understanding of what prevents sensible voters in South Africa from voting. Readers will gain a better understanding of the reasons behind many South Africans' lacklustre voting behaviour because of the inclusion in this study.

2.13 Conclusion

Political parties that run for office frequently advertise themselves using political ideas that are positive for the advancement of society. Political parties inevitably display significant ideological and institutional differences in how they operate, especially when it comes to the principles upon which they base their public policies, the societal evolution they envision, and the various social spheres in which they operate. Given this, political parties vary in terms of the public's perception of their legitimacy. Different factors, though, influence individuals when deciding which party to support in the elections. In the theories of voting that attempt to explain how voters behave during elections, a select few points of view predominate.

Additionally, voters assess the ideology, policies, and economic competency of various parties on their own. In addition, parties may alter their ideologies and policies in an effort to appeal to more voters when voter preferences shift. However, parties themselves have the power to influence voters' opinions. Therefore, voting behavior is a dynamic and complex process. It is not unexpected that there isn't a single hypothesis that can fully explain it.

For instance, according to Wolf (2010:8), voter intelligence has grown through time, and as a result, voters no longer depend on party cues; instead, psychological attachment and/or problems serve as their sole motivators. Independent voters became more sophisticated, and many voters began to value campaigns (Wolf 2010). In this instance, it could be argued that the Party Identification Model was more relevant in the past, while the Rational Choice Model and the Media are more relevant now. This is controversial, though, as many scholars and analysts continue to think that the Party Identification Model is still useful today. Additionally, voter sophistication

shouldn't be mistaken for reason (Wolf, 2010:8). because intelligence cannot always be correlated with having greater access to information and experiences.

This chapter critically analysed the literature on youth voter apathy in South Africa. The literature review took shape through the presentation of the issue of voting in terms of democratic consolidation and examined the two main theoretical models informing the reasons that lead to youth voter apathy, namely voting behaviour theory and rational voter theory. For the purpose of the study, it is the voting behaviour theory which was utilised in the analysis of the factors leading to youth voter apathy South Africa.

In addition, in this chapter, the literature on voter participation was reviewed using a method known as "systematic search of published work to find out what is already known about the intended research topic, for the purpose of establishing the need for research," according to Aitchson (1998:112). The study's literature analysis focuses on the necessity of identifying a "golden thread" about the problems associated with voter indifference in democracies, particularly in South Africa. The nature and scope of voter apathy as well as potential causes for the drop in voting participation in South Africa are revealed in this in-depth study of issues surrounding voter apathy at the national and provincial levels.

Framework for analysis	
Voting Behaviour Model	Key Questions
Sociological Model	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does a young person's voting behavior or political ideals depend on their gender? • Does racial differences in political values and voting behavior exist? • The Sociological Model's Applicability

Michigan Model	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do young people in rural and urban areas vote differently from one another? • Does the youth discuss politics? • With who does the youth discuss politics and elections?
Party Identification Model	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does the youth identify themselves with political parties? • Does the youth identify themselves with political leaders? • Do young people support the political parties and figures they identify with? • Do young people hold political values? What are they
Media/ Dominant Ideology Model	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do young people routinely consume media? • Do young people trust the media? • Does the dominant ideology affect how young people vote?
Rational Choice Model	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are young people aware of significant problems in their neighborhoods? • Are young people informed of how the government is doing? • Do rational considerations form the basis of voting behavior??

Summary

The chapter went into great length about how young people may get active in politics. It's crucial to understand youth audiences and create an effective communication plan for them. It is crucial that theories can provide light on the desires of young people as well as how they see their interactions with politics, the government, and civil society.

It is also crucial to keep in mind that teenage audiences consist of a varied range of people with various experiences, expectations, and needs when thinking about how to communicate with them. Therefore, it is important to take into account the different subgroups of young people when creating a communication strategy for younger audiences.

This does not exclude engaging youth audiences as a whole, though. In actuality, several concerns, such as education and training, social inclusion and diversity, economic opportunity, housing, health, and mobility, are pertinent to and concerning to all young people.

The theories covered in this chapter are all pertinent to South Africa and suitable since they address social choice in terms of voter preference. Voting behavior shows why people vote the way they do. According to the Economic Voting Theory, voters' decisions are primarily influenced by their financial circumstances. Firstly, it stems from life cycle and generational effects; secondly, the youth have become disenchanted with traditional forms of political participation that older generations have practiced, like voting; and thirdly, there is a difference in how younger people and older people embrace political concepts.

Limited Resources: Rational Choice Theory also takes into account the people's constrained resources, including their time, money, and knowledge. The decision of South African youth to participate in the political process may be influenced by a variety of resource limitations. For instance:

a. **Socioeconomic factors:** Young people from low-income homes may not have as much money, which makes the costs of voting (such as transportation and time away from work) more onerous. Apathy may result if the apparent advantages of engaging do not outweigh these disadvantages.

b. **Information Accessibility:** Making well-informed decisions might be hampered by a lack of credible information on political candidates and parties. Youth who lack knowledge could decide against voting rather than making decisions based on incomplete information.

The Rational Choice Theory, which functions as a mirror to clarify the causes of the (de)motivation of voters during the voting process, serves as the theoretical foundation for this essay (Lovette, 2006:238).

CHAPTER 3

WHAT ARE THE CONTRIBUTING FACTORS TO THE INCREASE IN VOTER'S APATHY?

3. Introduction

One of the fundamental tenets of political democracy is the right to vote (Gowing, 2014:18). There has been a significant drop in voter turnout among South African citizens after six consecutive democratic elections, which span 28 years from 1994 to 2019. Many eligible South Africans have consistently declined to cast their votes. Every adult citizen has the right to vote in elections for any legislative body created in accordance with the constitution, and to do so in secret, according to Section 19(3) (a) of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996).

There are many obstacles to South Africa's socioeconomic progress (Mataka, 2020:3). Many of the problems with socio-economic growth are rooted in high unemployment and low salaries which leads to issues like violence, pessimism, inequality, and the cycle of poverty. Poor educational standards make it difficult for school dropouts to contribute to the economy. South Africa spends a lot of money on education, but the outcomes are not keeping up (Mataka, 2020:3). Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to unpack the contributing factors as well as the programmes that contribute to the increase in voter apathy. Considering age is one of the most important factors that affect voter turnout, youth voter apathy is a primary source of concern in South Africa (Branson, 2003).

However, according to Van Vollenhoven (2015:1727), the South African electorate have been duly exercising their rights, and consequently this study seeks to investigate factors that contribute to the decline of voters in South Africa.

3.1 Theoretical Framework

The Rational Choice Theory underpins this study, which, like a mirror helps, helps to crystallise the reasons behind the (de)motivation of election during the voting process. Lovette (2006:238) theorises that "the point of rational choice theory (RCT) is to show that certain social phenomena can be explained with reference to their usefulness in

solving problems arising from the general pursuit of self-interest.” The rational choice theory aids voters in weighing the advantages and disadvantages of voting before deciding whether or not to cast a ballot. Due to the government's failure to fulfill its obligations to the people, citizens in this case do not perceive the need to vote, which contributes to the low voter turnout, particularly in South Africa (Lovette, 2006:238).

This theory clarifies that voters only decide to cast their votes if they have a guarantee of service by the government of the day. It emphasises that people vote based on their rational choice. Their rational decisions towards voting demotivates their behavioural pattern. Furthermore, this idea serves as a marker for this study in that it aids the reader's understanding of what prevents sensible voters in South Africa from voting. Readers would better understand and embrace the causes behind many South Africans' lacklustre voting behaviour due to its inclusion in this study.

3.2 Voter Turnout

Voter turnout is determined by the number of eligible voters who visit the polls on election day (Hutt, 2018:1). Some people register to vote yet fail to show up on election day. On the other hand, some citizens choose not to register at all, making them ineligible to cast a ballot. According to Schulz-Herzenberg's (2014) study, voter turnout is measured as a percentage of the population of eligible voters who are over 20 years old. According to the statistics, voter turnout decreased from 86 percent in 1994 to 72 percent in 1999 and 58 percent in 2004, with a modest increase to 60 percent in 2009 and a subsequent reduction to 57 percent in the 2014 elections. According to Schulz-Herzenberg (2014), the number of eligible South African voters decreased during these elections.

Wade (2017:19) acknowledges that a number of factors, including inadequate education, subpar service delivery, unemployment, corruption, and crime, may have an impact on South Africa's low voter turnout. This is demonstrated by the decline in voters from the total number of votes cast from 1994 to 2014. He adds that the procedure of registering to vote and showing up at the polls can both be time-consuming challenges for citizens (Wade, 2017:20).

According to Person et al. (2014:5), people should only cast a ballot if there are advantages to doing so. In contrast, voters avoid the polls since their elected officials

only approach them during the campaigning season to urge them to cast a ballot. Many people don't vote because they believe that the political system is indifferent to their needs, according to Chapman (2019:1). One of the reasons they don't vote is due to poor or absent service delivery (Nanthan, 2016). Additionally, Wade (2017:3) asserts that voters' lack of enthusiasm for voting is a result of their perception that their ballots don't matter.

According to Miracle (2008:11), being overworked, schedule conflicts, being ill, forgetting to vote, not being registered to vote, transportation issues, and inconveniences are some of the factors that lead to voter indifference. He goes on to demonstrate that, despite all these obstacles, voters between the ages of 65 and 75 consistently outnumber those in all other eligible voting groups. This happens mainly because older people understand that voting is one of democracy's essential pillars and that people have to make sacrifices for this democracy to exist. Before 1994, the bulk of them were oppressed in various ways (Miracle, 2008:11). In other words, they have experience with living in servitude, which accounts for their unwavering appreciation of exercising their democratic right to vote in big numbers despite the political injustices the country is experiencing.

Figure 1 illustrates how a group made up about a third (33%) of all eligible voters, illustrating their excessively disproportionate size among the electorate. Adults between 30-39 years old made up 25%, while people between 40-49 years old made up only 17%. Following that, age group proportions start to decrease.

VAP Registration 2018 population estimates compared by age

Age Groups	Registered voters	Age as % registered voters	VAP 2018 Population estimates	Age as % VAP	% VAP registered
18-19	341,19	1,30	1843,83	5,10	18,50
20-29	5299,1	19,80	9871,02	27,50	53,70
30-39	6685,44	25,00	8990,80	25,10	74,40
40-49	5480,34	20,50	6081,39	17,00	90,10
50-59	4228,56	15,80	4361,79	12,20	96,90
60-69	27337,95	10,20	2818,62	7,90	97,10
70-79	1336,95	5,00	1355,15	3,80	98,70
80+	647487,00	2,40	545,57	1,50	118,70
Total	698196,56	100,00	35868,19	100,10	648,10

Source: Herzenberg, 2020: 9

3.3 Registration among young people in South Africa

South African youth are generally seen as a "lost generation" that lacks political motivation or reasons, according to Tracey (2014:1). Due to the governing elite's lack of interest in responding to their concerns, some people have chosen not to participate in democratic procedures like elections. Future hopes must be contrasted with the lived reality of excessive unemployment, poverty, and inequality. Given that young people make up a sizable portion of South African voters, taking note of their voting sentiments and feelings may provide light on how they view their democratic representation. This in turn would show how much influence they believe they must have over the vision of the country.

Due to South Africa's fast population increase, the demographic composition of the electorate entitled to vote has changed. As more younger voters enter the electorate and generational replacement occurs, turnout levels are predicted to decline. International research have found that younger voters tend to vote less than their elder counterparts.

According to South Africa's 2013 population estimates, there were 10.9 million eligible voters between the ages of 18 and 29, or 34% of the country's population of voting age. However, just 6.4 million people are registered, which equates to a fifth of eligible voters or a fourth of all residents. Only 33% of 18 and 19-year-olds who are eligible to vote are registered. Additionally, just 59% of voters aged 18 to 29 are registered, which is lower than the rate for older voters. Additionally, a large portion of eligible young voters between the ages of 18 and 29 who are still unregistered lower the registration rate and the turnout of eligible voters (Herzenberg 2014:2).

The turnout of registered voters in the 2014 elections, according to Herzenberg (2014:2), was 73%. This represented a decline of 4% on the previous two elections' turnout of 77%. When turnout is examined as a proportion of the eligible voting-age population turnout over 20 years, there has been a decline in participation from 86% in 1994, to 72% in 1999, and 58% in 2004. In 2009 there was a slight increase to 60%, but this was followed by a drop to 57% in the 2014 elections.

3.4 FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE DECLINE OF VOTING IN SOUTH AFRICA

Youth voter turnout has been demonstrated to be highly influenced by education (Howe 2006:137). People with higher levels of education may be better equipped to handle politically sensitive material and have more mature senses of community participation (Dalton & Anderson, 2007:271). However, some research indicates that certain countries may benefit more significantly from education than others (Goldstone 2010:31).

Given historical injustice and a lack of alternatives have motivated generations of young people to struggle for social change, youth are particularly sensitive to the difficulties of marginalization. The revolutionary movements of many African nations depended heavily on the participation of youth in anti-colonial activities. Youth requirements in earlier generations were often simpler to specify. Finding the issue and solving it have grown more difficult as a result of the political independence of most governments, equality being a legal requirement in many countries, and the prevalence of "lip service" to justice. Young people carry a significant duty if they are to build a brighter future for themselves and their communities because of the major problems that frequently range from economic hardship to environmental degradation to human rights violations.

From this way, the task facing young people today is to develop a strategy for the twenty-first century, one that goes beyond just bringing up concerns to challenge established paradigms and build platforms for the change they want to see. If young activism is to occur across public, economic, and generational barriers, it must go beyond developing previous articulations of unhappiness, which is a fundamental and crucial beginning phase in effecting social change, to defining precise aims and strategies.

Voters may choose to stay away from elections if they are disenchanted with the political system and party politics in addition. The two viewpoints that have the most influence on the likelihood of voting are "system benefits," which is a civic obligation, and "impact and advantages," which is outside of political viability, according to Clarke, *et al.*, (2004:260).

On the contrary side, a sense of lack of interest in the significance of voting may result from satisfaction with the way the country is being governed (Fowler and Kam

2007:811). One possible effect is that the majority of voters choose to support the party that they believe will win, with supporters of other parties feeling little incentive to participate (Gill & Gainous 2002:383).

Voters may choose not to vote if their voter registration information is inaccurate or outdated. The apparent relevance of an election is another consideration; for example, a local or regional election may not be perceived as having the same significance as a federal election (Pammett & LeDuc 2007:511). Other socio-economic issues, such as inhabitants working during voting hours, and the exclusion of the poor from political decision-making, also play a role. Voters may also be turned off by protests before an election (Adele, 2012:205). Additionally, excessive mudslinging and a lack of discussion of local concerns in the run-up to elections might discourage voters from casting their ballots (Malafaia *et al.*, 2012:434).

3.4.1 Insufficient political knowledge

Motivating young voters is a difficult endeavor, according to Muralidharan and Sung (2016), and study is essential to comprehend the variables that affect their views and behavior (Vellymalay 2014). Young voters make up a small portion of the electorate, according to studies on their political engagement. Additionally, compared to the general community, they exhibit substantially lower levels of trust in their political expertise. In addition, a lack of knowledge, awareness, and intention on the side of candidates as well as changes in the political culture discourage young voters from engaging in the political process (Hing and Pong 2014). Jaharudin (2014) asserts that this has a significant effect on general elections. Last but not least, compared to older voters, more young people relied on information from the internet as a source of political knowledge (Weiss 2012).

According to Circle (2013), civics education "has long-lasting effects on social and political commitment and demonstrates abilities valuable across scholastic disciplines and in the workplace." According to Schulz, Ainsley, Fraillon, Kerr, and Losito (2010), there is an undeniable link between community information and present and anticipated political collaboration, with individuals with higher levels of information likely to be more interested. Speaking about current events in culture supports community information in addition, which helps develop public speaking skills.

Because civic education encourages students to acquire a feeling of ownership within the school and their community, many schools attest to the benefits it has brought.

3.4.2 Poor Education

One of the most important factors in economic growth is education, employers want to hire people with a certain set of skills and education (Dias & Posel, 2007:6). Although it would be reasonable to assume that education and employment are inversely related that is, that the higher the level of education, the higher the employment rate this is not the case in South Africa. The current unemployment situation does not appear to be improved by tertiary education or skill development. According to Mannak (2009), this situation is only becoming worse as more kids stop attending school, drop out, or don't have any kind of degree. Although South Africa adopted a neo-liberal economic system that led to economic growth, it did not result in the creation of any jobs. Due to businesses' strong need for trained labor, which has resulted in many young and unskilled people being affected by unemployment, the employment rate has declined (Cloete, 2015:515).

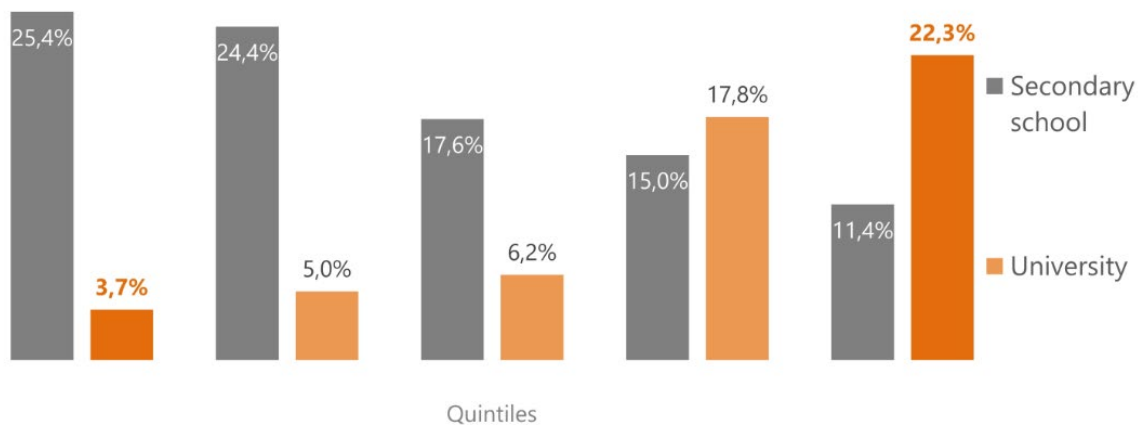
In South Africa, the unemployment rate for educated professionals is rising, in contrast to how difficult it is for unskilled workers to obtain work. Lack of education is said to be a role in unemployment, our nation is also seeing an increase in the number of graduates who are unemployed (Cloete, 2015:515). The employment gap between different racial and ethnic groups is another significant concern, as young Black and female educated people are less likely to find jobs. Following unemployment, other societal problems, like poverty, arise. According to the World Bank (2006), addressing unemployment would have significant benefits because it would reduce poverty levels and boost GDP (Lam et al., 2008:1). The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and other international organizations have cited unemployment and poverty as important challenges.

In addition, education, especially when it is sound, is the accumulation of knowledge that is understood and skills that are used in the real world for the advancement of a nation (Seanego & Mogoboya, 2019:11). Because they feel there is a disconnect between their requirements and the curriculum in that it does not empower them, the majority of South Africans are unsatisfied with the caliber of their education. In other

words, the country's economic demands are not addressed in the curriculum, which is why the pandemic of youth unemployment has emerged. The biggest barrier to socioeconomic progress, according to Morries (2018:33), is South Africa's inadequate educational system, which "replicates rather than reverses patterns of unemployment, poverty, and inequality and effectively denies the majority of young people the chance of a middle class life.

Youth aged 18-24 from the highest income households (quintile 5) were more likely to attend **university** than those in the lower quintile groups.

Attendance of educational institutions by individuals aged 18-24 years, 2021



Source: General Household Survey, 2021

Source: StatSA, Census, 2021

The figure above shows that nearly 3% of 15-year-olds and nearly 9% of 17-year-olds, respectively, dropped out of school in 2021. According to Statistics South Africa's General Household Survey, 2021, about three out of ten students aged 18 (29%) and four out of nine (46%) of students aged 19 had left school, despite the fact that most 18- and 19-year-olds were still enrolled in secondary school. The majority of 20-year-olds were not in the education field, with just 23% of them enrolled in universities, TVET programs, or other colleges, and 18% still in high school.

3.4.3 High Unemployment Rate

Due to the government's broken promises on the provision of jobs, the youth of South Africa refrain from voting (Tracey, 2016:22). According to Economics Packed World in

Figures, South Africa has the greatest rate of youth unemployment of any nation in the world, Daniel (2018) notes. With a countrywide rate of 32.6 percent, unemployment in South Africa is both a socio-political issue and a serious problem.

In order to ensure the county's economic prosperity, unemployment must be addressed. Additionally, the majority of unemployed people find that being unemployed is generally a bad experience because it negatively affects their psychological health. Over the past nine years, there has been a consistent year-over-year rise in unemployment in South Africa (Yu, 2012:12). The pervasive unemployment in South Africa, according to Kingdom and Knight (2003:391), is a beast with a "impact on economic wellbeing, output, loss of human capital, social marginalization, crime, and societal instability".

Fourie (2011:2) asserts that only by taking into account elements like mobility restrictions, marginalization, and the features of labor market components can one comprehend the level of unemployment in South Africa. People's experiences with unemployment can be influenced by social and interpersonal background elements, such as stigmatization and authorities' lack of understanding.

The youth's lack of enthusiasm for voting is mostly due to this. Mthethwa (2019:15) claims that a subset of young people refrain from voting because they believe politicians violate the will of the people. Young people are deterred from voting as a result of politicians' ambiguous and frequently hollow promises on employment.

3.4.4 Urban and Rural Background of Unemployment

One rigorous definition of unemployment is when a person is able to work but is unable to do so (Weir-Smith, 2015:5). According to Crocolic et al. (2007), geographic unemployment rates are seen as indicators of a region's socioeconomic performance. It is crucial to not only comprehend the level of unemployment in different regions but also to effectively address the issue using detailed spatial data from rural and urban backgrounds.

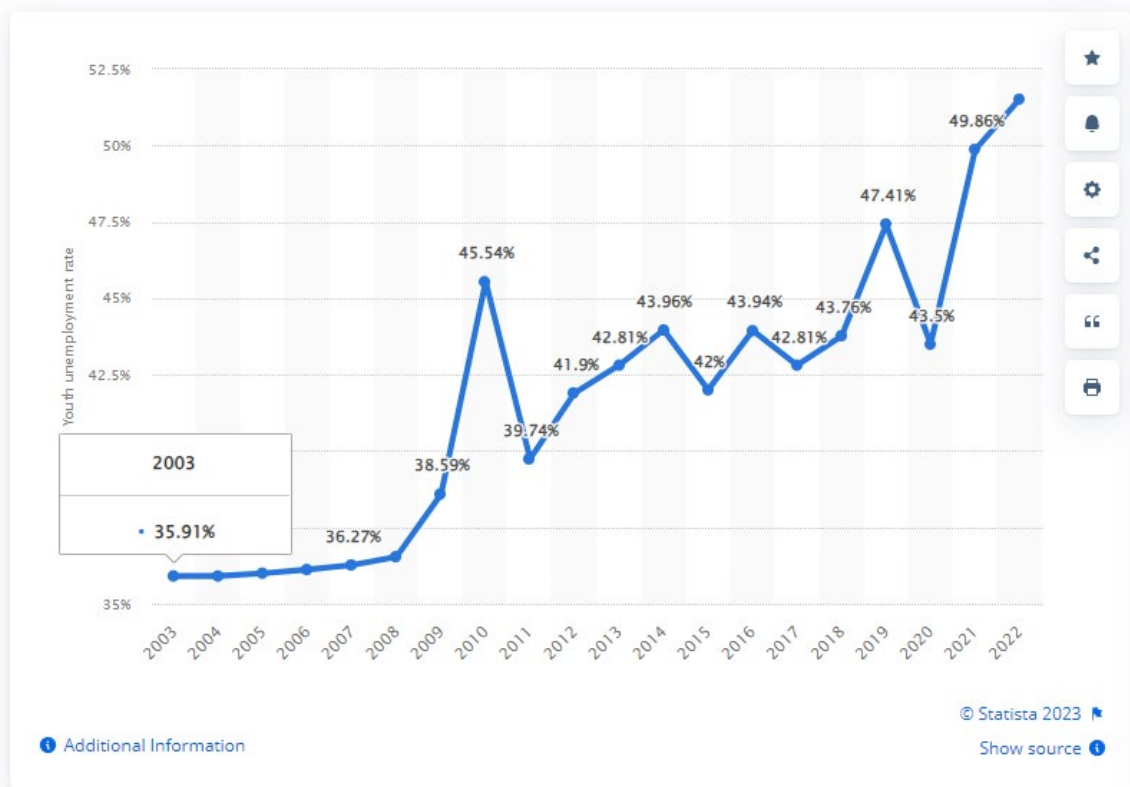
The high unemployment rate not only focuses on rural areas but also urban areas, since the population is not necessarily homogeneous, for example the City of Johannesburg. Even though the Johannesburg region is urbanised there is a large number of informal settlements, suburbs and the city centre, which all have different

socio-economic characteristics (Weir-Smith, 2015:9). Therefore, the children living in informal settlements are more prone to unemployment just as the ones living in rural areas. They face challenges such as not being able to further their studies due to financial instability in their households. People who grew up in the rural regions are not as privileged as those in the informal settlements of urban areas since they do not have access to information and have lower job opportunities (Weir-Smith, 2015:9).

This further takes us back to education; there is a higher quality of education in urban areas than in the rural areas. Therefore, rural and urban backgrounds have a great influence on the unemployment rate in South Africa. The greater concern and key issues in the rural communities is low employment opportunities and career choices for young people as well as their lack of access to higher education (Cartmel & Furlong, 2000:2). In Cloete's article (2015:513), she quotes that "unemployment remains the biggest thief of hope amongst young people; this is to emphasize that since unemployment is an inevitable issue in South Africa, many young people will not see the value of furthering their studies since they will struggle to find jobs." This case is irrespective of whether one grew up in a rural or urban area. The issue undermines human dignity. Since rural areas are affected by poverty, which in most cases cause unemployment, it makes people doubt their potential and worth, furthermore their mental well-being is at risk contributing to their loss of hope for a better future.

Unemployment does not only affect individuals, it affects the nation as a whole because it is not only a backlog to economic growth but a driving factor to teenage pregnancy and risks of infections, such as HIV/AIDS. Many teenage girls in the rural areas migrate to urban areas and find it hard to get jobs due to lack of skills. This then leads them to becoming sex workers in order to put food on the table, which puts them at risk of HIV/AIDS, STI/STD, and pregnancy. The building block of these events is rural background, poor education, and lack of information. The issue between urban and rural divides can be addressed by introducing rural empowerment, which will need citizen participation in order to bring about the socio-economic upliftment in the rural communities. There also needs to be municipal cooperation to help the struggling communities in rural areas and further help uplift the informal settlements in the urban areas.

South Africa: Youth unemployment rate from 2003 to 2022



Source: Statista 2023

In 2022, South Africa's young unemployment rate rose by 1.7 percentage points (+3.41 percent). The young unemployment rate therefore reached 51.52 percent, its highest level throughout the monitored period. The percentage of the workforce between the ages of 15 and 24 who are not already employed but are actively seeking employment is known as the youth unemployment rate. It excludes those who are economically inactive, such as those who have been unemployed for a long period or are full-time students (O'Neill, 2023).

3.4.5 Poor Infrastructure and Service Delivery

The key issues that contribute to the low voter participation in South Africa are poor infrastructure and a lack of service delivery, and they are inextricably linked (Nhlapo et al., 2007:5). There is a causal relationship between these two variables. For instance, blocked roads make it difficult to reach facilities like hospitals, clinics, schools, and even polling places (Nhlapo et al., 2007:5). "Post 1994, the South African government has long accepted that there were severe infrastructure backlogs,

including roads, hospitals, telecommunications, and housing," says Mamabolo (2016:28). Despite this acknowledgment, constructive actions have not been taken in the situation. Neglected road infrastructure continues to be a significant contributor to traffic accidents, poor economic performance, and vehicle damage (Mamabolo, 2016:29). Therefore, if roads are impassable, they frequently endanger people's lives and means of subsistence and make them discouraged about voting and politics in general.

Municipalities have traditionally provided infrastructure in a disorganized and haphazard manner, especially in rural areas. The main goal of infrastructure provision is to remove backlogs and allow for balanced growth in an equitable manner, with a focus on accessibility to essential services that must be provided to local communities in a sustainable and affordable manner (Pycroft, 2008: 147).

3.4.6 Lack of Service delivery and meeting basic needs of the youth

The provision or fulfillment of a public need by a local government agency is the definition of service delivery (Whitaker, 2006:240). Governments must provide and offer public goods and services to their communities, according to Gildenhuys and Knipe (2000), in order to carry out the duties required to realize their aims and objectives. They claim that governments provide services to communities for their functions of law and order, social welfare, and economic wellbeing, which can be classified as law and order services, social welfare services, and economic welfare services. Regarding local development organizations for United National Development Planning, Serban (2010:2-3) states that basic services that any municipality must offer (in coordination with other governmental agencies as needed) include access to clean water, adequate sanitation, electricity, housing, and accessible roads. Infrastructure also includes economic infrastructure (industries, factories, and agriculture), as well as social infrastructure (clinics, schools, recreations). The tribal areas lack access to such disposal methods (Kanvur, 2006:31).

Sewage disposal is another issue with the delivery of services (Kanvur, 2006:31). Most municipalities lack a regular sewage disposal service, particularly in unofficial towns and settlements. The subsurface water system will be negatively impacted in the future by how sewage effluent is disposed of. The risk of disease spreading becomes

intolerably great where this groundwater is used for human consumption through boreholes. In actuality, some households in the tribal communities do not have access to other sewage disposal methods than the use of pit latrines (Kanvur, 2006:31).

Additionally, the White Paper on Local Government's vision for district municipalities included a reference to their future distributive role, which included coordinating, planning, and facilitating district-wide development, supplying bulk infrastructure, assisting weaker municipalities, and providing services where local municipalities lacked the necessary resources (Policy Discussion Document, 2012). The goal of developing a responsive, accountable, effective, and efficient local government system entails classifying towns in accordance with their diverse circumstances and customizing planning, financing, and support to the demands of each category. This would entail starting ward-based programs to maintain the livelihoods of the poor, enhancing local democratic participation, and improving administrative and financial capabilities. All of these initiatives would depend on efficient coordination between local, provincial, and national government (Policy Discussion Document, 2012).

Despite improvements in service delivery since 1994, at times the rate of improvement and the standard of services fall short of what many people expect (Policy Discussion Document, 2012). Municipal service delivery is subpar, and a sizable percentage of communities remain in severe difficulties. Even though more people have access to essential amenities, there are still many people waiting in line. High concentrations of poverty, inadequate services, and institutional flaws are strongly correlated. Particularly in the former homeland regions, the issue is worse in rural municipalities and places with only one or two small towns. Poor financial management, lack of informed and coordinated planning, inadequate leadership and accountability, skills gaps, and excessive vacancies in crucial senior management positions (Policy Discussion Document, 2012).

Public Service Regulations of 2011 state that the following conditions should apply to public services: Quantity: - the amount and variety of goods and services provided to meet fundamental needs; Quality: The services and goods are of such high caliber that they will last for the right amount of time, preventing the need for costly replacement; Time/Timeliness: The products and services are delivered on schedule so that clients can get the most value out of them; Regardless of whether customers

pay for goods and services directly or not, value for money occurs when the cost of a product or service is compared to the benefit received by the recipient, it is crucial to weigh the price of the good or service against the benefit received by the buyer; Access: - the ability for the right customers to receive the services and goods at the best location for them to use them while not paying excessive access fees at the point of delivery; Equity: The goods and services must be delivered without hindrance (Public Service Regulations, 2011).

On the other hand, since 2004, South Africa has seen a continuous increase in the frequency of protests about service delivery. Ten protests were reported in 2004, but by 2012, that number had skyrocketed to 173. Policymakers and the scholarly community are baffled by the reasons behind these protests, which makes attempts to address this issue challenging. The causes of service delivery demonstrations in South Africa, according to Kunene and Maseng (2011), "are significantly complex." As a result, rather than taking a general approach, efforts to resolve issues would differ depending on the particular needs and desires of each community.

One might contend that the absence of service delivery is one of the very simple and direct reasons of this occurrence. Therefore, service delivery would be the solution to this issue. It is unclear who decides what services should be provided to the general public, when and how, and what the general public expects from service delivery. Are the people sincere about the lack of service delivery and why is the government unable to provide services as promised by political parties? Do they mobilize to fight political battles of particular political principals? South Africans engage in additional criminal actions as a way of expressing their anger at the lack of service delivery.

According to Allan and Heese (2014), the poor, in particular those living in urban townships' outlying areas, are the prevalent class that protests. The residents of these places contrast their sense of scarcity with their everyday tribulations, a lack of sanitary facilities, access to water and electricity, and marginally more developed neighboring towns and townships. As a result, more developed locations where RDP homes have been built, schools have been established, and roads have been built become migration hubs.

South Africa was nicknamed the "protest capital of the world" by Alexander (2012) due to the country's ongoing service delivery protests. Along with its structural and historical position within capitalism, Ngwane (2014) argues that protests and strikes are a reflection of the working class's inherent ability for collective action and organization that may bring about significant change.

In other words, if service delivery is at the heart of community demonstrations, then informal settlements would be recording higher numbers of protests than formal settlements. Nleya (2011) inquires as to whether community protests occur in significant numbers in informal settlements or formal settlements. It is important to keep in mind that informal settlements are the source of poverty and unemployment (CCT, 2005). Given this, it's likely that community protests could be sparked primarily by poverty and unemployment. Residents of informal settlements may choose to protest due to their emotions of deprivation, not necessarily because of poor service delivery, due to the three realities of unemployment, poverty, and lack of service delivery at local communities.

Additionally, protests take place because people are capable of doing so and desire to do so. What the demonstrations hope to achieve is the next question that arises. People engage in protest because they are driven to do so, claims Klandermans (1984). In this instance, the government's failure to provide services to the populace serves as such a reason. The communities depend on these amenities (water, power, clinics, and roads) for their everyday survival. Once they identify the driving force, they compare it against the cost of the protest action to determine how much they can gain from it.

In relation to service delivery, Seokoma (2010) argues that municipalities should give meetings between the public and municipalities priority in order to determine which services are more important than others. Municipalities and the general public will form a strong partnership as a result, and the government will be able to identify which services are essential and report on their progress in addressing problems with service delivery. This claim does not imply that if towns prioritize community participation, service delivery demonstrations will necessarily end. Engagement with the community is encouraged, but there is no assurance that elected officials would carry out the plans they made at the sessions.

3.4.7 Protests at the grassroots level in response to the delivery crisis, 2004–2006

The South African parliament was informed in 2005 that 881 "illegal protests" had taken place there between March 2004 and the end of February 2005 (Cape Argus, 13 October 2005). Additionally, there were 5,085 "legal" protests during the course of a year, or protests for which authorization from the government was requested and received. In the lack of official numbers, it may be assumed that between 1,500 and 2,000 demonstrations took place in the two-year span from March 2004 to March 2006. demonstrations persisted throughout 2005 (Booyesen, 2007:2).

All of South Africa's major cities saw demonstrations. A significant number of urban and semi-urban regions saw protest as well. Thus, the scope of this protest movement and its causes are examined in this section. The demonstrations took place in a country with a democratically elected, highly legitimate administration that frequently focused on the macro-statistics of overall accomplishments. Roll-out numbers tended to hide the reality of unequal and inadequate delivery to the most vulnerable members of society, although frequently actually indicating watershed developments compared with the pre-1994, pre-democratic environment (Booyesen, 2007:5).

From one neighborhood to the next, the specifics of the demonstrations against service delivery varied. These sometimes involved infighting within the ANC's ruling institutions and included mobilization against sitting council members (Bam, 2005), but they were always connected to deficiencies in amenities including housing, water, power, and sanitation. Although housing is under the purview of provincial governments under Chapter 7 of the Constitution of South Africa 1996, objections were aimed at the municipalities that served as the intermediaries in the provision and distribution of homes. The quality and distribution of services were impacted by corruption, whether it was actual or just perceived (Booyesen, 2007:5), which led to the formation of protest.

Election turnout and party support, March 2006 in wards previously affected by protest

	Turnout (%)		Party support (%) ANC and leading opposition party			
	2000	2006	2000 ANC	2000 Main opposition	2006 ANC	2006 Main opposition
KwaZulu-Natal: Clare Estate, 1 ward	37	34	44	DA 39	49	DA 22
Free State: Intabazwe 2 wards	50 54	50 56	85 72	IFP, DA 7 each DA 7	91 95	IFP, DP 5 each DA 3
Free State: Embalenhle, 3 wards	30 40 25	41 41 46	87 90 83	DA 6 DA 7 DA 13	89 91 88	DA 3, ID 2 DA 6 DA 8, IFP 2
Eastern Cape: KwaZakhele 3 wards	66 69 69	58 64 63	93 94 91	UDM 4 UDM 3 IND 7	93 97 94	UDM 5 UDM 2 UDM 3
Gauteng: Soshanguve, 3 wards	59 52 53	52 51 46	91 93 82	DA, PAC 3 each UDM 4 IND 25	88 93 83	SCA 3 DA 4 SCA 6

Acronyms: ANC (African National Congress), DA (Democratic Alliance), IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party), DP (Dikwankwetla Party), IND (Independent), UDM (United Democratic Movement), SCA (Soshanguve Civic Association).
Wards selected as case studies: eThekweni (ward 25), Intabazwe (wards 5, 6), Embalenhle (wards 4, 8, 12), KwaZakhele (wards 20, 21, 22) and Soshanguve (wards 12, 13, 25). Several of these areas had many more wards affected by protest than those listed. In these cases, care was taken to select wards that represented a range of trends.
Sources/assistance: Based on information obtained from IEC, 2006. The help of Liezel van Niekerk (Media24) and Elsabé Düring (IEC) in the extraction of the data is hereby acknowledged.

Source: Progress in Development Studies 7, 1 (2007) pp. 21–32

3.4.8 Water and Electricity supply

Access to enough and clean drinking water is recognized as a fundamental human right under the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, in particular the Bill of Rights. Additionally, it serves as a framework for the operation of South Africa's water legislation as well as for the allocation of legislative and administrative duties among the several tiers of government. Every citizen has a fundamental right to access enough water, according to Section 27 of the Constitution. To accomplish the increasing realization of this right, the state must implement suitable legislative and other measures. Promoting the idea of a sufficient level of living includes this right. Therefore, it is crucial that the water supply is adequate and of high quality.

The challenge of providing services to communities are not yet reached, especially those in Limpopo, North West, Eastern Cape, and Mpumalanga where water supply and sanitation backlogs persist, is enormous and urgent even though the government has made good progress in providing water and sanitation as well as electricity in various parts of the country (Nzimakwe, 2009:56). All South Africans have a legal obligation to have access to water, which has been emphasized throughout the

evolution of water policy. By providing access to water, either directly to homes or within an acceptable distance of people's residences, the backlog of individuals without access is reduced (Kido, 2008:84).

Municipalities are compelled to develop water service programs by current government policy and legislation. Municipalities must follow government regulations and policies to create the local infrastructure needed to support and carry out smart strategy (RSA, 2000). All local municipalities are entrusted with the responsibility of maintaining a steady supply of water due to the high demand for water in South African towns. Municipalities will almost likely fail to respond to water needs effectively and will lose the community's trust if they do not take proactive steps to adopt effective water resource strategies. According to the Municipal Systems Act, No. 32 of 2000, the municipality must prioritize meeting the fundamental requirements of communities and make sure that everyone has access to at least the bare minimum of municipal services (RSA, 2000).

All communities ought to have access to at least a basic level of services as well. This is a constitutional requirement rather than an aim. The creation of new infrastructure as well as the renovation and improvement of existing infrastructure are necessary to overcome the disparities that still exist regarding equal access to water services (Bekink, 2006:283).

As a result, the ultimate goal in the provision of this service is to be recognized as the essential human right of individuals to have access to a drinkable source of water at a rate of 25l/capita per day within a walking distance of 200m, as provided for in the Constitution of South Africa (1996). The majority of homes (69 percent) must utilize water from streams and rivers for human use due to poor access to a source of potable water (Ruiters, 2007:491). Water is connected to homes in only 12.28 percent of households. Addressing the backlog of 5890 families with insufficient water supplies is necessary (Ruiters, 2007:486). Since few people in South Africa have access to power and since many individuals are unable to pay for it owing to socioeconomic issues, there are frequent cut-offs and disconnections.

3.4.9 Corruption and Malfeasance

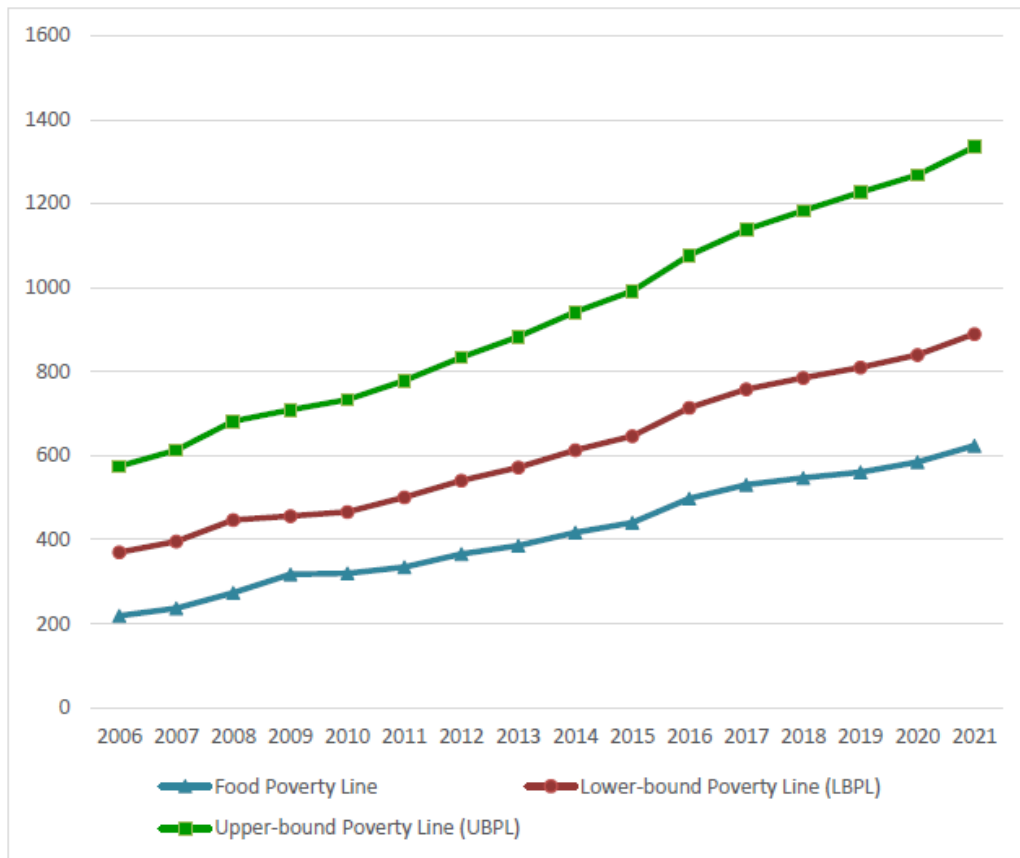
Malfeasance and corruption are not just a stain on the South African government; they are a disgrace in many administrations throughout the world. The electorate seeks for moral and dishonest candidates for public office, as well as those with unassailable character and perfect qualifications (Adejumbi, 2000:12). Haffajee's research suggests that young people express their anger and agitation by not casting ballots (2009:530). Despite the effort they put out in their academic careers, corruption makes it difficult for them to advance in their careers. Beaton (2016:17) further emphasizes the fact that politicians are self-serving, which accounts for the youth's reluctance to vote for them.

It has also become clear that South Africa is disintegrating both within and externally under the control of the current government (Martin, 2017:1). The rand has declined, commodities prices are dropping, and exports are declining. As a result, many citizens are deterred from denouncing corruption. Given this, it becomes essential to develop and put into operation strong legislation to safeguard whistleblowers from potential dangers. Similar emphasis has been made on this topic by the head of Corruption Watch South Africa (CWSA), who claimed that it becomes very challenging to put such laws into practice when those who orchestrate and institutionalize corruption must grant permission for such processes to take place (Martin, 2017:30).

3.4.10 High Rate of Poverty

Since 1994, the post-apartheid South Africa has institutionalized socioeconomic development measures aimed at reducing unemployment and poverty (Mzini, 2012:94). According to Mohlapamaswi, Sebola, and Mathebula (2015:628), the South African government backs sustainable programs to reduce poverty that are led by morals and values to ensure adherence and accountability (Mzini, 2012:100). In essence, people's impoverished position is both a cause of and a consequence of unemployment (Mohlapamaswi, Sebola & Mathebula, 2015:628).

Figure 1: Inflation-adjusted national poverty lines, 2006 to 2021 (per person per month in rands)



Source: Statistical Release 2021

According to Mzini (2012:94), poverty is still pervasive in South African communities under these conditions. According to Table 3.3, the number of people living in extreme poverty increased between 2001 and 2013, a trend that was seen in many townships, including Sebokeng, Sharpeville, and Bophelong.

3.4.11 Socio Economic Reasons

Socio-economic factors have to do with consumers' incapacity to pay for services because of widespread poverty. The provision of indigent and other social grants helps to partially address these causes, but the root causes of poverty go much deeper than what is covered by these awards. Municipalities must therefore conduct socioeconomic development programs as part of their developmental local government duties in order to promote local economic growth, which will increase customers' ability to pay for services and raise their quality of life (Bond, 2002:5). The

South African constitution is a significant piece of legislation that establishes the foundation for municipal governance in that country.

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Municipal programs are expected to encourage community involvement at both the planning and delivery levels, according to the White Paper on Local Government. Municipalities may additionally take into account additional strategies for providing citizens with cheap services under this policy statement. In addition to defining how a municipality should deliver municipal services to inhabitants, the Municipal Systems Act of 2000 encouraged municipalities to increase citizens' democratic engagement in how they are governed (Naidoo, 2000:8).

According to Carreras and Irepolu (2013), older voters will vote more frequently than younger ones because they are less likely to become perplexed when presented with a variety of alternatives. Age is an important socio-demographic characteristic of voters.

3.4.12 Land Issues

It remains that individual ownership distribution is out of proportion to the country's demographics. However, land dispossession was a key component of the segregationist policies that dominated both nations' histories, thus land reform is not the only endeavor that has failed to get off the ground. This is the root of many of their ongoing socioeconomic problems. The problem is more about inclusion, dignity, and the desire for broad reparation than it is about the land itself. Land serves as a lightning rod for people's displeasure with the existing quo, a lack of job possibilities, and the racialized economic structures of both economies. Additionally, the topic has political

significance in each setting, particularly when elections draw near (Gopaldas & Ndhlovu, 2018).

The sort of land that people desire, however, differs significantly from how land reform traditionally fits into the narrative of the dominant parties. Contrarily, there was minimal mobilization for a people's war based on land due to the multi-ethnic urban elite nature of South Africa's ruling African National Congress (ANC), but rather for greater political and economic inclusion, of which land was a part. While land reform has dominated South Africa's headlines in recent years (Gopaldas & Ndhlovu, 2018), it has also become a very divisive topic in the run-up to the country's 2019 general election.

3.5 THE CONTRIBUTING PROGRAMMES THAT INCREASE VOTER APATHY

3.5.1 The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which was established by the South African government in 1994, served as the primary inspiration for these laws, rules, and regulations (RSA, 1994). These initiatives were started with the intention of tackling poverty and injustice head-on. According to the White Paper (1998), the fundamental tenets of the RDP include integration, sustainability, a people-driven process, peace and security, nation-building, satiating basic needs, and developing infrastructure. The RDP was designed to serve as a tool for establishing a people-centered society. The degree to which the RDP was successful in guaranteeing social development, prosperity, and liberty in people's lives was to be used to gauge its progress. People being able to meet their fundamental necessities and the development of infrastructure would be clear signs of this progress (Marais, 1998).

Before the ministry was shut down in 1996, the RDP's first two years were, however, severely hampered by problems. The country's inability to adequately address the issue of unemployment was the main issue (RSA, 1996). Adedeji (1996) also affirms that there were clear signals to economic policy makers that they should change the macro-economic framework of the national economy in order to prevent further economic decline. These signals came from the failure of the RDP to create the

number of jobs necessary to put South Africa on its feet, insufficient domestic savings, and increasing pressure from international bodies and organizations.

3.5.2 The Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR)

The Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy is a macroeconomic plan that was ordered in December 1995 and published by Mr. Trevor Manuel in June 1996. In response to pressure from the global economy, the ANC reinterpreted its policies under the GEAR program (Stewart, 1997). Since then, GEAR has virtually supplanted the RDP as the national government's economic strategy for fostering economic growth (Rogerson, 2000). The development of a competitive, rapidly expanding economy with enough jobs to accommodate all job seekers was one of GEAR's goals (RSA, 1996). When it first began, the goal was for GEAR to be able to generate 400 000 employment and a 6% annual GDP growth by the year 2000. (RSA, 1996). It's important to emphasize that these expectations were not met, and the birth of a country with a thriving economy is still a long way off.

Local economic difficulties have been compounded by GEAR's failure. South Africa has since had to deal with the issue of de-industrialization and the decline in employment in the formal sector as a result of the adoption of a neo-liberal framework and its subsequent failure to draw the intended amounts of foreign investment, contribute to the alleviation of poverty, and foster a wider transformation (Bhorat, 2003). In order to address concerns like the demand for higher living standards and access to better infrastructure, municipalities were forced to introduce Integrated Development Planning (IDP), which covers all aspects of local administration.

3.5.3 The National Development Plan (NDP)

With regard to the long term, the National Development Plan (NDP) is available. It outlines a desirable endpoint and specifies the part various societal segments must play in achieving it (National Development Plan 2030). The NDP is built on six pillars: mobilizing all South Africans, getting people involved in their own development, growing an inclusive economy, building capability, developing strong leadership, and creating a strong developmental state. In a culture where women have equal possibilities, it lays a specific emphasis on youth development and opportunity creation (National Development Plan, 2030).

These groups continue to be the most vulnerable in the country, according to current statistics from Statistics South Africa. While economic development in the most recent quarter helped the nation escape a recession, youth unemployment is still a significant problem and one of South Africa's most difficult socioeconomic problems, according to Radebe (2017). In South Africa, an untrained young Black lady continued to represent poverty. "This needs to be resolved; it necessitates deep reflection and teamwork to combat the scourges of poverty, inequality, and unemployment. Nobody erred more than those who did nothing because they could only exert a small amount of effort (Radebe, 2017).

3.5.4 Integrated Development Plan (IDP)

The intergovernmental Forum for Effective Planning and Development (FEPD) defines the concept of IDP as a participatory planning process that aims to integrate sectoral strategies to support the best distribution of scarce resources among sectors, geographic areas, and populations in a way that supports sustainable growth, equity, and the empowerment of the underprivileged and marginalized (Mokae, 2012:62). Finally, the IDP is described as a plan to balance the "people's books" by assisting the really poor, creating jobs, and offering services (Government Digest, 2002:1).

It might be claimed that, in terms of the mandate given to local government, integrated means taking into account all pertinent sectors, issues, and concerns rather than just one (for example, housing). It also means that the combined efforts of the federal, provincial, and municipal governments, as well as citizens, businesses, non-governmental organizations (NGO), and other stakeholders, must be maximized. However, integrated development planning necessitates community involvement.

A variety of stakeholders must be included in integrated development planning because it is a very interactive and participatory process. The Executive Committee or Executive Mayor is accountable to the municipal management under the Local Government: Municipal Systems Act, 32 of 2000. (IDP Guide Pack). According to the IDP Guide Pack, identifying the community needs and priorities that must be addressed in order to improve quality of life is a key component of the IDP. This places community and stakeholder involvement in identifying those requirements at the core of the IDP process.

The Municipal Systems Act of 2000 and the Constitution of 1996 both make it clear that the municipality must build an efficient participatory process in order to mobilize the involvement and commitment of its stakeholders. The IDP Guide Pack places a strong focus on the municipality making sure that historically marginalized groups, such as women and the disabled, participate in order to give them a voice. Therefore, participation in integrated development planning requires defined norms and processes that outline who is to participate or be consulted, on whose behalf, on what subjects, via what organizational mechanism, and with what consequences. Therefore, the fundamental goal of IDPs is to improve service delivery, promote economic growth, and combat poverty through a coordinated and integrated strategy involving all stakeholders (Constitution (1996), Municipal Systems (2000) Act).

3.5.5 Local Government Challenges Regarding IDP Implementation

There are obstacles that could prevent the IDP from being implemented correctly. Three of these issues were highlighted by Atkinson (2002:12), including the local government's competence for project management, the structure of municipal organizations, and the need to redefine current roles. Most local governments are lacking the capacity to oversee projects, which has been identified as a major delivery roadblock (Harrison, 2001:22). The restructuring of the local government training system, according to Reddy (2000:215), must be pursued within the larger context of challenges facing local government in order to transform it from a narrow service delivery oriented character to one that is developmentally oriented, participatory, and responsive to the needs of the community. This transformation must take place within the context of stability and continuity in local government.

The failure of many local councils to accept ownership of consultant-prepared IDPs and use them to guide their budgeting process, the poor quality of analysis and reports produced by many unprepared planners, whose traditional focus was on spatial planning rather than development planning, a poorly constructed participatory process, and poor linkages between planning and development are just a few of the obstacles to a successful implementation of the IDP, according to Harrison (2001). Whether the municipalities can implement their IDPs is the crucial question posed by Atkinson (2002).

3.5.6 Local Economic Development

O'Neal (2000:152) argues that LED use has been prevalent in South African cities from the early 1900s. Their efforts were mostly directed at industrial growth. At the micro level, LED achieved some amazing outcomes, but its implementation is hampered by a lack of skills, a dearth of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), a lack of resources, a lack of strategic direction, facilitation, and role models (O'Neal, 2000: 153). Through unified government action, the National Framework for LED in South Africa seeks to assist the growth of sustainable local economies. This government initiative promotes development and energizes the local municipal businesses that make up the core of the economy.

There have been many heated discussions about the precise boundaries of LED. According to the majority of observers, it is a process where partnerships between local government, the business sector, and community-based organizations are formed in order to generate jobs, manage resources, and boost the economy of a certain area (Helmising, 2001 a; 2002 b). According to the World Bank (2003: 1), the goal of LED is to increase a local area's economic potential in order to enhance its future economic prospects and general quality of life. According to Tomlinson (2003), different government agencies have different ideas on what should be the focus of local development.

Some local stakeholders believe that local development is a process of enhancing the local business climate through better access to credit and tax incentives, according to Hindson (2003) and Gibb (2004), while others contend that it should concentrate on sustainable livelihood, service delivery, and poverty alleviation. The Department of Provincial and Local Government emphasizes the need to focus on the idea of pro-poor development, whereas the Department of Trade and Industry encourages business and job creation and concurs with the first point of view (Tomlinson, 2003).

A significant LED framework policy paper titled "Refocusing development on the poor" was created by the South African Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) in 2002. This document made a case for pro-poor development that would specifically target underprivileged and marginalized groups (DPLG, 2002). The DPLG proposed six developmental LED support measures, including retaining and boosting local economic activity, repairing local economic leaks, and community-based

economic services (Rogerson, 2004). This report provided municipalities with a prospective national framework for LED activity that may be coupled with a strong pro-poor focus to maintain a developmental approach to their local economy (Bond, 2003; & Rogerson, 2004).

3.5.7 Challenges of public participation in South Africa

Selebalo (2011) goes on to claim that the socioeconomic circumstances of a significant section of South Africans and the method in which these initiatives are carried out are the main factors impeding the efficacy of initiatives. Disadvantaged populations are frequently excluded from decision-making processes for a variety of reasons, including lack of education, limited access to the media, and time constraints.

Time is a major socioeconomic element in the lack of popular participation in parliamentary proceedings. Time is a significant expense to the poorer segments of the population, particularly for women and those in employment, according to the Report of the Independent Panel Assessment of Parliament. Active involvement in anything but the maintenance of livelihood and basic survival is prohibited by time constraints. The institution's inability to give the public enough time to prepare oral and written submissions often giving them three weeks or less further exacerbates the problem by limiting their ability to contribute meaningfully to any legislative process (Selebalo, 2011). There are various situations where it appears as though Parliament is purposefully keeping the people out of the legislative process. Civil society organizations and regular citizens complain to the Constitutional Court for relief because laws are passed without extensive public consultation. The Communal Land Rights Act is one illustration of this. In this instance, four rural communities claimed that the final law was unconstitutional and that they had been left out of the law-making process.

The inability of some populations to acquire information about Parliament is a result of limited media access. Rural communities are in desperate need of information on their legal rights and any new laws that can affect their way of life. Resources like the internet are still not widely available. The issue is made worse by the fact that parliamentary activities, such as public hearings, are frequently underpublicized, which, once more, leaves insufficient time for public engagement.

It is clear that Parliament has made an effort to help by establishing a Parliament for the People, but these initiatives are ineffective if lawmakers lack the motivation to increase public engagement by leading by active example. This is clear when lawmakers visit their constituents but fail to inform the appropriate government agencies of the comments. To make them effective, a number of implementation-related difficulties need to be investigated. If Parliament is to effectively advance accountability, these initiatives should be strengthened to encourage greater public participation (Selebalo, 2011).

3.5.8 Accountability

Another issue is the lengthy path to accountability, which prompts some to recommend decentralization as a way to improve accountability and service delivery (Pycroft, 2008: 150). The politician in charge of providing public services will be chosen locally as a result of the devolution of that authority to lower tiers of government. It is hoped that by doing this, the public will hold him more accountable because they can keep a closer eye on him and more quickly link changes in service quality to him. In other words, decentralization will make other connections of accountability for service delivery stronger between citizens and local politicians (Pycroft, 2008: 150).

Accountability has long been a formal public sector practice that aims to assess the effectiveness, economy, and efficiency of governmental activities (Johnston & Kouzmin, 2010:519). Public accountability is a practice in support of good governance that encourages holding governments accountable through a technical process of policy monitoring; accountability is frequently referred to as answerability for the actions and decisions in the delivery of public services. Reliable data and political initiatives that enable the general public and civil society to actively participate in the democratic process serve as the foundation for such accountability (Olum, 2014:604). Accountability for the use of public trust is required of those who have it (Khalo, 2013:580).

Kalema (2007:256) notes that local communities must be reached in order for public accountability to be a successful tool for advancing democratically responsible administration. This can be done through educating communities about the need of getting involved in service delivery, including planning and oversight of numerous

interrelated activities related to service delivery (Kalema, 2007:256). IDP procedures and local government budgeting are two of these activities. Plans for boosting access to fundamental services, such as access to clean water, are also included in these IDPs.

This system was implemented in municipalities with the intention of improving the deficient municipal supervision and accountability, which has resulted in an increase in service delivery protests in recent years in South Africa (Masehela et al., 2012:350). As a result, the general public participates in the planning and monitoring procedures, and the municipal specialists use their legal oversight to make sure everything proceeds as planned.

Additionally, there is a connection between openness and public accountability, which is another aspect of effective governance (Roboji, 2019:62). The ability to learn what about the administration of a public institution through channels including open meetings, access to records, internet information, whistle-blower protections, and even unlawfully leaked information is known as transparency (Piotrowski & Van Ryzin, 2007:308). From a different angle, transparency is about providing information, whether it is comfortable or not (Farrell, 2016:446). Grimmelikhuijsen (2010:10) defines transparency as an organization actively disclosing information so that outside parties may observe how the organization operates or performs on the inside. Accountability without transparency, according to Fry and Raadschelders (2014:3), is of little benefit. If what they are doing is not clearly determined or known, people cannot be held accountable. Together, the two work to improve the effectiveness of government.

Da Cruz et al. (2016:869) contend that transparency is a system that enables citizens to hold public officials accountable for service delivery. This is one of the Batho Pele principles, which have formed the cornerstone of service delivery in South Africa. Transparency also has a cross-cutting quality, so it must be used in every single public sector program (Da Cruz et al., 2016:869). In local government, Otenyo and Lind (2004:299) state that open procedures are preferred in a variety of service delivery activities, such as recruiting procedures, contracting with private sector businesses, and service delivery planning. Therefore, partially implementing openness in the provision of public services not only results in a divided government but also

undermines public trust in it (Otenyo & Lind 2004:300). Municipalities must be completely open in all actions at the local government level, including the creation and approval of IDPs, budgets, and project-specific programs, as well as the provision of utilities like infrastructure and water (National Development Plan, 2011:429). Participating in the community also requires accountability and transparency.

3.5.9 Conclusion

Voter turnout has been steadily declining since 1994, according to analysis. This chapter explained a few of the issues that many South Africans believe are causing them to lose interest in voting. Despite the fact that voting is one of the core democratic rights, youth are the main culprits of voter indifference because they have abandoned voting in large numbers and are still doing so. This is due to the fact that, despite having high qualifications, South African youth are the age group most severely affected by unemployment. According to the report, young people fervently believe that the government does not adequately improve their life. Low voter turnout is a problem in South Africa as a result of this grave concern.

For the vast majority of communities, poor service delivery continues to be a major issue. To quickly alter and improve local governments, these governance issues call for a strong national government intervention. Municipalities are required by law to deliver essential services to their constituents in a timely and sufficient manner. Municipalities' failure to provide essential services not only puts their citizens through great suffering, but it also has a negative effect on social and economic growth.

Although South Africa continues to be a model for democracy in the region and on the continent, it is concerning and does not augur well for democracy that the country's youth no longer have faith in political systems, particularly electoral procedures. It is the responsibility of political parties and electoral bodies to create the framework for effective participation by voters of all ages.

The social, political, and economic goals of today's youth are marginalized by the complex, demanding, and changing global world in which they live. The youth make up the majority of the population, especially in developing countries like South Africa, but they are still severely underrepresented in leadership and decision-making roles. Numerous socioeconomic disadvantages, such as limited access to the labor market

and underrepresentation in the policymaking arena, negatively impact South African youth.

The study focused on the extent of political apathy among the youth in the form of non-participation in elections and the factors that have led to voter apathy among the youth. The results of the data analysis, as displayed in this chapter, indicate that there is positive association between youth voter apathy and a decline in service delivery, government's failure to address unemployment issues, and deteriorating economic conditions in the country. Young people appear to be waiting for government to perform and if the situation improves, there will be more participation. Also, the youth have somewhat lost faith in government, perceiving a lack of accountability from political representatives in South Africa. Therefore both rural and urban citizens could participate in voting if government performed better and more youths would engage in political participation.

CHAPTER 4

MECHANISMS THAT CAN ENCOURAGE VOTER PARTICIPATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1 Introduction

Chapter Three provided a discussion on why voter apathy is rapidly rising in South Africa. The South African government broke its pledge to give young people with what it promised, and service delivery is still lacking in many areas.

The South African young must likewise denounce inefficient service delivery if the economy is to grow. Public sector leaders have behaved unethically. Future of the nation may be harmed by the predominance of political power play and nepotism in government service organizations (Lues, 2014:5). For public service organizations to guarantee ongoing commitment, enforcement, and modeling of leadership in professionalism, among other things, policy structures are required. Public employees must also remember that people learn how to behave primarily from the actions of important persons (Lues, 2014:5).

Along with structural factors including education, poverty, inequality, and unemployment, Potgieter and Lutz (2014) note that some young people choose not to vote. This is affected by elements like political mindset and interest. Discontent with the political system as it is at the local and federal levels could play a role. The role of social capital is also highlighted by Potgieter and Lutz (2014). In this case, networks and group membership may have an effect on voters' choices. With regard to family life, which offers opportunities for information sharing and collective action through political socialization, the premise is that youth who have fewer structural resources may not have social communication through participation in religious, cultural, social, and civic organizations.

According to Hofmeyr (2004), the youth seem to be separating themselves from formal politics at an increasing rate because they feel excluded or even marginalized from

the political environment, which is characterized by elite negotiations and a failure to address issues that directly impact them. Although youth indifference or disillusionment with politics is a global phenomena, Hofmeyr notes that in the political environment of South Africa, institutional determinants, social determinants, and delivery expectations are significant influencing variables that contribute to youth voter apathy. The issue that they present to a certain policy area and how they are a volatile generation in respect to crime, HIV/AIDS, and other social issues should be addressed in party manifestos.

4.2 Election politics and party preferences

People who don't vote typically do so because they have political or candidate preferences they need to express, as opposed to those who don't vote because they only care about who wins or loses elections, according to Merriam and Gosnell's 2007 research. Political and journalism scholars agree that the preferences of the electorate for the parties or candidates standing in the elections at the moment determine whether there is a low or high voter participation (Blais, 2010).

Letsholo (2005) contends that it is important to investigate the notion of voting behavior in order to comprehend voting patterns and party preferences in a community. Voting behavior therefore indicates that there are factors that voters consider when deciding which political party to support and why. These factors include partisanship, political preferences, and the current sociopolitical and economic environment in which elections are being held (Letsholo, 2005).

According to Redlawsk and Lau (2006), the main method of political and electoral representation under the contemporary form of representative democracy is through competitive, regular, free, and credible elections. These elections give the electorate the opportunity to affect the choice of a party, the party's public policy, and the structure of the government. On election day, it is essential that every eligible voter visit the polls and cast their vote for the appropriate candidate. Elections provide the public with a means of "throwing the rascals out" if they are dissatisfied with the way parties or politicians have conducted themselves while in office, according to Barro (1973) and Ferejohn (1986). However, the weight of that vote may be restricted by the election system, such as PR. With PR, parties can elect or recall representatives

based on their performance as well as select their own leaders. Even if the constituency-based system is employed in an election, Marsh and Gallagher (1998) note that political parties present a severely limited list of candidates for diverse constituencies. This method of selecting candidates is known as the "hidden garden of candidate nomination" or the "black box of party politics," according to Marsh and Gallagher (1998). There are numerous ways to gauge party support during elections, as is briefly discussed below.

Political parties now engage in ongoing, permanent campaigning to win support from voters during elections (Norris, 2000). All parties and candidates must be aware of the election date before they may start their campaigns. Political campaigns are valued because they give voters the opportunity to make informed decisions. Political campaigning is significant in electoral democracies because it encourages voters to support a party that is running for office. The nature of the campaign will either have an impact on people's party preferences or have none at all (Baron, 1994). Political parties also engage in educational campaigns to win over voters and win support for their goals. In other words, voters will believe in, support, and stick with a party that invests in instructional programs, according to Baron (1994). Consequently, political parties tend to focus more on constituencies where their campaigns may have more of an impact. These groups thus lead to high voter turnout relative to the campaign, a change in opposition members' beliefs in the campaigning party's favor, and significant voter support from such an electorate (Butler, 2003).

Funding for political parties is a component of political campaigning. The current system of funding allocation, according to opposition parties, favors the ruling party because it gives it a much larger share of the budget than other political parties. The South African system is governed by the Public Funding of Represented Political Parties Act 103 of 1997. According to Section 2 of the Act, "(2)(a) Allocations from the Fund shall be made and paid to each of the political parties concerned in accordance with a formula based on:

- 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, according to the proportionate representation of parties in the National Assembly and/or Provincial Legislatures, the Act and its regulations transfer the funds to political parties. This money has assisted the ANC in securing its position of dominance in South African politics throughout time, to the detriment of rival parties (Booyesen & Masterson, 2009). The governing ANC has greater resources than other parties, allowing it to mobilize voters more successfully during election season. For instance, the IEC allocated R88 million to all parties represented in 2009, of which the ANC received R61 million, the DA R10 million, and the other parties R16.5 million in total (Booyesen & Masterson, 2009). As a result, the application of this Act continues to favor the ANC, which is in power, because of its ability to transfer resources to its supporters, who in turn continue to support the ANC. As a result, the ANC, which is in power, continues to benefit from the execution of this Act because of its capacity to distribute resources to those who support it.

Partisanship is a component of party choice as well. Voters from each party can stand out from the crowd thanks to partisanship. The purpose of this is to allow a party to allocate resources to its stronghold in a ward. Stronghold voters sometimes brag about how effective and considerate their party is to outsiders. Regardless matter whether the party's leadership is dependable or its programs are wise or foolish, these voters only support their party due of the advantages it has offered in the past and in the present. As a result, if a party obtains and distributes resources consistently, a constituency is more likely to support it on a regular basis (Holbrook & McClurg, 2005).

In other cases, party choice and voting are based on a long-standing clientelism. People with a long-standing clientele relationship tend to vote based on their relationship rather than on the platform of a politician or political party. In the majority of democracies around the world, bad policies result in good politics and vice versa, claim Vicente and Wantchkon (2009) Parties and candidates don't necessarily care about good policy; they just care about voter support during election season.

Although it can take many different forms, clientelism ultimately entails providing patrons and clients with services that are mutually beneficial. According to Young (2009), clientelism is typically regarded as constituency service in which the patron

offers personal favors to the client in exchange for a vote. Voters (clients) naturally feel bound to support the buyer following the exchange of any material resource for a vote (patron). This forces voters to align their party preferences with the gentleman's agreement between customer and patron. Undoubtedly, voters would choose one party or candidate over another if they received such or other benefit, even if their policies were unfavorable.

Due to this, the client-patron relationship's two members automatically participate in elections and have a good chance of winning. Although research on clientelism have been done by Young, Vicente, and Wantchkon (2012), they did not examine whether clientelism is helpful or bad for Africa in particular. Clientelism should be credited for ensuring that many people engage in elections to select who should be in government, despite the fact that it is more closely related to vote buying.

This chapter clarifies the fact that the majority of South African voters continue to support the ANC despite the criticism hurled at it. The ANC's dominance and historical position as the liberation movement also contribute to the reason why it still demands the respect of voters in every election because so many people want to be associated with it. The opposition parties accuse the government's public funding system of being unjust because it disadvantages other parties in favor of the ANC, which holds a majority in parliament. This section also takes notice of the fact that South Africa's current PR electoral system (with the ANC as the dominant party) ensures that a range of parties are represented in parliament. Due to its dominance, the ANC is able to run for office in more regions of the country, promote a culture that may encourage clientelism, and attract private funding and investment. These are the most plausible reasons for the ANC's resounding electoral victories.

Not all protests involve people opposing the political party in power (Booyesen, 2011). In actuality, individuals who are protesting may just as easily be backing the administration they are denouncing. This section leads to the conclusion that community protests and the causes/reasons underlying them have little bearing on voter support for the ANC. The scholars covered in this section point out a number of variables that affect party preference and support in elections, but they only provide a limited number of explanations for why communities protest the ANC government's subpar service delivery while still voting overwhelmingly for it in elections.

4.3 South African voter turnout factors

The total number of voters in a particular election is known as the voter turnout, and it is typically reported as a percentage. Despite how straightforward this definition may seem, there is debate about the best ways to measure voter turnout. According to Pintor (2002), calculating the total number of votes cast is the primary approach for establishing the voter turnout percentage. This method's inclusion of both legitimate and invalid votes is a drawback. Additionally, it offers no impartial evaluation of voters who chose to abstain from casting a ballot. In contrast, this approach divides the total number of votes cast by the total number of registered voters listed on the voters' list. The IEC in SA use this technique.

According to Schulz-Herzenberg (2014) and Malada, the Electoral Commission of South Africa (IEC) registered 25, 3 million voters for the country's national and provincial elections in May 2014. According to the IEC, 81% of eligible voters are now formally registered (the voting age population, or VAP, constitutes all citizens aged 18 years and over). The 2011 Statistics South Africa census revealed that there were 31.4 million eligible voters in that nation at the time, which the IEC used as the basis for its estimates. However, since 2011, South Africa's population has increased. According to 2013 population estimates, there are 32.7 million inhabitants in the VAP (Figure 1). In light of this, the overall registration rate for 2014 was 78%. The recalculation of the VAP using the most recent estimates from the census shows that much more than 7 million people were not registered to vote in the 2014 elections, as opposed to the 6 million given by IEC numbers. Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), and the Eastern and Western Cape have the highest voter numbers, according to provincial registration rates. Voter registration rates are highest in the Free State and Eastern Cape, while they are lowest in Gauteng, Mpumalanga, and the Western Cape. Consequently, the lowest voter registration rates can be found in some of the most populous provinces (Gauteng and Western Cape).

Seventy-three percent of voters turned out for the 2014 national elections, which is a 4 percent decrease from the 77 percent turnout for the previous two elections. Voter turnout is calculated as the proportion of eligible voters who cast ballots in a certain election. In light of this information, voter turnout has declined from 86 percent in 1994 to 72 percent in 1999 and 58 percent in 2004. Although voting turnout increased slightly to 60% in 2009, it decreased by 3% to 57 percent in 2014. These figures imply

that a growing proportion of South Africans are eligible to vote but choose not to do so. Due to the absence of changes in their socioeconomic situation, the fraternal deprivation group may have given up on participating in the elections, which could explain this fact.

This study focuses on partisanship and voter apathy as factors affecting voter turnout in order to accomplish this. When they are partisan, political parties support the constituencies that receive the majority of their support. Parties pay attention to these constituencies, according to Larcinese, Snyder, and Testa (2013), to increase voter turnout in elections or even persuade them to support substantial policy changes. The primary objective of this incentive is to increase party backing for candidates during election season. Cox and McCubbins (1986), Dixit (1998), and Londregan (2001) all concur that parties even employ "political networks" as researchers of the urgent wants of the people in order to effectively ease the allocation of resources and goods. Parties primarily employ this tactic to build devoted party members and to obtain long-term electoral advantages (Dixit & Londregan, 1996).

Partisanship also splits communities, according to Abramowitz and Webster (2015), since followers of several major parties do not get along. Because of this, voters for each party see others as having different social ideas, norms, and values than they do. Because of this, the supporters of each party have a negative opinion of the leaders of the other party and are reluctant to back them in any elections (Bafumi & Shapiro, 2009). Partisanship frequently has an impact on voters' capacity to make both subjective assessments, such as which leader would make a better president, and objective assessments, such as appraisals of the economy (Bartels, 2002; Gerber & Huber, 2010). Not because it is necessarily true, but rather as a method to show their support for their party, supporters may back a particular party policy that aligns with their partisanship (Gerber & Huber, 2010; Green, Schickler, & Palmquist, 2002).

Partisanship and distributive politics typically occur during the run-up to an election and have an electoral impact on voter turnout. According to Dixit and Londregan (1996) and Stokes (2005), voters' interests during elections are divided between pursuing distributive advantages and ideological preferences. Voters only show up to the polls to cast their ballots if their preferred candidate has a good chance of winning because doing so costs them money, claims Aldrich (1993). Furthermore, Chen (2012)

argues that partisanship and distributive politics may influence voters in one of three ways before elections. First, giving voters who have a strong ideological commitment to the incumbent resources before elections may inspire them to vote and aid the incumbent in winning reelection. Second, if voters who have a strong ideological inclination in favor of the challenger are given resources prior to elections, they may be persuaded to abstain in order to rationalize their lack of interest in the incumbent. The distribution of materials before to elections to a voter without ideological bias toward either of the two candidates may, in the end, impact the voter's choice of candidate and turnout.

A further factor is that partisanship is not constant and can shift from one election to the next (Sigelman & Jewell, 1986). In order for this shift to take place, a party's vote must increase and surpass that of the opposition party. However, this correction might not be all that substantial considering how drastically partisanship has changed. According to Holbrook and McClurg, parties must successfully mobilize and canvass support from both partisans and non-partisans in order to win an election (2005). An effective mobilization campaign can raise turnout for two reasons. The first advantage is that it gives partisans access to crucial resources and voter education. This mobilization will intensify election-day excitement and increase the psychological advantages of voting (Verba et al, 1995). The electorate is energized about election day, which is the second advantage. Coates and Humphreys (2005) claim that turnout also has a psychological benefit. Some supporters are comparable to sports enthusiasts in that, if their team does well, they will almost certainly make the trip to the stadium to cheer them on. In a similar spirit, if their party is performing poorly, they choose not to vote (Marcus et al, 2000).

Voter indifference is another aspect of voter turnout. Crewe et al. (1992) assert that there are various perspectives that can be used to account for voter indifference. According to Yakubu (2012), voter apathy refers to a person's lack of interest in participating in electoral processes, such as casting a ballot on election day. While Yakubu (2012) and Cloud (2010) both assert that people may get disenchanted with voting and discouraged from doing so, they do not elaborate on the reasons why general election voter turnout remains high. Additionally, according to Cloud (2010), a low voter participation is a result of electorates that are legally entitled to vote but choose not to. These experts are unable to explain why more than 50% of eligible

voters have cast ballots in every national and provincial election conducted in South Africa since 1994. Due to voter apathy as a political strategy, a dominant party (in this case, the ANC) may be able to win elections and harm rival parties. As was discussed in the prior sections, the ANC has always had strong electoral support, and it is quite unlikely that it will ever relinquish control. This is true despite all of the unfavorable opinions or facts that have been linked with it and are supported by the ANC's electoral success in the past.

Eligible non-voters and inactive citizens may undercut the legitimacy of a validly elected government. This is because a government selected by a tiny percentage of people does not accurately reflect and represent the aspirations, principles, and opinions of the wider public (Roberts 2009). According to Chinsinga, voters may still be expressing their dissatisfaction with the system despite the fact that voter turnout is an important measure of electoral democracy and the legitimacy of elected officials (2006).

Voter indifference and low voter turnout result from candidates and parties making promises to electorates during election campaigns that they typically do not keep after winning elections (Falade, 2008). Voters anticipate parties to deliver qualified candidates and pertinent policy proposals (Amdi, 2014). Voters are therefore more likely to support political parties that live up to their expectations. If no party meets these expectations, they are probably not going to cast a ballot.

In the end, whether or not individuals turn out to vote on election day is significantly influenced by the work done by political parties in canvassing and supporting their constituencies. This section used partisanship to demonstrate that stronghold inhabitants are more likely to vote on election day than constituencies that did not turn out if parties are taking care of their strongholds. The academics whose work we examined above give a good account of the variables affecting voter turnout at the polls, but they do not clearly explain which parties stand to directly benefit from such a turnout. Even if these voters received distributed resources, there is still a risk that the opposition will prevail in the election. Contrarily, voters may opt not to vote in an election if their preferred candidates are not on the ballot, if the parties or candidates are corrupt or are perceived to be corrupt, or if both of those conditions apply.

Therefore, a high voter turnout is entirely the responsibility of voters, the election management body, candidates, and all other parties involved in the election.

4.4 Elections' Purposes in the Context of South Africa

Elections, according to Anglin (1998), are still the cornerstone of any democracy, giving the people the ability to choose their leaders and oust them from office. Powel (2000) asserts that elections provide a method for citizens to "compel or encourage the policy-makers to pay attention to citizens" at the same time. This suggests that the ruling party is momentarily in control and has the support of all citizens prior to the next round of elections. Since they put the ruling party to the test, opposition parties serve a crucial role in a democracy since without them, it would be impossible to assess the competence of the ruling party (Mesfin, 2008).

Additionally, studies by Kiisa (2005), Lonescu and Madariaga (1968), and others demonstrate the necessity of multipartyism for elections so that voters can make informed decisions when choosing parties whose programmes match with their political ideas, norms, and values. In order to assess the performance of the governing party, identify issues with its policies, and present alternatives in the hopes that voters will choose them to power in the forthcoming elections, several opposition groups should establish multipartyism (Kiisa, 2005).

Since 1994, South Africa has had regular elections for the national, provincial, and local levels of government. If it is true that elections "are viewed as a sanctioning device that motivates elected people to do what the public demand" in South Africa and most likely other countries throughout the world, then elections may be a tool used by the ruling party to keep power.

The results of elections can have a variety of meanings. As one illustration, Mqobsi (2008) accurately depicted Afrikaners' perspectives during their 1948 election victory, stating that "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." Elections so represent cultural, religious, ethnic, racial, and ideological worth to some. In support of this assertion, Terreblanche (1999) notes that 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 even greater degree than the white governments that had preceded it." According to this point of view, elections can be used in a given political system in either a beneficial or detrimental manner. Elections are not the only characteristic of a democratic government. According to Mqobsi (2008), the 1948 election was a farce that should be discredited.

The degree to which an election advances or undermines political stability in a nation typically serves as the yardstick by which it is judged to have been successful or unsuccessful. All election stakeholders should take into account the significant local and international effects of election quality (Abuya, 2010). For instance, unlike Kenya's 2007 presidential elections, the results of the 2008 presidential elections in Zimbabwe did not result in extensive property destruction, violent unrest, or the deaths of citizens. However, the country (Zimbabwe) was not in a peaceful state; in fact, there were numerous reports of human rights violations during, immediately following, and in the wake of elections.

The African Charter on Democracy, Elections, and Good Governance likewise emphasizes the significance of elections in the transfer of power. These arguments contend that political elections should provide the population with the chance to vote and choose the course of their country (Heywood, 2002). This conveys the notion that elections are equivalent to democracy, yet this notion is fiercely debated in academia. For instance, elections are regarded as a forum where the general public may hold elected officials responsible and put pressure on them to enact policies that represent the opinions of the people. On the other hand, Ginsberg (1982) makes a groundbreaking claim that elections are a platform via which politicians and governments efficiently control their constituents, deactivating their activity and ruling them without any trouble or opposition.

According to Wojtasik (2013), competitive elections are important factors in determining the legitimacy of public authorities. As long as all eligible adults are allowed to freely participate in an election, such competition ensures the legitimacy of public representatives' judgments. There are three characteristics that give democratic systems more legitimacy: (a) the electoral outcome must be secret until the official release of the results; (b) there must be a real prospect that the government will

change; and (c) those in control must establish breakaway groups (Wojtasik, 2013). According to Heywood (2000), these characteristics allow the people to choose who rises to power, for how long, and to what extent they give a party the right to govern on their behalf.

A crucial element, according to Heywood (2000), is that choices made in connection with elections are definitive and cannot be reversed until the next election. The likelihood of broad election participation, the availability of a decision-making and mandate for the representatives, and the legitimacy of those in power are the basic factors that give the political system legitimacy (Banducci & Karp, 2003). General elections also contribute to the upkeep and legitimacy of democracy and political systems by rallying and enlisting the support of voters who, in accordance with Rose and Mosswir (1967), will vote against the radical politicians, candidates, political parties, and their radical principles.

Elections are a vital tool for encouraging accountability. In addition to choosing to remove elected individuals from office and keeping them accountable, this also entails giving politicians a chance to explain their positions on various subjects and giving the public a chance to extend their mandate. Similarly, trust is a key component of elections; voters should have confidence in their representatives and believe that they will carry out their mandate, spend public monies responsibly, serve their constituents' interests, and govern democratically. Voters should feel confident that even if their preferred parties lose elections, they still have a free and equal chance to fight and win them the next time around. Thus, administration of elections should also be free and fair.

Finally, elections provide those in power democratic legitimacy (Raciborski, 2003). They empower politicians to act on behalf of the people and grant them a moral right to rule. Elections may be studied outside of the political system, according to Ghandi and Przeworski (2009), because people in power utilize elections as a means of securing their hold on power. Heywood (2000), Banducci and Karp (2003), among others, concur that elections are crucial for preserving freedom and democracy. However, their research does not help to explain why some individuals support the ANC while others protest it or whether such protests are successful in achieving their goals.

4.5 South Africa's electoral system and one-party dominant rule

There are numerous election systems in use worldwide, but none has been shown to be the ideal one for fostering political stability and good governance. The selection of an electoral system is influenced by the political and historical background of the nation. The chosen system is anticipated to support democratic governance and democratic consolidation.

In order to address issues of unfair representation, political instability, and lack of accountability, certain African nations have chosen to enact electoral reforms for their voting systems. However, some nations continue to adopt costly election systems that were not designed for their countries' unique socioeconomic and political circumstances.

The electoral process is the most dependable democratic institution, according to Norris (1997). Before, during, and after elections, there is routine slight tampering with political and electoral standards in many election races. Legislative modifications relating to party financial disclosure, constituency boundary definition, or electoral broadcast are a few examples of such legislation. Sometimes after World War II, legislators in other countries shifted between the d'Hondt and LR-Hare voting systems, changing the election threshold and enlarging their assembly (Lijphart, 1994). During its elections, France has consistently wavered between majoritarian and proportional systems. Lipset and Rokkan claim that the Western European party system is "locked" into the mold produced by the enfranchisement of the working class at the turn of the century (1967).

Similar to this, liberal democracies have made voting system applications more concrete. In general, the ruling parties favor and uphold the structures that propelled them to power. After losing in the electoral process, opposition parties and civil society organizations attempt to change the electoral system, but nothing happens.

With the understanding that a review would take place after the adoption of the final constitution, South Africa's interim constitution designated the PR system as the electoral method for the country's initial national elections. The task force that the Cabinet created adopted the rules that would direct the proper system in 2003. Accountability, inclusivity, simplicity, credibility, and fairness were among them.

A proportional representation electoral system is required by the South African Constitution, 1996. A single party list of PR was utilized in every election that took place in South Africa between since 1994. In South Africa, all national, provincial, and municipal elections employ the PR system. A constituency-based system is used for half of the local seats, and a PR system is used for the other half. The constituency-based system allows for first-past-the-post (FPTP) ward elections, but the PR system on a local list is allowed for the other half of the council members.

Voters in South Africa have the option to vote for parties rather than specific candidates thanks to the closed PR system. According to the percentage of votes each party earned during the election, seats are allocated to candidates from the lists that the parties running in the election have submitted. There are 400 seats in the National Assembly (NA), and the number of seats a party holds reflects the overall number of votes it received during an election. De Jager (2010), for instance, points out that South Africa's PR system enabled the country's ruling ANC to efficiently manage its constituency and appoint parliamentarians.

In the first ten years of South Africa's democracy, party politics changed, with the ANC becoming the dominant party and the National Party disappearing and losing its power. Using the PR electoral system, the ANC has prevailed in elections in SA since 1994. Six general elections have been held in SA since 1994 (1994, 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014 and 2019), and the people of South Africa have pledged their support for this former liberation movement by ensuring its victory in each of those elections. We now have the chance to evaluate whether the ANC has truly emerged as the main political force in South Africa as a result of its electoral victory. De Jager (2010) argues that since 1994, the PR system has played a significant role in nation-building since it allows for the representation of minority parties in the legislature. This is a significant plus because it is the complete opposite of the apartheid regime's system.

A party wanting to take power in a democracy must bridge divides, mobilize and canvass a wide range of social interest groups, and win these groups on to their cause (Erdmann, 2004). Leading parties have effectively overcome class divisions in countries like Malaysia, Mexico, and South Africa (Giliomee, 1999). Once a party assumes government, it immediately works to strengthen its ties to society.

The ANC's dominance in South Africa is demonstrated by its victories in all national elections up to the most recent in 2019. A dominant party system allows multiple parties to compete, with the party that continuously wins elections becoming as the dominant party (Lodge, 2003). Because it is the liberation party, the ANC has been positioned as the preferred candidate by the majority of voters during elections (Lodge, 2003). This demonstrates that the majority of South Africans, led by the ANC in South Africa, are engaged in the independence struggle.

In some democracies, the presence of a dominant party leads to democracy becoming uncompetitive, according to Ferim (2010), because the dominant party frequently appoints elites and supporters to important positions in the executive branch and presents these roles as their own through songs and slogans that extol the ruling party. Due to the dominant party system, which favors the ruling party to reduce the influence of the opposition parties, the opposition parties have minimal chance of winning elections. (De Jager, 2010). Butler (2005) emphasizes that in other situations, powerful parties often act in an undemocratic manner by repressing and intimidating minorities and opposition parties, plundering the state, abusing their position of authority, and only taking part in elections when they are certain to win. Brandtstedt (2012) goes on to say that South Africa's democratic system is negatively impacted by the ANC's dominance. For the previous 12 years, the socioeconomic conditions (poor, unemployment, and rising inequality) have not improved. The majority of Black people have protested the government's service delivery policies in order to voice their displeasure with it (Brooks, 2004). According to the KAS (2006) seminar report, the 6.76 million voters who did not register for the 2004 elections need to be understood in light of the ANC's escalating dominance. Butler (2005) continues by saying that dominating parties grow more undemocratic the longer they are in power.

According to researchers like Pempel (1990), Arian and Barnes (1974), Reddy (2006), Middlebrook (2004), and Baer (1999), one-party control is not always a bad system and has certain significant advantages that should be acknowledged. They argue that this dominance can maintain and extend a country's political stability, assuring a country's long-term entrenchment in democracy (De Jager, 2010). Because it stifles radical politics, strengthens democratic institutions, and calms ethnic tensions by establishing a framework for cooperation that benefits all parties, the dominant party

is a better weapon for preserving political stability than dispersed political parties (Pempel, 1990).

De Jager (2010) uses the ANC in SA as an example to bolster this claim. Nelson Mandela, South Africa's first democratically elected president, instituted a program of reconciliation that aimed to bring together all racial and ethnic groupings. Middlebrook (2004) claims that by bringing together the "revolutionary forces" from Mexico's 1910–1920 social upheaval, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) put an end to splinter organizations and achieved political stability in Mexico. Once this supremacy is combined with the defense and observance of the rule of law, as well as electoral and political completions, it acts as a crucial component of a long-lasting liberal democracy (Arian & Barnes, 1974). Reddy (2006) supports this claim by using the Indian National Congress (INC) party as an illustration. The INC described itself as a "broad-based movement" with numerous distinct interest group factions. As a result, the divisions permitted the selection of new leaders and prevented the formation of breakaway groups through internal discussions and debates (de Jager, 2010).

In conclusion, Brooks (2004) contends that since the voters who are affected by these service delivery concerns are either ANC supporters or don't cast ballots, these issues have little to no impact on the results of elections in South Africa. Due to the ANC's dominance in South African politics, this is shown by the decline in voter turnout throughout elections (1999 recorded 89.3 percent, and 2004 recorded 76.73 percent) (Brandtstedt, 2012). There is no guarantee that the Black majority will always support the ANC, but most voters will continue to vote along racial and historical lines if the opposition parties fail to establish themselves as the ANC's credible and serious rivals (Brooks, 2004). The political discourse in South Africa and the character and makeup of the opposition parties have both been greatly influenced by the PR system. The PR system has made it possible for minorities and opposition parties to have representation in parliament despite the ANC's dominance. Despite the positioning of constituencies away from elected representatives under the PR system (which discourages direct accountability) and the delegitimization of the opposition by the dominant parties, South Africa's dominant party system and PR system were both successful in uniting historically divided races and allowing civil and political liberties for all groups. This is essential for democratic participation and consolidation because prior to 1994, the system never gave liberty and unity a high priority. Despite this, the

literature review found no proof that the current voting system helps the ANC win over voters. In a similar vein, it is difficult to believe the assertions made by Brooks (2004) and Brandstedt (2012) et al. regarding the impact of the ANC's dominance on voter turnout at different polling locations.

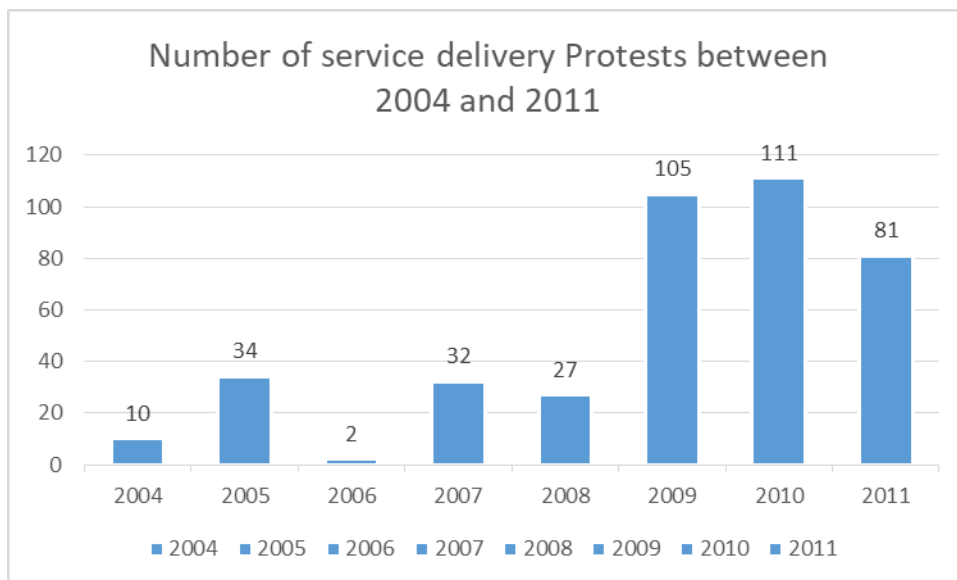
4.6 Analysis towards this study

The democratic era in South Africa reached its 29th anniversary in 2023. Since 1994, the nation has emerged as a global leader in democratic reform and a standard-bearer for democracy on the African continent. However, the country also presents a variety of opposing viewpoints, some of which are very depressing: groups of unemployed young men loitering on street corners or rummaging through trash bins; chilly, under-dressed children huddled outside shacks in contrast to all the urbanity of high-rise, modern culture; the persistent poverty of under-resourced rural areas. On the other hand, a variety of sights are overwhelmingly positive, such as emancipated, self-assured people taking advantage of opportunities that had previously been closed to them; political figures who believe in community service and public service; and South Africans of all races who genuinely believe that everyone can coexist in peace and harmony (Deegan, 2003: 60).

Despite the fact that South Africa is seen as a beacon for democratic change on the continent and globally, there have been many service delivery protests in local communities across the nation since 2004 as enraged residents took to the streets to voice their displeasure with municipalities' subpar service delivery. These protests have occasionally become violent, resulting in property damage, altercations with the police, and even fatalities. On May 18, 2011, South Africans cast their votes for the political parties and local councilors of their choice. These elections, as well as previous ones, had a big impact on local government operations and democratic political engagement in local communities. This is because these elections oblige and legitimize this branch of government to function as the watchdog over the provision of local community services. According to Section 152(b) of Chapter 7 of the Constitution, the local branch of government has the power to provide services such as water, housing, and electricity through municipalities.

South African citizens have been pressing their local administrations for higher caliber services as a result. For instance, in 2009, 3000 inhabitants of Diepsloot (province of Gauteng) protested in the streets to demand basic services. 5000 residents of informal settlements marched through the heart of Durban (province of KwaZulu-Natal) in 2013 calling for housing and services. At Mitchells Plain (Western Cape Province), tires were torched, trash and human waste were deposited on the streets, and barricades were erected. In 2011, a fight between protesters and police resulted in the deaths of a boy and a community activist in Ficksburg (Free State Province). Protesters in Delmas (Mpumalanga Province) in 2006 demanded the expulsion of the municipal manager because they thought he had slowed down the provision of community services as a result of a typhoid outbreak. A teenage activist was killed in 2011 in Mahikeng (North West Province) by a police bullet fired during a fight with demonstrators. Thousands of residents from informal settlements protested for weeks in 2012, demanding public amenities in Port Elizabeth (Eastern Cape Province). Many locals lamented the filthy water, frequent power outages, defective streetlights, and overflowing sewage infrastructure (Stanton, 2009).

Protests about service delivery in South Africa from 2004 to July 2011 are represented numerically in the figure below.



Source: Municipal IQ, 2012

Burger (2009) contends that service delivery protests, particularly in squatter camps, which are now more frequently referred to as informal settlements within various local

communities, appear to be driven by frustrations and displeasure with the slow pace at which municipalities are providing basic services, such as electricity, running water, and toilets. Unemployment, which is currently officially at about 32.6%, makes problems like informal settlement overpopulation, a housing shortage, extreme poverty, and poor infrastructure in underdeveloped local communities worse. This is due to promises made by various political parties in their manifestos throughout the election season, assuring people that their service delivery demands would be satisfied once the new administration took power. This makes it important to consider that elections in South Africa frequently take place in April and May, right before the harsh realities of winter exacerbate the lack of necessities like adequate shelter and energy. Burger (2009) contends that there are various other causes or elements, some of which include allegations of rampant corruption and nepotism in local government institutions, that contributed to the public demonstrations. On April 22, 2009, the late Sicelo Shiceka, Minister of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, stated that many of South Africa's municipalities are experiencing paralysis and dysfunction when speaking to the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) in East London.

Despite the aforementioned socioeconomic challenges, elections are now remarkably peaceful, well-managed, and commonplace. Many people who experienced the apartheid era are shocked by the notion that South African politics can now be debated in terms of non-violent political competitiveness rather than by tallying politically motivated acts of intimidation, brutality, and intolerance (Piombo & Nijzink, 2006:03). Thanks to its carefully prepared and persuasive manifestos, the African National Congress (ANC) has been able to gather the necessary electoral support during its election campaigns since 1994. They consistently use the phrase "Better living for all" in all of their electoral manifestos. Many voters, especially the underprivileged, backed these manifestos because they could easily relate to them and directly addressed their circumstances. As expected, the majority of voters who are predominantly Black and low-income were drawn to these manifestos. In its national election manifesto from 1994, for instance, the ANC pledged, among other things, a people-centered government, better living conditions, employment opportunities, higher wages through the implementation of a minimum wage, chances for small businesses, workers' rights, the eradication of rural poverty, housing, and services for all (ANC, 1994).

The aforementioned themes have been frequently in manifestos since 1994, which is why the ANC pledged in its 2006 Local Government Manifesto that by 2014, ANC-led local governments would have produced 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.”

The earlier denial of socioeconomic rights to Black South Africans under apartheid, notably the denial of secure housing, decent dwellings, water, power, and other utilities, served as inspiration for the ANC manifestos. Therefore, locals in various towns anticipated that all of the promises made in manifestos would come true. In a same vein, urban constituencies in particular sought and expected a speedy turnaround (Hemson & Owusu-Ampomah. 2005:511). The majority of South Africans of African descent who had traditionally been subjected to political and socioeconomic oppression found comfort, solace, and hope in the facts contained in these campaign manifestos.

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 granted local government an unprecedented status as a sphere of government that is "distinctive, interdependent, and interrelated" with national and provincial spheres in order to address the decades-long apartheid-related backlogs in service delivery.

Atypically autonomous local government has been hailed as a result of the municipality's ability to rule "on its own initiative" and only be bound by federal and provincial law. According to Greling (2012), the federal and provincial governments shouldn't restrict a municipality's capacity to use its legislative authority to carry out its constitutional duties. Local government's goals include fostering social and economic development, promoting a safe and healthy environment, fostering community

involvement in local government issues, and offering sustainable services to local communities (Act 108 of 1996).

Municipalities are also responsible for creating effective budgets, strategies, and administration as well as supporting local economic development (Hollands & Mageza, 2010:09). The growing service delivery demonstrations in local communities, which have recently been prevalent in South African municipal administration, call attention to the governance problems with municipalities, nevertheless. According to Municipal IQ (2012), protests about the provision of services peaked in 2009 and 2010 with a decline in 2011. (Municipal IQ 2012). The biggest voter turnout in municipal elections since 1994 occurred in the May 2011 elections, which led to the 2011 collapse. (2011) Independent Electoral Commission. The period leading up to the 2011 municipal elections was turbulent in large part because of the ANC's candidate nominating process (Ndletyana, 2011).

Service delivery concerns were at the heart of the community protests that occurred around the nation. During a public protest in Ficksburg, Andries Tatane, one of the protestors, was killed by the police (Municipal IQ, 2012). However, the number of protests fell in the months of April and May 2011, leading Municipal IQ (2012) to draw the conclusion that political parties' community discussions throughout the election season reduced the likelihood of protests by local communities.

In order to make informed political decisions, let alone sincere ones, many voters may not have compared party platforms before making their political choices. Voters have the opportunity to choose the party in a manifesto that makes timely and useful recommendations (Chazan, 1983). Voters may lack political awareness, but it does not mean they cast their ballots carelessly (Wittman, 1989). In addition to media coverage and peer contact, voters often use various techniques to learn about candidates and competing parties (Downs, 1957; Lupia & McCunnins, 1998; Key, 1966).

4.7 The effect of community service delivery on voter turnout

Regarding this study, it is evident that the youth firmly feel that receiving more services from all areas of government motivates them to cast their votes. The majority of young people think that factors like employment, a low rate of poverty, excellent education in

all regions, and excellent healthcare facilities, to name a few, influence their decision to cast a ballot.

4.8 Mechanisms that can be employed

4.8.1 Monitoring and Evaluation System

To ensure the delivery of services, pressure must be applied to all governmental branches to employ the monitoring and evaluation procedure as it is currently implemented (Vyas-Doorgapersand, 2014:74). In particular in national and provincial governance, the impact of development through Provincial Growth and Development Plans must be a barometer. To assess service delivery at the local level of government, municipalities' Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) must be monitored (Vyas-Doorgapersand, 2014:74). It is crucial to keep track of the performance data's quality based on the outcomes and impacts of providing effective and efficient service. The national, provincial, and municipal governments must all be carefully scrutinized to determine how well they are performing on their own (South Africa, 2007).

4.8.2 Local Government Turnaround Strategy (LGTS)

Local government turnaround efforts should be implemented to address concerns with service delivery. Its desired outcome is to boost public confidence in government (Nkuana, 2013:229). The purpose of the LGTS, according to Nkuana (2013:230), is to improve both the effectiveness of local government and the standard of living for South African inhabitants. Draai and Oshoniyi (2013:875) developed a reciprocal relationship between institutional reform and institutional capabilities for a local government sector to be functional and effective. Remember that meeting social, economic, and material needs in local government is essential for recovering the public's confidence and respect for the institution of government (LGTS, 2009:25).

4.8.3 Transparency

Transparency is essential to ensuring accountability and preventing corruption. Many countries are concerned about the level of transparency necessary to ensure the integrity of public procurement and fair and equal treatment of providers (OECD, 2007:11). Because of the extraordinary focus on corruption in developed and

developing countries, government procurement is one sector where it is pervasive. In order to be transparent, governments must keep higher standards of behavior, thus they must ensure that behavior will be subject to inspection (Smith-Deighton, 2004). Beukes (2011:124) warned that the South African Constitution's section 217 has been broken since this principle of justice has always been weakened.

4.8.4 Municipal service partnership

Municipal service delivery in South Africa is currently faced with formidable obstacles. As stated in the White Paper on Local Government released in 1998, municipalities must consider creative ways to deliver municipal services if they are to meet the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) objectives within a reasonable amount of time. Municipalities should seriously consider partnerships with the public sector, the corporate sector, and community and non-governmental organizations (CBOs and NGOs) as one of their main alternatives when attempting to address infrastructure deficiencies and imbalances (Mafunisa, 2004:1).

The White Paper on Local Government advises municipalities to explore for creative methods to deliver municipal services more quickly. The Municipal Service Partnership (MSP) Policy intends to offer a clear framework within which to coordinate and mobilize the resources of governmental organizations, CBOs, NGOs, and the private sector in order to achieve the general development goals of the nation.

4.8.5 Communication

Information is transferred from one entity to another through communication. Information is packaged, channeled, and transferred from a sender to a recipient through a medium in this process. A response is elicited when ideas, facts, beliefs, attitudes, and feelings are transmitted by one or more media. Communication is effective when the sender's intended meaning and the recipient's perceived meaning are roughly the same (Steyn and Van Niekerk, 2005:31).

People in organizations collaborate to produce meaning by sharing verbal and nonverbal cues, according to Fielding (1997:29). They establish common expectations and start functioning as a team and they are able to see results. Information and messages are created through this exchange. Communication structures need to be

established, developed, and maintained as the institution expands. These frameworks, in turn, limit the ways that information can move both inside and outside of an organization, as well as up, down, and sideways.

According to Melkote (2003:135), modernization involves transforming people and ingraining new attitudes and beliefs. Through "communication," values and information are transferred. The function of communication, according to Melkote and Kandath (2001:190), is to disseminate pre-development inventions and skills to an unwary passive audience, mostly through the employment of mass media. It is essentially an attempt to persuade people to accept the new idea of progress. In this situation, one can consider new educational legislation and its distribution to the departments of education. According to Snyder (2003:172), there have been proposed different growth routes. The involvement of the impacted people in development planning and implementation is a crucial component of these new concepts of development. Such participatory methods emphasize the value of preserving local communities' cultural identities, as well as the necessity of democratization and full participation at all stages of developing and implementing development programs (Snyder, 2003:172).

Twigg (2004:166) claims that bureaucrats now realize the need to pay attention to the public and the need for community identification in both problems and remedies. According to Servaes, involvement is essential for sharing information, knowledge, trust, dedication, and the right attitude in the planning and implementation of development (2004:61). Communities shouldn't only consume information passively; rather, development activities should be grounded in the idea that people can change the world and contribute to social change.

Fielding (1997:35) makes a good case that good communication is essential to fostering a culture of engagement. A trustworthy environment should be present for this conversation. People need to work in an accepting environment. Instead of having the group's goals imposed on them, teamwork needs to be promoted and goals need to be determined by the entire group. In order to promote the flow of social and educational messages throughout the institution, managers must coordinate efforts.

Both the social and the productive value of communication inside institutions must be taken into consideration by institutions. Institutional social messages are helpful for establishing and preserving connections. The useful messages provide details that

help people accomplish their goals. The social messages convey the attitudes, convictions, and goals of the institution's administrators. Managers should be aware that people are unpredictable and that there is no one solution to the multitude of human issues that might be found in their organizations. They must be extremely perceptive to the needs of others (Fielding, 1997:35).

A public organization must work to effectively communicate its vision and mission in order to achieve a shared understanding. Another factor that poses a serious danger to institutions in the public sector is political deployment, which regularly places people in positions for which they are not qualified.

4.8.6 Participatory planning and budgeting

Participatory budgeting techniques, for example, improve local accountability and engagement. The entire process of involving residents beyond the electoral process through routine budget planning meetings and participatory budgeting helps to promote local democratic ideals by promoting civic engagement and the development of local social capital. Despite the fact that participatory budgeting focuses on achieving a better fit between the allocations of local financial resources to meet citizens' local requests, the participatory methodologies used can once again help in correcting flaws indicated in local governance performance reports (UNDP, n.d).

The idea that public policy is driven by the demands of the people and that public officials are evaluated by contrasting their intentions with the policies they actually enact serves as the theoretical basis for participatory budgeting (Galukande, 2019:57-70). There should be three levels for community involvement in participatory budgeting. First and foremost, individuals should participate by choosing whether or not to show up for budget planning meetings and conferences whenever they believe their participation in these occasions would have (or not have) an effect on the final financial results.

Citizens can directly elect local council members to represent them on the local councils that draft, approve, and implement local budgets in addition to participating in the aforementioned activities. Nevertheless, the elected council member is able to enact policies in accordance with personal preferences without first seeking voter approval (Galukande, 2019:57-70). This suggests that a council member who has

been elected has the right to choose policy interventions, even if those decisions diverge from those of the electorate. The basis for local councillors' evaluations is their perceived success over the previous five years, even though local elections for councils only occur every five years, even though budgeting is done annually. Re-election is a sign of support from the public for council members who carried out their wishes, as measured by what the public suggested and what the council members ultimately did (Galukande, 2019:57-70).

Members of society consequently do a cost-benefit analysis before taking part in local budgeting. When measured against the actual expenditures of attending budget activities, citizen involvement reflects the anticipated effects of their participation in the overall budget implementation (Orsbone, 2000, 47-49). If they want to be re-elected in the upcoming elections, public leaders who participate in budgeting are forced to localize policies and address local issues. Citizens participate in determining local goals, help allocate resources, and keep an eye on government spending and policy responses, all of which encourage responsiveness and localism (Gershman, 2013, 213-16).

The study's premise was that communities engaged in budgeting procedures may become active in finding local resources to address local issues and establish local criteria (Kasozi-Mulindwa, 2013, 89). Secondly, by including stakeholders in prioritizing local needs in proportion to available resources, governments become more receptive to the worries of citizens (Argarwala, 1984, p. 32). Finally, participatory budgeting is considered to assist local government accountability, efficiency, and effectiveness while also enhancing service delivery.

4.8.7. Non-voters in South Africa are encouraged to use alternative ways in addition to voting

It was suggested that South Africa expend money on technology to improve communication and allow young people who don't vote to voice their dissatisfaction with politics and voting procedures in their own nations. The nation should also develop new policy guidelines for how to encourage young and non-voters to participate in the democratic process. young engagement should be improved and promoted through technology and social media sites like X, Facebook, YouTube, TikTok, and WhatsApp because these are the channels that the young use to

communicate. When addressing concerns of young non-participation in the voting process, it was also crucial for political parties to comprehend the necessity for technological integration. By converting the current manual and voluntary registration process to a more automatic process, which would be the role of the government through the IEC to register all eligible voters in the country, Schulz-Herzenberg (2020) claims that South Africa can adopt the policy directives of automatic voter registration to persuade the growing number of non-voters to return to the polls.

Moreover, in turn, this would increase the turnout at the polls and lessen the difficulties voters encountered in locating transportation and taking time off work to register to vote. Additionally, this should lower the expenses associated with voluntary registration for disadvantaged areas in terms of the economy, and ultimately, it should lower the widening disparity between registered and unregistered voters.

4.9 Conclusion

Elections are the means through which the leadership acquires positions of power for the distribution and allocation of values in a community. A process that builds and consolidates democracy. But for this process to work, voter engagement is essential. The best way for voters to choose their leaders is to consider how much the parties in power have improved their quality of life. It is better to swap out a party that is unable to deliver the necessary services for one that has the capacity to uphold its end of the bargain. Based on the percentage of votes they received in an election, parties in South Africa are assigned seats in parliament. According to the number of votes cast in favor of each party, seats are distributed proportionally under this form of proportional representation. The ANC has controlled the majority of parliamentary seats since 1994. The fact that protests have increased across South African communities since 2004 many of which are related to the ANC led government's poor service delivery but that it has remained popular with South Africans is of particular significance to this study. How do South Africans keep casting their votes for a party that keeps breaking its promises is the question. These rallies have been called "service delivery protests" by the media, but given their complicated character, it is safe to say that they are actually community protests.

According to Mafeje (2008), the opposition parties' weakness should be held responsible for the ANC's electoral dominance rather than the party itself. The political system in South Africa is not a one-party state as a result of this pattern. There is a difference between a party's dominance that results from weak opposition parties or poor voter appeal and a party that has no actual rivals. Democracy isn't defined by the presence of political parties that hold elections; rather, it's by the social, political, and economic freedoms that the State provides its citizens, as well as by its protection of marginalized groups. The constitution, which acts as the final guideline for how the people interact politically, economically, and socially in a particular State, must include descriptions of all of these. The ANC has maintained its dominance in elections despite the public's dissatisfaction with the government's subpar service delivery because of the glaring gap in the literature. This study seeks to fill this vacuum by looking at the connection between service delivery protests and election voter turnout.

Candidates and parties have the opportunity to convey their election manifestos to their supporters during the election period. Voters will be encouraged or dissuaded to cast ballots on election day depending on the substance of the manifesto. Voters utilize the promises made by parties as a criterion for their vote because they anticipate that these promises would be fulfilled following elections. Parties and politicians go to great lengths to be visible out in the community and advocating for their areas in an effort to win over voters. Even for the perceived or historically powerful party, there is no assurance of election success until the results are announced due to the fierce competition between parties running for office.

Since 2004, there have been more protests in South Africa regarding service delivery. They were compared to protests that took place prior to 1994 under the apartheid system by several academics. It is obvious that the circumstances and context in which the protests are occurring are very different. While the other is led by the Liberation Party, which has constantly offered the Black majority promises that it will try to improve their lot in life, the former was under a government that was unwilling to improve the situation of the nation's majority Black population. These protests are a result of the lack of or inadequate provision of public services to the local communities. The majority of these protests are addressed against the government through nearby local governments. Despite the government's pledge to favorably

address the demonstrators' requests, there have been no noticeable results since the demonstrations. As a result, the younger generation no longer wants to vote.

The governing party's aforementioned failings do not significantly harm the ANC's overall performance in the elections. Voters continue to view the ANC as their savior from the cruel apartheid regime, which deprived them of a variety of rights, most notably the right to vote. Due to its emotional connection to Black voters, the ANC has complete electoral authority in South Africa. However, the opposition parties attribute the ANC's electoral success to the current electoral system (Proportional Representation Structure) and party financing structure (Public Funding of Represented Political Parties Act). Based on the number of seats and votes supplied to a party, both of these statutes allocate votes and funds. Due to its large representation in parliament, the ANC receives more party financing than all other political parties combined. Given the cash it obtains under the Party Financing Act, this advantage enables the ANC to mobilize effectively, reach a larger portion of its constituencies, and run more effective campaigns. This demonstrates that the ANC is more likely to prevail in future elections if the political climate and legislative framework remain unchanged.

Chapter 5

Summary of Findings

5.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the study of political apathy among young people in South Africa and the desire to understand the role that young people play in politics and the electoral process. The study's primary goal was to better understand young people's voter indifference as well as to provide a framework for addressing the problems with political apathy among young people in South Africa.

In order to arrive at this conclusion, the study concentrated on the electoral system of South Africa, on the causes and characteristics of voter apathy during elections, and, on the theoretical perspectives in the context of political participation in the electoral processes and their effects on democracy.

5.2 Electoral procedures adopted in South Africa

Voter education is seen as a crucial strategy for enhancing the election processes in South Africa. It is necessary to communicate with both mainstream voters and members of underprivileged groups in order to do this successfully. For instance, even in countries with just one official language, voter education should include concerns like high rates of illiteracy or the usage of several languages. Smaller groups, displaced people, and other marginalized parts of the community maybe especially impacted. Furthermore, specific messaging describing how to register and cast a ballot may be required for young adults who are eligible to vote for the first time. Publicity urging individuals to cast ballots could also be a part of voter education (Giebler *et al.*, 2017). According to Giebler *et al.*, (2017), competitive elections are distinguished by larger campaign efforts, which are reflected in increased spending. These efforts will increase voter turnout and total voter knowledge.

The allocation of votes in South Africa's election processes is suggested to be quite reliable. Additionally, the system increased the visibility of alliances between political

parties and interest groups, which may result in more continuity and stability in policymaking.

Additionally, voters are able to comprehend the ballots despite their complexity, which increased participation and allow the IEC to keep track of and minimize spoiled ballots. More crucially, the outcomes demonstrate that the electoral system let voters to assemble a variety of linked interests in order to achieve representation during the elections. Furthermore, South Africa has a plurality system that promotes coalitions of political parties with a majority but prevents them from overriding the election leader.

5.3 Voter indifference and support in South Africa: contributing factors

The findings make it necessary to remember that South Africa were criticized by their citizens for the youth voter turnout. Additionally, the data showed that there was low voter turnout during elections. Additionally, several prospective voters claimed that they had no motivation to get engaged in politics or cast a ballot since they did not comprehend it (Adriaansen *et al.*,2010). Others may just decide not to participate because they didn't believe or trust that the government would pay attention to them (Nickerson & Rogers 2010).

It is not improbable to claim that inadequate infrastructure and inadequate service delivery were among the causes influencing South Africa's high voter apathy rate. Furthermore, social media might encourage young people to cast ballots during election times if it is handled effectively. According to Effing *et al.*,(2011), social media was regarded as having the greatest political influence across the globe. It was also positively linked to citizens' political participation and was seen as a crucial tool for disseminating news and related information. According to Trepte & Schmitt (2017), social media conversations and political engagement are strongly correlated. Social media is a phenomena that "could dramatically change how and how many young people participate in civic life, including voting," claim Kahne and Middaugh (2012:55). According to Potter (2012), young people view participating in participatory politics as doing things like tweeting, sharing, and publishing status updates as means to get active in politics. Additionally, social media teaches young people to be more understanding of racial and cultural differences while conversing with others about

various topics. Through social media, young people also aim to maintain connections with individuals in general and their group in particular (Kahne & Middaugh 2012).

Since the majority of people in South Africa still do not own land, the subject of land has also come to symbolize the region, which has a significant impact on how young people see elections. Additionally, it was determined that South Africa's election laws were simple enough for anybody to grasp.

In addition, because young people's faith in their governments was becoming more poor, it was expected of them to vote less in the upcoming elections based on their prior experiences. Youth in South Africa were also disinterested in casting ballots for a variety of reasons. As a result, many young voters even those who professed to be inspired by politics frequently failed to show up at the polls. The emotions that motivated abstinence were disappointment, disillusionment, and bewilderment. Voter apathy, according to the daily Californian Weekender (July 13, 2022) is brought on by certain voters' complete lack of interest in even contemplating participating in elections. One of the main reasons for the poor turnout percentages in various nations has been attributed to this. In other words, "political depression" is what this is. Voter weariness and alienation are two important causes of voter indifference. The majority of people feel disconnected from the political process and believe that their votes have no bearing whatsoever.

In addition, one of the dangers and drawbacks of living in a globalized, linked society is that individuals may get desensitized to politics in general due to the constant stream of news and current events they consume or are exposed to. Elections may become routine to communities or residents, and they may stop bothering to vote as a result. As a result, political depression has raised concerns in many nations and endangered the status quo political order. Additional reasons include the fact that most individuals dislike their choices, believe they are not sufficiently educated about the voting process, or encounter a multitude of administrative and legal challenges while casting their ballots. Additionally, individuals could not understand how to register, be too busy or overburdened in their personal life, feel confused about how the voting process works, or just neglect or forget the voting deadlines. As a result, voter turnout is poor in many nations throughout the world. Voter fatigue is another factor that affects the low rate of voting. This phenomenon occurs when voters are subjected to an onslaught

of political messages via the internet, particularly social media, and this massive amount of publicity may lead to fatigue, which discourages potential voters from participating in the voting process (Adriaansen *et al.* 2010).

The problem the nation suffers with regard to the young was highlighted by Statistics South Africa (2021), which reported that the youth unemployment rate was 46.3% in 2021.

5.4 Discussion of research findings

5.4.1 Varying levels of youth involvement in politics and the electoral process

According to Statistics South Africa (2021), the country's unemployment rate in 2021 was 34.9%, the highest level since 2008. Furthermore, Statistics South Africa said that in the first quarter of 2021, the young unemployment rate skyrocketed to 46.3%. Roberts (2019) and Tracey (2016), notably in South Africa stated that a variety of factors, such as the following, contributed to young people's decreased interest in political and voting processes:

- The continued rising unemployment crisis in the country.
- The impact of corruption on the provision of services in various communities.
- The ineffective political and electoral processes, the loss of faith in the ruling system, and
- Last but not least, the youth's lives are impacted by crime, drug misuse, and a lack of access to postsecondary education.

Young people made up 20.1% of the IEC's registered voters in South Africa in 2019. They might compel political parties to carry out the urgent change they want to see in the nation if they participated in the electoral process. Instead, because they no longer have faith in local government, young people turn to violent protest to pressure institutions of government to address their problems. Local officials, ward council members, and community leaders failed to create appropriate forums for these demonstrations, such as gatherings that were indifferent to young concerns in general and alienated youth in particular (Roberts 2019; & Tracey 2016).

5.4.2 Issues of youth voter apathy

There is general agreement among government spokespeople and parliamentarians from youth political parties that the next generation of leaders in South Africa will be young people. Political leaders, however, were unable to address the problem of youth voter indifference because they did not take the youngsters seriously. The following factors supported this conclusion:

- Rising and intensifying corruption.
- Political leaders were unable to meet the demands of the youth due to a lack of competence and expertise.
- Inadequate acknowledgement of youth; and
- Government representatives that were primarily concerned with their personal goals and interests.

According to Chauke (2020), South Africa should view the declining young involvement in political democracy as a national issue. The youth, however, have reached a stage where they are unable to comprehend the significance of voting for their favored politicians. The youth also question their significance in relation to the electoral process and politics in South Africa because, while political parties in South Africa pay attention to the youth during election periods, they vanish during non-election periods, exacerbating the problem (Chauke 2020).

5.5 Guidelines for a successful election system

- **Challenges with voter apathy**

Youth voter indifference and political will may be encouraged by reduced corruption, skills development for politicians, youth recognition by politicians, enhanced skills for politicians to handle voter apathy, improved youth involvement, and more young participation in political processes.

- **Various alternatives to vote**

In order to ensure that young and non-voters are encouraged to participate in political and voting processes, politicians in South Africa should begin exploring alternate voting techniques. The use of social media as an alternative to manual voting methods, increasing investment in technology, more policy directives focused on youth

development, and finally, will all encourage young to participate in the electoral process.

- **Various young people's political and voting interests**

Because they feel excluded by the major parties, young people have lost interest in politics. Youth and non-voters will be more likely to participate in and be interested in the election processes if there is a rise in employment, the development of corrupt-free government, improved service delivery, enhanced youth trust, improved access to tertiary education, improved crime prevention, and decreased drug addiction. Politicians should increase communication with young people and promote youth engagement in decision-making. The electoral commission should use marketing strategies that appeal to young people and make sure that youth activities are related to national issues.

- **Single voting system**

To educate voters about the voting process, there should be better communication, monitoring, control, and assessment during elections. Youth participation in elections will increase as a result of better management and more political responsibility. Finally, a single voting mechanism will guarantee openness, improved consultation, and cost savings.

- **Voting systems**

The electoral public indicates that while South Africa's electoral commissions continue to use a paper-based system, a shift to a more electronic voting system and greater adoption of technology will encourage youth and non-voters to participate more in politics while lowering the costs of electoral systems in their countries.

5.6 The contribution of civic education to involvement paradigms in fostering young development and a supportive environment

Citizenship education need to be prioritized and accessible to all. The Sustainable Development Goals are concerned with the standard of education given, which emphasizes youth participation in high-quality education to strengthen the foundation of every nation and offers chances for lifelong learning (Chen 2021). Additionally, leaders are required to carefully evaluate certain educational programs, their effects,

and their relative costs in the complex and novel setting. Citizenship education is not widely available to youth and has a little place in many educational systems. Furthermore, young people would lose a significant chance to advance their abilities if they lack the motivation to pursue an education (Nurgiansah, 2021).

It takes a population-level strategy and population-level resources to change an entire generation's behavior. No matter how excellent a certain educational approach or program may be, if it cannot be regularly and inexpensively provided to a sizable number of young people, it is unlikely to result in meaningful changes in the democratic behavior of youngsters. This means that testing and assessing the efficacy of programs and methodologies, with full consideration of their cost effectiveness and their potential to deliver at scale, has to be a fundamental component of research and development in civic education. Youth disengagement is a problem that is commonly addressed through education, but it should at least be acknowledged that far more focused and motivating kinds of civic education are needed to achieve this aim (Ohana 2020).

Education has a significant role in the empowerment of young people across the community, starting with economic groups that range from those who are afflicted by poverty to those who are well off at home. Education may give young people better and more promising futures, a better and more fulfilling way of life, and the opportunity to improve the world in which they live via their own positive inspiration and drive.

Additionally, education directs young people's cognitive and creative development thinking to enable them to make the best decisions possible that will have a beneficial effect on their life. They might set their own objectives and work toward them in this manner through their own initiatives. The youth will also be more accurate in making predictions about the future and making decisions (Shepherd *et al.*, 2017). Youth who study more today will be better equipped to guide or instruct others in the future, inspiring and motivating them. As a result, this procedure will be passed down from one generation to the next (Nawawi *et al.*, 2020). Additionally, education directs young people's cognitive and creative development. If young people comprehend and recognize the nation's ethics and morality, they will benefit from and aspire to a thriving society. They are necessary to establish a nation with concepts that are informed, have a broad perspective, and are founded on the values and norms already present in the

society, as well as to be able to influence people's perspectives and serve as the basis for future generations (Marsuki *et al.*, 2019).

Young people will have the chance to work as managers and administrators through education, and they will be able to plan, organize, govern, and take the lead even in larger organizations. Their input and thoughts will be useful and productive in the political process. Additionally, when educated to think creatively, young people are more likely to show their passion, which will support their capacity to promote long-lasting, good change. Additionally, they become more accountable and responsible citizens, increasing their propensity to agitate for change and defend democracy.

Youth-centric methods should also form the foundation of youth communication initiatives. This means that the programs should include representation, which entails a diverse and inclusive membership, with leadership empowering youth to take ownership of activities, where appropriate guidance and training is provided as needed, and where young people are given the opportunity to alter the course of the planned programs as well as decision-making (Augsberger *et al.*, 2018). To have an authentic long-term influence and to develop the participants' abilities, all activities must guarantee systematic and regular involvement.

5.7 Distinctions in policies and effective implementation in fragile versus stable environments

South Africa's youth development is governed by the National Youth Policy. It makes an effort to make sure that all young men and women are given genuine chances to realize their full potential as people and as contributing members of society. The National Youth Policy is specifically designed to close the identified gaps, address the challenges, and recommend new measures to improve and accelerate implementation. By ensuring that young people take their rightful place in their own community, this policy will significantly advance the development of young people.

Ensuring that young people are actively engaged in open government approaches and projects is crucial for creating active citizenship and creating programs that reflect the needs and concerns of young people. The development and implementation of compelling and tailored communication is necessary to promote this climate of commitment and collaboration. This could give governments more power to engage

different youth groups, and it can be especially effective in forging relationships with underprivileged youth who might not be open to taking part in traditional models like youth committees and who might have limited access to technology (Liebenberg 2017).

More and better education should be a top priority for policymakers since it encourages young people to take responsibility for their own development and so supports the continued development of leadership.

Policies must include the anticipated economic consequences into the larger possible educational influences and should take creative economic methods into consideration. Compared to the new growth theory and more institutional and innovation-focused approaches, traditional growth theory and market-led thinking place a lot less emphasis on education for economic growth and competitiveness (Liebenberg 2017).

5.8 The influence of technology on youth involvement opportunities and initiatives

Understanding how young people utilize innovation and translate their usage of old and new media into tailored methodology assumes a crucial role for governments wanting to effectively engage them. Young people's daily lives now include a large amount of innovation, particularly web-based entertainment (OECD 2017). Digital technologies connect people and nations through producing open-access material, public platforms, and being committed to democratic engagement of all stakeholders. This calls for new educational approaches that see digital technologies as agents of social inclusion rather than as tools for self-promotion or political advocacy. Young people should be involved in developing the blueprint and selecting the proper and adequate variety or sequence of solutions, and technological intrusions should be restrained. This goal will be best served by a new technical model or pattern that adheres to democratic principles and open, participatory procedures.

The nature and context of employment for young people throughout the world are quickly changing due to technological modernization and mechanization. ICT developments have raised worker productivity and made it possible to launch new businesses and sectors. Given their early exposure to digital technologies and

willingness to investigating their use in an ever-growing spectrum of new and current settings, youth are particularly well-positioned to profit from these advancements. New job prospects are brought about by technological advancement, but it also poses a challenge to more conventional forms and sources of labor.

Political apathy is described as a lack of interest in or apathy toward politics in the field of political science. Information indifference, voter apathy, and interest apathy are only a few examples. It may also be described as someone's lack of interest in participating in political activities and indifference.

Voter apathy in political science refers to a lack of interest on the part of voters in representative democracy' elections. In countries where voting is voluntary, poor participation among eligible voters and the donkey vote where voting is required are sometimes attributed to voter apathy or lack of interest.

Numerous individuals, notably young ones, supported the issue movement on different social media platforms by posting enlightening articles on Instagram or producing art in support of the campaign. These positive message posters had a huge impact and were especially successful at reaching youngsters. If young and prospective voters are the intended audience, social media communications and advertisements should address real concerns and perspectives rather than just praising political figures without supporting data.

Technology is a necessary part of our everyday lives and has recently been a highly contentious focus point in South Africa's political landscape, thus it must be used wisely. It is growing more and more connected to elections and campaigns, calling for the cooperation of governmental agencies, regulatory authorities, advocacy organizations, and technological firms. Additionally, it has made it feasible for you to instantly share information from reliable sources. Online commercials, bulk emails, and social media are all powerful tools for connecting with a wide range of individuals, especially young people.

It is crucial that the top technological firms and interdisciplinary scientists recognize and accept this issue as a first step. For the benefit of current and future generations as well as the nation, they must work together to find a solution. They ought to establish civic easily available, reliable, and modern technology. Technology has

always facilitated human growth, and it should once more facilitate the return of young people to the voting booth.

5.9 Conclusion

The youth are the future leaders, thus the government of South Africa must address these concerns in order to ensure that they do not exclude them from political participation and decision-making. The Framework, created by the researcher, could be used by political parties and the South African government to identify the problems that need to be solved in order to improve youth voting in the upcoming round of national elections and to encourage youth and nonvoters to participate in politics and electoral processes in their respective nations. The implementation of an appropriate framework could help the South African government address issues related to youth voter apathy, including mistrust of political parties, access to political leadership, a lack of communication with the youth, and, most importantly, issues like corruption, transparency, and accountability. Political parties could also entice the youth to engage in politics in a more effective and progressive manner during the electoral process.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

Apathy and a lack of political engagement are frequently shown by citizens' participation in politics. The problem statement of this study suggests that South Africans are not as apathetic as conventional wisdom would have us believe, but that their propensity to participate in democratic processes, such as elections, is frequently influenced by their opinion of democracy and how well the ruling party and political leaders are doing in addressing the various socio-economic issues, such as youth unemployment, crime, and corruption among others that directly affect them.

Given the above problem statement, this study will conclude with a summary, an overall conclusion of the study and making recommendations.

6.2 Summary

Since 1994, a consistent fall in voting turnout has been noted. This study clarified a few of the issues that South Africans may be losing interest in voting due to. Despite the fact that voting is an essential democratic right, young people have and continue to abstain from participating in elections, making them the main culprits in this exercise in voter apathy. This is due to the fact that, despite having high qualifications, South African youth are the age group most severely affected by unemployment. According to the report, both young people and the broader South African population, which is exemplified by the elderly, don't think that the government adds enough value to their lives. Low voter turnout is a problem in South Africa as a result of this grave concern.

Many South Africans were denied the right to vote because of their race, colour, or faith prior to 1994; however, in the post-apartheid era, universal suffrage was obtained. The study found that voting is essential, despite the fact that the majority of young people disagree because of the reasons discussed earlier in the study. However, these young people are not aware that they are contributing to the issue by not participating in the election. They support the betrayal of the public's confidence by

the politicians. They should be aware that elections are a democratic, non-violent, bloodless, and civil process to install or remove governments.

6.3 Recommendations

According to Tracey's (2016) study, there are four key arenas and possibilities that can influence young people and citizens in general to vote.

6.3.1 Involvement of Youth in Meaningful Activities

This study found that some young people abstain from voting as a result of political ignorance, which makes them unaware of the importance of voting. In order to ensure efficient voter education, relevant role-players must organize seminars, workshops, and effective conversations with residents. Through this project, residents would be able to express their worries, hopes, and visions for the type of government they want to see in place and how it should be elected. They would develop understanding of what voting requires, which would revive their enthusiasm in voting.

6.3.2 Voting Reform

The majority of youths' time is spent online. The South African voting system has unfortunately not fully incorporated this technological advancement, which is why voting frustrates young people. Because voting is still primarily manual, they find the system tedious, inconvenient, and out of date. Therefore, this study suggests that academics, IT experts, and political researchers conduct further research into the viability of introducing an accessible online voting system that would accommodate the majority of South Africans who vote, especially the elderly, the disabled, and the underprivileged.

6.3.3 The need for different stakeholders, the government, and politicians to come up with creative strategies to involve young people in the elections

The majority of the time is spent on social networking sites like Facebook, X, and Instagram by the youth in South Africa. These channels can be creatively and successfully used to engage young people. As youth use of various social media platforms increases, there may be a rise in opportunities to persuade them to exercise their democratic right to vote by using these platforms.

6.3.4 Review of Current School Programs for Civic and Voter Education

Youth can become more informed if civics and voter education information is easily accessible in the classroom. It is likely that once the youth understands the importance of voting, they will take an active role in both the elections and national politics in general. This strategy is advised because a visionary nation will invest in its youth. Their prospects of participating in their country's elections are better the more information they acquire. This will increase voter turnout throughout the elections at various polling places. Additionally, this program would foster patriotism.

6.3.5 Strengthening political will and training for council members

The research claims that a dedicated municipal mayor is crucial to boosting local participation. The mayor acts as the focal point for resource mobilization. By improving ties between all intergovernmental players for greater effectiveness, this goal may be furthered. In addition to the aforementioned, council members need to be trained on how local government may increase public participation in issues of regional significance. Some council members, particularly those from rural wards, are ill-equipped to perform the duties of their elected positions. Training, development, and capacity building are required for this vital component of service delivery.

6.4 Possible areas of future research

The main areas can be the subject of future research on voter apathy:

- South African public service policymaking, execution, and assessment based on community input.
- Assessing the Republic of South Africa's programs and activities for the delivery of public services that put citizens first.

6.5 Conclusion

Many South Africans have to cope with subpar service delivery every day as a result of the municipality's failure to provide timely, cost-effective, effective, and efficient services.

There is no denying that a lot has been accomplished since 1994 and that numerous policies have been put in place. If these policies were to be successfully implemented,

they would accelerate the gradual realization of the right to access adequate levels of basic service delivery. ASGISA, GEAR, LED, and RDP are some of the policies that are covered in Chapter Three; nevertheless, the implementation of these policies has proven to be a significant roadblock. There should be no wiggle room when it comes to national and provincial departments' participation in IDP representative forums. Additionally, these divisions have to be compelled to maintain current records on their facilities (such as schools and clinics) and the services they provide.

The characteristics of community engagement make it obvious that it is still in its infancy in district municipalities. Despite a number of institutional limitations, the significance of community engagement for both sustainable development and nation-building has not been acknowledged. The nature of community involvement in these towns' IDP processes, to a significant extent, shows adherence to laws and regulations rather than the use of community involvement to enhance IDPs, solve the issues of vulnerable groups, and generate chances for a thriving economy. To stop civil unrest from breaking out, this situation needs to be addressed. Municipal leaders must also understand that community involvement still outweighs any potential time and financial costs if development programs are to be long-lasting.

This study assessed how well political engagement works as a mechanism for accelerating service delivery and economic development in South Africa. This study found that there is still a lot that needs to be done to address the issue of service delivery, including the failure to deliver basic services, a lack of public participation, issues with money, politics, and the centralization of power, as well as workers who lack education, training, and skills. All of these issues have a significant impact on the municipality's inability to implement service delivery successfully. The results of this study suggest that there should be procedures in place to change the election system in South Africa.

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