AN EVALUATION OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY COLOURED PEOPLE IN PORT ELIZABETH: 1994-2009

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AN EVALUATION OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY COLOURED PEOPLE IN PORT ELIZABETH: 1994-2009

by

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DECLARATION:

In accordance with Rule G4.6.3., I hereby declare that the above-mentioned treatise/dissertation/thesis is my own work and that it has not previously been submitted for assessment to another University or for another qualification.

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ABSTRACT

The aim of the study was to gain an understanding of the level of political participation of Coloured people in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth. The focus was to investigate and identify if political apathy exists among Coloureds in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth and the reasons thereof, if it existed. The northern area of Port Elizabeth is a historically Coloured area created with the imposition of the segregation policies of the apartheid government. The study attempted to explore means to improve political participation of Coloured people in Port Elizabeth.

Coloured people have played an important role in the political landscape in South Africa during the colonial and apartheid period. The voting power of the Coloured people during the colonial and apartheid period have been a determining factor in shaping the political landscape. The study commences with a broad overview of the political participation and political identity of Coloured people during the colonial and apartheid periods, including the current political dispensation. The study also included the analysis of secondary information in the form of statistical data in respect of election results from the 1999 elections through to the 2009 national elections.

Data was collected by using qualitative and quantitative methods referred to as methodological triangulation. The qualitative method comprised face-to-face semi-structured interviews with political and community leaders in the northern areas that gained information on the levels of political participation and the extent of political disengagement. The quantitative method included a questionnaire that established views of respondents regarding levels of political participation and apathy to determine the levels of political disengagement. The interviews elicited valuable information on political participation of Coloured people before and after 1994. Information was also gained on the existence and the reasons for the perceived political apathy. Valuable insight was gained as to how Coloured people view the importance of political participation and the results indicated the limited participation beyond elections. Recommendations are made on the importance of civil society
participation, the visibility of political parties and the importance of political education and how it can contribute to increased political participation.
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‘Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it: except the Lord build the city, the watchman waketh but in vain’ (Psalm 127:1, King James version).

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CHAPTER ONE
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The advent of democracy in 1994 in South Africa facilitated a process of equal inclusion of all citizens. According to Hoffman (2004:103), citizens are responsible for the decisions made in their name through exercising their right to vote. The focus of this study was the investigation and identification of the reason for perceived political apathetic behaviour of Coloured people within Port Elizabeth in relation to the broader South African political landscape inter alia in respect of such political processes as periodic elections. According to Du Pre (1994:238), large numbers of Coloured people are generally apathetic about politics as they perceive no direct socio-political benefit. Further, Du Pre (1994) and Van der Ross (1986) indicate the evidence of the apathetic attitude during the apartheid era. Levels of political apathy may exist albeit for differing reasons. It was thus important to establish if a level of political apathy existed amongst Coloureds in Port Elizabeth in relation to the current political dispensation.

Hornby (2000:43) defines apathy as the feeling of not being interested in or enthusiastic about anything. Political apathy is public or individual indifference towards political events and movements and therefore shows no concern and no commitment to political decision-making. The political participation of minority groups in the political landscape is important to strengthen democratic consolidation and not to perpetuate division in the country. Smith (2003:259) defines democratic consolidation as democracy, becoming routinized and internalised in political behaviour. The disengagement from political activity contributed to democratic consolidation not being realised. According to the mid-2007 estimates from Statistics South Africa (2007), the Coloured population made up 8.9% of the total population of South Africa. It was therefore important to find the necessary means to improve and encourage participation amongst the Coloured population.
From the colonial and apartheid periods leading up to the democratic dispensation, the *Coloured* vote was considered a determining factor in election results. The plan of the colonial powers and the nationalist government was to promote a distinct *Coloured* identity in South Africa. The colonialist as well as the subsequent apartheid government regarded *Coloured* people as a homogeneous group but they also regarded the voting power of the *Coloured* people as a determining factor in their quest for power. The Population Registration Act (No 30 of 1950), according to Du Pre (1994:3), identified a *Coloured* person as one who is not an African or white. The Act classified Africans and whites according to race and *Coloured* people by appearance and descent (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007:316). People from ‘mixed’ descent were therefore classified as *Coloured*. Whisson (in Lewis, 1987:3) states that the legitimacy of defining *Coloureds* as a group rested solely on the power of the state for enforcement. The apartheid government in their position of authority had to enforce adherence to the Population Registration Act (No 30 of 1950). The *Coloured* people could not be considered as a homogeneous group and it is therefore, important to note that people defined as *Coloured* was according to the Dutch definition in the 1830’s and the subsequent British and Nationalist governments.

Levin (2000:94) argues that elections must not be the only time when citizens engage in the political process. Political participation of citizens and within communities should be a continuous process and not periodic at election time. It would be particularly beneficial to political consolidation of South Africa that broader and more extensive political participation is sought by citizens. The implication is that for the South African economy and society to transform, representative democracy should be complemented with levels of participatory democracy in various formats. According to Pateman (1999:104), the theory of participatory democracy is built around the central assertion that individuals and their institutions cannot be considered in isolation to one another. The problem in many democracies and most importantly in the specific areas investigated was that citizens believed that elections should be their primary means of participation. Pateman (1999:104) further states that for maximum participation by all the people, democracy must take place in other spheres of society in order for individuals’ attitudes and psychological qualities to be developed. Citizens should, therefore, play an active and continuous role in order to participate in decision-making and to make a more meaningful contribution to
democracy. Non-governmental organisations also have a key role to play in creating a climate of participation and improving political education of the citizenry. The political education of citizens should be seen as a means of encouraging and thereby creating a culture of participation. This would also improve participation of the citizens in elections.

A historical overview of the participation of Coloured people in the political process from 1910 to the present political dispensation is outlined. During the 1983-1985 period, the United Democratic Front (UDF), a resistance movement to apartheid, played an influential role in encouraging Coloured people to actively oppose the new community councils and the tri-cameral parliament. The Coloured people’s participation played an important role in the UDF structures although the participation was in the form of mass participation. This kind of participation included strikes, boycotts and mass protest action. The UDF had, according to Seekings (2000:2), the specific objective to oppose the National Party’s (NP) government’s reforms, especially the introduction of the tri-cameral parliament. The UDF was an organisation that was borne out of the opposition to the new political dispensation that did not regard the rights of all South Africans. The Constitution of 1983 made allowance for the South African Parliament to consist of three legislative houses referred to as the tri-cameral system, in an attempt to give effect to racial representivity. According to Saunders (1995:473), the tri-cameral system consisted of the House of Assembly for whites, the House of Representatives for Coloureds and the House of Delegates for Asians. However, this process excluded any form of self-determination for and representation of Africans. The tri-cameral parliament was seen as an entrenchment of white domination. The Coloured people, therefore, had a major influence in political activism in organisations such as the UDF. This impact, however, is explored more fully in Chapter Three.

The political dispensation from 1994 contained a more inclusive form of political participation to encourage a climate where democracy would thrive. The study presents a historical overview of the political identification and participation of Coloured people from 1910 to 1992. The primary focus of the study is the political participation from the advent of democracy in 1994 to the present. Political apathy
and disengagement during the latter period was investigated and analysed to determine the reasons thereof.

1.2 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

Rooi (2008) states that division and apathy amongst Coloured people was a challenge and was rooted in the apartheid period. Coloured people have a role to play in the political environment in South Africa and can make a meaningful contribution to the political discourse. According to the Study of Racialism Forum Index (2006), voter apathy was high in historically Coloured areas during the 2004 elections. Lloyd (2008) holds the view that Coloured people were not united and were marginalised due to division amongst the people. Truman Prince, the former Central Karoo municipal manager, in an interview with Nofemele (2006), stated that Coloured people needed to look at their political history to define their culture and identity because the attitude of apathy stems from a lack of identity. The statement could be attributed to the fact that because of the Population Registration Act (30) of 1950, the Coloured people had a distinct identity thrusted upon them and Coloured people historically seldom developed unity. A section of Coloured people accepted the imposed identity and others rejected it. Five of the political parties that participated in the Coloured Representative Council (CRC) elections in 1969 accepted the imposed Coloured identity and only one party, the Labour Party (LP), rejected such an identity. During the elections the five parties collectively received more votes than the LP (Van der Ross, 1986). The CRC elections were an indication of the political division that existed amongst Coloured people. The study investigated and determined if an attitude of apathy existed amongst Coloured people within the Port Elizabeth context in relation to the rest of the South African political landscape. The study explored the reasons for this apathy.

According to Essop (2008), the Brown Interest Initiative (BBI) aimed to promote the Coloured interest and take the role of a watchdog organisation. The organisation attempted to make a significant impact on policies affecting Coloured people. The reason for the existence of an organisation like the BBI was due to the perceived lack of political activity amongst Coloured people. The BBI was launched at Rawsonville on 19 July 2008 and was attended by 400 delegates (Essop, 2008). The question
posed was whether the organisation only appealed to the upper echelons of the Coloured community or if the organisation included all people identified as Coloured? Jansen (2008) criticised the establishment of an organisation such as the BBI in attempting to resurrect the Coloured identity and thereby manipulating it for self-gain. The initiation of such an organisation could be a contributing factor in creating divisiveness in the political landscape in South Africa.

Disengagement seems to reflect not so much a lack of interest as a lack of belief in the ability to make a difference (Hague & Harrop, 2004:125). Coloured people must identify that they have a role to play in decision-making besides taking part in elections. Research by Morkel (2001) and Makatees (2003) make a significant contribution to the political discourse on Coloured participation as both researchers focus on decision-making during elections. Although focusing on the participation of Coloured people during periodic national elections is noteworthy, Coloured people should also contribute to decision-making in the interim. It is therefore important that political participation takes place in civil society organisations.

Mattes, Taylor and Africa (1999:62) argue that dissatisfied citizens who do not have an alternative political home may become apathetic, may not care about survival of democracy and may become increasingly more disconnected. Makatees (2003:75) warns that the lack of consultation between political representatives and citizens, the lack of trust in political representatives and political instability could lead to political apathy. It was, therefore, necessary to investigate what the perceptions of the Coloured people were and how they saw themselves contributing to decision-making. Political education is important not only to develop a pattern of voting but also to contribute in the participation of citizens in civil society. Political education will contribute to citizens being made aware of the importance of political participation and changing the perceptions of people who do not regard their contribution in political decision-making as significant. This study should contribute to creating an awareness of the importance of political participation and how political participation will contribute to the consolidation of democracy in South Africa.
1.3 PRELIMINARY LITERATURE REVIEW

The study examined the political identity and level of participation of Coloured people in Port Elizabeth in relation to political processes within the South African political landscape. The study explored political theory on participation. A number of authors and political commentators have written on the political identity and participation of Coloured people in South Africa. For the purpose of the research, the writings of Van der Ross (1986), Lewis (1987), Du Pre (1994), Giliomee and Schlemmer (1989), Liebenberg and Spies (1993), Goldin (1987), Harvey (2001), Seekings (2000) and Venter (1974) were consulted for a historical background on the political identity and participation of Coloured people in the colonial and apartheid period. The works of Adhikari (2004), Calland (1999) and Lodge (1999) were consulted to develop an understanding of the development of political participation and the political role of Coloured people in democratic South Africa.

Chazan, Lewis, Mortimer, Rothchild and Stedman (1999:108) state that ethnicity can be described as a subjective perception of common origins, historical memories, ties and aspirations. Rosamond (1997:92) states that political identity could be defined as the subjective concept an individual would have of his or herself. The identity of Coloured people was enforced as Coloured identity was engineered by the Dutch, the British and Afrikaners. The Dutch, the British and the Afrikaners shaped the political identity of Coloured people in the pre-apartheid and apartheid era.

Alexander (2002:105) argues that identities such as ‘Coloured’ and ‘bantu’ were contested and rejected by many who were labelled such. Africans were referred to as bantu in the apartheid era. It is therefore clear that not all Coloured people accepted the imposed identity. Rosamond (1997:92) further states that there are many possible bases for political identity and this could be ascribed to the political identity of Coloured people as well. Smith (in Rosamond, 1997:92) argues that a person may possess multiple identities and in the context of South African society in specific reference to Coloured people due to their heterogeneity, they would possess multiple identities and would therefore not subscribe to a singular identity.
The plan of the Nationalist government was to promote a distinct *Coloured* identity in order to serve the purpose of segregation. Colonial forefathers also used the mixed-race birthright of *Coloured* people as a political tool to garner political support when needed. Adhikari (2004:167) states that democratic South Africa experienced a resurgence of *Coloured* identity and those who rejected it during apartheid re-embraced it. Although there are various factors that possibly led to the resurgence of a *Coloured* identity, Adhikari (2004:169) mentions that Nelson Mandela urged the African National Congress (ANC) in 1992 to recognise *Coloured* ethnicity as a political reality. This was a significant public acknowledgement of the existence of *Coloured* identity by the ANC. According to Adhikari (2004:171), a notable determinant of the way that *Coloured* people identity found expression in the new democratic South Africa, especially amongst the working class, was that they have gained little. The policies of the apartheid government favoured the whites with regard to economic opportunities and the new democratic South Africa did not contribute to the improvement of the lives of *Coloured* people in the way that they had envisaged. The legacy of apartheid also made it difficult for the democratic South African government to address all the socio-economic problems of all the people in the country. Adhikari (2004:177) argues that the overall sense one has of *Coloured* identity in the new South Africa is one of fragmentation, uncertainty and confusion. Adhikari’s statement could be based on the fact that there is an uncertainty about *Coloured* people’s role in the new political dispensation or the contribution that *Coloured* people can make in democratic South Africa.

Hague and Harrop (2004:89) explain that the most familiar type of political culture was the participant political culture in which citizens believed that they could contribute to the system of governance by which they are affected. Calland (1999:62) builds on this by stating that the South African Constitution asserts the need for the realisation of participatory democracy and the key actors in such a system are the citizens as represented by political parties and interest groups or stakeholders. This system, therefore, encourages the participation of citizens in decision-making. It is essential that citizens participate in the democratic culture to elect the government into power that will ultimately govern them. Du Pre (1994:219) argues that *Coloured* political activity from 1910 onwards was largely designed to press for the extension of the franchise to the Northern provinces and protecting the existing rights of
Coloureds in the Cape. The focus of the African Political Organisation that later became the African People’s Organisation (APO), founded in 1902, was to defend and protect the rights of the Coloured people. The APO had a pivotal role to play because, according to Du Pre (1994:19), the 20th century ushered in an era which saw Coloured people systematically stripped of their political rights. Du Pre (1994) further states that the Group Areas Act of 1950, the Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1951, the Separate Amenities Act of 1953 and the race classification of Coloured people, made up the Coloured pillars of apartheid. The Nationalist government then gradually introduced laws to strip Coloured people of their political rights. The APO also focussed on securing political rights for Coloured people who were denied voting rights in the Transvaal and Free State (Lewis, 1987:20). However, Lewis (1987:201) further states that the APO operated within the boundaries of ‘constitutional’ actions.

The National Liberation League (NLL), established in 1935, attracted support from those Coloureds who agreed with their call for more uncompromising strategies of mass protest, strike action and working class and black unity (Lewis, 1987:175). Although the creation of organisations was in opposition to the APO who proved to be ineffective, the NLL’s success was confined mainly to the upper strata of the Coloured people. A comparison can be made between the NLL and the UDF in terms of the tactics that both organisations used. The Non-European Front was established in 1938 on the basis of co-operation between native, Indian and Coloured voters (Lewis, 1987:187-193). The main aim was the attainment of equal, political, industrial and social rights.

In 1943 the Coloured Advisory Council (CAC) was established and, according to Du Pre (1994:219), this led to the establishment of the anti-Coloured Advisory Council movement or anti-CAD movement as it was known. This movement saw the CAC as the political segregation of the Coloured people. The anti-CAD movement, established under the leadership of Goolam Gool, was in opposition to the CAC (Du Pre, 1994:145). The division on the political level amongst the Coloured people continued because many people accepted the CAC and willingly co-operated with the government. Coloured voters had an important role to play in politics in South Africa and Coloured voters during the apartheid era were portrayed as being divided.
between pro-government and against but never as a unified force. The *Coloured* people’s removal from the voters roll as stated by Du Pre (1994:129) was because they were being seen as a threat by the NP government as the *Coloured* people had sided with the English United Party because of their heritage. As cited by Du Pre (1994:152), the Union Council of *Coloured* Affairs (UCCA), established in 1959 to advise government on matters affecting the interests of *Coloured* people, received a barrage of criticism from within the *Coloured* ranks.

The *Coloured* Persons’ Representative Council Act, No 49 of 1964, which had advisory, legislative and executive powers, replaced the UCCA. In Du Pre’s (1994:153) view, this was another plan to encourage the separate development of *Coloured* people. Du Pre (1994:160) further mentions that the CRC ignored *Coloured* demands for equal political rights in the land of their birth. The *Coloured* people, therefore, participated in a system that contributed to the entrenchment of segregation. According to Van der Ross (1986:347), *Coloureds* were optimistic about participation in the CRC, but it was clear that progress in the eradication of apartheid was not possible in such a system of segregation. Yet *Coloured* people were represented in such a system although not in unity. Giliomee and Schlemmer (1989:100) states that in 1975 only 25,3% of the potential electorate voted in CRC elections because voters were conscious of the council’s incompetence. It could be argued that the voter turnout was low in opposition to the council or the apathetic nature of *Coloured* people to decision-making.

Du Pre (1994:179) states that *Coloureds* and Indians who accepted the government’s offer to participate in the tri-cameral parliament of 1984 were merely being co-opted into the system to assist the government in the more efficient application of apartheid. Welsh (in Du Pre, 1994:204) states that the tri-cameral parliament was an exercise in co-optation. Van der Ross (1986:354) states that prior to the elections for the *Coloured* House of Representatives the *Coloured* poll was only 30% as the UDF succeeded in mobilising people at grassroots level to abstain from voting. The activity shows how effective political education and organisation is in galvanising people to participate or to abstain from a political process. According to Coetzee (1993:47), the UDF was successful in mobilising members of the *Coloured* community around short-term political goals, but was unable to entrench a
political tradition of participation. *Coloured* people have not since the disbanding of the UDF engaged in mass political participation on such a large scale.

The *Coloured* vote in the new political dispensation was important not only to the NP but also to the ANC. The importance of the *Coloured* vote was evident in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth. According to Du Pre (1994:227), the ANC vigorously pursued the *Coloured* vote in fear that *Coloureds* would vote for the NP. The *Coloured* vote or participation in the electoral process has been a contentious issue since 1910 up to the post-apartheid democratic period. In the 1994 elections, according to Lodge (1999:8), both the NP and the ANC played on racial perceptions to attract the *Coloured* vote. As there has been an exploitation of racial division within the South African society in 1993, FW De Klerk, the former leader of the NP and President of South Africa, kicked off the NP’s election campaign with a visit to the poorer *Coloured* settlements in rural towns (Du Pre, 1994:213). This indicates that the NP considered that their greatest support would come from the poorer section of the *Coloured* community. Colomer (2003:29) states that politically unorganised and uninformed new voters, especially those in rural areas, can produce less predictable social choices because of persuasion by intrepid political entrepreneurs. It is, therefore, assumed that people in rural areas and economically poorer areas make less informed decisions and is the target of political entrepreneurs. Voter education or the lack thereof plays a vital role in political decision-making.

Lodge (1999:142) reiterates the importance of the poorer *Coloured* urban working class to both the ANC and the New National Party (NNP). The race question was, again, the emphasis of the 1999 elections in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth where the Democratic Party (DP) targeted the *Coloured* vote (Cull, 2008). Voter registration or the lack thereof played a role in denting the prospects of opposition parties and voter motivation or apathy contributed to the disengagement. According to Faull (2004), the demise of the NNP could be attributed to the low turnout in the 2004 election of the *Coloured* people because of voter apathy or disengagement. Hoffman (2004:103) argues that non-participation is borne of poverty, a lack of self-esteem and low education levels. He therefore suggests that there is a link between participation and the socio-economic conditions of the people. This assertion
therefore indicates that people in poorer communities would disengage from the political process. Sachs (2004), however, asserts that disengagement from the electoral process appeared particularly strong among more affluent sections of the population and racial minorities. *Coloureds* could be considered as a minority because they comprised only 8,9% of the South African population.

The 2009 national and provincial elections again proved to be an indicator of the importance of the *Coloured* vote. Cull (2008) predicted that the northern areas of Port Elizabeth where *Coloureds* were in the majority would be highly contested by political parties. Cull (2008) further predicted that confidence in the current government could lead to either a swing of the *Coloured* support to opposition parties or a complete abstention from participating in the 2009 elections.

### 1.4 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The period from 1994 to 2004 showed an initial high level of *Coloured* political participation culminating in a decline or a sense of apathy. According to Piper (2006:58), the turnout by *Coloureds* in Port Elizabeth in the 2004 elections was comparatively less than 1999. The importance of *Coloured* political participation was more evident in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth where a significant number of *Coloured* people reside. According to voting statistics from the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) (2004), in two of the voting wards sampled in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth, voting in the 2004 national elections declined in comparison to 1999. At the Bethelsdorp Community Centre voting station, 1 830 votes were cast in 1999 in comparison to 1 344 in 2004. One thousand three hundred and forty-four or 58,26% voters of the 2 307 registered voters cast their votes in 2004. At the Astra Primary School voting station, 1 408 votes were cast in 1999 in comparison to 1 183 in 2004. Although 1 183 or 69,38% of the 1 705 registered voters cast their votes in 2004, the voting behaviour in the two wards indicated a level of political apathy.
Table 1.1: Voting in 1999 and 2004 elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bethelsdorp Community Centre</td>
<td>1 830</td>
<td>1 344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astra Primary School</td>
<td>1 408</td>
<td>1 183</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: IEC

As the majority of Coloured people reside in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth, the perceived apathy or disengagement could be attributed to Coloureds not seeing themselves as contributing to the political decision-making process in South Africa. There was also a perception of political disengagement of Coloured people in Port Elizabeth. As the democratisation of South Africa encouraged all South Africans to become part of the political landscape, the problem of the perceived disengagement or apathy is investigated. The process of democracy in South Africa encouraged the participation by all citizens in the political process and political disengagement or apathy could lead to democratic consolidation not being achieved.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following research questions were posed in analysis of the title and problem statement of this study:

1. How do Coloureds in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth perceive their role in the new democratic South Africa?
2. Why is there a sense of apathy towards the political process amongst Coloured people in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth?
3. Does the lack of political education encourage disengagement amongst the inhabitants of the northern areas of Port Elizabeth?
4. Does the lack of accountability of political representatives in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth at local government level contribute to political apathy?
5. Does the lack of accountability of political representatives in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth at national level contribute to political apathy?
1.6 ASSUMPTIONS OF THE STUDY

The study was based on the following assumptions:

- The lack of interaction between elected representatives and citizens led to the disengagement of the citizens, owing to a lack of accountability by the elected representatives.
- The lack of political education led to apathetic behaviour towards political participation.

1.7 AIM OF THE STUDY

Primary Aim:

- The aim of this study was to gain an understanding of the level of political participation of Coloured people in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth.

Sub Aim:

- The sub aim is to explore means to improve political participation by Coloured people to influence governance.

1.7.1 Research objectives

The objectives of this study were to:

- Develop an understanding of Coloured peoples’ perception of their role and value in South African politics.
- Explore and describe the factors that contribute to the Coloured peoples’ political disengagement in democratic South Africa.
- Explore and describe the factors that would enhance the involvement of Coloured people in the political decision-making process.
Propose recommendations to encourage the Coloured peoples’ involvement in the political process in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth, which would influence political decision-making.

1.8 RESEARCH DESIGN

This study adopted both qualitative and quantitative research tools. The approach is methodological triangulation which, as defined by Leedy (1993:143), is to obtain expansive verifiable data. The rationale for triangulation was to extrapolate a relationship between the qualitative data and quantitative data as related to the problem statement and title. Literature surveyed for the study comprised of relevant academic journals, newspaper articles, published and unpublished documentary work, as well as sources on the theory of political identity and participation as related to the title of this study.

1.9 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The qualitative tool utilised was face-to-face semi-structured interviews that attempted to gain information on levels and the extent of disengagement of the Coloured people in the political process in the democratic dispensation. The intention of the interviews was to clarify whether Coloured people were apathetic towards political participation and the reasons for the apathy. Participants were recruited based on race, age and geographical location. Interviews were conducted with three political and three other relevant community-based leaders with knowledge of the Coloured community and its levels of political activity. The objective was to conduct ten interviews with opinion leaders in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth. The interviews were conducted between 13 and 27 October 2010. The interviews were guided by the questions probing the background and expertise of each interviewee. The reason for using interviews was to gain an understanding of the individual attitudes, beliefs and feelings of leaders within the respective community. The interviewee was presented with a letter requesting his or her permission to conduct the interview and interviewees were given permission to withdraw from the process if the need arose for this to occur. The letter stipulated that an audio tape
recorder would be used for the purpose of recording the interview. The interviewee’s right to privacy was respected.

For quantitative data collection, a questionnaire was utilised to establish the view of respondents regarding levels of political participation and apathy to determine the levels of political disengagement. The questionnaire comprised of three sections. Section A held biographical data and Section B contained close-ended questions where the respondent could select an answer from the list provided to indicate their level of participation in political activity. According to Babbie (1999:127), close-ended questions are more easily processed and they provide a greater uniformity of responses. Section C contained Lickert-style statements to allow respondents to evaluate their understanding of political participation and political apathy. The study also included the analysis of secondary information in the form of statistical data in respect of national election results from 1999 to 2009.

1.9.1 Sample population

The limitations of the study were that bias could distort data because the researcher was part of the proposed sample population. The researcher was assisted by three trained field workers who do not reside in the northern areas in order to avoid bias. Probability sampling as a method were used and according to Reaves (1992:96), the technique could only be applied to a well-defined finite population. Each member of the target population had an equal chance of being selected. A map of the addresses of the target population was obtained from the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality and the different addresses according to the streets were grouped or clustered together. According to Lohr (1999:132), cluster sampling is much cheaper and more convenient to use. Cluster sampling is a cost and time saving method and an advantage in that it can be concentrated on a specific geographical area such as the northern areas of Port Elizabeth (Strydom & Venter, 2002:206). The clusters sampled were representative of the population and the greater the number of clusters, the more representative the sample would be of the population (Strydom & Venter, 2002:206). According to Lewin (2005:217), it would be more appropriate to select subgroups such as geographical areas rather than randomly selecting from the whole population when the population is widely dispersed. The reason why the
northern areas were selected was that most Coloured people in Port Elizabeth reside there. It is also important to note that after 1994 a number of Coloured people migrated to the western suburbs of Port Elizabeth. During apartheid the western suburbs were reserved for whites through the imposition of the Group Areas Act. The concentration of Coloured people was therefore not only confined to the northern areas, but the Coloured population was widely dispersed after 1994.

The focus was therefore to create a greater representative sample of the Coloured population. According to the census conducted by Statistics South Africa in 2001, 116 289 Coloured people over the age of eighteen, which is the required age for voting, resided in Port Elizabeth. One hundred thousand, four hundred and sixty-four or 86,39% of the Coloured voting age population resided in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth in 2001. The sample therefore comprised of those people defined as Coloured and those of voting age, 18 years and older. The target group included both male and female and were not based on a specific socio-economic group. According to Statistics South Africa, there were 199 245 people of voting age residing in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth and the population comprised of 100 464 people identified as Coloured.

Figure 1.1: Total voting age population in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Coloured Population</th>
<th>Other Groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>199 245</td>
<td>100 464</td>
<td>98 781</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics South Africa
It was envisaged that approximately 150 to 200 people from the respective suburbs would be used for the sample. A total of 190 respondents between the ages of 18 and 65 years or older out of the 200 completed the questionnaires and the respondents were representative of the Coloured population in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth. One person per household was interviewed to increase representivity and because the respondents from one household could have similar views. A personal or self-administered questionnaire was handed directly to prospective respondents by the researcher and three trained field workers who assisted the researcher. The fieldworkers were well dressed and presentable and were well versed with the questionnaire. The questionnaires were in English and the purpose of the study is stipulated in the questionnaire. The researcher and the assistants explained the respective questions and the purpose and importance of the study to respondents thereby eliminating any ambiguities. The researcher and the assistants collected the completed questionnaires from the respondents. One of the advantages, according to Neuman (2000:271), of handing questionnaires directly to respondents is the cost-effectiveness and high response rates in completing the questionnaires. The limitations or disadvantages in employing the self-administered questionnaires could be that the response rate could be low when prospective respondents display no interest in the research topic. In minimal situations field workers were required to assist the respondents to complete the questionnaires. This was done in cases where English was the respondents’ second language.

A means of addressing the limitations was to train the field workers to explain the respective questions and the purpose and importance of the study to the respondents and to increase the response rate by collecting the completed questionnaires from respondents. The difficulty experienced in collecting the questionnaires was that the researcher had no control over the conditions that the respondents completed the questionnaires in and in some cases the assistants had to call on respondents more than once to collect questionnaires. The respondents spent 15 to 20 minutes to complete the questionnaires. According to one of the assistants older people took longer to complete the questionnaires. The actual fieldwork, in terms of handing out and collecting of the questionnaires, was done from 22 to 30 September 2010. The data was thereafter recorded on a computer and
submitted to the statistician. The depiction of the data obtained from the completed questionnaires is in the form of graphs and pie charts.

1.9.2 Data analysis

The information from the interviews recorded by the interviewer was analysed after being transcribed. The study set out to determine if political apathy existed amongst Coloured people in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth and if any contributing factors led to the perceived apathy. The additional evidence collected through the interviews therefore contributed to resolving the research questions. A step-by-step approach was conducted to analyse collected data. The data was firstly coded according to the categories based on the frequency of issues identified. Thereafter the categories were coded according to frequency of occurrence of the issues which allowed for the development of themes.

The perception that there is disengagement of Coloured people from the political process is supported by statistics regarding voting behaviour and the data analysis of questionnaires conducted in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth. Data collected from questionnaires was converted into readable form using computerised methods because they were most suitable for handling large quantities of data. This was done using codes, which Reaves (1992:306) describes as a process of transforming data into a form that can be analysed by computer software.

Statistica Version 9.0-computer software was utilised by a qualified statistician to transform the collected data into graphs, charts and tables. The purpose of using graphs, charts and tables was to display the data obtained and to correlate the data patterns between the voting behaviour of Coloured voters in Port Elizabeth in national elections from the period 1994 to 2009. The data analysis was a process of inference to establish if political apathy prevailed in the sampled areas. According to Babbie (1999:345), the quantification of data is necessary when statistical analysis is desired. The data collected were translated to indicate the level of participation of Coloured people in the northern areas.
1.10 DISSEMINATION OF RESULTS

The dissertation will be archived at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University and will be available for public scrutiny. In addition, the research findings will be made available to Centre for the Advancement of Non-Racialism and Democracy (CANRAD) and other institutions on request.

1.11 ETHICS

The study was conducted in an ethical manner and in accordance with ethical procedures. Ethical approval was applied for from the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University and the researcher obtained a permission letter from the University to conduct the study. The sample collection was approved by the Faculty of Arts Research, Technology and Innovation Committee at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. All participants were provided with information sheets explaining the purpose of the study and their involvement. Bailey (1982:113) states that the obvious ethical procedure is to justify, clarify and explain the goals of the study to the respondents. As the study had to be conducted in an ethical manner, it was important for those who conducted it not to add to the bias or prejudice, but to obtain unbiased or independent responses. Although Terreblanche and Durheim (1999:44) states that qualitative research should be objective, free from bias, reliable knowledge, checked and controlled, undistorted by personal bias and prejudice, a completely unbiased view on the part of researchers could not be guaranteed.

1.12 CHAPTER OUTLINE

This study comprises of the following chapters:

CHAPTER ONE
This chapter outlines the framework of the proposed study. This includes the motivation of the study, literature review and the statement of the problem. It also covers the formulation of the research questions, objectives of the research, the proposed research methodology and the chapter organisation.
CHAPTER TWO
This chapter focuses on the political inclusion and participation of Coloureds during the colonial period. The review also focuses on political identity and participation of Coloureds during the colonial rule.

CHAPTER THREE
This chapter focuses on the political activism and participation of Coloureds during the apartheid era. The political activities of the northern areas of Port Elizabeth area was the focus.

CHAPTER FOUR
This chapter focuses on the political inclusion and participation of Coloureds from 1994 to 2009. A specific focus was the role of Coloureds in the new democratic dispensation and political identity of Coloured people. The chapter also focuses on the definition of democracy and the importance of democracy in the democratic dispensation in South Africa. It includes the statistical analysis of results of elections.

CHAPTER FIVE
This chapter includes the qualitative research methodology and the findings and analysis of the qualitative approach. The chapter presents the views of community and political leaders on the political participation of Coloured people in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth.

CHAPTER SIX
The chapter comprises the quantitative research methodology. It includes the findings and analysis of the study conducted in the Salt Lake, West End and Chatty areas of the northern areas of Port Elizabeth.

CHAPTER SEVEN
The chapter serves as the conclusion of the study and include the recommendations. The conclusion presents an overview of the major aspects of this research project. It summarises and interprets the major findings and also present suggestions as to possible further research agendas.
CHAPTER TWO
POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF COLOURED PEOPLE IN THE
COLONIAL PERIOD

2.1 INTRODUCTION

South Africa was colonised from 1652 by the Dutch and from 1806 by the British. It was during this period that the construction of a Coloured identity occurred. According to Lewis (1987:8), the term Coloured emerged with the arrival of the Dutch in 1652 and was further imposed from 1806 by the British. Lewis (1987:2) states that according to historians of the Coloured people they could be described as a heterogeneous collection of individuals lumped together for administration purposes by the white supremacist state.

The purpose of the chapter is to discuss the imposition and construction of a distinct Coloured identity during the colonial period leading up to the formation of the Republic in 1961. A number of writers inter alia Alexander (2002) and Adam and Moodaley (1986) argue that the reason for the imposed identity was economic exploitation. Connely (in Frueh, 2003:25) asserts that in contemporary politics the dominant racial groups cast the subordinate groups as a form of outcasts to perpetuate the boundaries. Burkett (in Frueh, 2003:12) argues that human beings internalise hierarchies such as race into their perceptions of what it means to be a human in society. The subordinate groups accept the inferior status ascribed to them by the dominant groups. In this chapter, the theoretical framework in terms of political identity theory will be explored. In addition, issues such as ethnicity will be explored. According to Lewis (1987:4), ethnicity is defined as a social process serving psychological and emotional needs by instilling a sense of self-worth and belonging. Lewis further states that it is a political process whereby groups of people seek to mobilise collectively to advance their material interests within the wider society.

Mamdani (2004:7) argues that ethnicity as cultural identity is consensual but is enforced as a political identity by the legal and administrative organs of state.
During the colonial and the subsequent apartheid period, the authorities used their hegemony to legalise the entrenchment of distinct identities in South Africa. The political identities in relation to Coloured people were constructed in such a way that they were disenfranchised and separate political structures were created for them. The chapter discusses the establishment of political organisations such as the African Peoples Organisation (APO) and the Afrikaner Nasionale Bond (ANB) to mobilise Coloured people as a collective or group. The chapter further focuses on the political participation of Coloured people in the colonial period and the opposition to the separate development imposed by the authorities. The removal of Coloured population from the national common voters’ roll resulted in the participation of Coloured people in separate political structures from whites. This period is characterised by collaboration vis-à-vis non-collaboration. Coloureds who participated in the separate political structures created for them were viewed as collaborators and those who opposed these structures were regarded as non-collaborators.

2.2 THE CONSTRUCTION OF A POLITICAL IDENTITY OF COLOURED PEOPLE IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD

During the colonial period in Africa the British had a great impact on the Southern part of Africa. Alexander (2002:16) asserts that the political blueprint for segregation was originally imposed by the British and not under Afrikaner rule. Britain as the coloniser played a role in shaping the culture of the people in South Africa and in terms of Coloured people in particular. The dominant and determining feature of political life for Coloured people in the early 20th century was the segregatory policies of the British. According to Marks and Trapido (1987:27), the creation of a separate Coloured identity could be attributed to the British imperial policy and maintaining the interests of the English-speaking trade unionists and Anglophone business.

According to Martin (2001:249), recurring practices of designation and separation cemented a distinctive community from heterogeneous elements. Further, the introduction of the Group Areas Act (No 41 of 1950) was aimed at restricting each population group to defined places as far as ownership, occupancy and trading were
The enforcement of a distinctive identity encouraged people to invent a way of living together in the respective suburbs designated for the particular groups. This further led to the consolidation of their difference to other South Africans. Martin (2001:252) states that Coloured people can be seen as a group of heterogeneous people whose sole common feature was that they were of mixed parentage. The purpose of the imposition of a singular identity was to create a distinct identity and thus introduce the plan of separatism.

The notion that a singular identity being attributed to people defined as Coloured can therefore be contested. Alexander (2002:105) states that identities are given on the basis of stereotyping and assert that the decisive power lies with dominant groups to impose the stereotyping of oppressed groups in terms of racial identities. In terms of McLennan (1995:41), pre-modern ethnic identities were restructured by colonial movements. He asserts that pluralism can be defined as the non-consensual situation of institutionalised differences and inequalities amongst clearly distinguished cultural segments. The state possessed the coercive power to institutionalise the separate development of different racial and cultural groups. In pluralistic terms, according to McLennan (1995:41), a significant degree of separatism in the social and political spheres was desirable.

Marks and Trapido (1987:29) assert that the racist ideology of the British portrayed Coloureds as a “mixed race, the illegitimate progeny of European civilisation and non-European savagery”. The colonialists considered themselves as the superior race that civilised the savages. It is argued that the Coloured identity as defined by the British holds negative connotations (Erasmus, 2001:17; Du Pre, 1994:4). According to Erasmus (2001), Coloured people were negatively defined in terms of excess, by virtue of not fitting a classificatory scheme. The classification of the term Coloured was created to give credence to the plan of the nationalists and the colonialists to introduce and impose political separation. Rosamond (1997:93) points to the fact that there could be a link between identity and material interests. In the South African context, the colonial authorities constructed identities of those referred to as non-whites or non-Europeans in such a fashion to privilege the whites as the ruling class and socio-economic domination of such a group. The quest for political privilege emanated from the need for socio-economic domination of the Afrikaners by
the British. Creating a political identity for Coloureds was fundamental to swinging the political pendulum when votes were required, as Coloureds were enfranchised until 1956. The creation of a Coloured identity was important to socio-economic power and privilege, both of the Afrikaner and the British. Du Preez (1980:1) posits that the state to which he refers to as the political agent, by means of the political consolidation of an identity system, promotes the socio-economic status of only a certain section of the people of the state.

Magubane (1996:357) refers to the British as imperial entrepreneurs, who by the imposition of a racial identity exploited people socially as well as economically. The premise for racial identification in the colonial period was therefore economic exploitation. Alexander (1985:44) argued that the imposed identity and therefore the subsequent racial segregation were to advantage white people materially. He asserts that the divide and rule strategy was an economic ploy to keep races apart and entrench the dominance of whites of the economy. Race groups defined as Coloured were viewed as pivotal in creating an economy that contributed to the entrenchment of white domination. The application of the economic system was skewed in favour of white people and resulting in the economic marginalisation of black people.

Coloured and Indian people were seen as occupying the intermediate position in the economy, with whites occupying the top position and Africans at the bottom rung of the economic ladder (Chazan et al., 1999:129). The administration and the influx of Africans were controlled by the introduction of the Urban Areas Act, No 21 of 1923 (Goldin, 1987:37). Legislation such as this therefore protected Coloured people from competition in terms of labour against the Africans. The positioning of Coloured people as superior to African people but inferior to white people created division amongst the Coloured people and Africans. Adhikari (2006:2) states that Coloured people held an intermediary status in the South African racial hierarchy and they were considered as distinct from the dominant white population and the preponderant African population.

Rosamond (1997:92) defines political identity as the subjective concept an individual would have of his or herself. Du Preez (1980:1) states that members of an excluded
class are therefore convinced that their exclusion is legitimate. People therefore accept such an imposed identity through fear of the rulers or through ignorance. The ruling authority possessed the power to categorise people in terms of racial identities. The subordinate groups, in the case of the Coloured group, were culpable of accepting or rejecting how they were stereotyped (Alexander, 2002:105). Organisations such as the ANB established in 1925, purported to represent Coloured people accepted the imposed racial identity (Brits, 1993:234).

Ethnic identity is socially constructed in that people are not born with predetermined identities, because they are imposed by rulers (Miron, 1999:80; Rosamund, 1997:93; Alexander, 2002:104). Racial and ethnic identity emphasise the biological ties that bind a group of people together (Brinkel, 2006:37). This is considered as controversial by Brinkel (2006), based on the premise that it is determined from outside. What adds to the controversial nature of the imposed identity is the lack of homogeneity amongst the group identified as Coloured. The social construction of a distinct Coloured identity was to maintain British domination and relegate all other racial groups to subservience. Chazan et al. (1999:108) states that ethnicity can be described as a subjective perception of common origins, historical memories, ties and aspirations. The effect of racial or ethnic identification was that people collectively mobilised around a common goal.

Adhikari (2006:10) refers to the mobilisation of Coloureds along racial lines to defend their rights and interests as a group due to them being denied the right to assimilation into the dominant society. Participation of Coloureds within the ‘constitutional’ framework at the time to advance their limited rights and privileges was seen as collaborating with the authorities. A number of Coloured political groups or organisations in the 20th century, such as the ANB, rallied around the cause of Coloured people as a racial group and promoting the singular interests of Coloured people. The foci were thus the advancement and the protection of the social and economic interest of the Coloured people. The term Coloured was contested because not all people defined as such accepted the imposed identity. Certain sections of the Coloured people identified with a greater black identity and, according to Alexander (2002:105), people labelled as ‘Coloured’ and ‘bantu’ rejected the imposed racial identity. The mere fact that certain sections of the Coloured
population accepted the imposed identity and others rejected it created division within the *Coloured* population.

The racial identification contributed to creating divisions in society in order for the different race groups to be better managed by the ruling authorities. Taylor (1999:338) refers to no advantage in the artificial carving up of society into manageable units. According to Taylor (1999:338), no one identifies strongly with these units and participation is minimal. The racial classification in the 20th century was a contributing factor to the political apathy of *Coloured* people. *Coloured* people did not regard their vote as important in making a tangible difference in improving the general welfare of the people. Racial identification contributed to people being alienated from mainstream political participation and the economy. A level of apathy developed due to the broader citizenry not considering that their participation would contribute to making a tangible difference in political decision-making.

### 2.3 *COLOURED* POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

During the colonial period South Africa was divided into four colonies, namely the Cape Province and Natal under colonial rule and the Transvaal and the Orange Free State under Afrikaner rule that united to form the Union of South Africa in 1910 (Van Heerden & Van Jaarsveldt, 2007:17). According to Spies (1993:49), only white males in the Transvaal and Orange Free State were allowed to vote and in Natal there were 99,1% whites. *Coloured* males had the right to vote in the Cape and Natal. The city of Port Elizabeth formed part of the Cape Province. Spies (1993:49) states that British male subjects in the Cape were eligible to vote in parliamentary elections on conditions such as income and the occupation of property. *Coloured* people were clearly outnumbered by whites and would not make a considerable impact in election outcomes in Natal. The above-mentioned therefore depicts a situation where *Coloured* people were only effectively represented in the Cape Province. *Coloured* people played an important role in politics in South Africa since the turn of the 20th century. This was more evident in the Cape Province where the majority of *Coloured* people resided.
According to Giliomee (1994:8), the general elections between 1919 and 1929 were closely contested for the support of the Coloured people in terms of their vote. Giliomee (1994:7) asserts that all white political leaders considered Coloured people as important ‘allies’ in maintaining their supremacy over Africans and the parties therefore remained committed to the Cape liberal franchise. The franchise of Coloured people was protected on the basis that white political and economic supremacy were maintained. The South African Party (SAP) received support from the APO in the 1920 and 1921 elections, but APO lost confidence in the SAP due to the latter not contributing to the improvement of the Coloured people (Brits, 1993:170). The establishment of the Pact in 1923 between the NP and the Labour Party (LP) was to entrench white supremacy (Lewis, 1987:119). These two parties supported each other’s parties against the threat posed by the SAP (Brits & Spies, 2007:252). The government focussed on improving the position of Afrikaners in terms of their culture and Afrikaans as a language. De Waal, of the NP, argued that British imperialists placed whites and Coloureds under economic threat with the plan to increase the immigration of the British (Giliomee, 1994:8). The plan of the NP was to protect and improve the economic position of the Afrikaner in relation to the British. According to Brits and Spies (2007:252), the long-term goal of the Pact was the attainment of the Republican ideal for the Afrikaner that were realised in the latter part of the 20th century.

Alexander (2002:105) argues that the imposition of a Coloured identity was stereotypical in the sense that darker skinned and Afrikaans-speaking people were thus labelled as Coloured. A section of the Coloured people shared Afrikaans as a language with the Afrikaner people. In view of the sharing of a particular language, the Afrikaner led NP believed that they could attract the Coloured vote. According to Lewis (1987:126), the Pact introduced a New Deal for Coloureds on the basis that their rights would be protected in the labour market and the franchise would be extended. The implication was that Coloured people received greater privileges in the labour market in comparison to Africans.

The Coloureds’ disillusionment with the SAP resulted in some of them supporting the Pact in 1924 in hope that there would be prospects of a “better political and economic dispensation for Coloureds” (Brits, 1993:174). As a result of the Coloured vote, the
Pact was victorious in the 1924 elections but the support of the Pact by *Coloured* people was duped in irony. The *Coloureds* under the auspices of the ANB accepted the New Deal, but the APO opposed it (Lewis, 1987:140). The New Deal was opposed by the APO on the basis that it marginalised the *Coloured* people and focussed on disenfranchising the Africans. In 1924 and 1929 the NP therefore made a concerted effort to capture the *Coloured* vote (Giliomee, 1994:9). The *Coloured* support for white parties was done under the pretence that such support would create greater privileges for *Coloured* people.

The electoral support of the Nationalists amongst whites increased in 1929 and their reliance on the *Coloured* vote was therefore no longer a determining factor (Lewis, 1987:120). The *Coloured* vote therefore lost its significance in determining election outcomes. The *Coloured* and African men were dependent on certain qualifications to vote, namely property and education. Based on the aforementioned qualifications to vote, the number of *Coloured* voters remained stagnant until they were removed from the common voters roll in the 1950’s (Giliomee, 1994:10).

According to Giliomee (1994:10), more than 60% of the SAP’s support in the 1929 elections came from *Coloureds* and Africans. The *Coloured* and Africans’ vote became determining factors in elections for both the SAP and the United Party (UP) but apart from elections did not play a significant role in the parties (Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1993:24). Giliomee and Schlemmer (1993) therefore assert that *Coloured* people did not regard their participation as important and disengaged from the political process. This shows that apathy appeared amongst *Coloureds* during the colonial period. The irony of *Coloured* people supporting the UP was that although they supported parliamentary representation of *Coloured* people, they also supported the residential segregation of themselves (Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1993:24).

In the 1948 elections the greater part of *Coloured* people voted for the UP and this created a sense of panic amongst the leaders of the NP (Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1993:32). There was a greater urgency of the NP to introduce apartheid to nullify the threat of the *Coloured* voters supporting the UP. This precipitated the implementation of the law that placed *Coloured* people on a separate voter’s roll.
The NP therefore acted against *Coloured* people through the implementation of segregatory laws.

### 2.4 THE AFRICAN PEOPLE’S ORGANISATION (APO)

According to Lewis (1987:20), one of the aims of the African Political Organisation, later known as the APO, established in 1902, was to defend and protect the rights of *Coloured* people. The focus was to promote and defend the rights of *Coloured* people as a group. Van der Horst and Reid (1981:1) assert that there was a deliberate manipulation of group differences, which helped shape ethnic consciousness of minority groups such as *Coloureds* and Indians. Van der Horst and Reid (1981) further state that this led to the construction of an own sense of community. Groups such as the APO embraced the concept of an own identity to initially fight for the rights of *Coloureds* as a group. Although *Coloured* people within the political system had rights, as a group, they did not enjoy full rights as compared to their white counterparts. The APO deemed it necessary to participate within the political system to attain and maintain certain privileges for the *Coloured* people albeit lesser than the greater privileges for white people. According to Lewis (1987:65), the APO after 1910 continued with the strategies of appeals and protests, combining this with the mobilisation of *Coloured* voters at election time. The tactics used by the APO were not very successful. The advancement of the *Coloured* people was central to the existence of the APO. Lewis (1987:20) states the aims of the APO included the promotion of unity amongst *Coloured* people, improving the education levels, voting rights for all *Coloured* people and advancement of the *Coloured* people. The APO played an important role in the political lives of *Coloured* people. Lewis (1987:1) states that the APO played a pioneering role in black politics and rapidly grew as an organisation to become a major role player and dwarf even the ANC. A number of organisations were borne out of the APO as well as in opposition to it.

Dubow (2006:35) asserts that middle class identity depended not only on an economic position but also on shared systems of political and moral values. The APO, to a certain extent, aimed to protect the economic position of the *Coloured* middle class and, according to Lewis (1987:23), appealed to the upper echelons of
South African Coloured community. Lewis (1987:23) further states that the APO also acted on behalf of the broader Coloured people. Lewis (1987:63) asserts that the fact that the APO participated within the existing white party-political system, the APO’s dilemma became more acute. The support of the APO for white parties did not deter the government of the day to implement policies of segregation. The support for white political parties lends credence to the assertion by Alexander (2002) that subordinate groups played a part in how they were stereotyped.

The initial focus of the APO was on the Coloured people and the protection of the rights of Coloured people; the APO’s support according to (Lewis, 1987:79) for closer co-operation with African organisations indicated a desire to increase the effectiveness of traditional APO tactics. Due to this action by the APO, opposition groups within the Coloured community did not agree with the measures taken by the organisation. Certain organisations advocated for the advancement of Coloured interests in isolation from other black groups and therefore did not agree with the APO in fighting collectively for black rights. The stance of the APO contributed to the establishment of organisations purporting to represent the interests of Coloured people in isolation to other racial groups.

2.5 POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS TO THE LEFT AND RIGHT OF THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Brits (1993) defines Coloureds supporting the Pact as right wing and those in opposition to the government as left wing. The purpose of referring to organisations supporting the government and those in opposition to it as left and right wing is to illustrate that during the colonial period certain organisations accepted the imposed identity and others opposed it. According to Brits (1993:232), the APO was faced with a dilemma in how to attract both right wing Coloureds who supported the Pact and left wing Coloureds who was in favour of radical action against the government. Brits (1993:239) states that division existed in the Coloured ranks due to their divided loyalties.

The APO as an organisation played a major role in organising and advancing the rights of Coloured people in South Africa in the early 20th century but was not the
only political organisation responsible for advocating the rights of Coloured people. Du Preez (1980:69) asserts that power is a dominant feature of political identity. The dominant group therefore possesses the power to convince members of an excluded class that they are legitimately excluded. Adam and Moodley (1986:14) importantly stated that the long history of discrimination and stigmatisation, leads to the creation of a group identity. The oppressed groups, due to the stigmatisation accepted the imposed identity as their own identity. This was the case with the following organisations that were formed. The United Afrikaner League, hereafter referred to as the UAL, was founded in opposition to the APO-Unionists alliance because the Coloured voter was seen as decisive in their attempts to gain control in the Cape (Goldin, 1987:40).

The ANB, which was subservient to the NP, replaced the UAL. The ANB was established in 1925 as a pro-Pact organisation and was supported by right wing Coloured people who held skilled or semi-skilled jobs (Brits, 1993:232). The ANB was pro-Pact because, according to them, the government supported the Coloured people and gave them a ‘national identity’. According to Adhikari (2006:11), Coloureds identified with whites historically due to their relative privilege and the sharing of a language, culture and sport. The sharing of Afrikaans as a language with the Afrikaners created a greater synergy with the Afrikaners than with other groups. Adhikari (2006:10) states that the basic dynamic behind the assertion of a Coloured identity and the main thrust was to defend the position of relative privilege. Coloured people as a group did not receive great privileges but the relative privilege could only be in comparison to African people.

According to Van der Ross (1986:71), the ANB attracted a number of Coloured persons of considerable political ability. The ANB, under the leadership of George Olivier, promoted a distinct Coloured identity and opposed the support given by Dr Abdurahman, the leader of the APO to the SAP (Goldin, 1987:40). The dismissal of railway service workers was apportioned to the SAP (Van der Ross, 1986:87). This led to the deterioration of the socio-economic conditions of Coloured people. The NP supported by the ANB lost the support of the Coloured electorate in 1929 and the courtship of the Coloured people by the NP came to an end (Du Pre, 1994: 56). The ANB accepted the imposed Coloured identity and was opposed to any amalgamation
between Coloureds and Africans (Lewis, 1987:129). He further states that the ANB advocated a policy of co-operation with the Nationalists. The ANB was in favour of the protection of Coloured rights in relation to Africans, but the APO was in favour of a united black front against white competition. The ANB promoted a separatist agenda and one of ‘self-marginalisation’. The political situation amongst Coloured people led to friction amongst themselves. According to Brits (1993:233), the ANB’s support for the NP was not based on any ideological reasons but on financial exploitation. Brits (1993:232) further states that the ANB was dissolved in 1931 but many Coloureds identified with the ANB advocating for a separate Coloured identity being superior to Africans. A group of Coloureds accepted the imposed identity with the benefit of superiority over Africans and a better socio-economic position.

The Cape Malay Association, hereafter known as the CMA, took the same stance as the ANB but later opposed any legislation based on the principle of race, creed or class (Lewis, 1987:131). The pro-government organisations did not last very long (Brits, 1993:232). The reason for organisations such as the ANB and CMA was to protect the ‘privileges’ that the Coloured people enjoyed albeit as inferior citizens. Adam and Moodley (1986:13) state that the imposition of a distinct identity is a stigma and not a sense of pride. The fact that there was a negative connotation attached to the term Coloured could be attributed to the fact that organisations such as the ANB and Coloured accepted such an identity.

The APO had no desire to embark on radical tactics to achieve their goals and, according to Lewis (1987:65), the Coloured elites who formed the main constituency of the organisation wanted to protect their privileges and material interests. “The NLL, established in 1935 attracted support from those Coloured elites who agreed with their call for more uncompromising strategies of mass protest, strike action and working class and black unity” (Lewis, 1987:175). Organisations such as the NLL were considered as left due to their opposition to the government of the day. The creation of such organisations was in opposition to the APO who proved ineffective. According to Lewis (1987:174), by the late 1930’s the APO as an organisation and leadership had reached a crisis point because of dissatisfaction amongst Coloured elites in the Cape with its policies. Adhikari (2007:266) asserts that the “story of Coloured political organisation through much of the 20th century was characterised
by compromise, retreat and failure”. This was to due to the determination with which the state implemented the white supremacist policies and the marginalisation of the Coloured people. Political organisations of Coloured people during the 20th century and up to the present have been characterised by ‘fragmentation’. Lewis (1987:180) states that the NLL rejected a narrow Coloured identity in favour of a broader black and working class alliance.

According to Adam and Moodley (1986:13), the imposition of an identity on subordinates by super-ordinate groups leads to rejection. The imposed identity on people defined as Coloureds was accepted only on the basis of fear of victimisation. A minority of people joined organisations to oppose the racial segregation that occurred during the colonial period. The approach by the NLL was more militant in comparison with the APO and they placed more emphasis on demonstrations. Lewis (1987:187) asserts that the NLL was propelled to prominence because of their opposition to the imposition of racial segregation and their success was confined mainly to the upper strata of society. Moderate Coloured elites came to fore in the campaign against segregation. A comparison can be made between the NLL and the UDF in terms of the tactics that both organisations used.

“The Non-European United Front (NEUF) was established in Cape Town in 1938 on the basis of the co-operation of the native, Indian and Coloured voters in the struggle against the Colour bar. It defined its main aim as the attainment of equal political, economic, industrial and social rights” (Lewis, 1987:187;193). Organisations such as the NEUF and the NLL grew out of the segregatory policies advocated by the NP such as the segregated form of housing and residential areas (Du Pre, 1994:59). The NLL-NEUF was more militant than the APO and the Coloured people showed in the opposition to racial segregation that they had the potential for mass action. This was later evident during the 1970’s to 1980’s period with the UDF. Organisations such as these were not successful in gaining the support of the Coloured people but they were successful in developing political consciousness amongst the people.

Scher (1993: 329) states that there was vehement opposition to the implementation of the Separate Representation of Voters Act 46 of 1951 that government introduced to remove Coloureds from the common voters’ roll. According to Scher (1993:332),
mass protest meetings were held and more than 100 000 voters signed a petition against the government’s action. Mass protests were significant but such protests lacked continuity. The Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) was active in organising Coloured and African people. According to Goldin (1987:109), radicals within the CPSA opposed the Separate Representation of Voters Bill. In 1951 the Franchise Action Committee (FRAC) was launched to oppose the government on the ‘disenfranchisement’ of the Coloured people (Goldin, 1987:110). A large proportion of the Coloured people supported FRAC in the defence of the Coloured vote. The FRAC played an important role in providing leadership and, according to Goldin (1987), at the time 55% of Coloured school children observed the stay away call. Protest action, such as strikes, was not as popular amongst the adult Coloured population as it was amongst school children.

2.6 THE ADVANCEMENT OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT OF COLOURED PEOPLE IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD

In the view of Frueh (2003:24), Henri Tajfel’s ‘Social Identification Theory’ refers to a person’s identity associated with group membership and the value attached to that membership. He further alludes to the theory treating group membership as subjective. The mandate of the Nationalist government was to create, in the form of apartheid, a separate political structure for Coloured people (Scher, 1993:327). The separate development of Coloured people was not challenged by a certain section of the Coloured people but a minority opposed the imposition of separate development. Coloured people were allowed to function separately in the socio-economic sphere but were not allowed to function on the same level as whites.

A CAC set up in 1943 to serve as a consultative body and a Coloured Affairs Department (CAD) was introduced by the Smuts government to attempt to address the neglect of the Coloured people (Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1993:25). A section of the Coloured population opposed the setting up of such a body. The establishment of the CAC can be regarded as what Taylor refers to as artificially carving up of society. The imposition of a distinct identity and the implementation of bodies focussed on the separate development of the subordinate group did not enhance the political participation. The imposition of racial structures can be considered as a
stimulant to political disengagement or complete apathy. The establishment of the CAC was considered as the inception of the separate development of Coloured people. Du Pre (1994:59) criticises the CAC and he asserts that the body was established to further the segregationist policy of the NP and cater for Coloured people in a specific department and in isolation from whites. According to Du Pre (1994:146), the CAC created division in the APO, an organisation that, since the start of the 20th century, fought for the rights of the Coloured people. The support of the CAC was based on the extension of the franchise and the amelioration of the socio-economic conditions of all Coloured people (Lewis, 1987:212). The CAC contributed to an entrenched political identity for Coloured people but Coloureds supported it due to the rewards it brought forth for Coloured people (Brits, 1993:316). Those who participated within the system saw the CAC as an opportunity to improve their livelihoods.

Du Pre (1994:145) further states that the anti-CAD movement under the leadership of Goolam Gool was formed to oppose and obstruct the CAD. The movement included a number of organisations, namely the Teachers League of South Africa (TLSA), the NLL, NEUF, Train Apartheid Resistance Committee and non-collaborationist wings of the APO. The opposition to the CAC increased when the anti-CAD movement and the All-African Convention joined forces and the Non-European Unity Movement of South Africa, hereafter referred to as the NEUM was established. According to Grundlingh (1993:313), the NEUM deemed the APO and other organisations as “outdated and adopting unprincipled reformist positions”. The APO worked within the constitutional means but the NEUM was against the segregationist policies of government. The APO was considered as an organisation that worked closely with the people and identified with the needs of the people. The NEUM policies were anti-collaborationist and anti-racist. According to Grundlingh (1993:314), the NEUM/anti-CAD movement did not receive the necessary support of the Coloured people. These organisations were inspired by “Marxist ideology within the better educated urbanised Coloured community” (Adhikari, 2006:5). Organisations such as the NEUM catered mainly for the middle-class Coloured people thereby alienating working class Coloured people. Coloured people did not believe in fighting ideological battles but believed the battles should show tangible gains in terms of the
socio-economic conditions of the people improving. This could also be the reason why people would not support organisations such as the anti-CAD and NEUM.

In contrast the NEUM, although not succeeding in gaining the support of the majority of the Coloured people, succeeded in developing in the people’s conscience a desire to let go of the ‘subservient’ attitude in relation to white people (Grundlingh, 1993:316). The subservient nature of Coloured people to white people was not developed under Afrikaner rule but it started under British rule. The role of movements such as NEUM and others are not given the recognition it deserves in the historical annals. Alexander (2002:4) refers to the contributions of these movements being treated as ‘cursorily and facetiously’ and not given the necessary acknowledgement.

The division amongst Coloured people continued with the pro-CAC members in the TLSA breaking away in 1943 and establishing the Teachers’ Educational and Professional Association (TEPA). In TEPA they could openly support the CAC (Du Pre, 1994:147). This was an example of the division that was created in the Coloured ranks by the segregationist policies of the government. According to Du Pre (1994:147), an organisation such as the Coloured People’s National Union (CPNU) formed by George Golding in 1944 from largely APO members supported the CAC. The reason for the support by the CPNU was to improve the situation of Coloured people from within government. This situation of division appeared to be prevalent amongst Coloured people. The implementation of segregatory policies created divisions amongst the very people it had to serve and unite. The situation that characterised Coloured politics, according to Du Pre (1994:146), was one of collaboration against non-collaboration. The division transcended political organisations.

According to Du Pre (1994:149), in 1956 Coloured voters in the Cape lost the franchise they had enjoyed since 1854. “The Separate Representation of Voters Act removed Coloured voters from the common voters’ roll and placed them on a separate one” (Lewis, 1987:269). The implementation of a separate voters’ roll were greeted with great opposition. According to Du Pre (1994:150), the South African Coloured People’s Organisation (SACPO) founded in 1953 advocated for their
followers not to register on a separate voters roll and to boycott elections. The 1958 elections were poorly supported with only a third (14 694) registering in comparison with the common voters roll in 1953 (Du Pre, 1994:221). SACPO had great success in mobilising the Coloureds to boycott the elections although groups such as the CPNU and Kleurlingvolksverbond voted on the grounds that more was to be gained by participating (Du Pre, 1994:150). People participated in separate elections on the premise that they would experience gains on a socio-economical level.

2.7 CONCLUSION

The dominant groups in South Africa in the 20th century imposed stereotyping on the subordinate groups to enforce racial segregation and to what Alexander (2002) refers to as the economic subordination of people not considered as whites. According to Mamdani (2004), the legal and the administrative organs of state enforced the political identity of subordinate groups. The aim of the imposed identity was to elevate the white population to a superior level to that of the black population. Coloured people were culturally not distinct and there existed multiple identities amongst people identified as Coloured. The imposed racial identification of Coloured was done under the pretence that Coloured people were homogeneous, but this can be disputed. The imposed identity not only created division between Coloureds and Africans but also within the Coloured ranks. Certain sections of the Coloured population, as the subordinate group accepted the imposed identity and therefore participated ‘constitutionally’ in the colonial and beginning of the apartheid era. A significant feature of political identity during this period was that people mobilised around a specific political goal. The APO played an important role during the colonial period in fighting for the rights of Coloured people but experienced great opposition due to the organisation being seen as ineffective. Another distinguishing characteristic of the colonial era was that the bodies that accepted the imposed racial identities and operated with the government of the day were seen as ephemeral organisations.

The imposition of separate residential areas encouraged group mobilisation. Taylor referred to this as the artificial carving up of society into manageable units. The introduction of separate residential areas for the different identified race groups
allowed the government greater management of the racial groups. The limited enfranchisement created a sense of apathy amongst *Coloured* people but others completely rejected the imposed identity. There was limited support for the radical organisations that completely opposed the imposed racial identities. The importance of organisations such as the NEUM and other similar organisations was that a level of political consciousness developed amongst the people. As stated by Du Pre (1994), the colonial and apartheid period can be characterised by a process of collaboration vis-à-vis non-collaboration. The period also represented the development of political apathy and this being ascribed to the fact that political participation would not contribute to effecting a change in the lives of the people. The political apathy of the early 20th century and apartheid continued up to the present. The removal of *Coloured* people from the common voters’ roll could be seen as a contributing factor to political disengagement or apathy.
CHAPTER THREE

*COLOURED* POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE APARTHEID PERIOD

3.1 INTRODUCTION

A number of institutions were specifically created to deal with matters pertaining to *Coloured* people but the latter period of the apartheid era saw the introduction of the tri-cameral parliament that included whites, *Coloured* people and Indians in political decision-making. The political participation of *Coloured* people during the apartheid period was characterised by collaboration vis-à-vis non-collaboration. *Coloured* people that participated in institutions such as the tri-cameral parliament were viewed as collaborating with the apartheid government and those in opposition were viewed as non-collaborators. Gibson (2006:667) asserts that apartheid encouraged and legitimised in-group identification and out-group vilification. A number of political leaders and participants in the political landscape created specifically for *Coloured* people accepted an imposed political identity whereas others contested the imposed identity. Those who contested the imposed identity identified with the greater black majority and embraced Black Consciousness.

The political institutions in the apartheid period encouraged parallel development to entrench white domination in all spheres of society. The Nationalist government utilised their political power to coerce and manipulate *Coloured* people into participating in the institutions during the apartheid era. The participation in the institutions was an indication that people accepted the imposed identity. The apartheid period saw the introduction of the UDF, an organisation that was established to oppose the tri-cameral system. *Coloured* political leaders played an influential role in the UDF leadership structures but the UDF was mainly popular amongst students in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth. There was greater participation in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth in the South African Council on Sport (SACOS), a sports body, which opposed apartheid through sport. The principle that SACOS adhered to was one of non-collaboration that resulted in the SACOS-affiliates not being allowed to compete with sporting bodies controlled and
dominated by whites. The apartheid era was characterised by participation of Coloured people in opposing apartheid mainly amongst the youth.

### 3.2 POLITICAL IDENTITY IN THE APARTHEID PERIOD

The Afrikaner government had the power to enforce the classification of the people of South Africa according to different races. MacDonald (2006:6) asserts that apartheid was predicated on racism and was committed to establishing and expanding the absolute and systematic supremacy of whites. Racism, according to MacDonald (2006:6), is defined as the domination of one racial group over the other for material reasons. The domination of the Afrikaner government permeated and transcended all spheres of society. The apartheid government used their legal and administrative powers to maintain their supremacy.

The apartheid government introduced the Population Registration Act of 1950 through which the state classified every citizen in statutory groups (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007:316). The state defined people according to specific identities and as defined by Weber (in MacDonald, 2006:30) ethnic identities are compressed together by organised power and ethno-cultural identities involving power relationships. Giliomee and Mbenga (2007:316) assert that the state experienced difficulty in classifying Coloured people and therefore the main criteria used by the Act was people’s social standing and white public opinion. Criteria such as descent and the texture of hair were used to implement the Act with regard to Coloured people. The authoritative power of the Afrikaner government enabled them to use their coercive ability to homogenise Coloured people thereby creating a single identity. Du Preez (1980:106) argues that Coloured people did not have the capacity in terms of numbers and an independent language and culture to develop a distinct political identity. Coloured people in reality consisted of a multi-cultural society lumped together by the Afrikaner government, thereby creating a singular identity.

In the view of Adam and Moodley (1986:13), imposed group membership represents a particularly invidious distinction if the group does not differ culturally from those who decide on the label. Adam and Moodley further states that this was the case with the so-called Coloureds (brown Afrikaners). Coloureds are referred to as ‘brown
Afrikaners’ due to them sharing a history, language and religion identical to those of white Afrikaners. The purpose of apartheid and the imposition of discriminatory laws such as the Population Registration Act contributed to a distinct identity. A great majority of Coloured people shared the mentioned characteristics such as language and religion.

Giliomee and Fredrickson (in MacDonald, 2006:38) posit that political power was central to the evolution of Afrikaners as a community. Afrikaners, or the Nationalists, thrived on political power to gain ascendancy in the social, economic and political life, therefore all spheres of society. Giliomee (in MacDonald, 2006:38) regarded the concept or implementation of apartheid as ‘ethnic mobilisation’ where the economic and cultural position of Afrikaners in the apartheid period improved. The aim was therefore to control political power and henceforth control economic power and develop economically and entrench a level of superiority over blacks by relegating them to subservience. Alexander (2002) refers to the concept of racial capitalism where the focus of government was to preserve the supremacy of whites in the economy. The racial state created the unequal distribution of wealth and opportunities in South Africa thus encouraging the economic prosperity of white people vis-à-vis the economic depravity of blacks. Adam and Moodley (1986:16) assert that the close relationship between income level and race underlies the charge that the essence of apartheid was exploitation and labour control. According to Giliomee and Mbenga (2007:320), the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 was implemented to reserve certain jobs for members of racial communities. Africans experienced deprivation relative to members of other racial groups and Coloureds were deprived relative to whites but gratified relative to Africans (Morse & Peele, 1970:317). The apartheid government economically elevated the Coloured group above Africans but the Coloured people were in a subordinate position to whites. The racial categorization was evident in the political, social and economic sphere of society.

According to Gibson and Gouws (2003:72), in deeply divided politics, people typically develop strong in-group positive identities, often leading to out-group animosities. Weber (in MacDonald, 2006:31) asserts that political communities instil solidarities that are likely to endure if encased in kinship. The Apartheid government, through
the imposition of the Group Areas Act, forced the defined racial groups into specific areas. The aim of the Group Areas Act (No 41 of 1950) was to establish residential racial purity by shifting groups from one place to another (Du Pre, 1994:82). Adam and Moodley (1986:14) state that a long history of discrimination and stigmatisation could create a group identity. The enforcement of the separate areas was to perpetuate racial divisions and also to create a singular Coloured identity. The colonialists and the apartheid government succeeded in creating division within society. South Africa could be identified as a deeply divided society, where people that were politically isolated developed strong animosities towards the oppressors but also towards other racially oppressed groups. The NP ideologues argued that by separating Coloured communities from other racial-ethnic groups, such conditions would nurture an identity distinct from both European and African cultures (Anderson, 2003:33).

The period of the 1970’s and 1980’s created a greater and more militant opposition to the apartheid regime. According to Martin (2001:254), the struggle against apartheid became more intense with the students’ revolt where they identified with Black Consciousness. A section of Coloured people therefore rejected the imposed identity by embracing Black Consciousness. From the latter half of the 1970s onwards, starting with the popularisation of the Black Consciousness ideology, the nature of Coloured identity became an extremely contentious issue as increasing numbers of educated and politicised people who had been classified ‘Coloured’ under the Population Registration Act started rejecting the identity (Adhikari, 2006:471). A central tenet of the Black Consciousness Movement involved organising oppressed members of South African society under a redefined concept of Blackness. This radical concept encapsulated indigenous African, Coloured, and Indian communities, while insisting on the outright exclusion of whites from participating in Black Consciousness politics (Anderson, 2003:35). Davies, O’Meara and Dlamina (in Anderson, 2003:35) define Black Consciousness as an irreversible process of self-understanding and self-assertiveness of black people in the face of an oppressive socio-political structure imposed by a white government. Coloured people, by identifying with and embracing Black Consciousness, were in solidarity with Africans in their opposition to the oppressive policies of the government of the day.
3.3 POLITICAL SEGREGATION OF COLOURED PEOPLE

The aim of the NP, through the imposition of apartheid, was to preserve Afrikaner identity by the creation of a completely segregated society and to secure white political supremacy (Chazan et al., 1999:474). Randall (1973:31) states that the entrenchment of political separation or apartheid was to focus on the channelling of political aspirations of Coloureds, Africans and Indian people into separate political institutions. Dubow (1995:168) expresses the view that common to segregationist policy was an unashamed paternalism towards Africans. Leatt, Kneifel and Nurberger (1986:68) assert that the rigid system of racial stratification was given additional impetus with the structured entrenchment of apartheid. The focus was still to control Coloured people and to maintain white political and economic domination. The segregationist policies, according to Brinkel (2006:65), in the first half of the 20th century and the apartheid system were an attempt to divide the population into categories. Giliomee and Schlemmer (1989:13) made the point that Coloured people occupied an intermediary position between European and African people. Coloureds have occupied the space between polarised racial classifications for decades, often at the cost of being manipulated by the apartheid regime and used as a buffer to insulate white privilege from the political and economic demands of the indigenous African majority (Anderson, 2003:30). The purpose of the apartheid government was to entrench white supremacy and the placation of Coloured people by the imposition of parallel development.

Schutte (1985:369) makes the assertion that the parallel development of Coloured people did not alleviate the negative sense of discrimination experienced by them. Coloured identity was negatively defined (Erasmus, 2001:17) in not having an identity of its own or a sense of being part of society. The imposed identity was not distinctive in terms of possessing a definitive characteristic such as white or African people. The imposed identity was a combination of different cultures and race groups. Hendricks (2001:29) and Alexander (2002) both state that the political identity of Coloured people was contested. Adhikari (2006:11) asserts that the ultimate reason for accepting the identity was Coloured people’s position of relative privilege.
Adhikari (2006:5) affirms that *Coloured* identity in the latter part of 1970 and onwards became a contentious issue. He states that educated and politicised *Coloured* people, in embracing the Black Consciousness ideology, rejected the *Coloured* identity. Boesak (2009:10) asserts that Black Consciousness rejected the racial inferiority and subjugation and de-emphasised the negative connotations that racial classification brought. The contestation of the *Coloured* identity was based on the idea that a section of those identified as such aligned themselves with the greater black majority. According to Adhikari (2006:160), *Coloured* rejection was confined to a highly vocal and politicized minority active within the anti-apartheid movement. The majority of those identified as *Coloured* did not become part of the anti-apartheid movement. This could be attributed to apathy or the fear of marginalisation by the apartheid government. The emergence of Black Consciousness in the 1970’s contributed, according to Du Pre (1992:145), to the radicalisation of the youth. Professor Richard Van der Ross, Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Western Cape at the time, in an interview with Starcke (1978:163) stated that *Coloured* youths aligned themselves with grievances of blacks. Students at the time believed that change would only come through alignment with Africans.

The *Coloured* population, according to Norval (1996:189), occupied a very peculiar position in the onto-theology of apartheid. Norval (1996) stated that the *Coloured* population could be regarded as an appendix to the white population. The *Coloured* people could therefore be considered as a problem to the apartheid government. The *Coloured* people could not be divorced from the white apartheid government due to their closeness to the white people. This could be due to the sharing of Afrikaans as a language as well as the shared culture. Adam and Giliomee (in Leatt et al., 1986:68) refer to ethnic mobilisation as a key to understanding contemporary white politics. It is viewed as a process where the interests of a particular group are welded together and the adherents mobilised to sacrifice to act together to believe in a better future. They further state that in South Africa ethnicity has been the engine room of group mobilisation.

Norval (1996:190) makes the observation that separate development offered no obvious solution to the position of the *Coloured* people. Norval (1996:190) lists three basic alternatives for the satisfaction of the *Coloured* people’s political demands,
namely a *Coloured* homeland, parallel development and the political integration of the *Coloured* community into ‘white’ politics. A *Coloured* homeland was not a political alternative. The apartheid period witnessed an increased focus on the imposition of the separate development for *Coloured* people as the grand plan of the nationalist government. It was a period characterised by the imposition of a distinct identity for *Coloured* people coupled with suppressive tactics to further the segregationist plan of the government of the day. It is therefore important to investigate the institutions created for *Coloured* people in the 20th century in separation to the white ruling class.

Giliomee and Schlemmer (1989:99) refer to bodies established by the government of the day to advance parallel development as ‘dummy bodies’. The bodies that Giliomee and Schlemmer (1989) refer to were the UCCA, the CAC and the CRC. The bodies lacked legitimacy due to the fact that people that it intended to serve did not lend their unqualified support to the system. They state that the bodies acted as intermediaries between the government and the community. The raison d’être according to the apartheid government of the separate political bodies was to develop people independently. Randall (1973:38) asserts that the policy of parallelism was defended as a half way measure between integration and separation. Randall explains the two terms by referring to integration as the restoration of direct representation in parliament and separation as the creation of a homeland for *Coloured* people. The latter did not materialise and on the contrary the representation of *Coloured* people occurred albeit inferior to white people.

The legitimacy of the parallelism or bodies created to advance the plan of government was questioned and opposed. The *Coloured* middle class, according to Giliomee and Schlemmer (1989:100), was opposed to parallelism. The foci of the parallel development were to maintain white superiority due to *Coloured* people only regarded as “*appendages of the white group*” (Randall, 1973:38). The socio-economic conditions of people identified as *Coloured* did not improve significantly.
3.4 PARALLEL POLITICAL STRUCTURES FOR COLOURED PEOPLE

The parallel development of Coloured people was the second political alternative for people identified as such. The ruling government of the day made a unilateral decision to introduce separate political structures for Coloured people. These bodies were inextricably linked to the central parliament controlled by the NP. A number of bodies were specifically established to deal with matters pertaining to Coloured people. The government of the day’s rationale to encourage the parallel development of the citizens of the country was the enforcing of racial divisions. According to Van der Ross (1986:298) and Du Pre (1994:150), the UCCA was established in 1959 after the passing of the Separate Representation of Voters Act that removed Coloured voters from the common voters roll and placed them on a separate voters roll. The UCCA and the CAC were ephemeral bodies and it did not have a long life span. The UCCA was not well received by the Coloured people and was even opposed by organisations representing Coloured people. Du Pre (1994:153) states that organisations such as SACPO and the Convention Movement advocated for non-collaboration with the UCCA. The impact that the UCCA made was limited and the CRC, according to Lewis (1987:271), later replaced it in 1969. Failure of bodies or organisations such as these can be ascribed to the fact that it was received with a degree of scepticism by the people it was supposed to serve. The CRC allowed for greater control of own affairs by Coloured people but the National government still played the role of hegemony in dictating how the Council should be controlled.

Van der Ross (1979) argues that the failure of bodies such as the CAC, the UCCA and the CRC was the reluctance of the NP government to share power. He further states that Coloured people regarded such bodies with “suspicion, scepticism and distrust” and were reluctant to participate in these bodies (Van der Ross, 1979:97). The CRC was the third attempt to complete separate representation for Coloured people. The Coloured Persons’ Representative Council Act, No 49 of 1964 that came into operation on 1 July 1969 had limited legislative and administrative powers and could only deal with matters of finance, local government, education and community development (Du Pre, 1994:153). The law allowed the abuse of power by the Nationalist government and placed Coloured leaders in positions to implement
the Nationalist agenda. According to Lewis (1987:272), the government possessed the authority to appoint 20 members of the CRC and therefore had ultimate control of the body.

*Coloured* people did not believe that participation in these bodies would contribute to an improvement of their livelihood. Participation in these bodies was merely to give credence to it and entrench the ‘separate development’ of *Coloured* people. The measures that the Nationalists put in place were not sufficient to guarantee the support of *Coloured* people in elections of the CRC. Van der Ross (1986:347) asserts that a fundamental barrier to progress was the policy of apartheid and the government’s refusal to share power in any real way. The lack of support for the CRC and similar bodies was due to the lack of change that the body would make to the lives of *Coloured* people. Du Preez (1980:105), in reference to the CRC refers to it as a con. He further defines a con as an attempt to manipulate people in supporting a particular frame although it gives them an inferior position. The parallel development of *Coloured* people can be regarded as such due to *Coloured* people being in a subordinate position to whites in the racial hierarchy. Randall (1973:101) asserts that a pluralistic society can be favourable but in the case of South Africa when the extraneous power unilaterally imposes an identity then it should be rejected. The idea of an imposed identity in South Africa was based on social, economic and political domination in the form of apartheid. Taylor (1999) refers to this as the artificially carving up of society leading to apathy. Professor Jakes Gerwel, in reference to the lack of participation of *Coloured* people, refers to the ‘politics of withdrawal’ (Green, 2008:73).

Pierre L. Van den Berghe (in Randall, 1973:106) asserts that plural societies have often been held together by political coercion and economic interdependence. The shaping of the South African society and in particular the *Coloured* people was by means of coercion and economic interdependence. The apartheid government depended on the labour of *Coloured*, African and Indians to maintain their economic dominance. The *Coloured* people in comparison to Africans were elevated to a higher level economically and depended on the Afrikaner government for protection in the labour market.
The apartheid state was built upon white domination and it was reflected in the restrictive and racially discriminatory legislative and electoral processes that permeated almost every sphere of public social life (Randall, 1973:107). The focus of parallel development was to entrench white domination of all spheres of society through racial discrimination. The quest of the apartheid government was to control the ‘subordinate’ groups or ‘out groups’ in all spheres of political, social and economic life. The Coloured people, in the form of the CRC and other political structures, were in greater control of ‘own affairs’ but still at the behest of the Afrikaner government. The CRC was not wholly independent and was still subject to the NP government and could be considered as ‘dummy’ structures of the Nationalist government. The CRC was an indication of the division that existed in the Coloured communities and the establishment of political parties that participated in the CRC emphasised that division. A number of the political parties were in favour of the separate development of Coloured people but the LP was the party opposed to separate development. According to Du Pre (1994:156), the objectives of the LP therefore were equality and justice for all South Africans.

There were no structures available to Coloured people to express themselves politically and the LP, like the APO, decided to participate within ‘constitutional and legal’ means to achieve its goals. According to Lewis (1987:274), the LP declared they were willing to participate within the ‘constitutional and legal’ framework to achieve its goal. The significant feature of the 1969 CRC elections was that the pro-government parties collectively received 53% of the vote (Van der Ross, 1986:304). The other reason for leaning towards pro-government parties could have been fear of government forces.

Giliomee and Schlemmer’s (1989:100) criticism of the CRC was that the Coloured voters were ‘conscious of the incompetence’ of the Council and this resulted in the poor voter turnout. This is also an indication that the CRC did not enjoy the backing of the majority of the Coloured people. According to Schutte (1985:375), the political participation of Coloured people dwindled systemically because of the futility of participating by constitutional means. People who registered for and participated in CRC elections did so due to the coercive power of the Nationalist government. The government used their hegemony to instil fear in the Coloured people. Giliomee and
Schlemmer (1989:100) further states that the opposition to the CRC came from the Coloured middle class who boycotted the elections. The criticism levelled at the CRC by Van der Ross (1979:109), was that Coloured people did not regard it as an institution that was serious about making a tangible difference in their socio-economic conditions. According to Van der Ross (1979), Coloured people required that real change takes place in terms of real representation on equal par with the whites and not separate from them. The Coloured political leadership and its participation in politics decreased systematically because of the futility of participation within constitutional means.

The authoritative nature of the NP contributed to Coloured people becoming apathetic about political participation and leading to a low level of participation in future CRC elections. The focus of the NP government was not to alleviate the socio-political or economic position of people identified as Coloured but to entrench white domination.

3.5 THE TRI-CAMERAL SYSTEM

A third political alternative that Norval (1996) referred to was the political integration of Coloured people into ‘white’ politics. The Nationalist government attempted to negate the negative impact of the independent bodies by introducing Coloured people into a ‘democratic’ structure with the introduction of the tri-cameral parliament in 1984. The coercive power of the state was used to persuade participants that this was the correct route to pursue. The new system allowed Coloured and Indian people a direct say in government but whites continued the domination of the South African political dispensation. The system ignored the majority of the African people.

According to Du Pre (1992:147), Dr Worral of the President’s Council’s constitutional committee proposed a system of consociational democracy for whites, Coloureds and Indians. In reference to consociationalism, Randall (1973:165) states that it would prove a ‘democratic system’ but where one group enjoys a clear advantage in political and economic power. He asserted that the system would contribute to the dominant group entrenching its domination in the long run. The system contributed to the entrenchment of the hegemony of the Afrikaner government. According to
MacDonald (2006:70), the tri-cameral parliament recognised demography insofar as it organised, segregated and stratified representation racially and defended the reality of white supremacy.

Huntington (1991: 136) states that the new system was not only designed to improve and transform but also to bolster the existing system and make it more acceptable to societies. Van der Ross in an interview (Starcke, 1978:165) was of the viewpoint that the new system in reference to the tri-cameral system would have given the Coloured and Indian people greater freedom and self-determination and greater access to resources. The focus was to improve the political conditions of the participants in the process but also entrench white domination and not to relinquish their political and economic stranglehold. The apartheid government was under increased pressure to reform. The integration of Coloureds and Indians into a political system was introduced in 1983. The tri-cameral system presented the opportunity for Coloureds and Indians to be represented in parliament albeit in separate racially exclusive chambers (Chazan et al., 1999:474). The new system allowed Coloured and Indian people a direct say in government but whites continued the domination of the South African political dispensation. Whites had the greater power in relation to the other participants in the system. Coloured people had greater representation relative to Indians. The new body represented the chambers on the racially proportional basis of 4:2:1 (Guelke, 2005:142).

Welsh (in Du Pre, 1994:204) criticised the tri-cameral constitution as one of co-optation, where the focus of the government was effectively to strengthen the white dominated structure. The strongest manipulative weapon for ruling elites, according to Adam and Moodley (1986:144), is a policy that employs co-optation and concomitant fragmentation. MacDonald (2006:70) refers to the introduction of the tri-cameral parliament as reform apartheid. Du Pre (1994) states that the tri-cameral parliament was apartheid in disguise because those people participating in the system were furthering the application of the separatist model. This could be referred to as the ‘divide and rule’ strategy that the government imposed. The process, according to MacDonald (2006:70), was to “divide opponents and establish or fortify the insiders”. According to McDonald (2006:70), reform apartheid departed
from separate development but it preserved racialism. He asserts that race remained the central point of political participation.

The tri-cameral system, it was suggested, was an appropriate political formula for diverse and polarised societies (Randall, 1973:165). South Africa could be considered a diverse and polarised society and the situation was perpetuated by the introduction of the tri-cameral system. Whites retained their sovereignty in the tri-cameral parliament but Coloureds and Indians were given a measure of responsibility over own affairs (MacDonald, 2006:70). Huntington (1991:189) asserts that the participation in the tri-cameral system gave impetus to effect certain changes to discriminatory laws. He states that the participants in the political process were instrumental in having certain discriminatory laws abolished.

3.6 OPPOSITION TO THE TRI-CAMERAL SYSTEM

The tri-cameral system was a catalyst for mass protest campaigns (Chazan et al., 1999:474). The new system led to the establishment of mass based political organisations such as the UDF and the National Forum (NF) (Lewis, 1987:281). According to Adhikari (2006:6), the burgeoning of the mass, non-racial democratic movement in the 1980’s under the leadership of the UDF inflamed Coloured rejectionist passions.

According to Giliomee and Schlemmer (1989), the middle class Coloured people rejected the ‘own affairs’ concept but the positive part of the system was that it prepared whites for multi-racial rule. It provided a catalyst for the multi-party democracy that was introduced into South Africa in 1994. The introduction of the tri-cameral parliament experienced opposition on two fronts. The tri-cameral parliament was opposed by white (right-wingers) who considered such a system as anathema because they did not believe in power-sharing but there were those who regarded the new system as an entrenchment of apartheid (Van der Ross, 1986:351). The government, as well as the Coloured and Indian political parties, that were in favour of the tri-cameral parliament did not anticipate the black uprising that resulted.
According to Harvey (2001:83), PW Botha believed that the *Coloured* and Indian people would support the transformation of the political system. The new system of reform was supported by two-thirds of the white electorate participating in a referendum held (Shubane, 2007:372) but the reforms were criticised by the leader of the official opposition, Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert. He argued that the system of apartheid had irreversibly failed and called the tri-cameral system irrelevant (Shubane, 2007:374).

In the period where the NP government was developing a tri-cameral system for *Coloured* and Indian people, South Africa entered a season of protest. The tri-cameral parliament was the institution that was responsible for propelling Africans, *Coloureds* and Indians into action, fighting against the injustices of apartheid. The majority of *Coloureds* and Indians boycotted the elections for the new parliament (Chazan *et al.*, 1999:474). The tri-cameral elections contributed to the unification of blacks against the system (MacDonald, 2006:77). The tri-cameral parliament, because of the exclusion of Africans, lacked legitimacy. According to Van der Ross (1986:356), only 17,6% of the potential voters participated in the tri-cameral elections and of the registered voters only 30,9% voted. Van der Ross (1986) further states that the percentage poll and the number of voters were lower than the CRC elections in 1969.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Votes Cast</th>
<th>Potential Voters</th>
<th>Registered Voters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Poll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>300 918</td>
<td>843 973</td>
<td>35,7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>251 631</td>
<td>994 191</td>
<td>25,3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>272 854</td>
<td>1 546 607</td>
<td>17,6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 1.2:** Comparative national *Coloured* election results for the elections of 1969, 1975 and 1984

*Source:* Van der Ross (1986)

Castells (in Brinkell, 2006:79) identified resistance identity as being articulated in order to combat discrimination and people’s backwardness in society. The UDF was borne out of the opposition to the new political dispensation that did not regard the
rights of Africans. The UDF was launched on 20 August 1983 and, according to Seekings (2000:2), had a specific objective to oppose the NP government’s reforms especially, the introduction of the tri-cameral parliament. The youth, and more specifically students at tertiary institutions, did not believe that separate development must take place. According to Du Pre (1994:180), the introduction of the tri-cameral system was the catalyst for renewed student unrest that continued through to the 1990’s. The implementation of the tri-cameral system led to student unrest and more importantly the establishment of the UDF. The UDF built on the 1976 uprisings as people of all races united to oppose the racial policies of the apartheid government. According to Seekings (2000:18), “the UDF leadership saw the mass action as the most effective way of radicalising popular consciousness and the building of a mass movement”. The UDF was effective in building a political consciousness amongst the Coloured youth but lacked the support amongst parents who showed little interest in political participation. The UDF did not enjoy support amongst the Coloured working class and middle class but it gained popularity amongst the secondary school and university students (Seekings, 2000:14). He further states that political movements received their support base from radicalised school and university students. The appeal to structures at grass root level was successful, more notably among the school pupils and students. Coloured schools in collaboration with African schools participated in large-scale protests that occurred in November 1984 (Barrel, 2007:388).

According to Bernstein (2005:59), all social movements need identity for empowerment or an oppositional consciousness to create and mobilise a constituency. The opposition to the tri-cameral system in the form of the UDF was based on the identity of non-racialism and the mobilisation of the youth in the northern areas as a constituency. The UDF called for a total boycott of the tri-cameral elections that was scheduled for August 22 and 28, 1984 and the call impacted the schools that led to an 80% boycott of classes (Du Pre, 1994:181). The Coloured areas of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, according to Seekings (2000:86), could be seen as LP strongholds and the support for the UDF was based around former students of the University of the Western Cape, including Derrick Swartz and Mikey Coetzee. Swartz in particular played a leading role in leadership of the UDF in Port Elizabeth. The University of the Western Cape could be seen as a breeding
ground for activism and students like Swartz infused a culture of political awareness amongst the youth in Port Elizabeth. The period since the inception of the UDF and leading to the negotiation for a free and non-racial South Africa was characterised by school, consumer and rent boycotts. According to Lewis (1987:284), local community leaders used campaigns such as school boycotts, work stay-aways, rent boycotts and consumer boycotts to place pressure on authorities and businesses to meet the people’s demands. The Coloured youth played an important role in the protests that occurred in the period 1983 to the 1990’s.

The launch of the UDF was the catalyst that created a greater level of political consciousness amongst the Coloured youth in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth. The UDF played a role in developing a political consciousness amongst the people to take part in protesting against government’s apartheid legislation. The UDF focussed on the civic and community-based organisations to garner support for its protests against the apartheid government and was in favour of non-collaboration with apartheid government (Lewis, 1987:282).

In the 1984 elections the LP won 56 out of the 60 seats (Van der Ross, 1986:357), but the extra-parliamentary bodies pointed to the low polls and it suggested that the new Houses of parliament lacked legitimacy (Van der Ross, 1986:358). The support of the LP was not significant and it was an indication that the system was not well supported by the Coloured people. The LP received a vote of no confidence from the electorate in the tri-cameral elections.

Du Pre (1994:196) refers to the placid and docile Coloured people becoming politicised and contributing to the fight against apartheid. He further states that African and Coloured students united in their fight against apartheid. According to Du Pre (1994:186), the 1989 elections was once again characterised by low polls. Criticism levelled at leaders participating in the system was that they alienated themselves from the people they supposedly represented. Adhikari (2006:153) depicts the process of the tri-cameral parliament as collaboration versus non-collaboration where people welcomed the tri-cameral parliament but where activists rejected it on the basis of it contributing to the people’s suffering. The tri-cameral system could be seen as a precursor to the democratic dispensation of 1994.
According to Du Pre (1994:171), the criticism levelled at Coloured people was that they displayed political apathy for years. Lewis (1987), in reference to the tri-cameral system, stated that the low voter turnout in the elections could be attributed to "the legacy of apathy and disillusionment" taking into account the experiences of Coloured people in the previous government structures. Coloured participation in the system could only be based on fear and allegiance to a white government. The majority of people abstained from participating in the system due to it not making a considerable difference in the lives of all the people and in protest against such a system.

3.7 POLITICAL PROTESTS AND RESISTANCE IN SPORT BY COLOURED PEOPLE IN THE NORTHERN AREAS OF PORT ELIZABETH

Political participation by Coloured people was characterised by a number of protests in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth. According to Held (1993:364), the outbreak of violence was symptomatic of the erosion of a government's effectiveness and legitimacy. The opposition to government in 1971 and 1990 resulted in violence in Port Elizabeth. In 1971, Coloured people in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth were involved in a peaceful protest that became violent. The youth in the northern areas formed an integral part of the protests that occurred in Port Elizabeth. In the 1971 protest in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth, violence erupted after Coloureds protested against the increase in bus fares (Venter, 1974:159). The protests and subsequent violence occurred a few years after the 'mixed' residential areas were enforced by the NP government. The imposition of the Group Areas Act resulted in the violent uprooting of over 3.5 million people (Chazan et al., 1999:474). This could have been an underlying reason for the protests that was unprecedented in Coloured political history in Port Elizabeth.

Another turning point in the political history of Coloured people was the 1976 uprisings. According to Du Pre (1994:172), Coloured youth abandoned their political apathy and joined in the fight against oppression. The 1976 uprisings were significant in how Coloured people approached the opposition to apartheid. The 1976 uprisings fomented a climate of open resistance to apartheid and fostered an unprecedented show of black solidarity (Adhikari, 2006:5). The Coloured high school
pupils played a prominent and militant role in the mass uprisings in the period from 1976. Lewis (1987:277) gives a number of reasons for the increase in Coloured political participation, namely that the children of middle class Coloureds being more educated and becoming politically conscious.

According to Lewis (1987:278), Coloured students became increasingly active in the South African Students’ Organisation (SASO), an organisation that advocated Black Consciousness. The Coloured youth was instrumental in the opposition against the segregationist policies of the apartheid government. The Coloured youth joined the 1976 uprisings in solidarity with the African youth. In the 1976 period Coloured youth rejected the imposed racial identity and united with Africans creating a united black front. According to Giliomee (2003:558), another reason for the catapulting of Coloured people into participating in the 1976 uprisings was the determination of the Afrikaner government to ensure white domination. The acceptance of Black Consciousness and the rejection of a separate racial identity created a catalyst for the Coloured youth to become involved in the struggle against apartheid. The 1976 uprisings were therefore an important event in the participation of Coloureds in the fight against apartheid. Boesak (2009:9) states the generation of the 1960’s and 1970’s rejected the imposed racial identities and thus embraced Black Consciousness.

The resistance did not only occur in the political field but was evident in the sports sphere where SACOS was formed. SACOS played a key role in the fight against apartheid and instilling a political consciousness in Coloured people. The establishment of an organisation such as SACOS was in opposition to what Giliomee (2003:557) referred to as ‘Super-Afrikaners’. The term refers to those far right Afrikaners who opposed mixed sports teams. The establishment of SACOS was initially based on the racial segregation in the sporting arena but sport played an important role in the greater struggle against apartheid (Goodal, 2004). The aim of the establishment of SACOS was to mobilise sport along non-racial lines (Goodall, 2004). The organisation advocated a policy of ‘no normal sport in an abnormal society’. The Eastern Province Council on Sport (EPCOS), an affiliate of SACOS in the northern areas, was instrumental in developing a political consciousness amongst the people through sport and thereby opposing the apartheid structures.
The political activity of Coloureds focussed on protests such as the 1971 uprisings in Gelvandale and the 1990 uprisings in the greater northern areas. The protests of August 1990 in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth was in protest against the municipal housing rent increase but it resulted in looting, anarchy and many businesses in the northern areas losing their livelihood. Fifty people died and more than four hundred were injured during this period (De Kock, 2009:2). The protest galvanised the people in the northern areas into action. Many people involved in the protests were not politically active in any structures in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth. The violent protests in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth gave people in other areas of Port Elizabeth and South Africa an indication that Coloured people could be decisive in their action.

3.8 CONCLUSION

The Afrikaner government imposed a homogeneous identity on Coloured people. The purpose of this was to increase the racial and economic domination of the Afrikaner government. The initial phase of the apartheid period witnessed the introduction of the parallel political development of Coloured people. The nationalist government thereafter introduced the tri-cameral system that many regarded as a precursor to the new democratic dispensation. The period also witnessed greater resistance from Coloured people in opposing the segregationist policies of the apartheid government. The youth embraced Black Consciousness and united with other blacks in the fight against apartheid. Protests by Coloured people during this period were unprecedented.

Coloured people were criticised for their political apathy but during the latter period of apartheid, Coloured youth became increasingly involved in political activity. Coloured people, contrary to popular belief, contributed to opposing, and in the process, dismantling apartheid.
CHAPTER FOUR

COLOURED POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE DEMOCRATIC DISPENSATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the chapter is to expound on the definition of democracy and the importance of democracy in the post-apartheid democratic dispensation. There are two types of democracies that are prevalent in South Africa at present, namely representative and participatory democracy. Citizens in the country engage with government and participate in politics through the two types of democracies. Van Heerden and Van Jaarsveldt (2007:4) define representative democracy as the participation of people in politics through their duly elected representatives. The inclusion of all South Africans in the democratic processes and the increasing participation in elections contributes to democratic consolidation. Elections are not the only means of peoples’ participation in politics but, according to Bauer (2009:28), elections perform a fundamental role in the democratic process in that it is a process through which ordinary citizens can influence how they are governed. Putnam, in (Cunningham, 2002:24), is of the view that democracy is at its most robust when there is energetic citizen participation in taking collective action. Participatory democracy therefore refers to people taking the responsibility to interact with public representatives and to use all mechanisms and institutions at their disposal to contribute to political decision-making and ultimately hold government accountable for its actions. The chapter will also place emphasis on the political identity of Coloured people and how the new political dispensation encouraged the entrenchment of the identity. The chapter would further focus on the political participation of Coloured people from the period 1994 to 2009 and the political apathy of Coloured people.
A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE ON DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Democracy is the one political ideology that places the most value on human life, human rights and the culture of citizens. The transition from authoritarianism to democracy places emphasis on political participation of the people as the collective instead of an exclusive people. In the words of Pericles (1999:155), in a democracy, power is in the hands of all the people and not only a few. The definition of democracy is line with Abraham Lincoln’s Gettysburg address that referred to democracy as government of the people, by the people and for the people (Rosen & Wolff, 1999:397). In a representative democracy the people therefore have the power to elect the government of their choice. According to Locke (1999:59), government by consent means that people agree to be under the power of the majority. The people by consent, agrees to submit to the laws of society. Cunningham (2002:9) in his analysis of the classical theorists’ viewpoint on democracy, points to two pillars of democracy. He refers to the viewpoint of Tocqueville, identifying the importance of self-government and of Aristotle’s rule by the many. The other pillar of democracy that Cunningham (2002:9) refers to is the promotion of the common good. The people of South Africa participate in voting with the hope that their socio-economic conditions would change. People therefore are of the view that their participation in elections would translate into a better life. Calland and Graham (2005:9) state that, for the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA), social justice represents a cornerstone of democracy. They state that, in opinion polls, South Africans view democracy as materially improving their way of life. This notion therefore represents a view that people want to see an improvement in their socio-economic conditions and democracy represents the passport to economic freedom.

The central procedure of democracy is the selection of leaders through competitive election by the people they govern (Huntington, 1991:6). Young (2002:6) purports that democracy gains legitimacy by including people to influence the outcomes and the decision-making process. A significant advantage of liberal democracy is that people possess the power to vote people into government hence they also have the power to remove them (Heywood, 1994:171). The 1994 elections marked the first
time in South Africa that all population groups could participate in political decision-making through elections on an equal basis. The citizens, through the democratic process of elections, voted into power those leaders that would act on their behalf, develop policies and implement those policies favouring the majority of the people. According to Hindess (2000:38), democracy represents a viable form of popular government, one that is appointed and ultimately answerable to the people themselves.

In the new democracy a number of institutions were established to act as watchdogs over government and hold government accountable for all their actions. The constitution refers to chapter nine institutions that support or ultimately strengthen constitutional democracy. People can contribute to supporting constitutional democracy by participating in the chapter nine institutions. A challenge that South Africans face is that only a limited number of people are aware of the existence of the chapter nine institutions. According to Marais (2010:61), one of the chapter nine institutions, namely the Public Protector, assists in establishing and maintaining efficient and proper public administration. There should be greater advocacy and education campaigns to make the populace aware of the existence and operations of such institutions. People’s dissatisfaction with government can result in a two-fold response, namely people can participate in voting the incumbent out of power or participate in the chapter nine institutions to ensure government accountability.

Heywood (1994:171) compares the voter to a consumer in the economic market. Political parties view consumers as the centre of their advance to government, therefore they will market themselves as the best party to advance the needs of the people. This notion of political participation is brought to the fore by Hoffman (2004:100) where the politicians are viewed as ‘sellers’ and the electorate seen as ‘buyers’. The marketing of political parties are more prevalent in the new political dispensation. Political parties and interest groups are referred to as political entrepreneurs due to them selling the political parties to the people and competing for the electorate’s vote. It is based on the premise that democracy is viewed as a competitive struggle for the peoples vote. The premise on which any political party builds its entry into politics is the investment in the future of the party through the votes of the people.
4.3 CRITICISM AGAINST DEMOCRACY

Political theorists view elections as an essential part of democracy and that elections are important for democratic stability in South Africa. Held (2003:186) alludes to people’s activities being confined to private affairs when voting and that it is the only political activity they participate in. Hindess (2000:39) states that the most important reason for representative democracy being viable is that the majority of citizens participate only in elections. Schumpeter’s argument was that the people do not really rule but the politicians do and people only participate during elections (Hoffman, 2004:100). A major criticism levelled at democracy is that people view elections as the only political activity they should participate in. In the view of Heywood (1994:169), representative democracy is limited due to popular participation through elections being infrequent. The people therefore see elections as the only means of political participation and the participation is considered as inconsistent.

According to Hoffman (2004:103), voting is necessary for the sufficient expression of citizens’ participation in decision-making. Hoffman further asserts that citizens should be responsible for policies made in their name. Citizens should not abdicate their responsibility of participating in elections and should not regard elections as the only means of political participation. Levin (2000:94) states that although voting is the simplest form of electing a government the citizens eligible to vote showed uneven participation in this area. A number of people therefore do not consider that voting is important. Democracy, according to Dahl (1998:48), guarantees the citizens of the country a number of fundamental rights which includes the right to vote. Dahl (1998:49) asserts that if democratic rights are not enforceable, then democracy has become a façade. It is therefore incumbent upon the citizens to contribute to decision-making and to act responsibly to ensure that their rights become enforceable.

4.4 DANGERS OF DEMOCRACY

According to Dahl (1998:47), a desirable consequence of democracy is to help to avoid autocratic rule but he warns against the ‘tyranny of the majority’. Majority rule
can have a negative impact on the citizens of a country if the majority impose on those citizens a government that focuses on corruption or the abuse of power. Dahl (1998:46) further states that popular governments’ can impose harm on citizens and disregard the human rights of citizens. Heywood (1994:167) refers to political writers such as Aristotle, recognising the virtues of popular participation but they feared the unrestrained democracy degenerating into ‘mob rule’. A danger that Dahl (1998:46) alludes to is that leaders driven by self-interest can exploit the resources for violence and coercion to serve their own ends. Heywood (1994:170) refers to the De Tocqueville expression of democracy always becoming liable to degenerate into tyranny against the individual if it is not checked. De Tocqueville (1999:110) states that unlimited power is dangerous and a bad thing and this is aptly described by Lord Acton stating that “power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely” (Heywood, 1994:20). It is therefore an essential part of democracy to embrace the concept of the separation of powers that Montesquieu introduced. Montesquieu explained that there could be no liberty if the judiciary is not separated from the legislature or the executive (Rosen & Wolff, 1999:117). The purpose of the separation of powers is to ensure that one branch of government does not have excessive power that will ultimately lead to the abuse of power.

Giliomee and Schlemmer (1989) warned that the danger for democracy is that a demagogue can be introduced that will become populist in nature. Huntington (1991:210) alludes to Dahl by stating that a problem that can be encountered by democracy is the ‘susceptibility to demagoguery’. Heywood (1994:167) poses the question as to what is being represented. Are leaders acting on behalf of the people to serve their best interests or are they self-serving? Heywood (1994:169) states that in modern democracies government is vested in the hands of the professional politicians. In the South African context political leaders who aspire to political office should have the capacity to govern effectively to improve the general welfare of the people.

Schumpeter (in Cunningham, 2002:10) illustrates that one of the conditions on which the success of democracy is built is the availability of qualified leaders. The elected leaders should therefore be qualified to improve the welfare of the citizens. Schumpeter (in Cunningham, 2002:10) asserts that leaders with expert knowledge
and competencies will govern. It is therefore, in the South African context, important that government representatives have the necessary expertise and knowledge to govern. A concern for theorists such as Tocqueville was that the elected leaders open themselves to abuse of power. Tocqueville’s misgiving about democracy was that it produced mediocre leaders that played on the emotions of the people to be elected (Cunningham, 2002:17).

4.5 THE BEHAVIOURAL MANIFESTATIONS OF DISILLUSIONMENT IN NEW DEMOCRACIES

According to Huntington (1991:265-266), behavioural manifestations in new democracies can lead to resignation, cynicism and withdrawal from politics. Huntington further states that it could lead to a decline in voting levels after experiencing high levels of voting during the transition period. Another manifestation of disillusionment could be the occurrence of violence. Society or communities turn to violence as a last resort when government is ineffective in terms of service delivery. Violence is symptomatic of the erosion of the government’s effectiveness and legitimacy (Roskin, Cord, Medeiros & Jones, 1994:364). The chaos that occurred in the northern areas is a result of the lack of service delivery. Protests in Kleinskool, Booyzen Park and Bethelsdorp suburbs of the northern areas of Port Elizabeth, was an attempt by residents to alert local government to the lack of service delivery in the areas (Wilson, 2010:2). Residents in the area of Kleinskool claimed that government failed to honour their promises and that is the reason people embarked on the protests (Wilson, 2010:1).

McKaiser (in Booyzen, 2007:26), in reference to the Coloured communities in the Western Cape, states that these communities were more disapproving of political protests than their black African Western Cape counterparts. In the northern areas of Port Elizabeth political protests are limited to certain parts of the area and it is therefore not a popular mechanism to voice dissatisfaction against the lack of service delivery. Booyzen (2007:22) asserts that the politics of getting service delivery has shifted away from the sole reliance on the mechanism of voting and representation towards using the mechanism of voting and protest to obtain a more effective service delivery. People participated in protest action but thereafter exercise their democratic
right to vote and according to Booysen (2007:26) voting and protest action co-exist. Protest action is therefore a means to bring issues and concerns of societies to the attention of authorities. The print and electronic media, in this regard, plays an important role to make the broader populace aware of the issues of the affected communities.

Democracy, according to Huntington (1991:66), is premised on majority rule and democracy is difficult in a situation of concentrated inequalities. The growing inequalities in South Africa could be a contributing factor to a disillusioned populace. According to Smith (2003:262), continuing high inequality following the inauguration of democracy is likely to lead to a loss of legitimacy and a breakdown of the regime. Guelke (2005:216) states that the viability of the new democracy is threatened by bureaucratic incapacity, the inability of the state to make meaningful progress in deracialising the economic system and its failure to alleviate the widespread poverty and social deprivation inherited from apartheid. Guelke (2005:216) further states that South Africa has remained a very unequal society in terms of the distribution of income and wealth and the current scale of inequality provides grounds for casting doubt on the authenticity or completeness of the transition. According to Smith (2003:279), democratic stability is unlikely to be achieved unless there is economic growth. Przeworski and Limongi (1997:178) state that economic growth increases the chances that democracy would survive, while democracy does not impede economic growth. It is a common belief that economic growth would increase employment and minimal government interference in the economy is needed. Economic growth is one of the requirements of democracy. According to Gumede (2005:100), the South African economy needs to grow by at least 5 to 6% a year in order to absorb the unemployed and start dealing with the crippling inequalities created by apartheid.

A feature of representative democracy since the advent of democracy in South Africa is that the majority of the poor and previously marginalised expected an immediate change in people’s socio-economic conditions. When representative governments are unable to improve the general welfare of the people, they could resign from participating in the political process or resort to violent protests to make themselves heard. Many at the grassroots conclude that the politicians care far more about
themselves and each other than about voters (Friedman, 2008). This could be one of the reasons for political apathy or disengagement from the political process. Political entrepreneurs who could use the people’s socio-economic conditions to secure their votes can easily manipulate people in this category. A negative aspect of the link between political participation and the socio-economic conditions of the citizens is that people can disengage themselves from the political process.

*Coloureds* have historically been ‘less oppressed’ than the country’s indigenous African majority, but this diverse grouping continues to be severely disadvantaged in relation to white South Africans (Anderson, 2003:49). Failure of any government to effectively deal with the essential needs of the people can lead to increasing alienation of the people from political participation. According to Manor (1991:107), the desire for democracy will disappear for many, if there is no social democratisation. “*Sustaining democracy or a successful democratic transition requires that democratic regimes be capable of fulfilling the people’s expectations*” (Nzongola-Ntalaja & Lee, 1997:19). The lack of service delivery, job creation and accountability could be regarded as the catalyst leading to political apathy. Political apathy is not a natural occurrence but is constructed through enormous effort and a collusion of a variety of different sections of the community (Levin, 2000:98).

According to Schulz-Herzenberg (2009:2), voters are not unquestionably bound to their parties by strong partisan loyalties and that voters do evaluate the incumbent’s performance. Voters are willing to withdraw support from the incumbent party if they disapprove of the party’s performance but are unlikely to move their support to another party (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2009:1). Macpherson (in Hoffman, 2004) argues that apathy, previously seen as a sign of stability have turned to alienation. The lack of service delivery and the growing inequalities in the South African context can lead to apathy and therefore political disengagement. According to Huntington (1991:48), the legitimacy of most regimes declines over time as choices are made, promises are unrealised and frustration develops. A feature in Western political thought of representative democracy focuses on the supposed apathy and narrow self-interest of the relatively poor and uneducated majority (Hindess, 2000:39). Limited education and persistent socio-economic inequalities can contribute to the marginalised
disengaging from the political process. The politically educated with no party loyalties will consider policies of opposition parties and their decisions will be based on that.

4.6 VOTING AND VOTER EDUCATION

According to Roberts and Letsoalo (2009), the sense of civic duty to vote is deeply entrenched, with 80% of South Africans over 16 years subscribing to this viewpoint in late 2008. It is further stated that this perception does not necessarily lead to a convergence to vote (Roberts & Letsoalo, 2009). The number of voter records, as suggested by the IEC, increased between 1999 and 2004 but there are still over 7 million voters remaining unregistered (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2009:3). An important question that can be posed is if compulsory voting should be instituted to increase citizens' participation? Hoffman (2004:104) refers to Lijphart, a proponent of compulsory voting, who commented that compulsory voting is an extension of universal suffrage. Universal adult suffrage is one of the values on which the South African Constitution is built. The citizens in any society have a responsibility to exercise their right to vote and the Constitution protects that right. Hoffman (2004:104) asserts that compulsory voting would encourage people to take an interest in political affairs and it signals the existence of a civic responsibility. The enforcement of universal adult suffrage in comparison with what transpired in the apartheid era with the CRC and other bodies created ‘parallel development’ which lead to the alienation of the people from the political process.

The present political dispensation and apartheid period can be inextricably linked in terms of the rights of all South Africans. During the apartheid period only a section of the populace possessed the right to vote. The new political dispensation ushered in an era where the rights of all the citizens were enshrined in the Bill of Rights. According to Hoffman (2004:103), basic rights and responsibilities are linked. He explains that although people have the right to abstain from the voting, the abstinence can harm the society at large. People have the right to hold government accountable and if any government does not serve to improve the general welfare of the people, it can be replaced at the ballot box.
The South African political dispensation can be considered to be in its infancy stage or in transition. Ramphele (2010) argues that there is a need for people in the country to be educated with regards to democracy. Political parties in any country play an important role in voter education but in South Africa a chapter nine institution that supports constitutional democracy is indispensable in this regard. Lodge (1999:199) asserts that the IEC, a chapter nine institution, failed in terms of voter education. Ramphele (2010) states that most people are new to democracy and the IEC has failed in its role to increase the education of South Africans in respect of democracy. The blame for the lack of voter participation is apportioned to the IEC but it is also due to the lack of voter education at school level, where the youth are not educated about democracy (Ramphele, 2010). Education about democracy can be included in the Life Orientation programme of the school curriculum to create awareness of democracy amongst the youth. According to Roberts and Letsoalo (2009), black youth expressed more positive attitudes or ‘democratic enthusiasm’ than other population groups towards voting. They further state that it highlights the need for targeted interventions for various sub-categories of youth to encourage civic and political participation. In reference to the 1999 elections, Lodge (1999:207) highlights the international trend of low levels of youth participation. The low level of youth participation in elections was also evident in the United Kingdom (Kimberlee, 2002:85). He states that young people have become issue orientated and do not see the importance of being part of political parties. Young people in South Africa want to witness the emergence of initiatives by government that will focus on issues that affect the youth such as improving the educational system and access to the job-market. Government initiatives must appeal to a wider audience and not be concentrated in a particular geographical area.

According to Levin (2000:98), voter education must deal with the technicalities of voting and with the politics of voting, democracy and democratic practice. Levin further states that voter education only relates broadly to issues of political apathy. The IEC must endeavour to play a more meaningful role in establishing reasons that lead to disengagement or political apathy. According to Lodge (1999:3), democratic consolidation depends on the quality of political culture and voters’ choice should represent choices that are considered and well-informed about the alternative policies of different parties.
The NP before the 1994 elections and the Democratic Alliance (DA) in recent elections used the race factor to gain support of the *Coloured* people (Adhikari, 2006:177). The political parties that are in opposition to the ANC play on the fear and emotions of the *Coloured* people to gain their support. People should focus on the manifestos of political parties and how these parties can improve their lives before casting their votes. According to Colomer (2003:38), hazardous suffrage implied that ignorant voters might be deceived and vote against their own interests. This leads to the conclusion that voter education in South African is important. Cloete (1993:37) asserts that the existence of more than one political party in a state is necessary to provide political training for the politically unsophisticated and inexperienced voters. He further states that parties can contribute to the political training and development of the population. Sadie (1998:264) agrees with Cloete that political parties play an important role in voter education. Sadie (1998:264) states that political parties can provide training on how to campaign, nurture political skills and enlighten people on contemporary issues. Voters should also be sufficiently interested in and informed about politics to be able to move their support based on evaluations of the incumbents’ performance.

4.7 THE IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Huntington (1991:66) states that democracy contributes to political stability by providing regular opportunities for changing political leaders and changing public policies. Schumpeter holds the view that because people have the right to vote the choice between competing parties gives them the power to protect themselves against ‘tyrannical rulers’ (Hoffman, 2004:101). Cloete (1993:36) states that democracy requires the existence of more than one party to take part in elections. One of the values enshrined in the South African Constitution is a multiparty democratic system. According to Southall (2001:17), the immediate question posed by the dominant party thesis is how effective can society in South Africa be by calling government to account if government faces no credible threat of being replaced at the polls? Society has an integral part to play in keeping government accountable to the people through action groups, opposition parties and non-governmental organisations.
Political parties provide the link between government and the citizens (Sadie, 1998:264). The people in a representative democracy participate in decision-making through their duly elected representatives. According to Sadie (1998:264), it gives the people the feeling that they are not completely powerless. Political parties have an important role in the entrenchment of democracy and democratic practices in South Africa. In cases of weak civil society, political parties are the key link between masses and elites, and play an absolutely crucial role in building a sustainable democratic polity (Reilly). According to February (in Buhlengu, Daniel, Southall & Lutchman, 2006:135), the Constitution envisages not only formal democracy where citizens elect their representatives, but also an ongoing interaction between citizens and their elected representatives. Accountability in the current structure is hampered by the structural deficiency of the present system (Sadie, 1998:264). Sadie states that there is a gap due to members of parliament no longer being elected by a particular constituency. Members do not represent a particular constituency and are therefore more accountable to the political parties than to a particular constituency. Booysen (2007:23), in referring to local government, states that there should be report back meetings or community visits to councillors to reinforce the demands and needs of the residents. Booysen (2007:23) is of the view that unsatisfactory levels of councillor contact with communities in many parts of the country exist. The lack of accountability by the political parties to the electorate can develop a citizenry that will disengage from the political process and further develop a schism between the people and political parties.

4.8 POPULAR PARTICIPATION

Heywood (1994:170) states that liberal democracies respect the existence of a vigorous and healthy civil society. Participation should not be limited to elections but should transcend elections. In referring to Mill, Hindess (2000:40) states that when people participate in their own government it increases a sense of and promotes a greater form of national character. Popular participation increases the sense of belonging. The citizens in the country have, through the participation in civil society organisations, an opportunity to make a positive contribution to the development of the country.
Hindess (2000:39) states that for the overwhelming majority in a democracy, political participation is limited to elections. Hindess (2000:39) further states that for the active minority, participation is channelled through a range of competing parties, movements and pressure groups. Citizens' participation through democratic means develops a greater opportunity for them to keep the elected government accountable to them. Hindess (2000:38) believes the political participation is limited due to large populations and in part by ignorance and the political apathy of the majority. It is therefore important to build a strong civil society to create a greater sense of participation in political decision-making. Tocqueville defended the importance of a strong civil society in preventing the abuse of power by the rulers (Brinkel, 2006:74). Charles Taylor considered respecting civil society as the deepening of democracy (Brinkel, 2006:76). Cloete (1993:29) defines society as any number of human beings who belong to an association established to protect and promote particular interests. Cloete (1993) further states that a healthy civil society is essential for democracy. Civil society organisations play an important role in keeping government accountable to the electorate. O'Donnell (in Burnell & Randall, 2005:195) refers to vertical accountability which makes the government accountable to the ballot box and includes supervision by civil society and opposition parties as well as a network of relatively autonomous institutions. A strong civil society contributes to good governance and the development of a good democracy (Brinkel, 2006:83). A strong civil society is not only important to the citizens of the country but also to any government. According to Steven Friedman, the greatest pressure on government to account for its policies comes from the civil society (Brinkel, 2006:192). Brinkel (2006:83) asserts that in a strong civil society, a culture of participation and responsibility is developed. A strong civil society will contribute to a greater degree of political participation and the strengthening of democracy. The involvement in civil society leads to a deepened kind of democratic politics and to self-empowerment by poorer communities (Brinkel, 2006:193).

The problem with the lack of participation in civil society activities is that elections are seen as the means of participation and hence public representatives are not held accountable for their actions. Apathy and the lack of political participation can be viewed by the public representatives as a means to encourage corrupt practices. Levin (2000:94) asserts that in order for democratic objectives such as non-racism,
non-sexism, democracy and unity to be achieved requires an engaged and mobilised population. Engagement in the political process should transcend elections. In order for politics and society in South Africa to transform then not only representative democracy but also participatory democracy is required (Levin, 2000:94). A culture of popular participation is required to transform society from focussing on intermittent political participation to participation that is increased in all spheres of political life.

According to Brinkel (2006:185), the struggle against apartheid developed a strong culture of participatory democracy but leaders active in civil society organisations were co-opted into the new democratic government. This scenario considerably weakened the effectiveness of civil society organisations. The concern for participatory democracy in South Africa is that after 1994, many civil society organisations fell into a crisis (Brinkel, 2006:187). Many organisations that formed part of the anti-apartheid movement were assimilated into the ruling party. Civil society organisations lost leaders to the new democratic government (Brinkel, 2006:187). The new democratic government used the expertise of leaders schooled in civil society to contribute to government. The challenge for civil society organisations was that only a limited number of leaders have been developed to replace those usurped into government.

According to Bauer (2009:29), local government is an important level of participatory democracy where the electorate as end-users and consumers play an active role in holding government accountable for their actions. The development of a greater participation in civil society organisations will lead to the development of democracy at grassroots level and will ultimately lead to a culture of political participation.

4.9 **COLOURED POLITICAL IDENTITY IN THE DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA**

Hoffman (2004:63) purports that a drive towards homogenization in terms of promoting a national identity is incompatible with democracy and it crushes diversity. The dilemma for any government in the new political dispensation was whether the separatist agenda should be continued or whether a unified nation should be advanced? Many people classified as *Coloured* opposed the imposed identity during
the apartheid period. The advent of the democracy promised a political scenario where the focus would not be on identity but on equality. Huddy (2001:130) argues that not everyone identifies strongly with their ethnic or racial identity. The activists involved in the Black Consciousness Movement, according to Boesak (2009:100), rejected the imposed identities and embraced non-racism. The meaning of a non-racial society in summary, according to Professor Derek Swartz (2001) in a paper delivered to the summit of the ANC-SACP-COSATU Alliance, was breaking the back of racism and restoring the dignity of black people. The new democratic dispensation ushered in an era where it was envisaged that people would be respected as human beings and not viewed in terms of their race.

The political parties, in their quest for the Coloured vote, to the contrary embraced the distinct imposed identity. Integration, according to Hoffman (2004:61), is an attempt to bring people together in a manner that does not downplay their differences. In the case of people schooled in the Black Consciousness Movement, it was opposed to the identification of people according to race. The imposed designation and separation have cemented a distinctive community from heterogeneous elements (Martin, 2001:249). The apartheid policies, in particular the Group Areas Act of the 1950’s, forced people to embrace a singular identity and group together. According to Alexander (2002:104), certain physiological and psychological events, structures and mechanisms have an influence on how people acquire identities. The compartmentalisation by the apartheid government has resulted in how people perceive themselves. The imposition of the distinct identity contributed to people defined as Coloured internalising the stigma of being identified as inferior beings (Martin, 2001:251). The internalisation of the imposed Coloured identity contributed to a strong ‘in group’ identity. South African social identities have important consequences for democratic values among ordinary people (Gibson & Gouws, 2003:73). According to Gibson and Gouws (2003:75), scholars argued that strong group loyalties and identities undermine democracy if based on ascriptive characteristics and according to Alexander (2002:105) ascriptive identities are difficult to change.

The government recognised the different cultures and the constitution guaranteed that the rights of all South Africans are protected by protecting the diversified cultural
groups. The new South Africa introduced possibilities of ethnic mobilisation and witnessed the resurgence of Colouredism with many people who had rejected the identity embracing it (Adhikari, 2006:175). The new dispensation ushered in an era where people embraced the notion of ethnic identities. The reinvention of the Khoisan ethnic identity can thus be viewed as the ethnic mobilisation of Coloured people and identifying with a slave past (Adhikari, 2006:178). The Khoisan group has the power to advance their identity and culture but the danger of advancing their rights could lead to divisiveness.

A reason for embracing the Coloured identity could be attributed to the ANC after the advent of democracy. The ANC was responsible for re-introducing the Coloured identity (Martin, 2001:255). Alexander (2002:109) asserts that our primary identity should be that of being South African. The argument against the identification in terms of race can be that it could lead to the secularisation of people and therefore to stigmatisation that people rejected in the apartheid period.

4.10 COLOURED POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS

Alexander (2002:160) criticises the establishment of political organisations to further the ethnic interests of particular ethnic groups. According to Alexander (2002:160), the new democratic openness created political and ideological spaces which certain organisations attempted to occupy for electoral power. He explains that the purpose of this was to create opportunities for themselves due to the fact that identities such as the Griqua are being marketed. The Constitution advances the promotion and the protection of the rights of cultural, religious and linguistic communities. Alexander (2002:161) warns a Commission for the Promotion and the Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities of South Africa creates the possibility of leading to tribal or ethnic politics. He refers to the proponents of these as ethnic entrepreneurs who resort to ethnic mobilisation to further the interests of a particular ethnic group.

Taylor (in Huddy, 2001:28) states that demands for group respect and recognition were at the heart of new social movements that argue for the rights of women, religious minorities, diverse ethnic and racial groups, and gays and lesbians.
Organisations such as the Kleurling Weerstandsbeweging (KWB) and BBI were established to fight specifically for the needs of the Coloured people. There are major criticisms levelled at political organisations for promoting the interests of Coloured or Brown people in isolation from other racial groups. Alexander (2002:105) warns against opportunistic attempts to invent or reinvent identities by power-seeking or aspiring elites that can lead to ethnic fragmentation in post-colonial South Africa. The establishment of an organisation such as the KWB could be due to what Adhikari (2006:178) refers to as retreating into a laager of Coloured exclusivism. Organisations such as the BBI and the KWB are established to protect and promote the rights of Coloured people. The danger with bodies such as these is that it can create a measure of exclusivity and can lead to the isolation and fragmentation of Coloured people. Gibson and Gouws (in Huddy, 2001:130) found that strong racial and ethnic identities among South Africans increase their perceived need for group solidarity, which in turn produces greater antipathy toward out groups, increasing the perception that such groups pose a threat and promotes intolerance.

Tajfel (in Huddy, 2001:133) implicitly assumed that individuals labelled as group members would categorize themselves as such and internalize the group label as a social identity. Organisations historically established to advance the rights of Coloured people in isolation from other racial groups had a short life span and was considered as ephemeral. According to Adhikari (2006:185), initiatives such as the KWB, the Brown Nationalist Front, the Brown Democratic Party and the Coloured Forum have remained marginal or existed in name only.

A major question for people defined as Coloured is whether they have a role to play in the political sphere and if it should be in isolation from other racial groups. In the apartheid period Coloured people occupied an intermediate position between Africans and whites. The latest in the organisations established to advance the rights of Coloured people has been the BBI. According to Essop (2008), the BBI aims to promote the Coloured interests by taking the role as a watchdog organisation. The organisation attempted to make a significant impact on policies affecting Coloured people. The reason for an organisation like the BBI was due to the perceived lack of political activity amongst Coloured people. At present there is a perceived lack of participation in civic organisations or civil society as a whole amongst Coloured
people. Professor Jonathan Jansen (2008) criticised the establishment of an organisation such as the BBI. According to Jansen, the BBI is attempting to resurrect the Coloured identity and therefore manipulating it for self-gain. Adhikari (2006:185) states that for many the marginalisation of Coloured people in the new South Africa was a reality. The initiation of such an organisation could be a contributing factor in creating divisiveness in the political landscape in South Africa but on the contrary the Constitution protects the rights of such minority groups.

4.11 THE ELECTION PERIOD 1994 TO 2009

According to Huntington (1991:9), open, free and fair elections are the ‘sine qua non’ of democracy. South Africa experienced relatively free and fair elections since the advent of the democratic dispensation. Young (2002:23), in referring to the normative ideals of deliberative model of democracy, states that political equality means the legitimising of the process through the inclusion of those affected in the discussion and decision-making. Young further states that those included in the political process should be included on equal terms. This is based on the lack of coercion or threats to accept the proposals or outcome of elections. People should therefore be free from domination. Pericles (in Dahl, 1998:51) states that freedom extends to citizens’ ordinary life. The South African Constitution of 1996 contains a number of freedoms. Citizens can protect their rights better if they participate in the decision-making process and ultimately hold government accountable for their actions (Dahl, 1998:53). Citizens can express their political preferences through the ballot box. According to Booysen (2007:21), in liberal democracies such as South Africa’s post-1994 system, it is expected of citizens to express their policy needs or preferences by making a choice between the electoral programmes of rival political parties. Regular elections provide an important accountability mechanism by allowing citizens to decide whether or not to extend a government’s tenure (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2000). Elections have become a central part of the process of state rebuilding and represent a key step in a broader process of building political institutions and legitimate government (Reilly). The citizens of the country have an opportunity to participate in elections every five years and vote a new government into power. The democratic dispensation in South Africa ushered in a sense of greater desire to contribute to political decision-making.
In the run up to the 1994 elections the political parties contributed to heightened race consciousness with Nelson Mandela recognising Coloured ethnicity and the NP introducing the black peril tactics (Adhikari, 2006:177). The ANC currently is the dominant party but in terms of political choice most voters still vote along racial lines. Lodge (1999:3) states that when political parties perceive and project themselves as representatives of a particular racial group this could lead to the limitation of voter choice. The 1994 elections represented a racial census and Mattes noted that political choices correlated with racial identity may have been a consequence of material interests and ideological perceptions (Lodge, 1999:15). Class related differences in voting behaviour among Indians and Coloureds were observed according to Lodge (1999). Reilly further asserts that the easiest way to mobilise voter support at election time is often to appeal to the very same insecurities that generated the original conflict. Parties have a strong incentive to ‘play the ethnic card’ or to take hard-line positions on key identity-related issues, with predictable consequences for the wider process of democratisation (Reilly). The 1994 elections were widely described as a ‘racial or ethnic census’, since the electoral outcome seemed to reflect a link between the voter and his/her race or ethnicity.

ANC voters are far more likely to stay at home than to vote for the opposition if their discontent with the party continues (Friedman, 2008). Activists and voters on the left could follow such a route and abstain from voting instead of voting for the former oppressors or a white-dominated party. This is still an indication of voting along racial lines. Cross-regional and multi-ethnic parties that compete for the centre ground appear to be a crucial determinant of broader democratic consolidation and peace-building, particularly in societies split along ethnic lines (Reilly). The dominant competing political parties in South Africa can be considered as multi-ethnic in its composition but the parties still appeal to certain population groups. The closed-list proportional representation system used in South Africa’s 1994 elections enabled the major political parties to voluntarily adopt a multi-ethnic candidate composition thus enabling the major ‘black’ party, the ANC, to place white and Coloured members at winnable places on their candidate list (Reilly). The minority groups within the ruling party were placed in positions on the electoral lists to appeal to specific racial groups and thus attract the support of those racial groups. The Coloured voting power was evident in the Western and Northern Cape (Adhikari, 2006:177). The dominance of
the *Coloured* people was also evident in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth. Fifteen years into the democratic period partisan support still appears racially aligned or, at least, motivated by notions of group politics (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2009:2).

One consequence of identity voting has been that South Africans have turned out at the polls in large numbers compared to most other democracies (Friedman, 2008). According to Schulz-Herzenberg (2009), the number of votes cast (overall turnout) actually decreased by roughly 3.9 million between the 1994 and 2004 elections. She states that in the 2009 elections, however, the decline in turnout halted and voter turnout increased very slightly from 76.7% in 2004 to 77%. Actual votes cast also increased by approximately 2.5 million (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2009). There was particularly high interest from voters in traditionally DA-supporting areas (Kimmie, Greben & Booysen, 2010:106). The northern areas in Port Elizabeth have traditionally been dominated by political parties such as the NP and currently the DA is the dominant party. In the analysis of the 2009 elections, Kimmie *et al.* (2010:102) states that combinations of demographic, geographic and ethno-racial-cultural identities continue to permeate much of the landscape of political orientations and choice of political parties in elections. The electorate therefore focussed on the racial identity and the demographic dominance of political parties. There was a strong sense of political renewal and a mild sense of political uncertainty and the IEC achieved a substantially enlarged voters’ roll (Kimmie *et al.*, 2010:104).

### 4.12 SECONDARY DATA ANALYSIS: NATIONAL ELECTIONS 1999 TO 2009

The information for the analysis of the election results was obtained from the IEC. The advantages linked to the use of secondary analysis are that it is cheaper than doing original surveys (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:265). The information is secondary in nature because statistics are obtained from election results of voting districts in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth. The 1994 elections was South Africa’s first as a democracy. The 1994 national and provincial elections were being managed by an interim electoral commission and, according to Booysen (2009:10), the event was conducted without a voters roll and the voter turnout was credibly high. The purpose for the analysis was to compare the conversion of voter registration to actual votes.
The analysis of the elections was therefore based on the 1999 to the 2009 national election results per voting station in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth. The results of the elections are based on the four voting stations in which the data collection process occurred.

### Table 1.3: National Election Results 1999-2009

**VOTING STATION: BETHELSDORP SENIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of voting</th>
<th>Registered voters</th>
<th>Actual votes cast</th>
<th>Percentage of votes cast</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>2360</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>79,49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>2645</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>74,63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>2741</td>
<td>2037</td>
<td>74,32%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: IEC*

### Table 1.4: National Election Results 1999-2009

**VOTING STATION: BETHELSDORP COMMUNITY CENTRE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of voting</th>
<th>Registered voters</th>
<th>Actual votes cast</th>
<th>Percentage of votes cast</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>2326</td>
<td>1830</td>
<td>78,68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>2307</td>
<td>1344</td>
<td>58,26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>2705</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>68,43%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: IEC*

### Table 1.5: National Election Results 1999-2009

**VOTING STATION: CHATTY HALL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of voting</th>
<th>Registered voters</th>
<th>Actual votes cast</th>
<th>Percentage of votes cast</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>1497</td>
<td>83,17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>1778</td>
<td>1110</td>
<td>62,43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>1768</td>
<td>1260</td>
<td>71,27%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: IEC*

### Table 1.6: National Election Results 1999-2009

**VOTING STATION: ASTRA PRIMARY SCHOOL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of voting</th>
<th>Registered voters</th>
<th>Actual votes cast</th>
<th>Percentage of votes cast</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>1618</td>
<td>1408</td>
<td>87,02%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>1705</td>
<td>1183</td>
<td>69,38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>1818</td>
<td>1593</td>
<td>87,62%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: IEC*
The information obtained of election results referred to in Tables 1.3 to 1.6, reflects a decline in voter participation in the 2004 national elections. This is in comparison with the 1999 national elections. The 2009 elections reflect an overall increase in participation except for one ward referred to in Table 1.3. The 2009 elections results are an indication of greater participation of the electorate in terms of voting but the overall participation in comparative elections indicates a measure of inconsistency. The electorate is becoming aware of the importance of casting their votes and this indicates a decline in terms of voter apathy. The conversion in terms of registered voters translated into actual votes can be increased.

4.13 CONCLUSION

Calland and Graham (2005:22) highlight the importance of democracy in stating that the deepening and entrenchment of democracy are fundamental to the future and prosperity of South Africa. Democracy is important for people to participate in politics and people therefore through the democratic process have the power to vote government into power. Through the process of voting, citizens indirectly take part in decision-making. The elected representatives are therefore answerable to the people. Voters are considered as consumers that will select a political party that will serve their interests the best. Non-participation of the electorate can lead to the abuse of power and ultimately to corruption. The current socio-economic inequalities and the lack of accountability by political representatives can lead to political protests and to violence that the northern areas of Port Elizabeth have experienced in 1990 and at present. The disillusionment by the people has led to violent protests but can also lead to apathy and a decline in electoral participation.

Civil society organisations have a crucial role to play in the political education of the populace in terms of the values of democracy. This can be a contributing factor in the participation in elections but also in political activities outside of elections. Targeted interventions by civil society organisations and by the IEC can increase voter participation. Political parties have a pivotal role to play in being accountable to the people and being the bridge between the citizens and government.
A negative aspect of the democratic dispensation has been the resurgence of the *Coloured* identity and the electorate voting along racial lines. Voter education can contribute to potential voters being educated on democracy and therefore voting based on the performance of political parties. This behaviour will therefore be an indication of an electorate focusing on the performance of a governing party and not in blind allegiance to a particular party. This would lead to the considerable strengthening of democracy in South Africa.
CHAPTER FIVE
FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS: QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter will discuss the research methodology followed by the findings of the study. A qualitative tool that was utilised in the form of face-to-face semi-structured interviews attempted to gain information on levels of political participation and the extent of disengagement of the Coloured people in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth in the political process in the democratic dispensation. The reason for using interviews was to gain an understanding of the individual attitudes, beliefs and feelings of leaders within the respective community. The interview format consisted of open-ended questions. According to Aberbach and Rockman (2002:673), open-ended questions are the best method to probe for information and to give respondents maximum flexibility to structure their responses. The open ended questions was utilised to give respondents the opportunity to give their views on how they perceived the political behaviour in terms of participation of Coloured people. The other consideration, according to Aberbach and Rockman (2002:674), in using the open-ended approach is to provide greater opportunity for the respondents in their responses within their own framework. The respondents had the opportunity to give their view on political participation of Coloured people and were allowed to answer according to their frame of reference. Aberbach and Rockman (2002) further mention that such an approach increases the validity of the responses and allows the respondents to be receptive to the interviewing process (Aberbach & Rockman, 2002). The interviewees were given the assurance of confidentiality of the interview and the researcher built rapport with the interviewees to allow for responses that produced greater insight into the historical political participation of Coloured people.

5.2 DATA SAMPLING IN INTERVIEWS

According to Aberbach and Rockman (2002:673), if one aims to make inferences about a larger population then one must draw a systematic sample. Participants were recruited based on their race, age and geographical location. The level of experience
and the knowledge that the respondents had of the northern areas were a key factor in their selection. Researchers, according to Leedy and Ormrod (2005:145), select those individuals or objects that yield the most information about the topic under investigation. The participants had a history of involvement in the political activities in the northern areas through political activism during the apartheid period and holding political office in the post-apartheid democratic dispensation. The participants also had an involvement in community development in the northern areas. The data sampling for conducting of interviews made use of the purposive approach. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001:166), the sampling is used when the researcher selects the sample on the basis of his or her own knowledge of the population, its elements and the nature of the research. The researcher selected the participants on the basis of his and the participants knowledge of the northern areas and their involvement in the northern areas community.

The researcher contacted the participants telephonically on October, 8th 2010 to determine their availability for the interviews and the follow-up correspondence consisted of an electronic letter on October, 11th 2010 requesting the interview and a transcript of the research questions. The interviewees were advised that the interview would be voluntary, that the interview would be audio recorded and transcribed. The interviewees would be anonymously quoted in the research project to protect their identities.

The target sample is a well-defined group however this study argues that Coloured people are a heterogeneous group. Six of ten interviews were conducted due to the non-availability of prospective interviewees who possessed the knowledge of the history of the northern areas. The study attempted to gain an understanding of the level of political participation by Coloured people, the perception of the Coloured vote by political parties and if Coloured people embraced a distinct political identity resonating in the level and type of political participation. The purpose of the interview also attempted to establish what would lead to an increase in political participation in the next national elections in 2014 and the role of the BBI in current political dispensation. The interviews therefore attempted to elicit the views and the understanding of the interviewees on the political participation of Coloured people in
the northern areas of Port Elizabeth because of their knowledge of the activities of the people in area.

According to Leedy and Ormrod (2005:147), a more suitable and quiet place where interviews are conducted contributes to the success of interviews. Four of the interviews were conducted in an environment where there were minimal interference and this contributed to the success of those interviews. The other two were conducted in areas where background noise contributed to hampering the interviews. The interviews were recorded using an Olympus VN-5500PC digital voice recorder and transcribed for the data analysis. The average length of the interviews was forty-five minutes. The Olympus VN’s are considered as digital note-takers that are ideal for people who wish to save their thoughts and ideas hassle-free. The PC connection of the Olympus “increases versatility by allowing you to download files onto your computer for filing and archiving”. According to Townsend (2010:65), the recorder converts voice recordings into digital signals, which are then compressed and recorded to storage media. In reference to Harran (2006), these sound files can also be attached and sent to participants or transcribers via email using the dictation software (Townsend, 2010). The copies of the transcriptions were emailed to participants for commentary on the authenticity and reliability of the information. The transcription of the interviews and verification by the participants was done by December, 8th 2010 and the thematic Nvivo coding was completed by December, 15th 2010.

5.3 PARTICIPANT CONFIDENTIALITY

The collection of data in a qualitative study is useful in a sense where important information is to be gained. Leedy and Ormrod (2005:144) state that the participants in the study must be willing and data should not be traced back to the participating individuals. This therefore leads to the protection of the interviewees. The six interviewees were provided with a letter requesting their permission to conduct the interview and were guaranteed confidentiality and anonymity as best as possible. The interviewees were referred to as interviewee number one to number six in order to protect their identities. Babbie (1999:403) states that in order to protect the

83
participants, that the identifying information can be removed from the interview booklet when the interview has been verified.

5.4 ADVANTAGES OF INTERVIEWS

The qualitative research has a number of advantages adding to the validity. According to Leedy and Ormrod (2005:184), face-to-face interviews enable the researcher to establish rapport with participants. This would lead to an interview environment being created that will enable the interviewee to trust the researcher and being more prepared to open up. The interview enables the researcher to add to the richness of the study by gaining an in-depth knowledge of the experiences of the interviewee and their perceptions of the political participation in the northern areas. Flick (2007:95) highlights a number of advantages of qualitative research such as revealing possible connections, reasons, effects and even the dynamics of social processes. Flick (2007) further mentions that only qualitative research with an unstructured collection of data can reveal that. During the interview the researcher posed a question to interviewees on the existence of political apathy and the reasons for it. The interviewee could therefore make a connection between political apathy and its causes.

According to Cresswell (1994:150), advantages of conducting interviews are that the informants can provide historical information. In view of the research topic the respondents provided historical information of the political participation of the Coloured population in the period prior to 1994. Interviewee number six referred to the role of the LP under the leadership of Reverend Hendrickse during the apartheid period that had an influence on his congregants in the Union Congregational Church in Uitenhage and he purports that Hendrickse used the church as a means to garner support for his party. He also refers to SACOS that played a role in the Coloured community in opposing apartheid through sport. He further asserts that the 1990 uprising in the northern areas, although perceived as looting, was a means for Coloured people to express themselves politically through the protests. The protests were as a result of the opposition of the people of the northern areas to the municipal rent increases.
According to Leedy and Ormrod (2005:184), in a semi-structured interview, the researcher may follow the standard questions with individually tailored questions to obtain clarity or probe a person's reasoning. The interview creates the space for the interviewer to probe and extract information from the respondent. The researcher posed the question to interviewee number five on what would lead to improved political participation amongst Coloured people in Port Elizabeth. The response of the interviewee was that better service delivery can lead to a heightened political participation. The researcher followed this with a probing question of whether there are organisations in the area that are responsible for voter education and if they are visible. Voter education plays an important role in educating people on the importance of voting and Ramphele (2010) argues that there is a need for people to be educated with regards to democracy.

5.5 LIMITATIONS OF INTERVIEWS

According to Cresswell (1994:150), there are a number of disadvantages or limitations linked to the conducting of interviews. He states that interviews provided indirect information filtered through the views of interviewees. The interviewee can submit a subjective view of the political participation of the Coloured people. The interviewees were selected based on their knowledge and experience of the political participation of Coloured people in the northern areas. On the contrary, their views or recollections of history can also be erroneous. Leedy and Ormrod (2005:146) states that when posing questions about past events, people rely on their memories and memories are subject to considerable distortion. The response of interviewee number five in reference to the tri-cameral elections held in 1984 and 1989 stated that there has been greater participation amongst Coloured people then in comparison to the current democratic dispensation. This assumption is incorrect because only 30.9% of registered voters voted in 1984 (Van der Ross, 1986) and 1989 elections were characterized by low polls (Du Pre, 1994).

5.6 RELIABILITY

Flick (2007:16), in reference to the reliability of qualitative data, states that the reformulation of the concept of reliability aims at making the production of data more
transparent in order for researchers and readers to check the comparison of the statements of the interviewee and the interpretation by the researcher. The interviews will be archived at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University in the event that readers wanted to make a comparison between the actual interview and the interpretation of the interviewer.

5.7 DATA ANALYSIS

Qualitative data analysis can be defined as the non-numerical examination and interpretation of observations, for the purpose of underlying meanings and patterns of relationships (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:646). The collected data had been collected and thereafter transcribed in written texts, analyzed and coded using the NVivo software programme. The purpose of coding, according to Cresswell (1994:154), was to reduce the voluminous information to themes or categories and explore the main research questions. This programme allows for the collected data to be grouped into selected codes or nodes as they are labelled on the NVivo programme (Harran, 2006). The categorised data could then be retrieved according to the coded interviews. The NVivo node browsing and retrieving function enables the various tree nodes and child nodes (Harran, 2006:169) to be browsed, retrieved and analysed collectively as grouped information to give an understanding of the practice distanced from the data context. The data from the six interviews were stored on one project and any node of information was easily retrievable. The NVivo software enabled the researcher to catalogue categories and subcategories by using tree nodes. In terms of the NVivo software, the broad categories form tree nodes referring to the six key themes of the project and the more specific data related to each category is classified under child nodes referring to the sub-themes (Townsend, 2010).

Theme one refers to the first question posed to the participants in the interview on whether the new political dispensation has led to heightened political participation by Coloured people. The sub-themes are as follows:

- Political participation in the period prior to 1994
- The 1990 northern areas uprising
- Political participation in the period after 1994
The levels of political participation and participation in political structures

Theme two refers to the second question on how the Coloured vote is perceived by political parties in the new dispensation. The sub-themes are as follows:

- Non-existing strategy to deal with the Coloured vote by the ANC
- Support of dominant political parties
- The perception of Coloured people indoctrinated or used by political parties

Theme three refers to the question of a distinct political identity embraced by Coloured people resonating in the level and type of political participation they subscribe to. The sub-themes are as follows:

- Diverse political identity
- Advancing of non-racialism
- Identification with cultural roots

Theme four refers to the question whether political apathy exists and the causes for such behaviour, if it exists. The sub-themes are as follows:

- The lack of service delivery
- Perception of marginalisation
- The application of affirmative action

Theme five refers to the question of how political participation amongst Coloured people can be improved in Port Elizabeth. The sub-themes are as follows:

- Workshops
- Leadership courses
- Increasing accountability
- Improving service delivery
- Campaigns in schools
- Identifying with cultural roots
Theme six, the final theme, refers to how the role of an organisation such as the BBI can be viewed in the current dispensation. The sub-themes are as follows:

- Community development
- Apolitical organisation
- Advancing of culture

5.7.1 Political participation in the period prior to 1994

The general consensus concerning political participation in the period before 1994 was that Coloured people had the right to vote. Coloured people were removed from the common voters roll in 1956 and placed on a separate voters roll with the introduction of parallel development. However, the NP implemented legislation that disenfranchised Coloured people according to interviewee number four. The Coloured voters supported the NP in the 1924 and 1929 elections but the Coloured vote lost its significance when the white support for the party increased.

According to interviewee number five, the NP introduced the Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1956 that placed Coloured people on a separate voters roll. The apartheid dispensation demonstrated a higher level of participation in comparison to the current political dispensation. He was referring in particular to the tri-cameral elections. This assertion can be disputed based on the election results of the tri-cameral elections in Table 1.2. According to interviewee number six, Coloured people only voted in certain areas but many did not vote. The tri-cameral system lacked legitimacy because it lacked the support of the majority of Coloured people. Interviewee numbers two, four and five stated that Coloured people have always been involved in politics. This therefore suggests that a culture of voting was encouraged in the apartheid period but this was in a position of separatism from whites. Interview number five also alluded to the fact that Coloured people played a role in the liberation struggle against the apartheid system.
Interviewee number six stated that in the colonial and apartheid periods the church played an important part in the Coloured community. The LP and SACOS had a major impact on the political participation of Coloured people. The LP grew out of the Congregational Church and the leader of the LP, Reverend Allan Hendrickse, used the church as a platform to influence people to become part of the LP. SACOS was in opposition to the apartheid government and in the sport sphere advocated a policy of ‘no normal sport in an abnormal society’ and therefore the policy advocated no contact with ‘white’ sport.

The 1990 northern areas protests that resulted in violence were because the NP government lacked legitimacy due to them not being representative of all the citizens in the country. Coloured people protested against the municipal rent increases and the lack of service delivery. Protests such as the 1990 uprisings were limited in the northern areas due to the oppressive tactics employed by the Nationalist government. Interviewee number six, in reference to the 1990 uprising that occurred in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth, stated that the uprising was viewed as an opportunity for looting and vandalism by some. He is of the view that the protests were against the way Coloured people were living and they were moving away from being considered as apathetic. Interviewee number one, in reference to the 1990 uprising, infers that the protest in 1990 was as a result of the anger of the Coloured people. The 1990 protests or uprisings were seen as the Coloured people giving vent to their frustration against the non-delivery of essential services. In the current political dispensation there is an increase in protests of such a nature and the concern of interviewee number one is that the anger of the people can result in the resurfacing of such protests if the interests and the needs of the people are neglected.

5.7.2 Participation in the period after 1994 democratic elections

Interviewee number five stated that participation of Coloured people is fragmented and this related to various provinces. He states that voting in provinces such as the Western Cape and the Northern Cape was higher than in the Eastern Cape. The assertion could not be statistically validated by the interviewee.
According to interviewee number four, there has been a more intensive level of participation amongst *Coloured* people in Port Elizabeth after the 1994 elections. The introduction of democracy in South Africa has resulted in a more intensive level of participation. Interviewee number five, on the other hand, states that there are a number of reasons for the decline in participation such as the lack of service delivery. According to the view of interviewee number six, the voting levels dropped and he attributed this to the fact that people perceived that the ANC neglected them. Interviewee number four is of the opinion that people have voted in elections in the period after 1994. Interviewee numbers one and three are of the view that the post 1994 period resulted in a keen interest amongst *Coloured* people to participate in politics. There were differing views amongst the interviewees with regard to the political participation of *Coloured* people. According to interviewee number two, *Coloured* people are highly politicized but a challenge to him is how people use the vote. He asserts that *Coloured* people vote against the ruling party and are in opposition to the ruling party.

According to interviewee number three, *Coloured* people are becoming aware that participation is important in order for their interests to be taken care of. This has therefore resulted in a greater measure of political participation in the new dispensation. In response to question one there have been heightened political participation. Interviewee number five stated that the political participation is fragmented and the level of participation is dependent on the type of political leadership. He further asserts that people tend to look for political activity in political parties but he experienced political movement in other social groupings. He experienced that people have developed a political consciousness by discussing political issues in social groupings such as church youth groups, sports clubs and savings clubs. The non-alignment to political parties therefore does not suggest an inactive populace.

*Definitely, I’m saying that perhaps we might not see them in political parties but they gather in other social groupings and you’d find in those social groupings, people do talk politics. So there’s political movement, there’s activity although there might not be in political parties. It doesn’t mean to say there’s apathy. It does not mean to say*
there isn't political consciousness. Consciousness is not necessarily informed by you wearing a particular political label of a political party (Interviewee number five).

According to interviewee number six, Coloured people should participate in politics to improve their livelihood. He states that he would like to see more people becoming involved in politics. A problem confronting Coloured people is the lack of involvement in politics. An improvement in service delivery is also dependent on the increase in political involvement. He also cites the lack of leadership in the communities. According to interviewee number three, many Coloured people believed that they would have better opportunities when they became members of the ANC. The people are also looking at the DA and the Independent Democrats in improving their livelihood. He further states that political parties want to recruit Coloured people because they have found that Coloured people want to improve their way of living. They hope by joining political parties it would improve their lives. An important part of political participation that people disregard is the writing of letters to newspapers. Interviewee number six referred to the writing of letters to newspapers as an important indication of how people view the performance of government. He purports the view that the participation of Coloured people from the northern areas is minimal in terms of writing letters to newspapers. According to the interviewee, it is mainly whites that write letters to newspapers to express their viewpoints on matters affecting them and it is an indication that they are politically involved.

### 5.7.3 Participation in political structures

According to interviewee number two, there are a number of structures that are available that Coloured people can participate in but the participation in these structures is minimal. He mentions a number of these such as school governing bodies, hospital boards and policing forums. Participation can improve if people participate in these structures because it is in these structures where true political participation occurs. He further states that in terms of the ANC, the governing political party, the branches of the party have a pivotal role to play in terms of political decision-making. Coloured people in the northern areas are not participant in the branches of the ANC and are not aware of the political decision-making processes.
Interviewee number three provides reasons for the withdrawal of Coloured people from participation in an organisation such as the ANC. According to interviewee number three, people withdraw and are not participating based on the notion that their interests are not being taken care of in the political party. He cites the example of the use of language in the meetings of the political party, where IsiXhosa is the dominant language. The political parties are also responsible for developing schisms between the different racial groups if the party promotes the language of the one group and neglecting the other group.

5.7.4 The perception of the Coloured vote by political parties in the new political dispensation

According to interviewee numbers one, three and five, the political parties would want to use the Coloured people to gain votes. Interviewee number five is of the view that Coloured people can be seen as diverse and flexible in terms of how they vote. The Coloured vote can be considered as a swing vote and could therefore be a determining factor in election outcomes. Interviewee number one is of the view that at election times political parties develop ‘this great love’ for Coloured people which could be considered as a new phenomenon. Interviewee number three asserts that Coloured people are being used as a step ladder by prominent people in certain political parties. He asserts that promises are made to gain the Coloured vote but political parties do not report back to the people. Interviewee number five agrees that Coloured people are being used to gain votes. Interviewee number three also states that Coloured people are not seen in leadership positions.

Interviewee number two argues that Coloured people should become part of the political party that liberated them, give the ANC a chance and should vote for another party if the ANC do not deliver. Interviewee number three is of the opinion that Coloured people do not see themselves as part of the ANC. There is a perception that the people consider the ANC as a party for the Xhosa-speaking people. The ANC is therefore viewed as furthering an ethnic agenda and the perception is created that only Xhosa people can govern the country. The allocation of leadership roles in government in the Eastern Cape creates the perception of marginalisation of Coloured people. The DA is viewed as an alternative to further the interests of the
Coloured people according to interviewee number three. According to interviewee number two, Coloured people are being used as voting fodder by the opposition parties. He makes the example of the composition of the Western Cape government in comparison to the voting power of Coloured people. The composition of the Western Cape government does not reflect the demographics of the area in terms of racial groups and the support of the DA by Coloured people.

According to interviewee number six, the perception created was that the ANC party focussed on the development of Africans after 1994 because the majority of the poor people resided in the townships demarcated for African people. The ANC did not have a strategy in how to deal with the Coloured vote and in his view they neglected the Coloured vote. The DA winning the Western Cape and the formation of the Congress of the People (COPE) divided the ANC. The Coloured vote can be a determining factor in the Western and Eastern Cape where the majority of Coloured people reside according to interviewee number six. Interviewee number four asserts that the ANC did not do enough to gain the Coloured support in the 1994 elections. The reason could be based on the huge support that the ANC derived from the African townships and the lack of training on how to garner votes. He asserts that due to the large support that the ANC received from the Africans in the townships, the Coloured vote to a certain extent became irrelevant. The Coloured people in the first democratic election voted in a large majority for the NP, the former oppressor and that was considered as a shock. The strategy of the NP was to campaign in the Coloured areas to secure the vote of the people. Interviewee number four considered that the success of the NP was viewed as a wake-up call to the ANC and they now consider the Coloured vote as important. During the 2009 national elections the DA had a large support base amongst the Coloured people and considers the Coloured vote as important to counter the hegemony of the ANC.

5.7.5 The support of the dominant political parties in the northern areas

Interviewee number five stated that the ANC allowed the DA to gain the ascendancy in terms of support amongst Coloured people in the northern areas, a community traditionally supportive of the ANC. This assertion can be disputed based on the fact that the ANC as a political party in the post 1994 period did not garner enough
support amongst the traditionally *Coloured* population. The expectation was created that *Coloured* people as part of the marginalized groups under apartheid would vote for the liberation organisation-cum-political party that was instrumental in bringing an end to apartheid. According to interviewee four, there was shock when *Coloured* people in a large majority voted for the NP, the previous oppressor. He attributes this to the background and history of apartheid and how people were indoctrinated. Interviewee number two stated that *Coloured* people are highly politicized but what he attributes to strong indoctrination are pro white and are voting for parties such as the DA. The perception has also been created that the *Coloured* people are voting along racial lines. According to interviewee number two, there is a history amongst the *Coloured* people of voting against the ANC. The 1994 elections indicated that the *Coloured* people voted for the NP, thereafter the NNP and then they voted for the DP. He states that it is strange that when the NNP was assimilated into the ANC the *Coloured* people did not follow the NNP into the ANC but voted for the DP. This, according to him, can be viewed as *Coloured* people being anti-ANC but also more aligned to traditionally white political parties. *Coloured* people voted for the oppressor instead of voting for the liberation organisation, such as the ANC. The opposition parties indoctrinated the *Coloured* people by stating that they were not white and now they are not black enough. He considers such perceptions as nonsense. Interviewee numbers two and four agree that the indoctrination of the apartheid government contributed to people voting against the ANC government and the ANC. The support for the ANC in the northern areas is minimal. Interviewee number one states that *Coloured* people have a love for white people and his perception is that people are more prepared to vote for the DA, who according to him, have the white people’s interests at heart. He cites the example of an election in the Western Cape where Theuns Botha, the current provincial leader of the DA, who is a white person, contested against another *Coloured* person and people voted for Theuns Botha.

Interviewee number five also asserts *Coloured* people cannot be considered as ‘sell-outs’ because they would support political institutions or parties that would serve their interests best and will advance their way of life. He argues that people align themselves with organisations that bring delivery and *Coloured* people goes with what works. He states that from a liberation point of view “it is a bit scary that a
segment of the native population would vote for a liberal organisation”. This was in reference to people voting for the DA. The Coloured support for the ANC in the democratic political dispensation was minimal but the support for traditional white parties was great. The NP in the first democratic elections of 1994 was the dominant political party in the northern areas and currently the DA is the dominant political party.

According to interviewee number three, there is the perception that the ANC is pro African and not for the Coloured people. He states that after the 1994 elections, people believed that the ANC would bring change as well as opportunities but they now feel that the ID and DA will be the political parties that will advance their interests. Interviewee numbers one and two are of the view that Coloured people should have a more consolidated approach in terms of mobilizing behind a particular political party. They should in terms of voting consolidate their vote and vote for a particular political party.

5.7.6 Political identification of Coloured people

The interviewees were of the view that Coloured political identity can be viewed as diverse and that Coloured people do not subscribe to a distinct political identity and this can also be reflected in the support of different political parties in the northern areas. The vote by the Coloured people can therefore be considered as volatile. According to interviewee number five, Coloured people are a diverse people and at present there is not a distinct social or political identity that is evident in the political landscape. He states that the identity cannot be unpacked in terms of racial stratification and young people are embracing Coloured identity in a more vibrant way.

According to interviewee number six, Coloured people do not embrace a distinct political identity and the political identity is mixed because some people will vote ANC but the majority of people in the northern areas have voted for the DA. He further states that the support for the DA is stronger based on the fact that Coloured people are starting to view the ANC with distrust. He also refers to Coloured people as
‘draadsitters’, a group who are generally considered by the South African milieu to be indecisive in terms of support for specific political parties.

Interviewee number two’s answer to the question if Coloured people embrace a distinct political identity is not in the affirmative. According to him, Coloured people cannot be considered as consistent in terms of their voting behaviour. Interviewee number four also does not agree that Coloured people have embraced a ‘distinct’ political identity. He states that there are various levels of thinking within the Coloured community and although Coloured people are considered to be a homogeneous group, they are not. The apartheid system encouraged the development of some group dynamic through Coloured people being schooled together and the economic survival of Coloured people as a group. Coloured people are influenced by different things and it is the same with voting. The heterogeneity in terms of political identity within the Coloured community contributed to people siding with different political groupings. According to interviewee number one, Coloured people are distinct in that they are different and he considers them as one of the most interesting groups of people. Coloured people can be considered as diverse in terms of their voting behaviour and support for the respective political parties. The Coloured population is very diverse and can follow different ideologies. Many political parties have seen the Coloured population as flexible. This again confirms that the Coloured vote can be seen as a swing vote.

The foundation of the South African democracy and therefore the Constitution is non-racialism. Interviewee numbers four and six are of the view that people need to get back to the basics of non-racialism and that non-racialism must therefore be advanced in South Africa. Interviewee number one states that the ANC in the Western Cape under the leadership of Ebrahim Rasool, in attempting to address the ills of the past at a certain period, allowed applications from only Xhosa speaking people. This was done due to the limited number of Xhosa speaking people in the Western Cape administration at the time.

Interviewee numbers four and six stated that Coloured people need to start identifying with their cultural roots and take pride in being part of South Africa and through this can increase political participation. Interviewee number four is also of
the view that Coloured people’s identification with the indigenous people such as the Khoi and the San people, the original inhabitants of this country, is important and he is of the opinion that they have the right to determine who governs this land. The identification with their cultural roots will lead to Coloured people becoming more patriotic. According to interviewee number five, the youth are proud of being Coloured and it is visible in social networking. People are identifying with Coloured people in terms of the clothing that they wear, but are also identifying with their uniqueness. Interviewee number one stated that Coloured people must impress on their children that they should be proud to be Coloured. He further stated that Coloured people participated in the liberation struggle and has a pivotal role to play in the country and should optimise their uniqueness.

5.7.7 The perceptions of political apathy of Coloured people

According to interviewee number six, after 1994 a number of people voted during elections but apathy set in due to people experiencing neglect by the ruling party. He is of the opinion that Coloured people started to view the ANC government with distrust and this could have led to the adoption of an apathetic attitude. Corruption in government could also be cited as a reason for Coloured people’s despondency. He expresses the view that people are becoming aware that participation is important in order to improve their standard of living. Tables 1.3 to 1.6 support the view of interviewee number six that apathy occurred in 2004 and the 2009 elections reflects an increase in voting.

Yes, there is apathy and there’s a lot that we can do. These are some the kind of things we can do. We need to look at ways we can. Otherwise if we sit still we must be able to. Look there’s campaigns that can be. Even campaigns at schools you know. I would like to see pride being instilled in people. I feel there is a lack of pride with uh you know a number of people in the northern areas for example. There’s a lack of pride and that brings on a lot of other things you know (Interviewee number six).

Interviewee number one is of the opinion that there is a possibility of apathy existing only amongst the youth due to socio-economic conditions in households. According
to interviewee number five, apathy does not exist due to people expressing their views but people not voting can be viewed as protest action because a lack of service delivery. The non-participation could therefore be seen as a protest against the ruling party’s lack of service delivery.

According to interviewee number three, the application of the government’s affirmative action policy impacts on political participation. He asserts that the preferences in terms of job opportunities are given to Africans and not to Coloureds and he cites an example where his brother-in-law, who according to him was the best qualified person to perform the job, was unsuccessful. Instead, the job was given to a Xhosa-speaking person. He approached the municipality but the reason according to them was that a Xhosa-speaking person had to be appointed. The question was then posed to him if the application of affirmative action impacts on political participation. He responded by saying that Coloured people are of the perception that they are in a non-racial country and have participated in terms of voting but are not enjoying the benefits of democracy in the country. He states that Coloured people are also disadvantaged because they are told they were in support of the white people during apartheid.

Interviewee number four agrees that there is, to a great degree, some political apathy. He is of the view that there is a feeling of marginalisation in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth due to the application of affirmative action. People refer to the notion that under apartheid they were considered as not white enough and in the new political dispensation they are not black enough. This situation can therefore lead to a situation where political apathy will prevail.

I think there is to a great degree there is some apathy politically because you know many people have said it, so I would just repeat it. Coloureds would think that they were not good enough in the old regime where white people dominated now they think they not good enough in the new government where black people dominate you know and the point is do they identify with any of those groups or do they identify with themselves as being a non-racial human being in the discourse of South Africa? (Interviewee number four).
He refers to an example of the application of affirmative action in the local municipality where job applicants are scored by the application of a points system. He asserts that Coloured people would score less than an African, Xhosa speaking from the township and people would feel aggrieved due to fact that they feel that things have improved but they still experience marginalisation like in the apartheid period. He points out that government and citizens in Port Elizabeth are not aware of the levels of poverty experienced by the Coloured people in the northern areas that are sometimes worse than in the African townships. The points scoring system in terms of the application of affirmative action and the conditions under which people live contributes to people feeling marginalised. Coloured people will not feel marginalised if they are viewed as equals as per the constitution. Coloured people will experience that the introduction of democracy have improved their lives economically with the benefits of attaining jobs and would therefore not feel marginalised. They express feelings of antagonism if they are discriminated against in the job market and feel marginalised in the process.

The representation of Coloured people in the provincial legislature and the different departments according to interviewee number one is minimal and he states that there is no political will within the ANC to address the issue of equity. There is no political will within the Coloured communities to address the Coloured issues. He foresees a situation where the anger of the people will boil over just like the anger that was experienced in 1990 in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth. He sees a situation where this will not only affect the Coloured people in Port Elizabeth but Coloureds throughout the country. The socio-economic conditions will contribute to the youth becoming apathetic and will not participate in elections. According to interviewee number six, a number of Coloured people voted for the ANC but a number of them also lost faith in the ANC. The lack of support that the ANC are experiencing in the northern areas and amongst Coloured people in particular is due to neglecting of the Coloured population.

The danger for South Africa, according to interviewee number five, is that issues of service delivery are influenced by focusing on group areas and he asserts that if a group aligns themselves with the ruling party then this can lead to their area receiving better services. He states that government must heed the signs or South Africa can
be faced with a situation that can lead to a protracted conflict where different racial groups fight each other for basic services. He cites that, after sixteen years of democracy, South Africa has not achieved racial harmony and there are still tensions which is something to be expected. According to interviewee number four, people are taking an opportunistic viewpoint in the sense that they want to occupy a certain space and they do not necessarily want to contribute to society. He refers to appointment of people in the economic sphere and the sporting fraternity in leadership positions who are not adding value to the organisations.

During the apartheid period Coloured people played sport under the banner of SACOS, an organisation that embraced non-racialism. The aim of SACOS was the mobilisation of sport along non-racial lines. Interviewee number four advocated a return to non-racialism and that people should not be valued in terms of the colour of their skin. He states that even in the sports arena people want to take up space and Coloured and Indian people are viewed or labelled in a derogatory sense.

Interviewee number two views the attitude of Coloured people’s perception that they are being marginalised as a myth. He states that the Coloured people considers themselves as in between but are not prepared to become involved in decision-making structures. According to him, if Coloured people become involved in the decision-making structures, then they would not feel marginalised.

5.7.8 Factors leading to an increase in political participation

Interviewee number six stated that there is a lack of leadership in the northern areas and in order to increase participation, workshops and leadership courses should be held. The focus of the leadership courses should be the youth. He is also of the opinion that projects must be initiated by the local university in terms of development of communities such as Helenvale, one of the poorer areas of the northern areas affected by gangster activities.

According to interviewees one and five, enhanced service delivery can contribute to an increase in political participation. Interviewee number five states that if politicians can deliver on their promises, the result would be heightened political participation
and a greater level of optimism. Interviewee number one believes that Coloured people are maturing politically greater than the other race groups and the movement away from struggle politics to service delivery will be in the interest of the community. Interviewee number one states that debate clubs must be established in the northern areas to encourage participation amongst the youth. According to interviewee number three, the young people should be politicized from an early age.

Interviewee number six is also of the view that pride should be restored amongst the Coloured people and the lack of pride has led to a number of problems the people in the northern areas are confronted with. He is of the opinion that campaigns in schools should be introduced to counter the lack of pride and re-instill pride in the people. According to interviewee number four, the Coloured people need to start identifying with their roots and they will have greater pride that they belong in South Africa. According to him, Coloured people more than any other racial group have Khoisan roots, who are the original inhabitants of the country. If pride, in terms of identifying with their roots, is restored it will lead to greater participation because people will exercise their right to determine who governs the country. A greater level of patriotism of Coloured people in South Africa can lead to an increase in political participation.

Khosa (2005:122) asserts that political and civil society associations are vital in informing and sustaining democracy and in particular in societies undergoing transformation. It is of paramount importance that the establishment of civil society organisations is sustainable but that they are also visible to the communities in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth. Political and civil society organisations have a pivotal role to play in developing the populace but also developing the capacity to become more involved. According to interviewee number six, some organisations came to the fore in the democratic dispensation in the northern areas but he believes these are not organisations that are serious in making a substantial difference in the lives of the people in the area. He states that politics is the driving force in the country and it is important that people become involved in what ultimately affects them.
Interviewee number five stated that people are participating in discussions on political matters in the social environment and their non-activity in political parties could therefore not be regarded as apathy. According to interviewee number two, people should make greater use of the political structures that are available to them in order to encourage participatory democracy. There are a number of structures such as school governing bodies, ratepayers associations and other organisations that people can participate in. According to interviewee number four, Coloured people have become involved in politics in the northern areas or the Coloured areas but have not become involved in participative politics and tend to shy away from participative view-making or decision-making. The non-involvement of the Coloured people as a group allows individuals to make their views known but it is not known if their viewpoints are supported by the majority.

Ramphele (2010) refers to the importance of educating people with regards to democracy. Political education enables people to have a greater knowledge of politics and encourages greater participation in political decision-making. The political parties usually introduced voter education but according to interviewee number five, voter education is only prevalent before elections. He states that it is important that voter education is done through the political parties’ term because it is imperative that the electorate make informed decisions. According to interviewee number two, parents can contribute to voter education by educating their children on the importance of political participation. Interviewee numbers one and three are of the view that the older generation that were involved in politics should educate the youth on the importance of political participation.

5.7.9 The role of an organisation such as the Brown Interest Initiative (BBI)

Organisations such as the BBI were established to advance the interests of Coloured people and act as a watchdog (Essop, 2008). Interviewee number six states that the question should be posed as to why organisations such as the BBI should have been started? He states that if the BBI was established to look after the interests of the Coloured people who have been neglected politically then he would support such an organisation. According to interviewee number five, the BBI is a result of well-
informed individuals who perceived that there is a need to establish an organisation that will advance the interests of the *Coloured* people.

Interviewee number one is of the opinion that the BBI was established because the needs and interests of the *Coloured* people have not been addressed by any political party or by the government. Interviewee number three stated that people have been ‘heavily criticized’ for the *Coloured* people raising the issue of a *Coloured* initiative. The agenda of the BBI should focus on the political upliftment of *Coloured* people.

Interviewee number two advocates a position where an organisation such as the BBI follows an apolitical approach. He draws a comparison between the BBI and the National Advancement of *Coloured* People (NACP) in the United States of America (USA). He states that the NACP have done well within America but did not get involved in politics. He fears that one of the biggest challenges is that there is ‘a lot of politics in the BBI’ and they are always critical of government.

Interviewee number six refers to an organisation such as Northern Areas Peoples Development Initiative (NAPDI) that was established in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth focusing on the development of the residents in the area. He is also of the opinion that organisations such as NAPDI are ephemeral because they do not last long and ‘give up too easily’. According to interviewee number two, an organisation such as the BBI should focus on the socio-economic and educational development of the people. The focus should therefore be developmental in nature and not only critical of government but co-operating with government.

According to interviewee number six, the church played an important developmental role in the apartheid period in terms of community development and education. The church and women are still an integral part of development in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth but a greater leadership role is needed. The tertiary institutions can contribute to the socio-economic developmental discourse by establishing projects to address the challenges of drug abuse and gangsterism in the northern areas. The dearth of leadership can be addressed by youth development and a greater role in developing the education sector that contributed to the challenges in the northern areas and society in general.
Civil society or non-governmental organisations should build relationships with government. According to Khosa (2005:44), the period from 1994 to 2004 heralded a situation where major community-based organisations shifted from being oppositional to accommodational around policy and governance issues. The notion from interviewee number two is that civil society organisations such as the BBI have a role to play to work with government in the sourcing of finance to develop communities in increasing the opportunity to access higher education through bursaries. He states that he would support the BBI if the focus of the organisation is the development of the community.

Civil organisations in the apartheid period had a positive impact on mobilizing the people in opposition against the apartheid government and in support of organisations such as the UDF. According to interviewee number two, the BBI and other organisations must mobilize communities at grassroots level. Interviewee number five is of the view that mobilization of people is taking place in the social environment and in churches. The church, like in the apartheid period, still has an important role to play in terms of mobilizing of communities.

The question was posed to interviewee number two if the focus of an organisation such as the BBI is on intellectuals. He makes a comparison between the BBI and the UDF, where the focus of the UDF was on the grass roots level. The criticism leveled at organisations such as the BBI is that the focus is not engaging people at grassroots level. The response of interviewee number two on the question if only intellectuals are part of the BBI are as follows.

But I can’t say yes on this one but the people I’ve met are definitely more on the higher level of society. But the people on the ground with Aunt Sarie and Aunt Susan bread and butter aunties, I don’t think they there yet um and this is where the UDF have started you know (Interviewee number two).

There is a perception that the political interests of the Coloured people have been neglected. Interviewee number six therefore regards the BBI as an organisation that have a role to play in advancing the interests of Coloured people but it should not be developed in isolation from other racial groups. Interviewee number five is of the
view that the BBI comprises well-informed intellectuals that have the interests of the *Coloured* community at heart. He states that the BBI was established as a result of a ‘vacuum’ that has been created and there is a need for the BBI. Interviewee number four is of the opinion that the BBI should be supported if the aim is to advance a particular culture but he is against an organisation that encourages sectarianism. A major criticism against organisations such as the BBI is that it should not focus on advancing segregation and encouraging the development of *Coloured* people in isolation from other racial groups leading to sectarianism. The leaders of these groups must guard against building the *Coloureds* as a group in opposition to the other racial groups. According to interviewee number three, he will not support an organisation such as the BBI if it focuses only on *Coloured* people in isolation from other groups.

### 5.8 CONCLUSION

The chapter refers to the qualitative tool used to gain in-depth knowledge through semi-structured interviews of the perceptions of community leaders regarding political participation of *Coloured* people. The chapter also refers to purposive data sampling selecting subjects from the population being studied. Reference is made of the actual data collection process and advantages and disadvantages of interviews. Data is coded in six thematic categories. The chapter refers to the importance of respecting the confidentiality of participants and ensuring that information not be traced back to the interviewees.

The chapter presented the views of community and political leaders on the political participation of *Coloured* people in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth. The interviews elicited valuable information on political participation of *Coloured* people before and after 1994. It emerged from the interviews that there was heightened political participation in elections but minimal participation outside of elections. Interviewees were also of the opinion that political parties such as the DA have gained greater support amongst *Coloured* people. The support for the ruling party, the ANC, is minimal due to the party being viewed as contributing to the neglect and marginalisation of *Coloured* people. The political identity of the *Coloured* people, according to the interviewees, can be considered as diverse and people do not
subscribe to a distinct political identity. Coloured people vote for the various political parties present in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth. Interviewees also alluded to the need for Coloured people to identify with their cultural roots that can lead to increased levels of patriotism and ultimately to a higher level of participation. There were divergent views on the existence of political apathy and the reasons for the apathy. A number of the interviewees were of the view that political apathy was a result of the neglect and marginalisation that Coloured people experienced at the hands of the ANC government. One of the interviewees disputed this and stated that Coloured people marginalise themselves due to a lack of participation. Another interviewee stated that the non-participation of Coloured people in political processes is a protest action against the lack of service delivery.

It was stated that the development of leaders and an increase in service delivery can lead to an increase in political participation. Interviewees were also of the view that civil society organisations have an important role to play in the development of the people. It is also incumbent on the people to make use of political structures at their disposal. It was established that voter education by political parties throughout their terms in office is important as well as political education by parents and former activists educating people in democracy.

It also emerged from the interviews that the BBI was established to look after the interests of the Coloured people. The interviewees were critical of organisations that were racially exclusive and promoted sectarianism. The view was that they would support such an organisation if the focus was on the development of the people. The interviews produced valuable information on the level of political participation in the northern areas and produced greater insight from people that interact with the community on a daily basis.
CHAPTER SIX
FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS OF QUANTITATIVE DATA

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The research design includes quantitative and qualitative methods referred to as triangulation that emphasised the description of political experiences of Coloured people from the participants’ perspectives. The rationale for using triangulation was to extrapolate a relationship between the qualitative and quantitative data as related to the problem statement and the title. Babbie and Mouton (2001:72) states that there are two major aspects of a research design, namely specifying as clearly as possible what you want to find out and determining the best way to do it. The research methodology according to Babbie and Mouton (2001:104) refers to the methods, techniques and procedures that are employed in the process of implementing the research design or research plan. According to Babbie (2010:23), the distinction between quantitative and qualitative data is the distinction between numerical and non-numerical data. This chapter will draw on correlations of qualitative findings in Chapter Five and the quantitative findings presented in this chapter.

The objectives of the study were to develop an understanding of the viewpoints of the participants on social reality of their political experiences in Port Elizabeth. The researcher aimed to explore and describe factors that contribute to the Coloured people’s political disengagement in democratic South Africa. The topic of discussion focuses on the political participation of Coloured people and for the purpose of the study data was collected in the suburbs of Salt Lake, West End and Chatty in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth. The suburbs fall under the following voting stations, namely Bethelsdorp Senior Secondary School, Bethelsdorp Community Centre, Chatty Hall and Astra Primary School. The respondents of the questionnaire were not requested to disclose their identities. This method protected the respondents and therefore ensured their confidentiality. The approach also encouraged respondents to complete the questionnaires in such a manner to ensure that their identities would not be revealed.
The election results of the 2004 national elections indicated a measure of disengagement from the political process but the 2009 national election results showed an increase in participation. The literature and election results consulted indicated participation confined mostly to elections but limited civil society participation. Sapsford (1999:5) explains that the purpose of using a standardized questionnaire as a measuring instrument is to get consistent answers to consistent questions. The questionnaire was designed to determine the views and perceptions on political participation by Coloured people.

The quantitative questionnaire for the purpose of data collection was divided into three sections. Section A contained four questions on biographical data and Section B contained 14 close-ended questions that related to the political situation in South Africa. The respondents could select an answer from the list provided to indicate their level of participation in political activity. The questions were constructed to elicit responses such as ‘yes’ or ‘no’, ‘not at all’, ‘a little’ or ‘a lot’. The questions pertaining to the respondents’ level of participation attempted to extract the following responses; ‘always’, sometimes’, ‘seldom’ or ‘never’. Section C contained 14 Likert-style statements that allowed respondents to evaluate their understanding and views on political participation, the current political situation in South Africa and political apathy, eliciting responses such as ‘strongly agree’, ‘agree’, ‘neutral’, ‘disagree’ or ‘strongly disagree’.

The report of the field workers indicated that the study was very fruitful and respondents were serious in explaining the issues that affected them whilst participating in the study. A number of the participants in the West End area were reluctant to participate in the study because of their religion. They were of the opinion that their ‘Muslim religion and community’ do not allow them to take an interest or even take part in politics. The Coloured people in the Chatty area falling under the Chatty Hall and Astra Primary School voting stations displayed a keen interest in the political discourse and were engaging. The people in the sampled areas were dissatisfied with the current government in terms of the provision of services and government not being cost effective when using taxpayers’ money.
6.2 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

The study comprised of 190 questionnaires and six interviews with community and political leaders that contributed to enhancing the reliability of the research by comparing the responses of the various participants. A correlation between the findings of the interviews, the findings of the quantitative results and the literature on political participation in the colonial period, apartheid period and the current dispensation contributed to enhancing reliability.

It has been stated that the study embraced triangulation as a research design. Merriam (1988) and Miles and Huberman (1984) in Creswell (1994:158) refer to the plan to triangulate or finding convergence among sources of information or different methods of data collection. In the study, two methods were used to gather information and to make a comparison between the data collected. The implementation of such an approach was comparing the results of the quantitative data collection process and qualitative interviews in terms of writing letters to newspapers. The writing of letters to newspapers was an example of the convergence. In the quantitative data collection process a question was posed to respondents on whether they write letters to newspapers. The majority of the respondents, 173 or 91.1%, in the process did not write letters to newspapers. Interviewee number six was of the opinion that only a few Coloured people write letters to newspapers. He stated that this form of political participation occurs mostly amongst the white population. He further stated that writing letters to the press was an important way to express oneself and whites continuously write letters to the local newspapers such as Die Burger, The Herald and The Weekend Post because they are politically involved.

6.3 FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS

The collected data in the form of the completed questionnaires was transferred to a worksheet onto a computer. The entered data was sent electronically to the statistician that was responsible for the compilation of data into readable format. Statistica Version 9.0-computer software was utilised by the qualified statistician to transform the collected data into graphs and pie charts. The purpose of using graphs
and pie charts was to numerically display the data obtained. The data analysis is a process of inference to establish if political apathy prevails in the sampled areas. According to Babbie (1999:345), the quantification of data is necessary when statistical analysis is desired. The data collected was translated indicating the level of participation of Coloured people in the northern areas. The next stage of the analysis was the production of frequency distributions or marginals which describe the distribution of answers to each item or variable in the data set. The frequency distribution is a list of the possible categories for each variable, showing the number of respondents in each category. The frequency distributions are presented in computer output showing both the numerical and percentage distributions for each variable.

6.4 FINDINGS OF THE STUDY ON THE LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION OF COLOURED PEOPLE: BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

SECTION A: BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

The biographical data includes the gender, age, employment status and the education level of respondents. The rationale for the collection of biographical information in respect of age, gender, employment status and education is to delineate where political apathy in terms of these categories resonates.

6.4.1 Gender

The participants consisted of 39% of males and 61% of females. The study was conducted during the day and it is therefore significant that more women are housewives or more males the income earners. Another significant reason why more women were at home could be the high level of unemployment as indicated in Figure 6.3 and that the respondents could be shift workers working in factories.
6.4.2 Age

The ages of the participants varied between 18 years to 65 years and older as indicated in Figure 6.2. Citizens 18 years old and over are eligible to vote in South Africa. 43 or 22,6% of respondents were in the 35-44 age group; followed by 39 or 20,5% in the 45-54 age group; 38 or 20% in the 55-64 age group; 34 or 17,9% in the 25-34 age group; 22 or 11,6% in the 65 or older age group and 14 or 7,4% in the 18-24 age group.
Figure 6.2: Age of respondents

Figure 6.3 depicts that a high percentage of the respondents or 41% are unemployed. The percentage of respondents who are employed is 42%. The percentage of the retired respondents is 15% and 2% are students. A significant feature of the chart is the high level of unemployed participants. The high percentage of unemployment can be correlated with the education levels of the respondents as indicated in Figure 6.4.
Figure 6.3: Employment Status

6.4.4 Education

Figure 6.4 reflects that the majority of participants obtained qualifications between grades 8 to 10 and between grades 11 to 12. 75 or 39% of the respondents obtained a qualification between grades 11 to 12 and 72 or 38% between grades 8 to 10. Only 19 or 10% of respondents obtained a technical certificate or diploma. 4 or 2% of the respondents obtained a degree and 3 or 2% obtained a postgraduate degree. 15 or 8% of the respondents achieved a primary school qualification and a mere 2 or 1% had no formal education. Figure 6.4 therefore depicts a situation where a low level of participants obtained post matric qualifications. This is therefore commensurate with the high levels of unemployment of the respondents.
6.5 FINDINGS OF THE QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

SECTION B

6.5.1 Respondents’ interest in the current political situation

As illustrated in Figure 6.5, a minority of 29 or 15% of the respondents indicated “a lot” of interest in the current political situation, 98 or 52% of the respondents indicated “a little” interest and only 63 or 33% of respondents indicated that they are “not at all” interested in the political situation in the country. Most of the respondents indicated an interest in politics in the country. The response to the question therefore indicated that people are aware of the political situation but the interest in the political situation can improve. The respondents in the qualitative interviews indicated a high level of interest in politics in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth in the period after the 1994 elections. Apathy appeared but Coloured people are aware that participation is important in order for the socio-economic conditions in the area to improve. The
majority of the respondents in the quantitative questionnaire are of the view that deterioration in the economic conditions could lead to disengagement from the political process.

**Figure 6.5: Interest in current political situation**

![Bar chart showing interest in current political situation](image)

6.5.2 Registered membership of political parties

An overwhelming majority of the respondents were not registered members of political parties. Figure 6.6 depicts that 42% of the respondents indicated that they were registered members of political parties and 58% were not registered members of political parties. The respondents indicated only three of the political parties to which they were members of. The low levels of membership can be attributed to the ineffectiveness of the political parties to attract new membership and limited visibility of political parties outside of elections within this area. In addition, a lack of political leadership and a lack of accountability by political parties can be a contributing factor to the low levels of membership. According to interviewee number three, political parties make promises to gain the *Coloured* vote but do not report back to the people.
Figure 6.6: Membership of political parties

6.5.3 Political party affiliation of respondents

Figure 6.7 depicts that 28% of the respondents that indicated they belong to a political party were members of the ruling party, the ANC. 57% belonged to the DA and 15% indicated other political parties. The ANC and the DA were the dominant parties in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth. The support of the dominant political parties in South Africa is an indication that Coloured people supported established political parties. The support for smaller political parties is therefore minimal and the contribution to fragmentation is small. In the colonial period in South Africa the Coloured vote was a determining factor for both the South Africa Party and the UP. Coloured people voted for parties led by white leaders in the colonial period and in the democratic dispensation, parties such as the NP and the DA enjoyed the support of the Coloured people. According to interviewee number four in the 1994 elections a large majority of Coloured people voted for the NP, the previous oppressor. He attributes this to the background and history of apartheid and indoctrination of the Coloured people.
On the question whether they are active in the local ward of the political party to which they are affiliated, 38% of those indicating that they were members of a political party were active in the local ward in comparison with 62% not being active. The political activism in political parties is therefore very low in the sampled areas in the northern areas. The viewpoint is supported by interviewee number two that Coloured people are not involved in the branches of the political parties to which they are affiliated.

### 6.5.4 Writing of letters to newspapers on political matters

Interviewee number six in Chapter Five referred to the writing of letters to newspapers as important in giving people an indication of how people view the performance of government. He purports the view that the participation of Coloured people from the northern areas is minimal in terms of writing letters to newspapers. The results of the quantitative data collection indicates a high level of non-participation in terms of writing letters, which is in support of the viewpoint of interviewee number six. The results indicated that only a few respondents engage politically by writing letters to newspapers. 1 or 0.5% “always” write letters to newspapers, 7 or 3.7% “sometimes” and 9 or 4.7% “seldom” write letters to
newspapers. A high level of 173 or 91.1% “never” writes letters to newspapers. Hobshawm (in Booysen, 2009:18) described the media as one of the two crucial engines through which citizens exercise control over the actions of government between elections. The media have an important watchdog role in terms of how the country is governed and allows citizens to engage with government and allows for government engagement with citizens.

6.5.5 Reading political articles in newspapers

There is an interest in reading political articles in newspapers, which can be viewed as an indication that people are politically conscious. 70 or 37% “always” read political articles in newspapers, 85 or 45% “sometimes” read political articles, 8 or 4% “seldom” and 27 or 14% never read political articles in newspapers. The print media can therefore be an effective tool to engage people politically. The print media plays an important role to keep people informed of political developments in the country.

6.5.6 Following political trends by watching news on television

The political consciousness is also developed in following political trends by watching news on television. Figure 6.8 depicts that 83 or 44% of the respondents “always” follow political trends in South Africa. 89 or 47% “sometimes” follow political trends. 6 or 3% “seldom” follow political trends and 12 or 6% “never” follow political trends by watching news on television. A high level of respondents in the study follows political trends by watching news on television. It is therefore important that the electronic media be utilised as a tool to enhance voter education and to keep the people informed of political developments in the country.
6.5.7  *Coloured* people's involvement in political protests in communities

A high level of the respondents in the study did not regard political protests as important to bring issues to the attention of the authorities. 7 or 4% “always” take part in political protests in their areas, 28 or 15% “sometimes” take part in protests, 14 or 7% “seldom” take part in protests and 141 or 74% “never” take part in political protests. The lack of involvement in civil society also leads to minimal involvement in political protests. The involvement in political protests is sporadic and occurs only in certain areas of the northern areas of Port Elizabeth as indicated in Chapter Four. According to interviewee number one the 1990 protests were seen as *Coloured* people expressing their dissatisfaction on the lack of service delivery. He is of the opinion that if government fails to improve the general welfare of the people it can result in the resurfacing of protests as experienced in 1990.

6.5.8  The importance of the *Coloured* vote

An important part of democracy is free and fair elections but it is vital for democratic consolidation that citizens extend their participation beyond elections. The overwhelming majority of the respondents in the wards that formed part of the study
are of the view that their vote is important. Voting can be considered a starting point where citizens participate in democratic practices. As depicted in Figure 6.9, 94% of the respondents believe that their vote is important whereas only 6% did not believe that their vote is important. This is an indication that a high level of respondents believe in exercising their right to vote. The relationship between the importance in voting and the transition to an actual vote should be greater.

**Figure 6.9: Importance of the Coloured vote**

![Pie chart showing 94% 'Yes' and 6% 'No'.]

**6.5.9 Participation in elections**

Figure 6.10 indicates the response on the question if respondents participate in elections. 98 or 52% “always” participate in elections, 67 or 35% “sometimes” participate in elections and 25 or 13% “never” participate in elections. The results are therefore reflective of the inconsistent voting behaviour of respondents. The response is also an indication that apathy will be evident in terms of voting behaviour.
6.5.10 Participation in the 1994 to 2009 elections

Figures 6.11 to 6.14 below depict information from respondents indicating their participation in elections from 1994 to 2009. The results indicate an increase in participation but it is important to be cognisant of the fact that a number of the respondents were not eligible to participate in all of the elections due to the age limit. The response in terms of participation in elections compares favourably with the actual election results obtained from the IEC referred to in Tables 1.3 to 1.6. The election results obtained from the IEC on the sampled wards indicated a level of disengagement in the 2004 national elections but an increase in the 2009 elections. Interviewee number six supported the view that voting levels dropped and this was attributed to the perception by the *Coloured* people of being neglected by the ANC. He also asserted that *Coloured* people have become aware of the importance of participating in elections and voting therefore increased.
Figure 6.11: Participation in 1994 elections

Figure 6.11 depicts that 53% of respondents indicated that they participated in South Africa’s first democratic election in 1994, whereas 47% did not participate.

Figure 6.12: Participation in 1999 elections

In Figure 6.12, 56% of the respondents indicated that they participated in the 1999 elections in comparison with 44% who did not take part in the elections.
Figure 6.13: Participation in 2004 elections

![Pie chart showing 63% participation and 37% non-participation in the 2004 elections.]

Figure 6.13 depicts that 63% of the respondents indicated that they participated in the 2004 elections in comparison with 37% not participating in the elections.

Figure 6.14: Participation in 2009 elections

![Pie chart showing 74% participation and 26% non-participation in the 2009 elections.]

In Figure 6.14, 74% of respondents indicated that they participated in the elections in comparison with 26% who did not participate. Participation of respondents in the 2009 elections in comparison with the 2004 reflects an increase. In Figure 6.10, 35%
of respondents indicated that they ‘sometimes’ participated in elections, which indicates inconsistent voting behaviour.

6.5.11 Membership of organisations outside of political parties advancing the interests of Coloured people

Figure 6.15 indicates that only 18% of the respondents belong to organisations outside of political parties and a relatively high 82% do not belong to such organisations. There is limited participation in ratepayers associations, school governing bodies and other organisations advancing the interests of the citizens. There is a need for a greater level of participatory democracy by the people in the northern areas that creates an environment that will transcend to elections. The advancement of democracy in the northern areas therefore requires a greater involvement in civil society organisations by the Coloured populace.

Figure 6.15: Membership of organisations outside of political parties advancing the interests of Coloured people
6.5.12 Organisations in the northern areas responsible for education on the importance of electoral participation

Figure 6.16 depicts that 46% of the respondents indicated that there are organisations in the area educating people on the importance of voting. 20% says there are no organisations responsible for educating people on the importance of voting and 34% respondents were not aware of such an organisation that existed. The response to the question is therefore an indication that the IEC should increase its role in voter education but other civil society organisations must become visible and should have a greater role to play in terms of voter education.

Figure 6.16: Organisations in the northern areas responsible for education on the importance of electoral participation

6.5.13 The need for organisations (BBI) advancing the interests of Coloured people

Figure 6.17 depict that 88% of the respondents believed that there is a need for an organisation such as the BBI to advance the interests of the Coloured people. Only 12% believed that there is no need for such an organisation. A high percentage of the respondents are in favour of the BBI. Two important questions that need to be asked are: Will the BBI have any longevity in view of the fact that organisations that
were created to specifically cater for the needs of Coloured people are considered as ephemeral and whether such an organisation will receive the necessary support considering the lack of participation by Coloured people outside of elections?

Figure 6.17: The need for organisations (BBI) advancing the Interests of Coloured people

6.6 EVALUATION OF PARTICIPANTS’ UNDERSTANDING OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND POLITICAL APATHY

SECTION C

Respondents in the study had to respond to questions related to an evaluation of their understanding and views on political participation, political apathy and the current political situation in South Africa. The responses to Section C ranged from “strongly agree”, “agree”, “neutral”, “disagree” and “strongly disagree”.

6.6.1 Statement: “Voting can make a difference in the community”

The percentages do not equate to exactly a hundred percent due to rounding to whole numbers. In Figure 6.18, the respondents had the following response to the
question of voting making a difference in the community. 91 or 48% of the respondents “strongly agreed” that voting would make a difference in their community, 81 or 43% “agreed”, 6 or 3% were “neutral”, 9 or 5% “disagreed” and 3 or 2% “strongly disagreed”. The response indicated a unanimous view that the participation in elections could make a difference in their community. The response to the statement supports the view of interviewee numbers three and six that stated that people are becoming aware that participation is important for their interests to be taken care of. The result is that there is currently a greater level of participation.

Figure 6.18: Voting can make a difference in the community

6.6.2 Statement: “Coloured people are playing a meaningful role in politics in South Africa”

Figure 6.19 depicts the response of the respondents to the statement of Coloureds playing a meaningful role in politics in South Africa. 38 or 20% “strongly agreed”, 74 or 39% “agreed”, 38 or 20% were “neutral”, 28 or 15% “disagreed” and only 12 or 6% “strongly “disagreed” that Coloured people are playing a meaningful role in politics in South Africa. The results suggest that a substantial proportion of the respondents agree that Coloured people can play a role in politics in South Africa.
6.6.3 Statement: “Coloured people in South Africa are reluctant to participate in political activities including voting”

The percentages do not equate to exactly a hundred percent due to rounding to whole numbers. In Figure 6.20, the number of respondents that “strongly agreed” that Coloured people are reluctant to participate in political activities equated to only 22 or 12%. Respondents who “agreed” that Coloured people are reluctant to participate in political activities numbered 79 or 42%, those who were “neutral” are 24 or 13%. The respondents in “disagreement” to the statement that Coloured people are reluctant to participate in political activities were 58 or 31% and only 7 or 4% “strongly agreed”. A number of factors can contribute to Coloured people being reluctant to participate in political activities ranging from apathy to protest against service delivery.
6.6.4 Statement: “Organisations such as the BBI should cater specifically for the needs of Coloured people”

The respondents who “strongly agreed” that organisations such as the BBI should specifically cater for Coloured people was equal to 51 or 27%; the respondents who “agreed” was 93 or 49% and 11 or 6% were neutral. The respondents who “disagreed” were 26 or 14% and 9 or 4% “strongly disagreed”. The respondents agree with the interviewees that there is a need for an organisation such as the BBI. The views of the interviewees are that an organisation such as the BBI should not be in isolation from other racial groups. The criticism levelled at organisations such as the BBI is that it should not be ethnic based and racially exclusive. A suggestion is that an organisation such as the BBI should become apolitical. There is a perception amongst Coloured people that they have been neglected in the current political dispensation and the establishment of the BBI is seen as a result of that.
6.6.5 Statement: “Political parties play an important role in encouraging the political participation of citizens”

The number of the respondents in Figure 6.21 who indicated that they “strongly agreed” that political parties play an important role in encouraging the political participation of citizens in political decision-making was equal to 31 or 16%; the respondents who “agreed” is 101 or 53% and 31 or 16% was “neutral”. 22 or 12% of the respondents “disagreed” that political parties play an important role in encouraging the political participation of citizens and 5 or 3% “strongly disagreed”. Political parties play an important role to engage people to participate in elections. In terms of local government, residents have an opportunity to participate with political parties in ward committees. Political parties have an intermediary role between citizens and government. According to interviewee number five, political parties should introduce voter education throughout their terms in order for the electorate to make informed decisions. Sadie (1998) states that political parties can enlighten people on contemporary issues and through this people can make informed political decisions.

Figure 6.21: Political parties play an important role in encouraging political participation of citizens
6.6.6 Statement: “Lack of accountability from political representatives in South Africa”

The number of the respondents who “strongly agreed” that there is a lack of accountability from political representatives is 63 or 33%, the number of respondents who “agreed” is 104 or 55% and 17 or 9% were neutral. The number of respondents who “disagreed” was 4 or 2% and 2 or 1% “strongly disagreed”. An overwhelming majority of the respondents are of the opinion that political representatives are showing a lack of accountability. The lack of accountability by political representatives can have an adverse effect on political participation. Interviewee number three asserted that Coloured people are being used by political parties. Promises are made to gain the vote of the Coloured people but political parties do not report back to the people.

Figure 6.22 indicates the response by the respondents on a lack of accountability by political representatives leading to disengagement from the political process. 61 or 32% of the respondents “strongly agreed” that a lack of accountability can lead to political disengagement, 114 or 60% of the respondents “agreed”, 10 or 5% were “neutral” and only 5 or 3% of the respondents “disagreed”. The response to the statement therefore indicates that the lack of accountability by political representatives can have an adverse effect on political participation. Political apathy can increase when the channels of communication are non-existent or when political representatives view people as objects in their pursuit for power. People will vote for opposition parties or will disengage from the political process by abstaining from voting instead of voting for other political parties. According to interviewee number six, a lack of accountability by government and the prevalence of corruption will lead to disillusionment and can therefore result in political apathy.
Figure 6.22: Lack of accountability by political representatives leading to disengagement from the political process

6.6.7 Statement: “There is not much improvement in our communities after the 1994 elections”

41 or 22% of the respondents “strongly agreed” that not much improved in their communities after 1994, 75 or 40% of the respondents “agreed” and 15 or 8% of the respondents were “neutral”. Of the respondents who “disagreed” that they did not experience much improvement in their communities after 1994 were 39 or 20% and only 20 or 10% “strongly disagreed”. A large proportion of the respondents are of the view that the municipality have failed in improving their communities.

6.6.8 Statement: “Service delivery in your local area have become worse after 1994”

The respondents also had to respond to the statement that service delivery in their local area after 1994 have become worse. In Figure 6.23, 42 or 22% of the respondents “strongly agreed” that service delivery in their local area has become worse after 1994, 63 or 33% “agreed” and 26 or 14% were neutral. 45 or 24% of the respondents “disagreed” that service delivery worsened and 14 or 7% “strongly disagreed.”
Figure 6.23: Service delivery have worsened after 1994

![Bar chart showing response distribution](chart.png)

Figure 6.24 indicates the response by the respondents to whether Coloured people stay away from the voting stations in protest against service delivery. 35 or 18% of the respondents “strongly agreed” that Coloured people stay away from the voting stations in protest against service delivery, 74 or 39% “agreed” and 34 or 18% were “neutral”. 45 or 24% of the respondents “disagreed” that Coloured people stay away from the voting stations in protest against service delivery and 2 or 1% “strongly disagreed”. In reference to Figure 6.23, a substantial number of the respondents are of the view that service delivery has deteriorated after 1994 and that people protest against service delivery by abstaining from voting. According to interviewee number five, apathy does not exist due to the fact that people are expressing their views. He states that Coloured people not voting can be viewed as protest action because of a lack of service delivery. The non-participation could therefore be seen as a protest against the government’s lack of service delivery.
Figure 6.24: People stay away from voting stations in protest against service delivery

6.6.9 Statement: “The economic policies of the government contributed to a growth in unemployment”

In Figure 6.25, 51 or 27% of the respondents “strongly agreed” that the economic policies of the government contributed to a growth in unemployment, 93 or 49% of the respondents “agreed” and 22 or 12% were “neutral”. 18 or 9% of the respondents “disagreed” that the economic policies of government contributed to a growth in unemployment and 6 or 3% “strongly disagreed”. A large percentage of the respondents therefore agreed that government’s economic policies contributed to a growth in unemployment. A view expressed by a few respondents was that a number of Coloured people were employed in the clothing and textile industry and the lifting of import tariffs had a negative impact on employment opportunities in the industry. People became unemployed because cheaper goods were imported by South African shops and local factories could not compete with the prices of imported goods.
Figure 6.25: Economic policies of government contributed to a growth in unemployment

6.6.10 Statement: “The deterioration in the economic condition of the Coloured people leads to a lack of participation in political activities”

Figure 6.26 depicts that 36 or 19% of the respondents “strongly agreed” that the deterioration in the economic condition of the Coloured people leads to a lack of participation in political activities, 126 or 66% “agreed” and 17 or 9% were “neutral”. The respondents that “disagreed” were 9 or 5% and only 2 or 1% “strongly disagreed”. The respondents were of the view that people become disinterested in political activities if their economic condition worsens. South Africans, according to Calland and Graham (2005), viewed democracy as materially improving lives. Participation in political activities is seen as a means to improve their socio-economic conditions. The majority of the respondents are also of the view that Coloured people whose economic condition have been adversely affected and deteriorated disengage from the political process or it leads to a lack of participation in political activities.
6.6.11 Statement: “The application of a policy such as affirmative action is negatively affecting Coloured people”

In Figure 6.27, 47 or 25% of the respondents “strongly agreed” that the application of a policy such as affirmative action is negatively affecting Coloured people, 82 or 43% “agreed” and 10 or 5% were “neutral”. 38 or 20% of the respondents “disagreed” that the application of the affirmative action policy are negatively affecting Coloured people and 13 or 7% “strongly disagreed”. A large proportion of the respondents are of the view that the application of affirmative action policy is negatively affecting Coloured people. A number of the interviewees in Chapter Five agreed with the notion that Coloured people are negatively affected by the application of affirmative action. Interviewee numbers three and four asserted that there is a perception that Coloured people feel marginalised because of the application of affirmative action and it could result in Coloured people adopting an apathetic attitude.
6.6.12 Statement: “Coloured people of voting age understand the need to participate in elections through political education”

26% of the respondents “strongly agreed” that through political education Coloured people understand the need to participate in elections, 65% of the respondents “agreed” and 4% were “neutral”. 4% of the respondents “disagreed” that political education will contribute to people understanding the need to participate in elections and only 1% “strongly disagreed”. Political education in terms of the respondents is an important contributing factor to make people aware of the importance of participating in elections. Interviewee number five stated that voter education by political parties is important to contribute to the electorate making informed decisions. Interviewee numbers one, two and three are of the view that parents and the older generation have the responsibility of educating the younger generation on the importance of political participation.
6.7 CONCLUSION

The chapter was a representation of the quantitative research methods and analysis and findings of the quantitative data collection process conducted in the Salt Lake, West End and Chatty areas. The response from the administered questionnaires was high and represents a 95% success rate in terms of completed questionnaires. The analysis and findings represents the views and perceptions of respondents on the political situation in South Africa and political participation and apathy. The analysis and findings were depicted in graphs and pie charts.

The results of the quantitative data collection process are an indication that people are interested in the political situation in the country and are following political trends. The results of the study also reflect that people value the importance of voting and an increase in political participation through voting is evident. The majority of respondents believe that participation in elections is important to improve the conditions in the respective communities. The results also indicate the low level of participation beyond elections in terms of participating in civil society activities. A greater effort must be made to attract voters to join political parties and participate in political party activities because the results of the study show a low level of membership and participation in political parties. The dominant political parties in South Africa, the ANC and the DA, are also the dominant political parties in the sampled areas.

The unemployment level of respondents is relatively high but the levels of education need to improve for the people to increase their chance of employability. A large percentage of respondents also believed that the application of affirmative action is negatively affecting their chances of being employed. The decline in the socio-economic conditions, according to the respondents, can contribute to the disengagement of the Coloured people from the political process. This can also be the reason why the respondents support the establishment of an organisation such as the BBI that focuses on catering for the needs of Coloured people. Apathy, or disengagement from politics, can be attributed to the lack of service delivery, affirmative action and the lack of accountability from political representatives. According to Mangcu (2005:77), Steve Biko stated that in a government where
democracy is allowed to work, one of the principles that are normally entrenched is a feedback system. This is a discussion between those who formulate policy and those who must perceive, accept or reject policy. This therefore illustrates a relationship between the politicians and the electorate.
CHAPTER SEVEN
RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The first section of the chapter focuses on the main findings of the study relating to the political participation of Coloured people in Port Elizabeth. The second part of the chapter refers to the recommendations that are based on the findings of the study. The method of triangulation assisted the researcher to draw a correlation between the qualitative interviews and the quantitative data collection process.

The main objectives of the study were to develop an understanding of Coloured people’s perception of their role and value in South African politics. The objectives included an exploration and description of factors contributing to political disengagement and factors that will enhance participation. Lastly, the objectives included the development of recommendations to enhance Coloured people’s involvement in the political process in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth.

7.2 MAIN FINDINGS ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF COLOURED PEOPLE

The qualitative study highlighted the development of a culture of voting of Coloured people in the period before 1994. The study also indicated the role of the church and an organisation such as SACOS in the Coloured communities. The Coloured people participated in the 1990 political protests in the northern areas in protest to the municipal housing rent increases resulting in looting and anarchy. One of the interviewees stated that the protests were a means of Coloured people expressing dissatisfaction with the way they were living during that period. It was also opined by one of the interviewees that people’s dissatisfaction with the current government can result in political protests on the same level as the 1990 protests.

The democratic period witnessed a high level of interest in political participation in terms of voting but voting appears inconsistent. The results of the national elections...
obtained from the IEC and the response of respondents on the level of participation in elections indicate an increase in voting in the 2009 elections in comparison to the 2004 elections. The quantitative study therefore indicated a high level of interest in the political situation in the country with participation in elections increasing although participation in elections is not stable. The majority of the participants in the study agreed that Coloureds are playing a meaningful role in politics and by voting they can make a difference in their communities.

The study gives an indication that the decline in the socio-economic conditions of Coloured people and protest against service delivery can lead to political disengagement. The participation in elections did not transcend to civil society participation. The writing of letters to newspapers can be seen as a platform to engage government and political parties on the issues affecting the citizens. Coloured people in the northern areas who have access to the print media can utilise this medium to engage government and political parties but the study shows a lack of participation in this regard. There is also limited participation in political party structures and in civil society structures such as school governing bodies and policing forums.

The interviewees indicated that the Coloured vote was not considered as important by the ANC in the earlier democratic elections because the focus was on African townships. The Coloured vote is currently seen as an important vote by political parties but there is a perception that political parties are using the Coloured people as a vehicle to gain political power. The study indicates that the membership of political parties is low and it reflects that the members are not active in the branches of political parties where important decisions are taken. An interviewee asserted Coloured people are negatively affected by their inactivity in branches of political parties where policies are influenced by the contribution of members.

The political identification of Coloured people is diverse and this is evident in the support for different political parties. The support for opposition parties in the northern areas is greater than the support for the ruling party and some consider this as indoctrination by opposition parties. The support for political parties such as the NP in previous elections and the DA currently can be attributed to the political
development of *Coloured* people in the colonial and apartheid periods. A perception of one of the interviewees’ is that identification with cultural roots, for example the Khoi and San, can lead to greater patriotism resulting in a higher level of political participation.

There are divergent views on the existence of apathy. An interviewee asserted that *Coloured* people became apathetic because of being neglected by the ANC. The *Coloured* people are disillusioned because of the slow progress in terms of socio-economic development under the ANC government. The ANC was viewed as a vehicle in the new democratic dispensation that would engineer major socio-economic development of the northern areas and of *Coloured* people in particular. Interviewee number one is of the view that the youth are apathetic because of the slow progress of socio-economic development. The study highlights a number of reasons for people abstaining from political participation. The reasons include the lack of service delivery resulting in political disengagement. The study also indicated a number of the respondents who are of the view that *Coloured* people are reluctant to participate in political activities. The lack of accountability from political representatives can contribute to political disengagement. A large section of the sample population in the study agreed that they have not witnessed a major improvement in the communities after 1994 and they believed that service delivery has worsened leading to abstention from the voting process. There are indications based on the results of the study that the application of affirmative action and the economic policies of government are negatively affecting *Coloured* people. The results of the 2004 national elections were an indication of disengagement from the political process, but the 2009 national elections witnessed an increase in participation by means of voting. The interviewees supported the view of an increase in political participation by means of participation in elections and the indication is that *Coloured* people view the importance in political participation to improve their standard of living.

The increase in participation can be attained through developing leaders and politicizing the youth from an early age. The participation in political structures will create a climate for greater participation. Voter education is pivotal to create an awareness of the importance of political participation. The majority of the
respondents in the study agreed that voter education plays an important role for people to understand the importance of political participation through elections. Parents and political parties have an important role to play in terms of political education. The majority of the respondents in the study agreed that political parties play an important role in encouraging political participation of citizens.

An organisation such as the BBI has a role to play in advancing the interests of the Coloured people but it should not create division between the various racial groups. The BBI was established because the needs and interests of Coloured people were not taken care of and the views of the interviewees were that it should be developmental in nature. The majority of the participants in the study supported the establishment of an organisation such as the BBI that would be responsible for advancing the interests of the Coloured people. The notion of the interviewees was that organisations established to advance the interests of Coloured people must focus on socio-economic development of the people and the northern areas in particular and work with government to realise its objectives. The challenge for these organisations was they are considered as ephemeral and this can be attributed to limited membership and support of the organisation by the community.

7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are directly related to the findings of the case study on the research conducted on political participation of the Coloured residents in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth.

- Political participation in elections

Political education or voter education is pivotal in the northern areas communities of Port Elizabeth to make people aware of the importance of political participation. The political education of citizens can be a contributing factor to increase participation in elections and civil society organisations. The IEC has a greater role to play in the interim period between elections to make people aware of voter participation. An informed citizenry will contribute in the decision-making process in a more consistent
manner. The organisations such as the IEC and other civil society organisations should become more involved in communities and should increase their visibility.

• Participation in civil society

The findings of the study indicate a lack of involvement in political participation outside of elections. The local newspapers can be seen as a catalyst to develop a culture of political participation in communities. The Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University based CANRAD was launched in March 2010. The objectives of the centre included the provision of an advocacy platform for the advancement of non-racialism and democracy. The Herald in partnership with CANRAD has embarked on a community dialogue initiative in order to engage people politically. The lack of participation outside of elections necessitates that a culture of participation is developed. The platform created by the community dialogue initiative can lead to a more responsible citizenry that values the importance of involvement in political decision-making.

A culture of political participation must be encouraged in the schools as part of the curriculum to increase people’s awareness of political participation. The significance would be to educate the youth on democracy and inculcate in the youth the importance of contributing to political decision-making. This would lay the foundation for a youth that is politically educated. The youth in the northern areas played a dominant role in the UDF. Leadership development must be encouraged in schools in the form of the Student Representative Councils. Only certain parts of the northern areas have an active citizenry in structures such as school governing councils, ratepayers associations and community policing forums. The involvement in such structures can be a catalyst for a higher level of participation in elections. Civil society structures have a role to play to hold government accountable for their actions. An active, informed and vigilant civil society will have a watchdog role over government that can lead to greater government accountability.

There is a need for the establishment of an organisation such as the BBI to advance the interests of Coloured people. The organisation can contribute to political education. The organisation should also focus on socio-economic and educational
development within the northern areas. NAPDI was established to focus on the socio-economic development of the area. NAPDI in partnership with the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University’s CANRAD initiated the North Star Future Scenarios project aimed at addressing challenges faced by the community of the northern areas (Butler, 2011). Butler (2011) states that the goal of the initiative was to get business, civil society and government to work together aiming to inspire and mobilise the community. There should be a focus on grassroots development that NAPDI is focussing on. A fundamental challenge for organisations such as the BBI and NAPDI was not to contribute to the creation of racial division amongst the different racial groups and to ensure community involvement in the organisations.

The churches also have an important role to play in terms of community development. The church in the apartheid era significantly contributed to political participation in the northern areas. The churches can create a platform for political discussion to take place in the youth structures and for the development of leaders. The church has a role to impact congregants to encourage participation in elections and become more involved in terms of political decision-making.

- Political parties

Political parties have a crucial role to play in terms of voter education. There is a low level of membership and participation in political parties. An active citizenry in political parties will encourage a more vibrant democracy. The respective political parties must adhere to a feedback system to restore the faith citizens have in them. The community must be made aware of the existence of the ward committees and the link that committees provide between the community and local government. A recommendation is that South Africa, at national level, return to a system of constituency representation where the political representatives will be more accountable to the constituency than to the political party. The visibility of the political parties in the communities must increase and there should be a greater drive to recruit members and a greater involvement in the affairs of political parties. Political leaders that were part of the civil society structures were incorporated into government with the introduction of democracy which resulted in a leadership vacuum being created in the northern areas. There has therefore been a dearth of
capable leaders in the northern areas. The communities must elect political leaders that are capable and politically astute to focus on improving the general welfare of the people. The political parties must start developing leaders in the youth structures to fill the leadership vacuum.

• **Political identification**

The political identification in the areas sampled shows an example of a diverse identification. Historically people have voted for the opposition parties and the support for certain parties would be greater. The socio-economic conditions of the people are contributing factors in how people determine their political identification. It is incumbent on political party leadership to bridge the divide between the different racial groups. A greater unity in the political parties will dispel the notion that people vote along racial lines. The current political identification entrenches such a perception.

• **Political apathy**

There is a measure of political apathy evident in the areas sampled and the participation in elections is not consistent. The IEC, civil society organisations and political parties have a responsibility in terms of voter education and to create the awareness amongst the populace of the importance of political participation. People have the right to abstain from participating in elections but the political parties must provide alternatives to the voting populace.

• **Increasing participation**

The improvement in the socio-economic conditions of the people can have a positive influence in increasing the political participation of the people. Improved service delivery by government will contribute a great degree in restoring faith in government. Leadership development in schools and courses on responsible citizenship can enhance prospects for political participation. A higher level of accountability by political representatives and a better feedback system between political representatives and the voting populace can lead to an increase in political
participation. The establishment of civil society organisations such as ratepayers associations in the areas where it is non-existent can develop a culture of participation.

7.4 FUTURE RESEARCH TOPICS

The researcher would recommend the following research areas for future research:

• The existence of civil society organisations in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth and their importance in terms of political education.
• The impact that civil society organisations has on enhancing political participation in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth and the reasons for it being considered as ephemeral.

7.5 CONCLUSION

The findings of the study are an indication that the political participation is not consistent in the northern areas. Apathy is evident but there has been an increase in political participation through elections. Apathy is more evident in participation in political party and civil society structures. The findings of the study also indicated political education is vital to make people aware of the importance of political participation. Civil society organisations have a pivotal role to play in encouraging a culture of political participation outside of elections. Political parties can play a role in educating people on political participation but also encouraging a greater participation in political party structures. The youth, in terms of political education, must be impacted at school level. The study indicated a number of ways to increase participation through encouraging a better feedback system by political representatives. The BBI or similar organisations have a contribution to make in terms of socio-economic, political and educational development at grassroots level in the communities.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Ramphele, M. 2010. Multiple voices are the oxygen of democracy. South Africans must fight the political monopoly their country has become. *Sunday Times*, 4 April, p9.


ANNEXURE 8.1
ETHICAL CLEARANCE LETTER

NORTH CAMPUS
FACULTY OF ARTS
Tel: +27 (0)41 5042885 Fax: +27 (0)41 5042833
https://www.nmmu.ac.za

Ref: H/01AR/14PGS-001

23 April 2010

Mr G E Bloemers
Student number 80316717
25 Barundo Street
Salt Lake
Port Elizabeth
6059

Dear Mr Bloemers,

AN EVALUATION OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY COLOURED PEOPLE IN PORT ELIZABETH: 1954 – 2009

Your above-entitled application for ethics approval served at the RTI Higher Degrees sub-committee of the Faculty of Arts Research, Technology and Innovation Committee.

We take pleasure in informing you that the application was approved by the Committee.

The Ethics clearance reference number is H/01AR/14PGS-001, and is valid for three years, from 15 April 2010 - 15 April 2013. Please inform the RTI-HDC, via your supervisor, if any changes (particularly in the methodology) occur during this time. An annual affirmation to the effect that the protocols in use are still those for which approval was granted, will be required from you. You will be reminded periodically of this responsibility.

We wish you well with the project.

Yours sincerely,

Ms J J. Nkotla
FACULTY OFFICER

cc: Promoter/Supervisor
HoD
School Representative Faculty RTI
Dear participant

Invitation to participate in research

This letter is an invitation to request your participation in a study I am conducting as part of my Masters degree in Political Science at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. Coloured people have played an important role in the political history of South Africa. Many writers and political commentators have alluded to the political apathy of Coloured people. The focus of the study is to investigate and identify the reason for the perceived political apathetic behaviour of Coloured people in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth. As a prominent figure in the Coloured community your participation is requested to contribute to the aims of this project.

Please be assured that participation in this project is voluntary. The duration of the interview will be approximately 45 minutes. It would be appreciated if you could answer all the questions but it is your prerogative to not answer all the questions. You may withdraw from the study by advising the researcher of your decision. With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded to facilitate the collection of information and afterwards transcribed for analysis. You will be provided with a copy of the transcript for authentication purposes and to provide you with an opportunity to confirm the accuracy of our conversation.

We will regard the information as strictly confidential and your name will not appear in the dissertation or report resulting from this study. Anonymous quotations will thus be used with your permission. There are no known or anticipated risks to you as a participant in this project.

If you have any questions regarding this study or you would like to clarify any ambiguity, please contact me on 041-482 0999/083 375 7918 or by email at bloem.eq@webmail.co.za. You can also contact my supervisor, Ms Enaleen Draai at 041-504 3808 or by email at Enaleen.Draai@nmmu.ac.za.
This study has been reviewed and ethics clearance was obtained from Faculty of Arts Research, Technology and Innovation Committee at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. The final decision to participate in the study rests with you.

It is my hope that the study will contribute to exploring options to improve the participation of Coloured people in political decision-making in Port Elizabeth.

I am looking forward to the interview and am greatly appreciative of your participation in the project.

Yours sincerely

GARY BLOEMIERS (RESEARCHER)
083 375 7918
ANNEXURE 8.3
QUALITATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE

The research is undertaken by Gary Bloemiers in support of his Masters dissertation in Political Science at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University.

The purpose of the research is to establish the views of the level of political participation by Coloured people in political activities.

The interview will be conducted with prominent community and political leaders from the northern areas of Port Elizabeth.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Do you think that the new political dispensation has led to heightened political participation in political processes by Coloured people in South Africa?

2. How in your opinion is the Coloured vote perceived by political parties in the new dispensation?

3. Have Coloured people embraced a ‘distinct’ political identity that resonates in terms of the level and type of political participation that they subscribe to?

4. Do you believe that there is a sense of political apathy that exists in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth? What in your opinion might be the causes if it does exist?

5. What will lead to improved political participation amongst Coloured people in the Port Elizabeth area?

6. How do you view the role an organisation such as the Brown Interest Initiative (BBI) in the current dispensation?

Thank You

GARY BLOEMIERS (RESEARCHER)
083 375 7918
ANNEXURE 8.4
QUANTITATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE

The research is undertaken by Mr Gary Bloemiers in support of his Masters Dissertation in Political Science at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. The purpose of this questionnaire is to determine the level of political participation by Coloured people in political activities in Port Elizabeth.

SECTION A
BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

PLEASE TICK IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX

1. Gender
   1.1 Male
   1.2 Female

2. Age
   2.1 18 to 24
   2.2 25 to 34
   2.3 35 to 44
   2.4 45 to 54
   2.5 55 to 64
   2.6 65 or older

3. Employment status
   3.1 Employed
   3.2 Unemployed
   3.3 Retired
   3.4 Student

4. Education
   4.1 No formal education
   4.2 Grade 1 to 7
   4.3 Grade 8 to 10
   4.4 Grade 11 to 12
   4.5 Technical certificate/ diploma
   4.6 Graduate
   4.7 Post graduate degree
SECTION B
PLEASE GIVE YOUR CONSIDERED ANSWERS TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS.

THE QUESTIONS RELATE TO THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

1. Do you have any interest in the current political situation in the country?
   1.1 Not at all
   1.2 A little
   1.3 A lot

2. Are you a registered member of a political party?
   2.1 Yes
   2.2 No

3. Which party are you a member of?
   ANC 1
   DA 2
   IFP 3
   SACP 4
   ID 5
   UCDP 6
   FA 7
   MF 8
   VF 9
   Any other party, specify. 10

4. If the answer to question two is yes, are you active in the local ward of the political party to which you are affiliated?
   4.1 Yes
   4.2 No

5. Do you write letters to the newspapers concerning political matters?
   5.1 Always
   5.2 Sometimes
   5.3 Seldom
   5.4 Never

6. Do you follow political trends in South Africa by watching news on television?
   6.1 Always
   6.2 Sometimes
   6.3 Seldom
   6.4 Never
7. Do you read political articles in newspapers?

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<th>Always</th>
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8. Are you involved in political protests in your community?

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9. Do you believe that your vote is important in South Africa?

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<th>Yes</th>
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10. Do you participate in elections?

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11. In which of the following elections did you participate?

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12. Do you belong to any organisation outside of a political party that advances the interests of your community?

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<th>Yes</th>
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13. Are there any organisations in your area responsible for educating the people on the importance of participating in elections?

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<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Do not know</th>
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<tr>
<td>13.1</td>
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14. Do you believe that there is a need for an organisation such as the Brown Interest Initiative (BBI) that wants to advance the interest of Coloured people in the new democracy?

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<th>Yes</th>
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### SECTION C

**SPECIFY YOUR VIEW ON THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS BY TICKING X IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX.**

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<th></th>
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<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>I believe my vote can make a difference in my community.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Coloured people are playing a meaningful role in politics in South Africa.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Coloured people in South Africa are reluctant to participate in political activities, including voting.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>An organisation such as the BBI should be established to specifically cater for the needs of the Coloured people.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Political parties play an important role in encouraging the participation of the citizens of South Africa in political decision-making.</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>There is a lack of accountability from political representatives in South Africa.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>A lack of accountability by political representatives can lead to disengagement from the political process.</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>After the 1994 elections there is not much improvement in our communities.</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>The economic policies of the government contributed to a growth in unemployment.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Service delivery in South Africa in your local area after 1994 has become worse.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Coloured people stay away from the voting stations in protest against service delivery.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>The application of a policy such as affirmative action is negatively affecting Coloured people.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>The deterioration in the economic condition of the Coloured people leads to a lack of participation in political activities.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>14.</td>
<td>Political education means Coloured people of voting age understand the need to participate in elections.</td>
<td>1</td>
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Thanking You.
To: To whom it may concern
From: Mr David Blignaut (Lecturer: Applied Language Studies)
Date: 10 January 2012
Re: LANGUAGE PRACTITIONER DECLARATION

This is to confirm that the dissertation written by Gary Elroid Bloemires titled AN EVALUATION OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY COLOURED PEOPLE IN PORT ELIZABETH: 1994-2009 was edited by Mr David Blignaut.

Regards

Mr David Blignaut
Lecturer: Applied Language Studies
Work: (041) 504 3768
Cell: 0845651006
Email: davidb@nmmu.ac.za