

# SOUTH AFRICA'S DEMOCRACY

## *The Quality of Political Participation over 25 Years*

*Victoria Graham*

Victoria Graham is an associate professor in the Department of Politics and International Relations at the University of Johannesburg, South Africa. Her main research interests are in the quality of democracy in South Africa.

### ABSTRACT

*South Africa has made considerable progress since 1994 in institutionalising and consolidating the quality of its democracy. However, serious and persistent governance and socio-economic related problems have angered and frustrated the people and motivated increased protest action through both conventional and less conventional channels. The opportunity for citizens to participate in the political process is essential for a healthy democracy, therefore it is important that appropriate procedures and mechanisms are in place to facilitate this participation. Using quality of democracy methodology, the paper addresses several important questions, namely: how developed are the opportunities for conventional participation in South Africa, and to what extent are these taken up? and, what non-conventional forms of participation exist and what is government's response? In addressing these questions, this paper explores the link between active citizenship and political participation over the last 25 years with a view to ascertaining the quality of South Africa's political participation.*

**Keywords:** political participation, elections, protests, civil society, democracy, South Africa

### INTRODUCTION

In April 1994 South Africa's first non-racial multiparty election took place, marking an official end to the country's segregationist and authoritarian past. In its place was born a mix of constitutional, participatory and representative democracy (in that the people mandate the politicians to govern them through electing the politicians to power, instead of the people governing themselves), delivering universal franchise, formal equality before the law, avenues for citizen participation in governance, and statutory institutions supporting democracy.

Moreover, its population looked to the promise of a better future, understanding that finally the majority's political and socio-economic needs would be met by a legitimate African National Congress (ANC)-led government. Following its sixth democratic elections on the 8 May 2019, South Africa arguably consolidated its status as a young democracy and thereby demonstrated how much it has achieved in refashioning the state in a more democratic way.

Yet, wide-ranging governance-related and socio-economic problems over the years are threatening this apparently successful democratic progress. Some of these problems have included corruption in public and corporate life, the Nkandla scandal, a perception that government is slow to deliver adequate socio-economic goods, cronyism and persistent massive inequality. These challenges and more, together with an increasing mismatch between citizen expectations and reality, have fuelled increasing public dissatisfaction (expressed in sustained incidences of unconventional political action, so-called 'service delivery' protests, or the more recently used term, 'community protests') and have led to a growing perception that South Africa's quality of democracy is wavering.

This growing consternation is significant in two ways. Either it is a sign that members of the public are exercising their right to question those that govern them and is therefore a healthy expression of active citizenship, or it is indicative of a population increasingly disillusioned and dissatisfied, in which case it is concerning, especially in terms of political legitimacy in South Africa (Graham 2015, p. 24).

Many political scholars agree that democracies flourish when citizens are willing to engage in the political system, whether it is through the ballot box, direct (legal) political action, civil society participation, involvement in social movements, taking part in public debate, electing representatives, joining political parties or attempting to influence political leaders (Morlino 2011; Schmitter 2004; Von Fintel & Ott 2017). Beetham, Byrne, Ngan and Weir (2002, p. 209) add that vigorous active citizenship is a necessary component of a healthy democracy and helps to make governments work in a more democratic way. It is generally understood that the more citizens actively participate in the political process, the more aware they become of their rights and duties and the more they will feel obligated to abide by whatever decision is made.

The importance of participation in South Africa's democratic model is informed by decades of apartheid during which the majority of the population was excluded from formal avenues of political participation. The ANC Freedom Charter's decree that 'The People Shall Govern!', was emphasised in paragraph 5.2.6 of one of the first policy documents of the new South Africa, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (1994):

Democracy for ordinary citizens must not end with formal rights and periodic one-person, one-vote elections ... the democratic order we envisage must foster a wide range of institutions of participatory democracy in partnership with civil society on the basis of informed and empowered citizens ... social movements and CBOs are a major asset in the effort to democratise and develop our society...

After 25 years of democracy and in light of the abovementioned increase in public dissatisfaction, what needs investigation is how substantive this political participation really is. In other words, what is the *quality* of South Africa's participatory democracy? In democracy studies, scholars have increasingly turned their attention to ascertaining how well countries are sustaining their democracies by assessing the *quality* of their democracy (see, for example, Baker 1999, pp. 273–274; Morlino 2011). In the literature, there are different interpretations and understandings of 'quality' but for the purposes of this paper, Diamond and Morlino's (2005, p. xi) description, based on content, result and procedure, is used. A good quality democracy is one that presents a stable institutional structure that realises the liberty and equality of citizens (*content*) and that strives to satisfy citizen expectations of governance ... (*result*) through the legitimate and correct functioning of its institutions and mechanisms (*procedure*). In quality of democracy studies, questions of degree are asked as to the various strengths and weaknesses that exist with the goal of determining how democracies can be improved and deepened (Beetham 2004; Beetham et al. 2008). For example, to what extent do the people participate in the decision-making processes of government? This element of 'degree' helps to capture the overall quality of democracy within a state. The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to examine the degree of political participation in South Africa in its first 25 years as a young democracy.

## POWER TO THE PEOPLE?

### *Conventional and Non-conventional Political Participation*

In his *Changes for Democracy*, Leonardo Morlino (2011, p. 202) defines political participation as:

The entire set of behaviours, be they conventional or unconventional, legal or borderline *vis-à-vis* legality, that allows women and men, as individuals or groups to create, revive or strengthen group identification or try to influence the recruitment of, and decisions by, political authorities (the representative and /or governmental ones) in order to maintain or change the allocation of existing values.

Examples of conventional participation are electoral participation; membership in political organisations, interest associations and social movements; and attendance of public forums. Non-conventional forms of participation refer to direct political action through legal and illegal protests, strikes, demonstrations, riots and boycotts (some of which imply violence) (Morlino & Carli 2014, p. 15). It is important to note that these two types of political behaviour are not mutually exclusive and can often be complementary but will be discussed separately in this paper.

With the above definition in mind, the assessment of political participation below will be split into two indicators: opportunities for more conventional participation (illustrated through sufficient legislation and processes; and the range of voluntary associations, groups, social movements and their independence from government) and the extent to which these are substantively taken up; and non-conventional forms of participation and government's response. The criteria for assessment are derived from the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance's State of Democracy (SoD) Framework<sup>1</sup> (Beetham et al. 2008) and Leonardo Morlino's Tool for Empirical Research on Democratic Qualities<sup>2</sup> (Morlino 2011). Acknowledging that it is virtually impossible ever to know the full degree of public participation in a society, this paper examines the extent to which the opportunities for conventional participation are developed (including, in the event of non-conventional participation, the degree of government suppression).

## OPPORTUNITIES FOR CONVENTIONAL PARTICIPATION AT ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT

One of the primary expressions of public political participation in democratic South Africa has been through electoral participation (voting). Registration numbers over the past 25 years have increased for each consecutive election with a total of over 26 million for the 2019 (and sixth) democratic election (see Table 1 below).

- 
- 1 IDEA's State of Democracy framework consists of four, core democracy dimensions: 1.) Citizenship, law and rights; 2.) Representative and accountable government; 3.) Civil society and popular participation; and 4.) Democracy beyond the state. Elements of the third dimension are utilised in this paper.
  - 2 Morlino's TODEM consists of eight democratic qualities: 1) Rule of law; 2) Electoral accountability; 3) Inter-institutional accountability; 4) Political participation; 5) Political competition; 6) Freedom; 7) Solidarity/Equality; 8) Responsiveness, of which this paper draws from features four and eight.

**Table 1: Republic of South Africa General Election Results, 1994–2019**

Election year	1994	1999	2004	2009	2014	2019
<b>Registered voters</b>	No voters' roll	18 172 751	20 674 926	23 181 997	25 388 082	26 756 649
<b>Voter turnout</b>	19 726 610 (86.7%)	16 228 462 (89.3%)	15 863 558 (76.7%)	17 919 966 (77.3%)	18 654 771 (73.5%)	17 672 767 (65.99 %)
<b>Valid votes cast</b>	19 533 498	15 977 142	15 612 671	17 680 729	18 402 497	17 436 143

Information obtained from the Electoral Commission of South Africa website and compiled by the author

While this may seem encouraging on the surface, further unpacking of the data reveals results that are more complex and less encouraging. South Africa's voting-age population (VAP; those who are eligible to register to vote) has grown by over 13 million people from 22.7 million in 1994 to 35.8 million in 2019 (Schulz-Herzenberg 2019, p. 49). Despite this significant growth, the number of actual registered voters has declined relative to it. Of the 35.8 million people eligible to vote in 2019, only 74.5% registered to do so, leaving 9.8 million who chose not to register (the majority of these were younger than 30; see more on the youth vote below). While voter turnout (the percentages of the registered VAP that turned out to vote in elections) for national and provincial elections has been consistently quite high in the past, it dropped significantly by almost eight percentage points in the 2019 elections to 65.99%. This is especially concerning because as Schulz-Herzenberg (2019, p. 52) contends, voter turnout is a crucial indicator of the 'vitality and health' of a democracy. High turnout is seen as a sign of an enthusiastic and politically involved electorate, while low turnout indicates the opposite. South Africa's comparatively lower turnout in the 2019 elections suggests a public not only unhappy with and even mistrustful of the political party choices on offer, but also increasingly apathetic towards participating in the country's vertical accountability. Voter turnout in local government elections has been traditionally quite poor, although lower rates of participation in local government elections is a global phenomenon. In any event, voter turnout increased in the 2016 local elections (58%) from 57.6% in the 2011 local elections, 48.5% in 2000 and 48.4% in 2006.

As with the 2009 and the 2014 elections, the run-up to the 2019 elections was peppered with protest action as the public expressed their dissatisfaction

over the perceived slow pace of socio-economic delivery by government. For example, protesting residents of Vuwani in Limpopo declared that they would not vote for the ANC-led government in the coming elections due to its failure to provide jobs and services. A resident argued that, 'I do not see any reason for us to participate in the coming elections because we do not have basic services, such as water' (Mukwevho 2019). Similarly, in the Molopo local municipality in the North West province, where only 48.5% of residents voted, disillusionment reigned. The co-ordinator for the Forum for Service Delivery in the area, Sylvester Tong, was quoted as saying:

Many areas in the municipality have been complaining about the roads and lack of service delivery and decided not to vote. So it's not a surprise that our area would have the lowest voter turnout in the country.

*(Mail & Guardian, 2019)*

These and other examples also demonstrate more troubling occurrences of growing apathy and a loss of faith in parliamentary politics which does not bode well for the health of South Africa's vertical accountability. Even more worrying is the potential that growing disillusionment will result in anti-democratic practices ranging from civic disobedience (such as public refusal to pay e-tolls in Gauteng) to progressively more radical and aggressive acts (such as burning down schools in protest).

South Africa's young population are particularly important in any discussion of political participation in South Africa. In the 2019 South African national elections, only 341 186 of the 1.8 million young people between the ages of 18 and 19 who were eligible to vote registered (18.5% of eligible first-time voters). Moreover, just over one in two of those aged 20 to 29 years old registered. Low youth voter turnouts may well be an indicator of declining levels of trust in political leaders who are seen to be out of touch with the concerns of the youth. Evidence would seem to suggest that young people globally do want to participate in politics, but that they find the existing political culture, institutions and mechanisms of their immediate environments ineffective or unwelcoming (Commonwealth 2016, p. 72).

Research conducted in 2019 in South Africa by the ISS supports the above view, finding that young South Africans remain at the margins of politics and, despite rhetoric to the contrary, are largely ignored by most political parties. The result is that youth feel alienated from formal politics, have little trust in politicians, are increasingly frustrated that their grievances go unheard, and are highly critical of political leaders and parties who fail to engage with them in a meaningful manner (Newham & Roberts 2019). When explaining why he would not vote in the 2019 elections, a 21-year-old youth told a reporter:



My vote is not going to make a difference ... I am not considered. I am ignored. Nothing is happening for us in our community ... We empower our political leaders. It is just a corrupt world. Why should we vote for people who will not do anything for us?

(TimesLIVE 2019)

Youth decline in formal participation does not necessarily mean, however, that youth are disengaged from active participation in civic and political affairs. Rather, the reverse is true as evidenced by a rising tide of grassroots social movements and issue-based campaigns. New platforms for political participation and engagement, such as social media, are increasingly popular. For example, research conducted by the Centre for Social Development in Africa in 2017, confirms that South African youth are engaging in politics differently, using social media such as Facebook and Twitter both to voice protest as well as to share issue-based views. These range from issues affecting their own communities such as crime, substance abuse and teenage pregnancy to wider social concerns about xenophobia. Youth responses affirmed that 'all these approaches were more appealing, meaningful and accessible than political party membership and voting' (Graham 2017). For example, South African students made effective use of social media communication in their 2015 #RhodesMustFall campaign to remove the statue of British colonialist Cecil John Rhodes from the University of Cape Town on the grounds that it promoted institutionalised racism and a culture of exclusion, particularly for black students.

It is evident from the above that the South African youth are willing to bypass the more conventional avenues for participation, such as voting, preferring alternative platforms largely based on information communication technologies instead. Importantly though, increasing involvement in protests, campaigns and hashtag movements are testament to the fact that they are more socially conscious and politically active today than they have ever been.

Outside of participation by ballot, a range of legislation and policy frameworks also exists to facilitate other ways of citizen participation in political life. Sections 59 and 72 of the Constitution not only guarantee the right to participate but provide that the National Assembly and National Council of Provinces actively take steps to facilitate this involvement. Section 16 of the Municipal Systems Act No. 32 of 2000 prescribes the development of a culture of community participation where formal representative government acts in combination with a system of participatory governance. In the 1997 White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery, the *Batho Pele* (people first) principles were introduced to transform the public service. Of these, the principle of consultation builds on the constitutional requirement of public participation by emphasising the need for citizens to be consulted about the level and quality of public service

they receive and, wherever possible, should be given a choice about the services that are offered (Public Service Commission 2008, p. 14).

Women's political participation in particular, is governed by section 9(2) of the Constitution which provides for active measures to be taken to 'promote the achievement of equality ... of persons, or categories of persons, disadvantaged by unfair discrimination'. In addition, South Africa ratified the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (the Maputo Protocol) on 17 December 2004. Article 9(1) of the Protocol provides that:

state parties must take specific positive action to promote participative governance and the equal participation of women in the political life of their countries through affirmative action, enabling national legislation and other measures to ensure that women participate without any discrimination in all elections ...

Although patriarchal attitudes towards women's agency remain pervasive in South African society, the above commitment has borne fruit to some degree. Women's representation in parliament has increased dramatically from 27% in 1994 to 45% in 2019. South Africa is arguably 'one of the most gender-diverse parliaments in the world', ranking third in Africa (behind Rwanda and Namibia) and tenth globally (Centre for Human Rights 2019). This figure is mostly as a result of the voluntary gender quotas adopted by the majority ANC and opposition Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), although top leadership in both these parties continues to be male dominated. The official opposition, the Democratic Alliance, has consistently argued against the use of quotas, suggesting some gender blindness in that regard (Sonke Gender Justice 2019).

Various government strategies and mechanisms have been initiated in the past to strengthen public participation and facilitate dialogue between citizens and their representatives. These have included public hearings and public awareness workshops; ward committees; community development workers (CDWs); integrated development planning (IDP); citizen satisfaction surveys; petitions; and *Izimbizo* (public meetings) (Graham 2015). Utilised by seven of the nine provinces, the *Imbizo* has been a preferred mechanism of government over the years, due in large part to its direct, face-to-face interaction between citizens and government representatives (Mabelebele 2006, p. 104). However, critics have pointed out a number of inadequacies rooted in a lack of real community interest articulation and true engagement. Kondlo (2010, p. 388) argues that by not bringing any solutions to the problems that people are facing, the *Imbizo* is not an authentic participation practice. Rasila and Mudau (2013, p. 615) add that while *Izimbizo* are public communication platforms, people are simply mobilised to meet and listen to government officials rather than to participate fully in the



process. Others criticise *Izimbizo* for resembling ‘political rallies’, ‘party events’ and fanfare occasions in which food, free T-shirts and entertainment entice participants rather than act as participatory forums (Buccus, Hemson, Hicks & Piper 2007, p. 20; Booysen 2009, p. 14). Ward committees are the next most utilised mechanism of participation in six of the nine provinces, followed by steering committee meetings and public meetings (both utilised in five provinces). The least utilised forums by government are citizens satisfaction surveys and *lekgotlas* (in two and one province respectively) (Public Service Commission 2011, p. 18).

Additional participatory strategies to promote public and civil society participation in government programmes have included: various public information programmes, government websites, newsletters, and school visits; the deployment of MPs to constituencies; calls for oral and written submissions from the public and civil society on Green/White papers; public events such as Public Participation Forums, the ‘Taking Parliament to the People’ programme, Women’s Parliament, and Youth Parliament (African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) 2014, p. 34). Notwithstanding these many initiatives, many of these platforms have been criticised as being haphazard, poorly publicised and not always meaningful. An assessment of Parliament in 2008, for example, noted a lack of feedback on public submissions to Parliament as well as insufficient information on the parliamentary website (Report of the Independent Panel Assessment of Parliament 2009, pp. 55; 65–66). Other notable challenges have included:

- instances where insufficient time has been allocated to allow organisations and the general public to comment on proposed legislation,
- limited public resources for ensuring full public participation,
- poor turnout during public hearings in certain areas and on specific issues,
- the socio-economic challenges experienced by disadvantaged communities which effectively preclude meaningful participation by much of the population. Low education levels and limited media and physical access, owing to lengthy travelling distances to the seats of legislature or meeting places, are problematic, and
- a lack of awareness among citizens of government decision-making processes, public resources and abilities, as well as the importance of participatory processes.

These all act as deterrents to participation in formal decision-making processes and result in the domination of processes by a middle-class more capable of organising itself into NGOs and other interest groups (APRM 2014, p. 31).

Importantly, while limiting socio-economic circumstances do appear to impede formal participation by the public, this does not equate to a lack of interest in political affairs. The 2006, 2008, 2011, 2015 and 2018 Afrobarometer surveys all found that more than half the respondents were interested in public affairs and frequently discussed politics with friends and family (see Table 2). Moreover, 65% of respondents thought that a good citizen in a democracy should always complain to government officials when public services are of poor quality (Afrobarometer, 2015, p. 16). However, this interest has not necessarily translated into action. Afrobarometer results from 2006, 2008, 2011, 2015 and 2018 reflect that although over half of the respondents have attended a community meeting in the past, an average of only 45% have 'got together with others to raise an issue' and an average of only 20% have participated in a demonstration or protest march.<sup>3</sup>

**Table 2: Political citizenship and participation in political life**

	2006 %	2008 %	2011 %	2015 %	2018 %
How interested would you say you are in public affairs? ('somewhat/very interested')	61	56	57	58	
When you get together with your friends or family, would you say you discuss political matters (frequently/occasionally)	65	69	71	73	62
<b>For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year ('Yes' response).</b>					
	2006 %	2008 %	2011 %	2015 %	2018 %
Attended a community meeting	60	51	58	52	68
Got together with others to raise an issue	45	39	43	38	58
Attended a demonstration or protest march	24	19	10	18	27

3 The de facto figure is likely to be much higher than this figure suggests. It is possible that a 'social desirability effect' may have taken hold where respondents may not have necessarily admitted to an interviewer that they would engage in protest action due to wanting to be seen as 'socially responsible'.

<b>During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your view? ('once or more than once')</b>					
	<b>2006</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2015</b>	<b>2018</b>
	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>
A local government councillor	23	27	26	32	33
A representative to the National Assembly	5	12	5	5	9
An official of a government ministry / agency	6	13	7	8	15
A political party official	15		12	13	17
A religious leader	32	25		32	29
A traditional ruler	16	13		16	15
Some other influential person	12	13			

Afrobarometer survey results: 2006; 2008; 2011; 2015; 2018

Less than a third of those interviewed have contacted a local government councillor to give them their view on an issue. This is, however, considerably higher than the average 7% and 10% of people who have contacted a representative to the National Assembly or a government official respectively. In addition, at local government level, a large majority (77%) believe that local government councillors 'never' or 'only sometimes' try their best to listen to what they have to say (Afrobarometer 2015, p. 42). A 2018 survey found that 65% of respondents trust local government councillors 'just a little' or 'not at all' (Afrobarometer 2018, p. 33) and 88% believe that local government councillors are involved in corruption. These low levels of contact and trust between people and their local councillor is a cause of major concern, especially as local government is the sphere of government perceived as 'closest to the people', and is therefore potentially more capable of facilitating participation. In fact, legislation prescribes that local government must facilitate local community participation in decision-making processes that directly affect the local community, and articulate and represent the local community's interests (Municipal Systems Act 32). However, local government has been plagued by serious problems in the last two decades, including a lack of appropriate financial and management skills, political interference and infighting (Paradza, Mokwena & Richards 2010, p. 91). A 2009 government report found that 'a culture of patronage and nepotism is now so widespread in many municipalities that the formal municipal accountability system is ineffective and inaccessible to many citizens' (Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs 2009, p. 11). Nine years later, it seems that any improvements have been slow to reflect substantively. In 2018, the Minister of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, Zweli Mkhize, announced that only 7% of

the country's municipalities were classified as 'well-functioning' (Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs 2018). This is a serious concern for effective participatory democracy to take place, in the formal sense, at the most fundamental level of South African decision-making.

#### VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS, GROUPS, AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, AND THEIR INDEPENDENCE FROM GOVERNMENT

Strong political engagement (both organised and otherwise) has been a tradition in South African history. The past 25 years of democracy have revealed that South African civil society<sup>4</sup> is becoming more diverse, dynamic and assertive in holding government accountable, especially in relation to the delivery of constitutional goals, fighting corruption and supporting democratic institutions (Gumede 2018).

During apartheid, the relationship between civil society and the state was mostly adversarial and therefore, since democratisation, several legal, political and financial mechanisms or structures have been put in place to facilitate and sustain civil society. The most important of these is the Non-Profit Organisations Act No. 71 of 1997, which formally recognised civil society; established a system of voluntary registration for its constituents; and 'provided benefits and allowances in exchange for NGOs and community based organisations undertaking proper accounting and providing audited statements to government' (Habib 2005, p. 678). The Constitution also provides for the establishment of a Directorate for Non-Profit Organisations (NPOs), situated in the Department of Social Development, to manage the abovementioned processes. In terms of financial support, the previous 1978 Fundraising Act which limited the capacity of NGOs to raise funds was repealed. Instead, the National Development Agency, the Lottery Commission and other institutions were established with a mandate to fund legitimate non-profit activity. Moreover, tax regulations were reformed to grant registered tax-exemption status to civil society organisations, and to encourage philanthropy (Habib 2005, p. 678).

Three distinct categories of civil society emerged in the first 15 years of South Africa's democracy. The first comprises informal community-based organisations (CBOs), also known as survivalist organisations, which are based largely in marginalised communities and exist to assist people to survive in the face of socio-economic adversity. The second bloc consists of more formal CBOs which have been described by some as social movements (Desai 2002). The mandate of these groups is mostly to actively challenge the adverse effects of economic

---

4 While the media are an important part of civil society in South Africa, they do not form part of the discussion in this paper, which confines itself instead to an exploration of other avenues of citizen participation.

policy implemented by the state through the formal mobilisation of its members. An example is the Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee which campaigns against electricity cut-offs in Soweto. However, social movements have also been known to engage with the state, such as the Treatment Action Campaign <sup>5</sup>(TAC) which has displayed adversarial relations with the state in some cases and more collegial relations in others. The last category comprises more formal service-related NGOs, which, either partnered with the state and/or sub-contracted to the state, have cooperative rather than adversarial relationships with the state (Habib 2005, p. 685).

Civil society organisations have often plugged the gaps left by the state over the last two decades, and in so doing have strengthened the capacity of the state. For example, the Johannesburg Welfare Society, the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO), and Cotlands (an early childhood development initiative) all provide essential basic services to a needy public. Civil society groups have also defended the rights of vulnerable and socially excluded groups in society. For example, between 2015 and 2017, Section 27 represented the bereaved families of 140 mentally ill patients who had died because of a negligent action by the Gauteng Health Department in moving them to dubious NGOs without the requisite skills and resources to take care of them (Sefularo 2018).

According to the Department of Social Development's NPO 2019 Register, there are 223 004 registered organisations<sup>6</sup> in South Africa in 2019 (Department of Social Development 2019). NGOs are not entirely independent in that the NPO Act requires organisations registered with the NPO Directorate to submit annual accounts and narrative report to it. Failure to do so results in deregistration. Section 21 companies are required to submit accounts and reports to the Companies Registrar, and public benefit organisations are required to submit accounts and reports to the revenue department for tax exemption purposes.

World Value Survey data of the proportion of people who were members of voluntary associations in South Africa between 1995 and 2014 indicates that South Africa compares well with other middle/emerging income countries, such as Chile and Poland. Religious organisations are the most popular, boasting half of the population as members, and 16% has members in organisations involved in sport and recreation. If the strength of civil society is measured by belonging to some voluntary organisation then South Africa is doing well, and from these

---

5 A South African HIV / AIDS activist organisation

6 NGOs can register as voluntary associations (constitute 95% of organisations registered under the NPO Act); Section 21 companies (in terms of the Registered under the Companies Act (1973) or trusts. These three types of organisations can then also register as an NPO, in terms of the aforementioned 1997 NPO Act, with the NPO Directorate. The Register of NPOs is a voluntary registration facility that enhances the credibility of the registered NPO as it reports to a public office in the form of the NPO Directorate. The NPO holds information about registered NPOs for the public to access (Department of Social Development, 2011).

results seems to exhibit 'a strong active citizenry and sense of belonging' (The Presidency 2016, p. 56).

Trade unions are also arguably among the most important civil society institutions in democratic South Africa, with 3.93 million members representing 24% of the formal work force (Matwasa 2019). As of May 2017, there were 191 registered trade unions in South Africa (Department of Labour, 2017). Unions played a vital role in the demise of the apartheid state and the reconstruction of a democratic one. Since 1994, they have continued to be at the forefront of the fight to protect and develop the rights of workers, notably through their involvement at the National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC) where they have ensured that 'matters affecting workers or their inputs are taken into account when Parliament legislates on issues affecting them' (Tenza 2018, p. 105).<sup>7</sup>

The health of the trade union movement, has, however, often been in question in recent years, manifesting largely in fragmentation and division within the major federations. In 2014/2015 for example, the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) was expelled from the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) on dubious charges of contravening COSATU's constitution by not supporting the ANC in the 2014 general elections. The COSATU general secretary, Zwelinzima Vavi, was also forced out of the Congress and in 2017 went on to form a new federation, the South African Federation of Trade Unions (SAFTU) with membership of nearly 700,000 workers from 24 trade unions.

In terms of South African labour law, it is fairly easy for trade unions to call workers out on strikes that enjoy legal protection. Unions have consistently acted on this, mobilising their members through strikes and protests to demand that their rights are protected. For example, COSATU played a prominent role in both mobilising action against government plans in 2012 to introduce a tolling system in Gauteng, and also regarding the government's stance on labour brokers. In March 2012 protests took place in 32 areas across South Africa with numbers of participants protesting against the e-tolls and labour brokers estimated at between 30 000 and 100 000 (South Africa Survey 2012, p. 840; see more on social and other protest action in the next section). However, there have been concerns over the increasing number of unprotected<sup>8</sup> strikes over the years where unions have 'often ignored the procedures required for a strike to enjoy protected status and simply strike regardless' (Kane-Berman 2015). Between 2014 and 2017, for example, more unprotected than protected strikes took place, resulting in violence and

---

7 NEDLAC is a collaborative tripartite initiative where the state, organised labour and organised business come together to have input in policymaking and potential legislation that could impact on employers and employees in any way.

8 A protected strike is considered legitimate in that it complies with the requirements of the 1995 Labour Relations Act including all procedural requirements before the commencement of the strike. An unprotected strike does not comply with these requirements.



intimidation, physical damage to property and loss of earnings by the targeted companies.

Clearly, while much has been done by the unions over the last 25 years, many issues still need to be addressed including a high unemployment rate, unsafe working conditions and equal pay for work of equal value (Tenza 2018, p. 117).

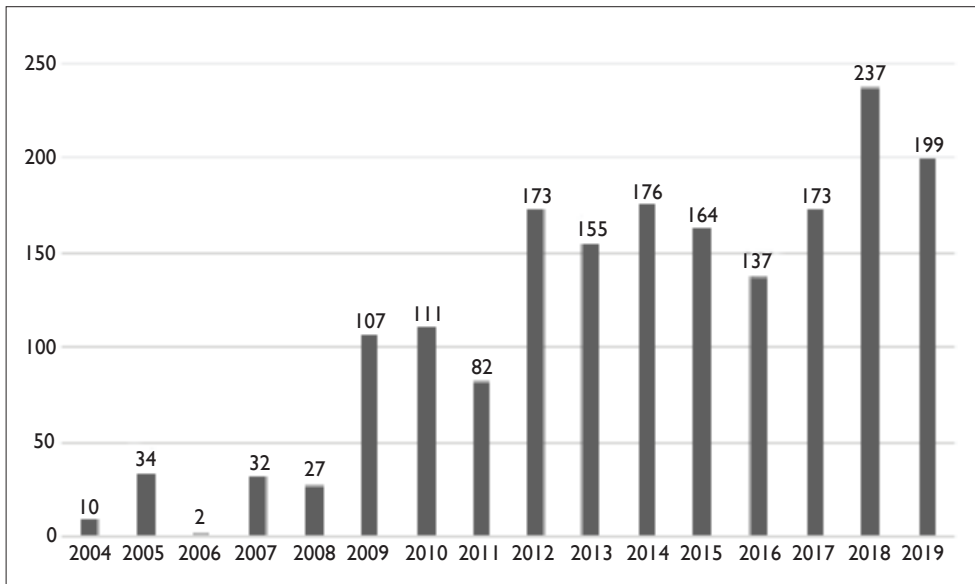
#### NON-CONVENTIONAL FORMS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSE

Section 17 of the Constitution's Bill of Rights ensures that everyone has the right to assemble, demonstrate and picket, provided that it is done peacefully and without arms. South Africans have certainly not been afraid to exercise this right; in fact, South Africa has often been referred to as 'the protest capital of the world' (see Alexander 2012; Bianco 2013). However, when the protests turn to violent and destructive behaviour that then infringes on the rights of others, this becomes a serious concern for the quality of South Africa's democracy. South African Police Service (SAPS) statistics on incidents of public violence (including, for example, community protests leading to looting, burning of ward councillor houses and schools) reveal a worrying trend with an increase from 974 cases in 2004/5 compared to the 3583 in 2017/2018 (Van Heerden 2019, p. 874).

Since 2004 many protests have been increasingly against local government, with the majority of incidents occurring between 2012 and 2019. In 2018, a record 237 protests against local government took place (see Figure 1). That 2019 was an election year could reasonably be said to account for this rise, as potential voters made the most of politicians canvassing on the campaign trail. Political analysts have suggested that the majority of community protests are metaphors for citizens looking for a voice. This is in view of the fact that many of the protestors are trying the formal channels of participation but are not succeeding. Booysen (2009, p. 22) refers to this incomplete policy realisation as the 'black hole of public participation', which has led to many communities reclaiming the right to participate by exploring the only remaining option available to them: protest action (see Figure 1).

The major drivers behind community dissatisfaction appear to relate predominantly to the quality of the basic services provided in terms of water supply and management, electricity supply, problems with billing, waste disposal, road maintenance and clean streets (South African Citizen Satisfaction Index 2019). Public opinion on delivery of basic services by the government has declined massively from 77% in 2004 to 48% in 2016 (The Presidency 2016, p. 85). A distinction should be drawn though between access to services in general, which have improved dramatically since 1994; and the increased aspirations and

expectations of people as a result of improved access. Overall satisfaction is heavily influenced by the large gaps in citizen expectation versus perceived quality, that is, what they actually experience in terms of public service. It is also important to note that although these protests are usually referred to as service delivery protests in the media, this description is argued to be overly narrow and misleading by ignoring a whole host of other community concerns (Friedman 2009).



Source: Municipal IQ Municipal Hotspots Monitor Sept 2019

**Figure 1: Major community protests against local government, by year (2004–2019)**

Apart from public service related issues, other areas of protest have centred on, for example, xenophobic sentiments; citizen concerns over corruption and a lack of accountability at local government level; being ignored or lied to by local officials; unequal access to land; unemployment; police brutality; increases in transport prices; crime; and student dissatisfaction with fees and student accommodation. Most notable protest campaigns that have had national impact, irrespective of success or failure in prompting change in government policy, include the following:

- The TAC's predominantly successful struggle for antiretroviral treatment to be made available to people living with HIV/AIDS;

- The Poor People's Alliance, a popular nationwide protest/social movement launch of a 'No Land! No House! No Vote! Campaign' in 2004 advocating the boycotting of elections in the fight for secure tenure;
- The Abahlali baseMjondolo campaign against the Slums Act in 2008/2009;
- The 2015/2016 #FeesMustFall campaign by youth against an increase in university tuition fees, which forced the government to promise free tertiary education for young people from poor families;
- The Right2Know Campaign in defence of freedom of expression and access to information, and opposition to state secrecy in drafting of laws; and
- The #ZumaMustFall campaign in April 2017 where large crowds gathered together to call for President Jacob Zuma to step down, following a cabinet reshuffle and the subsequent downgrade of South Africa to junk status by rating agencies.

While protestor violence is a concern, so too is excessive use of force against protestors. The question arises as to what degree protestors are violently suppressed by the authorities in South Africa's democracy? Because of the violent treatment of protesters at the hands of police officers during apartheid, the new South Africa was (and is) still confronted by a deep-seated lack of public confidence in the legitimacy of the police (Minnaar 2010). For this reason, legislation, including the South African Police Service Act of 1995 and the Regulation of Gatherings Act of 1993, was introduced to reform how the police handled crowd control. Despite these and other widespread reforms, social movements such as the aforementioned Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee, Landless Peoples Movement, the Western Cape Anti-Eviction campaign, the Anti-Privatisation Forum and Abahlali baseMjondolo (a shack dwellers' movement) have had marches banned and in some cases members have been forcibly removed from demonstration sites (see Bond 2004, p. 21; Desai 2002; Lier & Stokke 2006).

Protestors in general are often faced with forceful repression through the use of baton charges, rubber bullets, tear-gassings, and arrests (Roberts et al. 2017). Arguably the worst incidence of excessive police force occurred in mid-August 2012 when a group of miners undertook unauthorised wildcat strike action at Lonmin's platinum mine in Marikana outside Rustenburg. Although accounts of the incident vary, it is generally acknowledged that members of an elite special unit of the SAPS opened fire on a group of strikers killing 34 people and wounding at least 78. The gravity of these and other occurrences prompted Human Rights Watch to state in its 2015 report that: 'serious concerns remain about the conduct and capacity of the South African Police Services (SAPS), both in terms of the use

of force in general, as well as the ability to deal with riots in a rights-respecting manner' (Human Rights Watch 2015).

### HOW SOUTH AFRICA COMPARES

Regional and international indices score South Africa quite high in terms of political participation, especially when compared to other relatively 'healthy' democracies in Africa such as Mauritius and Botswana. Bertelsmann's 2020 Transformation Index (which describes where a country stands on its way to fully consolidated democracy) rates South Africa's political participation as a 7.8 (where 10 is best and 1 is worst) and ranks the country 3<sup>rd</sup> in southern Africa, behind Mauritius (8.6) and Botswana (8.4) respectively, and 25<sup>th</sup> in the world (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2020). Of the 54 African countries assessed in the 2019 Mo Ibrahim Index, South Africa's score of 74.4% (where 100% is the highest) for 'participation and human rights' is impressive, especially when compared to the number one ranked Mauritius with its participation score of 77.2%. The Economist Intelligence Unit's 2019 Democracy Index (p. 43) ranks South Africa 4<sup>th</sup> in sub-Saharan Africa (behind Mauritius, Botswana and Cabo Verde) with the country scoring a remarkably high 8.33 for political participation (on a scale from 0 to 10, where 10 is the best) far outranking Mauritius' 5.56, Botswana's 6.11. and Cabo Verde's 6.67. South Africa's scores appear to be apt assessments given the many mechanisms, programmes and paths to political participation in place.

### CONCLUSION

In assessing the quality of South Africa's participatory democracy, two criteria were examined: the extent to which the opportunities for conventional participation are both developed and taken up; and in the event of non-conventional participation, the degree of government suppression.

Constitutional provisions make it the responsibility of government at national, provincial and local level to facilitate public participation. Apart from voting, there are many other formal avenues in place for conventional participation through mechanisms and programmes. Furthermore, there is evidence of consistent efforts by government to improve on these opportunities. Despite this, numerous problems impair the ability of many of these programmes to perform optimally. The most challenging of these relates to the significant, lived socio-economic realities faced by much of the population that repeatedly act as barriers to formal participation. In addition, and particularly at local government level, corruption and ineptitude are rife, resulting in a lack of trust between officials

and their municipalities. Loss of faith in formal platforms has also resulted in the utilisation of other platforms such as youth-led social media campaigns.

A robust and diverse civil society offers another route for participation, by constantly challenging government and articulating wide-ranging interests. Constitutionally, everyone has the right to protest (peacefully) and where formal participation fails, protest action is widely utilised. Various grassroots organisations, unions, and interest groups, as well as the general public, campaign regularly to make their demands known. This is a positive sign of participatory democracy as the public mobilise to participate on their own terms (albeit sometimes illegally). However, the increasing use of violence and resulting loss of life as well as massive damage to public property, such as to schools, is problematic and retards overall progress. Moreover, this violence is used as a justification for unacceptable and excessive use of force by authorities.

To conclude, the quality of political participation in South Africa after 25 years of democracy is procedurally very good and substantively good (with reservations). The citizens might be unwilling or unable to participate through conventional channels (which in itself has implications for the quality of vertical accountability in South Africa), but they are nonetheless clearly active, committed to having their voices heard and to holding government to account. If the levels of protest-related violence decrease over time, then the quality of political participation is encouraging for South Africa's young democracy as it matures and deepens.

#### ----- REFERENCES -----

- African Peer Review Mechanism 2014, 'South Africa's Third APRM NPoA implementation report'. Available at <<https://www.aprmtoolkit.saiia.org.za/country-reports-and-experiences/south-africa/item/571-south-africa-third-npoa-progress-report>> [18 November 2019]
- Afrobarometer 2006, 'Summary of Results Round 3 Survey in South Africa', IDASA, Cape Town.
- Afrobarometer 2008, 'Summary of Results Round 4 Survey in South Africa', IDASA, Cape Town.
- Afrobarometer 2011, 'Quality of Democracy and Governance in South Africa: Summary of Results Round 5', IDASA, Cape Town.
- Afrobarometer 2015, 'The Quality of Democracy and Governance in South Africa: Summary of Results, Round 6 Survey in South Africa'. Available at <<https://afrobarometer.org/publications/south-africa-round-6-summary-results>> [14 November 2019]

- Afrobarometer 2018, 'The Quality of Democracy and Governance in South Africa: Summary of Results, Round 7 Survey in South Africa'. Available at <[http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Summary%20of%20results/saf\\_r7\\_sor\\_13112018.pdf](http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Summary%20of%20results/saf_r7_sor_13112018.pdf)>. [14 November 2019]
- Alexander, P 2010, 'Rebellion of the poor: South Africa's service delivery protests – a preliminary analysis', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 37, no.123, pp. 25–40.
- Alexander, A 2012, 'Massive rebellion of the poor', *Mail & Guardian* 13 April. Available at <<https://mg.co.za/article/2012-04-13-a-massive-rebellion-of-the-poor>>. [19 November 2019]
- Baker, B 1999, 'The quality of African democracy: why and how it should be measured', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 273–286.
- Beetham, D, Byrne, I, Ngan, P & Weir, S 2002, *Democracy under Blair: A Democratic Audit of the United Kingdom*, Politico's Publishing, London.
- Beetham, D 2004, 'Towards a universal framework for democracy assessment', *Democratization*, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 1–17.
- Beetham, D, Carvalho, E, Landman, T & Weir, S 2008, *Assessing the Quality of Democracy: A Practical Guide*, International IDEA, Stockholm.
- Bertelsmann Stiftung 2020, 'Transformation Atlas: South Africa'. Available at <[https://atlas.bti-project.org/1\\*2020\\*CV:CTC:SELZAF\\*CAT\\*ZAF\\*REG:TAB](https://atlas.bti-project.org/1*2020*CV:CTC:SELZAF*CAT*ZAF*REG:TAB)>. [5 May 2020]
- Bianco, S 2013, 'South Africa: the 'protest capital of the world'', *The South African*, 20 June. Available at <<https://www.thesouthafrican.com/south-africa-the-protest-capital-of-the-world>> [19 November 2019]
- Bond, P 2004, 'South Africa's resurgent urban social movements: the case of Johannesburg, 1984, 1994, 2004', *Research Report*, Centre for Civil Society, report no. 22, Durban, SA, October.
- Booyesen, S 2009, 'Public participation in democratic South Africa: from popular mobilisation to structured co-optation and protest', *Politeia*, vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 1–27.
- Buccus, I, Hemson, D, Hicks, J & Piper, L 2007, 'Public Participation and Local Governance', *Report for the Centre for Public Participation in association with the HSRC and University of KwaZulu-Natal*, May.
- Centre for Human Rights 2019, 'Op-Ed: A critical look at women's representation in politics and governance in South Africa'. Available at <[https://www.chr.up.ac.za/opinion-pieces/1801-a-critical-look-at-women-s-representation-in-politics-and-governance-in-south-africa#\\_ftn16](https://www.chr.up.ac.za/opinion-pieces/1801-a-critical-look-at-women-s-representation-in-politics-and-governance-in-south-africa#_ftn16)>. [20 November 2019]
- Commonwealth 2016, *Global Youth Development Index and Report 2016*, Commonwealth Secretariat, London, UK.
- Diamond, L & Morlino, L 2005, *Assessing the Quality of Democracy*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.



- Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs 2009, 'State of Local Government in South Africa – Overview Report: National State of Local Government Assessments', Available at <<http://pmg-assets.s3-website-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/docs/091017tas.pdf>> [7 June 2019]
- Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs 2018, 'End of year statement by COGTA Minister Dr Zweli Mkhize on progress made by COGTA on the implementation of the Ministry's Programme of action to date'. Available at <<https://www.gov.za/speeches/end-year-statement-cogta-minister-dr-zweli-mkhize-progress-made-cogta-implementation>> [19 November 2019]
- Department of Labour 2017, 'Registered Trade Unions – 31 May 2017'. Available at <https://www.labourguide.co.za/trade-unions-in-south-africa> [18 November 2019]
- Department of Social Development 2019, 'Registered NPOs'. Available at <http://www.npo.gov.za/> [18 November 2019]
- Desai, A 2002, *We Are the Poors: Community Struggles in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, Monthly Review Press, New York.
- Economist Intelligence Unit's 2019 Democracy Index 2019, 'Democracy Index 2019 A year of democratic setbacks and popular protest', Available at <<http://www.eiu.com/Handlers/WhitepaperHandler.ashx?fi=Democracy-Index-2019.pdf&mode=wp&campaignid=democracyindex2019>> [5 May 2020]
- Electoral Commission of South Africa 2019, Available at <<http://www.elections.org.za/content/default.aspx>> [14 November 2019]
- Friedman, S 2009, 'People are demanding public service, not service delivery', *Business Day*, 29 July.
- Graham, V 2015, *Pass or Fail: Assessing the Quality of Democracy in South Africa*, PIE Peter Lang, Brussels.
- Graham, L 2017, 'Young South Africans aren't apathetic, just fed up with formal politics', *The Conversation*. Available at <https://theconversation.com/young-south-africans-arent-apatetic-just-fed-up-with-formal-politics-79514>> [7 June 2019]
- Gumede, W 2018, 'How civil society has strengthened democracy in South Africa. Democracy Works Foundation'. Available at <<https://democracyworks.org.za/policy-brief-28-how-civil-society-has-strengthened-democracy-in-south-africa/>> [17 November 2019]
- Habib, A 2005, 'State-civil society relations in post-apartheid South Africa', *Social Research*, vol. 72, no. 3, pp. 671–692.
- Human Rights Watch 2015, 'World Report 2015: South Africa'. Available at <<http://www.hrw.org/world-report/2015/country-chapters/south-africa?page=1>> [19 November 2019]

- Kane-Berman, K 2015, 'Income-loss awards for unprotected strikes must gather pace', *Business Day*, 13 July. Available at <<https://irr.org.za/media/articles-authored-by-the-institute/income-loss-awards-for-unprotected-strikes-must-gather-pace-2013-business-day-13-july-2015>> [6 May 2020]
- Kondlo, K 2010, 'Making participatory governance work – reinventing Izimbizo forums in South Africa', *Journal of Public Administration*, vol. 45, no. 2, pp. 384–95.
- Lier, DC & Stokke, K 2006, 'Maximum working-class unity? Challenges to local social movement unionism in Cape Town', *Antipode*, vol. 38, no. 4, pp. 802–824.
- Mabelebele, J 2006, 'Ideological objectives underpinning Imbizo as a model of communication and governance', *Communicare: Journal for Communication Sciences in Southern Africa*, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 103–125.
- Mail & Guardian* 2019, 'What the low voter turnout really shows', 17 May. Available at <https://mg.co.za/article/2019-05-17-00-what-the-low-voter-turnout-really-shows> [18 November 2019]
- Matwasa, U 2019, 'Industrial relations', in F Cronje & T Ndebele (eds), *Socio-Economic Survey of South Africa*, Centre for Risk Analysis, Johannesburg.
- Minnaar, A 2010, 'The changing face of community policing in South Africa, post- 1994', *Acta Criminologica: Southern African Journal of Criminology*, Special Edition 2, pp. 189–210.
- Mo Ibrahim Index 2019, 'Ibrahim Index of African Governance'. Available at <<http://iiag.online/>> [5 May 2020]
- Morlino, L 2011, *Changes for Democracy: Actors, Structures, Processes*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Morlino, L & Carli, LG 2014, 'How to assess a democracy. What alternatives?' *Report for the XV April International Academic Conference on Economic and Social Development*, HSE Publishing House, Moscow.
- Mukwevho, N 2019, 'No service delivery, no vote: Vuwani residents warn', *IOL*, 30 April. Available at <<https://www.iol.co.za/the-star/news/no-service-delivery-no-vote-vuwani-residents-warn-22219184>> [14 November 2019]
- Municipal IQ Municipal Hotspots Monitor 2019, 'Protest update for 2019'. Available at <[http://www.municipaliq.co.za/index.php?site\\_page=press.php](http://www.municipaliq.co.za/index.php?site_page=press.php)> [14 November 2019]
- Newham, G & Roberts, M 2019, 'Analysis: Why South Africa's youth would rather protest than go to the polls', *News24*. Available at <<https://www.news24.com/Analysis/why-south-africas-youth-would-rather-protest-than-go-to-the-polls-20190414>> [7 June 2019]
- Paradza, G, Mokwena, L & Richards, R 2010, 'Assessing the role of councillors in service delivery at local government level in South Africa', *Report for the Centre for Policy Studies*, Report no. 125, Johannesburg, SA.

- Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa 2003. Available at <[https://www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/pdf/au/protocol\\_rights\\_women\\_africa\\_2003.pdf](https://www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/pdf/au/protocol_rights_women_africa_2003.pdf)> [20 November 2019]
- Public Service Commission 2008, *Report on the Assessment of Public Participation Practices in the Public Service*, Public Service Commission, Pretoria.
- Public Service Commission 2011, *Seventh Consolidated Public Service Monitoring and Evaluation Report: Evaluation Cycle 2009/2010*. Available at <<https://evaluations.dpme.gov.za/evaluations/66>> [19 November 2019]
- Rasila, BN & Mudau, J 2013, 'Citizen participation in local government: The importance of effective communication in rural development', *International Journal of Community Development*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 12–18.
- Reconstruction and Development Programme 1994, *A policy framework*. Available at <<https://omalley.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv02039/04lv02103/05lv02120/06lv02126.htm>> [18 November 2019]
- Report of the Independent Panel Assessment of Parliament 2009, Parliament of the Republic of South Africa. Available at <<https://pmg.org.za/policy-document/63/>> [19 November 2019]
- Roberts, BJ, Bohler-Muller, N, Struwig, J, Gordon, SL, Mchunu, N, Mtyingizane, S & Runciman, C 2017, 'Protest blues: Public opinion on the policing of protest in South Africa', *South African Crime Quarterly*, vol. 62, pp. 63–80.
- Sefularo, M 2018, 'Section 27 welcomes Esidimeni ruling', *EWN*. Available at <https://ewn.co.za/2018/03/19/section-27-welcomes-esidimeni-ruling> [18 November 2019]
- Schmitter, PC 2004, 'The ambiguous virtues of accountability', *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 15, no. 4, pp. 47–60.
- Schulz-Herzenberg, C 2019, 'Trends in voter participation: registration, turnout and the disengaging electorate', in C Schulz-Herzenberg & R Southall (eds), *Election 2019: Change and Stability in South Africa's Democracy*, Jacana Media, Auckland Park.
- Sonke Gender Justice 2019, *A Gender and Migration Analysis of 2019 Election Manifestos*. Available at <<https://genderjustice.org.za/publication/a-gender-and-migration-analysis-of-2019-election-manifestos/>> [20 November 2019]
- South African Citizen Satisfaction Index 2019, *Citizen Satisfaction Index Shows Sharp Decline in Citizen Trust Across SA's Largest Metropolitan Municipalities*. Available at <<https://blog.consulta.co.za/citizen-satisfaction-index-shows-sharp-decline-in-citizen-trust-across-sas-largest-metropolitan-municipalities/>> [18 November 2019]
- Tenza, M 2018, 'The first of May: do workers have anything to celebrate in South Africa twenty years into democracy?', *Fundamina*, vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 100–119.

- The Presidency 2016, *Development Indicators*. Available at <<https://www.dpme.gov.za/keyfocusareas/outcomesSite/Pages/Development-Indicators.aspx>> [19 November 2019]
- TimesLIVE 2019, 'Youth shun vote 25 years after SA's first free election', Available at <<https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2019-04-29-youth-shun-vote-25-years-after-sas-first-free-election/>> [18 November 2019]
- Van Heerden, G 2019, 'Crime and Security', in F Cronje & T Ndebele (eds), *Socio-Economic Survey of South Africa*, Centre for Risk Analysis, Johannesburg.
- Von Fintel, M & Ott, G 2017, 'Political Culture and Participation in South Africa: The Role of Socio-Economic Factors', *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 77–99.