



**An analysis of a coalition government: A
new path in administration and
governance at local government level in
South Africa**

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Dedication

To

My God the creator of heaven and earth.

My late father Reverend JM Ndou and my mom Mrs Hellen Ndou

My wife Ellen Ndou

My son Ramudzuli

My siblings Rev Molly, Rev Godfrey, Freddy, Pandelani and Mbuyedzedzo.

Acknowledgements

The Almighty God who has given me strength throughout the journey.

My colleagues and friends who always encouraged me to do this work.

My promoter Prof Costa Hofisi for all the best guidance and patience throughout the journey. Thank you so much Prof.

Declaration

I Livhuwani Levy Ndou, hereby declare that this thesis is my own original work, and it has not been submitted for any degree or for examination at any other university. The sources that I have used have been fully acknowledged by complete references. This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of a PHD in Public Management and Governance at the North West University, Vanderbijlpark campus.

Signature.....Date.....

ABSTRACT

The African National Congress has been a dominant party in the South African politics since the dawn of democracy in 1994. The support and dominance of the ANC is confirmed by the election results since 1994 at national, provincial, and local level. The loss of support by the ANC was felt in the 2016 local government elections in the Johannesburg, Tshwane, Nelson Mandela Bay and Ekurhuleni. These metros and some other municipalities brought hung municipalities as there was no outright winner in the elections. The results of the 2016 local government elections brought the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) together to form a coalition with other smaller parties to put the ANC out of power in the City of Johannesburg, Tshwane, and Nelson Mandela Bay Metros. Although there were some coalitions in the past, South Africans have started to experience more of coalition government after the 2016 local government elections. Where there is no outright winner in the elections, coalitions cannot be avoided since they are imposed on the politicians by the voters. Coalition government in the metros was characterised by conflict and instability which compromised service delivery and governance. The coalitions in South Africa are characterised by constant change of leadership. Coalitions in South Africa are not regulated. The establishment of coalition government is only in the hands of the politicians at national level, and the agreements amongst political parties are not made public which in the view of the study, is the source of conflict amongst coalition partners. To avoid instability and conflict amongst coalition partners, this study has developed a framework that should guide coalitions in South Africa. The major objective of the study was to investigate the impact of coalitions on governance in South Africa in the City of Tshwane. The researcher used semi structured interviews to collect data from the key informants

that include regional members of the ANC, DA, EFF, academics and political commentators. The study found several challenges in coalition government establishment in South Africa. Such challenges include instability in coalitions, breakdown of the coalitions, poor service delivery, and constant change of leadership, which can hurt the governance of municipalities. A framework that would assist in the proper functioning of a coalition was developed in this study to address various challenges encountered in coalition governments.

Keywords: Coalition governments, politicians, local government, governance, framework.

ACRONYMS.

ABC	All Basotho Congress.
AD	Alliance of Democrats
AFROD	The Alliance for Democracy
AIC	African Independent Congress
ANC	African national Congress.
AU	African Union.
BCP	Basotho Congress Party.
BNP	Basotho National Party
COPE	Congress of the people.
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Union.
DA	Democratic Alliance.
DP	Democratic Party.
CP	Conservative Party.
CR	Conservative Republicans.
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters.
FF+	Freedom Front Plus.
FRELIMO	Liberation Front of Mozambique/ Mozambican Liberation Front
GNU	Government of National Unity.
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission.
INC	Indian National Congress
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party.
ARASA	Independent Ratepayers Association of South Africa.
KANU	Kenya African National Union.
LCD	Lesotho Congress for Democracy
LD	Liberal Democracy.
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party.
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change.
NAK	National Alliance Party of Kenya.
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition

NDI	National Democratic Institute.
NNP	New National Party.
PA	Patriotic Alliance
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress.
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme.
UNHDI	United Nations Human Development Index
UDA	United Democratic Alliance.
RENAMO	Mozambican National Resistance (Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana)
RENAMO-UE	Coalition of Political parties led by RENAMO.
SADC	South African Development Community.
SACP	South African Communist Party.
SANCO	South African National Civic Association.
SD	Southern Democrats.
SMME	Small Medium and Micro Enterprise.
UDM	United Democratic Movement.
ZEC	Zimbabwe Electoral Commission.
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front

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CHAPTER 1: ORIENTATION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 INTRODUCTION.

The theory and practice of the concept of the political coalition have their roots mainly in the experiences of Western European countries (Oyugi, 2006; Kadima, 2014; Resnick, 2014). There is sufficient evidence in the literature that emphasises coalition governments as the primary option for governance in modern political setup (Kadima, 2014, 2006, Booysen and Mubangizi, 2016). The 2016 local government elections became a watershed moment for South African politics as it dramatically changed the face of the political landscape (Law, 2018). The dominance of the African National Congress (ANC hereafter) at the local government level has been gradually eroding. This was confirmed by the local government election results of August 2016. Major opposition parties (e.g., the Democratic Alliance and Economic Freedom Fighters) and other smaller parties (e.g., The Freedom Front Plus, Inkatha Freedom party) emerged as more competitive, changing the voting patterns in South Africa. It became more apparent that the ANC, dominance in the political landscape in South Africa is gradually getting eroded. In the 2011 local government elections, the ANC received 55.32%, the DA received 38.65%, and the FF+ received 1.66% (IEC 2011 elections: Tshwane results). In the 2016 local government results in Tshwane, the ANC received 41.02%, the DA received 43.20%, and the EFF received 11.62% (IEC 2016 elections: Tshwane results). The ANC has seen a decline in its support base by 14%. The emergence of these parties and the decrease in support of the ANC have paved the way for the coalition government arrangements in South African politics and administration.

Coalitions are not always smooth as perceived challenges regarding partners' cooperation may impact service delivery.

Following the 2016 local government elections in South Africa, the dominance of one major political party (ANC), has gradually diminished. Hence, coalitions are becoming a reality due to the possibility of no outright winner in the elections. There are more than twenty (20) political parties in South Africa that partake in elections. The growth in the number of political parties leaves the voters with a broader choice and spreads the votes amongst different political parties; hence there would be no outright winner. Coalitions are now an integral part of the South African political scene. There is, therefore, a possibility that coalitions can even play an essential role at the provincial and national levels in the next few years (Law, 2018).

A coalition arrangement is an agreement between two or more political parties to come together to form a government. According to Gautam (2018), a coalition government has several political parties that cooperate to arrive at unanimous decisions, primarily to form a government or conceptualize different public policies. Coalitions are possible only where various parties agree and establish an inclusive government in South African municipalities.

According to Kadima (2014), the coalition government is the association of at least two or more political parties working together in parliament or government based on election result outcomes. Parties arrange themselves in pursuit of a common goal. The critical element of the coalition is mainly to control the state's executive arm depending purposely and explicitly on the level of government. Schreiber (2018) reiterates that a coalition is primarily a post-elections activity meant to form a government based on the

election results. Coalition governments would require the cooperation of all the parties involved to have a stable government. The definitions provided by Gautam (2018); Kadima (2014) & Schreiber (2018) suggest two primary issues that a coalition government seeks to achieve. First, a coalition government is a form of government in which political parties cooperate, reducing the dominance of any one party within that “coalition.” The usual reason for this arrangement is that no party on its own can achieve a majority in the election. Secondly, a coalition government is formed when no single party secures the absolute majority in the polls. In such a situation, two or more parties come together and form a coalition government.

The ANC has been a dominant party at all levels of government winning elections in South Africa between 1994 until 2014. According to the Independent Electoral Commission (2016), from 1994 to 2014, the current electoral trends suggest that the ANC’s electoral run is ending, as evidenced by the 2016 elections. According to Schreiber (2018), a combination of endemic corruption, rising crime, a stalled economy, and the party’s staunch defence of former President Jacob Zuma’s patronage network has gradually eroded its support since 2009. Since 2014, this trend has accelerated.

The opposition parties in South Africa took advantage of the ANC's weaknesses and campaigned effectively to win the local elections. The opposition parties, the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the Freedom Economic Fighters (EFF), exposed ANC’s corruption under Jacob Zuma, which disarmed the ANC’s power base and ultimately performed poorly in the elections of 2014 and 2016, respectively which the ANC has shown a tremendous decline.

South Africa held its first democratic elections in 1994, and since then, the country's political landscape has gradually moved from a one-party dominance led by the ANC to a multi-party governance. This was witnessed in the 2016 local government elections, whereby several municipalities and metros were co-governed by various political parties. Political scientists and scholars alike allude that the emergence of political parties like IFP, UDM, DA, COPE, and EFF, signal the strengthening and maturity of South Africa's democracy (Brooks, 2004; Kadima, 2006; Kadima & Owuor, 2012; Bogaards, 2013; & Kadima, 2014).

The shifting of the electoral landscape has presented the opposition parties with an opportunity to gain power. Given this background, the study aims to assess the nature and scope of the coalition government in South Africa. South African politics has been dominated by the African National Congress (ANC) since 1994, at all spheres of government. As a result of this significant power shift, coalition politics is now an integral part of the South African political scene. Voting trends and polling suggest that it may play an even more significant role in provincial and even national politics in the years to come (Law, 2018).

It appears that coalitions are established at any given time without established guidelines and a framework. The South African political elite, the leaders of the political parties, seems to be the active players in establishing coalition governments without involving their members and the electorate. This has the potential to create frustrations and misunderstandings among the voters. This study is essential, as it will suggest guidelines or frameworks to be followed when parties come together to form a coalition government. The research will draw inspiration from other countries that have implemented coalition

governments and enacted best practice policies. The forthcoming sections discuss some of the challenges facing coalition government to offer alternative solutions. The study provides a framework for local government in South Africa.

The coalition government in the City of Tshwane was characterised by instability and conflict amongst elected representatives. The City of Tshwane has observed a constant change in political leadership since the local government elections in 2016. Since the 2016 elections, the city has been administered by three executive mayors: Solly Msimanga, Steven Mokgalapa and now Randal Williams.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT.

Three South African metros have been governed by opposition party coalitions since 2016 and are currently facing many challenges. These cities are Tshwane, Johannesburg, and Nelson Mandela Bay. All the mayors in these three metros elected in 2016 have not completed their term of office due to the challenges faced by coalition governments (Pieterse, 2020).

The current electoral patterns suggest that a coalition government is a primary option for government in the modern political dispensation in South Africa (Kadima, 2014). The establishment of coalition governments in South Africa has brought several mixed reactions to the ordinary people. In the electoral system in South Africa, citizens vote for a political party of their choice and not coalition governments. It is the expectation of voters to be consulted when a decision to participate in a coalition is made. The discussion to have a coalition government is strictly limited to the party elite and ordinary

members of the political parties and supporters are not informed about the conversations at that level.

Current literature acknowledges the existence of the coalition government in South Africa dating back to 1994 (Jolobe, 2018). There is no mention of the framework or guidelines to be followed in the literature available when entering a coalition. This study closes the gap related to the procedures adhered to when political parties join a coalition. Based on the literature, no clear guidelines regulate the coalition government's existence in South Africa. This study is crucial as it provides the necessary procedures needed when entering a coalition.

The voters and party members are an integral part of political parties as they vote for a party based on its policy positions. When an agreement is made to form a coalition, the voters feel betrayed by the political elite when their views are not considered. A coalition is expected to be characterised by negotiations and compromise as it merges diverse groups of people to form a shared common identity. This creates some form of dissatisfaction on the part of the voters. Some of the significant factors that influence certain people to vote for a party can be compromised and can frustrate the voters.

The coalition governments in the three metros of City of Tshwane, Johannesburg and Nelson Mandela Metro received intense criticisms from ordinary citizens. To date, these coalitions are still characterised by conflict, instability, and poor service delivery, to the detriments of ordinary citizens. In most cases, coalition partners spend more time

managing coalitions rather than focusing on service delivery issues. All three metros have seen changes in political leadership, which harms the governance systems of the metros. At the beginning of 2020, the city of Tshwane was temporarily put under administration by the Gauteng Provincial government since the coalition has collapsed.

Against this backdrop, this study, therefore, focuses on the state of the coalition governments in South Africa and examines how they are managed so as to provide alternative strategies to parties joining coalitions. The study further assesses the developments in the metros and determines whether a coalition government would be the best option where there is no outright winner. The nature and character of the coalition is examined to determine areas for further improvements. Lastly, possible solutions are provided to develop a framework for improving the functioning of coalition governments in South Africa.

1.3 THEORIES FOR COALITION GOVERNMENTS.

Several theories characterise the formation of coalition governments (Neumann and Morgenstein). These theories provide an understanding of how coalition governments, are formed, the number of parties involved, duration and termination of these coalitions. The game theory of coalition government was pioneered by Neumann and Morgenstein. The theory assumes that political actors adopt rational strategies to maximize their returns on interests in each situation. Political actors have specific resources, goals and defined sets of rules of the game. They calculate their best way to achieve their goals and move accordingly after considering all relevant factors, including the countermoves

of the other players (Motseme, 2017). When deciding to participate in a coalition, parties look at what they can achieve or benefit in that coalition.

Secondly, the electoral system theory emphasises the relationship among parties in a coalition (Letsi, 2015, Kapa & Shale, 2014). This theory is focused on the strength and position, political history, and relationship of political parties during elections and assess how this may have influenced coalition behaviour. Therefore, the party's influence among the electorate and its relation to the people's issues become a factor in the coalition.

Thirdly, the conflict transformation theory focuses on the process of changing relationships between parties in a political and social system in ways that address the structural causes that led to conflict in the first place (Ledarach, 2003). The author argues that these coalitions go beyond conflict management. They address surface issues in a conflict, the underlying social structures and relationships between political parties and actors for stable and long-term political cooperation. Resolving disputes becomes important for parties before entering a coalition.

In this study, the researcher adopts some of these theories as they help explain the formation of coalition government in South Africa.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS.

The study is based on the following primary question.

- What factors contribute to stable and reliable governance where there is no outright winner in the elections at local government in South Africa?

Based on the problem statement and the theoretical framework, the study aims to answer the following sub-questions:

- (i) What factors influence the formation of coalition governments at the local government level in South Africa?
- (ii) What are the factors that contribute to instability and conflicts in a coalition in the City of Tshwane?
- (iii) In what way have stakeholders reacted to the formation of the coalition government in the City of Tshwane?
- (iv) Which framework can be developed to guide the establishment and functioning of coalition governments in South Africa?

1.5 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES.

The primary research objective is to examine the factors contributing to the establishment and management of coalition governments in South Africa.

The following are the objectives of the study:

- (i) To analyze the factors that influence the formation of a coalition government at the local government level in South Africa.
- (ii) To examine the factors that contribute to instability and conflicts in a coalition government in the City of Tshwane.

- (iii) To examine the stakeholder' reactions towards the formation of the coalition government in the City of Tshwane.
- (iv) To develop a framework that guides the establishment and functioning of coalition governments.

1.6 CENTRAL THEORITICAL STATEMENT/ HYPOTHESES.

The decline of the ANC's support has given birth to coalition governments in the South African political landscape. The poor management of coalition governments negatively impacts on public service delivery. Therefore, coalition governments require clear guidelines and frameworks to avoid unnecessary conflict in government.

1.7 METHODOLOGY.

According to Cohen (2001), a research design is used to describe the procedures for conducting a study, and its purpose is to help find appropriate answers to the research questions. The study employs the qualitative approach as it allows the researcher to interview key informants with in-depth knowledge of the phenomenon under investigation. Using this method provides diverse viewpoints that enlighten the researcher about the intricacies associated with the research problem.

1.8 RESEARCH STRATEGY

This study employs a case study research design. Case study research is a systematic inquiry into an event or a set of related events which aims to describe and explain the phenomenon of interest (Bromley, 1990). According to Yin (1984), a case study in research is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon, and context is not clear and multiple sources of evidence are used. The researcher strives to develop a holistic understanding of how participants relate to each other in a specific situation in the case study.

The City of Tshwane is the selected focal point of this study because it is the seat of the national government in South Africa. The establishment of the coalition government in the City of Tshwane has brought governance and service delivery challenges to the city. Studying the challenges facing coalition government in The City of Tshwane has the potential of unearthing insights in other areas and the recommendations made can be of assistance in other metros.

1.9. STUDY POPULATION

In research, the population refers to the totality of persons, events organization units, cases with which the specific research problem is concerned (De Vos, 1998, 190; Goddard & Melville, 2001). The targeted group for this study are the structures of different political parties represented in the Tshwane metro. Regional leaders, branches, and include ordinary members of the public who qualify and are registered to vote. For this study, the focus is on the African National Congress, The Democratic Alliance and

the Economic Freedom Fighters in Tshwane; the leading players in the coalition dynamics on the metros across South Africa. Similarly, in the City of Johannesburg and Nelson Mandela Metro, the ANC, DA and the EFF are the dominant political actors in the coalition government. The DA and the EFF have come together to keep the ANC out of power.

1.10 SAMPLE AND SAMPLING PROCEDURE.

Bynard and Hanekom (2010) define sampling as a technique employed to select a small group (the sample) to determine the characteristics of a large group (the population). If selected discerningly, the sample is expected to display the same features or properties of the larger population. The study employs purposive sampling, a non-probability sampling technique to identify individuals who have adequate knowledge on coalition governments within the local sphere in South Africa (McMillan and & Schumacher, 2006:75). The study further samples the regional leadership of the ANC, DA, and EFF including their branch leadership and members as a way of obtaining a diverse targeted sample which will bring varied responses.

This study uses purposive sampling which enables the researcher to conveniently choose groups of individuals who are likely knowledgeable and informative about the phenomenon of interest (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006:75). Through this method, leaders of the political parties at the regional level and branches in the Tshwane Region will be contacted, particularly the ANC, DA, and EFF. The employees at the City of Tshwane, both at management and lower levels, also form part of the sampling. Ordinary

Citizens, who are the voters and the receivers of the municipal services are included in the target sample size. Senior students and political commentators are also included.

1.11 **DATA COLLECTION METHODS**

The study uses semi-structured interviews to collect data from the key informants that include regional members of the ANC, DA, EFF, academics and political commentators. According to Bernard (1988), semi-structured interviewing provides a clear set of instructions for interviewers and can provide reliable, comparable qualitative data. Semi-structured interviews are often preceded by observation. Informal and unstructured interviewing allows the researchers to understand the topic of interest necessary for developing relevant and meaningful semi-structured questions. According to Young (1975), the interview is a direct verbal method of obtaining data in which a researcher enters the life of a comparative stranger. It is the most common interview that is used in qualitative research. In this interview, you seek specific information which can be compared with the input from other interviewees and even from the literature reviewed. In this situation, information is obtained from the relevant people who are deemed to have the required information to assist in the study.

1.12 **SEMI-STRUCTURED INFORMANT INTERVIEWS**

Semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to prepare questions ahead of time and appear competent during the interview. The semi-structured interview allows key informants to express themselves freely when responding to questions on coalition governments in South Africa. Therefore, semi-structured interviews provide reliable, comparable qualitative data (Cohen, 2006).

However due to the Covid-19 restrictions, the researcher employed telephonic and zoom interviews for the safety of both the researcher and the participants.

1.13 **LITERATURE STUDY**

The study makes use of the following sources, among others:

- i. The other studies of Masters and Doctoral theses, for insight into previous research and findings related to coalition governments locally and internationally.
- ii. The Journals (both electronic and hard copies) on coalition governments will be used to assess the challenges and opportunities of coalition governments in the South African context.
- iii. Local and international textbooks on issues of coalition governments in and outside South Africa.
- iv. Newspapers will be used as some of the views by politicians, ordinary citizens, journalists, and editors, which provide information on coalition governance.

1.14 DATA ANALYSIS.

According to Merriam (2002:126) and McMillan & Schumacher (2006), documentary data is an excellent data source for qualitative research since such data is available to ground an investigation into the problem being solved. Data analysis is conducted simultaneously in qualitative research with data collection and interpretation (Creswell, 1994:153). Data analysis requires logically organizing collected data based on the research problem, mainly guided by the research objectives. According to McMillan & Schumacher (2006:364), qualitative analysis is a systematic process of coding, categorizing, and interpreting data to provide explanations of the phenomenon of interest. For this study, data will be analyzed systematically by coding, classifying, and interpreting data to explain the phenomenon of interest (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006:364). According to Maree (2007:105), coding is reading carefully through the transcribed data and dividing it into meaningful, analytical units. Codes such as KI (1-10) representing key informants will be used when presenting the qualitative data.

1.15 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY.

The study acknowledges that coalition arrangement is not necessarily a new phenomenon in the South African political landscape. After the 2016 local government elections in South Africa, the developments have opened a space for a relook at the state of coalitions in South Africa (Jolobe, 2018). The shifting of the electoral landscape has presented the opposition parties with a huge opportunity to gain power (Law, 2018).

The developments in Tshwane, Nelson Mandela Bay and Johannesburg have made the study of coalitions significant. It appears as if South Africa will have to live with coalitions in the future for a more extended period. The challenges and lack of clarity on the details of the coalitions make the study more relevant as it seeks to identify the elements and the fundamentals involved in the establishment of these coalitions. There is also limited literature in studying coalitions in South Africa as it is a new phenomenon. Therefore, the study fills the gap in the literature on coalition governments, and develops a framework that is intended to provide clear guidelines on how coalitions should be managed. The study also provides a framework for coalitions and makes practical recommendations on the management of coalition governments.

1.16 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY.

This thesis focuses on the coalition governments in the South African political landscape at the local government level through documentation and analysis of selected highlights of coalition dynamics in the South African context. It was not possible for the researcher to contact all political elites of the different political parties due to limitations of access and availability of senior political officials. The local leadership is interviewed to collect data relating to the research. Apart from conducting interviews, the researcher mainly depended on the available data from different sources like libraries and online materials.

1.17 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

Before the researcher undertook the study, Gatekeeper's permission was obtained from City of Tshwane and ethical clearance was simultaneously granted by the North-West University. The researcher is ethically responsible for protecting the rights and welfare of the subjects who participate in the study, mainly involving physical and mental discomfort and harm (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006:16). The researcher is a sensitive observer who records phenomena as faithfully as possible (Mcmillan & Schumacher, 2001). The results of the study are kept confidential, and the identities of the participants are kept secret. The researcher obtained written consent from the participants by requesting them to be part of the study. The participants were asked to participate voluntarily and all information collected was used only for the purposes of completing a Doctoral Study. In addition, the participants were fully informed about the research method, the nature of their involvement and the possible publication of the results, while confidentiality will be assured. All participants were notified that their privacy is guaranteed, and the research method was explained.

No confidential information will be published without their approval. At no given point will the researcher falsify the information collected from the participants as that will be a direct violation of the ethics of research. The participants will not be exposed to any risk and harm. In this regard, the researcher employed telephonic interviews and zoom to conduct research. It was also emphasised that their participation is voluntary, and their confidentiality is guaranteed.

The researcher ensured that the research is trustworthy by maintaining confirmability, dependability, and credibility. The researcher ensured that the duration of the data collection is prolonged in order to have a longer period with the participants. This gave the researcher sufficient time to become familiar with the setting and context, test misinformation, build trust, get to know the data, and get rich data. In that regard, the researcher applied persistent observation to identify the characteristics and elements that are most relevant to the research area under study. For dependability and conformability, the researcher has an audit trail. The researcher transparently describes the steps taken from the start of the research project to the development and reporting of the findings. (Korstjens & Moser, 2018: 120-124).

The researcher provided a detailed explanation to the participants to be comfortable and offer an honest response. Confidentiality was maintained. The participants were constantly reminded that this is mainly for the study's purposes.

1.18 STRUCTURE OF THESIS.

The chapter layout of the thesis is as follows:

Chapter 1. Orientation and background of the research

The objectives and the research questions are clearly articulated in this chapter. The background of the study problem is presented and matters about ethics are clarified to justify the study.

Chapter 2. Literature review

At the core of the research work is the literature review. This chapter reviews conceptual frameworks for coalition governance. A review of books, scholarly articles, newspaper articles and other sources were examined in this chapter. These sources determined what exists in the academic literature and identified possible gaps in this scholarly literature for further research.

Chapter 3. The South African political setting

The political history of the electoral patterns in the South African political space was highlighted from the birth of democracy in 1994. The electoral patterns and voter perceptions were highlighted.

Chapter 4. Research Methodology

The chapter presents the research design, population and sampling, data collection methods, data analysis and ethical considerations for the study.

Chapter 5. Research design and discussion

This chapter focuses on the strategy that is employed to collect data. The sampling method used is explained in addition to how the researcher concluded. The profiles of the respondents will also be clarified and discussed.

Chapter 6. Recommendations and conclusion

The chapter presents the research findings and discussion in the context of the literature reviewed. The results are presented and discussed based on the objective of the study.

The last chapter presents the conclusion and recommendations of the study on the findings of the study.

CHAPTER 2: COALITION GOVERNMENT: FROM GLOBAL TO LOCAL PERSPECTIVE.

2.1 INTRODUCTION.

The theory and practice of political coalitions have their roots mainly in the experiences of Western European countries (Oyugi, 2006; Kadima, 2014; Resnick, 2014). There is sufficient evidence in the literature that emphasises coalition governments as the primary option for governance in modern political setup (Kadima, 2014, 2006; Booysen & Mubangizi, 2016).

The Republic of South Africa held its first democratic elections on 27 April 1994. Since then, the African National Congress has consistently been a dominant party regarding the election results, however; that seems to be changing. The dominance of the ANC is gradually diminishing as the electoral patterns are changing towards multi-party governance. The change in the electoral practices was observed mainly with the August 2016 local government elections. The 2016 local government elections resulted in the erosion of dominance by the ANC at local government level as several municipalities and metros are co-governed by various political parties. Scholars and political Scientists allude that the emergence of political parties like COPE, DA EFF, IFP and UDM are an indication of the strength and maturity of South African democracy (Brooks, 2004; Kadima, 2006; Kadima & Owuor, 2012; Bogaards, 2013 & Kadima, 2014). The emergence of these political parties to challenge the dominance of the ruling ANC is bringing a new dimension in body politics in South Africa. Since these parties are still struggling to get the majority to run the municipalities and metros, they resort to coalitions

as the only option available to isolate the ANC and run the government. They are forced, due to their strong opposition to the ANC, to work together in coalitions as they have one common enemy. It appears that the ANC never imagined that their power dominance might eventually be eroded. As a political party and governing party, the ANC had not anticipated the possibility of losing power in 2016 (Masina, 2021).

Since the 2016 elections, the possibility of ANC's loss of power have been visible, and some of the ANC leaders have openly spoken about them. Within the ANC itself, some senior members had gone public about the worrying state of the party. Leon Schreiber (2018) has identified the following comments by leaders of the ANC about prospects of losing power.

In March 2017, former president Zuma's controversial cabinet reshuffle was widely interpreted to consolidate the country's infamous Gupta family's hold. That opened floodgates of panic in the party.

According to Schreiber, one of the first to sound the alarm was Pravin Gordhan. During a CNN interview conducted one month after his dismissal as the finance minister which was broadcast worldwide, Gordhan stated that "many of us are worried that if we continue as we are in the African National Congress, we are likely to lose the 2019 elections".

The former ANC's parliamentary chief whip Jackson Mthembu dramatically declared: "We are not sure if we will be continuing to be free after 2019".

The Former Mpumalanga premier Mathews Phosa also warned that the 'ANC will have to perform a miracle to obtain a 50% in 2019', while ANC leader Paul Mashatile cautioned

that the “muddling along as before might see us lose Gauteng in 2019 and party leaders would only have themselves to blame for such an outcome. Other party leaders, including Zweli Mkhize and Lindiwe Sisulu, also warned starkly that the party’s majority was in danger.

Former president Kgalema Motlanthe made an astonishing statement in April 2017. When asked during a BC interview whether he could vote for the ANC in 2019, he responded as follows, “I don’t know yet. It is not given, because we are always snowed under in an avalanche of wrongdoing, and [at] some point there will be a tipping point”.

The table below shows the decline in support of the ANC

Table 2.1

Party	2006		2011		Increase	Decrease
	Total Votes	%	Total Votes	%	Total Votes	% points
ACDP	128,990	1.3	78,737	0.59	-50,253	-0.72
ANC	6,469,420	65.67	8,405,429	62.93	1,936,009	-2.74
APC			54,332	0.41	54,332	0.41
AZAPO	30,321	0.31	26,300	0.20	-4,021	-0.11
COPE			296,624	2.22	296,624	2.22
DA	1,608,154	16.32	3,216,006	24.08	1,607,852	7.76
ID	217,761	2.21	0	0	-217,761	-2.21
IFP	744,486	7.56	475,621	3.56	-268,865	-4.00
MF	42,530	0.43	53,042	0.40	10,512	-0.03
NFP			318,352	2.38	318,352	2.38
PAC	109,816	1.11	54,846	0.41	-54,970	-0.70
UCDP	62,459	0.63	25,971	0.19	-36,488	-0.44
UDM	129,074	1.31	84,623	0.63	-44,424	-0.68
FF+	94,140	0.96	53,931	0.40	-40,209	-0.56
Other Parties	214,975	2.18	213,697	1.60	-1,278	-0.58
Total	9,852,099	100.00	13,357,511	100.00	3,505,412	0.00

Source: www.politicsweb.co.za/news-and-analysis/2011-election-national-results

2.2 COALITION GOVERNMENT IN THE CONTEXT.

According to Gautam (2018), a coalition government includes several political parties that cooperate to arrive at unanimous decisions, primarily to form a government or to conceptualize different public policies. A coalition arrangement may consist of two or more political parties to form a government. Coalitions are created only where various

political parties agree to form a government, as in South Africa. This view is also shared by Kadima (2014) in that a coalition government is the association of at least two or more political parties working together in a parliament or government based on the election results outcomes. Coalitions are mainly formed after the elections. Parties arrange themselves in pursuit of a common goal. The critical element of the coalition is primarily to control the state's executive arm depending purposely and explicitly on the level of government. Mainly when parties compete during elections, they aim to control the government. Coalition agreements and arrangements would mostly take place after the elections. It is done post elections when the government is formed. Coalitions would require cooperation amongst political parties for stability in governance.

According to Labuschagne (2018), a coalition group of rival political actors are brought together by perceiving a common threat or harnessing collective energies. They establish a coalition to achieve their goals because they might not achieve such goals when working separately. Therefore, for these parties to come together, it will require an intrinsic and complex set of negotiations leading to a coalition.

According to Kadima (2014) and Gautam and Schreiber (2018), the coalition government is associated with two fundamental issues. First, a coalition government is a form of government in which political parties cooperate, reducing the dominance of any one party within that "coalition." The usual reason for this arrangement is that no party on its own can achieve a majority in the election. Second, a coalition government is formed when no single party secures the absolute majority in the elections. In that situation, two or more parties come together to form a coalition government.

An indispensable feature is essentially a form of cooperation between two political parties or groups, not because this is what they desire, but because they are compelled to do. Political parties' inability to get the most votes forced them to consider coalitions (Labuschagne, 2018: 101). In this case, coalitions are formed based on the results of the elections, and they happen very quickly as parties would be competing to get coalition partners to form a government.

2.3 RATIONALE FOR COALITIONS.

Coalitions exist for many reasons that differ according to the political and legal landscape of a country's socio-economic, cultural, and institutional context and the time at which the coalition is formed in the electoral cycle. The traditional rationale for coalition formation is to win elections and hold office (Kadima, 2014). Coalitions allow other small political parties to participate in government effectively, in that due to their electoral performance and low percentage; they would not have been able to do so. Therefore, the primary objective of an opposition party in respect of a coalition is to unseat the incumbent, while the primary purpose of the ruling party is to ensure that they remain in power (Kadima & Lembani, 2006).

Coalitions are imposed on the leaders by the voters based on how they voted during the elections. Voters would vote in a manner that the results of the elections would bring "hung" municipalities or "hung" legislatures. Coalitions can create political stability and governability in areas with "hung" municipalities and legislatures in which no single party has won a majority or where there is an assortment of competitive political parties. If no

political party gains most seats in a specific election, the rationale for the formation of a coalition can be said to be one of political necessity. In this instance, the political parties are obliged to co-operate to avoid ungovernable situations. Political parties have a responsibility to the electorate to ensure that a stable government can be formed to respond to the needs of the people (Law, 2018).

As earlier indicated by Kadima & Lembani (2006), coalitions allow smaller parties to actively participate in government decision-making activities even though they got a smaller percentage of the vote. Coalitions allow smaller or medium parties to raise their public profile or wield disproportionate power by participating in government and acting as kingmakers in hung municipalities and legislatures (Law, 2018). In South Africa, the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) in the City of Johannesburg and Tshwane assume the role of kingmakers. The same happened with the Patriotic Alliance in the Nelson Mandela Bay Metro, where the Patriotic Alliance had a significant amount of power to determine the metro's leadership.

Due to coalitions, political parties should co-operate in the interest of the public. According to (Dhillon, 2003; Kadima, 2004), coalitions benefit national unity. They also have financial incentives, allowing parties to share campaign costs in the coalitions that have been conceived before the elections, including the financial incentives of holding political office and a more significant share of public funding to political parties which can come with electoral gains.

2.3.1 Power vs principle: Office seeking motivation or policy advancement.

There is a general understanding that political parties contest elections for the sole purpose of taking over the government. At the same time, Law (2018) confirms a debate in academia whether coalitions are formed to maximize or advance political power. In this situation, coalitions should also be studied, focusing on those entering this coalition to understand their primary objective.

2.3.2 Office seeking a rationale.

The office-seeking theories are founded on the belief that the primary goal of political parties is to gain power. Political parties would gain the ability to control the executive and political appointments, and the authority to pass and implement legislation is a key incentive (Indriason, 2005). In the office seeking coalitions, ideological alignment is not a requirement for coalition partners. Their debates and conflicts are based mostly on the benefits of office than policy objectives (Leubbert, 1986; Sithanen, 2003).

According to Sithane (2003), there are drawbacks for power-based motives with consequences for the stability of the coalitions. Due to their lack of ideological cohesiveness, coalition partners are more volatile and susceptible to infighting once in office. Sithane (2003) further argues that these coalitions are more vulnerable to breakdown than policy-based coalitions and have a shorter average lifespan. India, Africa and Mauritius are examples of office seeking coalitions.

2.3.3 Policy rationale.

Policy based coalitions existed between parties that were largely ideologically connected to pursue policy reforms. The focus here is not on the size or the majority status because they only want to incorporate parties that are ideologically aligned. They are less interested in the payoffs. They can create a more prominent and more united voice behind the advancement of specific key policies (Indridason, 2005).

Unlike the “minimum-winning” size theory of the office-seeking approach, theorists predict that policy-based coalitions will be formed based on the minimum connected winning coalition. Their focus is policy direction and cohesion, and they seek to find each other on specific policy issues. When forming the coalition, the expectation is that coalition partners will agree on policy positions to take forward into the coalition’s term of operation, which, in turn, gives the coalition a more stable base and mutual understanding. Empirical evidence shows that policy-based coalitions tend to have lesser conflicts and longer lifespans (Kumah, 2015).

2.3.4 National Unity.

Coalitions make different political parties co-operate and work together for the benefit of the citizens. They allow perceived adversaries to join divisive hands-on issues for the common good of the nation. They encourage communication, consultation, and the sharing of ideas instead of the destructive rhetoric of continuously opposing each other.

Coalitions encourage communication, talk, and sharing ideas instead of the harmful rhetoric of constantly fighting each other (Kadima & Lembani, 2006).

In a deeply divided country like South Africa, the Government of National Unity (GNU) provides an example of a historically divided nation based on race and ethnicity, which has seen the cooperation of diverse people in the GNU. The alliance of the ANC, NP, and IFP provided a peaceful transition of power attributed to the current constitutional arrangements. It allowed South Africans from different backgrounds and political positions to trust the government and feel represented by their views (Kadima, 2014).

According to Kadima (2014) and Schreiber (2016), coalitions have been credited for playing a role in somewhat unifying Kenya's stark ethnic divisions in their politics. The National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), formed in 2000, has been a herald for restoring national cohesion and ensuring a more equitable distribution of resources.

In Mauritius, the coalition between the bitter rivals, the Labour Party and PMSD, was hailed as the fundamental reason why peace ensued in Mauritius. Regardless of religion or political ideology, all the Mauritians felt that they could participate and were represented in government. Since then, Mauritius has become commonplace to appoint a Prime Minister and Deputy prime minister from different ethnic groups, and the same takes place with other cabinet appointments. The alliance of the LP and PMSD is credited for substantial economic development that took place in Mauritius following that union (Sithanen, 2003).

2.3.5 Electoral advantage and the opportunity to wield power disproportionate to the electoral share.

Smaller parties are the beneficiaries of coalition formations in the sense that they participate actively in decision-making. In “hung” legislatures and municipalities, other bigger parties seek coalitions with smaller parties to form a government. In the case of Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality Metro, the Patriotic Alliance was the decision-maker in determining the leadership of the metro (Gelman, 2003).

2.4 POTENTIAL DRAWBACKS TO COALITION FORMATION.

With all the good things associated with coalition governments, the following are the drawbacks associated with them.

2.4.1 Voter backlash.

Parties going into coalition face a trade-off between enjoying the benefits of office and retaining the unique identity of their party. Allying with an electoral opponent makes parties vulnerable, or even likely, to experience some backlash from their supporters. After the general elections in the United Kingdom in 2010, some Liberal Democrats’ supporters were dismayed by entering a coalition with Conservative Party (McMillan, 2004). When parties are campaigning, they speak about their policies, identifying themselves from other political parties. When parties join a coalition, they must compromise some of their party positions. They tend to relax their jobs in favor of the coalition's progress, making the voters believe that they have been misled by the party

leaders (Moury & Timmermans, 2013). In the case of the United Kingdom, internal dissent within the Liberal Democrats post-2010 became even fiercer in its criticism of the party leadership after it was compelled to drop its flagship election manifesto promise of free tertiary education. According to Law (2018), voters in countries with hostile political rhetoric often view the parties they don't support with disdain. If the party they vote for goes into a coalition with such parties, voters may see it as "siding with the enemy."

2.4.2 Government instability and policy immobility.

Muller and Miller (2005) argue that coalition governments are less stable than single-party governments. This is because single-party governments can act quickly and decisively. Due to the multiplicity of views, consultations, and debates around policies in coalition governments, it may take longer for prompt action to be taken (McMillan, 2014).

2.5 CONSEQUENCES FOR SMALLER PARTIES.

Coalitions have the potential to compromise smaller parties even though they have short-term benefits. Due to coalitions, smaller parties can be compromised, diminished, or even eradicated by forming a coalition. There is evidence that smaller parties become subsumed by larger coalition partners to the point where those parties dissolve completely (Kadima, 2014).

The Alliance for Democracy (AFROD), a Malawian political party, lost some 80% of its parliamentary seats in 2004, supporting another party's leaders (UDF). A similar situation

also happened in Mauritius. In Kenya, leaders of small parties who have held government positions have tended to neglect their parties and subsequently move to larger ones. This phenomenon has been seen in South Africa. Kadima states:

“One such example is that of NNP, which joined DP in 1999 to form the Democratic Alliance (DA), only to be “swallowed” by its partner. Its withdrawal from the coalition and subsequent formation of another one- this time with the ANC- angered most of its supporters. Ultimately, it was coalition politics that led to the demise of the NNP when its supporters were shared among DA, ANC, and the Independent Democrats (ID).

Similarly, a study commissioned by the Freedom Front Plus (FF+) showed that its 1994 cooperative arrangement with the ANC was punished by its supporters in the 1999 general election when the party lost more than 50% of its seats in the National Assembly. The DA’s coalition for change with the IFP and its consequent support for the maintenance of Ulundi as the provincial capital of KZN resulted in the loss of votes in Pietermaritzburg and surrounding areas in 2004 local elections in favour of the ANC, which had expressed a preference for keeping Pietermaritzburg as the provincial capital.

There is also a perception that the decade-long participation of the IFP in a coalition government with the ANC in KZN and nationally might have confused the IFP supporters. The steady decline in support for the IFP in KZN since 1999 and the increase in support for the ANC has been interpreted by some in the IFP as the party’s supporters preferring to vote for the governing party rather than for its junior partner. In the same vein, the alliance between the DA, the main opposition party in South Africa, with the ID, a minor opposition party, ended in integrating the ID into the DA” (Kadima, 2014).

2.6 THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF COALITION GOVERNMENTS.

2.6.1 Coalitions in Europe.

Coalition and coalition governments are not a new phenomenon generally in the body politic. Coalitions have been in existence in central, eastern, and western Europe. It is derived from the fragmentation of the political scene and the presence of proportional representation. However, parties sometimes reach a threshold to have elected representatives, this type of voting system fragments parliamentary representation, hence the recourse to the coalition government. There is consensus amongst scholars that coalition governments have their roots in Europe Kadima and Lemrani (2006) and Maserumule, Mokati and Vil-Nkomo (2016).

According to Schreiber (2018), many countries have adopted coalition-based systems in Europe. In some of these places, the compromise and cooperation inherent to governing through coalitions have helped power their societies to prosperity. The top 10 countries on the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 2016 were all governed by coalitions except Singapore.

Over the past century, coalition governments have become a norm throughout Europe; hence between 1945 and 2014; coalitions governed 88% of the governments in Europe. Europe should be regarded as a coalition continent (Schreiber, 2018). In recent years, Germany, Denmark and France have been the cases of coalitions.

According to Muller and Strom (2000), they have advanced four general fundamental ideas that underpin coalition politics' theoretical agenda. These are as follows:

- **Coalition politics is strategic.** The justification behind coalition politics is that it is inspired by tradition's choice, which persuades the political actors. These actors are steered by beliefs derived from the objectives, and at the same time, these are pursued to anticipate interface.

- **Coalition politics manifest itself as a game between political parties.** The political party leadership constitutes the leading role players, as they define the coalition content. Another point that establishes the manifestation of coalition politics is the relationship between party leaders and followers.

- **Coalition politics is institutionally conditioned.** It is significant to pay attention to the institutional environment during the coalition game. In this regard, the causes and effects of challenges underpin the role that institutions play.

- **Coalition politics is governed by anticipation.** There is a belief that parties and internal actors remain strategic; hence, electoral performance and allocation of portfolios run parallel.

2.6.2 THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Coalitions have been at the heart of British politics since early 1900. Several agreements, conventions and mechanisms have been formulated to accommodate coalitions in Britain. The establishments of coalitions were seen during the wartime economic crisis and in the “Month of May” (Lee&Beech, 2011). According to Morgan (1978) and Taylor (1978), during the first World war in May 1915, the Liberal Party formed and led a

coalition until 1916. In 1940, Winston Churchill established a Coalition National Government, which lasted until May 1945, when the General elections were held. British politics have always been dominated by the Conservative Party and the Labour Party. Though these two major parties would exchange each other in running the country, coalitions remained the dominant factor of the British political arrangement.

At some point, the voters might not approve of the establishment of coalitions by their leaders and in that case, the voters would express their dissatisfaction with their political leadership. This was the case in the United Kingdom after the decisive national general elections in 2010. Some Liberal Democrats supporters were dismayed by the decision to enter a coalition with the Conservative Party. Supporters' frustrations were informed by the knowledge that when you enter a coalition, there is a possibility of compromising your policy positions in favour of the coalition. They felt that they had been misled (Moury & Timmermans, 2013).

The party leaders discussed the coalition between the Liberal Democrats and the Conservative Party and the agreement was made public by the political leaders. At the heart of the deal was maintaining stability and reforms (Loughlin & Viney., 2015). The coalition agreement of 12 May 2010 laid down general terms. The foreword for the accords was written "The coalition: our programme for government. According to Cameron and Clegg (2010), it expressed the following:

- Despite the dissimilarities, there is common ground;
- The government of big government has perished;
- Progress shall be achieved by working together to make a better life;

- Motivation is to dispense power and opportunity to the people; and
- Build a free, fair, and responsible society.

2.6.3 UNITED STATES.

The United States has had her share of the experience of a coalition government, which has been part of their political history. Coalitions have been taking place since the mid-twentieth century in the house of Congress, which was between the Southern Democrats (SD) and Conservative Republicans (CP) (Tushnet, 2013).

Voting patterns are influenced by issues that ordinary citizens face on the ground, and they vote based on the party's position on such matters. According to Schwable (2014), those issues include economic, social, cultural including race and they are explained as follows:

The first party realignment period was experienced when the Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, supported by President George Washington, designed the Treaty of Amity. This major issue was federal funding which spilled the political parties. In addition, this was hotly contested by the Jeffersonians in each state. Hence the 1800 federalist-controlled House of Representatives chose Thomas Jefferson to be president. A second-party realignment was experienced in the mid-19th century. In 1856, the Whig Party garnered majority votes in a single state. By 1856, John C. Fremont had obtained 114 electoral votes as the first presidential nominee. During this period, the issue of slavery was on the rise and resulted in significant numbers of political parties pushing the electorate in different directions. Abraham Lincoln, leading the Republicans, called

for abolishing slavery as the party's firm stance on any platform. The Democrats experienced a loss in 1860. The third-party realignment was shared at the end of the 19th century when Republicans dominated US politics from 1860 to 1896. The 1873 depression, the scandal of the Grant administration, a drop in agricultural production in 1884, and the economic depression of 1890 harmed the political fortunes of the Republicans. The 1896 presidential election faced ideal realignment, where big businesses constituted an integral part in funding elections. The fourth party realignment, in 1929, experienced the crash of the stock market, the great depression in 1930, and the rise to the presidency by Franklin Roosevelt in 1932. The Democratic Party's dominance was primarily attributed to the vast numbers of people who had been served in new deal policies. The fifth party realignment was observed in 1960, arising from the civil rights movement. Initially, the South was Democratic before 1964, and later that year, it swung to the Republicans. Furthermore, gains were enjoyed among blue-collar Catholics on conservative issues. In 1968, the Vietnam conflict discouraged President Lyndon Johnson from running for re-election.

2.6.4 INDIA.

Outside Europe, India, the world's second-biggest country with 1.2 billion people, provides another intriguing example of the coalition government. India got its independence from Great Britain on 15 August 1947. Since then, Indian politics has been dominated by the Indian National Congress, which was seen as a party of liberation and enjoyed overwhelming electoral support.

Between 1951 and 1977, the Indian National Congress consistently controlled the Lok Sabha (Indian National Assembly). In the 70's the congress government became increasingly authoritarian and corrupt, which led to political unrest. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was found guilty of electoral fraud by the High Court in mid-1975. The court ruled that she should give up her parliamentary seat and banned her from contesting any elections for six years. Those events led to the collapse of the Indian National Congress, which the voters did not vote back in the 1977 elections. These are the elections that birthed coalitions in India. The Janata alliance, an amalgamation of seven parties, swept to victory to form a coalition (Schreiber, 2018).

2.7 COALITIONS IN AFRICA.

There is limited literature about coalitions in Africa. This has been the case since the practice of coalition government is new in Africa. Most African scholars have not done studies on coalition governments, making the literature limited (Kadima and Lembani (2006). Though there is little or limited literature on coalitions, countries in Africa have opted for a coalition arrangement. Lesotho, Mozambique, Kenya, Malawi, and Zimbabwe, including South Africa, have all experienced a coalition government. The situation would differ based on the political party dynamics in the country. In most of these African states, several challenges necessitated this thesis to develop a framework for coalitions.

2.7.1 Coalition in Mozambique.

2.7.2 Multiparty landscape.

Mozambique has been characterised by political conflict, leaving many people dead and some seeking refuge in neighbouring African countries. After a protracted and intensively violent civil war between RENAMO and the FRELIMO government, a new constitution was drafted in 1990, introducing multiparty democracy in Mozambique. To create a peaceful political environment, a Peace Agreement was signed in 1992, bringing an end to the civil war and allowing for the realisation of regular multi-party elections. Party coalitions are seemingly a standard feature within Mozambique's landscape of multiparty democracy. Regardless of the number of political parties that would contest elections, only FRELIMO and RENAMO have dominated the political arena in Mozambique, with the former consistently holding many seats in parliament.

2.7.3 The electoral system.

Mozambique has adopted a multi-party approach and they practice a proportional system with a closed party list. The parliamentary representation is calculated using a d'Hondts method for the vote's conversion. D'Hondts system required parties contesting in the elections to get five percent of the threshold to get representation in parliament. This system then prevents smaller parties from obtaining the proportion needed to gain parliamentary representation. Therefore RENAMO, and FRELIMO dominate the politics of Mozambique because they are the two biggest parties in Mozambique. This has been

the practice in 1994,1999 and 2004. During the 2006 electoral reforms, the d'Hondts threshold was abolished because of the pressure from smaller parties, thus resulting in a decision that allowed parties with less than five percent of seats to form a caucus in parliament.

2.7.4 The legality of coalitions in Mozambique.

Article 75 of the Mozambican constitution makes legal provisions for the Political Party Law (7/91 of 23 January) on the formation of coalitions. In article 26(1), the Political Party Law defines the basis for the creation of a coalition for electoral proposes. The constitution decides that these coalitions will be regulated according to the specific terms of the electoral law 4/93. Coalitions have a legal basis in Mozambique. That is why a new electoral Law of 7/2004 established the legal basis for creating coalitions. To strengthen the legality of coalitions in Mozambique, Article 26(3) defines coalitions as independent entities of political parties. In line with these legal provisions, Mozambique has seen the registration of more than 15 fifteen (15) party coalitions. Coalitions are legalized and the constitution of Mozambique regulates them.

2.7.5 Coalitions and the peace process

Mozambique has a history of political conflict, which remains in the minds of politicians and ordinary citizens. The process of multi-party and democratizing Mozambique's bipartisan political environment has been an essential determinant for coalition politics in the country. Political parties considered the establishment of coalitions to come together and create a conducive environment for political activities.

Since the formation of multi-party democracy in Mozambique, attempts at forming and sustaining coalitions have contributed to more parties in parliament. In the first elections, coalitions UD was a vehicle for four parties to be represented in parliament. In the second and third elections, the coalition RENAMO-UE transported eleven political parties in parliament. Citizens have a feeling of representation in parliament since smaller parties are also represented because of the coalitions. The common belief here is that when there are more parties in parliament, this indicates the nation's diversity.

2.8 LESOTHO.

2.8.1 The geopolitical state of Lesotho

Lesotho is a landlocked country that is surrounded by South Africa, which is her only neighbouring state. Lesotho is marked by unstable governance and periodic state dysfunction. It is one of the smallest countries in Southern Africa, with 30 355 square kilometres. Established by King Moshoeshoe about 2000 years ago, it remains one of a few constitutional monarchies globally and the only one in the South African Development Community (SADC) region. The country's inhabitants, Basotho are homogeneous in ethnic, linguistic terms and the major religion is Christianity. As such, Lesotho's conflicts are not about identity or ethnicity but political power.

The country's political and electoral history can be divided into six distinct periods:

- The post-independence from 1966-1970. This period was characterised by tensions and violent confrontation between the Basotho National Party (BNP) and its rival, the

Basotho Congress Party (BCP). This period was characterised by an authoritarian one-party state (Matlosa, 2017).

- BCP won the elections, but BNP refused to hand over power, declared an emergency, and abolished the constitution. BCP leadership went into exile and mass repression, political killings, and imprisonment of its members followed.
- In 1986, the military junta overthrew the BNP and for the next seven years, Lesotho was ruled by the military dictatorship.
- 1993 to 1996 could be considered a period of democratic consolidation and negotiations amongst parties and leaders.
- In 1993, the country held the first democratic elections since 1970. However, BCP won these elections, which faced hostility from the army since BNP had stuffed the military with its supporters. The military, BNP and another opposition party Marematlou Party (MP), backed the dismissal of BCP from office by King Letsie in August 1994, in what was referred to as the palace coup. This is the period that ushered the involvement of SADC in the political affairs of Lesotho, which facilitated the return of BCP into office through an agreement, and their government lasted until 1997.
- Between 1998-2007 Lesotho was more stable after LCD won the elections through protracted post-election disputes characterised it.

2.8.2 The economic situation of Lesotho.

The economy of Lesotho is predominantly rural, with 76% of its people living outside the cities and towns. However, those areas only account for about 7% of the GDP, partly explaining the country's high levels of income inequalities (UNDP, 2016). Poverty is widespread, with more than 57% of the population living below the poverty line. According to the UNDP:2017, Lesotho has poor levels of human development index and is ranked 160 out of 188 countries on United Nations Human Development Index alongside Comoros- a habitually unstable small island state. The biggest employer is the public sector, and the private sector is dominated by those with political connections and the ruling elite. The Lesotho ruling class uses the country's narrow economic base as an instrument of political power.

2.8.3 Coalition government in Lesotho

The first coalition government in Lesotho was formed in 2012 and it was made up of five political parties who were previously in the opposition. It was formed after the 2012 elections, which produced a hung parliament and were leaders of All Basotho Congress (ABC) Thomas Thabane. This coalition lasted three years because some coalition partners withdrew from the coalition and collapsed the coalition government.

A new seven-party coalition government was formed in 2015. Like in the previous elections, the results produced a hung parliament. Thabane and his coalition relinquished power to Mosisili, who was in the new coalition government. The 2015 coalition government delivered a more formal and elaborate coalition agreement called "The coalition Agreement for the Stability and Reform: Lesotho's second coalition

government agreement, April 2015. Among others, it set out the broad objectives of the coalition and a policy program, with key priority areas including the reform of the constitution and the public service. An essential part of the agreement dealt with managing the coalition to work based on good faith and mutual understanding. The agreement also stated that parties should hold monthly meetings chaired by the prime minister to discuss the government business. A coalition monitoring group of representatives and other experts would meet as and when necessary to review and evaluate the agreement's implementation. According to the agreement, these instruments were to be established within three months of signing the coalition agreement. A month after the seven-party coalition was established and sworn in, the SADC closed their Facilitation Mission in Maseru. Two months after that, Thabane fled the country for fear of his life and other leaders from other political parties followed him. This was another indication that the coalition agreement had failed again in Lesotho.

The third coalition government was established in 2017 after the snap election. Since his party had more votes, the results of the elections placed Thabane and his party in a pivotal position to negotiate the formation of a new government. As previously done, the agreement entailed dividing the government portfolios and ministries proportionally among the partners, with Thabane becoming the Prime Minister. When the coalition was being established, there were other divisive issues amongst parties in the governing coalition. There were concerns about the lack of consultation amongst parties in crucial government appointments, which was the same situation that mirrored the ABC-LCD fallout in 2014. Thabane's coalition partners, the AD and BNP, claimed that he had resorted to appointing public servants without consulting them. On the other hand,

Thabane's party members accuse members of the AD of knowingly appointing corrupt people to key government positions.

This coalition was characterised by the internal party to party challenges that threatened the party's standing in the coalition government. Political parties in the coalition had their internal disputes within individual parties. The notable conflict was within the ABC, where some members were accusing Thabane of allowing his wife to have a lot of influence on him in the party and government.

2.9 KENYA

Kenya provides another example of the African countries that have experienced a coalition government. Kenya has been under an authoritarian single-party rule for 40 years under Daniel Arap Moi of the Kenya African Union (KANU). Ethnicity is a highly salient cleavage in Kenyan politics. Political leadership is based on ethnic identity, and those who become political leaders are expected to serve their ethnic communities, which results in a zero-sum game for those involved (Steeves, 2007; Mueller, 2011).

The 1992 constitutional amendments brought a new light to the politics of Kenya, which allowed multi-party democracy. This resulted in the formation of many political parties and allowed ethnic groups to contest elections. The results of the multi-party system were felt in Kenya before the 2002 elections. New coalitions were formed, resulting in KANU losing the elections in favour of Mwai Kibaki of the National Rain Coalition (NARC), who was elected the third president of Kenya (Barkan, 2004). Formed based

on ethnic lines, the coalition was characterised by disagreements, and it collapsed, resulting in ethnic violence in 2002 (Mueller, 2011 elections). This was influenced by the fact that while in government, Kibaki side-lined his coalition partner Raila Odinga, by refusing to give Odinga's faction half of the ministerial positions in the cabinet. The coalition's failure dashed the hopes of millions of Kenyans (Khadiagala, 2010; Githongo, 2010).

The worst came during the 2007 elections where Kibaki and Odinga faced off during the elections. The initial results showed Odinga to be leading but when the results were declared, Kibaki was declared a winner with 46% of the votes and 44% went to Odinga, while the other percentage went to other candidates. This became the source of civil unrest, with the supporters of Odinga and Kibaki clashing. The violence claimed 1 200 lives and displaced 350 000 people (Kenya elections, 2007).

2.9.1 The Grand coalition

Due to the violent nature of the conflict and the fact that Kenya had once been an example of African success in maintaining peace and democracy, the post-2008 elections received much international attention. This prompted the African Union to intervene in the crisis taking place in Kenya (Juma, 2009). The AU mediation process brokered peace between Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga. In the end, the Grand Coalition was formed in Kenya. In the Grand Coalition deal, Kibaki maintained his position as president and Odinga sat as Prime Minister. Having come up with the grand coalition,

the people of Kenya still did not trust or believe, and they did not approve the coalition agreement (Bratton & Kimenyi, 2008).

A general lack of trust and legitimacy in the government resulted in an effective opposition coalition formation in 2013 when Uhuru Kenyatta won the presidential elections. Raila Odinga contested the results of the elections because he said rigging and technical problems occurred. As in the earlier case with the 2007 elections, the matter was taken to the Kenyan Supreme Court, and still, the courts ruled against Odinga.

2.10 ZIMBABWE.

The republic of Zimbabwe has had its share of coalition government post-colonial independence. Zimbabwe has been under the leadership of ZANU-PF, led by the late President Robert Mugabe, since 1980. ZANU-PF has been a dominant party in the Zimbabwean elections, which are held every four years.

The turning point in Zimbabwean politics took place during the 2008 elections. These were tensely contested elections that were highly expected to signal the end of the ZANU-PF rule in Zimbabwe (Dabengwa: 2017). The political climate in Zimbabwe was not conducive to free and fair elections as it was marred by intimidation, violence, arrest and the killing of people. Under those difficult circumstances, the elections went on despite the concerns of many observers, including Amnesty International and the Human Rights Watch. The Zimbabwean Electoral Commission (ZEC) took more than a month to release the results, which sparked concerns of vote-rigging and manipulation. Two

months after the elections, ZEC announced that Morgan Tsvangirai had won 47.9% of the votes and Robert Mugabe got 43.2%. Having realized that neither of the two had the most votes, a run-off was scheduled for the following month.

The period building up to the run-off was accompanied by violence and intimidation, resulting in Tsvangirai having to pull out of the elections. This led to Robert Mugabe getting 85.5% of the votes. The parliamentary polls favoured the MDC, which gained 51.27% against 45.94% of ZANU-PF.

2.10.1 Establishment of the Government of National Unity (GNU).

Former President Mbeki was tasked with the responsibility of facilitating a political solution in Zimbabwe. The Memorandum of Understanding was signed between ZANU-PF and the two MDC factions. Mbeki overlooked having the political parties agree to work together and form a Government of National Unity. In 2009 the Government of National Unity was formed with cabinet positions being shared amongst political parties. Robert Mugabe was President, while Tsvangirai was Prime Minister. The GNU lasted until 2013, when ZANU-PF won the elections again and retained political power.

2.11 THEORIES AND APPROACHES SUPPORTING COALITIONS IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Theories and approaches to local government are essential to understand their establishment and role as an integral government (Babbie, 1992). The overview of the

significant theories are as follows; The study is anchored on the Social Contract and Democratic participation theories as they help explain the existence of coalitions in South African municipalities. Other theories such as the Efficiency of services theory, Game theory and State integrationist theories were discussed as they provide complementary and insightful viewpoints regarding coalitions in democratic states.

2.11.1 Social contract theory.

The study draws from the social contract theory developed by Jean-Jacques Rousseau. It determines that political authority (i.e., municipal councils) is based on the voluntary acts of members of society to be subjected to it in exchange for benefits that political power should bring to the community. The social contract theory says that “people live together in society following an agreement that establishes moral and political rules of behaviour.”

The political authority should provide the services that are due and expected by the citizens. If the political power fails to provide the expected benefits, they lose the legitimacy of being the political leaders. The political leaders who do not provide services as expected get resistance from the citizens and they get replaced by the new political leadership. The social contract theory emphasis a symbolic relationship between the citizens and the government. The social contract emphasises the relationship between the leaders and the citizens and that they both have the different roles that they play in the community. Leaders lead and the citizens obey. According to the German sociologist

Marx Webber, the political leaders have the authority and the legitimacy to make rules and regulations and the citizens must comply.

2.11.2 Democratic participation theory.

Theories associated with democratic-participatory schools of thought are concerned with the idea that the existence of local government is basically to promote democracy and participation at the grassroots level, thereby bringing government nearer to the people (Landsberg and Graham, 2020). This is also stated in the South African Constitution that the local government should provide a democratic and accountable government for local communities. Section 152(e) of the constitution says that the local government should encourage the involvement of communities and community organizations in the matters of local government. According to Gboyeya (1987), local government is essential to the democratic principle, or the practical administrative purposes like responsiveness, accountability, and control.

2.11.3 Efficiency of services theory.

The efficiency of services theory is derived from the objects of the local government as outlined in chapter 7, section 152(1)(b) of the South African constitution, which states that the local government must “ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner”. This theory argues that the rationale for local government is to provide essential services. The constitution stipulates that municipalities have the

responsibility to make sure that all citizens are provided with assistance to satisfy their basic needs. The most important are water supply, sewage collection and disposal, refuse removal and waste management, electricity, street lighting, and gas supply, municipal health services, municipal roads and stormwater drainage and municipal parks and recreation.

2.11.4 State integrationist theories.

The South African state has three levels of government, which are the national, provincial, and local government. These spheres of government are distinct and interrelated. It, therefore, means that the local government functions and programmes should be integrated and aligned with those of the state (Lehmann, 1979). In this context, local government is an agent of state involvement in implementing delegated socioeconomic programmes of the central government. The South African system of government is characterised by its cooperative nature. This implies that all spheres of government are interdependent, and they must function in unison to achieve national objectives. On the local sphere, municipalities operationalize national and provincial initiatives in conjunction with various community-based organizations, non-governmental agencies, and the private sector (Landsburg & Graham, 2020).

2.11.5 Game Theory.

Firstly, the game theory of coalition government was pioneered by Neumann and Morgenstein. It presumes that political actors adopt rational strategies to maximize their returns on interests in each situation. Political actors have specific resources, goals, and

defined sets of rules of the game. They calculate their best way to achieve their goals and move accordingly after considering all relevant factors, including the countermoves of the other players (Motseme, 2017). When deciding to participate in a coalition, parties look at what they can achieve or get in that coalition. They try their best to position themselves to benefit something out of the coalition at the end of it all.

Secondly, the electoral system theory emphasises the relationship among parties in a coalition (Letsi, 2015, Kapa & Shale, 2014). The focus of this theory is based on the strength and position, political history of their relationship and their role in the elections in influencing coalition behaviour. The party's influence among the electorate and its relation to the people's issues become a factor in the coalition.

Thirdly, the conflict transformation theory focuses on the process of changing relationships between parties in a political and social system in ways that address the structural causes that led to conflict in the first place (Ledarach, 2003). The scholar reiterates that these coalitions go beyond conflict management. It addresses surface issues in a conflict and the underlying social structures and relationships between political parties and actors for any stable and long-term political cooperation. Resolving disputes becomes important for parties before entering a coalition.

2.12 TYPOLOGIES OF PARTY COALITIONS.

Coalitions can also be well understood by looking at their typologies. These typologies are based on the European electoral system. Having not done more on coalition

governments, these typologies are used to test their relevancy in the African political setting. The following are the typologies of coalitions.

2.12.1 Electoral alliances.

The main aim of an electoral alliance is to combine the resources of two or more parties to improve the electoral outcome for the members of the coalition. This would involve uniting behind familiar candidates or agreeing not to compete against each other in elections. This type of alliance aims to win elections by attaining a majority in the legislature and forming a new government (Schonhardt 2014). This is also the case with the African National Congress (ANC), Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU), South African Communist Party (SACP), and South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO). This alliance exists even though the SACP has decided to contest the local government elections outside the ANC in Metsimahulu by-polls in 2017.

In Kenya, during the 2002 elections, opposition leaders combined their votes to defeat the Kenya African National Union (KANU). Fourteen parties and the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) came together into the National Alliance Party of Kenya (NAK). They reached an agreement to form a coalition called National Rainbow Coalition (NARC). The leaders signed a memorandum of understanding detailing their agreement (Kadima & Owuor, 2012).

2.12.2 Coalition governments.

Coalition governments usually occur when no single party has attained a majority during the election, like in the 2016 local government elections in Tshwane. Parties would come together to form a coalition to form a government. Bigger parties would form coalitions with some smaller parties to get a majority and form a government.

2.12.3 Grand coalitions.

This would occur when a country's main political parties unite in a coalition government. The coalition between these two can be challenging, given their rivalry (Barry, 2014). It is argued by (Sanner 2013) that grand coalitions may be formed during moments of national political crisis. The German parliament between 1966 and 1969 was constituted by 95% of seats after the Social Democrats (SC) and the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) came together to form a coalition government. This was repeated in 2017 when Ms Angela Merkel's Christian democrats partnered with CDU and the SP to form a Grand coalition.

2.12.4 Legislative coalitions.

This type of coalition involves the agreement to pursue specific legislative goals without a division of cabinet or executive responsibilities (Ruin, 2000). In essence, coalitions play a central role in the legislatures, cabinet formation and parliamentary governments, and many other political and collective action settings (Baron, 1989). Parties reach an

agreement based on a joint legislative agenda. Coalitions may take many forms as they have a wide range of reasons, from the electoral alliances where parties negotiate conditions to form the government, to legislative reasons where parties form a coalition to pursue a particular legislative framework. All these coalitions are essential, but each party will build a team based on its objectives.

According to the NDI (2015), the building of coalitions presents opportunities, identified as follows:

- The ability to bring together resources and strength, thus allowing parties to increase their influence and achieve goals.
- Parties broaden their charm and intensify their vote share through the combination of forces. This generates an opportunity to secure the necessary legislative seats.
- Coalition-building is admirable and always seeks compromise.
- Parties in the coalition enter a learning curve to consolidate their membership.
- Participation in government broadens and provides opportunities.

2.12.5 Rainbow coalition.

The concept of a Rainbow Coalition was experienced in 1966 when the Black Panther Party responded to the identity politics being experienced in Illinois. The Illinois Chapter mobilized and organized various dissent organizations into one enormous political body called the Rainbow Coalition. James (2008) notes that the Black Panther Party of Illinois and the Young Lords Organization were the leaders. The fascinating fact is that poverty was the common unifier (Williams, 2015). According to Mason (2015), the Conservatives

and Liberal Democrats in the UK entered a Rainbow Coalition in 2010. They committed themselves to collective responsibility. Lynch (2016) notes that during the 51 Brexit fallout, the Green Party responded quickly by making a proposition for a progressive alliance that would include all the opposition parties that campaigned for Remain. The essence of their aim was to unify the Remain vote to combat the Brexit proposition.

2.12.6 Confidence and supply.

This type of pact is a looser arrangement, meaning that the political party in the minority commits to voting with the government on critical issues, such as budgets and speeches (Mason, 2015). These principles are prevalent in and have been successful in Scotland and New Zealand. For instance, the BC Green caucus had agreed to support the stability of a BC New Democratic Party (NDP) minority government, thus pledging to vote on confidence motions, namely budgets and speeches, twice a year (Greens of British Columbia, 2017). In their 2017 confidence and supply agreement, both parties, among others, agreed on budget and confidentiality. Regarding funding, the agreement states that the BC New Democratic Government would ensure the BC Green Caucus is afforded meaningful and consultation on provincial budget priorities in advance. Concerning confidentiality, the agreement read those briefings and talks would be provided regarding legislation, policy, and budgetary matters, noting that all shall be confidential (BC New Democrats & BC Green, 2017). In an agreement between the Conservative and Unionist Party and the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), the confidence and supply agreements read that the DUP agreed to support the Government

on all motions of confidence, on the Queen's speech, the Budget, finance bills, money bills, and supply and appropriation legislation and estimates (Williamson & Donaldson, 2017). Travis (2017) argues that the confidence and supply arrangement falls short of a full-blown coalition. The reason is that the following are excluded from an agreed five-year program of policies and the exclusion of minority parties from holding ministerial office.

2.13 COALITION AND ELITISM.

The coming together of political parties is mainly influenced by the results of the election. In some instances, parties would be surprised by the results of the election. Some might have performed better, and some might have poorly performed, as with the ANC with the elections in The City of Tshwane in August 2016 during the local government elections. Processes for government establishment have to begin while negotiations for coalitions and identification of coalition partners are underway. The responsibility for identifying coalition partners and negotiations starts immediately after the election results and is in the political elite's hands. It appears that there is little or no time to consult with the members of political parties and voters when these coalition arrangements are being made. The ordinary citizens are left in the dark when discussions about coalitions are being conducted. It should also be borne in mind that negotiations for forming coalitions require sacrifices, including shifting from party policy ideology to suit coalition demands (Hanabe & Malinzi, 2019).

Party politics overshadow citizens or community needs; there is always reluctance by municipal councillors and administration to engage with communities. Due to the temporary arrangements of partnerships, public participation is compromised (Hanabe & Malinzi, 2019).

Having the coalition activity being in the hands of the elite, we, therefore, need to acknowledge that the elite theory seeks to account for power relationships in the society (Higley, 2010). Public policy may be viewed as the preference and values of the governing elite. In this respect, public policy does not emanate from public participation. The elite shape mass opinion, then the masses shape elite opinion. Public officers and administrators carry out policies decided by the elite and public policy flows downward from nobility to the groups. Kadima's personality-driven argument (2014) partly explains the acrimonious relationship between Malema and Zuma (political) elite, which ultimately led to the former expulsion from the ANC. This provided a fertile ground for Malema-led EFF to enter governing arrangements with the DA instead of the ANC in Tshwane and Johannesburg.

As outlined by Shai (2013), the implications of the elite theory in politics and society include the following:

- ❖ Public policy does not reflect the demands of the people but the preferences of the elite. But according to the elite theory, this must serve the fundamental interests of the masses;
- ❖ Elites are conservative; interested in preserving the system and their places, i.e., the changes are incremental;
- ❖ Elitism does not mean that public policy is against mass welfare but mass welfare rests upon the elites;

- ❖ Elites manipulate mass sentiments to avoid elite values being influenced or directed; and
- ❖ Finally, communication is always downward in politics.

2.14 **OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES FOR COALITION GOVERNMENT.**

Coalitions are formed by parties that compete against each other during the elections. These opposition parties usually have different backgrounds, ideologies and constituencies. They are forced to work together due to the circumstances they find themselves in during elections which leads to various opportunities and challenges in their collaboration. The National Democratic Institute (NDI) (2015) has made provision of the opportunities and challenges of coalitions.

Table 2.2

OPPORTUNITIES	CHALLENGES
By combining forces and resources with others, parties can increase their influence and accomplish goals they could not achieve independently.	To find common ground with partners, each party must compromise on its priorities, principles, and ideology.
Parties can broaden their appeal and increase their vote share by combining	Parties may lose some control over decision-making and find it challenging

forces with others. This may create an opportunity to secure legislative seats to form a government and achieve their specific political goals.	to maintain a distinct profile that distinguishes them from their coalition partners.
The public may see coalition-building as an admirable effort to consider other points of view and seek compromise.	The need to consult and reach an agreement among coalition partners can make government decision-making more complex and slower.
Coalition parties can learn from each other and thus strengthen their parties based on those experiences.	Poor communication between individual parties on coalition goals, objectives and benefits can sometimes fuel tensions and cause divisions.
The coalition can provide opportunities to broaden participation in government.	The public may feel that party leaders have abandoned their principles by merging with other parties.

Source: The National Democratic Institute (NDI) (2015).

The NDI (2015) identified the following weaknesses of political parties in transitional countries.

- ❖ Political parties are often poorly institutionalized.
- ❖ They are organisationally thin, coming to life only during elections;

- ❖ They often lack a coherent ideology;
- ❖ They often fail to stand for any particular policy agenda; and
- ❖ They often fail to ensure disciplined collective action in parliament.

2.15 GAPS IN COALITION LITERATURE.

There is limited literature on coalition government at local government in South Africa. Ndletyana (2018), Booysen (2014) and Botha (2004) agree that the emergence of the coalition government in the South African local government sphere of government with its causes and impacts has been under-researched. This, therefore, presents a gap in the literature that must be explored. This will provide an opportunity for politicians and ordinary citizens to understand the issues at play in coalition government arrangements. It is argued in this study that citizens and voters are not involved in the coalition discussion as political elites do it.

This study will aims to answer the following questions:

- What are the factors that influence the formation of the coalition government in the City of Tshwane?
- What are the factors that contribute to instability and conflict in a coalition?
- Are citizens supportive of the coalition government in the City of Tshwane?

The decline of the ANC's support has given birth to coalition government in the South African political landscape. Poor management of coalition government hurts service

delivery. Therefore, coalition governments require clear guidelines and frameworks to avoid unnecessary conflict and instability in government.

2.16 CONCLUSION

This chapter highlighted the background and evolution of coalition governments. It appears as if coalitions are the future for governance. Coalitions are popular in Europe, and we also have coalition governments in Africa like Mozambique, Lesotho, Kenya, and Zimbabwe. The different theories and typologies of coalitions were discussed in this chapter and the gaps in the literature were highlighted. The next chapter focuses on the electoral patterns in South Africa and look at the coalition patterns in Africa and South Africa.

CHAPTER 3: THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL SETTING.

3. INTRODUCTION.

This chapter focuses on the electoral patterns in South Africa and the decline of the ANC. The following section local government electoral system being followed by the multi-dimensional nature of local government coalitions and how they are governed. The section after provides a discussion of the challenges affecting coalition in South Africa and being followed the chapter summary. The next section discusses how the ANC lost its powerbase in many urban metros in South Africa.

3.1 THE CONTEXT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The African National Congress has been the governing party in South Africa since the dawn of democracy in 1994. The ANC is in alliance with the Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU), The South African Communist Party (SACP), and the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO). The leader of this alliance is the ANC. The alliance partners are always prepared to be led by the ANC, and during elections, they do not send candidates as they always support the ANC candidates. Apart from the alliance partners, the ANC also has the women's League, The Youth League, and the Veterans League. The leagues are autonomous, but they adhere to the constitution and the principles of the ANC. In whatever the leagues do, they must always be within the parameters of the ANC constitution. They are not expected to act outside the constitution

and the principles of the ANC. At all levels of government, when the ANC approaches the elections, there are always alliance partners and leagues supporting the ANC.

3.2 LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTORAL SYSTEM

Section 40 of the constitution states that the South African government is constituted as national, provincial, and local spheres of government. These spheres of government are distinctive, interdependent, and interrelated and they adhere to the principle of cooperative governance. They ensure the wellbeing of the people of the Republic, provide effective, transparent, accountable, and coherent government, and do not assume any power or function except that conferred on them in terms of the Constitution. (Venter & Landsberg, 133).

Municipalities in South Africa are a division of local government existing as a third tier of government behind provincial government and constituting the basic level of democratically elected government structures (Hicks, Morna, and Fonnah, 2016). The municipalities in South Africa are divided into three categories: Metropolitan, district and local – constitutionally classified as categories A, B and C. Local government elections are conducted every five years and conducted by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC).

3.3 THE MULTIDIMENSIONAL NATURE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The notion attached to local authorities, city administrations, local government or municipalities is multidimensional. Braton (2008) proposes the three relevant dimensions, which are:

3.3.1 Administrative.

Executive structures or municipal departments are responsible for services. This is the area where services are provided to the people. The strategies and planning for services are coordinated here. Different departments that deal with providing services are coordinated at this level. The administration also links the politicians and workers in terms of ensuring that there is coordination in the work of the municipality. The administrative leadership of municipalities is vested in the municipal manager's office and heads of departments (Craythorne, 1997).

3.3.2 Economic.

Power to tax, financial systems, revenue collection, budgeting, and accounting. The municipalities are given the power to collect taxes to run their affairs and service delivery obligations. A municipality must have an operating and capital budget. The operating budget reflects the day-to-day operations and administration of municipalities. This part of the budget must consist of an income and an expenditure budget and is usually the result of a ten-month long compilation involving various role players (Langsberg &

Graham, 2020). Local quarterly performance reports must be submitted during the financial year to check whether the municipality is still performing based on the budget allocation. Towards the end of the financial year, annual financial statements must be tabled at the council to confirm to what extent the municipality performed in economic terms during the year. Once these statements have been audited and they become known as audited financial statements. In their financial operations, the municipalities are guided by budget-related policies which include:

- The tariff policy is required in terms of section 74 of the Municipal Systems Act.
- The rates policy is required in terms of section 3 of the Property Rates Act.
- The credit control and debt collection policy are required in terms of Section 96 of the Municipal Systems Act.

According to Landsberg & Graham (2020), a municipality must further adopt a supply chain management policy for the procurement of goods and services, which must comply with the Broad-based Black economic Empowerment Act of No 56 of 2003 and the Preferential Procurement Policy Framework Act No. 5 of 2000.

3.3.3 Political.

Legislative structures are responsible for policies, monitoring and oversight, which comprise of representatives elected during local elections. Section 151 (2) of the South African Constitution places all legislative and executive powers of a municipality in a municipal council. Section 160(1) (a) further stipulates that the commission makes

decisions concerning exercising all the powers and the performance of all municipality functions. All this should be done following the applicable relevant legislation.

The council decides essential decisions concerning the governance of the municipality.

The municipal council has legislative and executive powers. It may delegate executive powers to the executive mayor as an individual executive authority or the executive committee, a collective executive authority subject to section 160(2) of the constitution of 1996. The municipal council is constituted of elected and nominated councillors.

The constitution provides that a municipality may elect an executive committee, subject to the national legislation. Section 44(1)(a) of the structures act states that the executive committee is the principal committee of the municipal council. The executive committee is seen as the most important committee of the council. It must consider the reports from other committees of council. The functions of the executive committee include:

- Identifying the needs of the municipality.
- Reviewing and evaluating the identified needs in order of priority.
- Recommending to the council, strategies, programmes and services to address the priority needs through the integrated development plan and estimates of revenue and expenditure.
- Recommending or determining the best method, including partnerships and other approaches of delivering those strategies, programmes, and services to the maximum benefit of the community.
- Ensuring that the performance of the council can be measured by performance indicators that are developed for this purpose.
- Monitoring the management of the municipality's administration following the policy directions of the municipal council.
- Performing such duties and exercising such powers as the council may delegate to it.

- Annually reporting on the involvement of communities and community organizations in the affairs of the municipality.
- Ensuring that public views are taken into consideration and reporting on the effect of consultation on the council's decisions.
- Reporting to the municipal council on all decisions taken by the committee.

3.3.4 The executive mayor.

The municipal council must elect a member of the executive committee to become mayor. According to the structures Act (60(1)(a), the function of the mayor includes presiding over the meetings of the executive committee, performing mayoral duties, including ceremonial functions, and exercising the powers delegated to the mayor by the municipal council or the executive committee.

In municipalities with more than nine council members, the executive mayor must appoint a mayoral committee from amongst councillors who will remain in office for the term of the executive mayor who appointed them. The mayoral committee is tasked with assisting the executive mayor in executing their duties and it dissolves automatically when the executive mayor vacates his office.

3.3.5 The Speaker.

The position of the speaker was introduced by the Municipal Structures Act No. 117 of 1998. Municipal councils are conferred with both legislative and executive authority. Each committee must have a chairperson, called the speaker. After the commission has been declared elected, a municipal council must have its first sitting within fourteen days. The first meeting is presided over by the municipal manager or designated by the

Executive Council (MEC) for Local Government. The first item on the agenda would be to elect the speaker. Fifty percent plus one is required by the municipal council for the speaker to be duly elected. The speaker has to perform the following duties:

- Preside over council meetings;
- Maintain order during council meetings;
- Performs the duties and exercises the powers delegated to the speaker;
- Ensure council meetings are conducted following the rules and orders of the council;
- Ensure compliance in the council and its committees with the code of conduct; and
- Must ensure that the council meetings are conducted following the rules and orders of the council.

3.3.6 Social dimension.

According to Adetoretse (2011), local government is regarded as an organized social entity based on a “community” concept. It provides a platform for people in a locality to express and fulfil their human needs to interact. In the interaction process, the feeling of convergence brings the commonality (community) of basic needs of the people in the neighbourhood of food, shelter, clothing, water, and many other things (Crawford, 1954). Crawford further states that “the need for local government occurs when people live in a sufficiently close association that community problems arise or that it becomes feasible to join together as a group to attain certain mutually desired ends.” Communities existing in proximity may share common problems, which brings them together to attain desired objectives.

3.4 LOCAL GOVERNMENT MODELS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The democratic government in 1994 had the challenge of unscrambling the legacy of apartheid-driven local government structures. The four major racial groups were divided by law and the geographical area, and in terms of nature and standard of typical municipal services. To address the structural challenges created by the apartheid system, the government must develop a white paper on Local Government, published in Government Gazette No. 18739 of 13 March 1998. It provided legislation for Local government arrangements. The first measure for the white paper was to develop a legislative action Local Government: Municipal demarcation Act (Act No 27 of 1998) (the Municipal Demarcation Act). An independent Demarcation Board was established in terms of this

act. According to the guidelines provided in section 25 of the Demarcation Act, the board had to redefine the boundaries. The Demarcation board came up with the following models.

3.5 Metropolitan Councils

They are referred to as large cities and they are also known as unities or megacities. The guidelines for establishing metropolitan councils are contained in section 2 of the Structures Act. Metropolitans are characterised by areas of high population density, intense movement of people, goods and services, extensive development, multiple districts, and industrial areas. They are a centre of economic activity with a complex and diverse economy. Metropolitans have a single area of Integrated Development Planning (IDP).

The guidelines for establishing metropolitan councils are contained in section 2 of the Structures Act, and they are:

- A conurbation featuring:
 - Areas of high population density;
 - An intense movement of people, goods, and services;
 - Extensive development; and
 - Multiple business districts and industrial areas.
1. A centre of economic activity with a complex and diverse economy.
 2. A single area for which integrated development planning is desirable.

3. An area that has solid interdependent social and economic linkages between its constituent units.

Some of the metropolitan councils are too big and have illogical boundaries and as such a strong urban system takes the “local” out of local government (Venter & Landsberg, 2010).

The established metropolitan councils in South Africa are:

- City of Pretoria (Tshwane);
- Johannesburg;
- Ekurhuleni;
- Durban (eThekweni);
- Port Elizabeth (Nelson Mandela Bay);
- City of Cape Town;
- Nelspruit (Mbombela); and
- Bloemfontein (Mangaung).

3.5.1 District Municipalities.

Many of these district municipalities are of cross-provincial boundaries, as provided by the Local Government: Cross-boundary Municipalities Act (Act 29 of 2000). Their mandate is to enable district municipalities to perform the developmental role, especially in the severely disadvantaged rural areas. They are mainly found in poor and vast regions which require attention on matters of development.

3.5.2 Local Councils.

Local councils are referred to as “stand-alone” municipalities. The previously racially segregated communities are now grouped under one umbrella structure, and vast traditional areas have become part of the municipal area. They are located near communities to ensure that the citizens do not have to travel long distances to access government services. Since voters from these traditional areas outnumber those in urban areas, there is a trend to channel funds away from the metropolitan area to these very rural areas.

3.6 ELECTION OF COUNCILLORS.

In terms of the Constitution of South Africa, elections of the councillors shall be held at intervals of not more than five years (Section 59 as amended). Democratically elected representatives of a local community are known as councillors. There are basic requirements that one should meet to become a councillor and the first requirement is that such a person should qualify to vote and be a South African citizen. Those employed by the municipality and other spheres of government do not allow to stand for election. South Africa practices a dual local government electoral system, which comprises proportional elections based on party lists (Proportional Representation-PR) and ward elections (First Past the Post-FPTP) for individual councillors. The division between proportional representatives and ward representatives is 50:50 for metropolitan and local councils (Booyesen, 2014, Kadima, 2014). Fifty percent of the seats are allocated based on FPTP, while fifty percent are based on a PR party list. The hybrid party-list electoral

system would enable parties to enter a post-election coalition due to the number of seats each party has won.

3.7 THE COALITIONS IN THE SOUTH AFRICA METROS.

The 2016 local government elections brought a situation where the dominance of the ANC started to be eroded significantly in metros. Several municipalities and metros are co-governed by political parties like the IFP, UDM, DA, COPE, and EFF. The main opposition party, the DA, seized power from the ANC and formed coalitions in three key metros: Nelson Mandela Bay, Tshwane, and Johannesburg. The establishment of these coalitions; signals the strengthening and maturity of South Africa's democracy (Brooks, 2004, Kadima, 2006; Kadima & Owuor, 2012; Bogaards, 2013; Kadima, 2014).

3.7.1 Nelson Mandela Bay Metro.

The Nelson Mandela Bay Metro is one of the metros run by a coalition after the 2016 local government election. Weeks before the elections, the DA leader Anthol Trollip optimistically indicated that the metropolitan would be governed by a multi-party coalition that would pronounce significant administrative changes to create job security (Whittles, 2016). According to the IEC 2016 results, the DA secured 47.6 percent of the results and got 57 seats and the ANC secured 40.9 percent of the votes with 50 seats which was a

significant drop from 2011 in which they received 62 seats (Bateman, Nicolaides & Kubheka & Spies 2016).

The coalition in Nelson Mandela Bay comprised the DA, UDM, COPE, and ACDP, who could find common ground and then establish a government. They promised to crack corruption, create jobs, and deliver quality services. Their consensus was based on change, good governance and honest government to provide for all (Bosch;2016). Due to the establishment of a coalition, the positions in the council also resembled a coalition outlook and coalition partners occupied the following positions:

Executive mayor: Ronald Athol Price Trollip (DA)

Speaker: Jonathan Lawack (DA)

Deputy Mayor: Mongameli Ellcotte Bobani (UDM)

Chief Whip: Werner Senekal (DA).

Table 3.1 Coalition partners.

Political Party	Allocation of seats	Male	Female
Democratic Alliance	57	43	14
African National Congress	50	32	18
Economic Freedom Fighters.	6	3	3
United Democratic Movement	2	1	1

Congress of the People	1	0	1
African Christian Democratic Party	1	1	0
Africa Independent Congress	1	1	0
Patriotic Alliance	1	1	0
United Front eastern Cape	1	1	0
Total	120	83	37

Source: Integrated Development Plan-Draft Second Edition 2017/18-2021/22

3.7.2 Challenges of the Nelson Mandela Bay Metro.

The coalition government in the Nelson Mandela Bay Metro has proven to be characterised by many challenges. It was characterised as unstable. The metro could not pass the budget, approve, and agree on a long-term strategic development plan for the city (Kotze, 2018). This was confirmed by both leaders of the DA Athol Trollip and James Selfe. The meeting of 26 January 2017 could not continue because the ANC councillors refused to enter the venue of the meeting and the EFF councillors stated that they would not attend the meeting. The same meeting was also not attended by the UDM's Mongameli Bobane a coalition partner and a senior member of the council and Thoko Tshangela (Spies). The actions of Bobane angered the DA which facilitated that he be removed from office.

A new coalition comprised of the DA, EFF, COPE and UDM was established in 2017 which also did not last since there was a motion of no confidence on Athol Trollip by the same parties that were in a coalition with the DA (de Kock, 2018). Accusations and counteraccusations characterised the coalition. The DA accused Bobani of misconduct and undermining the coalition agreement by voting with the ANC. Bobani was viewed as a destructive element in the coalition who also undermined service delivery. On the other hand, Bobani accused Trollip of being a “bully” who ignored the coalition agreement. Trollip was accused of not consulting with the UDM, particularly the President of the UDM General Bantu Holomisa and accused him of taking credit for everything the coalition government has done (Ndletyana, 2017).

3.7.3 The City of Johannesburg.

The DA ran the city of Johannesburg led coalition after supporting other parties in the council. The ANC obtained 44.50 percent of the vote, which was nearly six percent above the DA. The electoral system in South Africa requires a majority of 50 percent plus 1 to form a government, and that became impossible for the ANC to form a government. The DA was able to forge a coalition with ACDP, COPE, FF+, UDM, and the IFP and again with the support of the EFF to take charge of the city of Johannesburg. On 22 August 2016, Herman Mashaba became the first mayor of the Johannesburg metro post-1994, not coming from the ANC (Schreiber, 2018).

3.7.4 The nature of the coalition in Johannesburg.

The coalition of the city of Johannesburg had its share of challenges. In a coalition with the DA, the EFF and the ANC constantly made things difficult for Herman Mashaba. There were constant disagreements on policy issues which made coalition partners to be always at loggerheads with each other.

Some of the disagreements amongst coalition partners involved the decision to privatise the refuse removal entity “pikitup” by Mr Herman Mashaba. Privatisation was never one of the EFF’s principles and that became a source of conflict and tension amongst coalition partners, particularly the DA and EFF (Mbethe, 2016).

The city of Johannesburg has also been a victim of political instability and bickering. Three years into the coalition, it was evident that the coalition was heading for a collapse influenced by instability in the other two DA-led metros Tshwane and Nelson Mandela Bay. In July 2019, the EFF leader Julius Malema announced that the EFF would no longer be voting with the DA in all municipalities. That became a massive blow to the DA, relying on the EFF as kingmakers in the metros (Masina, 2021). The DA-led coalition's collapse brought back the ANC leadership position through the alliance with other smaller parties.

Table 3.2

Party	Percentage	Seats
ANC	44.55	121
DA	38.37	104
EFF	11.09	30
IFP	1.72	5
AIC	1.5%	4
FF ACDP,Aljima,UDM,COPE,PA	Plus, Less than 1%	1 seat each

Source: Elections'16-News24

There are instances where the coalition in the city of Johannesburg made decisions that were remarkable and progressive. The insourcing of the cleaning staff and the security personnel should be credited to the coalition government of the city of Johannesburg. This had to be credited to the efforts by the EFF, which has been running a campaign through their student command to end the outsourcing of staff in different institutions across the country. According to Masina (2021), the insourcing of teams came with benefits like a funeral cover, study grants for children and pension money.

3.7.5 City of Ekurhuleni.

The coalition government in the city of Ekurhuleni was formed because political parties failed to get an outright majority. As with other metros in Gauteng, the ANC obtained 49.4 percent, the DA got .34.43 percent. The other parties which made it to the council were the EFF, AIC, PAC, PA, COPE and the Independent Rate Payers Association (IRASA) (IEC: 2016). An ANC-led coalition was established in Ekurhuleni with AIC, Pac, PA and IRASA. The IFP entered the coalition to partner on crucial issues (Masina, 2021).

Table 3.3

Party	Votes				Seats		
	Ward	List	Total	%	Ward	List	Total
African National Congress	436,190	438,961	875,151	48.6	76	33	109
Democratic Alliance	307,664	306,709	614,373	34.2	35	42	77
Economic Freedom Fighters	102,242	99,770	202,012	11.2	1	24	25
African Independent Congress	14,709	14,810	29,519	1.6	0	4	4
Inkatha Freedom Party	8,940	9,345	18,285	1.0	0	2	2
Freedom Front Plus	7,991	8,059	16,050	0.9	0	2	2
African Christian Democratic Party	3,908	3,754	7,662	0.4	0	1	1
Pan Africanist Congress	3,836	3,743	7,579	0.4	0	1	1
Patriotic Alliance	2,272	2,499	4,771	0.3	0	1	1
Congress of the People	2,209	2,504	4,713	0.3	0	1	1
Independent Ratepayers Association of SA	3,067	1,219	4,286	0.2	0	1	1
Independent	3,675	-	3,675	0.2	0	-	0
United Democratic Movement	1,435	2,109	3,544	0.2	0	0	0
Others	2,283	5,298	7,581	0.4	0	0	0
Total	900,421	898,780	1,799,201	100.0	112	112	224
Spoilt votes	16,086	15,783	31,869				

The city of Ekurhuleni metro is the only coalition in the metros that have not seen any leadership change, and this can be viewed as a success. According to the Executive Mayor of Ekurhuleni Mr Mzwandile Masina, the city of Ekurhuleni is lauded as the most stable government to have emerged from the 2016 local government elections. “Ours has been a coalition that has stood the test of time, with the administration completing its full term of office” (Masina, 2021).

Successful as it was, the city of Ekurhuleni had a share of challenges which were a test to the coalition and its stability. It is acknowledged by the coalition partners that in the beginning there were communication challenges amongst coalition partners. Fortunately, they were able to identify the challenges early, and they was resolved. There were two motions of no confidence in the mayor proposed by the DA against the major. The first motion was based on poor service delivery and the second one was about the inability of the city to deal with corruption. In both these motions, the coalition stood steadfast and both motions failed.

The key achievements of the City of Ekurhuleni are outlined by The Executive Mayor Mr. Mzwandile Masina as follows:

- Governance;
- Maintaining the coalition government;
- Education and youth development;
- Service delivery in informal settlements;
- Infrastructural development;
- Support of SMME's and development of the township economy; and
- Land reforms.

3.8 THE CITY OF TSHWANE METROPOLITAN COUNCIL.

The City of Tshwane as a metropolitan Council is a category A municipality by the Municipal Demarcation Board in terms of section 4 of the Local Government Structures Act, 1998 (Act 117 of 1998). The city was established on 05 December 2000 by

integrating various municipalities and councils that had previously served the Pretoria regime and surrounding areas. The city's boundary was further amended on 28 May 2008 through a proclamation in the Government Gazette, which incorporated the former Motsweding District Municipality, including Nokeng tsa Taemane (Cullinan) Kugwini (Bronkhorstspuit), into the borders of the city of Tshwane. The incorporation, which gave birth to the new city of Tshwane in May 2011 after the local government elections, was in line with the Gauteng Global City Region Strategy to reduce the number of municipalities in Gauteng by the year 2016.

3.8.1 Key information about Tshwane

Table 3.4

Major residential areas	Akasia, Atteridgeville, Babelegi, Bronberg, Bronkhorstspuit, Centurion, Crocodile River, Cullinan, Eersterust, Ekangala, Elands River, Ga-Rankuwa, Hammanskraal, Laudium, Mamelodi, Pretoria, Rayton, Refilwe, Rethabiseng, Roodeplaat, Soshanguve, Temba, Winterveld and Zithobeni
Population	3,31 million in (2017) ¹
Area	6 345 km ² - Tshwane is the largest city in Africa and the third-largest in the world based on a land area
Operating budget	R35.4 billion (2019/20) ²

Capital budget	R4.2 billion. (2019/20) 3
Municipal area GGDP 4	R468.18 billion (current prices)5
GGDP per capita	R140 397 (current prices)6
GGDP growth	1.2% (2017) 6
Labour Force:	Labour Force 1.83 million people 1.22 Million Employed 70.35% labour force participation rate
Unemployment	24%, (2017) 6 (official definition)
Principal languages	English, Sepedi, Afrikaans, Xitsonga and Setswana
Industrial estates	Babelegi, Bronkhorstspuit, Ekandustria, Ga-Rankuwa, Gateway, Hennopspark, Hermanstad, Irene, Kirkney, Klerksoord, Koedoespoort, Lyttelton Manor, Pretoria North, Pretoria West, Rooihuiskraal, Rosslyn, Samcor Park, Silverton, Silvertondale, Sunderland Ridge and Waltloo
Principal economic activities	Principal economic activities are Government and community services (30%), finance (25%) and manufacturing (13%). All figures are for 2017. 6
Focus sectors	Advanced manufacturing

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Agri-business (agricultural production and processing) - Tourism - Research and Innovation
Interesting facts about Tshwane	<p>Home to over 135 foreign missions and organisations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The highest concentration of medical institutions per square kilometre in South Africa - Knowledge and research and development capital of South Africa - 28.4% of Gauteng's GDP (2017) 6 - 10% of national GDP (2017) 6 - 53% of transport equipment exported from South Africa originates in Tshwane

Source HIS Markit Regional Explorer version 1338.

According to the constitution of South Africa (1996), a category A municipality has exclusive municipal and legislative authority in its area. According to the City of Tshwane (IDP 2021/26), the city of Tshwane has the following strategic developmental pillars:

- A city that facilitates economic growth and job creation.

- A city that cares for residents and promotes inclusivity.
- A city that delivers excellent services and protects the environment.
- A city that keeps the residents safe.
- A city that is open, honest, and responsive.
-

3.8.2 Population.

According to South African Tshwane online (2021), the population of Tshwane is now estimated at 2.9 million people (stats SA: 2021). In 1950 the Pretoria population was 275,331. Tshwane has grown by 89,622 since 2015, which represents a 3.49% annual change. These population estimates and projections come from the latest revision of the UN World Urbanization Prospects. These estimates represent the urban agglomeration of Tshwane, which typically includes the Tshwane population in addition to adjacent suburban areas.

Tshwane is amongst the six largest metropolitan municipalities in South Africa and the second largest in Gauteng as measured by the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The Tshwane region covers 6 368 km square kilometres of Gauteng's 19 055 square kilometres. Tshwane consists of seven areas and 210 councillors.



The city of Tshwane is home to over 130 embassies, representing the second-largest concentration of embassies after Washington DC and the administrative capital of South Africa. It is home to the Union Buildings, with government-related business playing an essential role in the local economy.

3.8.3 The economic situation of the city of Tshwane.

The City of Tshwane has a vibrant and diverse economy, contributing at least 26.8% of the Gauteng province's GDP and 9.4% of the national economy. The city is taking active measures to firmly position itself as Africa's leading capital city of excellence. The municipality's leading economic sectors are the community services and government sectors, followed by the finance and manufacturing sectors. Metal products, machinery, and household products are the largest sub-sections within the manufacturing sector.

The city has a well-established manufacturing sector, with the automotive industry representing the most significant component. The economic output of the city of Tshwane has expanded to 1.9% per annum and the annual growth has been well above Ekurhuleni and the city of Johannesburg.

3.8.4 Service delivery.

Section 26 of the constitution of South Africa says that “everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing.” In this regard, the “state must take reasonable legislative and other measures within its available resources to achieve the progressive realization of this right.” Of the three spheres of government, the local government is the implementing sphere for the roll-out of housing projects. Using Stats SA's definition of a household and a dwelling unit, households can be categorized according to the type of dwelling. The categories are:

3.8.5 Very formal dwellings.

Structures are built according to approved plans, such as a house on a separate stand, flat or apartment, townhouse, room in a backyard with running water, and flush toilets within the dwelling.

3.8.6 Formal dwellings.

Structures are built according to approved plans such as a house on a separate stand, flat or apartment, townhouse, room in a backyard, room, or flatlet elsewhere, etc., but without running water or without a flush toilet within the dwelling.

3.8.7 Informal dwellings.

These are shacks or shanties in informal settlements, serviced stands or proclaimed townships, as well as shacks in the backyards of other dwelling types.

3.8.8 Traditional dwellings.

These are structures made of clay, mud, reeds, or other locally available material.

3.8.9 Other dwelling units.

These include tents, ships, caravans, etc.

A household is considered “serviced” if it has access to all four essential services; if not, the family is considered part of the backlog. The city of Tshwane is responsible for providing the following basic services: sanitation, water, electricity, and refuse removal.

3.8.10 ELECTORAL PATTERNS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

The African National Congress has always been a dominant factor in the South African political setting. Since the inception of the democratic system in South Africa in 1994, the ANC has enjoyed a more significant share of electoral support at the national, provincial, and local government levels. The same electoral trends also show the decline of the ANC, support since the 2016 local government elections. The local government elections of 2016 demonstrated that the ANC is gradually losing support and power amongst the South African electorate. These elections saw the ANC losing control in Tshwane, Johannesburg, and Nelson Mandela metros to coalition governments.

Since the 1995 local government elections, the ANC has always had an aggregate of over 60% in the results of the election. According to the results of the elections of 2016 (IEC,2016), the ANC has declined by just over 8% at the local government level. The decline of the ANC in its electoral support can be attributed to several factors. They include rampant corruption, controversial presidency, weak governance, economic

mismanagement, the arrogance of party leaders, factionalism, lack of service delivery, jobless amongst the youth and many other factors (Malala, 2016).

3.8.11 THE MISTAKES OF THE ANC.

There are a few mistakes that the ANC committed which impacted the image of the party. They relate to corruption, mismanagement, service delivery, job creation and the economy. There was a situation where there was an expectation of acknowledging mistakes and making amends or correcting and moving on, which was unfortunately not the case with the ANC. The ANC has been defending wrongdoing amongst its members in government and some of the mistakes are discussed below:

3.8.12 The Sarafina scandal.

The decline of the ANC can be attributed to the corruption cases associated with the leaders of the ANC and their deployed cadres in government. Some of the scandals that have rocked the ANC are scandals that took place back in the presidency of Nelson Mandela. The first high-profile corruption scandal was known as the Sarafina scandal. This took place less than two years into the democratic government. In 1996, the then Health Minister, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, gave a close friend an R14 million tender to produce a theatre performance about the dangers of AIDS. In the months that followed, the ANC repeatedly chose to protect Dlamini-Zuma after lying to parliament about the corruption even after the project's funder, the European Union revealed that it had not approved the contract (Schreiber, 2018:43). This was seen as an element of being soft on corruption by the ANC, as reported by the New York Times in 1996.

3.8.13 The arms deal.

In early 1999, the ANC-led government rushed to purchase military equipment's from global suppliers. Apart from the fact that the government had opted for social development over conflict, the government insisted on buying new fighter jets, submarines, warships, and military helicopters costing the state billions of rands. According to Schreiber (44), international investigators from Britain, Sweden, and France soon implicated ANC's heavyweights including Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma, Tony Yengeni, Fana Hlongwa, Chippy Shaik, and Shabir Shaik. Former President Jacob Zuma is still on trial about his involvement in corrupt activities involving the arms deal.

3.8.14 Nkandla upgrades.

When the local government elections were approaching in 2016, the South African citizens were constantly reminded by the media and the opposition about the upgrades at the personal property of former President Zuma, which cost the taxpayer R249 million. The promotions at the Zuma homestead had a substantial negative impact on Jacob Zuma, the ANC, and the government. Members of parliament from the ANC benches did all they could to protect former President Jacob Zuma at the expense of the ANC. The opposition parties had an issue criticising the ANC and government while the ANC had difficulties defending and justifying the Nkandla upgrades. Opposition parties, the DA and EFF, had to resort to the Constitutional Court to force the government to implement the Public Protector's recommendations which forced Jacob Zuma to pay back a portion of the money for the upgrades as he was found to have unduly benefitted from the Nkandla upgrades. The continuous defence of Jacob Zuma was a confirmation to some as an indication that the ANC is tolerant of corruption within its ranks.

3.8.15 Youth Unemployment.

According to the census conducted in 2011, most of the South African population is youth. The more significant portion of the South African youth is unemployed, as outlined by statistics SA. Young people had their hopes on the government and the ruling ANC for job creation. Several initiatives and promises have been made, but they have not yielded any results for the youth of South Africa. Unemployment has also cost the party dearly

as young people seem to be losing hope in the ANC regarding job opportunities. Every quarter, the number of unemployed youths increase.

3.8.16 E-Tolls.

The introduction of the e-tolls, the Gauteng freeway project, has caused sharp divisions between the ANC and its Alliance partners COSATU, SACP, and SANCO. The existence of the e-tolls is blamed on the ANC and COSATU has indicated that when the ANC loses support in Gauteng, they should blame themselves (Kekana, 2016). The general members of the public were equally not happy with the decision of the government to introduce e-tolls. The e-tolls have become so tense that the Provincial leadership of the ANC in Gauteng is still adamant that e-tolls have cost them the votes in the 2014 elections. While addressing the members of the ANC and supporters at the Germiston Civic Centre in October 2018, the premier of Gauteng and the Chairperson of the ANC in the province David Makhura said “The e-tolls have not worked, and the ANC in Gauteng does not support them. Let there be no confusion; they are not part of the future of this province. We will have to work out how to pay for the roads but not through e-tolls”. The 13th provincial conference of Gauteng has mandated Makhura to engage President Cyril Ramaphosa and the national government to resolve the e-tolls saga.

3.9 CHALLENGES OF COALITIONS.

The ANC has always been a dominant factor in the South African elections since 1994. The ANC and the opposition parties did not seem to have expected the 2016 local government elections results. Due to the dominance of the ANC, many opposition parties were less prepared for the outcome of the results. Political parties did not have a plan to constitute and plan for coalition governments. The leaders of these political parties had to come with an immediate plan to form governments. The party leadership does the activity of negotiating and forming coalitions. At this stage, the membership supporters and voters are not involved in developing coalition agreements and governments. The only involvement of the leaders of the political parties in coalition arrangements and subsequent coming to agreements to form coalition governments, confirms that this arrangement is only for the leaders of the party and not the entire party.

The formation of coalitions is not based on an ideology. It is based on the convenience and the establishment of government at a given period. Political parties in a coalition have different perspectives in terms of interests and culture. They also have different political ideologies, which would require them to compromise their doctrines for the coalition's success (Martin & Vanberg, 2014).

According to Kadima (2014), coalition governments are formed after the elections. The details of the coalition agreements are not made public to the general members of the political parties and the voters in general. Since the coalition details are unknown to the public, they are left in the dark, not knowing what is happening in the coalition arrangements. The conditions and the benefits of the coalition are known only by the

political elites. Coalition requires negotiations and compromise, which is done by the elites behind closed doors. The mandate is not sought from the members and voters on the ground.

Coalitions are characterised by dishonesty and, to a certain extent, betrayal of partners. According to Timmermans (2003), coalitions are described as “incomplete contracts.” Unlike ordinary commercial contracts, they are not legally enforceable as few mechanisms are available to restrain coalition partners from dishonouring the deals (Moury & Timmermans, 2013:118). Some partners in a coalition would make unrealistic demands to their coalition partner, which, if not provided, they threaten to pull out of the coalition. Coalitions have also created a give-and-take situation in several instances. Coalition leaders are sometimes forced to implement decisions against their ideology and principles to make coalitions continue. In the case of the City of Tshwane, coalition partners would boycott important meetings to frustrate their coalition partners. That practice has an impact on service delivery because it hinders the citizens.

3.10 CONCLUSION.

The loss of support of the ANC became evident with the 2016 local government election results. This loss of support can mainly be blamed on the ANC itself based on the party committing significant mistakes. The state of the coalition government in South Africa has been highlighted, especially in the metros that have governance challenges. The chapter has provided a picture of the stability and poor management of coalitions. The next chapter will focus on the research methodology.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.

4.1 INTRODUCTION.

This chapter provides the research description process that is undertaken in this research. To respond to the research questions, this research employs qualitative research methods to gain a deeper understanding of how coalition governments function in local municipalities in South Africa. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005) & Diako (2012:92), a research methodology or strategy is determined by the nature of the research question and the subject being investigated. The research format used in an investigation should be seen as a tool to answer the research question at hand. Research methodology describes the methods and procedures that the researcher will use to conduct the research (Tloalele, Nethonzhe and Lutabungwa, 2007:562). The research methodology (i.e., a group or body of methods) of collecting data necessitates a reflection on the research's planning, structuring and execution to comply with the demands of truth, objectivity and validity. Research methodology focuses on the research process and the researcher's decisions to execute the research project (Brynard & Hanekom, 2010). The example is the following questions:

- Which decisions need to be taken as the research progresses?

- Which methods (a particular form of procedure for doing something) and techniques (s) (Skill) for data analysis should be selected?
- Which factors play a role in the design of a research project?
- What influence does the particular purpose of the research project have on the selection of methods and techniques?
- Which factors play a role in the research process and how do these factors influence the methodology of the researcher?

4.2. RESEARCH PARADIGMS

According to Neuman (2006), research paradigm refers to the fundamental suppositions and scholarly structure after that innovative work in a field of inquiry is based. Thus, the research paradigm encompasses the beliefs that typically guide behaviour, particularly in terms of disciplined inquiry in a broader sense, thereby generating ideas on how a specific topic should be explored and comprehended (Wellington, 2008). In research, the three main paradigms used are the interpretive, critical, and positivist paradigms.

4.2.1. Interpretive paradigm

This study adopts an interpretive paradigm. The interpretive research paradigm seeks to comprehend people through in-depth interviewing, direct observation, and case studies (Cooper & Schindler, 2003). While on the one hand, the critical paradigm focuses on oppression. It seeks to strengthen democracy by improving political, cultural, social, ethical, and economic systems and other society-oriented systems and ideas. The

positivist paradigm on the other hand comprises discrete concepts that produce positive outcomes, such as testing and experiments to acquire data (Henning, Van Rensburg and Smit, 2004: 17), both these paradigms are not appropriate for the current study. This study therefore, uses the interpretive research paradigm in the form of qualitative research to understand the nature of coalition governments based on open-ended interviewing, direct observation, and focus group discussions (FGD). The interpretive paradigm assumes three aspects namely ontology, epistemology and axiology. These are discussed in the following sections:

4.2.2. Ontology.

Ontology is a discipline of philosophy that studies concepts like existence, being, becoming, and reality. It looks at how entities are divided into basic categories, and which exist at the most fundamental level (Hartmann and Cicovacki, 2017). Therefore, in this study, the researcher used qualitative research and interacted with participants in their natural settings to better understand their daily realities and experiences regarding the coalition governments in South Africa with a specific focus on the City of Tshwane.

4.2.3. Epistemology

Epistemology is the philosophy concerned with knowledge related to the investigation of originality, nature belief rationality, the scope of knowledge, epistemic justification, and other related concerns (Audi, 2010). Therefore, in this study, the researcher subscribed to the fundamental belief that research involves (i) the known (the researcher), (ii) the knower (the research participants) and (iii) the knowledge (the participants' narrative of the analysis of coalition governments in South Africa with a specific focus on the City of

Tshwane. Most importantly, the researcher in epistemology could not act as a detached observer of knowledge (Audi, 2010).

4.2.4. Axiology

Axiology is the study of value, or, to put it another way, the theory of value. Axiology encompasses ethics (morality theory) and aesthetics (taste and beauty theory) and other types of matter. Hence, in this study, the researcher had to maintain the ethics applied in every scientific research, see section 4.15 on ethics. This study examined how coalition governments function in South Africa, with specific focus on the City of Tshwane. The study further assesses the impact of the coalition governments on public service delivery.

4.3. THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

According to Cohen (2001), a research design is used to describe the procedures for conducting a study. Its purpose is to help find appropriate answers to the research questions. The study employed the qualitative approach which employs a purposive sampling technique. Purposive sampling enables the researcher to conveniently choose groups of individuals who are likely knowledgeable and informative about the phenomenon of interest (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006:75). This approach allowed the researcher to interview key informants with in-depth knowledge of the phenomenon under investigation. Using this method provides diverse viewpoints that may enlighten the researcher about the intricacies associated with the research problem.

4.3.1. Research design

A research design is a “plan, or strategy, that moves from the underlying philosophical assumptions to specifying the selection of respondents, the data-gathering techniques to be used, and the data analysis to be done, to obtain the answers to research questions” (De Vos et al., 2013:71). Thus, a research design is regarded as a blueprint or the procedures researchers consider when conducting studies, from data collection to analysis.

This study employs a case study research design. Case study research is a systematic inquiry into an event or a set of related events which aims to describe and explain the phenomenon of interest (Bromley, 1990). According to Yin (1994), a case study in research is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon, and context is not clear and multiple sources of evidence are used. In the case study, the researcher strives to develop a holistic understanding of how participants relate to each other in a specific situation.

The study was conducted in the City of Tshwane which houses the seat of the national government in South Africa. The establishment of the coalition government in the City of Tshwane has brought governance and service delivery challenges to the city. By conducting this research on the nature and challenges of a coalition government in the City of Tshwane, other metros in South Africa may draw lessons from the recommendations provided in the study.

4.3.2. Qualitative approach

The qualitative research approach is a method of inquiry that creates a comprehensive, primarily narrative, definition that informs the researchers' understanding of a social or cultural phenomenon (Hale, 2009; Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2009). In his study Babbie (2010) also subscribed to the definition of the qualitative approach by arguing that qualitative research tends to be associated with the idea that social life is the result of the social interaction that characterises the social world. This means that qualitative researchers study objects and try to make sense of or perceive events in terms of the context people bring to them while in the participants' natural settings. Therefore, a qualitative research method was found useful for this study because it emphasises the importance of the social context for understanding the social world. In this study, the method helped explore the people's views and feelings towards the formation of coalition governments in South Africa with a specific focus on the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Council by looking at the meanings that they gave in the context in which it appeared.

In the researcher's view, the notion of social context is of greater importance when carrying out qualitative research in that, relevant data can be gathered directly and correctly from the context in the phenomena under study. In support of this, Matua and Van Der Wal (2015) argue that qualitative research is designed to help researchers understand people and the social and cultural contexts within which they live. According to Matua and Van Der Wal (2015), this allows the complexities and differences of the phenomenon under study to be explored and represented. Furthermore, Silverman (2000:89) argued that the "methods used by qualitative researchers exemplify a common

belief that they can provide a ‘deeper understanding of social phenomena than would be obtained from purely qualitative data”. In this regard, the researcher selected a qualitative method as it helped address the study objectives.

In addition, a qualitative approach in this study was suitable as it addresses the subject matter flexibly by accessing specific information rather than simply generalising results. Since the study topic sought to find out the participants' views, this approach was found viable. Drawing from these various assertions, the study adopted the qualitative approach as it focuses on the content of human experiences and stresses the perspective of the participants.

4.4. STUDY POPULATION

Population refers to the totality of persons, events organisation units, cases with which the specific research problem is concerned (De Vos, 1998, 190; Goddard & Melville, 2001). The targeted group for this study were the politicians from different political parties represented in the City of Tshwane metro. Regional structures, branches including ordinary members of the public who qualifies and are registered to vote. For this study, the focus was on the African National Congress (ANC), the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) in the city of Tshwane. These political parties are the main players in the coalition dynamics on the metros across South Africa.

Apart from the politicians, the researcher interviewed municipal officials in the City of Tshwane, academics, senior students, journalists, analysts, and key people who are knowledgeable about the issues of a coalition government. The sampling was done with

a specific purpose in mind which is to get the relevant information to answer the research questions. The participants were selected because they met the criteria set by the researcher. The participants were chosen based on the following criteria:

1. Politicians that were sampled came from the ANC, DA and EFF in the City of Tshwane, and three members from these political parties that were sampled participated in the research.
2. Workers at the city of Tshwane from different levels were also interviewed.
3. Academics and analysts who are based in the city of Tshwane who know coalition government issues.
4. Key people including senior students and citizens who are knowledgeable about the issues of the coalition.

Due to COVID-19 regulations, telephonic interviews were used to collect data from participants. Interviews were conducted until the data reached a saturation point and the researcher judged that the research question was adequate. According to Sanelowski (1995:179), the choice of various kinds of purposeful sampling used in qualitative research lies primarily in the quality of information obtained per sampling unit as opposed to their number.

4.5. SAMPLING PROCEDURE.

Bynard and Hanekom (2010) define sampling as a technique employed to select a small group (the sample) to determine the characteristics of a large group (the population) if selected discerningly, the sample is expected to display the same features or properties of the larger population. The total number of the participants in the research were twenty-four. The study employed purposive sampling, a non-probability sampling procedure to identify persons representing ordinary citizens. In this sampling, the researcher chose groups of individuals who were knowledgeable and informative on the functioning of coalition government within the local government context (McMillan and & Schumacher, 2006:75). The study sampled regional leadership of the ANC, DA, EFF, Branch leadership and members. Municipal employees of the City of Tshwane were also selected as well as academics, senior students, analysts, and journalists. These participants were selected to make assumptions about the entire population of the City of Tshwane. The researcher chose this strategy because it is a cost-effective way to determine what people do, think, and want.

The study area has an estimated population of 3 000 000. In this case, the researcher used telephones to reach out to the respondents. This was mainly influenced by the Covid-19 restrictions, which had strict lockdown regulations on the citizens. Semi-structured questions were prepared for the respondents, and they took between 30-45 minutes to respond to the interview questions.

4.6. DATA COLLECTION METHODS.

The researcher employed qualitative data collection methods such as interviews and documents. These are discussed in the following sections:

4.7. SEMI-STRUCTURED INFORMANT INTERVIEWS.

Semi-structured interviews were used to collect data. Regional members of the ANC, DA, EFF and key individuals including academics were interviewed to collect data. Twenty-four participants took part in the interviews. According to Bernard (1988), semi-structured interviewing provides a clear set of instructions for interviewers and can provide reliable, comparable qualitative data. Semi-structured interviews are often preceded by observation, informal and unstructured interviewing allow the researchers to develop a keen understanding of the topic of interest necessary for developing relevant and meaningful semi-structured questions. According to Young (1975), the interview is a direct verbal method of obtaining data in which a researcher enters the life of a comparative stranger. It is the most common interview that is used in qualitative research. In this interview, you seek specific information which can be compared with the input from other interviewees and even from the literature reviewed. In this situation, information is obtained from the relevant people who are deemed to have the required information to assist in the study.

Semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to prepare questions ahead of time. The semi-structured interview allowed informants the freedom to express their views on their terms. They can also provide reliable, comparable qualitative data (Cohen, 2006).

The focus of the research is the City of Tshwane. The researcher wrote to the City of Tshwane seeking permission to conduct research there. Through the relevant Knowledge Management Unit of the City of Tshwane, permission was granted to the researcher.

The study employed purposive sampling to come up with a representative sample on which to base the analysis. Purposive sampling enables the researcher to conveniently choose groups of individuals who are likely to be knowledgeable and informative about the phenomenon of interest (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006:75). Through this method, leaders of the political parties at the regional level and branches in the Tshwane Region were contacted, particularly the ANC, DA, and EFF. The employees at the City of Tshwane, both at Management and lower levels, were part of the sampling. Ordinary citizens who are the voters and the receivers of the municipal services also formed part of the sampling.

4.8. GENERAL PROCEDURE FOR INTERVIEWS.

A plan and process were developed for conducting interviews. The program consisted of the following arrangements; the period for the interviews, planning, tools for

communication, data collection, data analysis, and disseminating the findings. The procedure was done in the following manner:

4.8.1. Period for the interviews.

The period set aside for the interviews was five months. This was done after looking at the number of respondents and their proximity to the researcher. The covid-19 pandemic disrupted the interview process as planned due to the regulations associated with the pandemic. The researcher had to cancel face to face interviews and opted for telephonic interviews. The time for the interviews planned was 30-45 minutes and the reason was because the researcher wanted to give the respondents sufficient time to express themselves. Some of the respondents would cancel the interviews at the last minute and most of the interviews had to be postponed due to the unavailability of the respondents. The researcher had to exercise patience to ensure that the research gets completed.

4.8.2. Planning.

Before conducting the interview, the researcher identified and listed key informants for the interview. The researcher then developed a sample of the respondents who would participate in the research. An example is a group of a relatively small number of people selected from a population for investigation purposes (Alvi, 2016). The researcher knew the respondents scheduled for the interviews and followed the plan even though some would cancel or arrive late.

4.8.3. Tools for communication.

The researcher informed respondents about the research, and it was emphasised that the study is for educational purposes and their identities will not be revealed at any given time. Posters for the interviews were prepared earlier before the research could take place. Even during the telephonic interviews, the respondents were reminded that the research is mainly for educational purposes. Respondents were informed about the consent form, which stipulated the details about the research project. The respondents were also informed that the discussion was being recorded for research purposes.

4.8.4. Data Collection.

Data collection is considered one of the essential steps in the research journey. In the data collection process, the respondents were again reminded about the purpose of the interview. It was re-emphasised and that the research is for educational purposes and their identities will be protected. Ethical issues and the use of the recorder were discussed with the respondents. After the interviews, the researcher summarised the key collected data for analysis.

4.8.5. Data Collection Process.

Different data collection methods were used to get relevant data for the research. The researcher employed a qualitative data collection method with a quantitative case study design and used purposive sampling to conveniently choose groups of individuals who were likely to be knowledgeable and informative about the phenomenon of interest.

4.8.6. Secondary research.

Mouton (2001: 80) describes methodology as merely an operational framework within which the facts are placed to understand their meaning clearly. In this research study, qualitative methodologies and purposive sampling were used, and both primary and secondary data were collected. The secondary research method, also known as desk research, is the most common research method employed in the industry. It involves using data that another party has already collected. The researcher consulted and used existing data to conclude the research work.

The advantage of using secondary data is that the information is available and there is no need to use more resources for the research. It should be noted that the data used may be vague and outdated with inaccurate results. In this regard, the researcher overcame such challenges by focusing on the recent but limited data on the research that is being conducted. In this case, the data used was to develop an understanding of coalition government arrangements.

4.8.7. Published sources.

The researcher used several published sources in the research. The study used the journals (both electronic and hard copies) on coalitions for scholarly articles with evidence of benefits, challenges, and opportunities concerning coalition government.

Local and international textbooks, reports, theses, and periodicals on issues of the coalition government in and outside South Africa. Newspaper articles with different views from the politicians, editors, journalists and ordinary citizens were also used. Online data relating to the coalition government and specifically the City of Tshwane were used in the research. The researcher acknowledges that there is limited data relating to the coalition government.

4.8.8. Unpublished sources.

Unpublished sources are any information or paper that has not been released or is still in a draft state for publication (Mouton 2001: 88). Sources of literature from the secondary research included both published and unpublished sources such as internet and newspaper articles, which were found at physical and online libraries.

4.8.9. Primary research.

Primary research refers to the field data collection done directly or indirectly by the researcher on a phenomenon or subject (Ryerson, 2010). The study was conducted using in-depth interviews, which were done using the phone due to the covid-19 pandemic. Through the in-depth interviews, the researcher collected data relating to the coalition government in the city of Tshwane. This method allowed the researcher to understand the dynamics involved in the city pertaining to the topic. Using the interviews, the researcher was then also able to ask open-ended questions in a more relaxed atmosphere, and the process elicits depth of information from relatively few respondents.

The researcher created a very relaxed mood so that the respondents would feel comfortable. The interviews were primarily conducted in the evening after 20:00. This time was chosen because most people are in a more relaxed mood and there are fewer

disturbances that could interrupt the interviews. The time is also convenient to those who have children at home since most children are asleep, and it creates a better environment for the interview.

Interviews in semi-structured format require clarity and understanding. The responses were audio-recorded and complemented with written notes by the researcher. The researcher tried to create a relaxed environment in which respondents would feel free to express themselves about the issues of the coalition government. Respondents were also afforded space to express their opinions about the research and to make proposals on what they think should be the way forward in the future.

The interviews were conducted by the researcher with a sample size of 12 people allowing the objective of the study to be met. The target population was the leaders of the different political parties represented in the city of Tshwane, members of political parties, workers at the city, academics and analysts including ordinary citizens who are voters. The participants were interviewed in English though some would use the African language. The use of English in the interviews helped in the transcribing phase and those who used the African language were noted and their answers were translated into English. The African languages that were used were Xitsonga, Setswana, and Sepedi.

4.9. GENERAL PROCEDURE FOR INTERVIEWS.

A plan and process were developed for conducting interviews. The plan consisted of the following arrangements, period for the interviews, Planning, Tools for communication,

data collection, data analysis and disseminating the findings. The researcher has discussed the procedure and protocol in detail in chapter 1.

4.9.1. Period for the interviews.

The period set aside for the interviews was five months. This was done after looking at the number of respondents and their proximity to the researcher. The covid-19 pandemic disrupted the interview process as planned due to the regulations associated with the pandemic. The researcher had to cancel face-to-face interviews and opted for telephonic interviews. The time for the interviews planned was 30-45 minutes and the reason was that the researcher wanted to give the respondents sufficient time to express themselves. Some of the respondents would cancel the interviews at the last minute and most of the interviews had to be postponed to the unavailability of the respondents. The researcher had to exercise patience to ensure that the research is completed.

4.9.2. Planning.

Before conducting the interview, the researcher identified and listed key informants for the interview. The researcher then developed a sample of the respondents who would participate in the research. A sample is a group of relatively small people selected from a population for investigation purposes (Alvi, 2016). Daily, the researcher knew the respondents to talk to and then followed the plan though some would cancel or avail themselves a bit late.

4.9.3. Tools for communication.

The researcher informed respondents about the research, and it was emphasised that the study is for educational purposes and their identities will never be exposed at any given moment. Respondents were informed about the consent form, which stipulates the

details about the research project. The respondents were also announced that the discussion is being recorded and done only for the research.

4.9.4. Data Collection.

Data collection is considered one of the important steps in the research journey. In the data collection process, the respondents were again reminded about the purpose of the interview. It was re-emphasised and that research is for educational purpose and their identities will always be protected. Ethical issues were discussed with the respondents and the use of the recorder. After the interviews, the researcher summarized the key collected data for analysis.

4.10. LITERATURE STUDY.

The study used multiple sources of literature to discuss the objectives and answer the research questions. The literature has been discussed in detail in chapter 2 of the literature review.

4.11. TRUSTWORTHINESS OF QUALITATIVE DATA.

The most common techniques and principles adopted to check the trustworthiness of qualitative Data are the principles of trustworthiness, dependability, transferability, and credibility (Connelly, 2016). These aspects are discussed in the section below:

4.11.1. Dependability.

Dependability refers to the possibility that another researcher will duplicate the findings. The researcher employed an inquiry audit to establish dependability in this study, which

required another researcher to verify and review the research methodology and analyses used (Abdalla, Oliveira, Azevedo and Gonzalez, 2018). This was done to ensure that the study findings are consistent and reproducible.

4.11.2. Conformability.

Conformability refers to the degree of neutrality in the research findings. This means that the results rely on the participants' assumptions and interpretations and other research findings (Hadi and Closs, 2016). In this study, the researcher used various data sources such as in-depth interviews, observations, secondary reviews, and other related published documents on a coalition government. This means that the information gathered through interviews was compared to the data collected through documentary evidence and vice versa.

4.11.3. Transferability.

Transferability refers to the researcher's evaluation of whether their research findings may be applied to other circumstances or contexts. (Hadi and Closs, 2016.). This could apply to similar populations, situations, or concepts. The researcher used a broad description for the aim of this study to ensure that the findings apply to various circumstances and contexts.

4.12. DATA ANALYSIS.

According to Merriam (2002:126) and McMillan & Schumacher (2006), documentary data is an excellent data source for qualitative research since such data are available to ground an investigation in the context of the problem being solved. In qualitative

research, data analysis was conducted simultaneously with data collection, data interpretation and the narrative report Creswell (1994:153). Data analysis requires logical organizing of collected data based on the research problem, mainly guided by the research objectives. According to McMillan & Schumacher (2006:364), qualitative analysis is a systematic process of coding, categorizing, and interpreting data to provide explanations of the phenomenon of interest. For this study, data were analysed in a systematic coding, organizing, and interpreting data to give answers to the phenomenon of interest (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006:364). According to Maree, (2007:105), coding is a process of reading carefully through the transcribed data and dividing it into meaningful, analytical units.

This is an activity that provides clarity on how the data was read and looked to bring meaning. Data analysis is used to get order, structure, and meaning to the mass collected data. Data analysis aims to understand the various constructive elements of one's data through an inspection of the relationships between concepts, construct, or variables, and to see whether there are any patterns and trends that can be identified or isolated or to establish themes in the data (Mouton, 2001). The researcher broke up the data into manageable themes, patterns, trends, and relationships in data analysis. Mouton (2001) further states that data analysis aims to understand the various constitutive elements of one's data through an inspection of the relationships between concepts, constructs of variables, and to see whether there are any patterns or trends that can be identified or isolated or to establish themes in the data.

4.13. DATA ANALYSIS PROCESS.

The researcher recorded the interviews and created a written text for each interview. Each interview was conducted separately and written on a piece of paper to get familiar with the data quickly. In line with the protection of the identity of the respondents, the identities of the respondents were removed from the transcripts and even in the notes written, their identities were not indicated. The researcher did this to have the knowledge and understanding of the data as soon as possible. The researcher followed the following logic for data analysis.

1. Knowledge of the data.

The data that has been collected through recordings were written down. The researcher started to make sense of the data and make the data easier to study. Key points of the data were recorded down as they provided valuable information needed.

2. Data coding.

This step involves looking at the data and making sense out of it. In this stage, the researcher is then able to get themes and codes in the data. In this case, the researcher used coloured pens and pencils to identify these and codes.

3. Themes with broader patterns and meaning.

Data coding made the identification of themes easier for the researcher. Using the coloured pens and pencils helped the researcher to identify the themes quickly. Therefore, in this logic, the researcher could get the broader themes and sub-themes and their meaning.

4. Providing context of the themes.

Themes were created to provide the structure of the research-based data collected. Data collected had to align with the themes as discussed in the coding exercise.

5. Report writing.

Based on the logic outlined from knowledge of the data, the researcher began writing the research report.

4.14. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

Ethical choices involve a compromise or trade-off between the interests and the rights of different parties in interaction. The right to research data or data collection does not give the right to the researcher or scientist to abuse the right to privacy of the studied subject or interviewees. Ethical considerations were always adhered to in this study. The researcher was granted permission to contact the participants by the Knowledge Management Department of the City of Tshwane and the confirmation letter was sent to the researcher. Approval to conduct the study was also granted by the North-West University.

The research did not involve any vulnerable groups in the study. Due to that, no potential risks were identified nor expected. There was no need to seek post-interview counselling.

Participants were informed that their participation was voluntary and would not be required to use their resources or any expenses while participating in the research. The

participants did not incur any costs as that has been the responsibility of the researcher. It was emphasised that participants might withdraw from the study if they felt uncomfortable as their participation was voluntary, but none of the participants withdrew from the research.

The researcher followed the ethical protocols to protect the participant's confidentiality. The researcher maintained the highest level of anonymity to the respondents, ethical handling of the data by keeping it classified and away from unauthorized access and upholding human dignity throughout the process. Before the data collection starts, the participants were briefed on the purpose of the study and were encouraged to participate with guarantees of absolute privacy and independence.

Before the commencement of the interviews, the participants were given consent forms that they willingly signed, having also made assurances if they understood the contents. The study adheres to the ethical standards of the North-West University.

4.15. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY.

This study had the following limitations:

(i) The Covid-19 pandemic.

Covid-19 has affected the plan relating to face-to-face interviews. The researcher had to comply with the covid-19 protocols and regulations that the government imposes. In that regard, the researcher had to resort to telephone interviews.

(ii) Delays from respondents.

The researcher experienced delays from the respondents making themselves available for the interview. Some would cancel at the last minute, or their phones would be off when called by the researcher. Sometimes, the respondents would postpone since they were not alone. Some of the respondents would delay the interview by days, and that created frustrations for the researcher. The researcher had to exercise extreme patience with the interviewees until the process was completed.

4.16. CONCLUSION.

The purpose of this chapter was to provide an overview of the methods and techniques that were used to address the research question which was formulated for this research. The methods used and the data analysis for the study was explained. The qualitative research method with purposive sampling was used for this study. The chapter provided a detailed strategy that was used to collect data. Ethical considerations and the limitations of the study were explained in detail.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION.

5.1 INTRODUCTION.

In this study, the researcher endeavoured to understand coalition government broadly and specifically at the City of Tshwane. The researcher had to get information about the activities involved in forming the coalitions and managing them regularly. This chapter presents the data, the discussions, and the research findings on the study's objectives about the coalition government. This chapter provides the process of bringing order, structure, and meaning to the mass of collected data.

Data analysis was done using logical organizing of collected data based on the research problem and mainly guided by the research objectives. According to McMillan & Schumacher (2006:364), qualitative analysis is a systematic coding, categorizing, and interpreting data to explain the phenomenon of interest. According to Maree (2007:105), coding is reading carefully through the transcribed data and dividing it into meaningful, analytical tools.

5.2. THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF DATA.

The following themes are drawn from the research questions:

- (i) What factors influence the formation of coalition governments at the local government level in South Africa?
- (ii) What are the factors that contribute to instability and conflicts in a coalition?
- (iii) In what way have stakeholders reacted to the formation of the coalition government in the City of Tshwane?
- (iv) Which framework can be developed to guide the establishment and functioning of coalition government in South Africa?

Data is presentation is guided by the interpretation of the transcript, using the thematic analysis in line with the study's objectives.

Table 5.1 Themes and subthemes for the research

Themes	Sub-themes
1. Factors affecting coalition government in the City of Tshwane	<p>Sub-theme 1: Avoid election rerun and formation of Coalition government</p> <p>Sub-theme 2: Unavailability of outright political party winner</p> <p>Sub-theme 3: Need to govern and render public services</p>
2. Instability and conflicts in a coalition	<p>Sub-theme 1: Dishonesty and conflicts in a coalition</p> <p>Sub-theme 2: Lack of rules and regulations in coalitions</p> <p>Sub-theme 3: Inadequate citizen consultation & Limited accountability in coalition governments</p>
3. Citizen's reaction towards coalitions government	<p>Sub-theme 1: Abused in elections</p> <p>Sub-theme 2: Inadequate citizen consultation on coalition formation</p> <p>Sub-theme 3: Limited accountability in coalition governments</p>

<p>4. Perceptions of academics, analysts, political commentator</p>	<p>Sub-theme 1: Process of the formation of a coalition agreement</p> <p>Sub-theme 2: Recurring ideological conflicts in Coalitions</p> <p>Sub-theme 3: Poor conflict management in coalition</p> <p>Sub-theme 4: Poor service delivery & Coalitions</p> <p>Subtheme 5: Coalition negotiations and citizens ‘abuse’</p>
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Source (Author 2021)

5.2.1 Theme 1: Factors affecting coalition government in the City of Tshwane

5.2.1. Sub-theme 1: Formation of Coalition government

Gautam (2018) notes that a coalition government involves multiple political parties working together to achieve unanimous decision-making, mainly forming a government, or conceptualising different public policies. As alluded to in literature, coalitions are not a new phenomenon in the governance establishment. Examples of coalitions are found in the UK, USA, Western Europe, India, and African countries such as Kenya, Mozambique, Malawi Lesotho, and South Africa. The study participants were asked regarding their views on the formation coalition government in the City of Tshwane. One of the participants, KI 1, states that:

The electoral systems and voter patterns can determine how citizens are supposed to be governed depending on the outcome of the results of the elections.

The loss of dominance by the ANC in South Africa has contributed to forming a coalition government. Since 1994, the ANC has been a dominant political party that was consistently winning the votes. The loss of support of the ANC has brought some opposition parties like the DA, EFF, IFP, UDM, FF+, PA and other political parties into the picture. In 2016, South Africa observed the ANC's drop-in support in Johannesburg, Nelson Mandela Bay, Ekurhuleni, and Tshwane. The loss of voter support by the ANC brought coalition government as there was no majority winner during the 2016 Local Government elections in those metros.

5.2.2. Sub-theme 2: Unavailability of outright political party winner

After the first democratic elections in 1994, South Africa had the Government of National Unity (GNU), which brought leaders of different political parties together to form a government. The major political parties at the time, the ANC, NP and the IFP, were the leading players in the GNU. The arrangements in the GNU were that Mr. Nelson Mandela became the president of South Africa, while Mr. De Klerk was one of the deputy presidents and Mr. Buthelezi became the Minister of Home Affairs. This background is essential in understanding why coalitions were formed in the City of Tshwane. Following the local government elections, no outright winner was found; hence, various parties agreed to form a coalition government. As noted by one of the participants:

The situation in the city of Tshwane was dire as the election indicated that no winner would run the city; hence there was a need for open discussion to see the way forward (KI 2).

While commenting on the same issues, **KI 3** elaborated that:

It would require political parties to compromise and negotiate their way to agree to form a government.

Clearly from this assertion, it can be noted that the unavailability of an outright winner triggers the formation of the coalition government in South African municipalities. Although these findings are not surprising, it has become common that political parties would emerge to form a coalition government soon after local government elections, as winning outright is a challenge due to changing voters' perceptions. The findings corroborate the social contract theory that states that partners in a contract must be united and work together to achieve an objective.

Similarly, the conclusion resembles the democratic theory, which highlights those citizens have the right to choose what they want, which explains how voters' interests can determine to vote for political office bearers. The study of Weible *et al.* (2019) confirms that a coalition government is established whenever there is no specific winner in an election. Usually, parties that form a coalition can have a standard set of beliefs and values that help glue the partnership together. Their study confirmed that the unavailability of an outright winner predominantly affects the government of municipalities and central government globally. This is because power-sharing negotiation may work well or worse depending on the mood of the deciding political party. Therefore, in the South African context, what is learned is that in urban metros such as the City of Tshwane, the coalition government is inevitable due to voters' dynamic interests.

5.2.3. Sub-theme 3: Need to govern and render services.

The study of Basi (2017) holds that coalition governments are formed in states whenever the electorate could not get a single winner. In most cases, coalitions are established to avoid rerunning an election as it results in funds wastage. The participants were asked about the formation of a coalition agreement in the city of Tshwane. The respondents and politicians from other political parties except the ANC were happy that the ANC did not get many seats in Tshwane to form a government. The other parties were pleased that the ANC would not be in the position to oversee the city. Other political parties had a familiar opponent in the ANC, and they wanted to form a government without the ANC at all costs. One of the politicians said:

We knew that our time has come to oversee the capital city, and we did not want the ANC anywhere near political power in the city of Tshwane (KI 4).

It should be noted from these findings that the merging of various political parties isolating the ANC made it easier for the coalition agreement to take place in the city of Tshwane. Most politicians thought that there was a possibility of coalitions or some party-to-party arrangements. They observed this when the ANC was divided before the local government elections over the mayoral candidate process. Politicians from other parties confirmed that they loved it when the ANC was divided over the mayoral candidate because they had to exploit that opportunity to make inroads in Tshwane.

The analysis of findings has shown that various factors trigger the formation of the coalition government in the City of Tshwane. Following the general local government

election, no outright winner emerged; hence political parties converged to form a coalition government that would direct the daily functioning of the municipality.

5.2.2 Theme 2: Instability and conflicts in a coalition in the City of Tshwane.

5.2.4. Sub-theme 1: Dishonesty and conflicts in a coalition.

Coalitions are characterised by dishonesty and, to a certain extent, betrayal of the partners. According to Timmermans (2003), coalitions are described as “incomplete contracts”. The argument is premised on the notion that coalition agreements are not legally enforceable. There are few mechanisms available to restrain coalition partners from dishonouring the coalition agreement. As noted in the literature, there are no guarantees in a coalition agreement which becomes a prominent source of instability. The indispensable feature is that it is essentially a form of cooperation between two political parties or groups not because of what they desire but because the voters are compelled to do so.

The study revealed that in Tshwane, the political parties in a coalition had a typical ‘enemy,’ which was the ANC, and the focus was only to isolate the ANC and remove it from power at all costs. Although a coalition government was formed, many disputes triggered massive instability in the metro. Commenting on the availability of flux, one participant KI 8 holds explains:

Instability is caused by the fact that we hardly agree on many issues and remember that we are political opponents and differences will always be there. We agree on an issue-to-issue basis, so disagreements will always be there (KI 8).

Another participant added:

Whenever we wanted to formulate a new policy or pass a budget, we fought to terminate the meeting without concluding. These fights have created a lot of confusion and instability as each party in a coalition fight to be recognized (KI 9).

While the issue of disagreement is rampant in the coalition government, one of the participants confirms the dangers of coalition fight when he states that:

Instability is caused by the fact that we hardly agree on many issues and remember that we are political opponents and differences will always be there. We agree on an issue-to-issue basis and disagreements will always be there (KI 9).

The findings above are not surprising given the nature of coalition governments. This is because citizens who vote for the political parties are based on the manifesto presented during the campaigns; hence political party existence is based on beliefs and ideologies. Further instability in coalition governments is triggered by different political ideologies which distinguish political parties from others. Thus, the battle for supremacy often emerges as coalition partners seek to maintain their identities. The findings showed political instability in the City of Tshwane between the DA and the EFF regarding other policy and budgeting matters. Nevertheless, to ensure that services are rendered, both parties put their ideological differences aside and worked together in the city of Tshwane. Wherever there are ideological differences, there will always be conflict and that has been the case with the city of Tshwane.

The city of Tshwane has been characterised by instability and disagreements amongst political parties themselves, especially those who were in a coalition. Due to the differences amongst coalition partners, the budget of the city of Tshwane could not be passed. Members of the political parties in a coalition spend a lot of time dealing with

their differences rather than dealing with issues that affect ordinary citizens. Malkamark (2021) confirmed this discussion, which laments over the instability that emerged from coalitions and how it can derail service provision in communities. However, the same study argues that competing coalitions can stabilize policymaking while hindering policy changes that may trigger development in state institutions. Therefore, the formation of the coalition in South African metros should not be regarded as a bad thing instead; it can be viewed as a positive image as a coalition government can promote accountability in the manner in which public funds are used.

5.2.5. Sub-theme 2: Lack of rules and regulation in coalitions.

Scholars argue that for the coalition to function effectively, there is a need to have legally binding agreements that ensure that rules and regulations are followed when governing the municipalities run through a coalition. This is a crucial step in avoiding severe disputes that may cripple the capacity of municipalities to function effectively. One of the participants agree that:

Coalitions should have rules and regulations that govern them and be made legal (KI 1).

Commenting on the same issues, other participants P2 & P3 added that:

Coalition agreements should be drafted to regulate how coalitions should be governed. The coalition agreements should be legal so that noncompliance should be a punishable offense.

While the politics handbook does not contain specific rules or regulations to guide coalition government, there is a need to develop a framework for governing coalition governments in South Africa to guide coalition partners. The finding above has shown

that some political parties subscribe to the notion of a coalition government with various intentions ranging from selfish gains, fixing the ruling party, or derailing service delivery. The event in the City of Tshwane following the formation of coalition government indicates the dangers of coalition government as citizens are left vulnerable at times with no or poor services being rendered. This is contrary to the Social Contract Theory, which stipulates the need for coalition partners to have a joint agreement that is created towards achieving the objectives of an institution. The above discussions corroborate the study of Weible and Ingold (2018), which revealed that coalitions should have the same position when it comes to political engagement and push for change in the institutions they govern. This resonates well with the claims of many politicians who promised the citizen to govern in good faith when they entered the coalition, although keeping such promises may be difficult in the long run. Arguments are put forward in literature as to who will direct the functioning of a coalition government. When the coalition began in South Africa, citizens thought it was a once-off thing, however, since it is a repeated occurrence, the coalition government needs to be governed towards improving the governance of local municipalities in South Africa.

5.2.6. Sub-theme 3: Inadequate citizen consultation & Limited accountability in coalition governments.

The study's findings reflected that limited citizen consultation triggers a state of untrustworthy as citizens feel betrayed and ignored by their political leaders. Citizens think that there is inadequate communication between them and the politicians. The communication relates to coalitions and service delivery inefficiencies such as

provisioning of water, free wifi, power cuts, load shedding, the closure of some roads. In most instances, citizens would only hear of conflict and instability in the council meetings through the media and not their elected representatives. Participants KI 1 & 2 noted that:

Citizens are frustrated by the events as they always get reports of conflict in the coalition's governance. They don't know who is in charge and they have difficulty in understanding the concept of coalitions.

Citizens feel that the governance of municipalities is failing them because they don't hear positive things coming from the city. They always hear about conflicts and misunderstandings amongst political party leadership (KI 4).

The truth is citizens are only needed when it is elections time, and they are rarely involved in the coalitions. In some way, *“political parties have been using citizens to gain seats in municipalities and later dumped them (KI 5).*

As noted in the findings above, service delivery is compromised in a coalition because coalition partners spend most of the time dealing with coalition challenges at the expense of service delivery. Citizens are at the receiving end as they do not know who oversees the council and makes major decisions.

Based on the findings above, the researcher noted that something should be done politically to create stability in Tshwane as conflicts adversely affect service delivery. Arguably, the coalition challenges in the city of Tshwane are not just unique to Tshwane only. The researcher argues that some basic principles should be done when coalition governments must be established. Most challenges encountered in coalitions would be traced back to how these coalitions are formed and their intentions. This research believes that there should be clear guidelines that should be set out to regulate how

coalitions are formulated. The guidelines should develop clear rules that should govern the existence of coalitions.

5.2.7. Theme 3: Perceptions of academics, analysts, key citizen, political commentators on coalition government.

To explore deeper into the formation and running of the coalition government, the researcher interviewed the above-mentioned stakeholders who were not directly part of the City of Tshwane but had some information on coalitions.

5.2.7.1. Sub-theme 1: Views of stakeholders on coalition governments.

There was a common enemy, the ANC in Tshwane, before and after the local government elections in 2016. That should not be construed as there were alliances that were formed before the polls. There was a sense that there was a possibility that there might not be a majority winner in the city of Tshwane. As the political parties were campaigning and the election day was getting closer, there was a possibility of a coalition agreement to be formed. There is consensus amongst politicians that they did not have knowledge about the dynamics involved in coalitions. All they wanted was an arrangement that would isolate the ANC from political power. Some politicians advance the argument that it is not necessarily a coalition but a voting agreement. In some instances, some political parties would define the arrangement as “a relationship which is based on an issue-to-issue basis.” In this case, political parties will work together based on the issue that is on the table.

Nevertheless, the experiences learned in the City of Tshwane coalition revealed that coalition partners are not to be trusted. This is because the relationship is associated with bullying, intimidation, and conflicts. One of the participants, KI 3,5 & 6, confirm that:

Some would say, yes, we have an agreement that is not permanent as it is based on an issue discussed at the time.

Some coalition partners are not genuine when they enter a coalition as they join a coalition to disrupt the programmes and meetings (KI 7).

Coalition partners do not share the same philosophy. Some coalition partners would make unrealistic demands to the other partners (KI 9).

The finding above confirms the literature for this study which revealed that disagreements are common in most coalitions; hence they should be managed to realize adequate service provision. The coalition in the City of Tshwane was ever in conflict as the two main political parties EFF and DA, differ in ideology and policy frameworks. Those disputes resulted in the City of Tshwane being placed under administration owing to poor service delivery. Although the democratic theory advocated for participation in governance issues, the findings have shown that coalitions are not democratic as partners bully one another to achieve their party objectives.

5.2.7.2. Sub-theme 2: Recurring ideological conflicts in Coalitions.

The analyses of findings have revealed that the City of Tshwane has been characterised by instability and disagreements amongst political parties themselves. Conflicts marred many council meetings to the extent of failing to approve a budget due to ideological and managerial misunderstandings amongst political parties in the coalition government. The findings reflected further that members of different political parties in the coalition spend a lot of time dealing with the differences in a coalition rather than dealing with issues that affect the ordinary citizens on the ground. There are more discussions about making a coalition strong than dealing with real challenges of the people. Members of the coalition

are primarily focusing their attention on the coalition than focusing on the responsibilities of the metro. Participants **KI 5, 2, 8 & 9** confirm that:

Instability is caused by disagreements that are influenced by political ideologies and misunderstandings amongst political parties. Political party representations were not involved in the negotiations for coalitions and that creates problems. There is generally a lack of cooperation amongst political parties in the coalition. The instability in the coalition affects the governance of the municipality negatively.

As noted in the above findings, disagreements in coalitions are a common occurrence that require partners to find a common ground to improve service delivery. In most cases, disputes erupt due to ideological differences and policy approaches. As noted in the past, such conflicts adversely affect the City of Tshwane's capacity to render quality services. Commenting on the dangers of coalition disagreements, one participant's KI 9 states that:

Some city meetings did not occur because some people in the coalition had an issue with their coalition partner. Crucial decisions could not be taken because another coalition partner was not happy with certain topics discussed at the coalition.

In this case, the views of various stakeholders point to the negative impact of coalition disagreements and how they hinder effective service delivery. The study of Basi (2017) holds the same view that conflict in the coalition government is fast becoming cancer that derails communities from receiving quality services as budgets are not passed in time to allow service provision. Further, these findings contradict the Social Contract theory, which advocated for a contractual agreement if a coalition is to function

effectively. Therefore, it remains the duty of coalition partners to ensure that apart from council disputes, community service delivery must be emphasised.

5.2.7.3. Sub-theme 3: Limited public participation in coalitions.

The examination of literature sources pointed out that citizens have limited participation in coalition matters. This is the duty of the political leaders to decide who they should forge a coalition partner with at the expense of the voters. The study's findings have shown that leaders of the political parties acknowledge that there is little or no consultation with the ordinary voters when matters of coalition governments are being discussed. Another respondent said:

Some leaders maintain that they must make decisions on behalf of their members as they are the ones who have been elected to represent them in government.

KI 10 states that:

Look, there is very little time to consult people as events might overtake us. The public is overlooked when issues of agreements or coalitions are discussed. We have a way to make them aware after all is done as we are their leaders.

There is an acknowledgement by the politicians that the formation of coalitions and agreements can frustrate ordinary voters. They do not know what is happening in governance as their political party leaders have joined forces with other political parties with which they were competing during the elections.

5.2.7.4. Sub-theme 4: Service delivery and management in coalitions.

There is too much focus on managing the coalition than achieving service delivery to the people. Results revealed that coalition partners in the City of Tshwane were more

focused on maintaining the coalition than dealing with service delivery issues. As a result, many communities protested over service delivery as the coalition partners were nursing their disputes compared to rendering public goods and services. It is said that whenever coalitions partners quarrel, they tend to lose focus which triggers many service delivery challenges. One of the participants commented that:

Fighting at high-ranking meetings is regular in this municipality. It takes more time to agree on simple issues (KI 8).

Political parties only need our votes and then they go and enter coalitions with the people we did not vote for. As citizens, we suffer from these coalitions as there is no service delivery (KI,2,6).

The above findings point directly to governance challenges that ultimately affect service delivery in local municipalities. The study results revealed that lack of experience is another obstacle affecting the smooth running of a coalition government in the City of Tshwane. On of participants KI 4 & 5 state that:

Municipal councillors and public managers lack the experience to deal with the challenges associated with the coalition government. There is consensus that the mistakes made by the formation of the coalitions are influenced by the fact that coalitions are new, and they are experiencing it for the first time (KI 10).

Although findings point out that coalitions are a new phenomenon in South Africa, the lack of willpower and commitment to work together predominantly affects the effective functioning of the coalition. These results corroborate a study by Whittaker and Martin (2021), which revealed opposition parties in coalitions often experience tensions that emanate from policy and implementation strategies. These sentiments are evidenced in the study area as policy disputes and how policies should be implemented have dominated political debates in the recent past. Therefore, it is clear from this ensuing

discussion that service delivery may suffer from coalition disputes. It demands political parties to respect each other and tolerate one another over a common goal of rendering services to communities.

5.2.7.5. Sub-theme 5: coalition negotiations and citizen's 'abuse'.

When ANC lost power in 2016 in the City of Tshwane, the citizen had mixed reactions regarding the future of service delivery. The establishment of a coalition after the local government elections headed by DA shows the extent of citizen dissatisfaction with service delivery by the former ANC party (Nkomo, 2017). The study's findings revealed that a coalition in the City of Tshwane is imposed by the election results, which force the different political parties to work together. The negotiations and establishment of coalitions happened immediately after the announcement of the results of the elections. Citizen outcry regarding the outcome of elections indicates a power shift from the traditional knowledge that ANC will govern major metros leaving minority parties to lead smaller parties. One of the participants claims that:

Whenever there is a coalition government, citizens are at the receiving end as they remain confused about what will happen to the state of service delivery in the communities (KI 10).

While citizens themselves have the unintended power to impose coalitions through divided votes, they have no actual power to decide which party should form a coalition after the elections. In most cases, leaders of political parties made the sound decision without consulting the voters on what they thought should be done to ensure that municipalities have leadership. This is a massive gap in coalitions as citizens only

needed to vote, but what happened after that remains the supreme decisions of the elected in power. One of the participants consented to this understanding that:

The painful part about the coalition is that they are decided by the very people you would have voted in power without considering the people who made that happen (KI 6).

Citizens are not consulted in the formation of coalitions. We are their leaders, and they choose us to represent them (KI 2).

In global democracies, this is a common phenomenon as coalitions are usually created quickly in response to the dictates of the electoral bodies. The nature of elections in South Africa requires committed parties to decide how they should govern; hence deadlines quickly may affect the relationship of voters and elected officials. The former may feel cheated or betrayed when it comes to the coalition government. The political events that unfolded in the City of Tshwane in 2016 made citizens react differently to establishing a coalition government. However, their input has been insignificant despite the importance of votes. As alluded to in the literature, negotiations start immediately after the election results, and this privilege is only for political leaders. As explained before in chapter two, it appears as if there is little or no time to consult with the members of the political parties and voters when these coalitions are established. The study of Hanebe & Malinzi (2019) revealed whenever a coalition government is formed; leaders take decisions on behalf of the voters, and the political leadership applies the top-down approach. Therefore, voters are left in the dark when the coalitions are being discussed. Every negotiation, sacrifices are made, including shifting from party policy ideology to suit coalition demands.

5.3. Conclusion.

The objective of this chapter was to provide the findings from the data analysis responding to the research objectives as set in the research proposal. This chapter aimed to respond to the primary research objectives that seek to assess the impact of the coalition government in the city of Tshwane after the 2016 local government elections. The chapter further discussed the reasons for instability in coalitions and the citizen's perceptions about the coalition government. Specific areas that create challenges in the alliance were identified and explained: lack of political ideology when entering a coalition, identification of the common enemy, no consultation with citizens when coalitions are being done, and continuous instability amongst coalition partners. The next chapter focuses on the conclusion and the recommendations.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

6.1. INTRODUCTION.

This chapter discusses the objectives of the study and the recommendations based on the findings and conclusions described in the previous chapter. In this chapter, the summary of the chapters is discussed. This chapter focuses on the objectives which the study seeks to achieve. The objectives of the study were the following:

6.2. Analysing the factors contributing to the formation of coalition governments at the local government level in South Africa.

6.2.1. Formation of coalitions.

Gautam (2018) notes that a coalition government involves multiple political parties working together to achieve unanimous decision-making, mainly forming a government, or conceptualizing different public policies. As alluded in the literature, coalitions are not a new phenomenon in body politic, they have been in existence in UK, USA, Western Europe, India, and some African countries.

The decline of the ANC's support base opened an opportunity for other political parties to like the DA, EFF, IFP, UDM, FF+ and PA to become role players in the formations of coalitions in South Africa. As the support of the ANC was dropping the numbers for other parties were going up which gave them an opportunity to garner sufficient votes to have seats at the local government.

6.2.2. The unavailability of an outright winner.

The formation of coalitions is influenced by not having an outright winner in the elections. Different political parties would contest elections but fail to get a majority of 50 plus 1 which gives them the right to form a government. Due to the unavailability of an outright winner, political parties combine their votes to make a majority of 50 plus 1 to form a government. The coming together of the different political parties to form a government is called a coalition agreement.

The formation of coalitions is not based on an ideology and policy positions. In the City of Tshwane, different political parties came together to form a coalition because they were united in ensuring that the ANC is isolated and does not gain power. Parties had a common factor that brings them together which was the ANC.

The study found that coalitions are imposed on the politicians by the voters because they are determined by the election's outcome. Different political parties which are opposed to each other are forced by circumstances to work together to form a government through a coalition. Coalitions would therefore require cooperation and understanding since coalition partners have their political ideologies and policy positions.

6.2.3. Coalitions, and party elites.

Coalition discussions and formations are handled by the political parties at the highest level. The coalition agreements and positions are agreed upon by the national leaders and they are imposed on the local leadership for implementation. Party members, supporters and voters are not involved in the coalition processes, and they are mostly left in the dark. The voter is only required to vote, and governance matters are left to the

party elite. On matters relating to the formation of coalitions, political parties adopt a top-down approach on its members and local representatives of these parties.

6.2.4. Management of coalitions.

As outlined earlier in this research, there is too much focus on managing coalitions at the expense of service delivery. Results revealed that coalition partners in the City of Tshwane were more focused on maintaining the coalition than dealing with service delivery issues. Municipal councillors and public managers lack the experience to deal with the challenge associated with coalition government. This is informed by the fact that coalitions are new, and managers and politicians are experiencing it for the first time. The findings reveal that it is difficult for the coalition partners to work together, and these affects the functioning of coalition governments.

Political parties have different policy programmes which are outlined in their elections manifestos. When political parties are in government, they want their policies to be implemented to fulfil their mandatory responsibilities to the voters. Conflicts and misunderstandings arise because political parties in a coalition are unable to develop a joint and coherent policy programme to deliver to the citizens. The inability to develop clear policy programmes creates challenges in the management of coalitions.

6.3. Examining the factors that contribute to instability and conflict in a coalition.

6.3.1. Dishonesty and conflict in coalitions.

According to Timmermans (2003) coalitions are described as 'incomplete contract'. Coalitions are characterised by dishonesty and betrayal of the partners even though they are incomplete contracts. Coalition agreements are not legally enforceable. There are no clear guidelines that regulates coalition partners. It has been a common factor for some coalition partners to frustrate each other instead of working together. The City of Tshwane struggled to pass a budget because some coalition partners deliberately wanted to frustrate the process. The study has also established that coalition partners in City of Tshwane hardly agree on several matters and that became the source of conflict in the city. Coalition partners in the City of Tshwane spent a lot of time addressing coalition issues rather than dealing with core issues of service delivery.

6.3.2. Lack of rules and regulations for coalitions.

Coalitions do not have a set of rules and guidelines to be adhered to by the partners. The coalition agreements that are established have no legal status which means that they are not binding to the partners. Partners in a coalition may at any given time violate the coalition agreement and there would be no consequences since they are not legally binding. Coalitions do not have a life span. There are instances where coalition partners would leave a coalition at any given time which leave the coalition partner frustrated. There is no starting and ending time for coalitions which creates instability in the governance of the municipalities.

6.3.3. Ideological coherence.

The existence of a political party is based on an ideology. Political parties contest elections to advance their ideologies while they are in government. Political ideologies differentiate parties from each other because ideologies define the character of political parties. The establishment of coalitions in the City of Tshwane was based on the isolation of the ANC which was the common enemy and it was not an ideological decision. The research has established that political parties would ignore their ideological character for the sake of participating in the coalition. Conflicting parties ideologically can enter in a coalition irrespective of their background and set of beliefs and values. This research has found that ideological differences are the source of conflict and instability amongst coalition partners. Coalition partners have a challenge to balance their involvement in a coalition and keeping their identity and character as a political party with their own identity. The literature for this study reveals that coalition in the City of Tshwane was mostly in conflict as the main two political parties DA and EFF differ in ideology and policy frameworks.

6.4. To investigate the perception of the citizens towards a coalition government.

6.4.1. Insufficient consultation with the citizens.

As stated earlier, coalition agreements and negotiations are done by the political elites at the highest level of political parties. There are no citizen consultations by the political leaders and that creates the state of untrustworthy between politicians and the citizens. There are no clear lines of communication between the citizens and politicians on matters of governance and coalitions.

Leaders feel that they have the authority to decide for the electorate on matters of coalitions. To the political leaders, voting for a party means giving party leaders to decide on any matter including formation of coalitions without consulting the voters. Whenever coalitions governments are formed, leaders take decisions on behalf of the voters, and the political leadership applies a top-down approach. Politicians do not report on matters relating to coalitions to the electorate. Apart from the media, citizens are left in the dark on matters of governance of municipalities and mainly coalitions. Citizens feel that the coalitions are failing them because they do not hear anything positive coming from the coalition government except negative media reports about infighting and instability in the coalition governments.

Citizens vote for political parties based on their manifesto and policy positions. They feel betrayed when their parties enter coalitions with their political opponents without them being consulted. This creates a situation where voters feel that their votes have been wasted and given to a party that they did not vote for. Some voters end up not trusting politicians anymore since they feel that politicians take their votes and give them to their political opponents whom they were advised not to vote for during the election campaigns.

6.4.2. Coalitions and service delivery.

As outlined earlier, there are no clear lines of communication between the citizens and politicians on matters of coalition governments in the municipalities in South Africa's local government level. Basic issues of service delivery are not communicated to the citizens by coalition partners. Citizens are left frustrated on matters relating to service delivery provisioning such as water, free wifi, power cuts, load-shedding and the closure of some

roads. Due to the fact there is no consultation with the citizens on coalition arrangements, politicians do not account to the citizens as expected. As noted in the research findings, service delivery is compromised in these coalitions because there is no consultation and coalition partners spend most of the time managing coalitions at the expense of service delivery.

6.4.3. Stakeholders and coalition governments.

The leadership crisis within the ANC prior to the elections in 2016 gave the political role players an idea that there can be a possibility of a coalition government in the City of Tshwane. There is consensus amongst politicians that that they did not have a better idea about the dynamics involved in coalitions. All that was needed was an arrangement that would isolate the ANC from political power. Some politicians advance an argument that it is not necessarily a coalition but a voting arrangement which is an issue-issue based. In this case political parties work together based on the issue that is on the table at the time. Based on the experiences learned in the City of Tshwane, coalition revealed that coalition partners are not to be trusted. This is because coalition arrangements are associated with bullying, intimidation, and conflicts. Coalition partners do not share the same philosophy hence some coalition partners would make unrealistic demands to the coalition partners.

6.4.4. To develop a framework to guide the establishment of coalition governments.

Literature provided in this research has revealed that coalitions are a new phenomenon in the South African political setting. They are facilitated by political elites and the people on the ground are not involved in the process. The establishment of coalitions has

brought instability and conflict in the different metros in South Africa. Citizens are not consulted on matters of coalition establishment. This study has developed a framework for coalitions which is outlined at the end of this chapter.

6.5. RECOMMENDATIONS.

6.5.1. Political stability.

It is recommended that political parties find ways to manage their factions and differences so that they are not compromised or lose support during the elections. Upper structures or levels (Provincial and national leadership) in the organizations must consider the views of local leaders when they make decisions. In the case of Tshwane, Thoko Didiza was imposed on the ANC in Tshwane and that was received with resistance from the local people. Political parties should constantly consult with their branches to better understand the issues happening on the ground. Political parties should do regular analysis of the feeling of the citizens concerning political parties and government leadership. This would assist them in making an informed decision that the people would accept.

6.5.2. Political education.

The coalition has become popular in South Africa after the 2016 local government elections, even though they have been there since 1994. It has become evident that most citizens have little or no idea about coalitions and coalition government. The IEC and the political parties should take the responsibility of educating the citizens about coalition governments. Citizens should be made aware that there will be a coalition government if there is no outright winner in the elections. Political education will create

public awareness among the citizens about coalition governments and their role at the local government level.

6.6.3 Coalition agreement.

Coalition partners should develop a framework that will determine how they are going to be working. They should agree on a set of rules and regulations that would guide their coalition. The rules set out should provide details on the conduct or behaviour of the coalition partners. There should be a clear understanding of the roles of the political parties in a coalition. There should be a senior partner and a junior partner in a coalition. The achievements of the city should be credited to the city and not to a specific political party.

6.5.3. The voters.

Democracy incorporates, openness, transparency, and accountability. Voters should be informed of the activities surrounding the establishment of coalitions. Voters associate democracy with honesty, transparency and accountability and they expect their leaders to be open, transparent and accountable for their actions. Irrespective of the decisions taken when a coalition (which might involve compromising) is formed, voters feel that they should be informed of such decisions. The voters should know areas where political parties have agreed on policy issues and compromise

6.5.4. Service delivery.

The local sphere of government is the one that is closer to the people, and it has the responsibility of providing basic services. Coalitions should have a particular focus on delivering essential services to the people. Improving the delivery of service is principally

about improving the efficiency and effectiveness of the services provided. When political parties form a coalition, they should have a clear plan to maximize service delivery to the people.

6.6. FRAMEWORK FOR COALITIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

6.6.1. Coalition agreement should be legal.

In case there is no outright winner after the elections, political parties are expected to come together and form a coalition to form a government. The negotiations among political parties would culminate in forming a coalition agreement that will ultimately conclude the construction of a coalition government. To avoid instability in the coalition agreement, there is a need to publish the coalition agreements in the gazette to ensure that there are clear legal guidelines that govern coalitions. Coalition partners should behave within the set legal policies that govern coalitions. A set of rules and regulations should be established to regulate the conduct of the coalition partners. Mechanisms for non-compliance with the coalition agreement should be developed.

6.6.2. Service delivery.

Coalitions should mainly be based on service delivery orientation. Coalition negotiations and ultimate agreements should be focused on the goal of delivering services to the people. Negotiators for the establishment of coalitions should prioritize the delivery of services. Coalition partners should develop time frames for the delivery services in their term of office. Coalitions should have short-, medium- and long-term goals on service delivery issues.

6.6.3. Transparency.

The wishes of the electorate should guide coalition formation. The party that received the most significant votes should be part of the coalition discussions. Elected representatives get their mandate from the voters; hence political parties should be transparent with the voters about the details of the coalition agreements. Elected representatives should be open and transparent with the voters so that they should not feel betrayed.

Coalition partners should be transparent with each other to avoid unnecessary conflicts and disputes. As co-leaders in the municipality, they should constantly consult each other so that other coalition partners do not feel betrayed.

6.6.4. Leadership and consultation.

Negotiations involve negotiations and compromise. Voters should be consulted when political parties negotiate coalition agreements. Voters should know policy areas where their parties have compromised, so they do not blame their parties when they do not deliver on their election promises. Local leadership should be at the forefront of the negotiations as they are the ones who will be part of the coalition from its inception until the end. National and provincial leaders may guide the process. Local citizens and the local leadership should clearly understand the dynamics involved in the coalition since they will be involved with that coalition regularly. Parties and councillors should keep the voters informed of the information about coalition talks and why they are in a coalition with certain parties.

6.6.5. Development of joint programmes.

The local government has the responsibility to provide essential services to the people. Each political party has a plan to better the lives of the people and make a difference. Parties in a coalition should discuss their policy programmes and develop joint programmes that they should deliver together. The success and failure of the programmes should not be credited or blamed on one party. The coalition partners should own the failure and success of a programme.

6.6.6. Dispute resolution.

Coalitions are established because they are imposed on the politicians by the voters. Since members of the coalitions would be coming from different parties, a possibility of misunderstanding and disputes might arise. A mechanism to solve disputes should be established to create stability in government. Coalition partners should agree on set procedures to be followed when there are misunderstandings and disputes amongst coalition partners.

6.6.7. Coalition agreements must be made public.

The coalition agreement must be made public to indicate that the coalition agreement is in place. In doing so, citizens will know who is accountable for the running of the municipality. When a coalition agreement is published, that will be a sign of transparency and accountability for the government and the coalition partners. Citizens will have an opportunity to make the government accountable based on what they have publicised in the coalition agreement. Coalition agreements should be accessible to the public.

6.7. CONCLUSION.

A coalition government is a multi-party government that requires cooperation amongst political parties. The study aimed to investigate the impact of coalitions on governance in South Africa. The study found several challenges in coalition government establishment in South Africa. Such challenges include instability in coalitions, breakdown of the coalitions, poor service delivery, and constant change of leadership, which can hurt the governance of municipalities. A framework that would assist in the proper functioning of a coalition government was developed in this study to address various challenges encountered in coalition governments.

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15 June 2021

ETHICS APPROVAL LETTER OF STUDY

Based on approval by the **Basic and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (BaSSREC)** on 15/06/2021, the Basic and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee hereby **approves** your study as indicated below. This implies that the North-West University Senate Committee for Research Ethics (NWU-SERC) grants its permission that, provided the special conditions specified below are met and pending any other authorisation that may be necessary, the study may be initiated, using the ethics number below.

Study title: Analysis of Coalition Government: A new path in Administration and Governance in South Africa.

Study Leader/Supervisor (Principal Investigator)/Researcher: Prof. C. Hofisi

Student/Research Team: L.L. Ndou (12933945).

Ethics number:

N	W	U	-	0	0	6	5	7	-	2	1	-	A	7
Institution				Study Number					Year		Status			

Status: S = Submission; R = Re-Submission; P = Provisional Authorisation; A = Authorisation

Application Type: Single Study

Commencement date: 15/06/2021

Risk: Low

Expiry date: 15/06/2022

Approval of the study is initially provided for a year, after which continuation of the study is dependent on receipt and review of the annual (or as otherwise stipulated) monitoring report and the concomitant issuing of a letter of continuation.

Special in process conditions of the research for approval (if applicable):

General conditions:

While this ethics approval is subject to all declarations, undertakings and agreements incorporated and signed in the application form, the following general terms and conditions will apply:

- *The study leader/supervisor (principle investigator)/researcher must report in the prescribed format to the BaSSREC:

 - *annually (or as otherwise requested) on the monitoring of the study, whereby a letter of continuation will be provided, and upon completion of the study; and*
 - *without any delay in case of any adverse event or incident (or any matter that interrupts sound ethical principles) during the course of the study.**
- *The approval applies strictly to the proposal as stipulated in the application form. Should any amendments to the proposal be deemed necessary during the course of the study, the study leader/researcher must apply for approval of these amendments at the BaSSREC, prior to implementation. Should there be any deviations from the study proposal without the necessary approval of such amendments, the ethics approval is immediately and automatically forfeited.*
- *Annually a number of studies may be randomly selected for an external audit.*
- *The date of approval indicates the first date that the study may be started.*
- *In the interest of ethical responsibility, the NWU-SCRE and BaSSREC reserves the right to:*

- request access to any information or data at any time during the course or after completion of the study;
- to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modification or monitor the conduct of your research or the informed consent process;
- withdraw or postpone approval if:
 - any unethical principles or practices of the study are revealed or suspected;
 - it becomes apparent that any relevant information was withheld from the BaSSREC or that information has been false or misrepresented;
 - submission of the annual (or otherwise stipulated) monitoring report, the required amendments, or reporting of adverse events or incidents was not done in a timely manner and accurately; and / or
 - new institutional rules, national legislation or international conventions deem it necessary.
- BaSSREC can be contacted for further information or any report templates via 21081719@nwu.ac.za / 13128388@nwu.ac.za.

The BaSSREC would like to remain at your service as scientist and researcher, and wishes you well with your study. Please do not hesitate to contact the BaSSREC or the NWU-SCRE for any further enquiries or requests for assistance.

Yours sincerely



Prof Jacques Rothmann

Chairperson NWU Basic and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Original details: (22351930) C:\Users\22351930\Desktop\ETHICS APPROVAL LETTER OF STUDY.docm
8 November 2018

File reference: 9.1.5.4.2



Certificate

February 3, 2021

This is to certify that Mr. Livhuwani levy Ndou has successfully completed the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Online Training Module for the Social Sciences and Humanities.

Macquarie University

DATE:

BaSSREC Authorization

Prof Jacques Rothmann
Digitally signed by Jacques Rothmann
Date: 16.06.2021 16:30:30 +02'00'

2021.06.16
Approved 15 June 2021

**PARTICIPANT INFORMATION LEAFLET AND
CONSENT FORM**

TITLE OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT:

ANALYSIS OF COALITION GOVERNMENT: A NEW PATH IN ADMINISTRATION AND GOVERNANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

ETHICS NUMBER: NWU-00657-21-A7

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Livhuwani Levy Ndou (12933945)

ADDRESS: 790 Gateway Manor, Hartebeespoort, 0216.

CONTACT NUMBER: 083 235 3607

You are being invited to take part in a research project that forms part of my Doctoral degree in Public Management and Governance. Please take some time to read the information presented here, which will explain the details of this project. Please ask the researcher any questions about any part of this project that you do not fully understand. It is very important that you are fully satisfied that you clearly understand what this research is about and how you could be involved. Also, your participation is **entirely voluntary** and you are free to decline to participate. If you say no, this will not affect you negatively in any way whatsoever. You are also free to withdraw from the study at any point, even if you do agree to take part. Prior to publication of the study's results (or the point that publication is in process), you may also withdraw the data you generate.

This study has been approved by the **Basic Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (BaSSREC) of the Faculty of Humanities of the North-West University (NWU-00657-21-A7)** and will be conducted according to the ethical guidelines and principles of the international Singapore Statement on Research Integrity (2010) and the ethical guidelines of the National Health Research Ethics Council. It might be necessary for the research ethics committee members or relevant authorities to inspect the research records to make sure that we (the researchers) are conducting research in an ethical manner.

What is this research study all about?

- This study will be conducted at the City of Tshwane using online or telephonic interviews and will involve analysing the municipality's activities since the coalition government came into place.
- The researcher has been trained to use the methods mentioned in the previous sentence.
- *The objectives of this research are:*
 - To analyse the factors that influence the formation of coalition governments at local government in South Africa.
 - To examine the factors that contribute to instability and conflict in a coalition government.
 - To investigate the perceptions of the citizens towards coalitions.
 - To develop a framework for coalition government at local government level.

Why have you been invited to participate?

- You have been invited to participate because you are a citizen of the City of Tshwane who is directly involved in the activities of the municipality.
- You have also complied with the following inclusion criteria: You are an employee of the City of Tshwane.
- You will be excluded if you decide to exclude/withdraw yourself from the study and if you are not an employee of the City of Tshwane.

What will your responsibilities be?

- You will be invited to answer questions posed to you by the researcher for about 45 minutes. The interview will be conducted telephonically or via Zoom due to Covid-19.
- You will be requested to sign this Informed Consent Statement before the commencement of the interview.

Will you benefit from taking part in this research?

- There are no direct benefits for participating in the research.
- The indirect benefit will probably be that the research findings could possibly provide recommendations for solutions to the challenges faced by the citizens of the City of Tshwane.

Are there risks involved in your taking part in this research and how will these be managed?

The risks in this study, and how these will be managed, are summarised in the table below:

<i>Probable/possible risks/discomforts</i>	<i>Strategies to minimize risk/discomfort</i>
Because you will spend about an hour participating in the online/telephonic interview, it is possible that you will become tired.	The researcher facilitating your completion of the interview, will give you a 15-minute break if requested.
Covid-19 challenges / infections.	Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, the interviews will be conducted telephonically and via Zoom. This is done in order to minimize contact and to avoid the spread of the Covid-19 virus.

- *However, we do believe that the benefits to you and to science (as noted in the previous section) outweigh the risks we have listed. If you disagree, then please feel free not to participate in this study. We will respect your decision.*
- *Should we learn, in the course of the research, that someone is harming you, or that you are intending to harm someone, then we must tell someone who can help you/warn the person you are intending to harm.*

Who will have access to the data?

- Anonymity (that is, in no way will your results be linked to your identity) will be observed and your identity will never be exposed to anyone. This will be done by providing you with a pseudonym.
- Confidentiality (that is, I/we assure you that we will protect the information we have about you) will be ensured by the researcher by de-identifying all personal information that could be linked to your actual identity.
- Reporting of findings will be anonymous by all standards. Only the researcher and the supervisor will have access to the data. Data will be kept safe and secure by locking hard copies in locked cupboards in the researcher's office and for electronic data it will be password protected.
- Data will be stored for 5 years in the researcher's office after which it will be destroyed.

What will happen to the data?

The data from this study will be reported in the following ways: a research report and an article in a journal. In all of this reporting, you will not be personally identified. This means that the reporting will not include your name or details that will help others to know that you participated (e.g., your actual name, department in the City of Tshwane, etc.).

This is a once-off study, so the data will not be re-used.

Will you be paid/compensated to take part in this study and are there any costs involved?

No you will not be paid/compensated to take part in the study. If participating in the research means that you have to travel especially for the purpose of participating, then your travel costs will be paid. There will thus be no costs involved since participation will take place via Zoom or telephonically.

How will you know about the findings?

- The general findings of the research will be shared with you by the researcher.
- If you would like feedback on your personal results, then you may contact me on the details that I have provided.

Is there anything else that you should know or do?

- You can contact me Levy Ndou at 083 235 3607 if you have any further queries or encounter any problems.
- You can contact the chair of the Basic Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (Prof Jacques Rothmann) at 018 299 1595 or 21081719@nwu.ac.za if you have any concerns or complaints that have not been adequately addressed by the researcher.
- You will receive a copy of this information and consent form for your own records.

Declaration by participant

By signing below, I _____ agree to take part in a research study entitled: “ANALYSIS OF COALITION GOVERNMENT: A NEW PATH IN ADMINISTRATION AND GOVERNANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA”.

I declare that:

- I have read and understood this information and consent form and it is written in a language with which I am fluent and comfortable.
- I have had a chance to ask questions to both the person obtaining consent, as well as the researcher (if this is a different person), and all my questions have been adequately answered.
- I understand that taking part in this study is **voluntary** and I have not been pressurised to take part.
- I understand that what I contribute (what I report/say/write/draw/produce visually) could be reproduced publically and/or quoted, but without reference to my personal identity.
- I may choose to leave the study at any time and will not be penalised or prejudiced in any way.
- I consent to an audio-recording of the Zoom and/or telephonic interview.
- I may be asked to leave the study before it has finished, if the researcher feels it is in my best interests, or if I do not follow the study plan, as agreed to.

Signed at (*place*) _____ on (*date*) _____ 20 _____

Signature of participant

Signature of witness

- | | |
|--|--|
| • You may contact me again | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| • I would like a summary of the findings of this research | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| • I would like feedback on my functioning/wellbeing as reflected in the questionnaires I completed | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No |

The best way to reach me is:

Name & Surname: _____

Postal Address: _____

Email: _____

Phone Number: _____

Cell Phone Number: _____

In case the above details change, please contact the following person who knows me well and who does not live with me and who will help you to contact me:

Name & Surname: _____

Phone/ Cell Phone Number /Email: _____

Declaration by person obtaining consent (if not the principal investigator/researcher)

I (*name*) _____ declare that:

- I explained the information in this document to _____
- I encouraged him/her to ask questions and took adequate time to answer them.
- I am satisfied that he/she adequately understands all aspects of the research, as discussed above
- I did/did not use an interpreter.

Signed at (*place*) _____ on (*date*) _____ 20 _____

Signature of person obtaining consent

Signature of witness

Declaration by researcher

I (*name*) _____ declare that:

- I explained the information in this document to _____
- I encouraged him/her to ask questions and took adequate time to answer them.
- I am satisfied that he/she adequately understands all aspects of the research, as discussed above
- I did/did not use an interpreter.

Signed at (*place*) _____ on (*date*) _____ 20 _____

Signature of researcher

Signature of witness

Declaration by researcher and participant

Personal face-to-face interviews during Covid-19 restrictions (Only if applicable)

Additional declaration by participant in those instances where the participant requests to participate in a personal face-to-face semi-structured interview:

By signing below, I _____, acknowledge the following information related to the required measures regarding Covid-19:

I declare that:

- It is my personal choice and preference to participate in a personal face-to-face semi-structured interview with the researcher.
- This requires that I consent to the following strict measures to safeguard the personal health and safety of myself and that of the researcher/interviewer/primary investigator:
 - I consent to the researcher taking my temperature before the interview using a thermometer. **Yes** **No**
 - I confirm that my temperature measured at _____ degrees. **Yes** **No**
 - I consent to use the three-ply mask provided by the researcher. **Yes** **No**
 - I consent to wear the three-ply mask for the full duration of the interview.
Yes **No**
 - I consent to the researcher sanitising the interview context using a sanitiser with an 80% alcohol content before the commencement of the interview. **Yes** **No**
 - I consent to the researcher using a sanitiser with an 80% alcohol content before and during the interview if required. **Yes** **No**

Signed at (*place*) _____ on (*date*) _____ 20 ____

Signature of participant

Signature of researcher



City Strategy and Organisational Performance

Room CSP23 | Ground Floor, West Wing, Block D | Tshwane House | 320 Madiba Street | Pretoria | 0002
PO Box 440 | Pretoria | 0001
Tel: 012 358 7542
Email: NosiphoH@tshwane.gov.za | www.tshwane.gov.za | www.facebook.com/CityOfTshwane

My ref: Confidentiality Agreement
Contact person: Pearl Maponya
Section/Unit: Knowledge Management

Tel: 012 358 4559
Email: PearlMap3@tshwane.gov.za

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE RESEARCHER AND THE CITY OF TSHWANE MUNICIPALITY

(To be completed by researchers who require access to conduct research within the City of Tshwane Municipality)

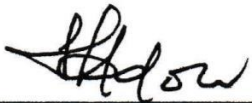
Name of Researcher	Livhuwani Levy Ndou
ID Number	6805225325089
Research Topic	Analysis of coalition government : A new path in the administration and governance in South Africa.

I, the undersigned, acknowledge, understand and agree to adhere to the following conditions of access.

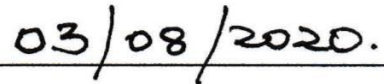
(Insert details of dataset fields and other information to be accessed in course of research)

- I will maintain the privacy and confidentiality of all accessible research data and understand that unauthorized disclosure of personal/confidential data is an invasion of privacy and may result in disciplinary, civil, and/or criminal actions against me.
- I will not disclose data or information to anyone other than those to whom I am authorized to do so.
- I will access data only for the purposes for which I am authorized explicitly. On no occasion will I use research data, including personal or confidential information, for my personal interest or advantage, or for any other business purposes.
- I will comply at all times with the City of Tshwane's data/information security policies and confidentiality code of conduct.

- I am informed that the references to personal, confidential and sensitive information in these documents are for my information and research purposes, and are not intended to replace my obligations under the Data Protection and Privacy policies and regulations of South Africa.
- I understand that where I have been given access to confidential information I am under a duty of confidence and would be liable under common law for any inappropriate breach of confidence in terms of disclosure to third parties and also for invasion of privacy if I were to access more information than that for which I have been given approval or for which consent is in place.
- Should my work in relation to the research discontinue for any reason, I understand that I will continue to be bound by this signed Confidentiality Agreement.



Signature



Date

SOLEMN DECLARATION AND PERMISSION TO SUBMIT

1. Solemn declaration by student

I,

declare herewith that the thesis/dissertation/mini-dissertation/article entitled (**exactly as registered/approved title**),

which I herewith submit to the North-West University is in compliance/partial compliance with the requirements set for the degree:

is my own work, has been text-edited in accordance with the requirements and has not already been submitted to any other university.

LATE SUBMISSION: If a thesis/dissertation/mini-dissertation/article of a student is submitted after the deadline for submission, the period available for examination is limited. No guarantee can therefore be given that (should the examiner reports be positive) the degree will be conferred at the next applicable graduation ceremony. It may also imply that the student would have to re-register for the following academic year.

Ethics number:

ORCID: - - -

Signature of Student

University Number

Signed on this day of of 20

2. Permission to submit and solemn declaration by supervisor/promoter

The undersigned declares that the thesis/dissertation/mini-dissertation/article:

- complies with the A-rules and the technical requirements provided for in the Manual for Master's and Doctoral studies and in faculty rules;
- has been checked by me for plagiarism (by making use of TurnItIn software for example) and a satisfactory report has been obtained;
- and that the work was language edited before submission for examination.

Faculty specific requirements as per A-rules: 1.3.2, 433, 4.2.4, 4.10.4, 5.3.2

- complies with regards to faculty rules on submission or acceptance by an accredited scientific journal;
- complies with regards to faculty rules on peer reviewed conference proceedings;
- the student is hereby granted permission to submit his/her article/mini-dissertation/ dissertation/thesis for examination.

Signatures of supervisor(s) and Promoter(s): (only compulsory in cases where there are co- or assistant- supervisor(s/promoters)

For Registrar

11 October 2021

Dear Mr LL Ndou

NOTICE OF SUBMISSION

Note has been taken that you wish to submit your mini-dissertation/dissertation/**thesis** for examination. The registered title as it must appear on the examining copies and on the title page of the final copies is indicated below. An example of your title page will be sent together with this letter.

An analysis of a coalition government: A new path in administration and governance at local government level in South Africa

Your attention is drawn to the following matters regarding the above.

- You may submit your examination copies from 20 September to 10 December **2021 to possibly qualify for the Autumn (May) graduation ceremony in 2022.**
- **Submissions received after 10 December 2021 will be considered in time for examination towards possible graduation during the Winter graduation series of 2022.**

You are required to submit your examination copy in the following format:

- **One electronic copy in Word format and one electronic copy in PDF format to be submitted via email to a HDA official. You may also submit in person, over the counter to a HDA official. Please submit one hard copy in person, over the counter to a HDA official.**

The following forms must be submitted with your examination copies:

- **The signed Solemn Declaration form**
- **Personal particulars form (only applicable for PhD students)**
- **Acknowledgement of Receipt**
- **Copy of your ID**
- **Please visit the DIY [Student 360°](#) to ensure that your personal details are correct on the system and on your degree certificate please**

I trust you find the above in order. Please do not hesitate to contact the undersigned for any more related information

Yours sincerely

Ms J Wilson

FOR REGISTRAR



Faculty of Humanities
School of Languages.
018 389 2168

09 December 2021

To whom it may concern

Editorial Assistance for PhD Thesis in Public Management and Governance

Declaration

Editorial intervention was restricted to: Language and Illustrations as well as Completeness and consistency as defined by the current South African standards for Editing Practice. Where the editor provided advice on structure, they gave examples only and did not undertake a structural re-write themselves. Material for editing or proofreading was submitted in electronic copy to the editor and a markup was done using tracking Changes. The decision to accept and implement changes suggested rests solely on the candidate.

The name of the editor and brief description of the service rendered has been provided below. Acknowledged by:

Candidate's Name: Mr Levy L Ndou

Thesis Title: An analysis of a coalition government: A new path in administration and governance at local government level in South Africa

Editor's Name: Prof Liqhwa P. Siziba

I declare that I have edited /proofread the thesis in compliance with the above conditions, as instructed when engaged by the candidate.

Signature:  **Date:** 09/12/2021

Editors Reference Number:08637094V

Analysis of quotations identified by Turn-It-In

Name of student Levy Ndou
Student number 12933945
Title of document Analysis of coalition government: A new path in administration and governance in South Africa
Study leader / promoter Prof C Hofisi

INTRODUCTORY COMMENT:

The NWU adheres to the principle of original research and respect for the intellectual property of others. At NWU Turn-it-in is used to manage risks associated with plagiarism. The aim of this analysis of similarity document is to present an analysis of similarities that do not constitute plagiarism. The aim is to draw students' attention to these similarities so that they improve their academic writing style and reporting of sources before submission for examination.

This process ensures that to the best of our knowledge no plagiarism was detected in the relevant document discussed here.

This is the similarity index reported after the Turn-it-in filter was set to exclude previous submissions, 0% quotations and published papers by the student.

OVERALL similarity index observed in the report

Interpretation of the similarity index for this document	Impression of similarity	Action to be taken
A) DIRECT longer quotations without " " but with source reference		PROBLEMATIC: (a) Immediately add the " " to indicate that this is a direct quotation. (b) Decide if the longer direct quotation is necessary. (c) Rewrite appropriately to integrate ideas from source with argument sustained in your text.
B) Appropriate brief quotations		No action necessary
C) Jargon from the discipline		No action necessary
D) Everyday use of language		No action necessary
E) Direct matches to previous versions of this dissertation/thesis or published papers on the same work		No action necessary. Should actually not happen because text must be excluded.

Report by student and/or supervisor/promoter

To the best of my knowledge no plagiarism was detected in the relevant document discussed here.

L Ndou

 Initials and surname of MA candidate

C Hofisi

 Initials and surname of supervisor

Report by entity director / school director / leader or chairperson of CAD in school
 MT Lukamba 2021-12-15
