

Voting Behaviour and the Influence of Social Protection

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A study of voting behaviour in three poor areas in South Africa



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“This report presents the results of a three-site survey of 1 204 South African adults conducted in 2013 to examine the relationship between social protection and a range of political behaviours and attitudes. The study focuses on three low-income communities, where social protection is likely to have the greatest impact on political attitudes and behaviour. The study aims to provide insight into the political engagement and voting behaviour of people living in disadvantaged communities; assess competing theoretical approaches to understanding voting choice in this context, and examine the influence of social protection on these choices. The findings provide insight into the consolidation of democracy in South Africa, and raise important questions for further research in this new area of enquiry.”

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Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
ACDP	African Christian Democratic Party
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation
COPE	Congress of the People
CSDA	Centre for Social Development in Africa
CSG	Child Support Grant
DA	Democratic Alliance
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
ILO	International Labour Organisation
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress of Azania
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
UJ	University of Johannesburg

Executive summary

The Centre for Social Development in Africa (CSDA) and members of the Department of Politics at the University of Johannesburg conducted a study on voting behaviour and the influence of social protection in three disadvantaged communities in 2013. The two urban communities of Doornkop and Riverlea in Johannesburg and a rural farming area in Groblersdal in Limpopo were selected for the study. We interviewed 1 204 adults over 18 years of age. The study focused on three 'poor' communities, since the purpose of the research was to explore how social protection benefits and social grants in particular, which are aimed at those who are unable to support themselves, impact on voters' electoral choice.

The aim of the study was three-fold. The first aim was to gain an understanding of the sources of information of voters in these areas, their levels of knowledge of their social rights and their political engagement. Second, we wanted to know whether receiving a social grant influences how poor people vote. A third aim was to ascertain which factors influence voting behaviour among poor voters. The research makes a contribution to our understanding of whether poor people use their electoral power to place social development policies and issues on the agenda.

Profile of respondents and their voting behaviour

- Only 28% of respondents in these areas reported being employed full-time or part-time.
- Thirty-eight percent of respondents personally receive a social grant, usually a child support grant.
- Most respondents (88%) agreed that grants help the most vulnerable in society to survive. A third (33%) believed that social grants discourage work.
- Most respondents (76%) did not view the provision of social grants as a form of 'bribery' to solicit political support for the governing party. In contrast, more than two thirds of respondents (70%) viewed the handing out food parcels before elections as being "like buying votes".
- Three quarters of respondents (74%) had voted before, with slightly fewer reporting having voted in the 2009 national election.
- Respondents most commonly agreed that people vote 'to make things better' and 'because it is their democratic right'.
- Reasons why people did not vote previously were because they were too young to vote (40%), they did not have an identity document (29%) or they were not interested in politics (27%).
- When asked who they would vote for if an election were held tomorrow, 56% of all respondents indicated that they would vote for the African National Congress, 17% for the Democratic Alliance, 10% refused to answer and 9% said that they didn't know. The remaining 8% was distributed among other opposition parties. The Economic Freedom Fighters were formed during the course of the data collection for this study, and therefore were not included in the list of potential parties for which respondents would vote.
- Almost a third (32%) of younger respondents (aged 18 to 34 years) reported that they would vote for an opposition party, compared to 23% of those aged 35 years and above.

Sources of information, political engagement and levels of knowledge of socio-economic rights

- The majority of respondents (94%) across all three areas accessed news at least twice a week through various media platforms, with the most common sources of information on political news or issues being television and radio. This suggests, at least in theory, that they are informed about the news of the day and political issues.
- A third of respondents (36%) indicated that they discuss politics often or very often with someone.
- Up to a third of respondents participated actively in political events (such as protest marches, seeking advice from political parties and presenting their views to politicians), while a large proportion of respondents (70%) have attended a ward meeting at local government level. This indicates active public engagement at the level most easily accessible to the people.
- More than 90% of respondents agreed that they have basic socio-economic rights in a democracy, including the right to healthcare, food and water, basic education, adequate housing and social security.

Respondents were also aware of their civil and political rights in a democracy, such as the freedom to practice one's religion, to give one's opinions and the right to protest.

- However, in the case of the socio-economic rights, respondents were less sure as to whether these rights would be protected irrespective of which political party they vote for. When asked specifically about the continuation of social grants, those who received a grant and those who intended voting for the ruling party were least certain that grants would continue if another party came into power.

Do social grants influence voting?

- We conclude that grant receipt has some influence in how people vote but that it is not a driving factor. This is confirmed by regression analysis that shows that when taken together with other factors, it is not a significant predictor of why people in these areas vote in the way they do. Our cautious conclusion is that it has some influence but not a major one. Additional analysis will be conducted to further explore issues of causality.
- On the question of whether people would vote for a party that provides grants for households like theirs, 59% of respondents across the three areas agreed with this statement. Grant recipients were more likely to agree with this statement than non-recipients (65% of grant recipients compared to 56% of non-recipients).
- On the question of which political party respondents would vote for, there was no clear statistical association between getting a grant and respondents' electoral choice when those who did not know who they would vote for were included.
- When the influence of grants is considered along with other factors, it was not a strong predictor of how people in these areas would vote. Instead, perceptions of the protection of social rights featured more strongly.

Which factors influence voting behaviour among poor voters?

- Different models drawn from the political science literature were used to assess which factors influence how adults in these areas vote. These explanatory models included the sociological model, party identification model, rational choice model and clientelism model.
- Not surprisingly, we found that multiple factors influence how people vote.
- Race, party identification, party loyalty, rational choice reasons for voting, beliefs about the protection of rights, ratings of government's performance and perceptions of corruption were significant predictors of voting behaviour.
- Age, trust in institutions, clientelism-related reasons for voting and perceptions of vote-buying behaviour were not significant predictors.
- Receipt of social grants was also not a significant factor and was shown to be non-significant in the 'clientelism' model of voting behaviour.

Recommendations

- The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) engages more actively in civic or democracy education about socio-economic rights, civic responsibilities and the importance of participation in elections.
- The IEC should take steps to ensure that both political parties and potential voters are aware of their rights and obligations in upholding the Code of Conduct of the Electoral Act.
- There is need to speed up the processing of identity documents to increase participation.
- The distribution of food parcels in communities during political campaigns before an election should not be allowed.
- Further research is needed to assess the impact of social protection policies on electoral politics in South Africa.
- The barriers to participation in elections by youth, and how to overcome them, need to be studied further.

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1. Introduction

After decades of political, economic and social racial segregation under apartheid, the 1994 election in South Africa ushered in a new democracy delivering not only the universal franchise but also formal equality before the law, a comprehensive and liberal Constitution and avenues of participation for all citizens for the first time in the country's history. This momentous milestone, significant as it was, was followed by the even more significant and vastly more difficult task of addressing the unequal effects of this past in a way that would benefit the majority of the population.

The twenty years of South African democracy since then have witnessed profound changes to the country's political and socio-economic landscape, some of the most significant of which were made possible through the Constitutional protection of political and social rights (Sections 19 and 27 respectively). Politically, the right to vote is guaranteed to South African citizens over the age of 18 and, socially, social protection policies, together with other social and economic development strategies, have been devised to address the legacy of the country's past. In particular, the social cash transfer programmes in South Africa are among the tangible benefits of this social protection. Currently, more than 16 million of the over 51 million South Africans benefit from social grants (South African Social Security Agency, 2014). Overall, spending on social grants is estimated to be 3.4% of GDP (National Treasury, 2013). Given that there are just over 25 million registered voters (Electoral Commission of South Africa, 2014), it is likely that a significant number of South African voters are direct beneficiaries of social protection policies. However, little is known about how social benefits impact on voters' electoral choice.

The aim of the study was three-fold. The first was to gain an understanding of the sources of information of voters in these areas, their levels of knowledge of social rights and their political engagement. The second was to explore whether receiving a social grant influences how people in poor communities vote. A third aim was to ascertain which factors influence voting behaviour among voters in disadvantaged communities.

This report lays out the findings of a survey that was conducted in three poor areas where the uptake of social grants is relatively high: the two urban areas of Doornkop and Riverlea (both in Johannesburg, Gauteng), and a more rural farming area in Groblersdal in Limpopo. The study was a collaboration between the Centre for Social Development in Africa (CSDA) and members of the Department of Politics, both at the University of Johannesburg (UJ).

The report begins with a brief background and motivation for the study, followed by a literature review that provides a conceptual understanding of the core terms informing the research. The methodology and research design employed in conducting the research is then described, after which the findings of the survey are presented in seven parts. Part one provides a brief overview of the socio-demographic profile of the respondents, and part two outlines the extent to which the respondents were accessing social grants. In part three, respondents' sources of and access to political information and their participation in various political activities are discussed. The respondents' knowledge and perceptions of their rights in a democracy are presented in part four. Against this background, part five covers respondents' voting behaviour and explores the reasons why people vote. Part six addresses a range of factors influencing voting behaviour and draws on the explanatory models of voting behaviour described in the literature review. The report ends with a discussion of the findings and recommendations.

2. Background and motivation for the study

The post-apartheid government of South Africa inherited a society with high levels of poverty, inequality and unemployment, social challenges that run along race, class and gender lines. In this context, South Africa's Bill of Rights (Chapter 2 of the Constitution) guarantees socio-economic rights to all citizens. The individual is afforded the right to a minimum status and standard of living, including the right to education, health care, social assistance and housing. These rights are envisaged to be realised progressively, so that priority is given

to meeting the needs of the least advantaged persons. Thus, South Africa has a rights-based approach to social protection and the expansion of non-contributory social assistance for poor and vulnerable groups in the form of social grants is an important tool in poverty reduction (Patel, 2013).

In South Africa, the cash transfer or social grants programme is state-funded and targets particularly vulnerable sections of the population such as children, the elderly, those who cannot work as a result of disabilities, and those in need of care. Applicants for grants must meet the requirements of a means test (a measure of income and assets). The grant with the most extensive reach is the child support grant, followed by the old age grant and the disability grant (South African Social Security Agency, 2014; see Appendix B for more detail on the individual grants). In addition to social grants, the government implements a range of social protection programmes for the poor or those in need that encompasses, among other measures, free basic services, free and subsidised housing, free education, a school nutrition programme at primary school level and free healthcare for pregnant women and children under six years of age (National Planning Commission, 2011).

Politically, free and fair elections are an integral part of a successfully functioning democracy. South Africans have been able to vote in five national elections and several local elections since 1994. Through the Constitutional guarantee of universal franchise, citizens have not only the right to vote, but also the freedom to vote for their party of choice and in so doing determine the political leadership of their country. The question of why people vote as they do, however, remains a key question in socio-political research (Catt, 1996).

Of interest to this study is the current perception in public discourse that the social grant system is a 'vote-buying' mechanism used by the government to solicit support from poor voters. Consequently, there seems to be a tension between social grants afforded as a right to eligible individuals irrespective of their political affiliation, and the possible belief that grants are seen as a return for political support. The importance of this issue, as well as the necessity of understanding constitutionally-protected rights, was highlighted further by the possible implications of KwaZulu-Natal agriculture MEC Meshack Radebe's statement in early April 2014 (one month prior to the national elections) that those who received social welfare grants but voted for opposition political parties were, in effect, "stealing from government". In response to these comments, the African National Congress (ANC) was accused of spreading misinformation about South Africa's social grant policy and generating fear in order to prevent people from voting for opposition parties (TimesLive, 2014). These tensions, which form the core focus of this study, are elaborated in Section 3.

3. Exploring the links between voting behaviour and social protection

Determining voter preference, or why a person votes for one party rather than another, is influenced by a host of factors that are encapsulated in different models of voting behaviour. This study was informed by several of these models, namely the sociological, rational choice, party identification and clientelistic models (see, for example, Chandler, 1988; Catt, 1996; Sanders, 2003; Van de Walle, 2003; Brooks, Nieuwbeerta and Manza, 2006; Schwarzberg, 2013).

The sociological model is based on social determinants such as ethnicity, race, class, gender, religious affiliation, educational background, occupation, social status, geography and regional ties or identities (Lever, 1979; Horowitz, 1985; Catt, 1996). These, together, could "mould a distinctive social identity that in turn is reflected in party allegiance and voting behaviour" (Peele, 2004: 323). Ethnic divisions are said to "turn elections into a 'census' where the size of different groups consistently drives outcomes, leading to permanent winners and losers" as voters consistently choose parties associated with their own communal identities (Ferree, 2004: 1). Since South Africa became a democracy in 1994, some scholars and commentators have argued that elections have been little more than an ethnic and racial census as had earlier been expected (Lodge, 1995; Guelke, 1996; Johnson, 1996; Ferree, 2004; 2006; Redelinghuys, 2014). However, others contest this, arguing that "the relevance of ethnicity for the formation of party systems and voter alignment is not a uniform pattern across Africa" (Erdmann, 2007: 3) and that voters are not unthinking and irrational people who vote

according to their skin colour (Taylor and Hoeane, 1999). Studies have also revealed that while race, class and ethnicity do certainly shape voter perceptions in African and South African politics, other issues such as elite strategies, crosscutting cleavages, political ideology, government performance, opposition parties, candidates and key issues are also powerful determinants of voting intentions (Mattes, Taylor and Africa, 1999; McLaughlin, 2008; Young, 2009a; Basedau and Stroh, 2011).

Therefore, rational preferences may provide explanations for voting behaviour in South Africa. This is in keeping with the rational choice model, which suggests that voters base their electoral choices on rational considerations motivated by self-interest (Chandler, 1988; Brooks et al, 2006). In this model, the voter is seen as a rational actor who votes in a calculated and deliberate way based on information about the possible impact of an election on that voter's life and well-being (Himmelweit, Humphreys, Jaeger and Katz, 1981). Voters therefore become consumers, comparing products before purchasing them. Factors that inform this type of voting behaviour would include, for example, a party's record in government, personal popularity of the party's leaders and voters' perceptions of the direction of the economy, particularly with regard to taxation, unemployment and income distribution (Sanders, 2003). Voters' feelings of safety, stability and comfort within the economy have become increasingly important in predicting voting behaviour, with voters using the ballot to reward government for good economic performance and to punish them for bad (Bratton, Bhavnani and Chen, 2012; Nadeau, Lewis-Beck and Bélanger, 2012). Other scholars refer to this 'credit' and 'blame' voting as being relevant not only to economic issues, but also to other issue areas including policy performances in health and education (Marsh and Tilley, 2010).

Another explanation for voting preferences is proffered by the party identification model, where voters have a sense of identification with a particular political party and express their long-term loyalty by continually voting for that party (Miller, 1991; Peele, 2004; Kovernock and Robertson, 2008). Party identification is often used to partly explain voting behaviour in South Africa (Habib and Naidu, 2006) although, increasingly, scholars have found that while party identification and affiliation are still prominent in South Africa, they are combined with issue-based voting (as noted in the rational choice discussion above) especially in the areas of poverty, health, unemployment and education (Kersting, 2009).

Finally, patronage, or clientelism, can also be an important determinant of voting behaviour (Bratton and Van de Walle, 1997; Van de Walle, 2003). In a clientelistic relationship politicians tend to use their power to provide economic privileges or other material favours to voters in return for their political support at the polls (Wantchekon, 2003; Stokes, 2007; Vicente and Wantchekon, 2009; Szwarcberg, 2013). A form of clientelism, often referred to as vote-buying has been found to be prevalent in Africa, and emphasises the handing out of money and gifts to win voters during election campaigns. See, for example, research on Benin (Wantchekon, 2003; Koter, 2013), Ghana (Lindberg, 2003), Nigeria (Bratton, 2008), Kenya (Kramon, 2009), São Tomé and Príncipe (Vicente and Wantchekon, 2009), Malawi and Mozambique (Birch, 2011) and Senegal (Koter, 2013). As noted previously, in South African public conversation, the distribution of social grants by government has been likened to vote-buying (see, for example, News24, 17/03/2011).

Other research internationally has found, however, that vote-buying is not the main motivation for voting decisions (Lindberg and Morrison, 2008; Young, 2009b), with voters appearing to base decisions more on rational evaluation of past party performance and promised policy programmes, preferring the provision of public/collective goods over private goods (see, for example, Lindberg and Morrison, 2005; Young, 2009b; Weghorst and Lindberg, 2013). Geography seems also to play a role. For example, differences have been identified in voter preferences between rural and urban voters, with the former being more inclined to be influenced by clientelistic ties while their urban counterparts give due consideration to populist policy priorities that focus on issues such as service delivery and jobs (for example, Resnick's (2012) study in Lusaka, Zambia). Interesting developments in studies on clientelism and voting behaviour in India suggest too that rather than being driven by a politics of identity and patron-clientelism, electoral politics is being reshaped by development agendas and performance targets (Manor, 2010; Thachil, 2010), although others argue that even with development-focused and welfare agendas, caste and region continue to play a central role in electoral politics (De Neve and Carswell, 2011). Therefore, identity politics and patron-client relationships continue to be motivating forces in electoral politics.

Based on the literature it is evident that a range of models and determinants are useful in explaining voting behaviour and that a mix of considerations needed to be taken into account in this study. It should be emphasised that the various explanations are not mutually exclusive and several of them may apply at the same time, although the extent to which they are relevant may vary. For these reasons, this study included a range of determinants of voting behaviour in the questionnaire and the subsequent analysis thereof.

With regard to social protection, there is no uniformly accepted definition of social protection and there is some debate about how broadly (or narrowly) the concept should be defined. In this report we draw on the International Labour Organisation's (ILO) definition, in which social protection refers to "an integrated set of social policies designed to guarantee income security and access to essential social services for all, paying particular attention to vulnerable groups and protecting and empowering people across the life cycle. It includes guarantees of:

- Basic income security in the form of various social transfers (cash or in-kind), such as pensions for the elderly and persons with disabilities, child benefits, income support benefits and/or employment guarantees and services for the unemployed and working poor;
- Universal access to essential affordable social services in the areas of health, water and sanitation, education, food security, housing, and others defined according to national priorities" (ILO, 2011: xxii).

It is further noted that, "The concept is part of a two-dimensional strategy for the extension of social security, comprising a basic set of social guarantees for all (horizontal dimension), and the gradual implementation of higher standards (vertical dimension), in line with the ILO's Social Security (Minimum Standards) Convention, 1952 (No. 102), and others, as countries develop fiscal and policy space" (ILO, 2011: xxiii).

An expansion of such policies in the Global South since the 1990s has encouraged research on their socio-economic impact across Latin America, Southern Africa and Asia (Naidoo, 2011; Borzutzky, 2012; Ulriksen, 2012a). Studies have also increasingly focused on how politics has influenced the development of social protection policies (for example, Haggard and Kaufman, 2008; Hickey, 2008; Ulriksen, 2012b). However, until recently there has been much less academic focus on the possible impact of grant receipt on voting behaviour. This is an especially concerning issue in South Africa given the abovementioned possibility of equating social grants with vote-buying, even though social assistance for those who are unable to support themselves and their dependents is a constitutional right and as such should be provided consistently irrespective of the party in power. No such research has been conducted on this issue in South Africa. In fact, to our knowledge, this relationship has of yet received only limited attention in middle-income countries with large publicly funded cash transfers. This study is the first quantitative research on voting behaviour and on the relationship between voting behaviour and social protection policies in South Africa. Thus far there have been only qualitative studies on voting behaviour in South Africa (see, for example, Ferree, 2006 and Mclaughlin, 2008). Ferree's study found that parties' racial credentials are a central factor driving the racial census pattern in South Africa, while Mclaughlin's (2008: 23) reported that "strategic voting in South Africa is driven at least as much by political sophistication and ideology as by loyalty to any racial, ethnic or regional identity". While extensive research has been undertaken on the impact of social protection (for instance, Case, Hosegood and Lund, 2005; Adato and Hoddinott, 2008; Delany, Ismail, Graham and Ramkissoon, 2008; Neves, Samson, Niekerk, Hlatshwayo and Toit, 2009; Patel, 2013), studies linking this knowledge to voting behaviour have not been conducted.

A notable exception are studies in Brazil suggesting that social grants can influence the electoral choice of poor voters (Hall, 2006; 2012; Hunter and Power, 2007). The former President Lula da Silva extended social protection through conditional cash flows to the poor through the Bolsa Familia (family grant) and scholars have asserted that this policy was significant in da Silva's re-election in 2006 (Hunter and Power, 2007; Hall, 2012). According to Hunter and Power (2007), the poor in Brazil placed great premium on material needs and so receipt of cash flows had greater influence on their perception of the performance of the government than even the delivery of public goods. Other scholars have challenged these findings, however, questioning the capacity for such cash transfers to induce substantial long-term voter realignments (Zucco, 2013). Some argue that one cannot assume the Brazilian 'poor' to be a socioeconomically homogenous group that behaves

uniformly in the political arena by allowing their vote to be bought through their participation in a social programme (Bohn, 2011). Nonetheless, the Brazilian case suggests two things: first, a government especially in a middle-income country, can effectively exploit social protection for political dividends through electoral support and, second, a politician who spearheads such a policy is likely to have an edge over his or her rivals during elections. Da Silva (not the ruling Workers Party) took credit for the policies that reduced absolute poverty owing to his leadership in this regard. In Bolivia too there is evidence that expansive social assistance seems to be linked to electoral competition (UNRISD, 2010).

In South Africa, it is possible that beneficiaries of social protection are inclined to affirm their loyalty to the ruling political party as they favour government policies. By voting for either the government or leader who spearheads these policies, the recipients could be affirming the importance of such policies in improving their economic status. It is therefore important to juxtapose policy performance (i.e. social protection benefits) with the perceived clientelistic influence of politicians. The linkage between voters and political parties can thus be based on either narrow clientelistic relations or on broader performance, such as in the provision of social protection benefits. These linkages are arguably related to either the rational choice or the party identification models, or both. In terms of the rational choice argument, voters who receive a grant may act in ways that help them maximise their own personal self-interest. Grant receipt may also reinforce loyalty to the party. What distinguishes the policy performance and clientelistic relations is that the former distributes tangible benefits as a right, whereas the latter is a deliberate attempt to solicit political support.

Thus, this South African study is important in further informing the research on the politics of social protection in other middle-income democracies and contributing to our knowledge of how social policies impact on the dynamics of electoral politics. While the study focuses on the perceived link between social protection and voting behaviour, it also addresses political participation issues and important matters related to civic education such as knowledge and understanding of constitutionally protected social and civil rights.

4. Methodology

Ethical approval for this study was obtained from the Faculty of Humanities Academic Ethics Committee at the University of Johannesburg.

4.1. Population and research sites

The target population was South African citizens who are 18 years or older and therefore eligible to vote.

Three research sites were purposively sampled for comparison – the urban areas of Doornkop and Riverlea in Johannesburg and the more rural area of Groblersdal. Criteria for sampling included: ‘poor’ communities (broadly defined) with a relatively high uptake of social grants, both urban and rural communities, and communities with diverse voting profiles. Disadvantaged communities were chosen because the purpose of the research was to explore how social protection policies aimed at those who are unable to support themselves impact on voters’ electoral choice.

Wards¹ 129 in Doornkop, 68 in Riverlea (both in the City of Johannesburg Local Municipality) and 9 and 11 in Groblersdal (in Elias Motsoaledi Local Municipality, Limpopo) were particularly chosen as they all have traditionally high uptakes of social grants but their political profiles differ. In the 2011 local government election, for example, 90% of registered voters in Doornkop voted for the ruling party, the ANC, while in Riverlea 47% voted for the ANC and 49% voted for the official opposition party, the Democratic Alliance (DA). In wards 9 and 11 in Groblersdal, the proportions of registered voters who voted for the ANC were 47% and 36% respectively. The Mpumalanga Party, another opposition party, received more support in these areas with 45% and 58% of the vote respectively.² Therefore a range of political affiliations is present in these three areas.

¹ The White Paper on Local Government (1998: 117) defines a ward as a “geographic area into which a municipality is divided” for electoral purposes.

² Groblersdal later became part of Limpopo province.

The majority of Groblersdal respondents live in formal housing while Doornkop and Riverlea are characterised by a mix of formal housing, backyard shacks, and some informal housing. The focus on a contrast between both urban and rural areas is warranted in view of the increasing mobilisation, organisation and politicisation of urban voters.

4.2. Sampling strategy

Existing data from Statistics South Africa provided a base upon which to estimate the required sample size for this study. Multi-stage random sampling was utilised to reach the sample of approximately 400 in each of the three chosen areas³. The sample was drawn in stages, with wards being selected at the first stage, dwelling units within the wards in the second stage and respondents in the third stage. With the aid of the most recent maps, boundaries of the voting districts⁴ within each ward were identified and each dwelling within these boundaries was counted. As the number of houses varied in each voting district, the number of interviewees in each voting district differed. A total of 1,204 respondents were interviewed for this study – 402 in Riverlea; 402 in Doornkop and 400 in Groblersdal.

For systematic sampling of households, an interval was determined by dividing the total number of houses or stands in a voting district by the number of interviews required in that voting district. An interval of 15 was used for Doornkop, 40 for Riverlea and 11 for both wards in Groblersdal. Once the interval had been established, a random starting point was identified. One individual per household was selected using the Kish grid⁵ after a comprehensive listing exercise was completed of all eligible individuals at the dwelling unit. In addition, a gender quota was used to ensure that there was a gender balance among respondents (49% male and 51% female). Once the respondent had been selected, the fieldworker followed up with only that person per household. If the household or the selected respondent refused to partake in the study, the original selected house was substituted by the household immediately on the right hand side. Substitutions were also made where there were refusals or non-contact over a period of two days and after three re-visits. The Kish grid was also used in instances where there was more than one household on a stand.

4.3. Data collection

A questionnaire was developed consisting of 29 closed-ended questions and three open-ended questions, broadly covering the following areas: demographics, access to political information, knowledge of democratic rights, perceptions of government performance, trust in institutions, perceived corruption, voting behaviour, reasons for voting, attitudes towards social grants and access to social grants. The questionnaire was developed by the lead project researchers from the Department of Politics and the CSDA. Piloting of the questionnaire was carried out in Riverlea and Doornkop and amendments were made to simplify and clarify certain questions.

All fieldwork was carried out by trained fieldworkers under the supervision of two experienced fieldwork supervisors and a senior field manager, who were present in the field at all times. Data collection in Doornkop and Riverlea took place from 7th to 30th June 2013, and from 25th October to 3rd November 2013 in Groblersdal. In Riverlea and Doornkop, the fieldwork team included 15 students from the Department of Politics who volunteered to work on the study as part of their Honours research module and dissertation. In Groblersdal, assistance with fieldwork was provided by Ndlovu Care Centre, whereby Ndlovu Care Group identified eight fieldworkers from the Moutse area to work together with the CSDA fieldwork team. The students and other fieldworkers were given extensive background information on the theoretical grounding of

³ This figure was calculated according to the formula: $n = \pi (1 - \pi) z^2 / D^2$, where n corresponds to the sample size, π corresponds to the proportion of the targeted groups within the population, D corresponds to the sample precision, and z equals 1.96. This formula enabled the project leaders to calculate the sample size with the smallest margin of error and ensure that the sample was representative of the generalized population.

⁴ A ward consists of multiple voting districts. Voting districts are principally determined on the basis of geographical size and number of eligible voters. Urban voting districts contain some 3,000 voters located within a radius of some 7.5 km of the voting station. Rural voting districts accommodate some 1,200 voters located within a radius of some 10 km of the voting station.

⁵ The Kish grid is a widely used technique in survey research devised to ensure that all individuals in a household have an equal chance of being selected for an interview (See Kish, 1949).

the study as well as the study's aims and objectives, and were trained in how to administer the questionnaire as well as on research ethics, logistics and safety issues and what to expect in the field.

The local police, ward councillors and community organisations afforded the fieldworkers access to the areas under study. The respondents were each given a small gift of R20 airtime for their willingness to participate in the research.

4.4. Data analysis

The data were captured in Excel and imported into SPSS (an IBM statistical software package) for cleaning and analysis. Frequency distributions were used to identify data capturing. Descriptive analyses, predominantly in the form of frequencies and cross-tabulations, were used to describe the findings. Inferential statistics, predominantly chi-squared analyses (using the Pearson Chi-squared test) and linear regression analysis, were used to report significant (primarily bivariate) associations between variables and to build a regression model incorporating all variables where the respondents differed significantly by their political affiliation. All associations reported are statistically significant at $p < .05$ and at a 95% confidence level.

4.5. Limitations

This was a site-based study in which the three areas were chosen because of their low-income populations, their differing electoral choice profiles and their geographical locations. While the study is representative of these three areas, it is not intended to be generalizable to the country more broadly. Rather, it provides initial insights into voting behaviour and the potential influence of social protection in poor communities, and highlights issues to be explored further in subsequent studies in this area.

Second, as in most survey research, there is a chance of a social desirability or 'halo effect' occurring, whereby respondents may have offered answers they thought the interviewer wanted to hear. An effort was made to address this by asking similar questions in different ways.

Third, the study was conducted in the second half of 2013 and several new parties were formed between this period and the May 2014 national election. Some of the parties that contested the 2014 national election were therefore not captured in this study, such as the Economic Freedom Fighters. However, our interest was not in how respondents intended to vote in terms of specific parties, but rather how various factors influence or predict the broader choice of voting for the party in government or for one of the parties in opposition.

5. Findings

This section starts with an overview of the socio-demographic profile of respondents (and their receipt of social grants) and provides the context for later findings. An examination of levels of access to political information and participation in political activities provides insight into the extent to which respondents engage with political issues, while their knowledge of their rights in a democracy is assessed in order to examine public awareness of constitutionally guaranteed civil and socio-economic rights (and their right to social protection in particular). Attention then turns to their voting behaviour, reasons for voting and political party preferences. This is followed by an analysis of the various factors that influence voting behaviour, with particular reference to the influence of social protection and the factors identified in the four explanatory models of voting behaviour covered in Section 3.

5.1. Socio-demographic profile of respondents

The focus of this study is on voting behaviour in poor communities, since formal social protection policies in South Africa are targeted at those who are unable to support themselves and their dependents. The study was conducted in three areas with high levels of poverty. This is reflected in the profile of the respondents presented in the Table 1, which describes the samples in terms of their demographic and socio-economic characteristics.

Characteristics	Riverlea N (%)	Doornkop N (%)	Groblersdal N (%)	Total N (%)
Gender				
Male	203 (51%)	191 (48%)	198 (50%)	529 (49%)
Female	199 (50%)	211 (52%)	202 (51%)	612 (51%)
<i>Total</i>	<i>402 (100%)</i>	<i>402 (100%)</i>	<i>400 (100%)</i>	<i>1204 (100%)</i>
Age				
18 – 34 years	186 (46%)	205 (51%)	201 (50%)	592 (49%)
35 years and older	215 (54%)	197 (49%)	199 (50%)	611 (51%)
<i>Total</i>	<i>401 (100%)</i>	<i>402 (100%)</i>	<i>400 (100%)</i>	<i>1203 (100%)</i>
Race				
Black African	230 (57%)	396 (99%)	399 (100%)	1025 (85%)
Coloured	163 (41%)	2 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	166 (14%)
Indian/Asian	3 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0 (0%)	4 (<1%)
White	2 (<1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (<1%)
Other	4 (1%)	3 (<1%)	0 (0%)	7 (1%)
<i>Total</i>	<i>402 (100%)</i>	<i>402 (100%)</i>	<i>400 (100%)</i>	<i>1204 (100%)</i>
Dwelling type				
Formal	363 (90%)	312 (78%)	388 (97%)	1063 (88%)
Informal	39 (10%)	90 (22%)	12 (3%)	141 (12%)
<i>Total</i>	<i>402 (100%)</i>	<i>402 (100%)</i>	<i>400 (100%)</i>	<i>1204 (100%)</i>
Education				
Not completed secondary school	214 (53%)	240 (60%)	271 (68%)	725 (60%)
Completed secondary school or more ⁶	188 (47%)	161 (40%)	129 (32%)	478 (40%)
<i>Total</i>	<i>402 (100%)</i>	<i>401 (100%)</i>	<i>400 (100%)</i>	<i>1203 (100%)</i>
Employment status				
Employed full-time/part-time	142 (35%)	125 (31%)	74 (19%)	341 (28%)
Unemployed	183 (46%)	193 (48%)	190 (47%)	566 (47%)
Not economically active	77 (19%)	84 (21%)	136 (34%)	297 (25%)
<i>Total</i>	<i>402 (100%)</i>	<i>402 (100%)</i>	<i>400 (100%)</i>	<i>1204 (100%)</i>

Table 1: Socio-demographic characteristics of the sample, by area

Some key socio-demographic characteristics of respondents in the three areas included the following:

- Almost half of the respondents in all three areas are youth⁷, defined here as persons aged 18 to 34 years (46% in Riverlea, 51% in Doornkop and 50% in Groblersdal).
- Almost all respondents in Doornkop (100%) and Groblersdal (99%) identified themselves as Black African. In Riverlea, 57% respondents identified themselves as Black African and 41% identified themselves as Coloured⁸.
- The majority of respondents in Riverlea (90%) and Groblersdal (97%) live in formal dwellings⁹. In Doornkop, 78% of respondents live in formal housing, with the remaining 22% living in informal dwellings^{10,11}.

⁶ This category includes those who completed secondary schooling, accessed skills training at an institution or college, or accessed some or completed tertiary education.

⁷ Young people aged 14 to 35 years are defined as youth in the National Youth Policy (2009-2014).

⁸ Given the continuing legacy of Apartheid, respondents were asked how they would classify themselves in terms of the categories used in the Employment Equity Act (1998).

⁹ 'Formal dwelling' is defined here as a house or formal structure on a separate stand; a flat in a block of flats; a town, cluster or semi-detached house (simplex/duplex or triplex); a unit in retirement village; a room or flatlet in the main dwelling; or a house, flat or room in backyard.

¹⁰ 'Informal dwelling' is defined here as a dwelling or shack either in the backyard of a formal house or outside the yard, such as in a squatter settlement.

¹¹ $\chi^2(2, N=1204) = 75.25, p < .001$

- Levels of education were relatively low across the three areas, with an average of 40% of respondents having completed secondary school or accessed further skills training or tertiary education. Respondents in Groblersdal (32%) were less likely to have done so than those in Riverlea (47%) and Doornkop (40%).^{12,13}

Not shown in the table are the language differences between the three areas. In Doornkop (45%) and Groblersdal (52%), isiZulu is the most commonly spoken home language whereas in Riverlea, isiZulu, English and Afrikaans are equally commonly spoken as home languages (21% each).

Across the three areas, only 28% of respondents reported being employed either full-time or part-time. It is therefore not surprising that a majority of respondents (71%) reported receiving no income from working. Eleven percent earn under R2500 a month. Only 5% of respondents across the three areas indicated that they earn R8000 or more per month (after tax and other deductions). Fifty-one respondents (4%) were unwilling to divulge their incomes.

5.2. Receipt of social grants

In addition to the socio-demographic profile of the respondents, the extent to which they are accessing social grants is also an important aspect of describing the sample. Although social protection policies are broader than the provision of social grants alone, much attention has been paid to the social grant system in South Africa, since a large proportion of social spending goes towards social grants. The social grant system provides regular income to vulnerable households and is the government's most direct measure for reducing poverty.

As noted previously, social grants are non-contributory, means-tested cash transfers that are provided by the government to groups in need such as the elderly, children of low-income care-givers, those who cannot work due to a disability and war veterans of a certain age who cannot support themselves. At present there is no direct grant support for able-bodied, unemployed adults through the social grants system. Due to the criteria associated with the means-test, not all those living in disadvantaged communities will be eligible for social grants.

Table 2 presents the social grants available in South Africa and the proportion of respondents who personally received these grants. Overall, 38% of respondents received at least one social grant. The most common grant received was the child support grant (CSG, 25%), followed by the old age grant (10%) and then the disability grant (4%).

Receipt of Grant	Riverlea N (%)	Doornkop N (%)	Groblersdal N (%)	Total N (%)
<i>At least one grant</i>	121 (30%)	166 (41%)	166 (42%)	453 (38%)
Child support grant	77 (19%)	128 (32%)	93 (23%)	298 (25%)
Old age grant	32 (8%)	29 (7%)	60 (15%)	121 (10%)
Disability grant	14 (4%)	16 (4%)	15 (4%)	45 (4%)
Foster care grant	3 (1%)	3 (1%)	1 (0%)	7 (1%)
Care dependency grant	1 (0%)	-	-	1 (0%)
Grant in aid	1 (0%)	1 (0%)	-	2 (0%)
War veterans grant	-	-	-	-
<i>No grant</i>	281 (70%)	236 (59%)	234 (59%)	751 (62%)

Table 2: Receipt of grants among respondents, by area and grant type

- Respondents in Doornkop (41%) and Groblersdal (42%) were more likely to receive at least one grant than respondents in Riverlea (30%)¹⁴.

¹² $\chi^2(2, N=1203) = 17.69, p < .001$

¹³ According to Lam, Leibbrandt and Mhlatseni (2008: 16) "there is a large effect of completing grade 12. This implies a 16 percentage point increase in the probability of working compared to those with less than grade 10."

¹⁴ $\chi^2(2, N=1204) = 13.92, p = .001$

- Receipt of the Child Support Grant was highest in Doornkop (32%) and lowest in Riverlea (19%)¹⁵.
- There was higher uptake of the old age grant in Groblersdal than in the other two areas¹⁶.

The individual respondents who received grants were predominantly female (77% of grant recipients were female and 23% were male). No association between grant receipt and race was found in this study. Grant recipients were less likely than non-recipients to have completed secondary schooling or accessed skills training or tertiary education (28% compared to 47% of non-recipients)¹⁷ or to be employed (15% compared to 36% of non-recipients)¹⁸. This is to be expected, as social grants in South Africa are targeted at those with low incomes.

In addition to considering how many individual respondents received a grant, we also considered how many respondents lived in households where at least one person was receiving a grant. This gives an indication of the broader reach of social grants in these areas.

More than half (58%) of households received at least one grant, while 42% of households received no grants. In 39% of households only one adult received a grant; in 13% two adults per household received at least one grant, and in 5% three adults received a grant.

In summary, the respondents in this study had fairly low levels of formal education and little access to employment and income. They are therefore likely to be most affected by social protection policies. This is evident in the finding that 38% of respondents personally received a grant, and 58% lived in households in which at least one member received a grant.

5.3. Sources of political information and levels of political participation

Thriving democracies need active, informed and responsible citizens; citizens who are willing and able to take responsibility for themselves and their communities and contribute to the political process. Therefore, the more politically aware citizens are, the greater the likelihood that they can contribute meaningfully to their democracy by making informed choices at election time.

5.3.1. Access to information

The accessibility of the medium or channel through which people acquire news about politics or issues of the day has implications for how informed voters are when making their electoral choice, and about how effectively political parties are able to reach their target audience. This is especially important during election campaigns.

Respondents were asked to indicate the main source of their information on political news or issues in the country, based on a list of ten options. In South Africa, the most accessible media are radio and television (OMD South Africa, 2014). Therefore it comes as no surprise that most respondents across the three areas access most of their political information via the television (61%), followed by the radio (22%). Thereafter the sources of political information were newspapers (6%), through friends (4%) through the internet (3%), from political parties (3%), from family (1%) and via their cell phone (1%). No respondents indicated that they receive political news from trade unions or from civic organisations or non-governmental organisations. In addition to asking about sources of information, respondents were asked how often they listen to news on the radio or television, or read it in the newspapers or online. This provides some indication of the degree to which people are politically aware. This is important as there have been suggestions that voters in South Africa, particularly poor voters, are uninformed and vote primarily along racial lines without consideration for party performance.

¹⁵ $\chi^2 (2, N=1204) = 18.09, p < .001$

¹⁶ $\chi^2 (2, N=1203) = 16.77, p < .001$

¹⁷ $\chi^2 (1, N=1203) = 40.75, p < .001$

¹⁸ $\chi^2 (2, N=1204) = 83.69, p < .001$

Overall, 94% of respondents acquire information about what is going on in the country at least twice a week across the various media platforms. Although we did not assess the quality or content of the news they are accessing, it is clear that these respondents do have regular access to news through different media platforms.

Some associations between demographics and the frequency with which respondents accessed information were found:

- In the urban areas of Riverlea and Doornkop, 96% of respondents listened to, watched or read the news at least twice a week. Slightly fewer respondents in the more rural, farming area of Groblersdal (90%) reported doing so¹⁹.
- Looking at employment status, slightly more employed respondents (97%) than unemployed (94%) or not economically active respondents (92%) acquire information about what is going on in the country at least twice a week²⁰.
- Slightly more respondents who would vote for an opposition party (96%), than those who would vote for the ruling party (93%), access information about current events in the country at least twice-weekly²¹.

There were no significant associations between the frequency with which respondents access news and age, gender and grant receipt.

These findings, therefore, do not support the view that voters in poor communities are uninformed or politically unaware; on the contrary, the vast majority of this sample reported reading or listening to the news at least twice a week, indicating a high level of awareness of current events in the country.

5.3.2. Political engagement and participation

As well as ascertaining how politically aware respondents are, it is useful to understand the extent to which they engage with political issues, from the relatively limited engagement of discussing politics with others, through to actively participating in a political party or protest. This is important because people's political culture, that is, their values, beliefs and attitudes about what government should do and how they should operate, is transmitted from one generation to another through interactions with parents, siblings, friends, teachers, political leaders and others (Anderson, 2011: 41).

Respondents were asked how often they talk about politics with family, friends, people at social gatherings and people working at political organisations. Respondents indicated that they spoke about politics most often with friends and least often at social gatherings (see Figure 1).

¹⁹ $\chi^2 = (1, N=1203) = 18.12, p < .001$

²⁰ $\chi^2 = (1, N=1203) = 6.14, p = .013$

²¹ $\chi^2 = (1, N=1203) = 4.03, p = .045$

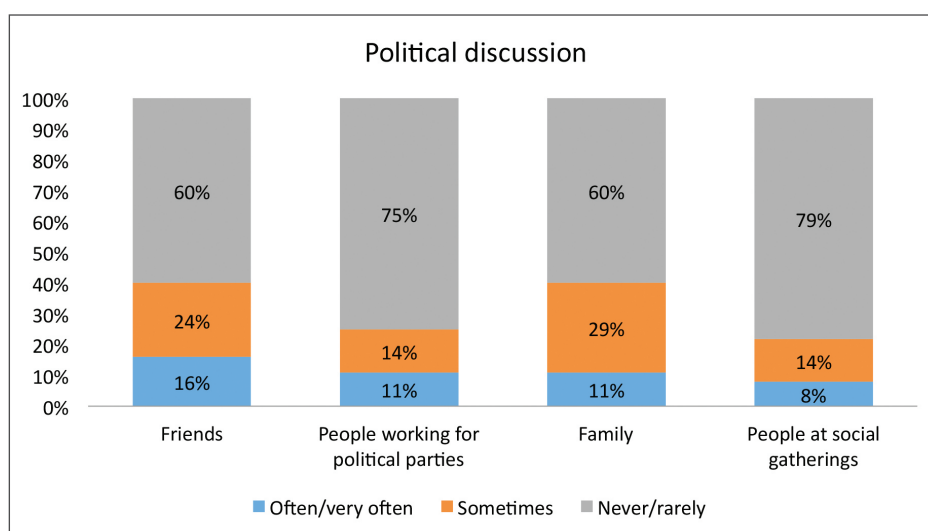


Figure 1: Frequency with which respondents discuss politics with others

Combining the four groups gives an overall indication of the frequency with which respondents discuss politics with different people. Overall, 36% of respondents talk about politics either often or very often with at least one of these groups. Some associations were found between discussing politics and grant receipt, race and gender.

- Grant recipients (39%) were more likely than non-recipients (30%) to report that they spoke about politics often or very often to at least one of these groups²².
- Regarding gender, 45% of males and 26% of females reported that they spoke to any one of the four groups about politics either often or very often²³.
- The employed (41%) were more likely than the unemployed or not economically active (34%) to speak about politics to any one of these four groups either often or very often²⁴.

There were no significant associations between discussing politics with others and political affiliation, area or age.

Lastly, participants were asked if they had ever been involved in a range of political activities as a means of assessing their active political engagement (see Figure 2). A substantial proportion (70%) had attended a meeting convened by their ward councillor at least once before. This was by far the most common form of political engagement of those listed here (see 'Election 2014 Brief 1' box for further discussion). At the other end of the scale, one in five respondents had ever attended a political rally (22%) or a trade union meeting (20%).

²² $\chi^2 = (1, N=1204) = 9.97, p = .002$

²³ $\chi^2 = (1, N=1204) = 46.39, p < .001$

²⁴ $\chi^2 = (1, N=1204) = 5.03, p = .003$

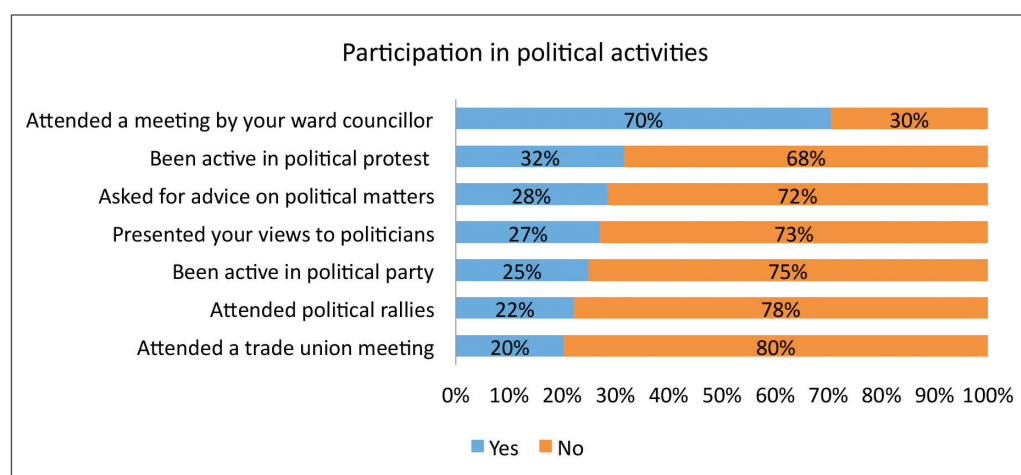


Figure 2: Participation in political activities (political engagement)

Eight-four percent of respondents had engaged in at least one of the political activities listed in the figure above.

- Respondents in the rural area of Groblersdal (87%) were more likely to have been involved in one of the above mentioned activities than respondents in the two urban areas (82%)²⁵.
- More males (87%) than females (80%) had been involved in one of the above mentioned activities²⁶.
- Older respondents (aged 35 years and above, 88%) were more likely to have participated in at least one of these political participation activities at some point than younger respondents (78%)²⁷.

There did not appear to be significant associations between participating in political activities and employment status, grant receipt, electoral choice or race.

In summary, the majority of respondents across the three areas regularly access news via the two primary media channels of TV and radio. A little over a third of respondents overall indicated that they talk about politics often or very often with either friends, family, political parties or people at social gatherings. However, more than two thirds (70%) of respondents across the three areas had attended a meeting convened by their ward councillor at least once before. Together these findings suggest that people in these disadvantaged communities are both aware of news and political issues, and are engaging with these issues in different ways.

ELECTION 2014 BRIEF 1: HOW POLITICALLY ENGAGED ARE POOR VOTERS?

South Africa has enjoyed high voter turnout in elections since 1994. Research in three poor communities found that three quarters of the respondents voted previously (either in national or local elections), and eighty per cent said that they intend to vote on 7 May 2014. They are motivated to vote because they want to make things better (93%), and also because they believe it is their democratic right to do so (90%, see section 5.5.1.2). They view voting as a means to improve their lives.

The research also shows that voters in these communities are politically engaged in a number of ways, take an active part in conversations about their future, and take a keen interest in local politics. "Over 90% of people in our research actively engage with current political issues. They access information by regularly watching TV, listening to the radio, and reading newspapers or on-line news, and a third then go on to discuss these issues with friends and family", says Professor Leila Patel from the Centre for Social Development in Africa at UJ.

²⁵ $\chi^2 = (1, N=1204) = 5.41, p = .002$

²⁶ $\chi^2 = (1, N=1204) = 11.5, p = .001$

²⁷ $\chi^2 = (1, N=1203) = 18.98, p < .001$

Service delivery issues are a major concern for many people and this is reflected in their participation at meetings at ward level. We found that 70 percent of the interviewees had attended a meeting called by their Ward Councillor. One in three people have taken part in a political protest march, demonstration or strike at some point in their lives. A quarter played an active role in a political party at some stage, while a fifth had attended political rallies or trade union meetings. This shows the high level of active involvement in local politics in these communities.

Finally, the majority of people in the study across gender, age and political affiliation agreed that they have basic rights and they know what these rights are. They believed most strongly that they had a right to basic education, social security, access to healthcare, food and water, the freedom to practice one's own religion and adequate housing in a democracy. These findings support the view that voters in these communities are informed and are actively involved in improving their lives, which bodes well for South Africa's democracy.

5.4. Knowledge and perceptions of rights in a democracy

In a democracy, it is important that the citizens understand that their rights are intrinsic to that democracy (that is, continue to exist irrespective of the party in power). Being aware or unaware of Constitutional rights has implications for both voter and civic education. In South Africa, the progressive Constitution guarantees not only political rights, such as the right to vote, but also a vast array of socio-economic rights where the most vulnerable and poor in society are guaranteed social protection. However, according to the Know Your Constitution Campaign²⁸, "the majority of South Africans continue to be unaware of their constitutional rights and/or how these rights apply to the persistent inequalities surrounding them" (*Daily Maverick*, 5 November 2013). It was therefore essential to assess respondents' awareness of their rights as socio-economic rights form the basis of social protection policies.

Respondents were aware of their rights in a democracy. Using a list of seven socio-economic and political rights (see Figure 3 for list), respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed that these are their rights in a democracy, using a rating scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree)²⁹. More than 90% of respondents agreed (or strongly agreed) that in a democracy one has a right to basic education, access to healthcare, food and water, the freedom to practice one's own religion and beliefs, social security such as grants and adequate housing. In addition to these mainly socio-economic rights, they were also aware of their political rights such as the freedom to give their opinions (88%) and the right to protest (81%).

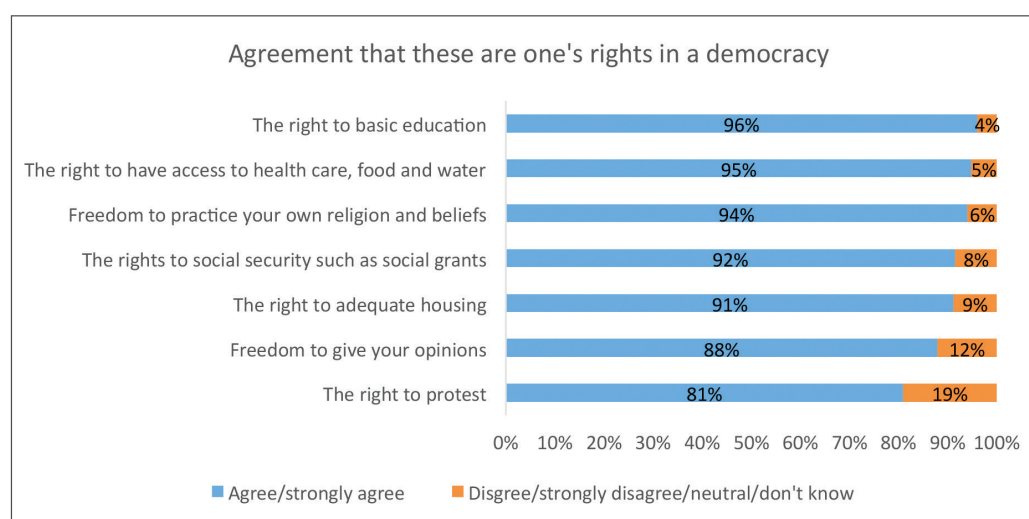


Figure 3: Extent to which respondents agree that these are their rights in a democracy

²⁸ The Know Your Constitution campaign is a coalition of civil society organisations united by a common belief in the importance of access to Constitutions and constitutional literacy. It includes the Constitutional Literacy and Service Initiative, The Socio-Economic Rights Institute, SECTION27, Constitution Hill Education Project and Afrika Tikkun.

²⁹ Scale: 1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=neutral, 4=agree and 5=strongly agree, 6=don't know.

When these statements are combined into a scale to assess overall knowledge of (or agreement with) rights, we find statistically significant associations between agreement on these rights and receiving a grant, and the type of area in which respondents live.

- Grant recipients were more likely than non-recipients to strongly agree that these are their rights in a democracy³⁰.
- Respondents living in the urban areas of Riverlea and Doornkop were more likely than those living in the more rural Groblersdal area to strongly agree that these are their rights in a democracy³¹.

Despite the high level of awareness of their socio-economic rights, there was less certainty about whether the social policies that have been put in place by the ruling party would continue should another political party come to power. After the first democratic election in 1994, the ANC government introduced a range of social protection policies and minimum standards linked to a social wage that aimed at realising these socio-economic rights and providing a safety net for the poor. In addition to the social grants, the social protection system included, among other aspects (NPC, 2011):

- Access to free basic services such as electricity and water for poor households
- Access to subsidised housing for poor households (often referred to as RDP houses after the Reconstruction and Development Plan)
- Free health care for pregnant women and children under six years of age
- Subsidised and free education (according to ability to pay)

Using the same rating scale³², respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed that these rights would be protected if another political party came to power. As shown in Figure 4, the majority agreed (or strongly agreed) that the policies through which the government realises these rights would continue irrespective of which political party they voted for, but overall the levels of certainty were lower than for the awareness of these rights presented in Figure 3.

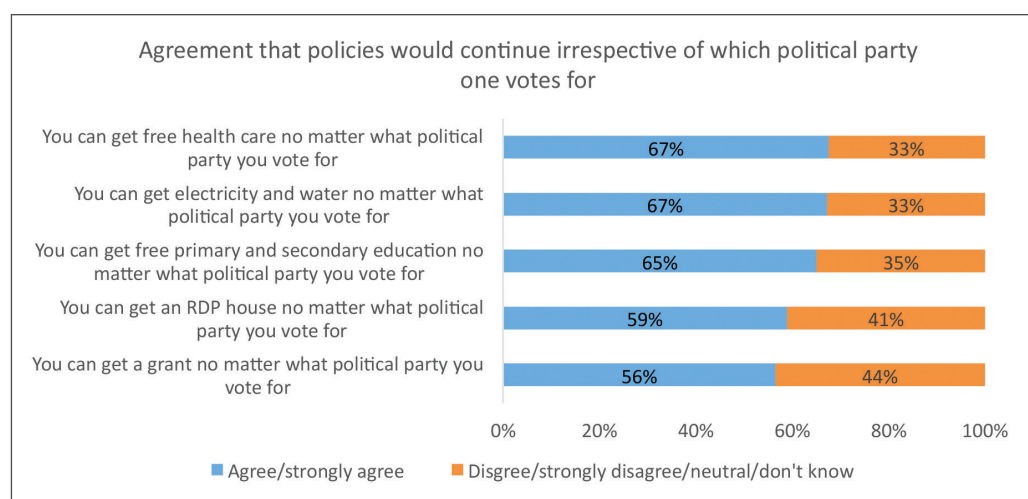


Figure 4: Levels of agreement that policies would continue irrespective of which political party respondents intend to vote for

While two thirds (67%) agreed (or strongly agreed) that free health care policies would continue no matter which political party they voted for in an election, only 56% of respondents agreed that grants would continue no matter which party they vote for.

³⁰ $\chi^2 = (1, N=1203) = 6.87, p = .009$

³¹ $\chi^2 = (1, N=1204) = 38.23, p < .001$

³² Scale: 1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=neutral, 4=agree and 5=strongly agree, 6=don't know.

On average, 28% of respondents *strongly* agreed that these rights will be protected if another party came to power. Some associations were found between strong agreement with the protection of rights and voting intention, race and area.

- Although both groups agreed, opposition party supporters (34%) were more likely than ruling party supporters (25%) to *strongly* agree that these rights would be protected if another political party came into power³³.
- Black African (27%) respondents were less likely than other race groups (36%) to *strongly* agree that these rights would be protected if another political party came into power³⁴.
- Respondents from the rural area (34%) were more likely than those from the two urban areas (26%) to *strongly* agree that these rights would be protected if another political party came into power³⁵.
- Younger respondents (18-34 years) were more likely than older respondents (35 years and above) to *strongly* agree that these rights will be protected if another party came to power³⁶.

There were no significant associations between the levels of agreement and grant recipients, employment status or gender.

Because of the interest in the influence of social grants in particular on voting behaviour, an additional direct question was posed focusing solely on grants. Overall, half of the respondents (51%) agreed that social grants from the government would continue if another political party came to power (see Figure 5). A quarter (25%) did not think that social grants would continue if another party came to power, while another 24% did not know if they would continue or not.

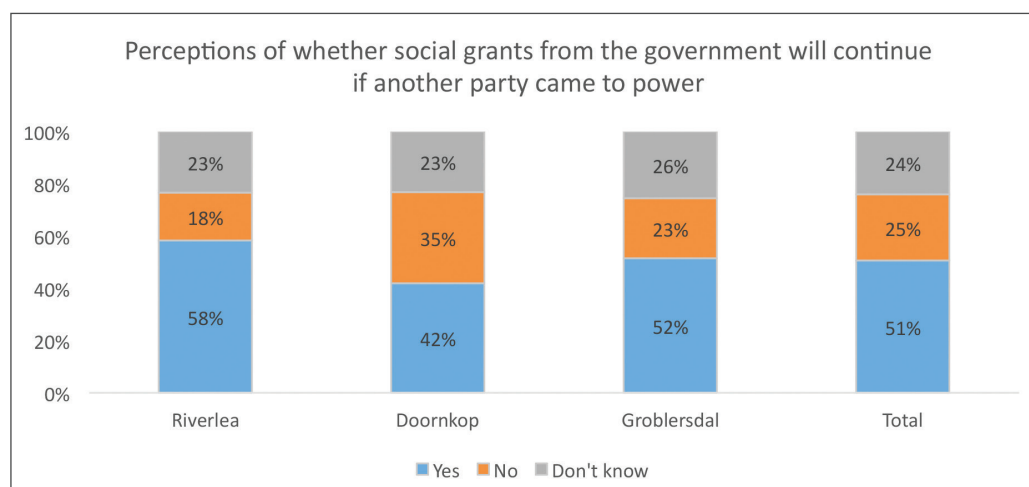


Figure 5: Perceptions of whether social grants would continue if another political party came to power, by area

- Respondents in Doornkop (42%) were least likely to believe that social grants would continue; 58% of respondents in Riverlea and 52% in Groblersdal believed this would be the case³⁷.
- Those who receive a grant (42%) were less likely than those who did not receive grants (56%) to agree that grants would continue under another party³⁸.
- Forty-three percent of those who intended to vote for the ruling party believed social grants would continue under another political party, compared to 54% of those who were still unsure about which party they would vote for and 65% of those who intended to vote for an opposition party³⁹.

³³ $\chi^2 = (1, N=963) = 9.1, p = .003$

³⁴ $\chi^2 = (1, N=1188) = 5.93, p = .015$

³⁵ $\chi^2 = (1, N=1188) = 8.34, p = .004$

³⁶ $\chi^2 (1, N=1187) = 4.05, p < .044$

³⁷ $\chi^2 (4, N=1198) = 34.15, p < .001$

³⁸ $\chi^2 (2, N=1198) = 27.72, p < .001$

³⁹ $\chi^2 (4, N=1081) = 55.12, p < .001$

ELECTION 2014 BRIEF 2: YOUR GRANT IS PROTECTED NO MATTER WHO YOU VOTE FOR

‘Most social grant beneficiaries are aware that their grant is protected if another political party come to power’ said Prof Leila Patel, the Director of the CSDA, at the University of Johannesburg. Ninety two percent of all respondents in the study knew that they have a Constitutional right (Section 27 (1c)) and a legal right to social grants in terms of the Social Assistance Act of 1992. A worrying finding is that 49% of the respondents were unsure or did not think that their grants would continue if another party came to power. Supporters of opposition parties were more aware that grants will continue if another political party came to power. These findings come from a study conducted by the CSDA in 2013 of the voting behaviour of 1 204 voters in two poor urban wards in Johannesburg and one rural farming area in Limpopo.

As Election Day is drawing nearer and as political parties intensify their campaigns, it is important for voters to know that their constitutional rights cannot be taken away. Voters also need to know that their vote is a secret and will not be made known to anyone. Recently, the MEC for Agriculture in KwaZulu-Natal, Meshack Radebe said at a meeting in Greytown that ‘those who receive grants and are voting for the opposition are stealing from government’. He said that those who vote for another party should ‘stay away from the grant’. This is an unfortunate statement. A social grant is not a gift from the ruling party. It comes from taxes levied by the government to meet a constitutional obligation to provide social protection. The message is misleading and could be misunderstood by beneficiaries that the government will withhold their grant if they vote for another party.

Social grants are payable to people who qualify if they are unable to support themselves and their dependents. Social grants are received by 38% of the population in the areas surveyed and are paid to older persons, carers of children and people with disabilities. The number of social grant beneficiaries increased from 2.7 million in 1994 to just under 16 million in 2014. The majority of people surveyed (88%) are of the view that grants help poor people to survive.

5.5. Voting behaviour

Voting behaviour is a form of political behaviour, characterised at its most basic level as an attempt by the voting public to “use the ballot to achieve things it cares about” (Butler and Stokes, 1974: 28). Understanding why people vote the way they do has long been a central concern of political and social scientists, as has the question on what influences voters to make more informed voting choices (as discussed in section 5.3).

In this study the voting behaviour of respondents was measured on two levels: firstly, whether or not they vote in elections; and secondly, which political party they would support if an election were held tomorrow.

5.5.1. Voting in elections

Overall, levels of participation in elections were relatively high with almost three quarters (74%) of respondents having voted in a national or local government election at some point in their lives (‘ever voted’, see Figure 6). Slightly fewer (65%) had voted in the 2009 national election, the most recent national election at the time of the study. Levels of participation in elections were similar across the three areas.

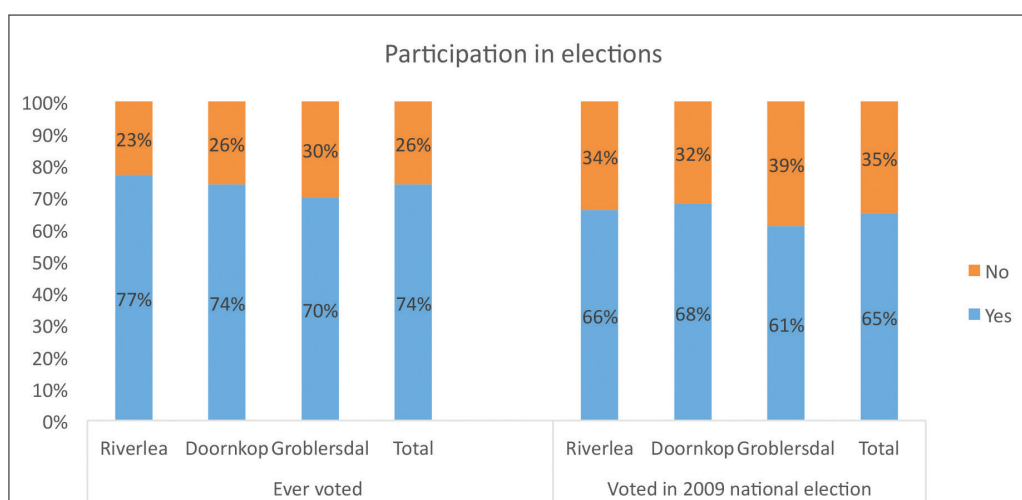


Figure 6: Proportion of respondents who have voted (ever voted and voted in the 2009 national election), by area

- Those who were employed (83%) were more likely than those who were unemployed or not economically active (70%) to have voted at least once before in national or local government elections⁴⁰. No significant associations were found between having voted previously and race, gender or whether or not respondents had completed secondary school or accessed further education.
- There was a significant association with age⁴¹. Levels of participation in a national or local election at least once before were lowest for youth aged 18 to 24 years, with 29% of young people in this age category having voted at least once before. This increased to 75% among people aged 25 to 34 years, and remained above 90% for all other older age groups.

5.5.1.1. Reasons for not voting in previous elections

Across the three areas, the most common reasons given for not voting before were that respondents were too young to vote (40%), they did not have an identity document (29%) or they were not interested in politics (27%, see Figure 7).

Being too young to vote previously applied only to younger respondents (aged 18 to 34 years), while older respondents (aged 35 years and above) were more likely to indicate that they had never voted before because they have no interest in politics (48%, compared to 25% of younger respondents)⁴².

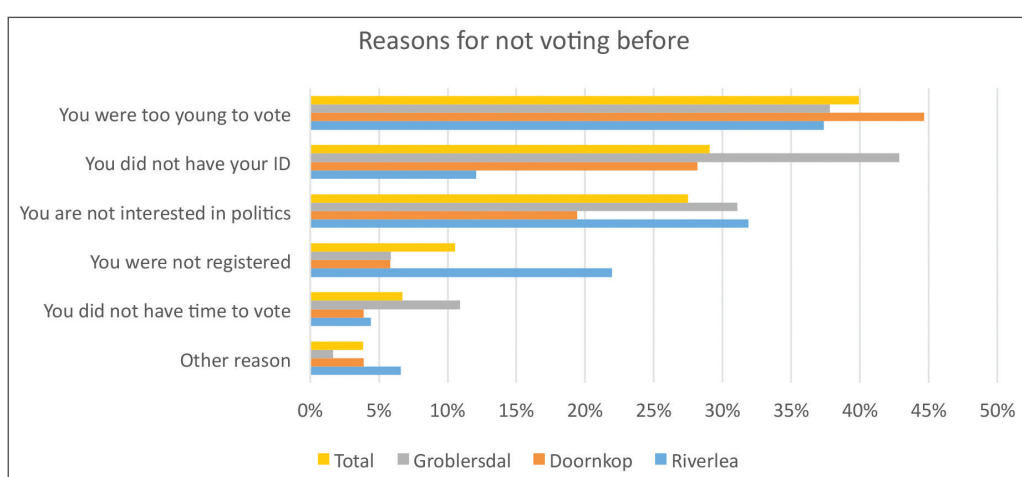


Figure 7: Reasons for not voting in a national or local government election, by area

⁴⁰ $\chi^2 (1, N=1204) = 20.31, p < .001$.

⁴¹ $\chi^2 (6, N=1203) = 460.84, p < .001$

⁴² $\chi^2 (1, N=313) = 6.94, p = .008$.

In Doornkop (37%) and Riverlea (45%), the most common explanation for not having voted before was that the respondent had previously been too young to vote. In Groblersdal, the most common reason for not voting (43%) was that the respondent did not have his or her identity document, this was also the reason given by 28% of those who had not voted previously in Doornkop. The second most common reason in Groblersdal (38%) was that the respondent had been too young to vote.

5.5.1.2. Reasons for voting

To understand why people vote, respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed with a series of possible explanations for why “you or other people” choose to vote (see statements listed in Figure 8).

The majority agreed that people vote to make things better (93%) and because it is their democratic right (90%). The reason with the lowest levels of agreement was that they or others choose to vote because their party takes care of them, although two-thirds of respondents (65%) still agreed that this is a motivation to vote. Just under half of the respondents (48%) felt that people are unsure why they vote.

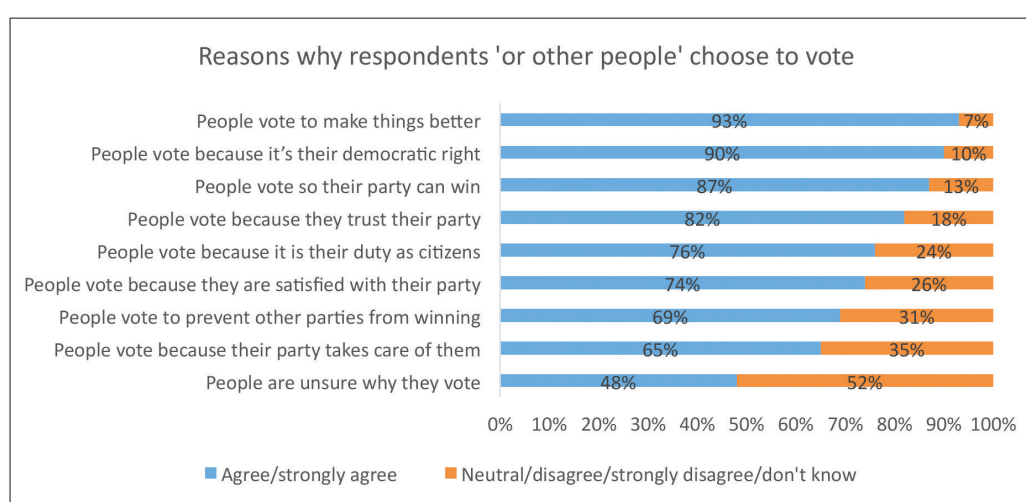


Figure 8: Reasons why respondents or other people choose to vote

Some associations were found between reasons given for why people choose to vote and grant receipt, employment and age.

- Grant recipients and non-recipients gave very similar responses to all of these statements, with the exception of the statement: “People vote because their party takes care of them”. Although both groups tended to agree with this statement, grant recipients (70%) were more likely to agree (or strongly agree) with this statement than those who do not receive grants (63%)⁴³.
- In terms of employment status, those who were employed were less likely than those who were not employed or not economically active to agree that:
 - o People chose to vote because they are satisfied with their party (68% of the employed compared to 77% of the unemployed or not economically active);⁴⁴
 - o People choose to vote because they trust their party (77% compared to 84%);⁴⁵
 - o People choose to vote because their party takes care of them (60% compared to 67%).⁴⁶
- There was only one statistically significant association found in terms of age. Young people aged 18 to 34 years (71%) were less likely than older respondents (77%) to agree that people choose to vote because they are satisfied with their party⁴⁷.

⁴³ $\chi^2 (1, N=1201) = 6.83, p = .009$

⁴⁴ $\chi^2 (1, N=1204) = 8.47, p = .004$

⁴⁵ $\chi^2 (1, N=1202) = 6.60, p = .01$

⁴⁶ $\chi^2 (1, N=1201) = 5.34, p = .02$

⁴⁷ $\chi^2 (1, N=1203) = 5.92, p = .015$

Respondents were also asked to indicate the extent to which they agree with various reasons for choosing to vote for a political party. Some of the individual statements are discussed in more detail in later sections, but the overall responses are presented together here.

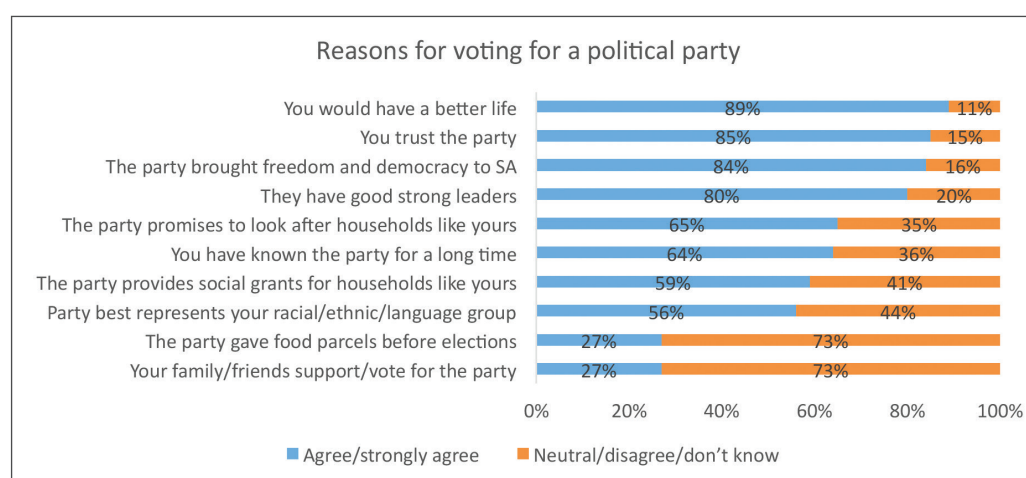


Figure 9: Reasons why respondents would vote for a political party

Of these statements, respondents most commonly agreed that they would vote for a party that they believed would bring about a better life (89%). Other commonly agreed reasons for voting for a party were that: they trust the party (85%), the party brought freedom and democracy to South Africa (84%), and the party has good, strong leaders (80%). The reasons for voting for a party that respondents were least likely to agree with were because the party gave out food parcels before the election (27%), and because their family or friends support the party (27%).

- Grant recipients and non-recipients gave similar responses on these reasons for voting, with two exceptions. Grant recipients (68%) were more likely than non-recipients (62%) to indicate they would vote for a party because they had known the party for a long time⁴⁸. They were also more likely to agree that they would vote for a party that provides social grants for households like theirs (65% compared to 56%)⁴⁹.
- Those who were unemployed or not economically active (61%) were more likely than those who were employed (55%) to vote for a party because the party provides social grants to households like theirs⁵⁰. They were also more likely to vote for a party because the party promises to look after households like theirs (67% of unemployed or not economically active respondents compared to 60% of employed respondents)⁵¹ or because the party gave food parcels before elections (28% compared to 22%)⁵².
- Young people (aged 18 to 34 years) were less likely than older respondents to vote for a party because they have known the party for a long time (58% compared to 71%)⁵³ or because the party represents their racial, ethnic or language group (53% compared to 59%)⁵⁴. They were also slightly less likely to say that they would vote for a party because they would have a better life (86% compared to 90%), but for both groups this was still an important reason for voting for a party⁵⁵.

⁴⁸ $\chi^2 (1, N=1201) = 4.19, p = .04$

⁴⁹ $\chi^2 (1, N=1190) = 9.91, p = .002$

⁵⁰ $\chi^2 (1, N=1190) = 4.13, p = .04$

⁵¹ $\chi^2 (1, N=1199) = 5.15, p = .02$

⁵² $\chi^2 (1, N=1199) = 5.38, p = .02$

⁵³ $\chi^2 (1, N=1200) = 21.79, p < .001$

⁵⁴ $\chi^2 (1, N=1199) = 5.25, p = .02$

⁵⁵ $\chi^2 (1, N=1200) = 4.84, p = .03$

5.5.1.3. Intention to vote in 2014 national elections

Looking to the future, 81% of respondents indicated that they intended to vote in the 2014 national election (see Figure 10). While there may be some social desirability bias, this suggests a high level of political participation in these communities in the form of voting.

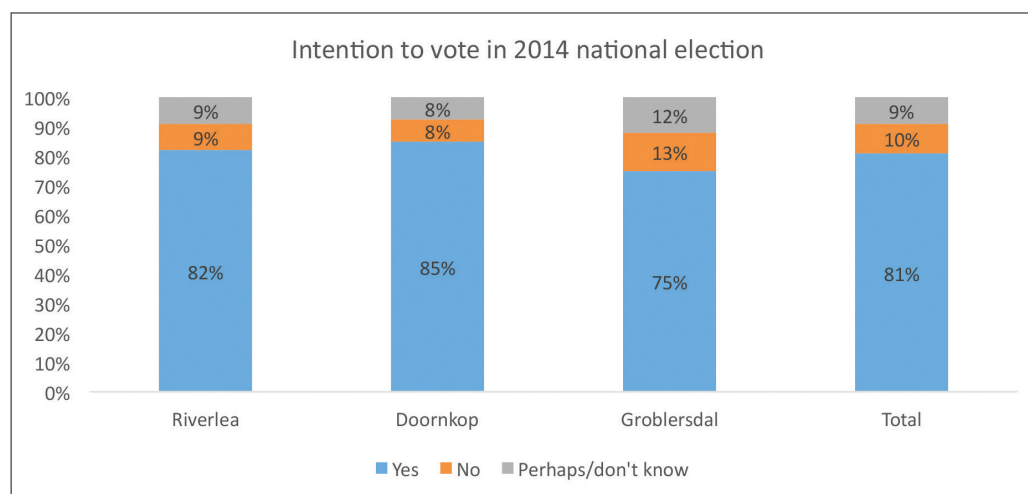


Figure 10: Intention to vote in the 2014 national election, by area

- Respondents in Groblersdal (75%) were less likely than respondents in Doornkop (85%) and Riverlea (82%) to indicate that they intend to vote in the 2014 election⁵⁶.
- Young respondents aged 18 to 34 years (79%) were slightly less likely than older respondents (83%) to indicate that they intended to vote in the 2014 election.

Of those who had voted in at least one national or local government election before, most (83%) planned to vote again in the 2014 national election. Of those who had not voted before, 74% intended to vote in the 2014 election.

5.5.2. Party electoral choice

In addition to voting in elections, another area of interest for this study is electoral choice; that is, the political party that people choose to vote for.

Respondents were asked which party they would vote for if an election were held tomorrow. However, there have been some changes in the country's political landscape since this question was asked. For example, the fieldwork in Riverlea and Doornkop was completed prior to the formation in August 2013 of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). A number of other events occurred in the six months between the fieldwork for this study and the national election in May 2014 which could have impacted on electoral choice. However, this research was not intended as a prediction of the outcome of the 2014 national election; rather, our aim was to consider the factors that predict respondent preferences for either the ruling party or any of the opposition parties.

Table 3 presents the respondents' preferred electoral choices at the time of the study in 2013. Across the three areas, the ruling ANC (56%) received the most support, followed by the Democratic Alliance (DA, 17%). These two parties hold the largest share of the vote nationally. As expected based on previous election

⁵⁶ $\chi^2 (4, N=1197) = 12.54, p = .01$

results, support for the DA was higher in Riverlea (25%) than in the other two areas (12% in Doornkop and 13% in Groblersdal)⁵⁷. Overall, 9% did not know who they would vote for if an election were held tomorrow, and a further 10% were not willing to answer the question.

Electoral choice (political party)	Riverlea N (%)	Doornkop N (%)	Groblersdal N (%)	Total N (%)
African National Congress (ANC)	189 (47%)	261 (65%)	226 (57%)	676 (56%)
Democratic Alliance (DA)	102 (25%)	47 (12%)	52 (13%)	201 (17%)
Congress of the People (COPE)	8 (2%)	8 (2%)	5 (1%)	21 (2%)
Agang South Africa	10 (2%)	6 (1%)	1 (<1%)	17 (1%)
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	3 (1%)	5 (1%)	1 (<1%)	9 (1%)
Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)	2 (1%)	3 (1%)	2 (1%)	7 (1%)
Freedom Front Plus	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	5 (<1%)
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	2 (1%)	1 (<1%)	-	3 (<1%)
Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO)	-	-	2 (1%)	2 (<1%)
Other	7 (2%)	11 (3%)	17 (4%)	35 (3%)
Don't know	42 (10%)	25 (6%)	44 (11%)	111 (9%)
Refused	36 (9%)	34 (8%)	46 (12%)	116 (10%)
<i>Total</i>	<i>402 (100%)</i>	<i>402 (100%)</i>	<i>399 (100%)</i>	<i>1203 (100%)</i>

Table 3: Party respondents would vote for if an election was held tomorrow, by area

As indicated, of particular interest here is the choice between the ruling party and one of the opposition parties. The figure below summarises respondents' intended electoral choice along these lines. The 10% of respondents who did not provide an answer to this question (as noted in the 'refused' row in the table above) are excluded from this analysis.

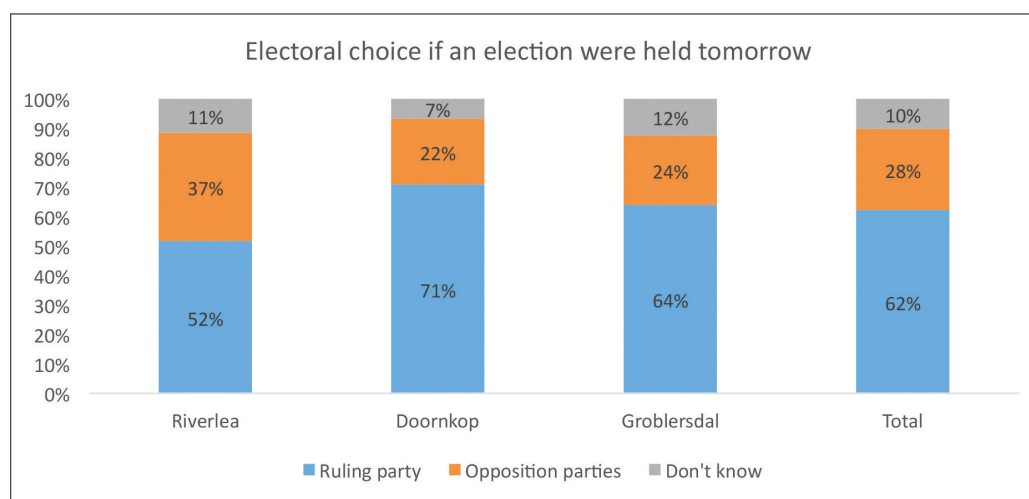


Figure 11: Political party respondents would vote for if an election was held tomorrow, by area

As shown in the figure above, electoral choice differed across the three areas, with respondents in Riverlea (37%) being most likely to say they would vote for an opposition party⁵⁸.

⁵⁷ $\chi^2 (2, N=1203) = 70.03, p < .001$

⁵⁸ $\chi^2 (4, N=1087) = 35.13, p < .001$

It was also found that younger respondents (aged 18 to 34 years, 32%) were more likely to intend to vote for an opposition party than older respondents (23%)⁵⁹. This is discussed further in the analysis of sociological factors as potential predictors of voting behaviour (see Section 5.6.2).

In summary, participation in elections across all three areas was relatively high. Respondents most commonly agreed that people vote 'to make things better' and 'because it's their democratic right'. Most indicated that they intend to continue to exercise their right to vote, with a large majority (81%) expressing an intention to vote in the 2014 national elections. If we consider only those who were willing to answer a question about their party preference, 62% of the respondents across the three areas cited an intention to vote for the ruling party, 28% would vote for an opposition party and 10% were undecided.

ELECTION 2014 BRIEF 3: WILL OPPOSITION PARTIES CAPTURE THE YOUTH VOTE ON 7 MAY?

There is great speculation about how young voters who have grown up in post-apartheid South Africa are likely to vote on May 7. This is the group that is popularly referred to as the 'born-frees'. It is assumed that they are less tied to a particular political party and might be more open to making rational choices about who to vote for based on their needs and interests.

Research conducted by the CSDA at UJ in three deprived communities with 1 204 adults provided insight into how young people are likely to vote. The research was conducted in June and November 2013 in two poor urban areas in Johannesburg and one farming area in Groblersdal, Limpopo. The findings should be taken as a trend only as much campaigning has occurred since the data was collected.

Our research showed that youth aged 18 to 24 years were more likely to vote for an opposition party than older persons. Support for opposition parties decreased with age, from 36% among youth aged 18 to 24 years to 15 percent among persons over 75 years. The trend is in the opposite direction for the ruling party. While 54% of young voters or 'born frees' indicated support for the ruling party, this rose to 75% for people older than 75 years and confirms the view that new young voters are more open to making alternative electoral choices.

But commentators point out correctly that this group of young people are unlikely to make a difference in the forthcoming elections as more than a million have not registered to vote. Are young people disinterested or are there other reasons why they do not exercise their democratic right to vote?

Some of the answers can be found in our study as we wanted to know what the reasons are why some respondents did not vote in previous elections. Our *overall* findings show that in the two urban areas, the most common reason given for not having voted previously was that respondents had been too young to vote. In the rural area, the most common reason was that the respondents (43%) did not have identity documents to vote. A lack of interest in politics was another reason cited for not voting and this was more prevalent among the voters in the rural area surveyed and in Riverlea, where half of the voters identified themselves to be coloured. A few (10%) indicated that they did not vote because they were not registered, and this was particularly the case in Riverlea. Fewer than 3% of respondents who had not voted before specifically cited a lack of satisfaction with the performance of their political party as the reason for not voting. The employment status of a young person in the 18 to 34 year old group did not influence whether or not they intend to vote. What this tells us that there are many different reasons why many people did not register to vote.

But we found that many young people (79%) aged 18 to 34 years old do plan to vote in the May 2014 national election, although this was slightly lower than the proportion of older respondents (83%) who intend to vote. An overwhelming majority of younger respondents said people choose to vote to improve their lives and that of their communities (92%) and because voting is a democratic right (89%).

⁵⁹ $\chi^2 (2, N=1086) = 13.49, p = .001$

5.6. Factors influencing voting behaviour

As noted in Section 3, various models drawn from the political science literature are useful in explaining voting behaviour. It was also noted that these explanations are not mutually exclusive as several of them may apply at the same time, although the extent to which they are relevant may vary.

This section provides an overview of possible determinants of voting behaviour associated with the four explanatory models referred to in Section 3, namely: sociological factors, party identification factors, rational choice factors and clientelism factors. Before addressing the four models, the section begins with a review of the influence of social protection, and social grants in particular. The focus is on understanding how these various factors relate to electoral choice – that is, voting for either the ruling party or an opposition party. In each sub-section we describe the factors relating to each model on their own and consider primarily bivariate associations. In the final sub-section, we combine a number of factors in a single (logistic regression) model to take account of interactions between factors and to determine which combination of factors best predicts electoral choice.

5.6.1. The influence of social protection (social grants) on voting behaviour

A key aim of this study was to explore how social protection policies – and more specifically, social grants – influence how poor people vote and, if so, in what ways.

In the previous section on knowledge of rights, it was noted that the respondents are aware of their socio-economic and political rights in a democracy, but are less sure that these rights – or the social policies through which these rights are realised – would be protected should another political party come to power. An association was found between perceptions of whether or not social protection policies would continue irrespective of which party respondents' vote for, and respondents' electoral choice people (see Figure 12). Those who did not know how they would vote are not included in this analysis.

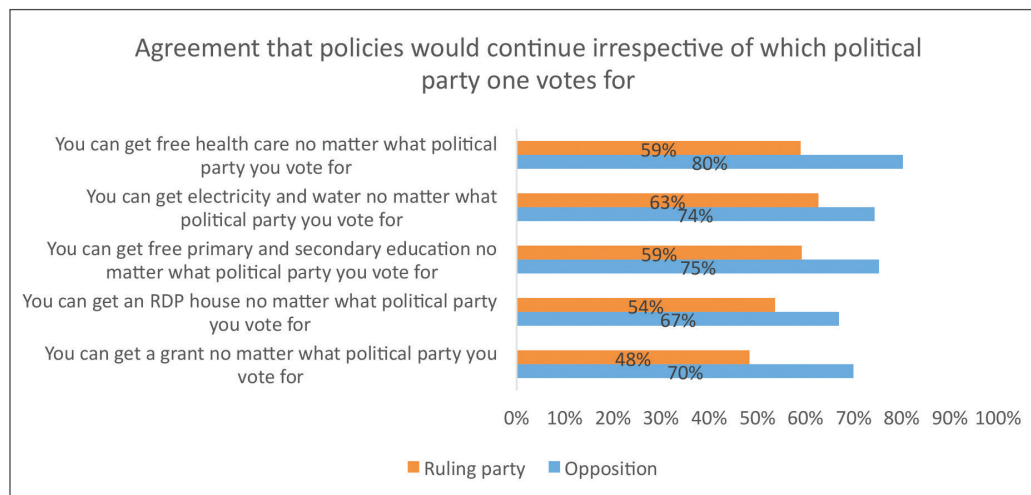


Figure 12: Agreement that rights will be protected if another party comes to power, by electoral choice

Across all five of the statements, those who indicated that they intended to vote for an opposition party were more likely to believe that these policies would continue⁶⁰. This was particularly evident when it came to the matter of social grants – 70% of respondents who intended to vote for an opposition party felt that social grants would continue under another party, while 48% of those who supported the ruling party believed that this would be the case.

⁶⁰ Health care: $\chi^2 (1, N=1086) = 44.34, p < .001$; electricity and water: $\chi^2 (1, N=1087) = 12.55, p=.002$; education: $\chi^2 (1, N=1087) = 24.95, p < .001$; housing: $\chi^2 (1, N=1087) = 14.20, p=.001$; grant: $\chi^2 (1, N=1087) = 40.14, p < .001$

Much of the public debate about the influence of social protection policies on voting behaviour revolves around the role of social grants; social grants therefore form the focus of the rest of this section.

In considering how social grants may influence voting behaviour, it is useful to understand the general perceptions of social grants in these areas. A body of research evidence exists in support of the poverty alleviation role of grants in the country, but debates about the unintended negative consequences of grants continue. It is often argued that grants lead to a culture of 'dependency', although several studies have found no evidence of such dependency (Noble and Ntshongwana, 2008; Neves et al, 2009). Two questions were asked in this study to explore these perceptions (see Figure 13).

Firstly, respondents (88%) overwhelmingly agreed that social grants 'help poor people to survive'.

- Grant recipients (91%) were slightly more likely to agree with this statement than those who did not receive grants (86%, see Figure 13), but in both cases the majority of respondents agree that grants play an important role in supporting those who are unable to support themselves⁶¹.

A third of respondents (33%) agreed that social grants 'make people not want to work'.

- Those who do not receive grants were more likely than those who do receive grants to believe that social grants discourage people from working (37% compared to 26%)⁶².

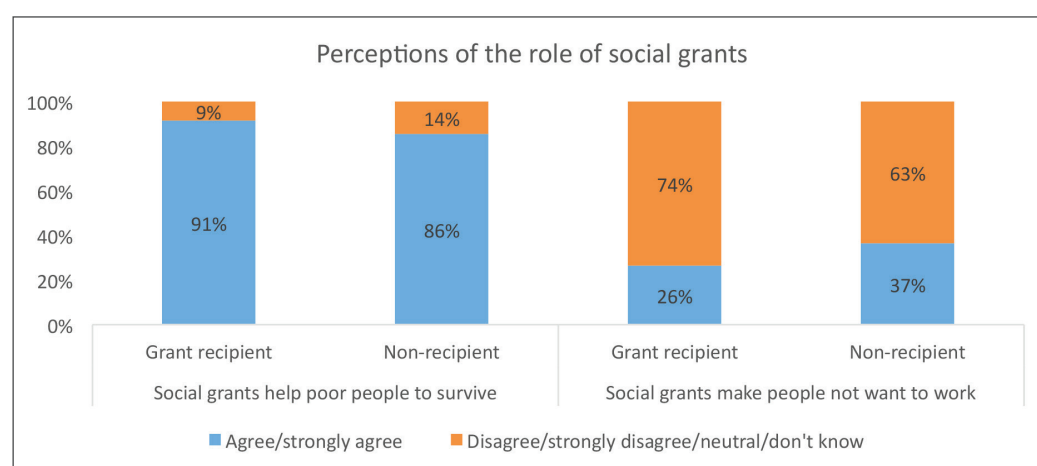


Figure 13: Perceptions of social grants, by grant receipt

For both of these statements there was an association with electoral choice. Supporters of the ruling party were more likely than those who intended voting for an opposition party to agree that social grants help poor people survive (92% compared to 80%)⁶³ and slightly less likely to agree that grants discourage work (32% compared to 39%)⁶⁴.

When comparing respondents' responses on these two statements, we find that most of those (70%) who believe that grants help the poor to survive *did not* agree that grants discourage working (or were neutral about the statement). However, the other 30% *did* agree that grants discourage people from working, reflecting their ambivalence about the role of grants in society. Of those who did not agree that grants help the poor survive (or felt neutral about the protective role of grants), more than half (55%) believed that grants discourage work.

⁶¹ $\chi^2 (1, N=1204) = 9.28, p = .002$

⁶² $\chi^2 (1, N=1204) = 13.06, p < .001$

⁶³ $\chi^2 (1, N=976) = 28.58, p < .001$

⁶⁴ $\chi^2 (1, N=976) = 4.59, p = .03$

Respondents were also asked directly about their perceptions of the role of grants and food parcels (another form of social assistance provided in times of crisis) in relation to voting.

Most respondents (76%) did not agree with (or were neutral about) the statement, “Giving social grants to people is a form of bribery so that they support the governing party”.

- There was no statistically significant association between agreement with this statement and receipt of grants, meaning that those who receive grants and those who did not held similar views on this.
- However, there was an association with electoral choice: supporters of opposition parties (28%) were more likely than those who support the ruling party (21%) to believe that grants are a form of bribery⁶⁵.

In contrast, more than two thirds of respondents (70%) agreed that handing out food parcels *before elections* was “like buying votes”.

- Again, there was no association between agreement with this statement and receipt of grants.
- There was an association with electoral choice, with supporters of opposition parties (76%) being more likely than those who support the ruling party (66%) to view the handing out of food parcels before elections as a form of vote-buying⁶⁶.

Therefore despite some mixed views about whether or not grants discourage work, most respondents did not view grants as a means of vote-buying. However many did regard handing out food parcels prior to an election as a form of vote-buying.

To tap more directly into whether or not social grants play a role in influencing voting choices, respondents were asked if they would vote for a party because “the party provides social grants for households like yours”. As noted in the earlier discussion on reasons for voting for a political party, 59% of respondents agreed that they would vote for a party for this reason.

- Those who received a grant (65%) were more likely to agree that they would vote for a party that provides social grants than those who did not receive a grant (56%)⁶⁷.
- Those who would vote for the ruling party (66%) were more likely than those who intended voting for an opposition party (52%) to agree that they would vote for a party that provides social grants⁶⁸.

Lastly, we looked at how grant recipients and non-recipients compare in terms of how they intended to vote. When we consider the list of parties along with those who did not know which party to vote for and those who refused to answer, there was no clear association with grant receipt. When we group together those who would vote for an opposition party, and compare them with those who intend to vote for the ruling party, and those who are undecided (see Figure 14), it appears that a higher proportion of grant recipients (67%) than non-recipients (59%) intended to vote for the ruling party, although this association was not statistically significant⁶⁹. However, when only those who indicated their party preference are included, a significant association is found⁷⁰. This relationship warrants further exploration in future research.

⁶⁵ $\chi^2 (1, N=975) = 5.60, p = .018$

⁶⁶ $\chi^2 (1, N=975) = 5.60, p = .018$

⁶⁷ $\chi^2 (1, N=1190) = 9.91, p = .002$

⁶⁸ $\chi^2 (1, N=967) = 18.78, p < .001$

⁶⁹ $\chi^2 (2, N=1087) = 5.68, p = .059$

⁷⁰ 73% of grant recipients would vote for the ruling party compared to 67% of non-recipients; $\chi^2 (1, N=976) = 4.56, p = .03$

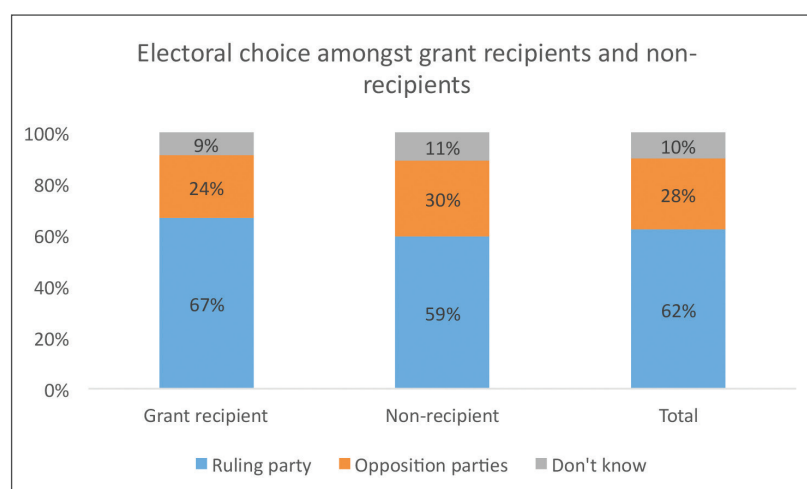


Figure 14: Electoral choice, by grant receipt

Social grant receipt is one of several factors that may influence voting behaviour. In this section, we have focused on bivariate associations but these may be driven by other correlated factors. In section 5.6.6, we consider how a range of factors interact to determine which combination of factors best predicts electoral choice, and whether or not grant receipt, in combination with these others factors, is a significant contributor.

5.6.2. Sociological factors and voting behaviour

The sociological model is based on social determinants of voting such as ethnicity, race, class, gender, religious affiliation, educational background, occupation, social status, geography and regional ties or identities (Catt, 1996). In this section we test if these factors are significantly associated with how respondents intend to vote if an election were held tomorrow – not in terms of individual parties, but whether they intend to vote for the ruling party or an opposition party.

This study included a number of sociological factors that may influence voting behaviour. These include:

- Age
- Gender
- Race⁷¹
- Personal income
- Employment status
- Education
- Geography or area (urban/rural)

Table 4 presents these factors by respondents' electoral choice. As noted previously, if an election were held tomorrow, 62% of respondents would vote for the ruling party, 28% would vote for an opposition party and 10% of respondents did not know who they would vote for⁷².

⁷¹ Black African respondents are in the majority and are therefore compared with all other race groups.

⁷² This table is based on those who answered the question about which party they would vote for (n=1087).

Sociological factors	Ruling party N (%)	Opposition N (%)	Don't know N (%)	Total N (%)
Gender				
Female	356 (64%)	146 (26%)	56 (10%)	558 (100%)
Male	320 (60%)	155 (29%)	55 (10%)	530 (100%)
Age				
Youth (18 to 34 years)	315 (57%)	178 (32%)	56 (10%)	549 (100%)
Adult (35 years and above)	361 (67%)	123 (23%)	54 (10%)	538 (100%)
Race				
Black African	619 (67%)	225 (24%)	81 (9%)	925 (100%)
Other	57 (35%)	76 (47%)	30 (18%)	163 (100%)
Personal income				
Less than R300 per month	491 (63%)	223 (29%)	65 (8%)	779 (100%)
R300 per month or more	150 (58%)	67 (26%)	41 (16%)	258 (100%)
Employment				
Employed	187 (60%)	81 (26%)	44 (14%)	312 (100%)
Unemployed/not economically active	489 (63%)	220 (28%)	67 (9%)	776 (100%)
Education				
Less than Grade 12	432 (66%)	163 (25%)	61 (9%)	656 (100%)
Grade 12 or higher	243 (57%)	138 (32%)	50 (12%)	431 (100%)
Geography (area)				
Urban (Riverlea and Doornkop)	450 (61%)	217 (30%)	67 (9%)	734 (100%)
Rural (Groblersdal)	226 (64%)	84 (24%)	44 (12%)	354 (100%)

Table 4: Sociological factors, by electoral choice

- Older respondents (aged 35 years or older, 67%) were more likely to intend to vote for the ruling party than younger respondents (57%)⁷³.
- Black African respondents (67%) were more likely than other race groups (35%) to intend to vote for the ruling party⁷⁴.
- Those with lower levels of education (66%) were more likely than those with higher levels of education (57%) to intend to vote for the ruling party⁷⁵.
- Those who were employed (14% compared with 9% of those who were not employed or were not economically active) and those who had higher levels of personal income (16%, compared with 8% of those with lower incomes) were more likely to be unsure about who they intend to vote for⁷⁶.

There was no statistically significant association between electoral choice and gender or area.

Ethnicity is another factor that is often raised when discussing sociological determinants of voting behaviour. The survey included a single item asking respondents if they would vote for a party because the party represented their racial, ethnic or language group. Ruling party supporters (61%) were more likely to agree (or strongly agree) with this statement than opposition party supporters (52%).

⁷³ $\chi^2 (2, N=1087) = 13.11, p = .001$

⁷⁴ $\chi^2 (2, N=1088) = 60.33, p < .001$

⁷⁵ $\chi^2 (2, N=1087) = 9.94, p = .007$

⁷⁶ $\chi^2 (2, N=1088) = 7.32, p = .026$

5.6.3. Party identification and loyalty

As noted previously, the party identification model of voting behaviour describes those voters who identify with a particular political party and express their long-term loyalty by persistently voting for that party (Miller, 1991; Peele, 2004; Kovernock and Robertson, 2008). This model is often given as an explanation for voting behaviour in South Africa (Habib and Naidu, 2006) although it is increasingly recognised by scholars that party identification motivations are combined with issue-based voting (Kersting, 2009; see discussion in section 5.6.4).

In this study, three main measures of party identification were used, namely, feelings of closeness to a particular party; agreement with party identification-based reasons for voting for a party; and levels of loyalty to a particular party. These are discussed in more detail below.

5.6.3.1. Feelings of closeness to political parties

Closeness to one particular party – as opposed to feeling close to several parties or none at all – is indicative of strong levels of party identification.

Respondents were asked to indicate how close they felt to a list of nine political parties, using a scale of 1 (very distant) to 5 (very close). The figures below show the proportion of respondents who felt close (or very close), neutral or distant (or very distant) from each of the parties listed. The proportions of respondents who 'did not know' are also included.

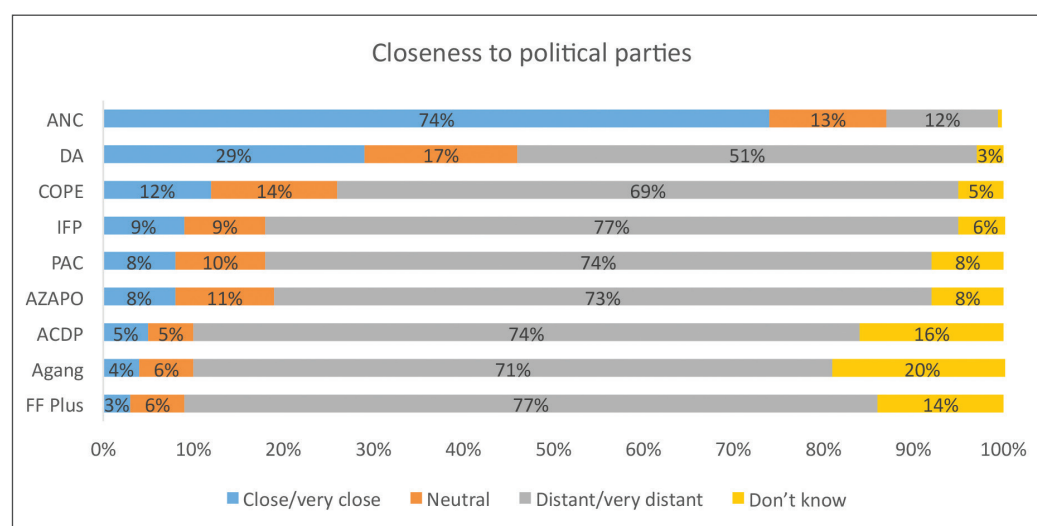


Figure 15: Feeling of closeness to listed political parties

Across the three areas, most respondents (74%) indicated that they felt close to the ANC. This was followed by 29% of respondents who felt close to the DA. In Riverlea, a higher proportion of respondents felt close to the DA (34%) than in Doornkop (25%) or Groblersdal (26%)⁷⁷.

In addition to considering closeness to individual parties, it is useful to compare the number of respondents who felt close or very close to *one* party only (and therefore identified strongly with one party) with those who felt close or very close to more than one party, did not feel close to any party at all or 'did not know' if they felt close to a party (and therefore are unlikely to be strongly motivated by party identification).

Overall, 52% of respondents indicated that they felt close to *one* party only. Another 14% did not feel close to any of the nine parties on the list, and the remaining 34% indicated that they felt close to more than one party.

⁷⁷ $\chi^2 (2, N=1202) = 7.91, p=.02$

- When considering how respondents intended to vote, we see that almost two thirds (64%) of those who intended to vote for the ruling party felt close to or identified with one party only (see figure below). Levels of identification with one party were lower amongst those who intended voting for an opposition party (39%). Thirty percent of those who were undecided felt close to one party, but did not yet know who they would vote for in an election⁷⁸.

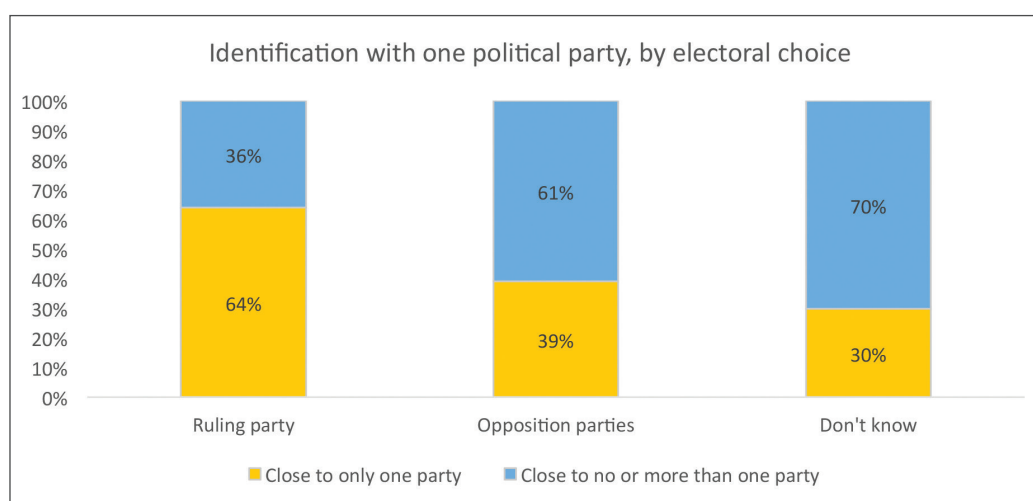


Figure 16: Identification with (closeness to) one political party, by intended electoral choice

- Younger respondents (aged 18 to 35 years, 45%) were less likely than older respondents (58%) to report that they felt close to one party only⁷⁹
- The levels of identification with one party were similar across the three areas, despite respondents in Riverlea having a slightly different profile of party preferences.

5.6.3.2. Party identification reasons for voting for a political party

All respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the following party identification reasons for voting for a particular political party, using a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree):⁸⁰

- [You would] vote for a party because you have known the party for a long time
- [You would] vote for a party because you trust the party
- [You would] vote for a party because the party brought freedom and democracy to South Africans

Overall, the majority of respondents agreed (or strongly agreed) that they would vote for a party because they trust the party (85%) and because the party brought freedom and democracy to South Africans (84%). Almost two thirds (64%) would vote for a party because they have known the party for a long time.

- An association was found between agreement with party identification reasons for voting for a party, and electoral choice (see Figure 17).

⁷⁸ $\chi^2 (2, N=1087) = 79.99, p < .001$

⁷⁹ $\chi^2 (1, N=1203) = 21.40, p < .001$

⁸⁰ The scale also included a 'don't know' option.

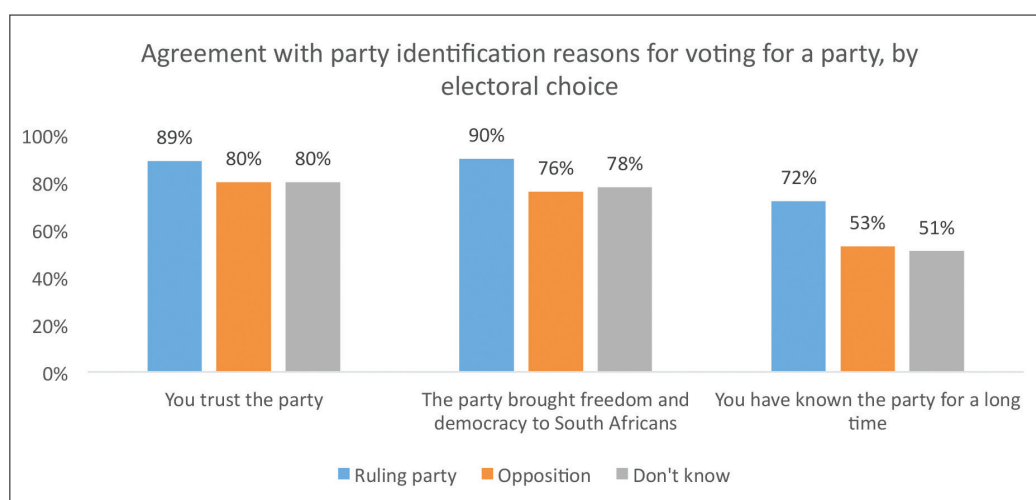


Figure 17: Agreement with party identification reasons for voting for a party, by electoral choice

As shown in the figure above, supporters of the ruling party were more likely to agree with all three statements than supporters of opposition parties or those who were still undecided about which political party to support⁸¹.

- Respondents in rural Groblersdal (89%) were likely to vote for a party because they trust the party (compared to 86% in Riverlea and 81% in Doornkop) and because the party that brought freedom and democracy to South Africans (91%, compared to 82% in Doornkop and 78% in Riverlea)⁸².
- Younger and older respondents did not differ in their views on the first two statements; however, younger respondents (58%) were less likely than older respondents (71%) to agree that they would vote for a party because they have known the party for a long time⁸³.

5.6.3.3. Loyalty to one political party

In addition to feeling close to one party and agreeing with party identification-related reasons for choosing which political party to vote for, we also considered the extent to which respondents remain loyal to one particular party. This was measured using two questions:

- How often have you considered voting for another party? (asked only of those who have voted before)
- To what extent do you agree or disagree that it is acceptable to vote for different parties in the national and local government elections?

Respondents who had voted at least once before in national or local elections were asked if they had ever considered voting for another party. Almost two thirds (65%) said they had never considered voting for another party. Another 12% indicated that they seldom considered doing so, while a further 23% had considered doing so often or very often.

As shown in Figure 18, loyalty to one party was associated with electoral choice.

⁸¹ You trust the party: $\chi^2 (2, N=1084) = 16.66, p<.001$; The party brought freedom and democracy to South Africans: $\chi^2 (2, N=1083) = 36.48, p<.001$; You have known the party for a long time: $\chi^2 (2, N=1084) = 45.30, p<.001$

⁸² Trust: $\chi^2 (2, N=1201) = 11.62, p=.003$; freedom and democracy: $\chi^2 (2, N=1200) = 27.34, p<.001$

⁸³ $\chi^2 (2, N=1084) = 16.66, p<.001$

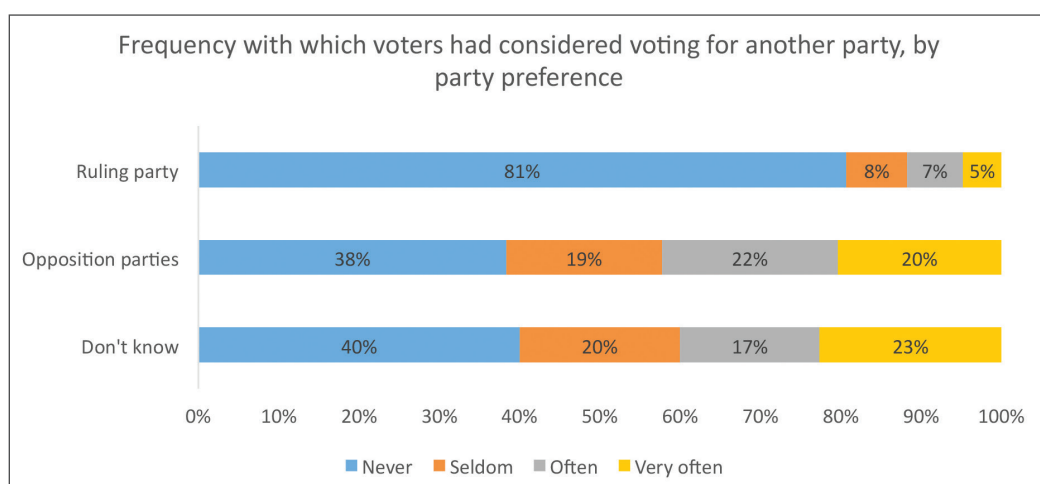


Figure 18: Frequency with which voters have considered voting for another party, by electoral choice

- Eighty-one percent of ruling party supporters had never considered voting for another party, compared to 38% of those who would support an opposition party and 40% of those who were undecided about how to vote⁸⁴.
- Respondents in Riverlea (41%) were more likely than respondents in Doornkop (30%) or Groblersdal (34%) to indicate that they had, at some point, considered voting for another party⁸⁵.
- No association was found between considering voting for another party and age.

A second measure of party loyalty is the extent to which respondents felt it is acceptable to vote for different parties in the national and local government elections. Across all areas, over two-thirds (69%) agreed that it was acceptable to vote for different parties in the national and local government elections.

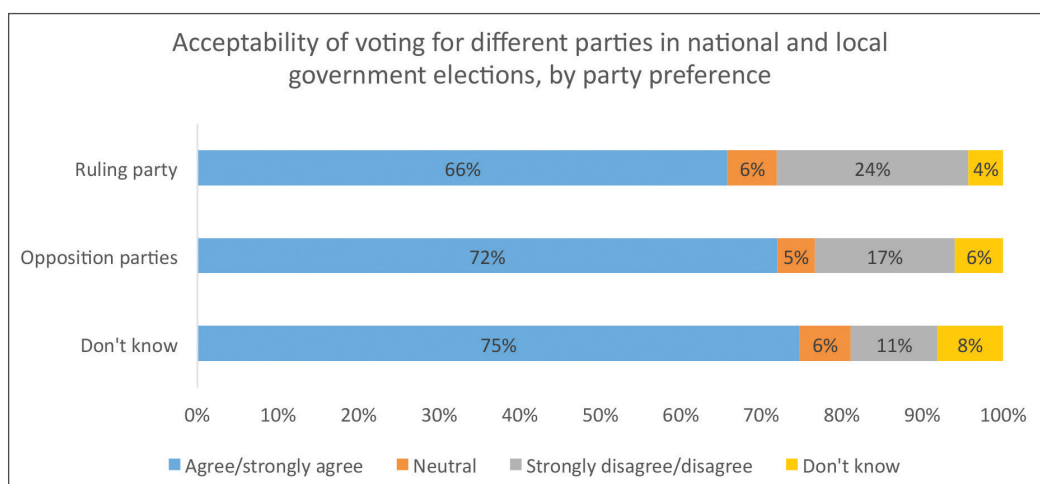


Figure 19: Agreement with acceptability of voting for different parties in the national and local government elections, by electoral choice

- As shown in Figure 19, this measure of party loyalty was also associated with electoral choice – those respondents who intended to vote for the ruling party (66%) were less likely to agree that it is acceptable to vote for different parties in the national and local government elections than those who intended to vote for opposition parties (72%) or were undecided (75%)⁸⁶.

⁸⁴ $\chi^2 (6, N=799) = 146.56, p < .001$

⁸⁵ $\chi^2 (2, N=882) = 7.47, p = .02$

⁸⁶ $\chi^2 (6, N=1087) = 16.01, p = .014$

- Respondents in Riverlea (75%) were most likely to agree that it is acceptable to vote for different parties in the national and local government elections (compared to 64% in Doornkop and 67% in Groblersdal)⁸⁷.
- No association was found between acceptability of voting for different parties in the national and local government elections and age.

In summary, party identification factors appeared to play a role in how people in these poor areas vote. Overall, just over half of respondents (52%) felt close to one party, with ruling party supporters being more likely than for those who intended voting for an opposition party or were still undecided to indicate that this was the case. While the majority of respondents agreed that they would vote for a party because they trust the party (85%), because the party brought freedom and democracy to South Africa (84%) and because they have known the party for a long time (64%), supporters of the ruling party were most likely to agree with these motivations for voting for a party. Lastly, in terms of party loyalty, respondents who had voted before and intended to support an opposition party in the next election, or were still undecided, were more likely to say they had considered voting for another party at some point. However, despite these fairly high levels of party identification, more than two-thirds of all respondents (69%) agreed it is acceptable to vote for different parties in the national and local government elections.

5.6.4. Rational choice factors

Rational choice is defined as a choice based on the evaluation of a party's policies and programmes, government's performance and trust in the government. Voters often base their electoral choices on rational considerations motivated by self-interest (Chandler, 1988; Brooks et al, 2006), and on information about the possible impact of an election on that voter's life and well-being (Himmelweit, Humphreys, Jaeger and Katz, 1981).

Factors that may be considered in this type of voting behaviour would include, for example, a party's record in government, personal popularity of the party's leaders, and voters' perceptions of the direction of the economy (Sanders, 2003). As opposed to sociological factors or party identification, these factors tend to be issue-based and can be understood as an individual's cost-benefit analysis. This model credits people with decision-making power and agency.

The following elements, which may be considered 'rational choice factors', were measured in the survey:

- Perceptions of government performance on providing a range of services
- The quality of work of various government institutions, political parties and politicians in South Africa
- Individuals' trust in the above-mentioned institutions
- Perceptions of corruption in these institutions

While these are the main factors considered in this section on the rational choice model, it may also be argued that all factors influencing voting behaviour, including race and area, for example, are to some extent based on the voter's rational choice.

5.6.4.1. Perceptions of government performance on service delivery

Public perceptions of the government performance relate to the degree to which the public trusts their leaders as well as how responsive they believe officials to be to their interests, for example, through government's response to service delivery demands (Schmitter, 2004). In the past, public dissatisfaction over a perceived lack of good quality services from government has found expression through countless protest actions. Of interest here is how positive or negative respondents are about government's performance in terms of service delivery, and whether these perceptions are associated with their intended electoral choice.

⁸⁷ $\chi^2 (6, N=1204) = 20.87, p=.002$

Respondents were asked to rate the government performance on for the provision of 17 services (see Figure 20 for the list of services) using a five-point scale, where a score of 0 indicated very poor performance and 4 indicated excellent performance⁸⁸. Higher average (mean) scores indicated higher levels of satisfaction with the service provided.

Overall, the highest average rating was given to the government's provision of social grants, which received an average rating of 2.9. This indicates that people in these disadvantaged areas believe that the government is doing a good job of providing social grants. Thereafter, preventing HIV/AIDS (2.7) and improving education (2.6) received the second and third highest ratings. The lowest rating, indicating the perceived worst performance, related to the job the government is doing in dealing with illegal foreigners; this received an average rating of 1.3 (indicating a poor to average performance). The second worst service ratings were given to the government's performance in terms of creating jobs and preventing crime, both of which received an average rating of 1.4.

The following figure provides an overview of the proportion of respondents who rated each government service as good or excellent (ratings of 3 and 4), and compares those who intended to vote for the ruling party (orange) with those who intended to vote for the opposition (blue). Those who did not report who they would vote for if an election were held tomorrow are not included.

On average, those who would vote for the ruling party rate government's performance higher (average score of 2.2) than those who would vote for an opposition party (average score of 1.9), indicating their greater levels of satisfaction with government's service delivery.

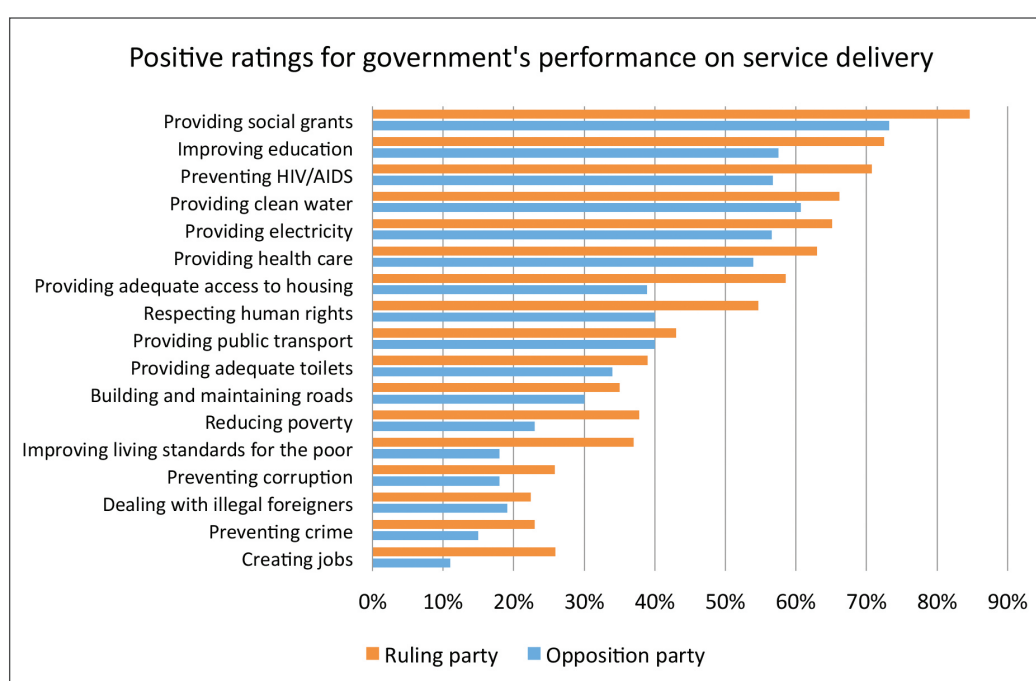


Figure 20: Positive (good and excellent) ratings of the performance of government's service delivery, by electoral choice

At the level of individual services, those who gave a good or excellent rating were compared with those who gave a very poor, poor or average rating. On 12 of the 17 services listed in the figure above, those who intended to vote for the ruling party rated the quality of service delivery higher than those who would

⁸⁸ Categories in the scale were 0=very poor, 1=poor, 2=average, 3=good, 4=excellent.

vote for an opposition party⁸⁹. The only services without a statistically significant association between intended voting behaviour and rating of service quality concern the following five services: dealing with illegal foreigners, providing clean water, providing public transport, providing adequate toilets and building and maintaining roads.

In summary, those who would vote for the ruling party were more positive about government's performance on a range of services than those who would vote for an opposition party.

5.6.4.2. Quality of work of institutions in South Africa

In addition to perceptions of government's performance, a rational choice approach to voting behaviour is likely to be influenced by perceptions of the performance of various state institutions, as well as the performance of the president, the ruling party and opposition parties. Therefore respondents were asked to score the performance of a various state institutions as well as the ruling party and opposition parties on a five-point scale ranging from very poor (1) to excellent (5)⁹⁰.

On average, the highest performance rating indicated by positive ('good' and 'excellent') responses was given to the army/defence force (66%), followed by the judiciary (54%) and then the ruling party, the ANC (42%). The lowest average rating was given to opposition parties other than the official opposition (17%), followed by the ward councillor (23%) and the police (27%).

Figure 21 presents the proportion of respondents who gave good and excellent ratings (ratings of 4 and 5), by electoral choice.

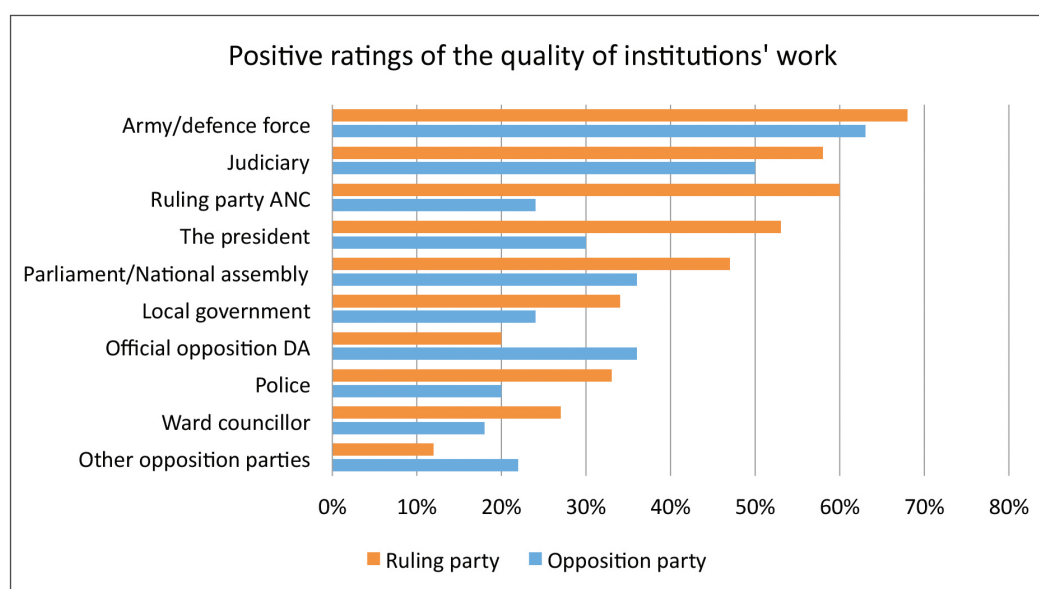


Figure 21: Positive performance (good and excellent) ratings of the institutions, by electoral choice

Looking at the ratings of each institution, party or individual separately, there was a statistically significant association between electoral choice and perceptions of institutional performance on nine of the 10 bodies⁹¹.

⁸⁹ Social grants $X^2 (1, N=974) = 17.42, p < .001$, Education $X^2 (1, N=975) = 21.29, p < .001$, HIV/Aids $X^2 (1, N=974) = 18.52, p < .001$, Electricity $X^2 (1, N=975) = 6.49, p = .011$, Healthcare $X^2 (1, N=975) = 5.80, p = .016$, Housing $X^2 (1, N=971) = 31.88, p < .001$, Human rights $X^2 (1, N=971) = 19.37, p < .001$, Poverty $X^2 (1, N=974) = 20.58, p < .001$, Living standards $X^2 (1, N=976) = 34.91, p < .001$, Corruption $X^2 (1, N=976) = 6.95, p = .008$, Crime $X^2 (1, N=975) = 8.99, p = .003$, Jobs $X^2 (1, N=976) = 28.81, p < .001$

⁹⁰ Categories in the scale were 1 = very poor, 2 = poor, 3 = average, 4 = good, 5 = excellent.

⁹¹ Judiciary $X^2 (1, N=860) = 4.53, p < .033$, Ruling party $X^2 (1, N=955) = 108.57, p < .001$, President $X^2 (1, N=971) = 43.95, p < .001$, Parliament $X^2 (1, N=892) = 10.14, p = .001$, Government $X^2 (1, N=957) = 10.35, p < .001$, Official opposition $X^2 (1, N=768) = 23.21, p < .001$, Police $X^2 (1, N=969) = 18.04, p < .001$, Councillor $X^2 (1, N=945) = 9.00, p = .003$, Other opposition $X^2 (1, N=663) = 12.11, p = .001$

Again, in general, those who would vote for the ruling party tended to rate the performance of these institutions higher than those who would vote for an opposition party. The unsurprising exception to this was that those who would vote for an opposition party rated the performance of opposition parties more highly than ruling party supporters. The only instance where there was no significant association was in the performance rating for the army/defence force, where both ruling party and opposition party supporters rated their performance as good/excellent.

5.6.4.3. Trust in institutions in South Africa

In addition to the performance ratings given above, respondents were also asked to indicate the extent to which they trust these institutions and individuals. Their responses were captured on a 4-point scale where 1 indicated strong distrust, 2 indicated distrust, 3 indicated 'somewhat trust' and 4 indicated full trust.

Overall, respondents were most trusting (indicated by ratings of 3 and 4) of the army/defence force (82%), followed by the judiciary (78%) and the parliament/national assembly (66%). Respondents had the lowest levels of trust in other opposition parties besides the official opposition (37%), their ward councillors (41%), and the police (46%). The trust ratings and the ratings given regarding the quality of work of various institutions are strongly correlated⁹², indicating a link between respondents' trust in an institution and their perceptions of the performance of that institution; however, the direction of this relationship is not clear.

The following figure shows those respondents who reported 'somewhat' or 'full' trust in the various individuals and institutions (ratings of 3 and 4), by electoral choice.

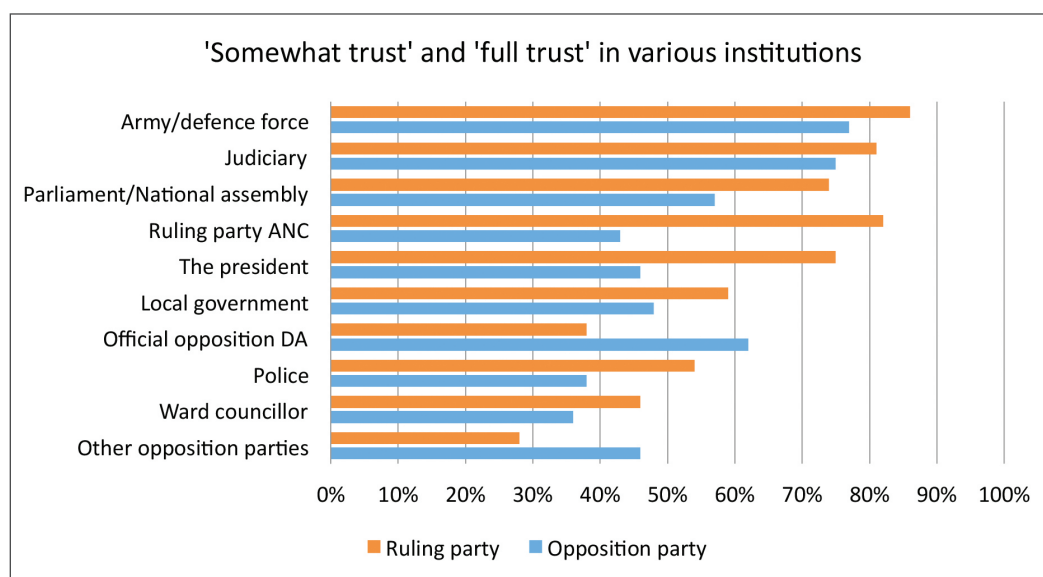


Figure 22: Trust in institutions, by electoral choice

Looking at the institutions individually, there were significant associations between intended electoral choice and trust in the various institutions in nine of the 10 cases⁹³, the only exception being trust in the judiciary. As with the performance ratings, those who would vote for the ruling party tended to report higher levels of trust in these institutions than those who would vote for an opposition party, with the exception of trust in the opposition parties; here supporters of opposition parties reported higher levels of trust.

⁹² Pearson's correlation: $r(1) = .75, p < .01$.

⁹³ Army $X^2(1, N=844) = 10.43, p < .001$, Parliament $X^2(1, N=922) = 26.28, p < .001$, Ruling party $X^2(1, N=967) = 148.17, p < .001$, President $X^2(1, N=965) = 76.95, p < .001$, Government $X^2(1, N=964) = 9.50, p = .002$, Official opposition $X^2(1, N=815) = 44.36, p < .001$, Police $X^2(1, N=969) = 19.58, p < .001$, Councillor $X^2(1, N=953) = 5.57, p = .018$, Other opposition $X^2(1, N=707) = 22.29, p < .001$

5.6.4.4. Perceptions of corruption relating to institutions in South Africa

Related to perceptions of performance and issues of trust in state institutions and political parties is the issue of perceived corruption. In 2012, the Public Protector, Thuli Madonsela, was quoted as saying “[c]orruption is endemic in [South Africa], both in the public and private sectors. If we don’t deal with corruption decisively, it will not only impact on good governance, but has the potential to distort our economy and to derail democracy” (The Star, 4 April 2012). Transparency International’s Worldwide Corruption Perception Index has found that, where 10 is highly clean and 0 is highly corrupt, South Africa has dropped eighteen places in the past five years from 54th in 2010 to 72nd in 2013, with scores of 4.5 and 4.2 respectively (Transparency International, 2013).

Therefore, the fourth set of rational choice factors of voting relates to the respondents’ perceptions of corruption, both in general and in relation to prominent individuals and institutions in South Africa.

The respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with nine statements about corruption using a five-point scale where 1 indicated strong disagreement and 5 indicated strong agreement. Overall there were high levels of perceived corruption.

Most respondents (79%) across the three areas agreed or strongly agreed that there is more corruption now than there was five years ago. Furthermore, most respondents (79%) viewed the police as involved in corruption and slightly fewer (72%) reported that people in local government are involved in corruption. On average, over half of the respondents (60%) believed that the president is involved in corruption. Overall, the institutions that were perceived to be the least corrupt were the official opposition (45%), other opposition parties (49%) and magistrates and judges (51%).

Figure 23 presents the respondents who agreed or strongly agreed (ratings 4 and 5) with the statements about corruption, by electoral choice.



Figure 23: Perceptions of corruption in institutions, by electoral choice

Looking at the individual statements, there is a statistically significant association between voting intention and perceived corruption on seven of the nine statements on corruption⁹⁴. The two exceptions were perceptions of corruption in the official opposition and in the other opposition parties. Therefore while

⁹⁴ More corruption now $\chi^2 (1, N=961) = 12.28, p < .001$, Police $\chi^2 (1, N=945) = 13.82, p < .001$, Government $\chi^2 (1, N=924) = 14.72, p < .001$, Parliament $\chi^2 (1, N=907) = 17.48, p < .001$, Ruling party $\chi^2 (1, N=917) = 37.86, p < .001$, President $\chi^2 (1, N=890) = 55.99, p < .001$, Magistrates $\chi^2 (1, N=866) = 19.62, p < .001$

respondents shared similar views regarding (comparatively lower) levels of corruption within opposition parties, they differed in their perceptions of the level of corruption within parliament, local government, the police services, the ruling party, among magistrates and judges and the president's level of corruption. Not surprisingly, those who would vote for an opposition party believe that these institutions and individuals are more corrupt than those who would vote for the ruling party.

Therefore to summarise, respondents believed the government is doing a good job in providing social grants, working to prevent HIV/AIDS and improving education, but gave the low ratings to the government's role in dealing with illegal foreigners, creating jobs and preventing crime. On average, those who would vote for the ruling party rate government's performance higher than those who would vote for an opposition party, indicating their greater levels of satisfaction with government's service delivery. A similar pattern was found with regards to perceptions of the quality of various institutions' work and respondents' levels of trust in these institutions, with a few exceptions. Overall, perceptions of corruption were relatively high, with those who would vote for an opposition party being more likely to indicate that state institutions are involved in corruption than those who would vote for the ruling party.

Thus, a mix of rational choice factors differentiate those who would vote for the ruling party from those who would vote for an opposition party. The low performance ratings presented, together with perceptions of corruption, point to signs of issue-based voting in these communities.

5.6.5. Clientelism factors

Patronage, or clientelism, can also be an important determinant of voting behaviour (Bratton and Van de Walle, 1997; Van de Walle, 2003). In a clientelistic relationship politicians tend to use their power to provide economic privileges or other material favours to voters in return for their political support at the polls (Wantchekon, 2003; Stokes, 2007; Vicente and Wantchekon, 2009; Szwarcberg, 2013). A form of clientelism often referred to as 'vote-buying' has been found to be prevalent in Africa and emphasises the handing out of money and gifts to win voters during election campaigns.

As noted previously, in South African public conversation, the distribution of social grants by government has been likened to vote-buying (see, for example, News24, 17/03/2011). However, unlike in clientelistic relationships where privileges or favours are provided to particular groups in return for political support, grants are provided to those deemed eligible on the basis of clear eligibility criteria and a means test that is applied to all applicants. Similarly, there are clear procedures for the assessment of need in the distribution of food parcels in times of crisis, but concerns have been raised that the distribution of food parcels prior to elections may in some instances take the form of 'undue influence' (see Election 2014 Brief 4).

In this study, respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agree with the following statements:

- I would vote for a party because the party promises to look after households like mine
- I would vote for a party because the party provides social grants
- I would vote for a party because they give food parcels
- Giving social grants to people is a form of bribery or not
- Handing out food parcels before elections is like buying votes

As these questions were discussed earlier in the report, this section provides a brief review of the results in terms of party preference, before looking at which factors from all the proposed models of voting behaviour best explain why people would vote for the ruling party or for an opposition party.

The following figure reports those who agree or strongly agree (ratings 4 and 5) with the three statements relating to support for a party based on the potential benefits for respondents and their households, by the respondents' electoral choice. Overall, two thirds (65%) agreed that they would vote for a party because the party promises to look after households like theirs, while 59% said they would vote for a party because the

party provides social grants for households like theirs. Although these statements are considered here, it can be argued that respondents' support for political parties with policies aimed at improving the economic status of poor households is, in fact, a rational choice.

Only 27% reported that they would vote for a political party because the party gave food parcels before elections.

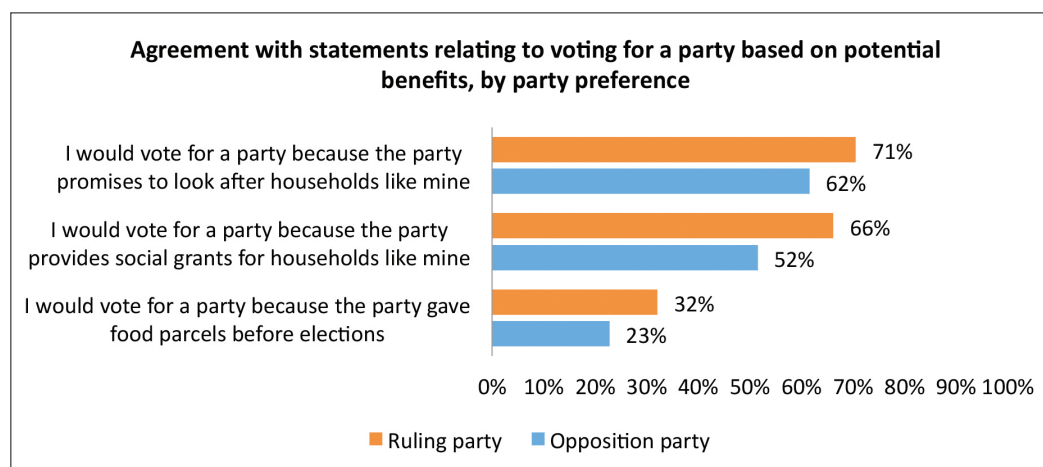


Figure 24: Agreements with statements relating to voting for a party based on potential benefits, by party preference

An association was found between agreement with these statements and party preference. Ruling party supporters were more likely than opposition party supporters to vote for a party because the party promises to look after them⁹⁵, the party provides social grants⁹⁶ or the party handed out food parcels before elections⁹⁷.

Respondents were also asked more directly about whether or not they viewed social grants and the provision of food parcels before elections as forms of 'vote-buying'. Overall, most respondents (70%) believe that providing food parcels before an election is like buying votes, but only a quarter (24%) held the view that giving social grants is a form of 'bribery'.

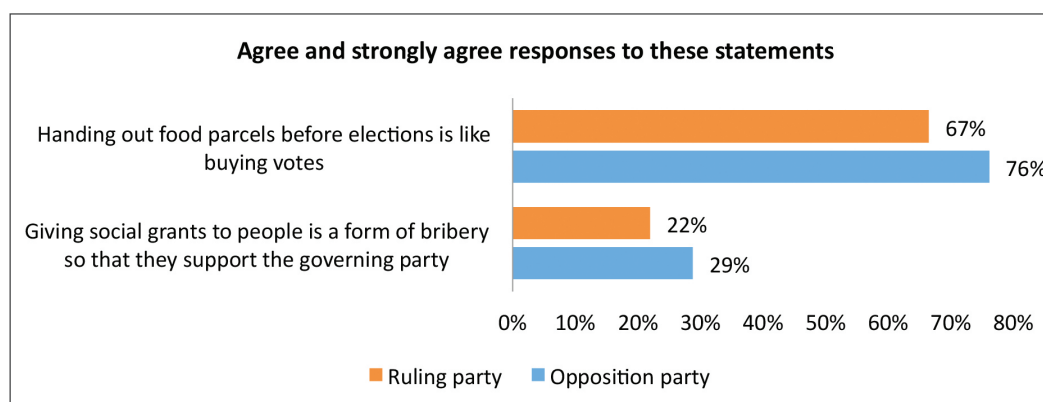


Figure 25: Agreements with statements relating to perceptions of 'vote buying', by party preference

⁹⁵ $\chi^2 (1, N=964) = 7.62, p = .006$

⁹⁶ $\chi^2 (1, N=967) = 18.78, p < .001$

⁹⁷ $\chi^2 (1, N=958) = 8.5, p = .004$

Again an association was found with party preference. Those who would support an opposition party were more likely to believe that providing food parcels before elections is like vote-buying⁹⁸ and that giving social grants is a form of bribery⁹⁹.

On the whole, the majority of respondents would vote for a political party that will look after households like theirs and provide social grants for those in need, and most do not view social grants as an attempt by the governing party to solicit political support. This is supported by the earlier finding that the majority of respondents agree that social security is a right in a democracy such as South Africa. However, the majority of respondents view the provision of food parcels *before an election* to be a form of undue influence¹⁰⁰, and only a quarter indicated that they would vote for a political party for this reason. There was an association between respondents' views on these issues and their electoral choice.

5.6.6. Best overall model of voting behaviour

The third aim of this study was to explore which factors (or combination of factors) influence voting behaviour among people in disadvantaged communities. In this final results section we use linear regression analysis to explain and predict respondents' electoral choice – that is, whether they would vote for the ruling party or for an opposition party. By entering all the factors with significant associations into a single model we are able to account for interaction effects between factors. This is necessary, as at times a factor that was statistically significant in isolation becomes insignificant when other factors are taken into account.

ELECTION 2014 BRIEF 4: FOOD PARCELS SUBVERT THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

Public concerns have been expressed about the handing out of food parcels during national and local government elections. Based on research conducted by the CSDA at the University of Johannesburg on the voting behaviour of poor voters, we found that 70 percent of voters in three poor wards in Johannesburg and Limpopo said the 'the handing out of food parcels before an election is like vote buying'. This indicates that most voters in poor communities disapprove of this practice before an election. Only 27 percent of the respondents thought that people are likely to vote for a party because it gave out food parcels.

The handing out of food parcels by political parties as part of their electoral campaign subverts the principle that every voter is entitled to exercise his or her vote freely and without undue pressure. This principle is at the heart of a free and fair election. Political parties pledged not to offer 'any inducement or reward to a person to vote for a party' when they signed the code of conduct in March this year, which is part of the Electoral Act of 1998.

The handing out of food parcels is being challenged by some opposition parties as a form of undue influence to vote for the party providing food. The Public Protector, Advocate Thuli Madonsela announced that she will be investigating the possible abuse of state resources for electoral gain.

There may be serious consequences for both politicians and public servants who engage in these practices as it might be construed as amounting to bribery and corruption under the law. Beneficiaries of social relief in times of election who receive a food parcel may also be considered to be corrupt merely by receiving the reward.

Acts of bribery and corruption in the context of an election undermine the electoral process and subvert good public administration. It also destroys public confidence and trust in public administration. The distribution of food parcels by public officials and politicians is mandated by the Social Assistance Act of 1992 which makes provision for relief of distress based on an assessment of need of an individual or to communities in cases of natural disasters. When food parcels or blankets are handed out at political rallies or in communities during election times, political parties and public servants run the risk of violating the electoral code and undermining the electoral process. They should desist from doing so and rules should be developed by the IEC to prevent these actions. The public should also be aware that if they receive gifts in exchange for votes, they may be participating in an act of bribery and corruption.

⁹⁸ $\chi^2 (1, N=975) = 9.73, p = .002$

⁹⁹ $\chi^2 (1, N=975) = 5.60, p < .018$

¹⁰⁰ The two questions posed about the provision of food parcels always related to handing out food prior to an election; they therefore do not necessarily reflect respondents' views of food parcels more broadly.

Initially factors were entered into a regression equation according to the four theoretical models. The results from each theoretical model are presented in Appendix D. Thereafter significant contributors from the four separate models were included into a single model, referred to as the overall regression model. The factors, or independent variables, which we looked at in the overall model were:

- Age – youth (aged 18 to 34 years) compared to older respondents (35 years and older)
- Race – Black African compared to the other three race groups combined
- Rational choice-related reasons for voting for a particular party
- Clientelism-related reasons for voting for a particular party
- Perceptions of food parcels or social grants as a form of vote-buying – those who agreed with various statements compared with those who disagreed
- Party identification – feeling close to one party only compared with feeling close to more than one party or not feeling close to any party
- Party loyalty – whether or not the respondent had ever considered voting for another party from the one they voted for in the previous election
- Extent to which people believe that their constitutional rights will be protected if another party comes to power
- Rating of government's performance in the provision of services
- Trust in institutions and prominent individuals
- Perceived corruption within institutions and individuals

There were 345 cases included in the best overall model. Although this is only 29% of the full sample, this model best predicts voting behaviour. The missing cases are largely due to respondents answering 'don't know' to questions of corruption and to the questions on party loyalty which asks those who have voted before, if they have considered voting for another party. Therefore respondents who have not voted before did not respond to this item.

The overall model containing all predictors was statistically significant, $\chi^2 (1, N=345) = 115.68, p < .001$. With these factors the model explained between 32.6% and 53.1% of the variation in the voting choice of respondents, that is, whether respondents intended to vote for the ruling party or for an opposition party. The overall model is a strong predictor of whether a respondent will vote for the ruling party, with 94.3% cases correctly classified for the ruling party and 52.4% of cases correctly classified for the opposition parties. The bullet points below indicate the significant contributing factors to the model followed by the contributors that were not found to be significant.

The results of the regression analysis are as follows:

- The largest contributing factor in predicting voting behaviour in these communities is race. The likelihood of a person voting for the ruling party is 10.99 (1/0.091) times higher for Black African respondents than other (mainly Coloured) respondents in this sample.
- The second largest contributing factor is party identification, or feeling close to only one party. The likelihood of a person voting for the ruling party is 5.70 times higher for respondents who reported feeling close to one party only.
- The third largest contributing factor is party loyalty, which is measured as those who have never considered voting for another party (asked only to those who had voted before). Those who have never considered voting for another party are 3.75 times more likely to vote for the ruling party.
- The fourth largest contributing factor is the combined rational choice reasons for voting for a party. Those who agree that they would vote because they have known the party for a long time, they trust the party, the party has good strong leaders, the party brought freedom and democracy to South Africans and they would have a better life are 2.70 times more likely to vote for the ruling party.
- The fifth largest contributing factor is the extent to which respondents feel that their rights would be protected (or that the programmes put in place to realise their rights would continue) if another party

came to power. The likelihood of voting for the ruling party is 2.57 (1/0.39) times higher for those who are less certain that their rights will be protected if another party came into power.

- The sixth largest contributing factor is the rating of the government's performance. Those who rate the government's performance on a range of service delivery indicators more positively are 2.49 times more likely to vote for the ruling party.
- The last contributing factor is people's perceptions of corruption. Those who perceive less corruption in the various South African individuals and institutions are 2.30 (1/0.44) times more likely to vote for the ruling party.

Age was not a significant predictor of voting behaviour. In other words, although the younger respondents (18 to 34 years) were more likely than older respondents to vote for an opposition party, when we account for people's race, their belief in the protection of their rights, their perceptions of government performance, levels of trust in institutions and perceptions of corruption, as well as their loyalty to a party, then age becomes less important in explaining people's voting behaviour.

Factors	B	SE	Wald	df	Sig.	Odds Ratio
Age	-0.259	0.385	0.455	1	.500	0.77
Race	-2.401	0.466	26.581	1	.000	0.09
Perceptions of protection of rights	-0.943	0.279	11.424	1	.001	0.39
Government performance	0.91	0.383	5.64	1	.018	2.49
Perceptions of trust	0.432	0.483	0.8	1	.371	1.54
Perceptions of corruption	-0.832	0.317	6.884	1	.009	0.44
Rational choice reasons for voting	0.994	0.389	6.537	1	.011	2.70
Reasons for voting related to clientelism	0.196	0.215	0.834	1	.361	1.22
Party loyalty	1.322	0.375	12.39	1	.000	3.75
Party identification	1.741	0.413	17.771	1	.000	5.70
Perceived vote buying behaviour	-0.163	0.27	0.365	1	.546	0.85
Constant	-1.483	2.751	0.29	1	.590	0.2

Table 5: Logistic regression predicting likelihood of voting for the ruling party

In summary, race, belief that one's rights will be protected, the quality of government's work, perceptions of corruption, rational choice reasons for voting, party loyalty and party identification were significant predictors of voting behaviour. Age, perceptions of trust in institutions, benefit-related reasons for voting and perceptions of vote-buying behaviour were not significant predictors. Receipt of social grants was also not a significant factor and was shown to be non-significant in the 'clientelism' (benefits) model of voting behaviour (presented in the appendix).

6. Discussion and recommendations

6.1. Discussion

The study provides valuable insight into the political engagement and voting behaviour of people in the three poor communities surveyed. Although the findings are generalisable to other poor communities with similar socio-economic and demographic profiles, a national panel study would provide a better gauge of the impact of social protection policies on electoral politics in South Africa. We posit these findings and conclusions more by way of stimulating debate and further research in a new area of enquiry.

Our literature study of electoral politics in other middle income countries with growing social protection programmes suggests that these programmes are creating new constituencies, and have had some influence on electoral outcomes particularly in Brazil (see Section 3). This study begins to fill an important gap in our understanding of the political dynamics in poor communities in South Africa and what factors might be driving electoral politics twenty years after the demise of formal apartheid. Voter preference in South Africa's democratic elections over the past two decades has been linked to party identification and strong party loyalty, race, ethnicity, and government performance (or the lack thereof). The influence of social protection on voting behaviour has, until now, not yet received much attention.

How poor people use their electoral power to place social development issues and policies on the political agenda says something about the depth of our democracy and the future direction of social development policies. For instance, how far social rights will go and what are the trade-offs between public policies likely to be (for example between grants and welfare services and other social spending)?

In our study, we took the view that poverty is a multi-dimensional phenomenon that transcends a narrow economic focus. Additionally, it is not simply a poverty of multiple deprivations and lack of resources, but also potentially about a poverty of a political voice. This research is an attempt to gauge the views, concerns and preferences of voters in poor communities. In most instances these views were consistently held based on the questions that we asked, but on other questions, the respondents held contradictory views. This was found in previous research on social grants (see Patel et al. 2012) which suggests that people in these communities are not unaffected by wider political debates in the media and in their social circles.

Over 90% of adults in these communities were accessing news about current political issues. It should not therefore be assumed that they are not politically informed or that they do not hold strong views on issues they consider to be important. From the research findings we know that they most commonly access political information by watching television or listening to the radio, and a third go on to discuss politics with their family and friends, among others. Service delivery issues are a major concern for many people and this was reflected in their participation in meetings at ward level, where 70% had attended a meeting called by a Ward Councillor at least once before. One in three took part in a political protest at some stage while a fifth had attended political rallies or trade union meetings. This shows a high level of political involvement in local politics in these communities. Further, the majority of people in the study agreed that, in a democracy, they have political and social rights – more specifically, the right to give one's opinions, to protest, to practise one's own religion and to access basic education, social grants, healthcare, food and water, and adequate housing. The primary reasons for voting for a particular political party were that the party would give them a 'better life', because they trust the party and because the party brought freedom and democracy to the country. We may infer from these findings that voters in poor communities are first fairly well informed, second are actively engaged in wanting to improve their lives and third vote because they want a better life. All this bodes well for South Africa's democracy.

In regard to whether social grants influence voting behaviour, and electoral choice in particular, we cautiously conclude that social grants have some influence but that this is not a significant factor. We draw this conclusion based on the answers to specific questions and a multi-factor regression analysis. When the receipt of social grants was analysed as a factor in voting behaviour together with other factors, it was not found to be a significant predictor of electoral choice. At this stage, based on the available data, our finding is not definitive and it is likely that a national random sample would yield a different result. Further research is therefore needed.

We also attempted to ascertain what factors people consider when choosing which political party they would vote for. Political scientists argue that a number of models explain voter preferences or why a person votes for one party rather than another. The factors included in this study were: voting along racial or age lines, perceptions of government performance and levels of corruption, feelings of loyalty to a political party, trust and identification with a political party, and perceptions of 'vote-buying' behaviour, such as providing food parcels before an election. This study found that there was not one factor that predicted how

people voted, but rather that a combination of different factors explain the voting behaviour of people in the selected urban and rural communities. A first factor was that people in these communities continue to vote along racial lines. Although race has been regarded as a factor in predicting electoral choice in previous studies on voting behaviour in South Africa, one should be cautious about drawing general conclusions on this from this study given that the racial distribution of the study sample does not reflect that of the country's overall population.

After 20 years of democracy it is evident that party identification and loyalty are still important determinants. The extent to which people felt close to one particular party, were loyal to one party and had faith in a particular party were the second most influential set of reasons that predicted how people might vote. Of those respondents who had voted in the past, two thirds indicated that they have never considered voting for another party, with this party loyalty being particularly strong amongst ruling party supporters. This is despite perceptions of relatively high levels of corruption in general and in various institutions (including the party they support). However, some qualifications need to be made. Strong party loyalty seems to pertain to the support of a party (and in particular the ruling party) at the national level (i.e. general elections), but a large majority of respondents (69%) indicated that it is acceptable to vote for different parties in the national and local government elections. It can be argued that strong attachment to a party wanes when people's living standards are directly threatened. These concerns at the local level are clearly reflected in the low rating of the performance of local government and in particular the ward councillors, and the police, as well as the subsequent low levels of trust in them. The government's performance on issues such as preventing crime, improving the living standards of the poor, maintaining roads, and providing adequate toilets, which are all local government responsibilities, were rated as 'poor' by the majority of respondents (with some difference between ANC and opposition party supporters). These ratings, together with other issues mentioned such as 'lack of service delivery', poor living conditions and a lack of clean water (especially among rural respondents), point to signs of issue-voting among the poor. This may well play a significant role in particularly the local government elections to be held in 2016.

Third, people in these communities were also more likely to vote for the ruling party if they felt uncertain that their socio-economic rights would be protected if another party came to power. As discussed above, a fourth set of factors that influenced voting decisions were the performance of political parties and politicians. People's views of how well the government is doing in looking after the economy and in providing services, as well as perceptions of corruption, also played a role.

One would have expected that age would be a factor in how people vote, but when age was considered along with other reasons, it was not found to be a significant predictor of how respondents in these communities would vote. When considering age alone, it was found that younger respondents (aged 18 to 34 years) were more open to voting for opposition parties and were more likely than older voters to agree that it is acceptable to vote for different parties in the national and local elections. These findings suggest that while other factors feature more strongly in the electoral choice of respondents at the national level, age as a factor in party support should not be ignored.

We may conclude then that although party loyalty, identification and trust are still important factors that influence voting behaviour in poor communities, other factors are also influential and could shape electoral preferences in the future. The issues are: age, beliefs about the protection of rights, issues relating to political, economic and service delivery performance as well as corruption. Government performance and accountability are likely to become important electoral issues in the future.

It is evident from the above that the protection of social and economic rights emerged as a concern for respondents. While the majority of grant recipients and non-recipients were aware that they have a Constitutional right to social assistance, almost half of the respondents were nevertheless still unsure or did not believe that this right would be protected should another political party come to power. In a situation where one party has dominated the electoral scene for such a long time, and without having the experience

of other parties being in power, it is difficult for voters to 'know' whether these benefits will continue under a different party in power, and this could provide an incentive for voting for the ruling party.

Section 27 (c) of the Constitution protects an individual's the right to social security and specifically social assistance (cash or in-kind benefits funded from taxation) if a person is unable to support themselves and their dependents. This right is, however, subject to limitations such as the availability of resources and the gradual realisation of the right. This does not mean that the types of grants could not be changed or that the nature of the benefit or the level of the benefit could be changed. There are great variations across different countries in the use of cash and in-kind benefits, including behavioural conditions attached to grant receipt (e.g. the requirement that children attend a clinic, or that beneficiaries should participate in training and employment programmes etc.). There is much debate about this and whether such conditions have positive outcomes, and whether they are constitutionally permissible as they might lead to an erosion of this right. What is important to note is that the constitution protects the right to social assistance and a constitutional amendment would be required to take away this right.

Civic education is crucial to building democracy, and knowledge of socio-economic rights is an important element in exercising such a right and in claiming socio-economic rights. The Electoral Act of 1998 makes provision for voter education and civic education which involves education about rights and responsibilities of citizens in a democracy. Levels of participation in previous elections were fairly high with 75% of respondents having voted previously. Slightly fewer (65%) had voted in the 2009 election but 80% indicated that they planned to vote in the May 2014 elections. However, the overall poll as a percentage of registered voters in the 2014 elections showed a decline in voter participation rates compared with previous elections. A large percentage of new young voters were also not registered, especially among 18 to 24 year olds. The main reasons why people did not vote in previous elections based on our study were that they were too young to vote at the time, that they did not have identity documents or they were not interested in politics.

Civic education is also important to promote the involvement of voters and community members in holding political parties and leaders accountable for violations of the Code of Conduct, a requirement of the Electoral Act of 1998. In March 2014, political parties pledged not to offer 'any inducement or reward to a person to vote for a party'. While the majority of respondents did not view social grants as a means of soliciting political support for the ruling party, the majority of people surveyed (70%) indicated that 'the handing out of food parcels before an election is like vote buying'. This shows that voters disapprove of this practise before an election and only 27% thought that people are likely to vote for a party because it gave out food parcels. It is recommended that civic education also focus on this issue. Politicians and public service officials should be made aware that this conduct could be construed to amount to bribery and corruption under the law. And similarly, beneficiaries need to be made aware that receipt of social relief in times of election may also be considered to be corrupt merely by receiving the reward.

6.2. Recommendations

1. The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) engages more actively in civic or democracy education about socio-economic rights, civic responsibilities and the importance of participation in elections.
2. The IEC should take steps to ensure that both political parties and potential voters are aware of their rights and obligations in upholding the Code of Conduct of the Electoral Act.
3. There is need to speed up the processing of identity documents to increase participation.
4. The distribution of food parcels in communities during political campaigns before an election should not be allowed.
5. Further research is needed to assess the impact of social protection policies on electoral politics in South Africa.
6. The barriers to participation in elections by youth need to be studied and how to overcome this.

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APPENDICES

8. Appendix A: Political party positions on social grants in 2014 election manifestos

The question of partisan association with the provision of social protection forms the backdrop to this study. With this in mind, the table below provides an indication of the positions that political parties took on social security in particular in their 2014 national election manifestos.

The African National Congress (ANC) has maintained a dominant majority since the first democratic elections in 1994, and it was under an ANC government that the current system of social grants was introduced in the late 1990s. The table below shows that the six parties that received 1% or more of the national vote in the May 2014 election hold positions that are generally in support of the current social security system, although they differ on the form that the social security programmes should take, and the extent to which they should be targeted or conditional based on other requirements. It is primarily in the arena of public discourse that the claims of partisan association are made.

Political party (% of 2014 national vote)	Position on social grants in 2014 manifesto
African National Congress (62.15%)	<p>The ANC 2014 manifesto highlights areas in which the social security system has been expanded over the last 20 years. In reference to comprehensive social security, the party intends to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work towards the introduction of mandatory cover for retirement, disability and survivor benefits. • Continue to roll out existing social grants to those who qualify. • Urgently finalise policy discussions on proposals for a comprehensive social protection policy that ensures that no needy South African falls through the social security net.
Democratic Alliance (22.23%)	<p>The DA's 2014 manifesto states that the party is committed to providing a social safety net for vulnerable citizens. It also states that social spending should be focused on the disadvantaged, and that citizens are capable of taking responsibility for their own destiny.</p> <p>In terms of support for the vulnerable, the DA would:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide grants for vulnerable children. • Strengthen community oversight to ensure that child grants are not abused; intervene if children on social grants are not attending school or not being cared for. • Expand school nutrition schemes for learners up to grade 12. • Encourage young people to finish school by paying a reward to social grant beneficiaries who have completed Grade 12 or have performed above a set standard. • Help young people to get work experience through greater investment in Expanded Public Works Programmes & Community Works Programmes with proper training and fair opportunities. • Phase out the means test for old age pensions to reduce administrative costs and ensure access for all elderly persons. • Encourage saving by making membership of a retirement scheme compulsory for all working adults. • Strengthen the monitoring and evaluation of disability grants to ensure that all disabled South Africans can access the grants. • Ensure the efficient administration of grant reviews. • Limit the regulatory burden for persons with severe and permanent disabilities by exempting certain categories of disability from the review process.

Economic Freedom Fighters (6.35%)	<p>The EFF manifesto identifies seven pillars or priority areas, one of which is the provision of quality social welfare services, including the provision of social grants.</p> <p>The manifesto states that while social grants are not a permanent solution to the challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequalities, the EFF views social grants as an important aspect of bringing the poor into some level of economic participation, and intends to introduce a system that will link social grants to development. More specifically, an EFF government would:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Create sustainable jobs and open educational and training opportunities for women who receive child grants, so that child bearing is not seen as a basis to receive social grants. • Increase the monetary value of social grants (to double the current amount) with the view that the creation of jobs will decrease the number of dependents on social grants. • Introduce a social grant of R2500 per month for all terminally ill South Africans. • Explore and investigate the possibility and practicality of grants for unemployed people and a Basic Income Grant.
Inkatha Freedom Party (2.4%)	<p>The IFP's 2014 manifesto does not make explicit mention of social grants or social security.</p>
National Freedom Party (1.57%)	<p>The NFP 2014 manifesto states that, "Whereas the NFP supports the extension of grants in deserving instances, we are also mindful of the fact that grants address the symptoms of social vulnerability but do not reduce the causes of such vulnerability". The NFP commits itself to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase the child-support grants to keep pace with the rising costs of feeding and caring for children. • Introduce a widow support grant consisting of food vouchers for a limited period upon the death of a breadwinner, and encouraging widows to participate in local co-operative economic activities. • Increase pensions for the elderly as well disability grants in order for such persons to be able to live a life of dignity. • Reduce the pension age for women to the age of fifty-five. • Launch a program of building old-age homes in rural areas; • Develop a program to introduce skills for people with disabilities at local municipal level so as to afford them a dignified degree of autonomy within society to which they are entitled. • Introduce a grant to all citizens who are receiving TB treatment to ensure adequate nutrition which will aid their medical treatment.
United Democratic Movement (1.00%)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The UDM 2014 manifesto does not specifically refer to social grants or social security.

9. Appendix B: Qualifying criteria for social grants ¹⁰¹

Type of social grant	Amount	Target group	Qualifying criteria	No. of grants (31 May 14)
Child support grant (CSG)	R310 a month per child	Children under the age of 18 years who: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are not being cared for in a state institution, • Live with a primary caregiver who meets the means test requirements and is not paid to look after the child. The CSG is paid to child's primary caregiver (e.g. parent, grandparent or a child over 16 heading a family).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The primary caregiver must be a South African citizen, permanent resident or refugee; • The primary caregiver must meet the requirements of the means test. • Both the primary caregiver and child must reside in South Africa. Applicants cannot get this grant for more than six children who are not their biological or legally adopted children.	11 302 312
Foster care grant	R830 a month per child	Children under the age of 18 years who have been placed in the care of the foster parent by a court, as a result of being orphaned, abandoned, at risk, abused or neglected.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The foster parent and child must be resident in South Africa; • The foster parent must be a South African citizen, permanent resident or refugee; • The foster child must be placed in the care of the foster parent by means of a court order; • The child must remain in the care of the foster parent(s). 	530 357
Care dependency grant	R1350 a month per child	Children under the age of 18 years with severe disabilities who require full-time, permanent care.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The applicant must be South African citizen, permanent resident or refugee; • The applicant and child must be resident in South Africa; • The child must have a severe disability (as assessed by a state medical officer) and need full-time and special care • The applicant and spouse must meet the requirements of the means test (except for foster parents); • The care-dependent child/children must not be permanently cared for in a state institution. 	122 813
Older persons grant	R1350 per month (or R1370 if older than 75 years)	Older persons who are 60 years or older and meet the means test requirements.	<p>The older person must:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Be a South African citizen or permanent resident and reside in South Africa; • Not receive any other social grant for his or herself; • Not be cared for in a state institution • Meet the requirements of the means test 	2 991 791

¹⁰¹ This table is based on information drawn from the websites of government services (http://www.services.gov.za/services/content/Home/ServicesForPeople/Socialbenefits/en_ZA) and the South African Social Security Agency (), September 2014

Type of social grant	Amount	Target group	Qualifying criteria	No. of grants (31 May 14)
Disability grant	R1350 per month	Persons with a physical or mental disability which makes them unfit to work for a period of longer than six months. Disability grants may be either temporary (for conditions lasting 6 to 12 months); or 'permanent' (for conditions that will continue for more than a year).	To qualify, one must: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Be a South African citizen or permanent resident or refugee and living in South Africa; • Be between 18 and 59 years old; • Not be cared for in a state institution; • Meet the means test requirements (as must his/her spouse) • Undergo a medical examination where a state doctor will assess the degree of disability. 	1 122 334
War veterans grant	R1370 per month	This grant is for former soldiers who fought in the First World War (1904-1918), Second World War (1939-1945), the Zulu uprising (1906) or the Korean War (1950-1953) and are unable to support themselves.	The war veteran must: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Be a South African citizen or permanent resident • Live in South Africa • Be 60 years of age or older or be disabled • Have fought in the Second World War or Korean War • Not receive any other social grant • Not be cared for in a state institution • Meet the means test requirements (as must his/her spouse) 	407
Grant-in-aid	R310 per month	Grants-in-aid are available for those who receive a social grant but require care from someone else; this grant pays for that care.	The applicant must: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Already get a disability grant, war veteran's grant or grant for older persons • Not be able to look after him or herself owing to a physical or mental disability, and need full-time care from someone else • Not be cared for in an institution that receives a subsidy from the government for your care or housing. 	86 970
Social relief of distress	Provided in the form of a food parcel or a voucher to buy food. Some provinces give this assistance in the form of cash.	This is a temporary provision of assistance intended for persons in such dire material need that they are unable to meet their or their families' most basic needs. It is provided for a short period, usually up to three months. In certain cases it may be extended for a further three months.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social relief of distress is paid to South African citizens or permanent residents, who have insufficient means and find themselves temporarily in difficult circumstances e.g. affected by a crisis or natural disaster. 	

10. Appendix C: Correlation Matrix

	Race	Income	Age	Area	Gender	Employment status	Party identification	Party loyalty	Rational choice reasons	Perceptions of rights	Perceptions of government performance	Quality of institutions work	Perceptions of corruption	Trust in institutions	Clientelism related factors	Perceptions of vote buying	Grant receipt
Race	1	0.02	-.113**	-.290**	-.009	.004	-.007	-.087**	-.052	.140**	-.088**	.014	.057	-.003	-.013	-.050	-.019
Income	.020	1	-.036	-.179**	-.185**	-.880**	-.047	-.101**	-.083**	.070*	-.003	.029	.019	.031	-.063*	.002	-.258**
Age	-.113**	-.036	1	.015	-.037	.045	-.133**	-.059	-.143**	.076**	.063*	.010	.091*	-.064*	-.016	.070*	-.212**
Area	-.290**	-.179**	.015	1	-.005	.154**	.015	.001	.153**	.026	-.261**	-.236**	.070	-.204**	-.006	.120**	.059*
Gender	-.009	-.185**	-.037	-.005	1	.186**	.069*	.082*	.011	-.078**	.047	.034	-.028	.009	.024	-.067*	.406**
Employment status	.004	-.880**	.045	.154**	.186**	1	.001	.120**	.070*	-.058*	-.011	-.027	-.040	-.033	.069*	.014	.230**
Party identification	-.007	-.047	-.133**	.015	.069*	.001	1	.189**	.171**	-.068*	.095**	.053	-.072	.049	.088**	-.104**	.075**
Party loyalty	-.087**	-.101**	-.059	.001	.082*	.120**	.189**	1	.202**	-.175**	.210**	.164**	-.141**	.134**	.094**	-.204**	.105**
Rational choice reasons for voting	-.052	-.083**	-.143**	.011	.070*	.171**	.171**	.202**	1	-.076**	.112**	.108**	-.038	.137**	.340**	-.058*	.078**
Perceptions of rights	.140**	.070*	.076**	.026	-.078**	-.058*	-.068*	-.175**	-.076**	1	-.162**	-.106**	.056	-.092**	-.115**	.041	-.057
Perceptions of government performance	-.088**	-.003	.063*	-.261**	.047	-.011	.095**	.210**	.112**	-.162**	1	.623**	-.095*	.504**	.129**	-.139**	.000
Quality of institutions work	.014	.057	.029	.010	.091*	.034	.009	.164**	.108**	-.106**	.623**	1	-.162**	.748**	.100**	-.153**	-.029
Perceptions of corruption	.057	.019	.031	.091*	-.063*	.002	.099	.167**	.021	.167**	1	-.162**	1	-.221**	.021	.167**	-.096*
Trust in institutions	-.003	-.013	-.050	-.019	.070*	.120**	.003	.175**	.137**	-.092**	.504**	.748**	-.221**	1	.099**	-.175**	-.003
Clientelism related factors	-.013	-.063*	.002	-.019	.070*	.120**	.003	.175**	.137**	-.092**	.504**	.748**	-.221**	1	.099**	-.175**	-.003
Perceptions of vote buying	-.050	.002	-.212**	.059*	.406**	.230**	.075**	.105**	.078**	-.057	.000	-.029	-.096*	-.003	.049	1	-.050
Grant receipt	-.019	-.258**	-.212**	.059*	.406**	.230**	.075**	.105**	.078**	-.057	.000	-.029	-.096*	-.003	.049	1	1

**, Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*, Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

11. Appendix D: Discussion of regression models

This appendix provides further detail on the four separate regression models on which the overall model discussed in Section 5 is based. In conducting this analysis, the assumptions of binary logistic regression were assessed and outliers were removed from the various models. Where multicollinearity was observed, one of the correlated predictor variables was dropped from the analysis.

11.1. Regression analysis of sociological factors

The variables in the model were identified based on the theoretical Sociological Model. The independent variables in the model were: gender, race (Black African compared with the other race groups combined), area (urban and rural), employment status (employed and unemployed or not economically active) and age (18-34 years compared to 35 years and above). Income was not included in the model because it was highly correlated with employment status. The outcome variable was electoral choice.

There were 976 cases included in the analysis. The variables in the model explained between 6.7% (Cox and Snell R square) and 9.5% (Nagelkerke R square) variance in whether people would vote for the ruling party or the opposition party. The model is a better predictor of voting for the ruling party than voting for opposition parties with 94.1% correct classification for the ruling party and 18.7% correct classification for the opposition parties.

- Only age and race were significant predictors of voting for a party.
- Area, gender and employment status were not significant.
- Older participants (aged 35 years and older) were more likely to vote for the ruling party than those aged 18-34 years.
- Black African respondents were more likely to vote for the ruling party than the other race groups.

11.2. Regression analysis of party identification and loyalty factors

The independent variables in this model were: party identification (feeling close to one party only) and party loyalty (not having considered voting for another party).

There were 747 cases included in the analysis. There is a drop in the number of cases included as only those who had voted previously were asked if they have considered voting for another party. The variables in the model explained between 16.2% and 23.3% variance in whether people would vote for the ruling party or for an opposition party. The model is a better predictor of whether people would vote for the ruling party with 90.6% of cases being correctly classified for the ruling party and 34.1% of correctly classified cases for the opposition parties.

- Both party identification and party loyalty were significant predictors of voting choice.
- Those who reported feeling close to only one party were more likely to vote for the ruling party.
- Those who reported never considering voting for another party were also more likely to vote for the ruling party.

11.3. Regression analysis of rational choice factors

The independent variables in this equation were: agreement that rights would be protected if another party came into power, ratings of government's performance, rating of trust in institutions, perceived corruption of various institutions and 'rational choice-related' reasons for voting. Respondents' rating of the quality of institutions work was not included in the regression as it was correlated with their rating of trust in these institutions¹⁰². The items chosen for rational choice reasons for voting were chosen after an exploratory factor analysis supported the use of this group of items. Furthermore they showed acceptable internal consistency.

¹⁰² $r(1) = .748, p < .01$

There were 465 cases included in the analysis. Many cases were excluded from the analysis because 649 respondents answered 'don't know' to at least one item about perceived corruption. These were then categorised as missing values for the regression analysis. Therefore a large proportion of the sample may not know about corruption as indicated by their 'don't know' response. Cases 486 and 340 were removed as they were extreme outliers (>5 standard deviations from the mean).

The variables in the model explained between 13.0% and 19.7% variance in whether people would vote for the ruling party or for an opposition party. The model is a better predictor of whether people would vote for the ruling party with 96.4% of cases being correctly classified for the ruling party and 16.0% of correctly classified cases for the opposition parties.

- Agreement that rights would be protected if another party came into power was a significant predictor of voting choice, with those who are less likely to agree that their rights would be protected if another party came into power being more likely to vote for the ruling party.
- Perceptions of government's performance on service delivery was a significant predictor of voting choice, with those with a higher rating of government's performance being more likely to vote for the ruling party.
- Trust in various institutions was a significant predictor of voting choice, with those who are more trusting of the various institutions being more likely to vote for the ruling party.
- Perceived involvement of various institutions in corruption was also significant predictor of voting choice, with those who perceive less corruption among the various institutions being more likely to vote for the ruling party.
- Rational choice reasons for voting were a significant predictor of voting choice with those who agree with these statements being more likely to vote for the ruling party.

11.4. Regression analysis of clientelism factors

In this last model, the independent variables in the equation were: Receipt of grants, reasons for voting potentially relating to clientelism, and agreement with statements of perceived vote buying.

There were 966 cases in the analysis. The variables in the model explained between 29% and 41% variance in whether people would vote for the ruling party or for an opposition party. The model is a better predictor of whether people would vote for the ruling party with 98.7% of cases being correctly classified for the ruling party and 2.7% of correctly classified cases for the opposition parties.

- Reasons for voting potentially relating to clientelism and agreement with statements about perceived vote buying were significant predictors of voting choice.
- Receipt of grants was not a significant predictor.
- Those who disagree that giving social grants to people is a form of bribery and disagree that handing out food parcels is like buying votes, are more likely to vote for the ruling party.
- Those who disagree that people vote because the party gives food parcels before elections are more likely to vote for the ruling party.
- Those that agree that people vote because the party promises to look after households like yours are more likely to vote for the ruling party.
- Those that agree that people vote because the party provides social grants are more likely to vote for the ruling party.





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