

**Campaigning in Party Strongholds: A case of Imizamo Yethu, Hout Bay.**

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**Thesis**

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**Key words:** ANC, DA, EFF, campaigns, clientelism, democracy, elections, political parties, political violence, intimidation, Imizamo Yethu, party identification, patronage, political violence

## **Abstract**

The ability to campaign freely in the run-up to elections is seen as a critical part of democracy. This study seeks to establish whether South African political parties can campaign freely in township areas, without fear of intimidation or violence, or whether they remain closed party strongholds. This paper examines what constitutes a “free and fair” campaign space. This study then explores the 2014 election campaigns of the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) in the township of Imizamo Yethu in Hout Bay in the Western Cape and examines party campaigning in that particular township.

The study looks at the perceptions of political parties and the community members with regard to the campaign process in Imizamo Yethu. It looks at how both the governing and the opposition parties experienced campaigning in this area, which is the stronghold of the ANC, and how free and fair they think the whole process was. Community members’ perception of the political parties is also examined. This study finds that opposition parties experienced a number of challenges while campaigning in this area. Some of these challenges were that the people in the area were not very receptive to other parties that are not the ANC due to factors such as party identification and clientelistic relationships that exist in the community. The study then concludes that even though these issues are not sole contributors, they play a significant role in influencing people’s voting decisions and how they view political parties.

## Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the dissertation entitled "*Campaigning in Party Strongholds: A case of Imizamo Yethu, Hout Bay*" is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university, and that all sources I have utilised or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Mandisa Dyantyi

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## **List of Abbreviations**

ANC – African National Congress

ACDP – African Christian Democratic Party

AZAPO – Azanian People’s Organisation

COPE – Congress of the People

DA – Democratic Alliance

EFF - Economic Freedom Fighters

FF+ - Freedom Front Plus

IEC – Independent Electoral Commission

IFP – Inkatha Freedom party

NFP – National Freedom Party

PAC – Pan Africanist Congress

UCDP – United Christian Democratic Party

UDM – United Democratic Movement

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# 1. Chapter One: Introduction

## 1.1 Introduction

Regular, free and fair elections play an important role in building and consolidating democracy (Diamond, 1996). During the election period, political parties come out to voters to speak to them about their policies and to convince voters to vote for them (Lilleker, 2006). It is important, in a democracy, for this process to proceed in a free and fair environment that is free of intimidation and violence, and which uphold the provisions of the electoral code of conduct. In this study I seek to establish whether South African political parties can campaign freely in township areas, without fear of intimidation or violence. The study will be conducted in Imizamo Yethu, a township considered to be a stronghold of the ANC, in Hout Bay, Cape Town. This study focused on the two largest opposition parties namely the Democratic Alliance and the Economic Freedom Fighters.

## 1.2 Rationale

It is important to study closely the quality of campaigns and the factors that affect the quality of campaigns such as intimidation, political intolerance and retribution, as well as the more subtle factors like voters identifying with particular parties and therefore making it difficult for other political parties to penetrate these voters and so resulting in stronghold politics.

This study sought to assess whether opposition political parties in Imizamo Yethu, an area viewed as a stronghold of the ruling party, are free to campaign without any fear of intimidation and retribution and/or rejection by voters who feel a strong sense of identification with and loyalty to the ANC. To this effect, this study assessed the quality of campaigns in the above mentioned township, looking at how quality campaigns are defined theoretically, what the situation is on the ground, and whether or not the politics of party identification play a role in how free other political parties are to campaign in this area.

This study focused on two opposition parties; namely the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). The focus on the DA is due to the fact that this is the ruling party in the Western Cape, so it is important to understand why this party has had problems harnessing support in the poor and largely black areas in the province, Imizamo Yethu being one of these areas as it is stated above according to Jolobe (2012). The EFF on the other hand seems to have found resonance to a large extent with the young black voters who are disillusioned with the ANC and their perceived failure to deliver for the young people in the

country. This made this political party a significant threat to the ruling party<sup>1</sup>. It is important to check how the campaign process unfolded in this area, what the parties did to gain access to the area and how the ruling party fought to retain its majority. In addition it will be determined whether party identification played any significant role and what effects these had on the quality of the campaign process and what implications these will have for South Africa's 20-year-old democracy.

### **1.3 Research Question**

It is important for all parties to get the opportunity to present their proposed policies and ideologies to the voters without fearing any intimidation. It is equally important for voters to know what the different political parties stand for so that they can make informed decisions when they are called upon to elect their leaders and to do this with no fear of retaliation. Therefore the campaign and election period needs to be assessed so as to avoid or prevent these incidents, even for future elections. Hence this study asks "Are South Africa's opposition parties free to campaign in township areas?"

To answer this question, this research project will have to answer a series of other sub-questions, including:

- Who was campaigning in Imizamo Yethu (IY)?
- How much access did the different political parties have to IY?
- How free were opposition political parties to campaign in IY?
- Were there any violent confrontations between political parties and have they been reported to the police or the IEC?
- Were there any incidents of campaign fraud (such as vote buying, removing of campaign posters of one party by another)?
- Would voters in this area vote for any of the opposition parties and why?
- Do voters in this area believe that other political parties have the right campaign in the area and why?

What constitutes a free and fair campaign space according to party leaders, the IEC and party campaigners or volunteers?

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<sup>1</sup> Mail & Guardian. 2013. Survey shows EFF's policies appeal to youth. <http://mg.co.za/article/2013-08-06-survey-shows-effs-policies-appeal-to-youth>

## **1.4 Background**

Lodge (2002) states that in 1994 it was difficult for political parties to canvass outside their strongholds, there were 'areas where certain political parties could not campaign in (the so-called 'no go areas'). Even though measures such as the electoral code of conduct among others have been put in place, and this problem has largely decreased, political intolerance and intimidation has continued to feature in elections and election campaigns (Lodge 2013 and Bruce 2009).

How free are political parties to canvass outside their strongholds and in the strongholds of other political parties in 2014? On 5 May 2014, it was reported on the IOL site that a DA motorcade was stoned by ANC supporters in Cross Roads, Cape Town. A similar story was reported in Johannesburg too, where a bus transporting DA supporters to their "we can win" concert in Kiptown was attacked and stoned by people wearing ANC t-shirts. According to this report, Julius Malema's Economic Freedom Fighters have also accused the ruling party of political violence and intimidation. In 2009 a number of incidents of clashes between rival political parties were reported. In KZN and in the Eastern Cape, clashes between the ANC and IFP, as well as clashes between the ANC and COPE, were reported in the run-up to the 2009 election (Bruce, 2009). According to a report compiled by the Institute for Security Studies, 76 incidents of political violence and intolerance were reported between October 2013 and May 2014. The second largest percentage (21%) of these took place in the Western Cape, following Gauteng's 28% (Institute for Security Studies, 2014).

Since the first free and fair election in South Africa, in 1994, isolated incidents of violence can be traced in every election. Political violence and intimidation are a problem because they threaten people's rights of association and political rights enshrined in the Constitution. Section 19(1) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa states that, "every citizen is free to make political choices- including the right to form a political party, to participate in the activities of or to recruit members for a political party, to campaign for a party or cause" (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa). Political violence and intimidation violate this right as enshrined in the Constitution. It also violates the right to access to information because if certain political parties are not free to campaign in some areas of the country, this means that people in those areas are deprived of the opportunity to get information about those political parties, that could have helped them in deciding who to vote for. Quality election campaigns are an important part of the electoral process because they contribute to making sure that elections are free and fair, and free and fair elections constitute a significant part of a strong democracy (Africa and Lynch, 2012,pp.41- 41).

According to Thabisi (2009), Habib and Naidu (2006), many political analysts and political party leaders believe electoral politics in South Africa are shaped by racial-ethnic identities. Thabisi

further states that it is widely believed that much of the support for the ANC in 2009 was derived from black voters. For many years, some areas of KZN have been deemed strongholds of the IFP, the northern parts of KZN are a case in point according to Lodge (2013). Bonnin (2012) states that in some parts of KZN, people who did not support the IFP were forced out of their neighbourhoods and some were even killed for supporting a rival political party (the ANC). These trends developed in other parts of South Africa, so much so that in places like Soweto, only the ANC could come in to campaign because there were possibilities of serious violence erupting should a political party campaign outside its “stronghold”. The problem presented by strongholds is that they violate the rights of people to freely associate with political parties of their choice and the rights of political parties to campaign without any fear of intimidation. Hence this study will look at whether all political parties are free to campaign in township areas that are regarded as strongholds of certain political parties.

On 5 May 2014, it was reported on the IOL site that a DA motorcade was stoned by ANC supporters in Cross Roads, Cape Town. A similar story was reported in Johannesburg too, where a bus transporting DA supporters to their “we can win” concert in Kliptown was attacked and stoned by people wearing ANC t-shirts. According to this report Julius Malema’s Economic Freedom Fighters have also accused the ruling party of political violence and intimidation (IOL May 2014). In 2009 a number of incidents of clashes between rival political parties were reported. In KZN and in the Eastern Cape, clashes between the ANC and IFP as well as clashes between the ANC and COPE, were reported in the run-up to the 2009 election (Bruce, 2009). According to a report compiled by the Institute for Security Studies, 76 incidents of political violence and intolerance were reported between October 2013 and May 2014, and the second largest percentage (21%) of these took place in the Western Cape, following Gauteng’s 28% (ISS, 2014).

Bruce (2009) argues that violence continues to leave its mark on South African elections, especially those elections that show prospects for changing the political balance of power. Bonnin (1994) writes that according to a Catholic priest that worked in upper Vulindlela in KZN, the area was one of the most peaceful and the IFP had reigned unchallenged for years, but as soon as there was a challenge posed to the IFP’s rule, violence erupted. Families were even forced to disclose their political allegiance so that those who supported a rival political party were evicted, their houses burnt down and even killed in areas such as Sweet Waters in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu Natal.

The 2009 election seems to have been this kind of election with the emergence of the Congress Of the People (COPE) as a new opposition party to compete for the same constituency as that of the ANC with the ANC making even more inroads into KZN, extending to areas that were previously known and accepted as no-go areas for this party and which were historically

strongholds of the IFP. This change in the political landscape in South Africa led to increased prospects for political violence especially between the ANC and COPE as well as between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party in KZN (Bruce, 2009 and Booysen, 2009). Bruce records that in Khayelitsha in the Western Cape, even community clashes were politicised so that one such event led to the demolition of houses and the eviction of the people believed to support a rival party from a certain area.

There were quite a number of incidents of political intolerance and violence that were reported in the 2008/2009 election period. According to Bruce (2009), from late 2008, political parties continued to engage in intolerant behavior such as disrupting each other's meeting, defacing posters and even physical violence in some cases. These incidents speak of the importance of assessing the pre-election space to understand how free and fair it was during the 2014 general election

### ***1.5 Parties Campaigning in the Townships***

It is a norm that during the election period parties will embark on campaigns in the streets, conduct door-to-door campaigns, host rallies and air adverts, all in an effort to convince voters to go out and vote, and not only vote, but vote in favour of these political parties. Political parties in South Africa are no different. During every election the ruling party goes out to convince the citizens why they need to keep them in power, to display their achievements and to make more promises of a better life and improved living standards (Lilleker, 2006).

On the other hand, the opposition parties gather up all the mistakes, failures and misfortunes of the ruling party, display these to the citizens to convince them that it is time to change and vote for a better, cleaner government that will put the needs of the people first and not make the mistakes made by the party in power. One of the popular ways of campaigning is going into the areas where the people are to speak to them. Election time is the only time that all the parties see the need to go out to the people to present themselves and to listen to what the people have to say. In this process, spaces are contested (Bonnin, 1994) and every party wants a share of the contested spaces. This sometimes leads to clashes and tensions between political parties contesting the same spaces (Bonnin, 1994).

Some of these highly contested areas are townships. Black poor areas (townships) in South Africa are areas that have been known to consistently vote for the ruling party (the ANC) over the years since 1994 (Haoane, 2009). Even in the Western Cape where the country's main opposition party (the DA) governs, these areas are still largely the ANC's support base (Jolobe, 2012). Furthermore, as evidenced by the comments made by Loyiso Nkohlhla which are indicated

below, some of the people and even ANC leaders<sup>2</sup> believe that the DA in particular has no right to campaign in the townships because of the political party's history as a "white" political party, as well as their perceived failure to deliver services to the poor in the province. Even though the Democratic Alliance has gone to great lengths to rebrand the party and present it as a political party for all South Africans (Jolobe, 2012, p.137) its background as a party for white people still endures. This is evident in the kind of language that some of the community leaders in the township use. In an interview with the SABC, Loyiso Nkohla, who has been very instrumental in leading the "poo protests"<sup>3</sup> in Cape Town, stated as he led a march organised by a group of backyard dwellers known as Ses'khona People's Movement (an organisation aligned to the ANC based in townships such as Khayelitsha and Nyanga), that Helen Zille, the DA leader has no right to campaign in poor areas because she has failed to deliver services to the poor and deprives them of their democratic right to protest.

Also, during the data collection process for this study, some of the local leaders of the ANC in Imizamo Yethu were asked whether or not they thought other political parties had the right to campaign in the area, and they gave answers such as, "they do try to come here and steal our people, but who are they to think that they can come here and mislead our people?" This is a view expressed by one of the community leaders in Imizamo Yethu who is a member of the ANC. This poses important questions about the extent to which this area is a free and fair campaign space. These and other questions raised in this chapter will be dealt with in a more extensive manner in chapter five where the findings of this study are presented.

Another ANC campaigner said, "The DA has done nothing for our people therefore they cannot come here and campaign, but we do let them campaign as long they don't provoke us, because if they do, there will be confrontation." And yet another stated that "they know if they come here we will sabotage them." This shows that there are still strong feelings of entitlement to the votes in the area within the ruling party and this makes these areas difficult to penetrate. It also implies that if other parties are able to campaign in Imizamo Yethu it is because the ANC "allows them to" and that the ANC reserves the right to do so and that it's not because it is these parties constitutional right to be able to campaign anywhere freely and fearlessly. Therefore campaigning in party strongholds was not only a problem during the campaign for the first democratic election, but to some extent it remains an issue that needs to be carefully considered even twenty years after the first democratic election. As stated by Africa and Lynch (2012) the campaign space remains a volatile space that needs to be carefully nurtured.

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<sup>2</sup> Of course this assertion would need to be tested empirically and cannot be generalised to all townships and ANC leaders in those townships.

<sup>3</sup> In 2013, a group of people known as Ses'khona from the townships in Cape Town led a protest in which people who came from areas that still use the bucket system threw human feces in public areas such as the premier's office and the airport as a way of drawing attention to the plight of the poor in the province.

Mattes and Richmond (2015, p.2) state in a paper that reviews longitudinal survey data measuring South Africa's political culture, produced by IDASA 1994 to 1998 and Afrobarometer 2000 to 2011, that in the periods covered, South Africans were still quite intolerant of people that have different political orientation or views than theirs. This shows that South Africa still faces a problem of political intolerance to an extent and therefore makes it important to investigate how extensive this problem is in one of South Africa's townships, and to determine what implications this has for the quality of South Africa's democracy.

There are a number of South Africans who believe that there is a threat of political violence in South Africa. Round 5 of the Afrobarometer survey published in June 2012 shows that about 21% of those polled believed that they were "somewhat" free to vote without feeling any pressure, while 23% felt that they were "somewhat" free to vote for the political party of their choice (Afrobarometer, 2012, p.61). This shows that there are still people who believe that their freedom of association is threatened and it means that these people are not free to exercise their democratic right to freedom of association and even expression. This again poses questions with regards to the extent to which South Africa is a free and fair campaign space.

This warrants a study of this phenomenon of political violence in South Africa, especially during election time because this is a crucial time in a democracy, a time where citizens are called upon to elect leaders/ political parties that best represent and interpret their needs and interests. Also the Afrobarometer (2012, p.45) shows that 60% of South Africans feel close to a political party and of this 60%, a large majority feel close to the ANC. Does this affect the freedom of other parties to campaign in areas where the majority of people feel close to the ruling party? Does it affect the freedom of other citizens with differing political sentiments to voice out their support for opposing political parties? This study seeks to use Imizamo Yethu as a case study to look into these issues and attempts to answer these and other questions with regard to the freedom of political parties to campaign in other political parties strongholds.

In addition to this, political analysts in South Africa believe that there is a deeply rooted patronage system in the country (Parker, 2012). During the data collection process the challenge of patronage kept coming up. Participants often claimed that when one supports the ANC it is easy to get access to such things as housing and job opportunities that come. While supporting the ANC resulted in such benefits, supporting opposing parties such as the DA and the EFF resulted in people being excluded from these services. A political analyst stated that patronage in South Africa is a serious problem and it has been for years (Parker, 2012).<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> While the question of whether patronage perpetuates or is perpetuated by political violence/intolerance is an important one in terms of its implications for South Africa's democracy, this was not included in the scope of this study and is recommended for future research.

It is important to study closely the quality of campaigns and the factors that affect the quality of campaigns such as intimidation and violence, political intolerance and retribution., More subtle factors, such as voters in certain areas identifying with particular parties and therefore making it difficult for other political parties to penetrate these areas resulting in stronghold politics, requires study too. This chapter sought to provide a brief background on things such as the campaigning in rival parties' strongholds, political violence, and background on the township of Imizamo Yethu as well. It includes an introduction to certain issues that will be crucial to this study - such as what campaigns mean and what the role of political parties are in all this.

The study was conducted in Imizamo Yethu. Imizamo Yethu is one of the areas that is considered to represent a stronghold for the ruling party. It is a township situated near a Cape Town suburb known as Hout Bay. Even though the Western Cape, including Cape Town, is governed by the Democratic Alliance (DA), which happens to be the main opposition in South Africa, Imizamo Yethu is one of the black, largely poor areas in which the DA has had difficulties to penetrate in terms of winning votes (Jolobe, 2012,p.136). Therefore, though situated in the Western Cape, this township, like many others in the province, still remains a stronghold of the ruling party, the ANC. The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) formed by the former president of the ANC Youth League, is a new player in the field and is also vying for the votes of poor black masses, who to a large extent form the basis of the ANC support. How free were these parties to campaign in Imizamo Yethu, which seems to be an ANC stronghold, and what were the factors that affected the campaign quality in this area? This is what this research project seeks to answer.



## ***1.6 Overview of Research Design and Methods***

The study uses a qualitative research method. This is a study that seeks to understand campaigning in Imizamo Yethu as experienced and perceived by local politicians, campaigners and community members. The qualitative research methods help bring out these experiences and perceptions in the way in which they allow the researcher to interact with the research participants in depth. Four ANC leaders and two campaigners were interviewed to understand the ANC's campaign experience in the area. Four EFF leaders and campaigners were interviewed. There were challenges in terms of getting access to DA campaigners and leaders in the area and numerous attempts to make contact with the councillors' office failed. Eventually one lady who was a campaigner was willing to be interviewed. I also interviewed a representative from the IEC who was responsible for all the complaints from this area and others in the Western Cape. Another interview was with the station master of the Hout Bay



Police station situated in Imizamo Yethu. Lastly, there were two focus group discussions with community members. These were made up of about twelve participants each. Furthermore, I had conversations with community members about the election period as well as party preferences in the area. The research process will be discussed in depth in chapter four of this study.



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## **2. Chapter Two: Democracy, Free and Fair Campaigns, and Clientelism**

### **2.1 Introduction**

Regular, free and fair elections play an important role in building and consolidating democracy (Lilleker, 2006). During the election period, political parties come out to voters to speak to them about their policies, and to convince voters to vote for them. This is a period where voters get to hear what the political parties stand for, what policies they propose, as well as how they plan to improve the lives of the electorate (Lilleker, 2006). It is important, in a democracy, for this process to proceed in a free and fair environment, an environment that is free of intimidation and violence and which upholds the provisions of the electoral code of conduct (Booyesen, 2009, p.8) so that the right of all political parties to stand for elections and to campaign free of intimidation is ensured.

Political parties embark on a process of campaigning during an election period so as to win the hearts and minds of the voters. They do this in various ways such as holding rallies in areas where the people live, conducting door-to-door campaigns, handing out pamphlets and often delivering speeches that reveal how good they are and how bad the other political parties are. For opposition parties this is an opportunity to point out all the failures of the governing party and to convince voters that it is time to change their vote (Africa and Lynch, 2012, p.41). Often in this period, conflicts arise between the competing political parties and sometimes end up in electoral violence.

This happens especially in areas that remain closed strongholds of certain political parties. This chapter will look at a number of issues that speak to a free and fair campaign space. This chapter looks at democracy and the importance of elections in a democratic society, the role of political parties in a democracy and why it is important for political parties to campaign freely. Secondly, this chapter looks at the meaning of democracy and what a democracy requires in terms of healthy political competition. The chapter also looks at the meaning of a free and fair campaign space and what constitutes such a space, as well as factors that affect this free and fair campaign space or the freedom of political parties to freely campaign in all areas. In this respect the chapter looks at factors like identity voting and patronage or clientelism.

## **2.2 Democracy and Elections**

In order to understand the importance of free and fair campaigns and therefore free and fair elections, we look at what democracy is, and what the requirements are for a strong democracy. The minimal definition of democracy as stated by Diamond (1996, pp.21-23) indicates that a democracy should have at least universal adult suffrage, regular free, competitive and fair elections, and more than one political party. These are principal elements that define a democracy and every democratic society should uphold these values. Therefore, democratic elections are expected to follow these provisions that contribute to the strengthening of democracy.

According to Diamond (1996,p.23) the most influential definition of democracy is Robert Dahl's concept of polyarchy. This concept takes into account that not only political competition and participation are necessary for a democracy, but there are other significant freedoms (speech, press, association, to mention a few examples) that need to be accessible, and pluralism that enables people to fully express their political preferences in a meaningful way for a country to be fully democratic. It is the availability and accessibility of these freedoms that make campaigns and elections (political competition and participation) meaningful and of great value. Understanding the above will help us to study and explain elections and election campaigns in context, understanding that they only contribute to the consolidation of democracy alongside other important values and freedoms.

Diamond (1996) argues that in order for democracy to be fully functional and to give meaningful value to elections, in addition to free and fair elections and universal adult suffrage, there needs to be no domains of power reserved for any force, whether the military, social or political actors that will not be accountable to the electorate. The rulers need to be accountable to the ruled; he calls this vertical accountability and argues that it can be exercised through regular free and fair elections. In addition to vertical accountability, the above mentioned points are outlined by Diamond (1996) as important aspects that build up a democracy. Diamond and Morlino (2005) add freedom of organisation and freedom of expression, alternative sources of information and institutions that will ensure that government policies are dependent on the votes and preferences of the electorate. According to Diamond and Morlino (2005) civil, as well political freedoms, are important for political debate and electoral campaigning.

As acknowledged above there are many factors that contribute to a strong and consolidated democracy, but for the purposes of research we will focus only on the quality of election campaigns in South Africa for the 2014 elections.

Competitive elections require competitive campaigns, a free and fair campaign environment - where political parties are free to defend themselves, challenge and criticise their opponents and where voters are free to vote and express their opinions without any fear of violence or retribution (Africa and Lynch, 2012, p.40). Competitive, free and fair elections are an important aspect of democracy albeit not the only important aspect of democracy. Diamond (1996, p.7), notes that there is a mistake that many people make which he calls the “fallacy of electoralism”. This is when regular, free and fair elections are treated as the single most important aspect of democracy and are “privileged over other dimensions of democracy” (Diamond, 1996, p.7). It is important to point out that as much as the focus of this study is on free and fair campaigning or a free and fair campaign environment, it does not place superior value on elections only but appreciates that it is alongside other factors (mentioned above) that free and fair elections work to strengthen a country’s democracy. Below I look at political parties as actors that play a very important role in a democracy. Particularly, I explain briefly the representative role of political parties.

### ***2.3 The Representative Role of Political Parties in a Democracy***

Elections are very important in a democracy, because they are the most instrumental institution for political mass participation (Kersting, 2012 p.6). It is only through elections that the citizens at large can actively take part in the political process in a way that is meaningful, not only to them but to politicians and political parties as well. Elections are an institution through which citizens can add their direct input to the democratic process. Kersting (2012,p.11) counts elections, among other things such as deliberative processes, as instruments through which citizens can add their legitimate inputs to democracy. At the centre of elections in representative democracies are political parties. According to Heydenrych(2012, p.26), political parties ideally represent social interests. He further argues that political parties are, or should, be an instrument for representing the people by expressing their demands. For Salih and Nordlund (2007) political parties are indispensable for making democracy work. This means that there is no institution that can replace political parties in a democracy; therefore the importance of the role of political parties as the people’s representatives can never be over emphasised.

Furthermore, Salih and Nordlund (2007) argue that political parties form part of an informal constitution, but once they have contested and won legally sanctioned elections they obtain legitimacy under the formal constitution and have power to control state personnel and resources. This therefore means that care needs to be taken to make sure that the process of electing such a party is free and fair, and that all the political parties are afforded equal

opportunities to contest elections without fearing reproof, and that citizens are free to support and vote for a party of their choice without any fear of retribution.

Heydenrych (2012, p.25) states that within a democracy the role of political parties is seen as mainly representation. He argues that this representation refers to the ability of political parties to adequately respond and effectively communicate the views and interests of their members as well as the voters at large. Salih and Nordlung (2007) believe that political parties are representative institutions that endow regimes with legitimacy, as well as provide ideologies that represent social, economic and political interests of citizens, produce leaders that form government machinery and provide opportunities for political participation. Parties are therefore important input devices in the democratic process, which ensure that the government pays attention to the needs and demands of the citizens. The way political parties carry out the above mentioned activities has a bearing on a country's politics and determines whether a country's democracy is consolidated or fragile (Salih and Nordlung, 2007). This makes it important for us to check how free our political parties are to compete for the votes of the electorate and the bearing that this has on the country's democracy.

#### ***2.4 Quality of Campaigns: A Free and Fair Campaign Space***

Political analysts and academics agree that campaigning is one of the most influential contributors to the electoral process, because it plays a significant role in determining voting behavior (Salih and Nordlung, 2007). Although there are other factors that contribute significantly to voting behavior such as partisanship, voter's own socialization and party performance, it still matters what message a political party is sending out to its voters, how it presents itself and its proposed policies and how it is presented in the media. It is through campaigns and campaign advertising that this is achieved. This speaks to the importance of campaigns in the election process and that the way in which they are structured and designed matters.

Africa and Lynch (2012) argue that it is during the campaign process where political parties can defend their position and performance as well as challenge that of their opponents. In the run-up to South Africa's fifth democratic election, it is important to look at the political parties' campaign messages and themes, as well as to look at what kind of media coverage the parties are getting in the campaign process.

According to Lilleker (2006) political communication is an important part of any democratic society. Any political organisation that wishes to be in government has a responsibility to communicate with its followers as well as those it wishes to persuade. Political campaigns are important because they serve many functions, but of primary importance is their ability to

encourage voters to vote (Kahn and Kenney, 1999). Representative democracy means that free and fair elections are institutionalised. Free and fair elections mean that everyone is free to partake fearlessly in the electoral process, both voters and political parties. Voters must be free to vote and political parties free to campaign without being discriminated against. Ferree (2012) argues that party labels and images play an important role in this process of communication between voters and political parties. She asserts that these party labels and images are what convey a great deal of information about a political party. Party labels refer to the party's brand name, party colours and regalia, the party's ideology, the group of people it represents and what the party stands for. These become the objects by which the party is identified. So, by seeing the party's labels and understanding what they mean, a voter can decide whether or not to associate with that particular party. Hence, it is important for voters to have access to this information and to be able to make informed decisions fearlessly.

Africa and Lynch (2012, p.41) argue that a strong and successful democracy requires free and fair elections, free and fair elections in turn require quality campaigns and that means there should be a free and fair campaign environment. A free and fair campaign environment which promotes quality campaigns should be an environment where all political parties are free to campaign (that is market and defend their policy stances and challenge those of their opponents) and where voters are free to vote and express their political opinion without any fear of intimidation and violence. This environment should encourage a free flow of information from alternative sources, open discussion and vigorous debate. Africa and Lynch (2012, p.41) state that it is argued by Kavanagh (1995) that, campaigns allow voters to hear parties defend their records, criticise those of other parties and propose policies. Furthermore, Africa and Lynch (2012, p.41) argue that in a perfect world, campaigns should give voters information that will inform who they choose to vote for. Therefore, it is important to find out whether political parties can freely do the above in any part of the country even if an area is considered to be another party's stronghold.

## ***2.5 What Constitutes a Free and Fair Campaign Space?***

Having discussed in the previous sections the importance of political parties and the role they play in a democracy, as well as the need for these parties to contest elections and conduct campaigns without any fear and in a free and fair campaign environment, it becomes important then to answer the question: what constitutes a free and fair campaign space? This section seeks to answer this question by using Elklit and Svensson's (1997) definition of a free and fair campaign space. If an area then lives up to and fulfills this checklist discussed below, the area according to this study can be deemed a free and fair campaign space. This is a checklist that

this paper uses in the end to determine whether or not Imizamo Yethu is a free and fair campaign space

Booyesen (2009, p.8) states that Elklit and Svensson (1997) developed a checklist to set out what constitutes free and fair elections, and as referred to in this study, a free and fair campaign environment. According to this checklist, ‘free’ in the pre-election period means that people have freedom of movement, assembly, speech, freedom from fear to campaign, absence of impediments to stand for office and equal universal suffrage. ‘Fair’ in the pre-election space means that all political parties and independent candidates have equal opportunities to stand for office, that campaigns proceed in an orderly way that observes the Electoral Code of Conduct, and that government resources are not misused for campaigning purposes. It is these components put together by Elklit and Svensson (1997) that clearly set out what a free and fair electoral space should look like. For the purpose of this study it therefore important to clearly point out that this checklist will also be used alongside the stipulations of South Africa’s electoral legislative framework.

The table below shows Elklit and Svensson criteria for assessing free and fair election processes as outlined in Booyesen (2009, p.9). It sketches out what freedom and fairness mean from the pre-election period right through to the post-election period. The table is divided into two columns: one outlining what ‘free’ means in all these periods mentioned above and the other one outlines what ‘fair’ refers to during these periods.

**Table 2.1**

Free	Fair
Pre – election day	
Freedom of movement and speech for candidates, voters and the media. Freedom of assembly and association, freedom from fear as it relates to elections and campaigning, no impediments to standing for office, equal and universal franchise.	Transparent electoral process, election regulations that grant no special treatment to any political party, independent and impartial electoral commission impartial treatment of candidates by policy, army & courts, equal opportunities for parties & candidates to stand for election, impartial voter education, orderly campaign (observance of Code of Conduct), equal access to publicly controlled media, impartial allotment of public funds to parties, no misuse of government facilities for campaign purposes.
Polling Day	
Opportunity to participate in elections	Access to polling stations for all party representatives and accredited observers and the media. Secrecy of ballot, no intimidation of voters, effective design of ballot papers, impartial assistance to voters, proper counting procedures, proper treatment of void ballot papers, proper precautionary measures when

	transporting election material, impartial protection election material.
	Post – polling
Legal possibilities of complaint	Legal possibilities of complaint, official & expeditious announcement of election results, impartial treatment of any election complaints, impartial reports on the election results by the media, acceptance of the election results by all involved

Source: as outlined by Booysen (2009, p.9)



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## **3. Chapter Three: Understanding the South African Context**

### **3.1 Introduction**

The year 2014 marks twenty years of South Africa's democracy, and the country has had five successful national and provincial elections as well as three local government elections, with the fourth one due to take place in 2016. Though the past elections have been accepted as peaceful, some incidents of violence and intimidation have been reported over the years. Booysen (2009) argues that the campaign period in the run-up to the 1994 election saw the most political violence in South Africa's recent history, where certain areas in South Africa were only open to certain political parties for campaigning and closed off to others, and any attempt to penetrate these areas led to heightened political violence (Bonnin, 1997).

Bruce (2009, p.5) argues that as much as violence decreased after 1994, the emergence of COPE into the political arena in 2009 resulted in increased violence and intimidation during that campaign period, especially between the ruling party (ANC) and the then new entrants COPE. Bruce further states that it is a norm that whenever there is a possibility for a change in the political balance of power, for instance an emergence of a new party with potential to shake the political space during an election, violence increases.

The Congress of the People in 2009 and the Economic Freedom Fighters in 2014 provide good examples of parties that brought hope for a viable alternative to the ANC and therefore a potential shift in the country's political landscape. This means that when new political parties try to penetrate certain areas known to be strongholds of other parties, the threat of violence or intimidation is to be expected. Campaign time is a very crucial time in a democratic society because this is a period where voters are going to make a real political choice and in this period the attention of voters to politics, political parties and their messages is heightened (Brady, Johnston and Sides, no date). Therefore it is important for every political party to win this attention to its side. It is during this period that political parties strive to retain support from their followers, as well as try to win new supporters, usually from the support base of other parties and hence the contest for votes begins.

### **3.2 Imizamo Yethu: A Brief Background**

Imizamo Yethu (IY) is one of the areas that is considered to represent a stronghold for the ruling party. It is a township situated near a Cape Town suburb known as Hout Bay.

IY was developed in 1991 when a group of about 450 shacks were moved into this area. These were made up of people that had moved from Ciskei and Transkei and had settled along the river and in the sand dunes behind Hout Bay. The ANC together with the provincial government played a significant role in the migration of these people ([http://silikamvaschool.co.za/?page\\_id=23](http://silikamvaschool.co.za/?page_id=23)). They were moved into this area with promises of housing development and service delivery, but over the years, very little has been done by the provincial government to fulfill these promises. Like many townships in South Africa, IY has very little access to adequate service delivery and the area is mostly populated by poor and unemployed black residents living in shacks.

Like many other areas with such socio-economic conditions in South Africa, this area continues to vote overwhelmingly for the ANC (Jolobe, 2012, p.136). Friedman (2004) argues that in South Africa there is often a strong coincidence between identity and geography and this tends to determine where a political party will dominate; for instance, the ANC dominates in the urban townships where the black poor live, while the DA will dominate in the suburbs where most racial minorities live, and the IFP in the rural areas of KwaZulu Natal where traditional leaders dominate.

Therefore even though the Western Cape including Cape Town is governed by the Democratic Alliance (DA), who are the main opposition in South Africa, Imizamo Yethu is one of the many black, largely poor areas in which the DA has had difficulties to penetrate in terms of winning votes (Jolobe, 2012, p.131). Looking at the 2014 election results from the two voting districts in the township, one sees that yet again the ANC has managed to win an average of 85% of the votes in the area, while the other political parties such as the EFF, DA and ACDP shared the remainder (IEC, election results 2014). Therefore, though in the Western Cape, this township, like many others in the province and in the rest of South Africa, still remains a stronghold of the ruling party, the ANC, and still remains a challenge for the DA.

The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), a political party formed by the former president of the ANC Youth League, is a new player in the field and is also vying for the votes of poor black masses that, to a large extent form the basis of the ANC support. Launched in Marikana, a scene where 34 striking miners were killed at the hands of the state's police, and calling for the nationalisation of mines and banks as well as the expropriation of land without compensation, this party sought to send out a clear message that it was a party for the poor. Being pro-poor meant that this party would be targeting the same constituency that the ANC has always enjoyed support from.

The EFF was a new political party though, which means that they had no history of campaigning in the township except for when Mr. Malema was campaigning under the umbrella of the ANC, his former home. The EFF though seems to have found resonance to a large extent with the

young black voters who are disillusioned with the ANC and their perceived failure to deliver for the young people in the country. This made this political party a significant threat to the ruling party and makes it interesting for the purposes of this study that aims to look at freedom of rival political parties to campaign in other parties' strongholds. It will be important and interesting to see how the campaign process unfolded in this area, what the parties did to gain access to the area and what the ruling party did to retain its majority, whether such factors as political party identification and patronage played any significant role, what effects these have on the quality of the campaign process and ultimately, what implications these will have for South Africa's 20 year old democracy.

### ***3.3 The Development of Strongholds in South Africa***

Bonnin (1997 p.28) argues that political party strongholds and hot spots for violence started to intensify in 1987 in Pietermaritzburg; KwaZulu Natal. This started with a rivalry between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the UDF which was aligned to the African National Congress. This violence started with young men being forced to "declare their political allegiance" (Bonnin, 1997, p.28). This is what Bonnini refers to as securing the area.

This means that this exercise served to ensure that only those people that supported a certain party remained in a particular area. This process led to not only young men but entire families being forced to state their political allegiance. Families that supported a rival political party or those that refused to proclaim which party they supported were driven out of the area and their houses demolished. This then resulted in certain areas being associated with particular political parties.

The second phase of this is called the securing of an area's boundaries by Bonnini. This meant that people, cars, busses from areas supporting a different political party would not be allowed to go into or to even pass through their opponent's areas. Those who were brave enough to go into these areas did so knowing that they might not make it out alive.

The third and last phase of the political violence in the run up to the 1994 election was the large scale one that was perpetrated by the IFP's Impis which were allegedly backed by the apartheid security forces (Bonnini, 1997). This violence led to many men and women being killed and areas deserted and left vulnerable to occupation by the perpetrators. Below I look briefly at levels of violence in the run-up to each of South Africa's past elections, so as to determine how much political intolerance and intimidation has featured in SA elections.

South Africa has had five general elections since the advent of democracy in 1994. Even though it has been agreed by both international and local election monitors that the results for all these elections represent the wishes the South Africans (Africa and Lynch, 2012) violence and intimidation continue to leave a mark on every election result (Bruce, 2009). Bruce (2009, p.1) argued after the 2009 election that political violence will continue to be a threat in future elections, especially if the election is seen to have a potential to bring about change in the country's political landscape.

The history of political violence during South Africa's campaign and election period dates back to the period leading up to the country's first democratic elections in 1994. The period leading to this election was marked with great political violence and intimidation and, according to Bruce (2009, p.6), this period marks the bloodiest in South Africa's recent history claiming more than 3000 lives. According to Friedman (2004) in 1994, the country was divided into no-go areas and these party dominated areas were very hostile to campaigning by rival parties.

The run up to the 1994 elections is believed to have been the bloodiest in the country. According to Bruce, the most violent political clashes took place between the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party in KwaZulu Natal and the East Rand, both these areas were hot spots for violence between these two political parties. Bruce (2009, p.6), states that the violence that took place between these two political parties during this time was fueled by third party influences from the South African security forces, which provided weapons to some elements of the IFP.

In 1997 Debby Bonnin remarked that violence has branded political identities onto the geography of KZN (Bonnin, 1997). This meant that there were areas that were believed to belong to certain political parties and where people supporting a rival political party were neither welcomed nor tolerated. So there were no-go areas for political parties in these parts of the country. Further, Bonnin (1997) states that as much as the province was divided into party strongholds, political parties still dared to campaign and contest spaces, this resulted in escalated violence where people were injured and even killed, houses burnt down and women raped. In some areas in KZN, families that were suspected to support a rival party were killed and anyone helping them would be associated with that party and suffer the same plight, so certain geographical areas were accepted to be belonging to one of the two rival political parties, the ANC and the IFP.

Both the 1999 and the 2004 elections saw decreased levels of political violence. According to Booyesen (2009, p.11) the types of electoral problems that were reported in 1999 were on a less violent scale and they included such issues as infringement on parties' rights to campaign, damaging of campaign material and intimidation. Booyesen (2009, p.10) argues that in 2004 the country saw an even further decrease in violence. Incidents included challenges encountered at

registration and voting stations and far less major conflicts occurred between the rival political parties. According to Booysen (2009, p.11), in 2004 everyone was convinced that South Africa's democracy was now consolidating.

According to Friedman (2004) in many cases after 1994 and before 2009 local parties had entrenched themselves into their own strongholds so as to muscle out all competitors. For this reason, parties during this period focused more on mobilizing their supporters than competing for votes in their rivals' strongholds. This led to South Africa having free and fair but largely uncompetitive elections. But the 2009 election was quite different, and showed much more prospects for change in the political landscape.

The election space in this election was more contested than in any of the elections that preceded it. The ANC was facing fragmentation within its ranks as a result of the defeat of the then president of the party, Mr. Thabo Mbeki by his deputy Mr. Jacob Zuma for the highest post in the party. This was further perpetrated by the later ousting of Mr. Mbeki as the country's president. Some of the ANC members who were unhappy about this move broke away to form a new political party that would prove to be a force to be reckoned with in the political landscape in South Africa.

The formation of the Congress of the People proved to be a real threat to the ruling party, whose members went out of their way to discredit and to threaten COPE. According to Booysen (2009, p.10), this was evident in the type of talk that could be found amongst the ANC people during this period. According to Booysen (2009, p.11) a chairperson of an ANC youth branch exclaimed that the Leader of COPE Terror Lekota was behaving like a cockroach and should be destroyed, and later explained that by "destroyed" he meant "be killed". The 2014 election showed similar prospects to those of 2009 in that another splinter party from the ANC was formed by the party's former youth league president.

The new Economic Freedom Fighters party formed by Julius Malema seemed to capture the interest of the many young people that were disillusioned with the ANC and were looking for a new political home. This party seemed to be targeting the very same constituency that has always been loyal to the ruling party and this proved to be a real threat to the ruling party. The emergence of both COPE and the EFF in 2009 and 2014 respectively meant that there would be intense competition for the votes of ANC supporters.

Lodge (2013) states that in 1994 it was difficult for political parties to canvass outside their strongholds, there were 'no-go' areas for political parties such as the ANC in Northern KwaZulu-Natal, as well as for the democrats in Soweto. Even though measures such as the electoral code of conduct among others have been put in place, and this problem has largely decreased, political intolerance and intimidation has continued to feature in elections and election

campaigns. Africa and Lynch argue that the campaign period in the democratic South Africa has been characterised with hostile exchanges between party leaders and members. Such that there have been concerns of incidents of intolerance, disrupting of meetings and voter intimidation to mention a few. According to studies that have been conducted to measure the willingness of South Africans to extend political rights to groups that they least like, it was found that there was a high level of political intolerance (Mattes, 2015)

According to Africa and Lynch (2012, p.40), the Afrobarometer survey data for 2008 on perceptions of political space shows that election space in South Africa is fragile and needs to be looked after with great care. With competition for citizens' votes more intense due to the emergence of the EFF among other things, and taking into consideration Friedman's observation that parties do their best to muscle out competitors from their areas of stronghold as well as Bruce's argument that whenever there are increased prospects to change the balance of power in the political arena violence increases, this study tries to determine how free political parties were to canvass outside their strongholds and in the strongholds of other political parties in 2014 election period?

### ***3.4 Political Parties in South Africa***

Constituencies that are represented by the different political parties in South Africa differ significantly. They differ in terms of their classes and in terms of race to a large extent. On the one hand you find two big political parties that represent different constituencies. First is the ANC which is the dominant ruling party. The ANC is believed by many to be the representatives of the millions of black people in the country who have a history of being previously disadvantaged and oppressed. This group of people we find in the largely poor areas that are on the fringes of the big cities such as Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg, to mention a few. We also find many of these citizens in the remote rural areas of such provinces as the Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Limpopo, Mpumalanga and lately KwaZulu Natal.

This is a group of citizens or voters that have been labelled by many as blindly loyal to the ANC and they are the group that keep the ANC in power election after election. Secondly the Democratic Alliance which is the biggest opposition party in the country. The DA has a background of being led and dominated by white people even from the apartheid era. The DA is believed by many (especially black voters) as the party that represents the interests of the white community. Even though the DA has worked very hard over the years to shed this stigma as the 'white party' it has not fully succeeded in winning the hearts and minds of the black community.

On the other hand one finds a group of smaller parties that have managed over the years to win enough votes to collect a few seats in parliament. These parties represent minorities, regions and religions such as FF+, ACDP, UCDP, IFP, NFP, UDM, MF, AZAPO, PAC to mention a few and the fairly new ones such as COPE and EFF. All these small parties have managed to get a few seats in parliament thanks to South Africa's proportional representation. The EFF becomes important and different from the other smaller political parties because it is the newest and therefore had no seats in parliament before the 2014 election. It is also important for this study because its founder is a former youth leader of the ANC who after having fiercely served the ANC was expelled from the party due to his calling for the nationalisation of mines and land expropriation without compensation, among other things. Having later formed his own party, Julius Malema went after the same constituency that the ANC is after, especially the young people whom he had led during his time in the ANC. In doing so, he used two important issues as his draw card, the same issues he was expelled for namely; the nationalisation of mines and expropriation of land.

The different constituencies that these political parties represent and the difference in the geographic areas that they populate, leads to South Africa having pockets of voters that belong to different political parties where each party has a strong following, that is party strongholds. Dominant among these are the pockets of communities that support the ruling party as stated above; largely black and poor and on the fringes of the country's economy. Since the dawn of South Africa's democracy and due to South Africa's history of political violence, it has been difficult for political parties to campaign outside their strongholds.

Lodge (2002) argues that this situation was worse in 1994 and has improved over the years. However, even with the decrease in violence and an opening up (to some extent) of strongholds, parties like the DA still struggle to win votes in areas that are largely populated by the black poor, working class which remain dominated by the ANC. Parties can now campaign and convince voters to support their policy stances by voting. This campaigning can be done through the mass media, print media, rallies and door-to-door campaigns and lately on social media but opposition parties in SA still struggle to sway the vote of the people to their favour and to the disadvantage of the ANC.

For every election, election campaigns are always an integral part. Electioneering forms part of the election period and it is during this process of electioneering or campaigning that political parties work hard to persuade voters to go out and vote, and also seek to persuade voters to support them and their policies. During an election there is a fierce competition between political parties for the hearts and minds of the citizens. The 2014 South African general election was no different. Political parties put out their best efforts and gave the fiercest campaigning. The 2014 election was quite similar to South Africa's previous four elections in the

sense that once again the ANC walked away as a winner and therefore, the governing party. This study seeks to look at the freedom of political parties to campaign in South African townships. It seeks to establish whether or not South African political parties can freely campaign in the stronghold of other political parties without fear of intimidation or violence. That is to freely convey their political messages to followers and potential voters. The focus will be on the freedom of the DA and the EFF in an ANC stronghold.

### ***3.5 Clientelism/ Patronage and Political Party Strongholds***

There are a number of reasons why some areas remain closed off to other political parties, therefore becoming strongholds of one party. One such reason is clientelism, especially in poor and somewhat informal areas such as the townships, where people have limited access to basic services such as housing, sanitation and electricity and where there are high rates of unemployment resulting in people depending on social grants and other government-provided means for survival. People or communities remain faithful to one party because they believe that it is their association with and continuous support of a particular party that gives them access to basic services as a community on the one hand, and on the other hand individuals wish to maintain existing patronage relationships that come with extra benefits, or wish to obtain them (Piombo and Mattes, 2010).

However, this is not limited to poor areas, as big companies are granted big tenders by government officials who get kickbacks in return (Ndletyana, Makhalemele and Mathegka, 2013). For the purposes of this study though we will focus on patronage and clientelism between politicians or political parties and poor communities. Cherotich (2010) defines patronage as an unequal relationship of mutual dependence and reciprocity. A patron provides resources and protection to the client in exchange for political loyalty and support. Clientelism is defined by Kopecky (2011) simply as a process of exchanging benefits to secure votes. Wantchekon (2003) explains it a bit further stating that it can be defined as transactions between politicians and citizens where benefits are offered in return for political support come election time. For Jonathan Fox, clientelism means political subordination in exchange for material gain (Hilgers, 2012).

This means that many political leaders around the world and in Africa at large depend on distributing favours to the electorate so as to guarantee ongoing political support and this has been going on for a long time in Africa (Wantchekon, 2003). Berman (1998) argues that patronage should be understood as one of the factors that are imbedded in the history of the African state. In areas such as townships, a dominant party like the ANC in the South African case is seen as the patron for basic services such as housing, sanitation and electricity, and



therefore loyalty to the party is as a result of this perception of the party as the custodian of these services, especially in areas where there is limited access to information.

Furthermore, Benit-Gbaffou (2011) argues that the ANC's ability to attract masses is dependent on historically deep loyalties, but also, these loyalties to the ANC as the dominant party stem from the fact that it is viewed as the party that is able to deliver access to resources. There might be a belief among these citizens that if they do not support the dominant party they will forfeit the basic services that they so desperately need. Kersting (2012, p.5) argues that patronage is a serious problem in South Africa today because it continues to contribute towards the inadequate delivery of services because services that are meant to benefit a large number of people are redirected to benefit a few that are favoured by the ruling party to make sure that they keep voting. This section aims to look at the role clientelism plays in influencing people's voting choices.

## ***2.7 Clientelism and the Poor***

Ndletyana et al (2013) look at clientelism in South Africa and how it is articulated in poverty and inequality. In their work on patronage they state that the state plays a very pivotal part in the lives of the poor and unemployed. They note that for the poor to be sustained, they need the government or the services which the government provides. They mention amongst these social grants provided by the government to help the poor; 40% of the households in South Africa depend on these grants. In order to access these grants a person needs to be in possession of an Identity Document (ID), he argues, a service that is also provided by the government and one also needs proof of residence. In informal areas such as parts of some townships in South Africa (like Imizamo Yethu) there are no formal addresses and residents in such areas depend on the local councilor to provide this service for them.

Ndletyana et al (2013) argue that this makes residents even more dependent on the government and therefore quite vulnerable in the face of corrupt officials, especially in the local sphere of government. Consequently the people depend on government and government officials for their livelihood. This is not only exclusive to the ruling party, but the opposition too, which happens to be the ruling party in other areas of the country. On the other hand, politicians want to remain in power for as long as it is possible and they depend on the people for ongoing political support for that to happen.

For them to retain power they need the votes of the people. This means that politicians provide patronage in an attempt to buy votes and go out of their way because the people have leverage to some extent and they make demands, while in turn citizens have to give their political

support in exchange for the much needed government services. This means that the patronage relationships in these cases benefit both the politicians and the people, in the sense that political support is traded for socio-economic benefits. There is therefore a problematic relationship of dependency between politicians and citizens. Ndletyana et al (2013) go on to argue that patronage is problematic because “it down plays normative values such as fairness and equality of the democratic system.”

“This influences the citizens to tolerate violations of procedures so long as their material needs are met. Democratic culture is therefore weakened” (Ndletyana et al, 2013, pg. 14). They further claim that clientelism/patronage breed such things as nepotism and ethnic unrest because of this relationship that excludes others who do not support a certain political party. A number of other authors agree with Ndletyana et al’s argument that the prevalence of clientelistic relationships between political parties and voters downplay important features of democracy such as fair competition amongst parties and equality.

Wantchekon (2003), states that in a world where patron-client relationships are prevalent the incumbent or ruling party stands a better chance of convincing the electorate to vote to their favour. This is because they have the discretion over how the budget is distributed and can direct resources to benefit those whom they seek to reward. This therefore puts the opposition at a disadvantage, especially in South Africa where the ANC is a dominant party and has been in government since the dawn of democracy in 1994. No other party except for the ruling party can decide which services to deliver to the people, how and in what proportions in the whole country.

As a result of this, government resources can be used to lure people away from the opposition parties and in favour of the ruling party. The promises that if people vote for the ruling party they will continue to benefit from government services such as social grants, and if not, they will be threatened, is a good example of what we have seen in South Africa. We have seen over the past election campaigns, even in the most recent one in 2014, a tendency from the ruling party leaders to say that if the people stop voting for the ANC and begin to vote for other parties like the DA, apartheid will return and such services as social grant will cease.

Governing parties tend to resort to patronage campaigning, promising people benefits should they vote in their favour, rather than simply presenting their policy stances and letting people decide on their own. Wantchekon (2003) then argues that clientelist and patronage appeals can influence voting behaviour and that governing parties stand a better chance of making their clientelist /patronage appeals credible by delivering some of the promised benefits before the election. Now this puts the opposition at a disadvantage and disproportions the playing field during the campaign and election period. This is the case because even before the opposition

parties begin to campaign the playing field is already favouring the ruling party and to some extent this closes the campaign space to the opposition.

In South African poor communities, the ANC, for instance continues to enjoy overwhelming support, despite these communities' inadequate access to service delivery. The ANC is seen as the only custodian of the dreams and aspirations of the poor despite its performance in governance. This also relates to the parties' feelings of entitlement as though they are the only party that have the right to campaign and win votes in certain areas as it is believed by some political parties in KwaZulu Natal, according to Pithouse (2014), and this results in the closing up of spaces to those who are believed to be outsiders. The only way to belong is by aligning with the party in power.

Pithouse (2014) goes on to argue that in some places there is a conflation of the ruling party with the state such that even development is channeled through local party structures. In these areas, it is not foreign for party membership to be used as the precondition for access to services that the state and not the party provides for the poor. This way the ruling party has very strong control over the community, and according to Borain (2011), where the local community leaders are linked to the ruling party through patronage, there is very little chance that they will revolt against it. This type of patronage is not one based on individual or private gain, but it is based on the community's belief about what the particular party can provide for the community.

In a patronage-democracy the state is a practical means of obtaining both a better livelihood and higher status. Voting decision in patronage democracies is characterised by severe lack of information/ or information constraints (Chandra, 2007).

Party patronage can be seen as one of the ways through which political parties rent-seek within the state and exploit state resources for the purpose of building the party and organisational survival. Patronage resources can provide party leaders with the means to maintain party organisation by distributing selective incentives to those loyal to the party and its elites in exchange for organisational loyalty or other gains. As stated above party patronage can also help parties develop clientelistic networks to maintain their electoral support, these networks can also become a stepping stone for the breeding of corrupt tendencies that are prevalent in many developing countries, especially in Africa.

In his 1998 article on clientelism in Brazil, Robert Gay looks at the different ways in which clientelism is believed to play a role in political spaces. He accepts the over-arching definition of clientelism as the use of political power and access to state resources, to distribute favours to political supporters. He argues that many scholars in Brazil and beyond have claimed that clientelism has decreased in the democratic Brazil. He asserts that many of these scholars

attribute this decline to the rise of social movements and non-governmental organisations among other things. He states that the emergence of these movements have forced political leaders to work harder in the face of popular sector and representative bodies that are demanding the delivery of services for all. Because of this, the scholars argue, the basis upon which political leaders can solicit support by promising patronage through government provided services and political appointments is undermined. Gay (2008) argues that the scholars that subscribe to this reasoning acclaim that the emergence of social movements has re-configured the fabric of collective action and that new constituencies based on the “communities of equals” that are confrontational and disloyal and are committed to the idea of rights. These are different from those that endured traditional clientelist ties with authoritarian political establishments.

Gay (1998) goes further to explain that there is another group of scholars who are opposed to the view discussed above, that clientelism was on the decline and that its influence has been reduced in the Brazilian democratic era. These scholars are of the view that in the democratic dispensation, the role and impact of patronage relationships has become more significant. Due to such factors as inter and intra-party competition, the contestation for votes has led those in political power to rely on the distribution of patronage to retain political power. Furthermore, like the first group of scholars, this group of scholars believes that clientelist relationships are based on an unequal interaction between patrons (those who hold power) and clients (those who have little or no power). They see clientelism as a problem in the democratic state because according to them it undermines the gains of democracy by using state resources to solicit votes. Supposing that access to state resources is totally dependent on whether or not people support those in power come election time. This is an argument made by Ndletyana et al discussed in the previous section where they look at patronage and inequality in South Africa.

After having presented both these arguments, Gay introduces a new argument, criticising both the arguments presented. In his critique Gay argues that many scholars view clientelism as a largely negative factor and that it is blamed for everything. He states that there is agreement among scholars that clientelism contributes to the marginalisation of the poor. This means that the vulnerability of the poor leaves them with no choice but to sell their votes to politicians in exchange for service delivery or merely the promise of patronage. Gay argues that as much as clientelism refers to a relationship of exchange of goods, services and employment for votes, it is not based on coercion or the traditional forms of authority but on mutually exclusive exchange of votes for favours.

### ***3.5 Campaigning in South Africa: The Democratic Alliance and the Economic Freedom Fighters***

Crucial to the process of election campaigning are political parties, the very organisations through which the interests of the people are represented. According to Heydenrych (2012, p.26) political parties are or should be instruments through which the interests and demands of the people are articulated.

As it has already been stated above, this study focuses on two opposition parties namely the Democratic Alliance and the newly formed Economic Freedom Fighters. In this section I will briefly discuss the campaign strategies for these two political parties so as to give an overview of the types of messages that were coming out from their campaigns for the 2014 general elections.

#### **3.5.1 Democratic Alliance Campaign**

According to McNair (2003) political advertisements are not only designed to inform the voter about the choices available, but they are also meant to persuade. They are designed to persuade voters to vote for the party or candidate in question. It is this type of advertising that political parties or candidates use to appeal to voters by playing their own strength and highlighting their opponent's weaknesses. Looking at the DA's election campaign in the run-up to the 2014 general election, one can pick up both the issues raised by McNair (2003), namely; the party highlighting their strength and pointing out their opponent's weaknesses. We saw the DA highlighting their own strength by emphasising that they have done a great job in the Western Cape, which is the only province in South Africa that is not ruled by the African Nationalist Congress. The DA did this through their campaign which focused on the Western Cape; called the Western Cape Story. The aim of this campaign was to highlight successes of the DA in the Western Cape in different areas such as unemployment, and clean government. For instance, looking at unemployment as one of the major challenges in South Africa today, the campaign highlighted the success of the DA in reducing unemployment in the Western Cape, against the ANC's failure to curb unemployment in the country.

It pointed out that from 2009 to 2013 the unemployment rate in the Western Cape decreased to 22% and the number of unemployed people shrunk by 48 000 between 2012 and 2013. Furthermore the campaign pointed out that the rate of unemployment increased in the country under the leadership of the ANC at 34% at the end of 2013 while between 2012 and 2013 the number of unemployed people increased by 121 000. Not only did this campaign highlight job creation in the Western Cape under the DA, but it also outlined the amounts of money spent in

creating jobs, small business and training opportunities for South Africans in the Western Cape since 2009 (DA Western Cape Story, 2014. [www.dacampaigns.co.za](http://www.dacampaigns.co.za)).

Moreover, the Western Cape Story highlighted that the president rated the Western Cape as the best performing province in the country in 2013 (DA Western Cape Story, 2014. [www.dacampaign.co.za](http://www.dacampaign.co.za)). The DA outlined in this campaign that in the area of service delivery, the Western Cape is the best performing province, pointing out that 76% of the province's budget is spent on poor communities. This campaign claimed that the DA had delivered up to 99.1% of access to clean water, 90.5% access to flushed toilets as well as 93.4% access to electricity. These figures, according to the DA were the best in the country. Therefore, the Western Cape is presented as the best performing province in the country, and it is the only province that is not governed by the ANC. The focus on clean governance points out all the compliments and awards that the Western Cape under the DA has received from different stake holders such as SALGA and the Auditor General compliments such as highest access to service delivery, and lowest unemployment rate.

In light of dissatisfaction among citizens due to rampant corruption in the country under the ANC, the DA presented itself as a party of clean government and high levels of accountability. Also, the campaign highlighted the DA's achievements in the Western Cape education department where more and more pupils have access to no fee schools, feeding schemes and where over 80% of the budget is spent on 60% of the poorest schools in the province. This campaign argued that the Western Cape was the best performing province even in education; it is the only province that uses internationally benchmarked language and math testing and where matric markers have to write a competency test.

This campaign is aimed at presenting the DA as a party of great performance and clean governance that will not tolerate corruption or lack of accountability. This is a good campaign according to what McNair (2003) points out, because it highlights the strengths of the party. It looks at the party's successes, and highlights those successes to make sure that voters in other provinces know of the party's good track record and give this party a chance even in other provinces. It is also good because it is not heavily packed with negative campaigning, even though in some instances it does refer to the ANC's failures in other provinces, this I believe, is done in an attempt to point out how much the party has succeeded in this province.

Another important campaign of the DA is that which was carried out by the party's Gauteng premier candidate Mmusi Maimane. In November 2013, Maimane launched his campaign which was titled; believe in change campaign, also known as "Believe GP". In this campaign, Maimane told a history of the country and of the province; how the former leaders of the country led the people out of apartheid with integrity, how much the people believed in their leaders. He told of how the leaders then encouraged South Africans to take their destinies in

their own hands and fight against the evils of apartheid. He went on to praise both presidents Mandela and Mbeki for their important roles in taking South Africa forward.

Maimane then argued that since the current president Jacob Zuma took over, the gains that were made under the two former presidents have been reversed. He pointed out corruption, unemployment and other challenges facing South Africa today as issues that the current government under the leadership of president Zuma have neglected. He stated that many jobs have been lost under president Zuma and that corruption has grown. The liberation movement has deserted the people, he claimed. He finally invited the people of the Gauteng province to do as they did during the apartheid era, take their destinies in their own hands and vote for the DA, vote for change, for jobs and for clean government (Maimane, 2014).

The slogan used by the DA in their election posters said “together for change, together for jobs” The DA promised to create six million sustainable and permanent jobs for South Africans should they be voted into government on 7 May 2014. Also, the DA promised clean government and better service delivery. In the DA’s governance policy the party states that where the DA governs their track record proves that the party is committed to spending public money in the interests of the people of South Africa and that the party has the capacity to deliver (Democratic Alliance, 2013).

This is a clear message that came out from all of the DA’s campaigns that this party is a party that delivers, a party that believes in clean governance and unlike the ruling party, a party that will promote integrity and fight corruption. Hearing a clear message from the party’s campaign is important because as it is argued by (Simon, 2002) that for the voters, the campaign is the closest source of information about the party or the candidate, and the most immediate influence on the voter’s decision.

### 3.5.2 Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) campaign

The EFF was formed by the expelled president of the African National Congress’s youth league in 2013. Julius Malema launched this political party in October last year. This party was launched in Marikana, a very controversial venue which happens to be the scene of one of the most tragic events in the history of the post-apartheid South Africa, where 34 miners were killed by policemen following a wage strike that had gone out of control in one of SA’s mines in 2012<sup>5</sup> The EFF was sending out a clear message to Malema’s followers; that he is for the poor black masses of the country and that he understands and appreciates their struggle. The EFF seemed to have found resonance with communities such as the miners, and other black

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<sup>5</sup> Dyantyi, M. (2014) Briefing Paper 338: Political Climate in the run up to the 2014 Election. Catholic Parliamentary Liaison Office

working class, as well as the unemployed and disgruntled youth of the country who feel that the ANC has failed to deliver on its promise of a better life for all.

One of the most important messages that EFF sent out during this election campaign was that there is a need to redistribute the wealth of the country, as well as the need to nationalise mines and banks and to foster the expropriation of land. This had been EFF's message throughout the campaign.

The EFF stated in their founding manifesto that even 20 years after South Africa attained freedom, the black people of the country still live in "absolute mass poverty, are landless, their children have no productive future, they are mistreated and are looked down upon in the sea of wealth"<sup>6</sup>. Therefore, according to this party, this called for a continued fight against this position in which the poor people of the country are in. The EFF believes that this fight will not be won whilst the private sector dominates the country's economy, therefore this should be changed so that a state-led industrial development can take place. It is this position which stands against the oppression and exploitation of the black working class that spells out what this party is about and what it stands for and it is also from this stance that their policy proposals flow.

The EFF believe that the political freedom gained 20 years ago in South Africa has not translated to economic freedom that will assist in empowering the oppressed and break the bondage of economic oppression. There is the strong belief that the current government has, over the past 20 years, maintained the "white-supremacist"<sup>7</sup> order where the capitalists still control the economy resulting in the continued exploitation and oppression of the black working class, keeping them in an inferior position in relation to whites. It is against this backdrop that the EFF made policy proposals.

The EFF's slogan is "Economic Freedom in our Lifetime" and they continually state that it is their goal to achieve economic freedom in our lifetime. There are seven pillars that the EFF puts forward as non-negotiable if economic freedom is to be attained in our lifetime<sup>8</sup>. These seven pillars are as follows:

- Expropriation of land without compensation for redistribution
- Nationalisation of mines, banks and other strategic sectors of the economy without compensation

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<sup>6</sup> EFF Founding manifesto. <http://www.economicfreedomfighters.org/documents/economic-freedom-fighters-founding-manifesto>

<sup>7</sup> EFF Founding manifesto. <http://www.economicfreedomfighters.org/documents/economic-freedom-fighters-founding-manifesto>

<sup>8</sup> ibid



- Building state and government capacity which will lead to the abolishment of tenders
- Free quality education, healthcare, housing and sanitation
- Massive protected industrial development to create millions of sustainable jobs including introduction of minimum wages in order to close the wage gap between the rich and the poor
- Massive development of the massive economy and advocating for a move from reconciliation to justice in the entire continent
- Open, accountable, corruption-free government and a society without fear of victimisation by state agencies.

It is these pillars that serve to inform the policy stances of the EFF. The key message being that there is a need for a political party that will be the voice of the poor in a capitalist South Africa, and that the EFF is that party; a political party that will take forward a fight that was started by those that laid down their lives for a free South Africa and make sure that this freedom translates into economic freedom for all. The EFF has no history of good or bad performance to point out, therefore making sure that what they stand for came out clearly in their campaign made their message clear and easy to understand.

### **3.6 Legislative Framework**

While elections in South Africa have been deemed free and fair over the years by both local and international election observers, Africa and Lynch (2012) and Bruce (2009) argue that there are still some underlying threats that are a cause for concern and they warn that the campaign space in South Africa still needs to be carefully nurtured. Africa and Lynch further state that there were concerns of intolerance, intimidation, obstruction (including meeting disruptions) and allegations of voter intimidation in the run up to the 2011 local government elections, while Bruce (2009) provides a brief account of the violence and intimidation that took place during the 2009 election period. This therefore calls for a close monitoring of the campaign period so as to look out for and to report these incidents when they occur. There is therefore need to closely study the electoral process in South Africa so as to prevent such incidents from going unnoticed and to make sure that legislation that regulate elections are adhered to at all times

Two legislations address the freedoms associated with the person's right to vote and political association, as well as the freedom of political parties to freely gather and mobilise support in South Africa; namely the Bill of Rights, chapter two of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996 and the Electoral Act 37 of 1998

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa: In chapter two<sup>9</sup> of the Constitution (Act 108, 1996) it is stipulated that every citizen has political rights and freedoms. These include the right to form or join a political party, to participate in the activities of a political party, to recruit people to join a political party and to campaign for a political party. It is also stated that every citizen has the right to regular free and fair elections. Bruce (2009), Africa and Lynch (2011), Lodge (1994) and Diamond and Morlino (2005) support this requirement of the Constitution by all stating that free and fair elections form a very important part of any democracy.

Electoral Act: The Electoral Code of Conduct: There is also an Electoral Act, which contains a code of conduct that all parties contesting the election are expected to sign and comply with. The purpose of the Electoral Code of Conduct<sup>10</sup> is, among other things, to promote the tolerance of democratic political activity and free political campaigning and public debate. The Electoral Code of Conduct exists in South Africa so as to ensure that the conditions in which the election process takes place promote free and fair elections, political tolerance, free campaigning and open debate. This is stated in Schedule 2 of the Electoral Act, 1998 (Booyesen, 2009). The existence of party strongholds threatens this right enshrined in the country's electoral conduct. Furthermore, the Electoral code of conduct forbids any political party to block another's access to voters, and parties are also prohibited from using language that might intimidate voters and other parties or incite violence. But in places where the existence of strongholds has led to political intolerance, political violence and intimidation become prevalent. Bonin (1997) paints a picture of how political intolerance led to gross violence, intimidation and even murders in parts of KwaZulu Natal in 1987 when violence broke out between the ANC and the IFP.



### ***3.7 Political Party Strongholds: A Challenge to Democracy***

Party strongholds can provide a challenge for democracies in a number of ways. They can limit the right of political parties to campaign freely without fear or intimidation; also, they can promote one-party dominance, they can contribute to limiting voters' right of access to information and freedom of association, and lead to political intolerance and violence. To say an area is a political party stronghold means that the space is closed to any other political party except the political party which has a strong support base in that particular area. The term stronghold is used in general to refer to an area where people have a certain belief that they uphold and defend.

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<sup>9</sup> Chapter two of the Constitution makes up the Bill of Rights of South Africa

<sup>10</sup> See schedule 2 of the Electoral Act

In a political party stronghold, other political parties have a hard time penetrating the area, which makes campaigning in the area very difficult, because it means that opposing political views are not tolerated in the area. An area or space can be closed because residents in the area unleash violence and intimidation on anyone who dares to voice a different political opinion.

Bonin (1997) provides insights into how the problem of strongholds led to heightened violence in KZN in the late 1980's right through to 1994 before the first democratic elections in South Africa. Other areas are closed because there is a perception among opposition parties that the area is a stronghold of a certain party and that any attempt to campaign in that particular area would be a wasted effort (Interview with one of the IEC commissioners in the Western Cape, 2014). Sometimes an area is closed due to the informal and sometimes illegal relationships that have been forged between the party or local party leaders and the citizens to the benefit of both. These are called patronage and clientelist relationships (Ndletyana, 2013), and when these have been developed over time, people tend to support the political party from which they stand to gain the most and are likely to be closed off to any other political party competing with the patron for their votes. These conditions exist in South Africa too.

### ***3.8 Political Violence in Party Strongholds***

South African history is one marked by years of political intolerance, violence and discrimination, in the form of apartheid, but even among the black political parties such as the ANC and the IFP we have seen a history of violence and intolerance in terms of political association and support. As stated in earlier sections, this level of political intolerance was prevalent in parts of KwaZulu Natal, where a number of people were victimised and their political rights violated for supporting a different political party to that which is supported by the majority in their area of residence, or for going into an area that is known to be belonging to a different political party than their own (Bonin, 1997). Booysen (2009) argues that there are a number of ways through which other parties can be prevented from freely campaigning in a stronghold area. These she divides into three different categories. These categories are:

- Violent rhetoric, hate speech, and intimidation – these refer to distinct activities or rhetoric that can lead to violence or violent act against other political parties
- Obstruction, limiting access and both immediate and lagged intimidation – this category speaks to such activities as invasion or occupation of venues designated for the opposition meetings, singing and chanting on the fringes of the opposition, often using threatening rhetoric
- Physical violence, intimidation – this category, as the name suggests, refers to the more clear-cut type of violence that can be easily distinguished.

The recurrence of the word “intimidation” in all these three categories underscores the fact that all these illegal acts have an intimidating effect on opponents (Booyesen, 2009), hindering them from freely campaigning for their political parties.

Furthermore, Booyesen (2009) states that electoral contestation in the form of inter-party conflict and even political violence is not a new phenomenon in South Africa. David Bruce (2009) believes that this continues to be the case in SA; he argues that even though all elections in South Africa have been passed as representative of the wishes of South Africans by observers, violence keeps leaving its imprint on South Africa’s elections through incidents recorded in the different parts of the country.

Furthermore, Bruce argues that whenever there are prospects for a shift of the balance of power in the political landscape, violence and political intolerance are bound to be experienced. The entrance of the Congress of the People (COPE) into the political arena in the run-up to the 2009 national election is cited as a situation that led to levels of political intolerance and violence that were higher than any other election save the first democratic election in 1994. This was because COPE came with a promise to be a viable alternative to the ruling ANC. Another example cited by Bruce (2012) is the breakaway of the National Freedom Party (NFP) from the IFP in KZN which led to intense confrontations between these two political parties resulting in approximately 50 politically related deaths in the province in a space of two years. A further possible threat to the balance of power was the ANC’s persistent penetration of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)’s strongholds in KZN.

Violence in South African politics has also been seen in the form of violent protests that have swept over South Africa’s public space in the recent years leading to a number of deaths. These, according to Bruce, have often been perpetuated by the disgruntled members and/or leaders of the ruling party at a local level, who drive these protest under the guise of “service delivery protests”. As argued by Bruce (2014) these service delivery protests have sometimes resulted in the disruption of opposition meetings and campaign activities. It is the toyi-toyis that are normally viewed as a legitimate tool for self-expression in South Africa that end with people involved in intimidating behaviour such as verbal threats, invading opposition meetings as well as trying to drive opposition parties out of the area. Bruce (2014) argues that intimidation and even manipulation of voters in South Africa has adapted to the terrain of a democratic South Africa and this he argues, has pushed the boundaries of what political parties can get away with.

As argued by Jolobe in Southall and Daniel (2009), as much as the DA manages to grow its support base by 4.3% from 12.4% in 2004 to 16.7% in 2009, it remained difficult for this party to penetrate the black poor areas in urban areas (townships) that have always been viewed as the strongholds of the ruling party. Even in the Western Cape where the DA governs it has

struggled to amass support in such townships as Khayelitsha and Imizamo Yethu which is a case in this study. Why has the existence of strongholds persisted even into the democratic South Africa? What causes these spaces to remain closed off? Below I look at the possible causes of this as argued by different analysts and authors to determine why these spaces are closed off and what this means for South Africa.

### **3.9 Party Identification and Racial Census in South Africa**

It is important to understand voting behavior in order to be able to explain why some parts of South Africa remain strongholds of political parties. According to Graham (2012) six out of ten South Africans feel close to a particular political party; that is, they identify with a certain political party. There are a number of theories that explain voting behavior and among these are party identification and what many authors have referred to as racial census. Party identification refers to the voting behavior where voters feel particularly loyal to a certain party and continue to support this party because they view it not just as a mere political party, but as their *own* political party (Heywood, 2002). These voters remain loyal to their political party regardless of the party's performance and cannot be persuaded to vote for other parties, and this is something that is passed on from one generation to another (Achen, 2002).

Racial census on the other hand refers to voting behavior that is influenced mainly by race and ethnicity. Here race is used as a cognitive shortcut during elections (Ferree, 2006). Many people have argued that voters in South Africa vote according to their races, so much that election results end up reflecting the census for each race. This is referred to by many authors as the racial or ethnic census (Ferree, 2011).

This is a type of voting behavior in which voters stick with a political party that represents their racial or ethnic group and never cross over to other parties representing different groups. South Africa can to a certain extent be viewed in this light considering that many of the people that continue to vote for the ANC are largely black and disadvantaged, while the support base for the DA is largely white and privileged. Lodge (2002) argued that as long as a large number of black people remain poor and a large number of white people remain privileged it remains unlikely that the voting patterns will change. This is due to the fact that since the days of South Africa's struggle against apartheid, the ANC has been viewed as a political party that best articulates the interests of the poor black people that make up a large percentage of South Africa's population. Mattes and Piombo (2010) state that a few reasons have been cited for people's loyalty to the ANC in the case of South Africa. Among these reasons it is said that people vote for the ANC because they want to express their solidarity with a party that seems to be representing their racial or ethnic group.

According to Ferree (2011) many writers have argued that this racialised voting is problematic for the future of a country's democracy in the sense that it leads to polarised campaigning, where political parties focus on increasing voter turn-out from a particular ethnic group or race instead of persuading voters as a whole. In this way, political parties are closed out of certain groups of voters and even their campaigning is not aimed at winning more votes but rather at consolidating what support the party already has. Ferree (2011) further argues that analysts have also claimed that this type of voting behavior might even result in electoral violence because parties that feel closed off from penetrating certain areas might resort to violence. It is also possible that parties that dominate certain areas might resort to violence in attempt to protect their constituencies from rival political parties.

Ferree (2011) argues that identity voting explains South Africa's racialised voting behavior. She argues that by voting for the ANC, voters who were previously oppressed and discriminated against on the basis of race show gratitude and reward the ANC for freedom attained. Voting for the party therefore can be viewed as a way of celebrating both their freedom and identity. This type of voting behavior is found in townships like Imizamo Yethu where political parties such as the Democratic Alliance continue to have difficulties gaining support due to the fact that only the ANC is viewed as the party that can adequately articulate and represent the needs and interests of the poor black majority found in these townships.

### **3.10 Weak Opposition**

Ferree (2011) introduces a different argument to counter both the racial census and the patronage arguments, claiming that the continuation of the ANC's dominance in South Africa cannot be attributed to clientelism because the South African democracy has not yet developed a patronage machine that is strong enough to offer clientelist benefits to buy the loyalty of the disgruntled voters to continue voting for them. At the same time, Ferree (2011) argues that this dominance can neither be attributed to voting according to racial lines because research conducted over the years shows that African voters in South Africa are too diverse on their own to have their race determining the outcome of elections. She further argues that even though race might have a role to play, there are many independent voters amongst Africans, so much so that some of the research conducted recently show that up to 50% of Africans vote independently of their race and embrace non-racial stances. Moreover, Ferree argues that many of the African voters prioritises other identities such as ethnicity, class, gender religion and do not necessarily place that much importance on race. Based on these, she argues that the

ANC's continued dominance at the polls cannot be solely attributed to racial voting or identification in terms of race.

With regards to patronage/clientelism, Ferree(2011) argues that South Africa cannot be particularly described as clientelist. She lists a couple of reasons to support this argument. Amongst these, Ferree argues that

- South Africa's institutions of democracy are built to be strong enough to mitigate clientelism.
- She argues furthermore that the fact that South Africa has a closed list proportional representation, a national single constituency and a parliamentary system with strong national integrative parties, gives politicians very little incentive to want to pursue personal votes, the competition is between teams of politicians (parties) and not between individuals. Therefore, individual politicians are not motivated to seek individual success and according to Ferree (2011) this reduces South Africa's propensity towards clientelism.
- Finally, she also argues that even the history of South Africa is set against clientelism in the sense that in the pre-democracy era in South Africa, the people's support for the ANC was not based on any material benefit that the party could offer, but on the ideological stance that both the party and the people of South Africa believed in. This means that South African voters have no history of voting for any party based on personal private benefit, but they have and continue to vote for the ANC based on what they believe the party stands for.

South Africans view political parties, their performance in between elections and their campaigns during election periods to hear the messages they bring across and compare. Mattes and Piombo (2010) support this argument by stating that analysts around the world have agreed over the years that voters look at different factors when deciding who to vote for. This decision they state is based on the information that voters have access to, that is; what are the parties saying about their interests, what voting for an alternative party as opposed to the one in government will mean for their own interests and the interests of the group they belong to. A good example is cited by Bosman and Du Toit (2012) when they state that during the 2011 local government election in the Western Cape, the election was contested based on service delivery, especially sanitation, rather than race. Therefore, it is not possible that voters in South Africa are very much different from voters elsewhere in the world. Having argued this, both Piombo and Mattes (2010) and Ferree (2011) acknowledge that due to South Africa's history with racial oppression through colonisation and apartheid, issues of race are bound to play a role in South African politics, but they argue that this cannot be the sole determining factor. Piombo and Mattes (2010) even go further to argue that we therefore need to

determine what it is about race that affects people's voting behaviour claiming that correlation doesn't necessarily mean causation (Piombo and Mattes, 2010). This means that voters do not solely rely on race to decide which party to vote for. So therefore, as much as the role of race in South African politics cannot be denied, one needs to be careful not to overstate the extent to which race affects elections.

The weakness of opposition parties and their inability over the years to provide an alternative to the ANC has been cited by many as one of the reasons why the ANC has won all the elections since 1994. As early as 1999, Friedman pointed this out as one of the problems in South Africa. He argued that while the black voters in South Africa were unlikely to vote for any of the white political parties such as the DP and the NNP at the time, the black opposition did not provide an alternative either due to their weakness and limitation of being either regional or sectional parties (Friedman, 1999). Ferree (2011) states that not only is the opposition weak, but the ruling party has managed to - at least in the minds of black voters - argue that what contributes mostly to the continued dominance of one political party in South Africa (the ANC) is the fact that over the years, this party has always mastered the art of presenting the opposition as unfit to rule.

Ferree (2011) argues that the ruling party has managed to "keep the opposition white". This means that the ruling party has managed to capitalise on the opposition's background as a white party that participated in the apartheid regime and that still seeks to advance and protect the interests of the white minority. This is a weakness that the DA itself as the official opposition has recognised. Bosman and Du Toit (2012) state the DA's former chief executive Ryan Coetzee argued in his analysis of the party's progress, that one of the biggest challenges facing the party was the need to create a political home for all races. He further stated that unless the party does this, "it faces irrelevance and slow degradation".

The ruling party has therefore, according to Ferree, managed this far to prevent the opposition (DA) from reaching a stage where it is a political home for all races by 'keeping the opposition white'. We saw evidence of this during the 2014 campaign period when some of the top officials of the ruling party used such language as "If you vote for the DA they will bring back the apartheid system" Furthermore, according to Ferree (2011) the ruling party boasts a strong struggle background, where they fought vigorously against the apartheid system, something that parties like the EFF do not have. This means that the ruling party always has this advantaged over the opposition. Piombo and Mattes (2010) argue that most of the South African political parties have a background that dates back to before 1994, and were either part of the apartheid system supporting it, peacefully fighting it from within the system or violently fighting against it, and voters can easily categorise these parties according to these roles and decide on whether or not to vote for a party based on their views on this issue.



## 4. Chapter Four: Research Methodology

### 4.1 Introduction

The aim of this study was to determine whether or not political parties were free to campaign in strongholds of other parties. The plan was to do this by understanding the perceptions of different stakeholders that take part, whether directly or not, in the campaign process. These stakeholders, as it will be further discussed below, included the community members of Imizamo Yethu, the campaigners and political party leaders, to name but a few. Because the study was seeking to understand the perceptions and/or experiences of these stakeholders, it was very important that methods that would allow for such data to come up be used, hence this study made use of the qualitative research approach.

The qualitative approach was beneficial for this study because it allowed me as a researcher to gain a deeper understanding of the participants' (community of Imizamo Yethu and other stakeholders) views and feelings about the campaign process during the 2014 general election period in the area. As stated by Ritchie and Lewis (2003) this is one of the benefits of qualitative methods. This was a case study research and Imizamo Yethu was used as the area of study.

The data gathering process of this study consisted of different stake holders. These stakeholders were as follows: community members, representatives from the different political parties (ANC, DA and EFF) in the area of Imizamo Yethu, one representative from the local South African Police Service (SAPS), as well as two representatives from the IEC for interviews. The initial plan was to conduct focus group discussions with campaigners and volunteers from all three political parties concerned. But due to problems of access and people's availability, we could not go ahead with the focus group discussion. Instead, I interviewed individual campaigners from the three parties. I have not categorised these as focus group discussions because I had different discussions with two ANC volunteer campaigners and three EFF leaders who were also campaigners.

This was still very beneficial for this study because it provided an understanding of how these people, who were doing the work on the ground, actually experienced the whole process of campaigning in the area and how they themselves interpreted it. As Blanche, Durrein and Painters (2006) argue, qualitative methods allow the researcher to study selected issues in depth, openness and detail, as they identify and attempt to understand the categories of information that emerge from the data. This means that the researcher is able to make sense of the experiences of the researched beyond what is said, the researcher can try to understand how the people *experience* what is being studied.

Qualitative research methods use techniques that capture people's experiences in their own language, and takes into consideration the people's own interpretation of issues. Interviews

with these different stakeholders helped in highlighting the kind of experiences the community, campaigners and political party leaders have had during the campaign period in Imizamo Yethu and what their interpretations of free and fair campaigns are. The point made by Blanche et al (2006) which states that qualitative methods give the researcher the opportunity to get information even from interacting with the researched, means that I was able to make sense of the experiences of the researched beyond what they said by also observing how they responded to certain questions, their body language, as well as how they interacted with each other. This contributed a great deal to the data collection process and the quality of this study.

Therefore my attempt to understand how the people experienced campaigning in the area from different perspectives, benefitted from talking to these different stakeholders: the police in the area, party leaders and campaigners.

Ritchie and Lewis (2003) state that there is no particular way in which qualitative research can be carried out; but how it is carried out depends on such factors as the researcher's beliefs about what can be known about the world and how that knowledge can be acquired, the purpose of the research, as well as the participants and the environment in which the research is carried out. As stated above, the main aim for collecting this data was to answer the research question, and this came through answering a number of sub-questions that relate to determining what the experiences of the community as well as campaigners during this process were and what other stakeholders such as the IEC and SAPS thought about the campaign process in Imizamo Yethu.

This study seeks to understand whether or not political parties can campaign freely and without intimidation in the stronghold of another party. We go about this by trying to answer the main research question which is:

- Are all political parties free to campaign in South African townships? A case of opposition parties in Imizamo Yethu

As stated above, to answer the main research question I came up with a number of sub-questions that relate to the campaign process during the 2014 general election period. The sub-questions were as follows:

- Who is campaigning in Imizamo Yethu?
- How much access do the different political parties have to IY?
- How free are opposition political parties to campaign in IY?
- Have there been any violent confrontations between political parties and have they been reported to the police or the IEC?

- Have there been any incidents of campaign fraud (such as vote buying, removing of campaign posters of one party by another)
- Would voters in this area vote for any of the opposition parties and why?
- Do voters in this area believe that other political parties have the right to campaign in the area and why?
- What constitutes a free and fair campaign space according to both party leaders, the IEC and campaign volunteers?

The questions for all the interviews and the focus group discussions and even the casual chats that I had with the random community members were based and centred on the set of questions stated above.

## ***4.2 Imizamo Yethu: The Case Study***

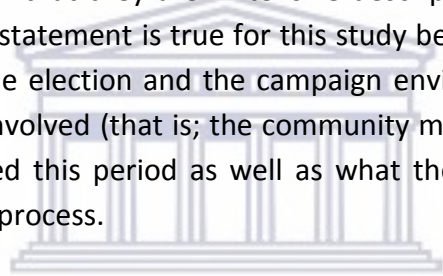
As stated above, this is a case study research that will focus on a township situated in Hout Bay, Cape Town. A case study research, as the name suggests, is a research strategy where a particular case or a few cases are carefully selected and rigorously studied. According to Gilbert (2008), there is normally no effort to select a representative sample, but the case itself is chosen because it is particularly interesting to the researcher or is unique or exceptional. Imizamo Yethu was chosen because it is one of those areas that is referred to as an ANC stronghold. Jolobe (2012) refers to these areas as the black poor areas in the Western Cape that continue to provide support for the ANC and into which the DA have had difficulties to penetrating, even though they are the ruling party in the Western Cape.

What makes Imizamo Yethu even more interesting is that it is situated in a ward that is largely ruled by the DA. Even though this is the case, in every election the ANC has won in this particular township with an overwhelming majority. In the 2009 general election the ANC obtained 84.97% and 82.51% in the voting stations situated in Imizamo Yethu. In the 2011 local government election the party managed to obtain 92.02% and 93.45% in the two voting stations situated in Imizamo Yethu, and in the 2014 election the ANC won the area by 86.72% and 86.49% in those two voting stations that are in Imizamo Yethu. Therefore Imizamo Yethu presents an interesting, albeit not unique, case in South African politics, but because resources did not allow for many cases to be examined, this one was selected. This makes the area interesting in terms of trying to understand why the ANC keeps winning so overwhelmingly in this area while the DA wins in the surrounding areas that fall into the same ward. I try to understand the phenomenon of stronghold areas using Imizamo Yethu with the hope that

gaining understanding of what takes place in Imizamo Yethu will assist me in gaining a better understanding of other townships as well, especially in the Western Cape, that remain loyal supports of the ruling party.

Neuman (1997), states that case study research involves examining many features of one, or a few cases in depth over a set period of time. In this research strategy, cases can be people, communities, events, organisations and so on and data is examined in a more detailed and in-depth manner and data is collected over a period of time from a few months to a number of decades (Neuman, 2008) depending on the nature of the case being examined. In this case study cases were made up of both the community (the people in IY) and organisations (the examined political parties) within the community concerning a particular event (2014 general election).

Henning et al (2004) argue that case studies are used to gain an in-depth understanding of a situation and what it means for those that are involved, and can be differentiated from other forms of qualitative research in that they are “intensive descriptions and analyses of a single unit or bounded system”. This statement is true for this study because it sought to understand a particular situation that is the election and the campaign environment in the run-up to the election and how the people involved (that is; the community members, the party leaders and party campaigners) experienced this period as well as what their perceptions are about the whole campaigning and voting process.



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### **4.3 Data Collection Techniques**

#### **4.3.1 Interviews**

Interviews were one of the data collection techniques that were used in this study. Interviews are a very useful tool to collect data, especially for a qualitative study, because they give the researcher an opportunity to understand what is being studied better, not only that but they also give a better understanding of the interviewee him/herself and his/her feeling and understanding about what is being studied. This statement is supported by Bless et al (2006), who have argued that an interview is a form of data collection that involves direct personal contact between the researcher and the researched, and the researched is asked to answer questions that are related to the research problem. Furthermore, they explain what interviews are; stating that interviews can be differentiated according to the way in which their questions are structured and there are three different types of interviews namely; structured interviews, semi-structured interviews and unstructured interviews (Gilbert, 2008). The type of interviews that were used in this study were unstructured, meaning that the participants were not guided in terms of how to answer the questions asked. There were to a large extent no answers

provided for participants to choose from, but participants were at liberty to answer the questions asked in a way that they were comfortable with. This type of interview was chosen not only to give participants freedom to answer questions as they saw fit, but also to give the researcher enough room to extract as much information from the interview as possible and to probe a bit further where necessary. This was very helpful in terms of getting a deeper meaning of things said especially by political leaders in the area.

One example of this was when an ANC youth leader in the area was asked if other political parties were campaigning in the area and he replied and said “ they do try to come here, but they know that if they come we will sabotage them” or when one of the community members said “it is the democratic right of other parties to come and campaign here, but we must protect our people from them”, because the questions were open ended and interviews not structured. It was easy to probe more discussion on these statements to find out what they meant. A number of different stake holders were interviewed and these were political party leaders and campaigners, the police in the area as well as IEC officials.

### **4.3.2 Interviews with Party Leaders**

Another group of people that I interviewed were the leaders of the different political parties in the area. Initially, I planned to interview at least one representative from each of the parties which this study was focusing on namely; the ANC, DA and the EFF. This meant that I would interview three leaders from all three parties concerned. At the end of the data collection process, I had managed to have successful interviews with four local leaders from the ANC, three from the EFF and only one DA member. This was due to the fact that it was extremely difficult to secure interviews with people from the opposition parties, the DA and EFF.

Many attempts were made to secure interviews with representatives from the DA and none of these were successful except for one campaigner who also told me that it would not be easy to get DA people to come forward because they did not want to be known as DA supporters. Even though access to the leaders of the opposition was limited to a large extent, these interviews helped me to understand how much access the leaders of other parties, besides the ANC, feel they had to the township and it highlighted some of the challenges they faced in terms of coming into a township that is a stronghold of another party and campaigning. According to Jolobe (2012) Imizamo Yethu is one of the poor mainly black areas in the Western Cape that remain a stronghold for the ANC and where the DA has struggled to increase its support base.

It was very important to speak to the leaders of the political parties in the area, to hear what campaigning in this area meant to them and how free and fair they thought the whole

campaign process or campaign environment in Imizamo Yethu was. This group of people was important for this study because they provided insight in terms of how the leaders of the opposition parties, the DA and the EFF, experienced campaigning in the area and what they thought was the cause of the challenges that they faced. From the ANC leaders one got a sense of how they experienced campaigning in the area as well as what they thought about other parties campaigning in the area.

Ritchie and Lewis (2003) state that people that are associated with qualitative research have strong beliefs about the importance and the value of the respondent's own understanding and interpretation of the subject of study. I believe that talking to these party leaders provided insight in terms of their own experiences during the campaign, as well as what they believe should have happened. It will also help understand what the party leaders view as intimidation or political intolerance, as well as what they view as a free and fair campaign environment. Furthermore, the EFF is a new player in the field and a breakaway party from the ANC; consequently it would be important to find out from them what kind of experience they have had in terms of campaigning in an area that is a stronghold of their former political home.

Furthermore, it was from these interviews that I would be able to find out if the ANC leaders and campaigners feel any sense of entitlement to the voters in this area and how open they are to the idea of political competition, that is, other political parties campaigning in the area. Moreover, talking to the local party leaders helped determine what kind of challenges over all, were experienced by all political parties, how serious they were and what actions were taken by the parties affected to counter these challenges and whether or not these were reported to the police or even to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC). Understanding the experiences of political parties during the campaign period assisted in giving insights in term of what kind of a campaign environment Imizamo Yethu was and what this means for free and fair campaigning in the area.

#### **4.3.3 Interviews: South African Police Service (SAPS, Hout Bay) and Independent Electoral Commission (IEC, Western Cape)**

To answer the questions about whether or not there had been any incidents of campaign fraud and intimidation or any type of politically motivated crimes reported I interviewed the head of the police station in the area as well as representatives from the Independent Electoral Commission. This is what Manheim, Rich Willnat and Brians (1995) call elite interviews. According to Manheim et al (1995) this depends on the person's access to the information that can help answer the research question. This is true in this case because in order for me to know if there were any crimes reported, what kind these crimes were and how serious they were I

needed to speak to people or a person that have access to that kind of information, in this case the SAPS in Hout Bay. The interview helped in terms of understanding the kind of environment and/or atmosphere in which campaigning and the election took place. The interviews that were conducted with the IEC officials were helpful in terms of understanding if there have been any complaints lodged to this institution by one party against another. And this speaks to the type of political environment and the role of the IEC in making sure that all parties adhere to the Electoral Code of Conduct.

If there were complaints lodged it was important to find out what kind of incidents were reported and how serious they were as well as how they were remedied. Also, in general, the interview with the IEC representatives were helpful in providing understanding about how the IEC defines quality campaigns that are free and fair, and what constitutes free and fair elections from the IEC's point of view. To a large extent, this is the kind of information that came up from the interviews with both the SAPS and the IEC.

#### **4.3.4 Interviews with the Police**

I planned to interview a number of police officers, initially, five. But I experienced problems in terms of getting police officers that were willing to talk to me. Eventually I found out that only the station commander was authorised to talk to students and researchers. After weeks of trying to make an appointment with the station commander I managed to get an interview with her.

This interview with police was meant to help in terms of understanding whether there were any incidents of intimidation and violence, and whether there were any official reports of such incidents. I also sought to find out in cases where there were any incidents reported, what type of incidents these were, how serious they were and which political party reported them. The aim was to gain understanding of the campaign space from a stakeholder who did not have any links with any of the political parties so that we could get a non-biased account of the whole campaign process.

#### **4.3.5 Interviews with IEC Officials**

The purpose of these interviews was to determine if any political party had submitted any official complaints to the IEC regarding irregularities in the area of Imizamo Yethu. If yes, what nature of irregularities were reported and what was done to remedy the situation? Also important was to find out from the IEC how they define a free and fair campaign space, what constitutes it and what is being done to uphold this in cases where complaints are lodged, as

well as what the commission does to remedy the situation and prevent violence, intimidation and campaign fraud from taking place. At least two officials were interviewed and they both gave an overview of how things were in Cape Town as a whole, not just in Imizamo Yethu. One of them also gave a brief background on how political violence and fraud came about in Cape Town, while the other one pointed to other things that might cause a campaign space to be closed, other than actual violence and intimidation. Again the aim here was to gain a sober perspective from an independent body whose duty was to uphold the constitutional rights of all the political parties without discrimination and to make sure that all parties were adhering to the Electoral Code of Conduct.

Interviews with the IEC as well as with the police were instrumental in terms of cross referencing, to make sure that this study does not only depend on the views and experiences of political party leaders and campaigners who would be to a large extent biased towards their own interests and the interests of their political parties. Getting an independent and official perspective of things helped to make sure that the data that we gathered from the interviews with political parties would be cross referenced with the data from the police and the IEC so as to validate it to an extent.

#### **4.3.6 Focus Group Discussions**

According to Terre Blanche, Durrheim (2006), focus group discussions are interviews that are conducted with a group of people who share similar experiences. They go on to say that this group of people doesn't have to be "naturally constituted or an existing social group" (Terre Blanche et al, 2006). Therefore, a focus group can be made up of people that are affected by the problem being researched but who do not know each other. Focus group discussions were another technique that was used to collect data during this study.

There were two sets of focus groups that were conducted with community members, one informal focus group with ANC campaigners, as well as one informal focus group discussion with EFF leaders and campaigners. Another set consisted of two focus group discussions with community members. These discussions were very beneficial for my study because they provided great insights with regards to the campaign environment in the area from the perspective of campaigners, as well as what the community members think of political parties in the area, how receptive they are to opposition parties, their views on political competition and the right of opposition parties to campaign among other things.



### **4.3.7 Focus Group Discussions with Party Campaigners**

As it has already been stated, finding a group of campaigners that was big enough to form focus groups as planned became a big challenge due to people being busy and some being unwilling to talk. Therefore informal interviews were held with two campaigners from the ANC and three more from the EFF. These were done separately. The reason for doing these interviews separately was that there were concerns about the fact that we were seeking information from people that belonged to rival political parties and there were possibilities that some might want to say something painting the others in bad light, and this would trigger quarrels among participants. Also, if people from different parties were to be gathered in one room and be asked about their experiences during the campaign period some might not be as free to talk as they would be in an environment where they are with people from their own party. We also feared that the discussion might get too heated leading to confrontational situations that I might not be equipped to handle.

These discussions were very useful for this study because they allowed me, the researcher, to get a deeper understanding of the participants' perceptions from different viewpoints, that is, from the viewpoints of the different political parties, not only from asking the questions and listening to answers, but also from the way in which they answered the questions, how they reacted and responded to the comments and answers of others as well as their interaction with each other (Burnham et al, 2008). Even though these were not formal focus group discussions, they still contributed a great deal in terms of understanding the experiences of the campaigners and how they interpreted their own experiences and the experiences of others. Speaking to two or three campaigners at the same time helped to stimulate the discussion and generate more data than a one on one interview.

### **4.3.8 Focus Group Discussions with Community Members**

Two focus group discussions consisting of nine community members each were conducted. The first focus group discussion was made up of nine middle-aged community members, eight South Africans and one Zimbabwean. It was an hour long. The second one consisted of mainly young people (men) from the community and three older women. This one was about an hour and 15 minutes long. The purpose for these focus group discussions was to get perceptions of community members with regards to the campaign process.

I aimed to find out from them whether they thought the process was free and fair for all political parties or not. Also, my aim was to determine how open the community members are to the idea of political competition in the area and how welcoming they are of other parties, especially the opposition parties under examination. Furthermore, I believed that these focus

group discussions would help me understand the community better and to see where (if anywhere) their loyalties lie in terms of political parties.

This is the kind of data I managed to gather from these discussions and they were very helpful even in terms of understanding how the supporters and leaders of the different political parties interacted with each other. These discussions were helpful as well because they brought out people's unhappiness even with the parties they support and voluntarily campaign for. The focus group discussions were conducted in the community hall. The question asked during these discussions related to the people's own perceptions of a free and fair campaign space, and their views about how free and fair the whole campaign process was during the 2014 general election period. There were also questions about people's own feelings about opposition parties and their rights to campaign. Participants were also asked questions relating to democracy and what it entails. Community members were very cooperative and they participated very willingly in the discussions and they provided very useful information for this study.

#### **4.4 Data Collection Process**

The data collection process started in June 2014. I started by speaking informally speaking to a few people in the area to find out how willing they would be to talk to me about campaigning in the area. The first group of people was a group of former and current ANC local leaders. These were the people who were involved in the establishment of the township of Imizamo Yethu. After having managed to secure interviews with a few of them, I was also awarded an opportunity to speak to two young women that were volunteers for the ANC during the campaign.

It was a challenge trying to get them to open up and speak to me because they feared that I was linked to their leaders and I would take whatever they said and report back to their leaders. Thus I had to assure them that I was not sent by their leaders and I did not represent any political party. I was also introduced to the ANC's campaign organiser in the area who agreed to do an interview with me, but after that I struggled for two months to get hold of him, until I went into the ANC constituency office without any appointment and urged him to talk to me. The discussion with him was very fruitful as it gave me insights even into issues I had not asked him about. These insights I gained through watching him and his interaction with the people that came into the office to seek assistance with one thing or the other.

I also perceived how the people in the community viewed the ANC and its leaders, as well as the role that they play in the area, and this helped me understand some of the loyalties that people in this area have to the ANC. This will be discussed further in the findings chapter.

#### ***4.5 Challenges, Limitations and Ethical Considerations***

The data collection process presented two major challenges discussed below. One of these challenges was the difficulty to find people from opposing political parties in Imizamo Yethu. Finding members or supporters of opposition parties that were willing to talk proved to be a difficult task for a couple of months, such that one had to talk to random people in the streets to get pointers as to where to look for potential interviewees. My door into the area was through local leaders that belonged to the ANC. This meant that it was only this group of people that were able to assist me in terms of how I could get hold of people from other political parties. It was a big challenge gaining access to the members and supporters of the two other parties, that is, the DA and the EFF in the area, as the ruling party leaders in the area kept blocking my access by telling me that there were neither EFF nor DA supporters in the area. To some extent, these leaders acted as “gatekeepers” making sure that I did not speak to any other political leader in the area. I therefore had to seek other means of finding opposition leaders that would be willing to talk to me and share their experiences concerning campaigning in this area.

Eventually I managed to get an interview with four EFF leaders who also campaigned in the area. I heard from one of the community members that there was an EFF event taking place in one weekend, and I managed to access a number for one of the event’s organisers and secured an interview with him and two of his colleagues. I ended up having a discussion with three EFF campaigners who explained to me how difficult it was to come out and support an opposition party in the area and they told me that you have to be very brave to do that in the IY community.

As for the DA, I was given a number of one of the party’s members in the area, but unfortunately, she passed away before we could have our interview. After hitting a brick wall in my attempts to get other DA members in the area, I managed to spot a lady that was wearing a DA t-shirt during one of my visits in the area. I approached her and she agreed to speak to me. During our interview, she informed that it would be difficult for me to get people that would willingly talk to me as no one wanted to be publicly identified with the DA in the area. The area falls under ward 74 which is governed by the DA, but even my attempts to make contact with the councillor’s office to secure an interview were not successful.

Another key challenge or short coming, like the one discussed above, stems from the nature of politics in the area, where the ANC dominates and leaders of the ANC are not only party leaders but community leaders too. This challenge relates to the focus group discussions with the community members. As stated previously the focus group discussions were aimed at getting the views of community members about the election and campaign period in Imizamo Yethu and they were organised with the help of some of the ANC leaders in the area. Some of these

leaders were always in attendance in all the focus group discussions. I present this as a key challenge because I believe that the presence of ANC leaders in these discussions might have affected the robustness of the discussions and resulted to people saying things to please their leaders. Having said that, during the discussions, at no point did I sense or notice intimidation or censorship of community members by any of these leaders. It looked like all the views expressed were those of the individual community members. But I believe that had the ANC leaders not attended these discussions, other issues such as the people's grievances with the ruling party would have come out.

Ethical considerations were taken into account during this study. This was done to make sure that the autonomy and consent of the participants were respected at all times. According to Durrheim (1999) it is important for the researcher to address and take into account two important factors in this process, namely autonomy and consent. To make sure that proper ethical protocol was followed, the purpose of the research was explained to the participants. Participants were also informed at all times that their participation should be on a voluntary basis and that they were at liberty to discontinue the interview or discussion should they feel uncomfortable. Furthermore, participants were given an information sheet that explained what the research was about and this information sheet was explained to participants in their own language (IsiXhosa). Participants were also requested to sign an informed consent form so that they were aware of the purpose of the research and give their informed consent if they felt comfortable participating in the research. A copy of the consent form, the interview and focus group discussion schedules and the information sheet are attached as appendices to this paper.

#### **4.6 Data Analysis**

All the interviews and focus group discussions were transcribed and key themes were picked out through a process of colour coding. Respondents were allocated a number each so as to differentiate between them. For example, in a focus group discussion of 12 community members I had FG respondent 1-12, and with the individual interviews I have, for instance, ANC respondent 1 for the first respondent I interviewed. The dates for these will be included in the indices. After transcribing all the data, I considered all the key themes that were coming out and these were the themes I used for the data analysis process. The findings are presented in the following chapter.

## 5. Chapter Five: Presentation of Research Findings

### 5.1 Introduction

Since the founding elections in 1994, the ANC has managed to win every election with landslide victories in both the national and provincial legislatures. In all provinces, except for the Western Cape, the ANC has managed to win with very convincing victories. The Western Cape presents an interesting and somewhat different case in South Africa in terms of its political support. Africa (2013) argues that the trends of electoral support in this province have to a large extent been in contrast to the trends in the rest of the country. Whereas the ANC has dominated elections in South Africa over the years since 1994, the Western Cape's electoral results have been quite unpredictable resulting in different political parties governing in this province.

In 1994, the NNP was the governing party and in 1999 the ANC governed (Africa, 2013, p.5). Since 2004 the DA has sought to change this province's reputation as the province in which electoral outcome could not be predicted to one of being the only province governed by the DA in country. Even though the DA has managed to establish itself as the official opposition in Parliament, and the only party which has managed to grow with each election since 1994 (Africa, 2013, p. 4), this party has continued to struggle to gain support in the predominantly black townships of South Africa, even in the ones situated in the Western Cape where this political party governs.

Some have argued that this party struggles to increase its black support base in the townships because of its background as a white led political party (Jolobe, 2012, p.137). Not only have these areas resisted penetration from the DA as a former white political party, but black political parties, such as the very promising Congress of the People that emerged to contest elections in 2009, as well as Julius Malema's very vibrant Economic Freedom Fighters that came into the political scene to contest the 2014 elections, have also struggled to gain solid support in these areas. This study sought to determine whether political parties are free to campaign in other parties' stronghold areas.

After having answered this question one is able to understand some of the factors underlying the ANC's continued triumph in South African townships, and the factors that underlie the opposition parties' struggles to convincingly win support in these areas. In this chapter, I present findings from my study in Imizamo Yethu a township that is situated in ward 74 of the City of Cape Town metropolitan municipality, a ward governed by the DA with one pocket that is predominantly ANC.

Imizamo Yethu was alive with campaigning and political activities during the campaign period. The ANC did extensive campaigning in the area while some of the opposition parties campaigned rigorously too.

Some of the key findings that came out of this study are presented in this chapter in a manner that primarily narrates what emerged from the research process and engaging with the different stakeholders in Imizamo Yethu and elsewhere. Some of the findings of this study affirm some of the arguments in literature, while others challenge certain arguments. The analysis of these findings and how they link to the literature is dealt with in the next chapter. Some of the key findings of this study are as follows:

- That a number of different political parties campaigned in Imizamo Yethu but the people in the area were not as receptive to the opposition parties as they are of the ANC.
- There is a level of political intolerance in the area and some of the members of the opposing parties' fear that coming out publicly as opposition supporters will jeopardise both their social and economic security.

These are just a few of the factors that came out of the research process. Below I zoom in on the findings and flesh out key factors that came out of the whole process of talking to the various stakeholders and to a very limited extent, my own observations. The findings will be presented in two sections. The first section will address the key findings from the interviews with the political leaders and campaigners, and the second part will look at the focus group discussions with community members. There will be subsections looking at different themes under each section. In the chapter that will follow, I will then attempt to analyse these findings by looking at the different themes that came out of this study and what these might mean for the study.

## **5.2 Political Parties**

### **5.2.1 Access and Reception to the Community**

The community leaders in Imizamo Yethu are dedicated ANC members and organisers and they were very active during the campaign period. These leaders are the same people that the community looks up to for assistance with various things that community members need. An example of this is that there is an ANC constituency office in Imizamo Yethu. This office assists people with things such as making copies (ID copies, death certificates etc), certifying documents, printing documents. They supply forms that they give to people who want to open bank accounts, fill in these forms and stamp them with the ANC official stamp. People are then able to take these to their banks and are able to open bank accounts. These leaders are not only viewed as party leaders, but are community leaders too. Therefore there is a level of loyalty and respect from the community towards this group of people, and since this group of

people belong to the ANC, the respect and loyalty is also extended to the ANC. It is on this backdrop that political campaigns in Imizamo Yethu took place.

These leaders seemed to show a sense of entitlement to the votes of the people in this area. There seems to be a degree of certainty on the part of the ANC leaders in the area that people there will always vote for the ANC. One of the leaders I spoke to said: "When we campaign, we go door-to-door and remind people of what the ANC has done, and people receive us very well because they know that it is because of the ANC that they can even vote". When asked to describe the people's reception towards the ANC, another community leader said: "It was very good because they know who the ANC is and what the ANC has done. Even though the DA is trying to steal the votes of our people by giving them false promises, they know that the ANC is the best" (ANC Respondent 3, 2014).

When one of these leaders was asked to describe how the other political parties were received in the area, he said: "We receive them just for the sake of democracy. When you take a spoon of clean water and throw it into an ocean it immediately disappears." He said this referring to the efforts of other political parties to come into the area. "I mean what is EFF or AGANG? They are not even political parties, and some people even think that EFF stands for Ethiopian Football Federation! They are not interested in that. Even if they do come here, after they leave, this area remains strongly ANC" (ANC Respondent 1, 2014).

It appears that the community leaders, who also happen to be ANC leaders in the area, expect, and to some extent demand, this unwavering support from the people. One of the ANC leaders said in passing that, "Even the few that support the DA still come to us when they are in trouble and need assistance, but when they vote, they vote for those white people. I don't know why they come to us and not to them for assistance" (ANC Respondent 4, 2014).

The EFF gave a different account to that given by the ANC. Asked to describe how accessible the area was and how they were received by the people, one of the EFF campaigners said: "It is difficult to campaign here because people are afraid to go against the ANC. When we do the door-to-door campaigning we are not really welcomed into people's houses because people do not want to be seen as traitors" (EFF Respondent 2, 2014).

Another respondent explained this further by narrating the difficulties that they as a party experienced while campaigning in Imizamo Yethu. He said: "Everything here, my sister, is done through the ANC. Say for instance someone breaks into your house. When you go to the police station they will ask you for a proof of residence and you can only get that from the ANC constituency office and when you go there they will attack you and say how can you ask for our help while you support another party and so on".

The DA campaigner stated that the party made few attempts to campaign in the area with little success. She said: “If you are not ANC in this area no one really pays attention to you” (DA Campaigner, 2014).

One of the ANC leaders testified to this when he stated that, “The people here know that the ANC is their organisation, and that it is because of the ANC that they are now able to vote, so they don’t pay attention to any other political party that comes and tries to steal their votes” (ANC respondent 1, 2014).

Another ANC respondent had this to say when asked about access for all political parties into Imizamo Yethu:

“I saw few of the blue here and there walking slowly in the community doing little door-to-door campaigns. I saw them because I’m always out there taking tourists around the area, but I saw that nobody was entertaining them. The people I saw were looking a little bit lost and most of them were not even community members; they were people from outside this community. Only three or four people were from around. One of the members of the DA passed away. She was a friend of mine and I went to her memorial service and shared a platform with the councillor. I told her that the woman was killed by her own ignorance. She died of pneumonia. She was staying in a shack because she refused to be built a house, since that housing project was put together by the ANC people and she was influenced by the DA to say that we were corrupt and didn’t want the house. She didn’t even apply for the land claim money because she said it was a corrupt exercise organised by the ANC. I also saw a little bit of the red berets. It was just young men that were joined by people that love music in the community and after that they were gone and then I only saw their 85 votes in the election and the same applies to DA” (ANC Respondent 2, 2014).

In a random conversation with one of the ANC youth leaders in the area, I asked him if other parties campaigned in the area? He answered: “They do try to come but they never succeed and they know that if they come here we will sabotage them” (IY ANC youth leader, 2014).

### **5.2.2 Political Intolerance**

The opposition parties both alluded to the fact that there is some form of political intolerance in the area which leads to people being afraid of supporting other parties besides the ANC. They fear being labelled as “sell-outs” and thereby becoming victims of verbal attacks. EFF campaigners claimed that there was a lot of fear amongst the people to publicly support the EFF. They stated that when they approach people individually they are willing to sign up as members, but they are scared to do so publicly. One of the EFF campaigners said: “There are so



many people that want to come out and support the EFF publicly, but because of these challenges they are afraid. Because once you come out you minimise your chances of getting a proper life here” (EFF Respondent 3, 2014).

The DA campaigner stated that there is fear among DA supporters, because of the political intolerance, even on the part of the community at large, because if you support the opposition you are viewed as the enemy. She said: “There are many people here that support the DA. They even voted, but they won’t talk to you, especially because people have seen you talking to those ANC people” (DA campaigner, 2014).

Furthermore, EFF campaigners claimed that there was a lot of intimidation happening in the area. One of the leaders cited an example of when he was trying to put up an EFF poster at the taxi rank. A group of taxi drivers, who are ANC supporters, came to him and demanded that he remove the poster because it was ANC territory. He did so in order to avoid violence. One of the ANC leaders in the area was asked about this incident and he responded: “Many of the taxi drivers and owners are members of the ANC so that means that is their space. They have the right to remove posters that belong to another party that is not the ANC” (ANC respondent 4, 2014). Another one of the EFF campaigners said: “Even in public places like taverns we get attacked and mocked for wearing EFF t-shirts or berets” (EFF Respondent 4, 2014).

The EFF campaigners pointed out that there is also a certain level of intimidation and political intolerance that take place in Imizamo Yethu. Even though this intimidation and intolerance is not obvious for everyone to see, according to EFF campaigners it is there and it is perpetuated by the ANC leaders in the community.

### **5.2.3 Political Parties’ Campaigning in Imizamo Yethu**

The ANC in the area started campaigning as early as six months before the election. According to one of the party leaders in the area, the campaign was meant to, “remind people of the things that the ANC has done and make sure they understand that voting is serious” (ANC respondent 3, 2014). Their campaign strategy also included voter education. The ANC made use of volunteers and they conducted door-to-door campaigns, rallies and held events in the area where top ranking national leaders of the party were invited.

One of the leaders who was responsible for organising campaigns in the area said: “We campaign everywhere, even in the areas around here where we know that the DA has a stronghold. But, we pay more focus on our stronghold areas so that we remind them to keep voting for the ANC so that the ANC will keep doing what it is doing, and that is to deliver services to our people” (ANC respondent 4, 2014). According to the party leaders, the campaign

process was free and fair. All the parties were allowed to campaign but they claimed that none of the other parties campaigned in the area. The ANC leaders were asked what they thought was the reason for the other parties' reluctance to campaign in the area. One of them responded: "People here know what the ANC has done for them and the other parties know too" (ANC Respondent 1, 2014.) Another said: "They have tried coming here but no one entertains them" (ANC Respondent 3, 2014). While yet another added: "We protect our constituency here" (ANC Respondent 4, 2014). A youth leader commented: "They know if they come here we will sabotage them" (ANC IY youth leader, 2014).

As much as these leaders therefore claim that the area is a free and fair campaign space, there are elements that show that to some extent the space here is closed down and difficult for other political parties to penetrate. It also looks as if one of the ANC's campaign strategies in the area was to highlight the mistakes and failures of the DA as a governing party in the Western Cape. One of the leaders said when responding to the same question about why the other parties were not campaigning in the area: "You see the problem is that the DA has a terrible councillor who does not care about the people in this area, and our people must know that they don't care" (ANC Respondent 2, 2014).

One of these leaders said that they believe they have to "protect our constituency against these other parties that want to mislead them" (ANC Respondent 4, 2014). When asked what this means, he replied: "We make sure that they know whose fault it is that we do not have electricity or water or proper roads, so that they don't blame the ANC for the mistake of others".

The ANC leaders painted a picture of a very peaceful campaign process where any chance of violence was limited by all means. They also painted a picture of a very open society, where all political parties were at liberty to campaign in the community at anytime. But they were also quick to hurl insults at opposition parties and made sure that they explained how useless these parties are and that they will never win votes in Imizamo Yethu. Moreover, quite a number of them believe that it is shocking for a black person to support the DA, and anyone who does is viewed as an enemy.

The campaigners of the EFF had a different story to tell. When asked if they think Imizamo Yethu is a free and fair campaign environment, they responded that Imizamo Yethu is not because all the people that support political parties that oppose the ANC get harassed by both community members and ANC leaders. To answer the question: "Do you think Imizamo Yethu is a free and fair campaign space?", one of the campaigners said: "Not really. There were other people here who were COPE supporters; one man left the ANC for COPE, some of the people left the ANC with him. But this guy was a well-known person, and the ANC guys couldn't

threaten him. They then threatened the people who left with him and their families, and that's when people started leaving COPE and going back to the ANC".

The EFF found it difficult to campaign in Imizamo Yethu for a number of reasons that they cited such as lack of access to communal facilities such as community halls, sports grounds and even use of a vacant taxi rank.

In addition, I also discovered that new political parties find it difficult at times to use channels such as the IEC to report electoral abuses, because in order for them to be able to lodge any complaint to the IEC with regards to a particular area or ward, they have to have been launched and officially registered in that ward or area. For new political parties like the EFF, it is difficult to launch and register in all the wards, therefore it was difficult for them to report some of the challenges that they faced in Imizamo Yethu during the 2014 general election period. When they were asked if they ever reported the issues they were complaining about to the IEC, one of the EFF campaigners said: "It would be easy if we were already launched as a branch in this area, but because we were not launched yet so we couldn't use the proper channels." (EFF Respondent 3, 2014).

None of the opposition parties in Imizamo Yethu submitted any complaint to either the IEC or the police. Both the IEC officers that I spoke to referred only to incidents reported in other townships such as Khayelitsha, Phillipi and Nyanga and elsewhere outside Cape Town. The station manager at Hout Bay police station stated that the campaign and voting process was very peaceful in Imizamo Yethu.

I was able to get an interview with two of the young women who were volunteer campaigners for the ANC in Imizamo Yethu. The purpose for talking to these volunteers was to find out what their own experiences as campaigners were, as well as what they thought of the whole campaign process and whether or not they viewed it as having been free and fair. They were asked to describe the campaign process and how they were received by the people during the campaign. They stated that the campaign process was fine but that many of the people in IY insulted the campaigners because they said the ANC had not delivered what it had promised in the previous election. They further stated that they agree with the people who say the ANC have not delivered on their promises. When asked why they continued to campaign for the ANC if that was the case and one of them responded: "We have to, my sister, because we are not doing it for the people. We are doing it because the ANC is our parents and grand parents party, so we have to." The other campaigner agreed and said: "We are doing this for the party, not for any individual" (ANC campaigner 2, 2014).

They were asked if any other political party was campaigning in the area and they said none of the opposition parties campaigned. When they were asked what they thought was the reason

for other parties to stay away from IY, one of them said: “They are scared that there will be clashes if they come here. The Democratic Alliance came here and tried to provoke us, but our leaders told us to ignore them”. The other campaigner added: “Maybe the DA looks down on us since we are black and poor people in this area. We saw them campaigning in the coloured areas around here, but they didn’t come here. I think the EFF got scared because this is an ANC area and they knew that they were not going to get any votes here so they stayed away” (ANC campaigner 1, 2014).

Asked to describe the overall campaign process, the campaigners said that it was very peaceful and that there was no violence at all during this period. One of them said: “At first I was scared that there would be violence, but no, there wasn’t. Every time there was a threat our leaders would tell us to ignore any provocations and get into the cars to show that we were not going to do anything” (ANC Campaigner 1, 2014). According to these volunteers, the process was free and fair.

#### **5.2.4 Clientelism**

Another challenge that the EFF campaigners pointed out was that of clientelism/patronage. They stated that many of the projects that bring opportunities for employment and improved standards of living, come through the community leaders who belong to the ANC. If you are known as a supporter of an opposition party you will not benefit from these projects. One of the EFF campaigners told me how much he has suffered in his business as a tour guide since he started supporting and campaigning for the EFF. They also stated that it is difficult to even access things such as community halls and sports fields if you are with the opposition. One has to be associated with the ANC to be able to access these things. This therefore made the campaign process very difficult for the EFF campaigner in Imizamo Yethu.

Explaining this further, one of the EFF campaigners gave this example: “Everything here, my sister, is done through the ANC. For instance, if someone breaks into your house and you go to the police station, they will ask you for proof of residence. Since this is an informal settlement, you can only get that from the ANC constituency office. When you go there they will attack you and say ‘how can you ask for the help of the ANC while you support another party’ and so on”. The best way for people to feel safe and protected is to remain ANC supporters even if they are not happy with how the ANC does things. Only people connected to these ANC leaders get first preference when it comes to getting access to opportunities which leads to nepotism being an additional challenge in Imizamo Yethu.

EFF leaders pointed out that many of the young people that they had spoken to were very unhappy about the way things were done in the area. However, they believed that supporting

another party would further decrease their chances of getting jobs when the next project comes. One volunteer said “There are so many people that want to come out and support the EFF publicly, but they are afraid. Because once you publicly show your support for another party you will get called names and you will never prosper”.

The EFF leaders believe that the ANC has an advantage in the area because of its struggle credentials. People believe that the ANC brought them freedom and will continue to bring benefits to the people and this, therefore, hinders them from looking at other parties. Explaining this, one of the EFF campaigners said “Also since the ANC is the party that brought freedom in the country, people turn a blind eye to the fact that there are other political parties that can provide an alternative to the ANC” (EFF respondent 2, 2014). This means that new parties like the EFF cannot compete with the ANC at that level in the area.

Using services provided by the state to campaign was another issue pointed out by the EFF campaigners. They claim that the ANC uses things such as houses and social grants to appeal to the voters. One of the campaigners who pointed this out said: “When the ANC campaign, they normally speak about the things they have done. For instance, they would say to the elderly, ‘it’s because of the ANC that you have social grants, or the house that you stay in was built by the ANC’, so people feel obliged to vote for the ANC” (EFF respondent 4, 2014). He also referred to one of the ANC’s slogans during the campaign period which said “Do it for Mandela”. He used this to explain that the ANC was using this slogan to appeal to the emotions of the people so that they continue voting for the ANC.

They also pointed out the lack of access to economic opportunities, such as running a business in the area. They stated that if you are not ANC allied, the growth of your business is blocked. Non-ANC supporters experience some kind of socio-economic backlashes because of the party that they support.

The Democratic Alliance is the official opposition in the area, but their support base does not even begin to come near that of the ANC. The supporters of the Democratic Alliance in the area are difficult to find. It was virtually impossible to find DA supporters that were willing to talk to me, apart from one woman who was a volunteer during the campaign period. When I finally managed to get hold of her she was in a hurry to finish the interview. She told me that there were many DA supporters in the area but they were scared to speak to me., Even her attempts to get them to be part of the discussion failed. I asked her what she thought was the reason for the fear? She stated that there is very little freedom in terms of political party support in the area. She also rearticulated the concerns of the EFF members by stating that if one wants to succeed in this township, and benefit from the projects that these

ANC/community leaders bring into the community, one must never publicly declare their support of the opposition. It does not matter whether you support the DA, EFF or COPE, you need to keep your political loyalties to yourself if they are not in line with the ANC. She agreed with some of the complaints voiced by ANC supporters about the DA's service delivery record in the area. She said: "It is difficult for the DA to campaign here because people want results, people here are hungry and the ANC comes with projects here and it's only through the ANC that people can have access to these projects. No one wants to go against such a party" (DA campaigner, 2014).

I asked her why she had come out and was willing to talk? She said it was easy for her because she is working and does not need the ANC projects to help her make ends meet. Further, she explained to me that projects such as the Melon Housing project are led by the ANC leaders and only the people associated with them (family and friends and ANC supporters) benefit from these projects. If you are a community member who is hoping to benefit from the community projects, it is important that you get involved with the ANC and take part in the ANC activities.

She added that this makes it difficult for other parties to even campaign in the area because firstly, very few people are willing to campaign for opposition parties in the area. Secondly, even when other political parties come to campaign, very little attention is paid to them because people believe that only the ANC can help people and deliver services and jobs in Imizamo Yethu. She said: "People do not pay attention to any other political party here except for the ANC because they are hoping to get benefits from the ANC" (DA campaigner, 2014). This makes Imizamo Yethu very difficult to penetrate for opposition parties such as the DA because no one is willing to listen and engage.

### **5.2.5 Identity Voting and Freedom to Vote Freely**

In a casual conversation after this brief interview, people complained that they never got paid, but they had heard that some of the volunteers got paid. One of them said: "We are poor people here, my sister, but our own leaders steal from us. There is too much corruption here even with other things like housing". I asked them why they continued campaigning and their answer was that they were not doing this for any person but for their political party. Whether or not leaders were corrupt did not change how they feel about the ANC as their political party.

What was also evident from my interview with the ANC campaigners were that they themselves were not entirely pleased with the way the ANC did things both, on a national and a local level. However they believed that it was their duty to campaign for and to support the ANC, which they refer to as the "party of our parents". These campaigners show loyalty to the ANC, not

because they are happy with how things are, but because they believe supporting the ANC is something that they have to do to honour their parents and grandparents. There is a level of party identification with the ANC as a political party to which they belong, an organisation to which their parents and grandparents belong.

The DA campaigner believes that there is no freedom of expression in the community because many of her party members were scared to come out and publicly declare their support for their party because of what I will call socio-economic back lashes from the community and the ANC leaders in the community. The DA has tried to campaign in the area a few times, but the above mentioned challenges made it very difficult to freely campaign and engage citizens because both the party, and the citizens, did not enjoy freedom from fear of intimidation.

### ***5.3 Focus Group Discussions with Community Members***

Two focus groups discussions with community members resulted in a number of interesting factors being raised. These factors became very important for this research, because to a large extent, they verified a lot of other factors raised by the different political parties. Among these factors were:

- Political intolerance
- Identity voting
- Clientelism

Also new issues came up such as:

- Social control by the ruling party
- Political door keeping
- Campaign strategy (ANC)

As already stated in the introduction to this chapter, the themes will be discussed extensively (not exhaustively) in the chapter that follows.

#### **5.3.1 Community Relations**

The first question that I asked the community members were: Can you describe relations between people in this community? There was consensus among all participants that relations between communities were pleasant and that they live in peace with each other. Even foreign nationals in the area were treated as full members of the community. This is despite the rising levels of crime that almost all of them complained about. One of the participants answered the question as such: “We live in peace here my sister, besides the crime that the others have

spoken about. Even politically we are a very peaceful community. Other parties like Agang come here and have their small events and leave in peace. COPE too, dwindling as they are. But the biggest challenge is the DA. Everyone knows that we are struggling in the Western Cape because of this DA, but we don't give up as the ANC, we will always be on top and there are also the red ones. They are trying, shame, but they will always be below us. But no one chases them away or beats them up. They come here, do what they want to do and leave in peace".

The other member (whom I suspected was one of the ANC leaders) said that everyone lived peacefully and that there was no discrimination on the basis of political party support. He also stated that the only challenge was the fact that, "this province is ruled by the DA, and they don't deliver services in this area".

Another participant, an old woman probably in her mid-sixties, said: "There is peace here. But these other political parties, especially their youth, have tried to bring the ANC down. But we stopped fighting this fight alone a long time ago, now we fight them with the ancestors. Even this time, they thought they would beat us, but the ancestors said no!"

A few of them admitted that there are tensions between political parties in this community. One of them said: "There are grudges here, political grudges, you know that happens in politics my sister". But one of the participants (whom I also suspect to be one of the leaders of the ANC in the area) was quick to intervene when these admissions were made. He explained that these tensions were not very serious and that they had good relations with these parties, but that sometimes they had small clashes.

Community members in Imizamo Yethu believe that theirs is a peaceful community, both socially and politically, even though there are challenges that they face, such as crime and lack of service delivery. While some of them admitted to have disturbed other political parties' gatherings, they all still concluded that relations in the community are quite peaceful and pleasant.

### **5.3.2 Political Competition**

The second question asked to these community members was concerning political competition. Participants were asked whether or not they thought it was good to have many political parties competing in one country. This question was aimed at understanding what they thought of SA's multi-party democracy, and how they feel about the fact that political parties are competing for their votes.

Some of them said that they think it is good because having competition will push the ANC to provide services to the people. and one of the community members said: "They will stop going



to parliament to sleep". Some also felt that it is a democratic right for the parties to be formed and to express this by contesting elections. One of the participants said: "As we celebrate 50 years of the Freedom Charter, it is stated in there that South Africa belongs to all whom live in it. So yes they are free to form their parties. So we grant them that right". What is interesting though is that as much as they recognise this right of other parties to contest elections, they believe that it is the ANC that grants them this right and therefore the ANC can actually take this right away. One of the participants commented that it is good that the ANC 'gives' freedom to other parties but felt that other parties are abusing the freedom given to them by opposing the ANC.

Another participant also alluded to this when she stated quiet passionately that, "It is democratic for these red berets (EFF) and aganga (meaning 'to be silly' in isiZulu, referring to Agang) to be around. It's their right. But I feel that the ANC has given them too much freedom. If it were up to me, I would put an end to it all and have only one political party. The party that fought for this democracy should be the one in power. All the others should go back to wherever they came from. They would not even go to parliament if I were in charge. I would be like Mugabe to them". Another person said: "It is important to note that here in Imizamo Yethu, the most powerful party is the ANC, but we do give other parties a chance to come in and campaign. It's a democratic right that we fought for".

There is this entrenched understanding that it is up to the ANC to allow or disallow political competition in South Africa. According to many of them, the ANC government has shown too much lenience by 'allowing' political competition in the country. This right, according to the community members in Imizamo Yethu, is something that the ANC can take away any time if they wish to. It is not understood as a constitutional right that every citizen is entitled to, but as a privilege granted to the opposition by the ANC.

Community members in Imizamo Yethu agree to some extent that it is good to have opposition parties. They believe it is good for democracy, even though they also believe that the extent to which these parties can oppose should be monitored and even limited by the ANC. But, as much as they believe this, it is somehow a shocking idea to them to have a black person and even coloured people vote for the DA in particular. This is seen as an act of selling out one's own. Also, it is difficult for them to understand anyone, especially in Imizamo Yethu, supporting any other political party besides the ANC.

They blame a number of social ills on the 'lack of political unity'. Some of the things blamed on this are the crime levels that are said to be rising in the area. One of the women in the focus group stated: "I was not expecting to see anyone, especially here in Hout Bay, where we fought so hard. I was not expecting to hear people saying, 'I belong to DA' or 'I belong to Agang' or EFF for that matter. What I was expecting is that we would unite and speak with one voice because

we know where we come from. Some comrades died fighting for us. So in a place as small as Imizamo Yethu I was not expecting anyone to be belonging to any other party. It is exactly like selling each other out! What kind of examples are we setting for our children? That is why we have these gangsters. We have been terrible examples to our children because we have not stood for the truth". A community leader, who is also an ANC leader, said: "We allow every political party to come in here, whether it's the EFF or the FF+ or the AIC. They are all free - even the empty vessels can come, and make their noise here. Even if they do come here and make their noise, people here have made up their mind to say I'm gonna live, eat, drink, sleep ANC. Anyone who falls for these EFFs never saw South Africa before 1994. Anyone who knows SA before 1994 will not be swayed by these parties. Besides, who is the EFF to think that anyone in their right mind will vote for them?"

A young male participant blamed the coloured community for selling out, and blamed them for the fact that service delivery is poor in this area. He said "I am quite disappointed that there are no coloured people here, because they are the ones who keep on selling us out. During the last local government election we came very close to winning this ward, but they sold us out". There is a widespread belief in this area that if every single one of the community members supported and voted for the ANC, there would be less social ills, crime would be curbed and service delivery improved (Focus group discussion respondent, 2015).

These are the kinds of sentiments that many of the people in these focus group discussions shared, namely that; supporting different political parties sets a bad example for young people and therefore contributes to increases in crime, that this difference in political opinion is one of the reasons for the poor service delivery that this community is experiencing, and that anyone who is in their "right mind" and knows how South Africa was before 1994 cannot be supporting any other party besides the ANC. These, to some extent verify what the members of the EFF and the DA said about it being difficult for supporters of other parties to express their political views in the area, as well as the difficulty in terms of organising and campaigning without any fear of intimidation. Although confrontations between parties have not been violent, when engaging with community members, one grasps that there are tensions.

### **5.3.3 2014 General Elections**

With regards to the 2014 general elections, participants were asked whether or not they thought that all political parties were free to campaign? In both focus group discussions, when I asked this question only one person would answer. In both instances it was the people I suspected to be ANC leaders, but none of them would admit to this. The answers provided were similar and were saying that every political party in the area was free to campaign and

that it was not the ANC's fault that the people in the community paid no attention to these political parties.

A similar question was asked in relation to the 2014 election: Had there been clashes or confrontations between political parties during the campaign period? Similar to the response to the previous question, the two gentlemen referred to above, interjected and re-assured me that there were no clashes between political parties in the area. Interestingly, in both instances when they had said their comments, no one else in both groups wanted to engage further with this question.

The participants were asked to agree or disagree with a number of provided statements and elaborate on why they agreed or disagreed. The first statement was: "Do you think political parties other than your own should be allowed to come into Imizamo Yethu and campaign?"

The purpose of this question was to determine people's perception about opposition parties and whether or not they believed in the notion of free and fair campaign environment. The answers given to this question indicated again, that as much as people in this community understand the fact that in a multi-party democracy many political parties contest elections, and for democracy to thrive this competition is needed, their answers still indicated their belief that the ANC as a ruling party has power to allow or disallow political opposition. In addition to this, two more things stood out:

Firstly, there were indications that ANC members or leaders should always be around when these parties campaign so as to "make sure that our people are not misled and fed false information. We always protect our constituency". This shows the extent of 'gatekeeping' where the ANC leaders in the area feel the need to protect the community against other parties. Secondly, some of the answers spoke to the ANC campaign strategy in the sense of how early the party started their campaign process. The ANC's campaign process started very early so that by the time other parties came in to campaign, the ANC had to some extent covered the necessary ground work.

This for instance, reinforced the statement made by one of the participants in the focus group discussion. She stated that the other parties should be allowed to come in, but what counts is that it is the ANC that is in touch with the people in this area because they "stay with us and we know them and they speak to us way before these other parties come". In terms of the ANC's campaigns, it came out that the party's campaign strategy in the area, to a large extent, focused on negative campaigning. The DA's perceived failures to deliver services in the areas were capitalised upon, painting the DA as a party that is incapable of representing the needs of the black and poor communities. This came out often in the discussions, not only with the community members, but with the ANC leaders as well.

### 5.3.4 Political Parties Access to the Community

The participants were asked to agree or disagree with the following statement: “All parties should have equal access to community resources such as community halls and sports fields. Yes or No?” A number of participants agreed with this statement. However, a large number of them believed that the ANC should have greater access to community resources because they are the ruling/majority party and because the area itself was founded by the ANC members. In the first focus group discussion, eight of the twelve participants felt that the ANC should have control over community resources because they are the dominant party in the community.

During the second focus group discussion, seven of the participants felt this way. One of the participants said that as much as the opposition parties can have access to community resources, they should also “understand that the ANC was here first. The ANC is the ruling party and the ANC is bigger than they are, so they cannot expect to have the same access to resources as the ANC”. Another participant argued that since the ANC is the largest party in that area, they should control the resources. He also alluded to the fact that most of the times it is not because the opposition parties are denied access to these resources but that obtaining access to these resources sometimes required money. For instance, hiring a hall requires a certain fee to be paid. The ANC releases money for such expenses to be funded while other parties don't. Therefore, it is rather the issue of funding from the mother body to the branches than it is the issue of denied access.

Some of the comments to this question were as follows:

“NO, but other parties that want to use these resources must be monitored. If they can pay then they can use resources. But they shouldn't blame the ANC if they can't afford to pay for things.” (Respondent 4 Focus group discussion, 29 May 2015).

“If a political party cannot afford to pay R400 for the hall and we the ANC can, we will book it for as many times as we need it. We will not pay for them just because we are the ruling party. No they must find their own way!” (Respondent 5, 27 June 2015).

When this question was addressed, one of the participants raised the issue of the right of fishers to vote. She stated that people working for fishing companies in Hout Bay do not have the right to vote, because on voting day they are taken away by their employers and are forced to work on that day and therefore cannot exercise their voting rights. She further argued that this is why the ANC cannot win elections in this ward because a large number of black ANC voters are always taken away on voting day. One of the participants who was a SADC observer around the Western Cape, stated that this is not something that is unique to fishers in Imizamo

Yethu, but that this was a problem that was also experienced by farmers in farming communities such as Dedoorns and Ceres to mention a few.

Further, participants were asked to agree or disagree with the following statement: “Political parties have the right to reward those who vote for them by giving them things like houses or jobs. Yes or No?” There was consensus among participants in all groups that it is the responsibility of the governing party to provide services to all citizens, regardless of which party they had voted for. In addition, it is a democratic right of citizens to have access to basic services provided by the government, even if the party in government is not the party they voted for. But they pointed out that this was not the case in ward 74 where Imizamo Yethu is situated.

They stated that basic services are not delivered to Imizamo Yethu because this area is an ANC stronghold in a DA run municipality. They believe that they are being punished for not voting for the DA. One of the participants said: “When a party wins the election its duty is to service all the citizens regardless whom they voted for. And this is exactly what we are not getting from the DA in this area. As I was telling you earlier, we don’t have electricity and we struggle to get water. The councilor doesn’t care and the party as well because if the party cared, then they would check and follow up to see if services are delivered here.” Almost all the people I spoke to share the sentiment that the area is being punished for voting for the ANC by excluding them from service delivery.

Some of the comments were as follows:

“What you are asking is happening here already. Last week there was a meeting here with different stakeholders, including the city of Cape Town. They were saying that this area is one of the richest here but these riches have not benefitted our people. I work there in Hout Bay in the project fixing the road that does not need to be fixed in a white area; meanwhile in some areas here in Imizamo Yethu we don’t have roads to begin with!” (Respondent 6, Focus group discussion, June 2015).

“It is not right, but they do it. For instance, if an opportunity comes, the person in charge of that makes sure that they take care of their own people so that only a few benefit. As for that woman who is the councillor here, I don’t even want to hear her name. If you would go out and look around in this place and see the conditions under which our people live, you would never say there is a white person who is in a position to take care of the people. All we are to her are animals!” (Respondent 5, Focus group discussion, month? 2015).

“No, the ANC knows that it has people on the ground, so resources are given to every citizen.” (Respondent 5, Focus group discussion, May 2015).

“The ANC makes promises to its people but when they are in power every citizen benefits” (Respondent 3, Focus group discussion, May 2015).

“But we haven’t seen anything done by the DA here. All we see are people getting poorer under the DA.” (Respondent 7, Focus group discussion, May 2015).



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## **6. Chapter Six: Identity Voting, Clientelism, Political Intimidation and Campaigns in Imizamo Yethu**

### **6.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter focused on narrating the findings from the data collection process, the interviews and focus group discussions with the different participants. This chapter will still focus on the findings from the research process but with more emphasis on unpacking a number of the themes that came out from the research process. The chapter will look at a few of these themes in-depth, and unpack what each theme means for this study and what it means for South Africa and the country's democracy. As I unpack these themes, I will refer back to the literature outlined in the theoretical framework chapter, as well as refer to new literature that the findings have pointed to. Ultimately I will look at how these themes might contribute to answering my research question and its sub-questions. Themes that I will discuss in this chapter are as follows: identity voting, clientelism, parties' campaign strategies, and political intolerance.

### **6.2 Identity voting**

A large number of the participants in this research study indicated that they continue to vote for the ANC because it is the party they believe represents the interests and aspirations of black people in the country. According to these people, the ANC is a party that fought to end the apartheid system and eventually delivered democracy for all. To vote for any other political party is viewed as a betrayal of the struggle itself. This is the kind of sentiment expressed by community members as well as ANC campaigners in Imizamo Yethu. There is an expectation that every black person who understands and identifies with South Africa's struggle against apartheid ought to vote for the ANC. A number of authors address the issue of identity voting in South Africa and it has been cited as one of the reasons why the ANC has continued to win elections since the dawn of democracy in 1994.

Ferree (2011, p.8) in her explanation of the notion of identity voting, argues that for the African population in South Africa, voting for the ANC is both about rewarding the party for their fight against apartheid, and the celebration of the population's own freedom and identity. Identity in the South African case takes a racial form because of the country's history of racial oppression and segregation that took place over centuries of colonisation, as well as the decades of apartheid. Voting for the party that is associated with the victory over this oppression is seen as a way of celebrating triumph of Africans as a nation. Therefore, the ANC's victory becomes their victory and its loss becomes their loss. The racial identity notion is not only relevant in terms of how citizens view political parties, but to a large extent in South Africa, it is also perpetuated by

the political parties themselves in their campaigning and communication with the electorate. In line with this thinking, Haoane (2004) cites Lijphart (1993) when he asserts that sometimes parties that choose to ignore racial and ethnic identities tend to be outdone by their opponents who might choose to make use of race and ethnicity in their campaigns and policy proposals. This then relates to the argument that racial identity plays a role (even though it is not the only factor) in how both parties and voters behave. From my interviews with the local ANC leaders as well as community members, it is evident one's identity, and by extension race, plays a crucial role in how voters make their choices, as well as how the ANC shaped their campaign in the area. I will discuss this further in this chapter under the theme 'campaign strategies'.

Friedman (2004) in his argument about identity voting, states that voters vote for the party that best represents who they are, rather than a party that reflects their policy preferences. This argument can be supported by evidence from some of the interviews I had with community members as well as ANC campaigners in Imizamo Yethu. The campaigners interviewed voiced their dissatisfaction with the way things were done by the ANC, both nationally and by local leaders. They cited corruption and nepotism, as well as the fact that there are no jobs for young people, among other things. When asked why they were even campaigning for the party if they were not satisfied, they pointed out that this is a party that represents black people and that it's a political party that their parents and grand-parents supported. Therefore, supporting the ANC is the right thing to do because it is part of who they are.

Ferree (2011, pp.8-10) challenges the identity voting perspective by arguing that the ANC has not managed to capture the support of all black people in South Africa, and that it has not always been the party preferred by all African voters in the country. She argues that since the struggle times, and even in the run up to the first democratic election, the ANC has had to work hard to convince its supposed constituency that it was capable of providing the better lives that African voters so desperately need. Therefore she argues that "there is nothing pre-ordained about the ANC's success in unifying the African vote under its umbrella" (p. 10). She argues that there are other factors at play that the identity voting perspective fails to take into consideration.

Haoane also criticises the focus on identity voting as the major aspect explaining voting behavior in South Africa. In his paper that looked at the 2004 elections, he argues that over the three elections, 1994, 1999 and 2004, the support of political parties did not necessarily stick to the 'traditional' trends where the different ethnic groups voted for particular political parties that were believed to be for their ethnic groups. He argues, therefore, that in the 2004 election this identity voting argument was to some extent eroded. He, like Ferree (2011) points out that there are many other factors that can be used to explain South Africa's voting patterns. One of these he points out again (in keeping with Ferree's argument) is that campaigning is one of



these factors. I acknowledge that identity voting cannot be used as the only school of thought to explain the voting patterns of South Africans or the country's election results. However, research in Imizamo Yethu, has shown that there is truth to the argument that many of the supporters of the ruling party still do so because this is a party that is believed to express who they are in terms of race (party for black people), who they are in terms of class (a party for the poor), as well as in terms of family ties and history of black people in South Africa.

For some in Imizamo Yethu, it is seen as a betrayal of one's family and even community to vote for another party that is not the ANC. From this I observed that, as stated above, the people's identification with the ANC in Imizamo Yethu is not only limited to race, it goes beyond this to touch issues of class and social relations as well. Therefore even though there are other aspects and schools of thought that can be used to explain South Africa's voting patterns and why the ANC keeps winning election after election in black townships, the case of Imizamo Yethu shows us that the identity voting idea stands as one of those aspects and schools of thought. We cannot therefore discard the idea of identity voting as one of the factors that have continued to contribute to the ANC's electoral victories over the past 21 years of South Africa's democracy.

### **6.3 Clientelism**

Many authors have looked at the concept of clientelism and have come up with a number of definitions for it. At the core of all these definitions is the belief that clientelism refers to a transaction or an exchange between politicians and citizens, where politicians promise and provide certain services and benefits to the citizens in exchange for votes. Throughout the data collection process of this study, (the interviews and focus group discussions with the different stakeholders in Imizamo Yethu), one of the issues that the campaigners and/or supporters of the DA and the EFF pointed out as one of the biggest challenges to campaigning and winning votes in the area, was that supporting an opposition party meant that you don't take part in the benefits which comes with supporting the ANC.

One of the EFF campaigners decried that even in the tour guide business that he is in, he is suffering because people that have connections to the relevant people are ANC leaders. They therefore make sure that business opportunities are given only to ANC supporters in that sector. Others argued that if you want to succeed in Imizamo Yethu you must be connected to the ANC. Even one of the ANC leaders confirmed this by stating that the people in Imizamo Yethu know that it pays to be an ANC supporter in that area.

A couple of things are pointed out by Ndletyana et al (2013) in their article that looks at the role of patronage in poverty and inequality. He looks at the extent to which the poor are dependent on the government for their livelihoods, through things like social grants for

instance. He unpacks the process that one goes through in order to access this grant, from obtaining an ID through a government department through to applying for a social grant using that ID to another government department. He points out how vulnerable the poor are to the government and how these vulnerabilities can be used to breed clientelist behavior in a sense exchanging these benefits for votes.

Having spent considerable time in Imizamo Yethu, talking to people and observing the community, I noticed that at the ANC constituency office there are a couple of services provided by the ANC for free. These services include printing of documents, making copies and providing proof of address for residence for various things such as opening a bank account or even opening a case at the police station. The ANC constituency office is always abuzz with people coming to do one thing or the other.

This service surfaced many times in my discussions with people, especially with opposition supporters, who stated that because they support a different political party, they cannot benefit from these services. Yes, they are not government provided services, but they are much needed services because in a poor, informal settlement there are no physical addresses. One therefore needs a letterhead of an established organisation to prove that they are indeed resident where they claim. Making copies and printing for free, or even at a reduced price is also a much needed service for the community's young people who need to print their CVs to apply for jobs.

Therefore, as much as this cannot be classified as government resources redirected to win votes, it is still some type of benefit that is available only to those that pledge their support for the ANC. If one happens to support a different party, it is a benefit from which they are excluded. It would have been impossible for the ANC in this area to use state resources for clientelist purposes because the area in which Imizamo Yethu is situated is ruled by the DA. Even though Imizamo Yethu is an ANC dominated pocket, all resources are still in the hands of the ruling party, that is the DA.

Further, Wantchekon and Vermeersch (2005) argue that clientelism leads to an excessive redistribution of resources to areas/communities that are favoured by the ruling party, leading to wasteful diverting of services to the disadvantage of other areas. This is an interesting flip side to the clientelism argument in Imizamo Yethu. Community members that were interviewed believe that service delivery in the area is poor because the area is known for being a stronghold of the ANC, and therefore the DA led municipality is punishing the area for voting for the ANC by withholding services, and rewarding the surrounding white areas with excellent service delivery for voting for the DA. This gives us two types of clientelism at play in Imizamo Yethu. One is where an opposition party has found ways and means of providing benefits to garner support from the party's own coffers, benefiting only those that vote for it and excluding

anyone associated with a different political affiliation on the one hand and this is the kind that does not divert state resources to reward voters. On the other hand, we find the more general type where a ruling party provides benefits using state resources to source votes and to reward voters for their support, to the detriment of those that do not support the party.

Ferree(2011, p.11) has argued that South Africa cannot be particularly described as clientelist. She lists a couple of things to support this argument. Amongst these, Ferree (2011, pp.10-11) argues that South Africa's institutions of democracy are built to be strong enough to mitigate clientelism. Furthermore she argues that the fact that South Africa has a closed list proportional representation, a national single constituency and parliamentary system with strong national integrative parties, gives politicians very little incentive to want to pursue personal votes. The competition is between teams of politicians (parties) and not between individuals.

Therefore individual politicians are not motivated to seek individual success and according to Ferree (2011, p.12) this reduces South Africa's propensity towards clientelism. She also argues that even the history of South Africa is set against clientelism in the sense that in the pre-democracy era in South Africa, the people support for the ANC was not based on any material benefit that the party could offer, but on the ideological stance that both the party and the people of South Africa believed in. This means that South African voters have no history of voting for any party based on personal private benefit, but they have and continue to vote for the ANC based on what they believe that this party stands for.

In Imizamo Yethu we see something different to what Ferree (2011) describes. Some people in Imizamo Yethu believe that if they were to stop supporting the ANC, they would lose out on a lot of things such as services that the ANC freely provides, for example, issuing of proof of addresses, photocopying and printing. Some of the opposition supporters claim that they have lost business opportunities that were instead given to ANC supporters to punish the opposition supporters for their political affiliations.

On the other hand we see the type of clientelism that punishes the community for voting against the ANC in a DA run municipality. This comes from talks with a number of community members who are ANC supporters, who believe that the poor service delivery in the area is a mechanism used by the DA to punish this community because it keeps voting for the ANC election after election. This comes very close to what Ferree (2011) refers to as punishment scheme, where an area is denied access to certain services because it voted for the opposition.

This raises two questions in this case. Firstly, if the ANC would stop giving the benefits it gives to the community of Imizamo Yethu would the community's support for the party begin to dwindle? Secondly, if the DA provided the same level of service delivery to all the areas that make up ward 74, including Imizamo Yethu, would the party gain more favour in the sight of

the black majority and begin to win votes in Imizamo Yethu? This brings us to the next point to be discussed in this chapter, namely the party's campaign strategies.

#### **6.4 Parties' Campaign Strategies**

In the introduction of this study (chapter one) I look at the campaigns of both the EFF and the DA and the types of messages that were coming out from their campaigns or campaign strategies. In this chapter I will not address these but will look briefly at the ANC's campaign strategy and how this might have affected that of the two other parties. The campaign strategies for political parties are some of the factors that are very important to look at for this study. This is because campaigning and campaign strategies are of great significance as we try to understand parties' freedom to campaign and what affects this freedom in Imizamo Yethu.

Ferree (2011, pp.8-12) argues that it is neither identity voting nor clientelism that accounts for the ANC's continued victory at the polls. However, this study has found that the two above-mentioned factors play a role in the ANC's dominance in Imizamo Yethu. Rather, she argues, it is the way in which the ANC as a political party has managed to frame the opposition in the minds of the voters. She argues that the over the years ANC has managed to come up with a political strategy that discredits and delegitimises the opposition.

Ferree (2011) asserts that the importance of party labels and images in the political system comes into play in the way in which the ANC has managed to frame the picture of opposition in the eyes of the voter. She argues that political parties such as the DA, came into the democratic South Africa with negative party labels and images and the ANC has managed to keep that negativity alive in the minds of the voter.

Jolobe in Southall and Daniel (2009, p.136) argues this fact, stating that the DA has grown in every election since 1994 and has managed to win and keep the Western Cape as its province of governance, but has yet to win significant support in townships such as Imizamo Yethu and Khayelitsha among others. These townships, situated in the Western Cape where this party governs, are populated by the black poor voters who remain staunch supporters of the ANC. The failure of the DA party to win a significant number of votes in Imizamo Yethu in the 2014 general elections proves Jolobe's argument.

The DA's history and reputation as a political party that represents white people has always worked against this party in terms of making inroads in South African townships that are dominated by poor black people. The ANC has said a number of times in their campaign in black communities that if people stop voting for the ANC and vote for the DA, apartheid will come back. This is a belief held by many of the people I spoke to in Imizamo Yethu. Many people in

the area believe that only the ANC is able to bring and maintain freedom for black people, and that the DA or any of the perceived white parties are striving to maintain white privilege and bring back the oppression of black people. One of the women I had a conversation with stated that she would rather die than vote for the DA and would disown anyone in her family who would vote for the DA because that would be giving away the freedom of black people and allowing “these whites that want to oppress us” to succeed. Another community member I spoke to said “Ngumbutho wabelungu le DA” which means “the DA is political party for white people only.”

According to him it would be very wrong for him, as a black man, to vote for a “white political party”. Furthermore, from my casual conversations with community members, one could pick up that many people in this community believe that voting for the DA would be voting for the return of apartheid and oppression of black people by the white population. This is a narrative that many of the local ANC leaders keep repeating - that African people need to be warned against these white parties who seek to re-establish white rule and reinstate racial segregation in South Africa. This shows that the DA’s label as a white party still dominates the perceptions of the black citizens in Imizamo Yethu

Jolobe’s argument that, as much as the Democratic Alliance has grown in every election since 1994, they have failed to make significant inroads in townships where the black and largely poor majority of South Africans live. This becomes evident when one looks at Imizamo Yethu and the people’s perceptions of this party in this area. This is a challenge that the DA itself as a political party has acknowledged as an area that needs improvement. During the 2014 election campaign, the DA tried to rid itself of the negative label as the party that represents white interests. They did this through the “Know Your DA” campaign which sought to track the party’s role in the struggle against apartheid.

As part of this campaign the DA claimed relation to former president Nelson Mandela who happens to be one of the ANC’s iconic leaders. Ferree (2011) also states that opposition parties have tried to rid themselves of this negative image through campaigns. It remains clear that in areas like Imizamo Yethu this strategy has not worked. Ferree (2011) attributes this to the ANC’s strategy, stating that the party has fought tooth and nail to make sure that the labels of “white party” for a party like the DA, for instance, sticks. Ferree (2011) goes on to argue that for as long as the ANC’s main opposition remains white, the country’s black majority will continue voting for the ANC. This is evident in Imizamo Yethu where some of the youth interviewed believe that the ANC is the only party that understands the struggles of the black majority. Some of the ANC campaigners interviewed stated that they were unhappy with the way that the ANC governs. They pointed to issues of corruption and the high levels of youth unemployment as some of the things that they were unhappy about. When asked why they

continue not only to vote for the party but to campaign for it too, they stated that no other party can ever be able to represent black people more. They also said that “our parents and grand-parents voted for this party, it would be wrong for us to vote for any other party, especially the DA”. The people in this area are not even willing to listen to what the DA has to say in a campaign. They recognise the DA as the party for white people because of the label that this party inherited from its predecessor.

The story of the EFF differs from the DA’s story. Firstly, it is a new party with no history of winning or losing elections anywhere. Secondly, the story of the EFF is different because it is a black political party led by a fearless young man who used to be the face of the ANC youth. This party came into the South African political arena in August 2013, as already narrated in chapter two.

This party’s target constituency seemed to be the same as that of the ANC - black poor communities, especially young people who are hoping for improved living standards, better job opportunities and better service delivery among other things. This party came and spoke of economic freedom for black people and this would be achieved through the return of land to its indigenous owners, blacks, and nationalisation of sectors such as mining and banking. Therefore, Ferree’s argument about party’s negative labels of being “white parties”, as well as the ANC’s ability to make sure that these labels stick, cannot be applied.

However, as with the DA, the EFF couldn’t win enough votes to pose any significant threat to the ANC in this area. The question with regards to the EFF becomes: why has this party been unable to attract a significant black vote, especially that of the youth whose grievances the EFF seems to articulate so well? To answer this question I use two arguments: identity voting and clientelism which were alluded to earlier in this chapter. One of the reasons that were cited by many people who I spoke to (through interviews, focus group discussions and informal conversations), for voting for the ANC was that the ANC was part of who they are, as black people and as the poor, or that the party has been supported for generations in their families so breaking away from this party feels like breaking away from one’s own identity. Even youth that were very unhappy with the way things were done in the ANC, still pledged their unwavering support for the party because that is what they have been taught by parents and grand-parents.

As much as some of these youth agreed to a large extent with what the EFF was saying, it was difficult for them to break away from the party that they have known all their lives. They kept stating that the ANC is “our organisation and we will never stop supporting it”. Some of them admitted that the EFF presented hope for the youth of SA but also emphasised that they will not leave their “home” just because another party seems to be promising (conversation with Imizamo Yethu youth, August 2013). This close identification with the ANC made it difficult for

the EFF to penetrate this area and convince voters that they are a worthy alternative to the ruling.

## **6.5 Political Intolerance**

The ANC leaders in the area seem to show a subtle kind of political intolerance towards people that show support for any other political party that is not the ANC. Anyone supporting an opposition party is viewed as a traitor or a lost cause, especially if the person is black. There is also an expectation that if you are black you are supposed to vote for the ANC, while it is acceptable for the coloured community in the area to vote for the DA especially. One of the leaders even said: “You can’t trust the coloured, they don’t have a backbone so they will vote for any party. But I do not understand when it is a black person who knows where we come from who votes for the enemy” (FG respondent 6, 2015). This has instilled a degree of fear among the community members.

Fear of being singled out or standing out as the one “selling out” and siding with the enemy. This subtle intolerance was evident in the language of the leaders that I spoke to. None of them were willing to admit that they are intolerant of dissenting political views. However when asked they agreed that every party should have a right to campaign freely in the area. One of them said: “Yes, but there is too much democracy. We have given these people too much democracy. Now they try to come in here and steal our people”. Another said “Yes they are allowed, and we allow them just for the sake of this democracy. Otherwise if it were up to me, I would say the party that fought in the struggle for democracy must govern. I would be like Mugabe in Zimbabwe”. She said this to the applause of the community members that were around to take part in the focus group discussions that I conducted in the area.

An ANC youth leader in the area, who is also a chairperson of the community’s youth forum, was asked if any other parties were coming to campaign in IY? This was his reply: “They don’t come here because they know that if they come here we will sabotage them”. Community members know this too.

The fear that this intolerance breeds was evident when I was talking to a lady that was a campaigner for the DA in the area. She said: “No one will come out and say they support the DA here. If they do that they will be excluded from the projects that benefit people here, because those projects are controlled by these ANC people”. The EFF campaigners testified to this when one of them said “If you want to support another party that is not the ANC here, you must be a very brave person and know that you don’t need any of the opportunities that come here

through these ANC guys because they will exclude you in all of them". These two examples showed me that as much as this intolerance is subtle, its effects are felt by those to whom it is directed. This also sends out an indirect message to those that are still in the ANC but are contemplating joining the opposition.

According to the DA campaigner that I spoke with, campaigning for the DA in Imizamo Yethu is very difficult because very few people are willing to listen. If you are part of the community you are labelled as a sell-out. The few people that do vote for the DA are scared of publicly declaring their political convictions because they fear the consequences. The EFF campaigners also echoed this when they were asked about their experiences campaigning in the area. They pointed out that any political view which is different from what the majority of the people in this area believe in is not tolerated.

This makes it difficult for people to support other political parties. From my observations, as well as interactions with community members, I picked up that very few people are willing to entertain any political view different from their own. People supporting a different political party are viewed as lost and are constantly mocked for their political choices. Also, it becomes difficult to get assistance from the local leaders.

What makes the case of Imizamo Yethu unique is that the political intolerance that exists is not visible for everyone to see; it is not carried out and expressed through violence but through two ways of control.

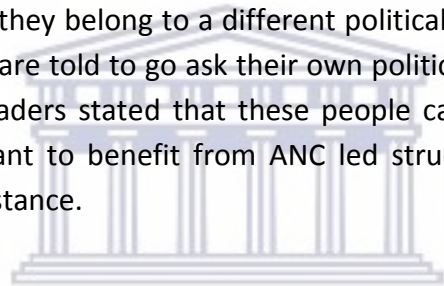
1) The ANC in the area provides services that all community members want to benefit from (proof of address, photocopying and printing services; among others). This means that anyone supporting a rival political party is excluded from these services; this is something that both the ANC leaders in the community as well as opposition supporters alluded to during the interviews. This leads to people supporting the ANC because they believe that the party genuinely cares for the needs of the people and they see the ANC's provision of the above mentioned services as proof of this. However, there is a group of people that support the ANC - not because they believe in what the party stands for, but because they are in need of these services and are afraid that supporting another party will mean that their access to these services will cease.

2) There is a subtle control of community based organisations in the area. In almost all the community based organisations in the area, there are a number of ANC members in leadership positions. This is true for the local youth organisation, the organisations that work with Melon in the provision of houses, the policing forum as well as many other organisations that are supposed to be working independently of political parties to the benefit of the community.



Benit-Gbaffou (2012) calls this the subtle social control and argues that this gives the ANC room to influence these organisations, even if it does so indirectly. These organisations become more sympathetic towards the ANC than all community members. This means that even in a supposedly non-partisan organisation, the ANC can still control what is said and done in these spaces, what information reaches the people and how this information gets to the people. Through their members in these organisations, the ANC can shut out any dissenting voice and make sure that the ANC mandate is carried out. Also this leads to widespread fear among people. There is no freedom to express any opinions that are opposed to the ruling party because people fear that what is said in these spaces will end up in the ears of party leaders and can lead to negative repercussions for anyone opposing the ruling party.

This is not the type of intolerance that is clear and explicit for everyone to see but it still ensures that those articulating dissenting views feel the consequences and are therefore warned to never express their opposing views or suffer the consequences. Some of the EFF campaigners did refer to such incidences where the police forum refuses to help some community members because they belong to a different political party so when they approach this organization for help they are told to go ask their own political party for help. When asked about this, one of the ANC leaders stated that these people cannot claim that they support opposition parties and still want to benefit from ANC led structures; they must go to their mother bodies and ask for assistance.



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## **7. Chapter Seven: Conclusion**

This study sought to look at the freedom of opposition parties, the DA and the EFF in particular, to campaign in Imizamo Yethu an area that is believed to be a stronghold of the ANC. Imizamo Yethu is situated in Hout Bay, under ward 74 of the City of Cape Town Metro. The ward itself, like many in this metro is governed by the DA and is a settlement of white well-off communities. In the midst of it there is Imizamo Yethu, a poor township populated by black people. The study looked at whether Imizamo Yethu is a free and fair campaign space.

### ***7.1 Freedom of Political Parties to Campaign in Imizamo Yethu***

The type of political intolerance that is found in Imizamo Yethu is not the type that is evident at first glance. For one to see it, there has to be a certain level of engagement with the community. It is easy for observers during the election period to conclude that campaigning and elections are taking place smoothly because they have not had the time to sit with the people and understand the socio-political challenges that they face in the area, especially those supporting opposition parties. Therefore the freedom of political parties to campaign in Imizamo Yethu is affected by these issues.

There were no incidents of violence reported in this area according to both the IEC and the SAPS. But it is not only political violence that hinders political parties from freely campaigning in the area. It is also things such as identity voting, which is manifested in the way in which people continue to vote for the ANC not because they have performed better than other parties, or that over the period under review people's lives have improved, but because they believe in what they ANC stands for, which according to people's perceptions is in the interest of the black poor, the history of the struggle of black people in South Africa and their triumph over the apartheid system.

This encourages the people in this area to support the ANC and to be forgiving towards this party in ways that they are not willing to afford other parties such as; the DA, which is believed to represent the white community and their interests against those of the black community; or the EFF which does not have any struggle credentials and will have to work very hard to prove to the electorate in this area that they are a viable alternative to the ANC.

The fact that the very inception of this community was initiated by ANC members who had fled from the former homelands such as the Ciskei and Transkei in the Eastern Cape also contributes to the strength of the ANC in this community. This is because these people, who are to some

extent the “founding fathers” of Imizamo Yethu, are loyal ANC members and are doing everything in their power to make sure that this community remains a stronghold of the ANC. One of them stated in our conversations that they make sure that no other political ideas prosper in this area. He said: “We must protect our constituencies from these new political parties that want to lead them astray, and we have to make sure that they always understand that the ANC is the party for the people”. As leaders in the community, these people’s word holds weight amongst people and influences their decisions in terms of who to vote for. There is some gatekeeping that takes place in Imizamo Yethu and this makes it difficult for other political parties to make inroads.

## **7.2 Free and Fair Campaign Space?**

In chapter three I presented a checklist found in Booysen (2009). This checklist stipulates what free and fair means during an election period. According to Booysen (2009) this list was developed by Elklit and Svensson (1997). This checklist breaks down what free means and what fair means. According to this checklist, ‘Free’ in the pre-election space according to this checklist refers to the fact that people have freedom of movement, assembly, speech, freedom from fear to campaign, absence of impediments to stand for office and equal universal suffrage. While ‘Fair’ means that all political parties and independent candidates have equal opportunities to stand for office, that campaigns proceed orderly in a way that observes the Electoral Code of Conduct, and that government resources are not misused for campaigning purposes.

Using this checklist to understand whether or not Imizamo Yethu is a free and fair campaign space, one finds that there are some of the freedoms that the campaigners and supporters of the opposition parties in Imizamo Yethu did not enjoy.

The EFF campaigners claimed that it was difficult for them to freely assemble because they were denied access to such areas as the sports field and taxi rank and were told that these belonged to the ANC. ANC members themselves admitted to having attended and disrupted the meetings of the opposition so as to protect their constituencies from other parties and this has led to tensions between the parties, albeit no violence really erupted.

Moreover, the EFF leaders believe that Imizamo Yethu is hostile towards opposition and that this area cannot be described as a free and fair campaign space because they do not believe that they were free to campaign without any hindrances in the area. Asked to describe the environment before the election, one of the campaigners said: “it is difficult to campaign here because so many people support the ANC so we can’t do door-to-door campaigns. When we try to have meetings, we cannot access the hall because the ANC here controls everything”.

Another one said: “If the playing field was level and the whole process fair, campaigning here would not be difficult, but you see, the ANC here controls everything so the people are scared to support other parties, especially the youth”.

From the conversations with both the DA and the EFF, I picked up that there was no freedom or it is very limited, to freely campaign for other parties that are not the ANC for fear of exclusion from the benefits pointed out both in chapters five and six.

Looking at whether campaigns proceeded in an orderly way, the answer given by many community members, the SAPS and the IEC was “Yes.” This is because very few political parties felt comfortable campaigning in the area and went to other areas. This meant that the ANC, whose stronghold this area is, was largely the only party that consistently campaigned in this area. There were therefore, very limited prospects for disturbances in the campaign.

Thus even the peace that Imizamo Yethu experienced during the campaign period was due to the fact that opposition supporters stopped campaigning in the area for fear of the backlashes that this might produce. Parties such as the DA focused on other areas that were more open to hearing their message, while the EFF still tried to continue with their campaign in the area even in the face of challenges. However, they did not make serious inroads in terms of gaining support.

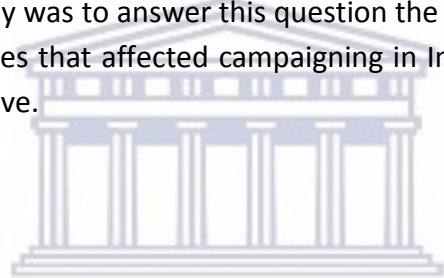
Therefore, even though an area might look at face value as if it is a free and fair campaign space because there was no violence and campaigns seemed peaceful, there might be issues that still threaten the freedom of other political parties to campaign such as how receptive the community is of another party, what the consequences of supporting an opposition party are. This does not have to be violence, but the kind of exclusion that I referred to under clientelism in chapter six.

### **7.3 Conclusion**

Elections form a very integral part of any democratic process as they give the ordinary citizen an opportunity to directly influence the balance of power in the political landscape of a country. During this time voters decide who is to govern the country at least for a fixed period of time. Every political party participates in a contest for the votes and approval of the voters. To this end political parties work especially hard during election periods to convince voters as to why they should be voted in as the party to govern. Central to the voting process is the election campaign through which political parties communicate with the voters in an attempt to convince them to vote and support their policies.

It is very important, and in line with the provisions of a democratic society, that this process runs in a free and fair manner so as to ensure that all political parties are afforded the same opportunities to compete. Africa and Lynch (2012) state that; it is important for the campaign environment in South Africa, especially, to be assessed and nurtured to make sure that it is free and fair. This study focused on Imizamo Yethu a township in Hout Bay, Cape Town to probe whether or not political parties are free to campaign in township areas that are party strongholds and what it is that affects and influences that campaign process in such areas.

Is Imizamo Yethu a free and fair campaign space for opposition parties? When one looks at the IEC records to find out whether or not any complaint was filed from the area, or when using the SAPS records to see if any violence was reported, the answer becomes yes because none of these institutions received any complaints. However, when one looks closer into the community and interrogates the whole campaign process and sees what factors affected the campaign process, which parties campaigned in the area and why, one finds that there are other issues that affected and limited the freedom of political parties to campaign in Imizamo Yethu. The purpose of this study was to answer this question the previous two chapters tried to present and analyse these issues that affected campaigning in Imizamo Yethu and in that way find the two answers given above.



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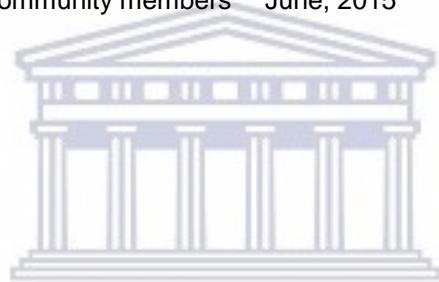
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## 9. Appendices

### 9.1 Appendix A: Interview dates

#### Dates of interviews and focus group discussions

<b>Interviews</b>	<b>Dates</b>
ANC respondent one	June, 2014
ANC respondent two	June 2014
ANC campaigners	June, 2014
ANC respondent three	June, 2014
ANC respondent four	June, 2014
Focus group discussion with EFF campaigners	June, 2014
Focus group discussion one with Community members	May 2015
Focus group discussion two with community members	June, 2015



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## 9.2 Appendix B: Consent Form

POLITICAL STUDIES DEPARTMENT  
021 9593228

Ems Building, fourth level

### Consent Form

**Research title:** Campaigning in party strongholds: A case of opposition parties in Imizamo Yethu in Hout Bay, Cape Town

The study has been described to me in a language that I understand and I freely and voluntarily agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered.

I understand that my identity will not be disclosed and that I may withdraw from the study without giving a reason at any time and this will not negatively affect me in any way.

Name	Surname	Signature
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
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11.		
12.		

Student researcher: Dyantyi M, e-mail: [2625872@myuwc.ac.za](mailto:2625872@myuwc.ac.za) or [mandisa.dyantyi@gmail.com](mailto:mandisa.dyantyi@gmail.com)

Alternatively and in case of a complaint, please contact my supervisor; Dr. Cherrel Africa, email address: [cjafrika@uwc.ac.za](mailto:cjafrika@uwc.ac.za) tel. 021 959 3228

### **9.3 Appendix C: Information sheet**

**POLITICAL STUDIES DEPARTMENT  
021 9593228**

**Ems Building, fourth level**

#### **Interview and Focus Group Participant Information Sheet**

**Research title:** Campaigning in party strongholds: A case of opposition parties in Imizamo Yethu in Hout Bay, Cape Town.

#### **Dear participant**

You are invited to take part in a research project. The research is being conducted for a mini-thesis; it is a requirement for a Masters in Administration, which I'm completing at the University of the Western Cape.

Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Please take your time to decide whether or not you wish to take part in this research.

My contact details and those of my supervisor are recorded at the end of this memo.

#### **Purpose of the study**

The purpose of this study is to try to understand and assess the quality of the campaign process in South African townships by using the political parties in Imizamo Yethu, a township situated near one of Cape Town's suburbs, Hout Bay. The study seeks to look at the freedom political parties in SA have to campaign in an area viewed as another party's stronghold. The successful completion of the study is expected to add to existing knowledge and literature in the South African campaign/electoral process, the challenges South Africa faces in this regard and what implications these have for the country's democracy. Over and above that, however, there are no benefits that accrue to participants.

#### **Description of the study**

The study will use a mixed methods approach. In-depth interviews with key role-players will be conducted; role-players such as the IEC officials, the political party leaders and/or campaigners as well as the police officers in the area will be interviewed.

#### **Confidentiality**

Your name will not be recorded during the interview so as to maintain confidentiality at all times. I shall keep all records, including a signed consent form which I will need from you should you agree to participate in this research study, locked away at all times and will destroy them after the research is completed.

#### **Voluntary participation and withdrawal**

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary i.e. you are free to decline participation. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. Refusal to take part will involve no penalty or loss of services to which you are otherwise entitled; and also it will not impact negatively on your position in your organization or leadership.

If you decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep (and be asked to sign the consent form). If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time – and without giving a reason. You may also choose not to answer particular questions that are asked in the study if there is anything that you would prefer not to discuss, please feel free to say so.

#### **Benefits and costs**

You may not get any direct benefit from this study. While there are no immediate direct benefits to those participating in the study, the information I learn from you may help in assessing the quality of campaigns in South African townships and will certainly contribute increasing knowledge about the campaign environment in South Africa and the challenges, if any, that are faced by political parties and campaigners

during this period. There are no costs for participating in this study other than the time you will spend in the interview. Which will last approximately 45 to 60 minutes, you will talk within your locality and thus you will not incur extra transport costs.

**Informed consent**

Your signed consent to participate in this research study is required before I proceed to interview you. I have included the consent form with this information sheet so that you will be able to review the consent form and then decide whether you would like to participate in this study or not.

**Questions**

Should you have further questions or wish to know more, I can be contacted as follows:

Student researcher: Dyantyi, M e-mail: 2625872@myuwc.ac.za , or mandisa.dyantyi@gmail.com

Alternatively and in case of a complaint, please contact my supervisor; Dr. Cherrel Africa, email address: cjafrica@uwc.ac.za tel. 021 959 3228.



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## **9.4 Appendix D: Interview schedule**

### **Interview with party leaders**

#### **The researcher**

Good day, my name is Mandisa Dyantyi I am a student at the University of the Western Cape, completing a masters in Political studies. I invite you to take part in a research project that forms part of a mini-thesis that is a requirement for the completion of this degree. It will take about 45 minutes of your time.

#### **Purpose of the study**

The purpose of this study is to try to understand and assess the quality of the campaign process in South African townships by using the political parties here in Imizamo Yethu. The study seeks to look at the freedom political parties in SA have to campaign in an area viewed as another party's stronghold. The successful completion of the study is expected to add to existing knowledge and literature in the South African campaign/electoral process, the challenges South Africa faces in this regard and what implications these have for the country's democracy. Over and above that, however, there are no benefits that accrue to participants.

#### **Questions**

1. As a party leader in the community, what was your job during the campaign? **Five minutes**
2. In your own words how would you describe a free campaign space? **Five minutes**
- 3.
4. Do you think that the campaign space in IY fitted this description? **Ten minutes**
5. In your own words how would you describe a fair campaign process? **Five minutes**
6. Do you think the campaign process in IY fitted this description? **Five minutes**
7. What are your thoughts about many parties campaigning in one area? Would you say this is good or bad? **Five minutes**
8. Do you think other political parties besides your own have the right to campaign in this area? **Ten minutes**
9. Did you see any threats of political intolerance or intimidation? **Ten minutes**
10. Did you or your party have measures in place to deal with such incidents? **Five minutes**
11. Would you say the volunteers were equipped to deal with such incidents if they were to arise? **Five minutes**

Thank you for taking the time to share your experience with me. The information shared will add value to my study.

## **9.5 Appendix E**

### **Focus group discussion schedule**

#### **Focus group discussion with party campaigners**

#### **The researcher**

Good day, my name is Mandisa Dyantyi I am a student at the University of the Western Cape, completing a masters in Political studies. I invite you to take part in a research project that forms part of a mini-thesis that is a requirement for the completion of this degree. It will take about 45 minutes of your time.

#### **Purpose of the study**

The purpose of this study is to try to understand and assess the quality of the campaign process in South African townships by using the political parties here in Imizamo Yethu. The study seeks to look at the freedom political parties in SA have to campaign in an area viewed as another party's stronghold. The successful completion of the study is expected to add to existing knowledge and literature in the South African campaign/electoral process, the challenges South Africa faces in this regard and what implications these have for the country's democracy. Over and above that, however, there are no benefits that accrue to participants.

1. **Who were the volunteers? (Five Minutes)**
  - When did you start campaigning?
  - How were you recruited to join the group of volunteers?



- Was there any training provided for the volunteers regarding how you should campaign?
- If yes, what was covered in the campaign?

**2. How was the campaign process? (Fifteen minutes)**

- In your own words how would you describe a fair campaign process?
- Do you think that the campaign space in IY fitted this description?
- In your own words how would you describe a free campaign space?
- Do you think the campaign process in IY fitted this description?
- Did you experience any intimidation while you were campaigning?
- If yes, which political parties were involved?

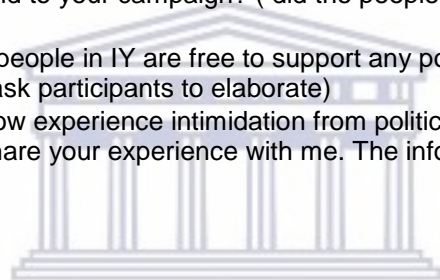
**3. Were all political parties free to campaign in IY? (Ten minutes)**

- Do you think that you were free to campaign for your party during the election period?
- If no, please elaborate, what made you not to feel free?
- What about other political parties' volunteers, do you think that they were free to campaign for their parties?
- If no, what makes you think that they were not free?
- What are your thoughts, do you think they have the right to campaign in this area?

**4. How was the interaction between the parties and the voters? (Fifteen minutes)**

- How did the people respond to your campaign? ( did the people expect to be given anything to persuade them to vote)
- Would you agree that the people in IY are free to support any political party of their choice without any fear of intimidation? (ask participants to elaborate)
- Did you or anyone you know experience intimidation from political parties?

Thank you for taking the time to share your experience with me. The information shared will add value to my study.



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