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TITLE

Exploring the role that is played by race and ethnicity when it comes to influencing voting behaviour in South Africa. A study conducted among students at UKZN.

BY

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DECLARARTION - PLAGIARISM

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ABSTRACT

Race as a social construct still plays a major role when it comes to being a main factor motivating voters to vote in South Africa. Ethnicity does not fall far behind race as a motivating factor on voters. Ethnicity is a prevalent factor among Black voters whereas the extent to which race is a motivating factor on Black voters is small. Literature from various scholars such as Maart, Modiri, Cashmore suggest that race is a social construct that impacts ones day to day basis due to it being a system put in place to categorize people. General observations such as the history of Apartheid and how during the Apartheid era the majority (Black people) was not allowed to vote tells us that to a great extent, race determined political power in South Africa during the Apartheid era.

A quantitative approach is adopted by this research study with the aim of answering the objectives of the study. The research study seeks to explore the role that is played by race as well as ethnicity in influencing voting behaviour in South Africa. One way in which race is deemed a major influence is through the living conditions under which one is raised in. Race plays a role in determining where one is going to be brought up as it is a system put in place for categorization. Such system influence voters. Social characteristics such as ethnicity also plays a major role in determining the voting behaviour of voters. Data collection was done through close –ended self-administered questionnaires. Students from UKZN were used as research study participants and they played a major role in affirming and denying the role played by race and ethnicity in voting behaviour. This dissertation provides a descriptive analysis of the extent to which race and ethnicity are major factors influencing voting behaviour in South Africa. The data collected through questionnaires helps in ensuring that the objectives of this research study are answered.

By understanding the role that is played by race and ethnicity in influencing voting behaviour in SA, one gets a chance to have a clear understanding of how events are likely to unfold in the 2019 upcoming elections. Are factors such as race and ethnicity bound to determine the voting behaviour of voters in the 2019 South African national elections? A research study such as this one helps in unpacking such questions.

Key Words: Race, Ethnicity, Voting Behaviour, South Africa

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
CTR	Critical Race Theory
DA	Democratic Alliance
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
FFP	Freedom Front Plus
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
NP	National Party
UCDM	United Christian Democratic Party
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal

CHAPTER 1

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This research study is aimed at exploring the role that is played by race as well as ethnicity when it comes to influencing voting behaviour in South Africa. This research study uses students from UKZN to either affirm or deny that there is a role played by race as well as ethnicity as far as being major factors of voting behaviour in South Africa. This chapter provides a description of the background of the study. This chapter further discusses the purpose and the aim as well as the need for this research study in contemporary South Africa. The segment that follows the aim of the study are the objective of the research study as well as key questions forming part of the research study.

1.1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Race and ethnicity are social and political constructions that inform the way in which South Africans live their lives on a day to day basis. The discussion of the following incidences will help in elaborating how contemporary South African way of life is shaped by race and ethnicity. In the occasions paving way to the African National Congress' 54th conference in 2017 at Nasrec Expo Center in Johannesburg, the significance of how ethnicity shows itself in elections was witnessed (Madea: 2017). The Minister of Police in South Africa, Bheki Cele who is a Zulu person was often questioned about his support for Cyril Ramaphosa who is a Venda person. Some journalists argued that this was seen as dissociation on the part of Minister Bheki Cele to Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma who shares the same ethnicity as minister Bheki Cele (Madea: 2017). The minister was quoted in a newspaper saying that people would often walk up to him and ask him why he was supporting a Venda person even though he is a Zulu person (Madea: 2017). Another notable event relating to race that shook the country is the Penny Sparrow incident. The Penny Sparrow incident involves a White South African woman who took to social media to label Black people as monkeys after witnessing a large number of Black people on Durban beaches for the December -festive holidays 2016 (Etheridge: 2016). She did not deem Black people human enough since they were at the beach in large numbers. She expressed her dissatisfaction with a large number of Black people at the beach as she associated Black people with dirt and she saw it fit to label them as monkeys. Brkic: 2010 further elaborates on another notable incident that makes it necessary to have a discourse about race in the country by mentioning the 2012 Julius Malema incident where the North

Gauteng High Court ordered him to refrain from singing the “shoot the Boer – Dubula ibhunu” song as it was deemed as hate speech. Incidences such as these make it necessary to have a discourse on race and ethnicity in the country.

South Africa has a complex mix of different racialized groups as well as ethnic groups. The discussion of these two key identity factors is going to be viewed within the context of influencing voting behaviour in South Africa. Etheridge: 2015 asserts that there is a perception that since South Africa became a democratic country, race is not as important as it was during the Apartheid era when it comes to having an impact on the voters' decision of voting for a political party or an individual candidate of his or her choice. Modiri made an assumption among many South Africans that since the first democratic elections took place in 1994, South Africans have inherited this idea that social structures that were heavily controlled by race do not exist any longer because we are now living in a post-apartheid South Africa (Modiri: 2017). This assumption makes it vital to have a discussion about race and the ways in which race is seen as a major factor in social or political structures of South Africa such as elections. The discussion of how influential race and ethnicity are in influencing voting behaviour in South Africa will also involve questionnaires designed to obtain data from students who are at the tertiary institution the University of KwaZulu-Natal. The fundamental motivation as to why there is a need to include students in this research study is for the simple fact that the youth of South Africa has always played a vital role in the transformation of South Africa to a democratic state. This ranges from the participation of the youth in addressing social issues affecting this country from the 1976 student uprising in Soweto to the 2015 #feesmustfall movement, to name a few. The formation of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania by Steve Biko makes it necessary to have students as research study participants. The formation of South African Student Organisation Natal serves as an indication that the youth of South Africa have always been active in solving social justice issues pertaining to political and economic exclusion due to race. The South African Student Organisation (SASO) was formed in 1968 after some members of the University of Natal's Black Campus SRC (Student Representative Council) decided to break away from the National Union of South African Students – NUSAS (Hoyon: 1990). Biko saw it permissible to form SASO after coming to a realisation that it was not appropriate to be excluded in discussion affecting him and other

students on the basis of race. Other reasons for choosing UKZN students will be discussed in greater detail in the methodology chapter of the research study.

The discussion of race has always prevailed over ethnicity in South African elections. This has become a common occurrence since 1994 after Black people were afforded the opportunity to partake in elections for the first time. This notion makes it mandatory to have an in-depth discussion of race as a motivating factor on voters compared to the discussion of ethnicity as a motivating factor on voters during elections in South Africa. The arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck in South Africa meant that people had to be categorized and marginalised based on race. This was done to legitimatise the allocation of resources and land and also to control the movement of people within South Africa. Democracy does not erase racism. Simply because Black people now have political power does not necessarily mean that the effects of colonization and Apartheid are erased automatically. Disputing the general assumption that South Africa is now a non-racial country and due to that, identity factors such as race and ethnicity are not important in shaping the way of life of South Africa is the main issue at hand that is meant to be addressed by this research study. A broad range of literature will be utilised in particular literature from Africa, Europe and the US.

1.1.2 PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH STUDY

The primary purpose of this research study is to explore the role that is played by race and ethnicity in influencing voting behaviour in contemporary South Africa. One of the ways in which this research study seeks to explore the role that is played by race and ethnicity is through the collection and discussion of relevant literature. The second way is through a quantitative method of getting research study respondents to partake in questionnaires. These respondents will participate in this research study through the answering of closed-ended questions on a questionnaire. The participants in this research study are student at UKZN and the reasons for choosing students are mentioned in detail in chapter 3 of the study. The central phenomena being explored is the role that is played by racialized identity as well as ethnic identity in shaping voting behaviour in contemporary South Africa.

Examining race and the role that race plays when it comes to influencing voters in South Africa will assist in the production of knowledge. This research study has the potential of adding and being beneficial to the various scholarly work dealing with Critical Race Theory in South

Africa. There will also be an improvement in African literature as far as having African scholars dealing with race as well as ethnicity is concerned.

1.1.3 OBJECTIVES

The study is informed by the following objectives:

- To explore whether voters' voting behaviour is influenced by race and ethnicity.
- To examine the extent to which race and ethnicity are influential on the voter.
- To understand the role that is played by identity when it comes to influencing voters in who they vote for and identity being limited to race and ethnicity.

1.1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS OF THE STUDY

The following are the three key questions guiding the study

- How is racial and ethnic identity influential to the voter?
- To what extent is race and ethnicity influential on the voter?
- Does identity influences voters' decision in elections in South Africa?

1.1.5 OUTLINE OF THE DISSERTATION

Chapter One: focuses on the overall structure of the research study including the background of the study, the purpose of the research study, the objectives as well as the outline of the dissertation. Chapter the basis for the research study.

Chapter Two: this chapter will review literature concerned with race and ethnicity; and the role that is played by these two when it comes to influencing voters on who they elect during elections.

Chapter Three: a theoretical engagement concerning race and ethnicity and the role played by these two elements of identity when it comes to influencing voting behaviour will be discussed

Chapter Four: this chapter will cover the research outline and methodology of the study. Also, this section will indicate the selection criteria of respondents and ethical considerations for the study.

Chapter Five: this chapter will present the results of data was collected from the research study respondents.

Chapter Six: this chapter will analyse the results of the research study. It will also state the conclusion of the research study, the recommendations for future research as well as suggestions or steps that should be taken for future research on race and ethnicity and the role that is played by these two when it comes to influencing voting behaviour during elections in South Africa.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1.1 INTRODUCTION

The discussion of race and identity is steered by the fact that this research study seeks to explore the role that these two play when it comes to influencing voting behaviour during elections in SA. The first segment of the chapter broadly defines what race means which is then followed by a segment that briefly defines what ethnicity is. In order to have a good understanding of the role that these two elements of identity have on influencing voting behaviour, it is only right that one has a clear understanding of the meaning of these two elements of identity. Starting the chapter by defining these two key elements of identity sets the basis for the main theme of the research study.

A general statement made by Hattingh is that South Africa is a country that is diverse in a number of aspects ranging from racialized identities, ethnic identities to even religious affiliation (Hatting: 2013). When limiting the discussion of diversity in the country to elections, this leads to these aforementioned factors namely racial identity and ethnic identity having a greater influence on the voters' decision-making (Anyangwe: 2012). It is therefore pertinent to have a separate segment in the literature discussing race and ethnicity in elections and this segment seeks to address just that. The way in which these concepts operate is briefly touched on for example racialized identity in South Africa is linked to the lack of the right to vote by Black people until 1994. In this research study, racialized groups are stated using capital letters to denote racialized identity for instance, Black people, White people, Asians, etc. (Maart: 2017).

Political parties in South Africa often use race as a tool for canvassing for votes. The fact that political parties use race as a tool to draw support for themselves is a strong statement implying that there is in fact a link between race and voting behaviour. This segment of the chapter in the literature titled identity, elections and voting behaviour discusses this briefly. This research study involves students in an institution of higher education namely the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal so it is permissible that there is literature dealing with the voting behaviour of students. This is done in order to establish a link and to justify the use of research respondents who are students at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal. The reasons which explain why these students were selected are discussed briefly in the methodology chapter. This

section in question discusses briefly the voting behaviour of students in tertiary institutions. The discussion of voting behaviour of students in tertiary education institutions is relevant to this research study in the sense that the discussion seeks to justify the need for students in tertiary institutions to be included as respondents or subjects of this research study rather than selecting any other members of the society other than the students. The discussions of all the other subthemes in this chapter for example, race and class in South Africa within the context of elections in this research study forms part of the larger research study objective. All the subthemes discussed in this literature are relevant to this research study as they are discussed within the scope of the role that is played by race and ethnicity when it comes to influencing voting behaviour.

2.1.2 CONCEPTUALIZATION OF RACE

This segment of the chapter examines different notions of race most of which are grounded within the South African context. Its conceptual framework and its development is grounded within the South African retrospection of race. Literature from European scholars, North American and South American scholars are also used. While discussing what race is, there is a major focus on African literature followed by literature from scholars from the United States. The purpose behind the discourse of insightful work from researchers from outside of Africa is to demonstrate that the way in which one understands race is relevant to where one lives. A good example which illustrates how the understanding of race differs in the world would be how Coloured people are classified in South Africa compared to how people called Coloureds are perceived or classified in the United States of America (Maart: 2017). In South Africa, Coloureds form part of an ethnic group that takes pride in being called Coloured whereas the term Colored in the US was a term given to people of African descent which is now post 1960s considered a racial slur (Maart: 2017). The same can also be asserted about the term "kaffirs". In South Africa, the term kaffir is considered offensive and it is a term that is used mostly by White people when referring to Black people. In the past, the term was used as a substitute term to refer to Black people as non-believers (Kropf: 1899). What is interesting when discussing the term "kaffirs" is that in Sri Lanka, it is not considered a racial slur or an offensive term based on the fact that there is actually an ethnic group in Sri Lanka referred to as the Sri Lankan "kaffirs". These are people of African descent who were brought to Sri Lanka as slaves (Gunasekera: 2009).

Among several definitions offered by Maart when defining race, she asserts that "race is referred to as a former system of classification that is still in use and which is aimed at categorizing South Africans" (Maart 2015:179). This system takes into consideration the physical aspects of individuals as per the former system of classification under apartheid (Maart: 2015:179). South Africans tend to confuse the biological aspect of race with ethnicity, which deals with shared cultural heritage (Maart: 2015). Cashmore (1996) defines race as "a system of classification that is used to categorize human beings. This categorization is based on notions of biology and social construction" (Cashmore: 1996). Cashmore: 1996 argues that it was only in the 20th century when the civil rights movement in the United States started getting more attention that people started focusing on the social construction aspect of race. The discussion of race in biological terms states that various populations are by the similarity of their anatomy—physical features, hair type, skin colour, eye shape and colour – are part of one race (Cashmore: 1996). In the South African context, any discussion of race goes hand in hand with ethnicity, apartheid and other concepts that are interconnected to race (Maart: 2015). Race as a system that is used to classify people into different categories is embedded in every social, political, cultural and economic structure to maintain the dominance of one racialized group at the expense of minority racialized groups (Onwuachi-Willig: 2008). The manner in which race plays a role in our society manifests itself in various shapes and forms and elections are no exception to this.

Maart (2015:180) further elaborates that the term race is often used to refer to the acceptance of the notion of biology when it comes to the discussion of the originality of race. This is often regarded as an implication that race is naturalized and therefore accepted (Maart: 2015:180). Cashmore had the same sentiments as Maart in relation to race. It was only until recently that people started paying attention to the social construction of race. According to Wilmot James (2010: 29), South Africa is a country with a history of categorizing people racially. This statement by James Wilmot goes hand in hand with the definition of race that was given by Maart namely "race is a system of classification that is used to categorise human beings" (2015:179). Maart (2015:179) argues that this system takes into consideration two aspects namely biological notion as well as the social construction. According to James, under the apartheid era race was used to draw boundaries protecting the status of White

people, class privilege and political rights along the lines of appearance and ancestry (2010: 29).

James Wilmot elaborates further that "after 1994, race was used to measure the progress of those defined as 'disadvantaged by apartheid' made, or did not make, in response to corrective action policy opportunities" (Wilmot James: 2010:29). The fact that South African scholars such the likes of Maart and James are of the view that race is still playing a role in contemporary South Africa goes to show the importance that race holds in South African society. According to Ferree et al: 1999, biologists reached the conclusion that race does not correspond to any biological referent and it is meaningless to associate race with science. As shown above, some scholars have agreed that race is socially constructed but people are still reluctant to do away with the biological notion of race and this is observed from several definitions of race. Ferree et al argue that "race is a fiction that divide people and categorize them by phenotypic markers such as skin colour that supposedly signify underlying differences" (1999). The construction of Blackness has helped in showing that race was socially constructed (Ferree et al: 1999). To further elaborate on the notion held by Ferree et al in relation to the construction of Blackness and the role that such phenomenon played in showing that race was socially constructed is through the *black is beautiful* cultural movement that was started in the US in the 1960s by the Black Panther. Joel Modiri is a South African scholar who supports the social construction notion of race. According to Modiri 2012: 243, "Race does not refer to any self-evident biological or genetic traits or common characteristics but instead to a complex phenomenon which is at once historically constituted and socially, economically, politically and legally constitutive."

This segment of the chapter discusses scholarly work concerning the meaning of race from the perspective of US scholars and European scholars. On the topic of race, Michael Yudell is one of the scholars who has written journals or article papers on the topic race. Yudell argues that race is usually used as an important tool for classifying human beings or a tool that is used to differentiate between human beings (2011: 1). Yudell (2011:1) argues that biologists such as Richard Lewontin and L. Luca Cavalli-Sforza as well as scholars that were studying genetics came to the realisation in the late 1970s that race was used to impose social injustices. According to Yudell (2011: 1), several people were under the assumption that race was based on the notion of biology.

W.E.B Du Bois is an African American scholar credited with the definition of double consciousness, a phrase that refers to the moment a Black man sees himself and also sees himself being seen by a White man (Maart: 2015). Du Bois is often considered as the founding father of the notion of social construction of race based on his contribution to the discussion of doing away with the biological notion of race (Yudell: 2011). Du Bois was among scholars that stated that the whole idea of "race" was to ensure that there was inequality and this inequality was made legitimate by repeatedly telling people that they are different (Yudell: 2011). According to Yudell (2011:5), Du Bois was the first person to put forward a coherent growing anthropological literature that argued that race was not, in fact, a useful scientific category, and showed, instead, that race was socially constructed. Yudell (2011:8) uses the critiques of Collins, former head of the National Human Genome Research Institute, and Venter, then President of Celera Genomics. The claim that race cannot capture human genetic diversity has been put forward by several scholars. Yudell argues that all human beings have genome sequences that are 99.9% identical (2011). This makes it difficult for people who believe in the biological notion of race to use race as a tool for distinguishing human beings from one another since humans have 99.9% genome sequences that are similar. There are various points put forward by Collins and Venter to show their disapproval of biological notion of race. Venter once elaborated that of race has no genetic or scientific basis (Yudell: 2011:9). A year later Collins stated that "those who wish to draw precise racial boundaries around certain groups will not be able to use science as a legitimate justification" (Yudell: 2011:9). In simple terms, this means that one cannot rely on biology to argue what race is.

The biological notion of race is often referred to as racial naturalism which suggests "the view that humans can be divided into subspecies, and that 'race' is therefore a valid scientific category" (Hochman: 2013:3). The view that human beings can be divided into different subspecies goes hand in hand with the notion of biological determinism as put forward by Charles Darwin as part of natural selection (Gould: 1977). People possess certain attributes that allow them to survive in certain places (Darwin: 2009). To some extent, the idea of humans possessing certain attributes that are vital for survival is more or less the same to what essentialists define as vital for one's identity. According to Maart (2015: 180), "essentialism refers to the belief that an entity, a person, population group, animal or object has a set of attributes described as its essence, which are both crucial and central to how its

identity functions.” In the context of a certain ethnic group known as the Xhosa people mostly commonly based in the Eastern Cape in South Africa, one would argue that this ethnic group practises essentialism because they believe that a man is a biological male who has gone up to the mountain to partake in the Xhosa circumcision ritual, where various community elders advise young boys on how to be men. You are not considered a real Xhosa man unless you have participated in this Xhosa ritual (Bullock: 2015).

The dominance of colonialism and racism ensured that it was not easy to come to a dispute over the meaning of race until the late 1970s when there was a rise in the race activism in the United States of America (Yudell: 2011). Activists such as Martin Luther King Jnr were at the forefront leading marches and protests to ensure that there was equality (Carson: 2018). Jim Crow laws made African Americans second-class citizens, but they fought against segregation using passive resistance (Carson: 2018). King concentrated on the voting rights issue in 1965, resulting in civil rights workers forming their own political party (Carson: 2018). Militant Blacks, such as Malcolm X emphasized Black separatism and political power (Carson: 2018). He encouraged urban black military, and it increased in the mid-1960 (Carson: 2018). The civil rights movement reaffirmed constitutional principles. The relevance of discussing the civil rights movement is to show that racialized identity has always played a major role in separating people on the basis of race thus shaping the way of life of people due to their radicalised identity.

It is interesting to note how every time there is a discussion of race, racism is always raised. This adds to the notion that the creation of race was so that there could be inequality and as shown above by various scholars, inequality was made legitimate by ensuring that there was a categorization of people based on legitimate factors (Acker: 2006: 446). Apartheid is a perfect example of how race was used to ensure that inequality was viewed as legitimate and became the law of the land. According to Maart (2015: 181); “Apartheid is important for the study of race in South Africa; without it, one cannot fully grasp how race operated prior to the first democratic elections nor understand the remnants of apartheid two decades into the new democracy era.” The interesting aspect about the various definitions of race that have been given by various scholars that have been discussed in this research study is that they differ. As previously discussed, some scholars are of the view that race has to do with biology while several other scholars suggest that race is a social construction. Most definitions given

by aforementioned scholars suggest that race was socially constructed and these scholars point out facts as to why they believe that race is a social construction.

When discussing race, the biological aspect of race was always at the forefront of the discussion and it was not until the late 1970s when the civil rights movement was in full force that scholars started to focus on the social construction aspect of race (Beuchler: 2008). Until this period, there are individuals who are still under the assumption that race is rooted in biology, which is not true considering the fact that race was used to justify inequality (Beuchler: 2008). Another scholar from outside of Africa who disputed the argument that race has a scientific basis is David Schweingruber. According to Schweingruber (2005:383), "race refers to the category of people labelled and treated as similar because of some common biological traits, such as skin colour, texture of hair, and shape of eyes". Schweingruber (2005) argues that race and racism have always been connected. A common ground held by this research study is that race is socially constructed. The reasons for such broad stance have been explained above in this research study e.g. Jim Crow and Apartheid and how such systems and laws were enforced to uphold inequality.

What can be pointed to in view of all the definitions of race discussed above is that race is a social creation that has no scientific basis. There are various points put forward by the aforementioned scholars in this research study that prove that race was in fact a social creation. In the US, Jim Crow is one of the laws that prove how important race was so that people could be separated and categorized in a manner that would enforce inequality and discrimination (Ritterhouse: 2006). In South Africa, the presence of a system such as Apartheid proves that race was only emphasized as an important tool for identity so that inequality and discrimination can be legitimized (Hoogeveen and Özler: 2006). The inequality is still visible even today based on the fact that South Africa is still a nation that is still undergoing a transition from colonialism, Apartheid to democracy. In South Africa, race is commonly and popularly defined in terms of biological traits—phenotypic differences in skin colour, hair texture, and other physical attributes (Maart: 2015). The position taken by this research study as far as the definition of race is concerned is that race is a social construct and reasons for this are listed in all the definitions of race that have been briefly discussed in this segment of the chapter. The materialised conditions under which one has been raised under impact ones' vote. In this segment of the chapter, the discussion of Apartheid is one

aspect of the research study which justifies the position that one's racialized identity affects or influences one's political decision. Racialized identity is explicitly stated to further confirm that the position taken by me as a researcher is that race is a social construct.

2.1.3 CONCEPTUALIZATION OF ETHNICITY AND THE LINK BETWEEN RACE AND ETHNICITY

This segment of the chapter discusses the close link that exists between the terms ethnicity and race in their conceptualisation and the way they play out in our society. There is a discussion of what ethnicity is and the literature that is used is the literature of African scholars as well as European scholars. The discussion of the link that exists between race and ethnicity is centred on elections and this is viewed at the backdrop of how ethnicity is sometimes used by voters as a major influence when casting a vote. It is imperative that there is a clear understanding of how the two sometimes work interchangeably. Race is often associated with ethnicity and in South Africa ethnicity is used as a major tool for identity (Anyangwe: 2012). According to Cashmore, Banton, and Adam (1996: 102), ethnicity is "a group possessing some degree of coherence and solidarity composed of people who are aware of having common origins and interests." According to Maart: 2015: 186, ethnicity can be defined as "social characteristics and traits that are shared and upheld by a population group within a particular geographical and physical space, who also share a history, ancestral and/or geographical location, language and most times dialect". Maart's meaning of ethnicity emphatically strongly suggest that there is a link between the racialized notion of race and ethnicity. Bollafi et al use the critique of de la Pouge to try and define the term ethnicity (2003:94). De la Pouge defines ethnicity as "individuals of different races brought together through historical factors" (2003). What is more troubling about the meaning of the term ethnicity that was given by de la Pouge is that it already puts ethnicity within race meaning that for ethnicity to exist, there must be individuals of different races. Bollafi also used the critique of Max Weber (1922) to define what ethnicity is. Weber defines what ethnic groups are when he states, "ethnic groups are groups of humans who have a subjective belief in shared origins, a belief which is founded on a similarity of habits, customs or both, or on collective memories of migrations or colonization" (Bollafi et al: 2003:94).

According to Bollafi et al: 2003:94, ethnicity deals with three factors, namely;

(i) membership of a group, either from personal choice or as an external imposition,

- ii) the search for a common identity on the part of the group members,
- (iii) the perception on the part of other groups of more or less coherent stereotypes ascribed to the ethnic group in question.

Race and ethnicity are two distinct yet related concepts, but they are not mutually exclusive concepts (Bollafi et al: 2003: 94). Identical claims are made by racial and ethnic groups to assert their respective identities about who they are (Bollafi et al: 2003:94). When discussing race and ethnicity interchangeably, the term that is often used is "ethno-racial" which according to Richomme means systematic administrative categorization of people along ethnic and racial lines (Richomme: 2009:1). Social cleavages as well as political issues play a key role in structuring voter choice and party identification (Norris and Mattes: 2003). Social cleavages deal with voting analysis and dividing voters into different voting blocs (Norris and Mattes: 2003). Voting bloc deals with a group of voters that are strongly motivated by a specific common concern which then works as a denominator to the point that such concern leads these voters to vote based on these concerns (Norris and mattes: 2003). Such concerns are also inclusive of matters pertaining to race (Norris and Mattes: 2003). According to Gutiérrez-Romero, ethnic identity in many African countries influences political and social behaviour (2010:2). According to Gutiérrez-Romero; 2010:2, "ethnic identity influences who one trusts and whom to vote for." The gap that exists in this notion put forward by Gutiérrez-Romero is that the place in question is of importance in determining if ethnicity is in fact an identity factor that influences who one trusts and who one vote for.

Nengwekhulu: 1986 asserts that South Africa is a country that is diverse ethnically. Nengwekhulu: 1986 further states that one of the characteristics that are used by South Africans to differentiate themselves within ethnicity is language. Language is considered as the main characteristic of ethnicity and this is supported by the way in which South Africans especially Black South Africans use language as a major basis of identity. Language is also a tool that is used to seek acceptance from those holding economic power namely White South Africans. Some of the languages spoken in South Africa include isiZulu, isiXhosa, Afrikaans, Sesotho, English, IsiSwati, Tshivenda, and IsiNdebele, to name a few (Nengwekhulu: 1986). People can be of the same racialized identity but differentiate themselves in terms of ethnicity (Nengwekhulu: 1986). To further elaborate on the notion held by Nengwekhulu, people can be of the same racialized identity as in they are racialized as Black but they speak different

languages for instance IsiXhosa and IsiZulu. Nengwekhulu argues that the use of ethnicity to mobilize votes often leads to violence. This tribalism notion is often deemed unnecessary and dangerous (Nengwekhulu; 1986). An example of this is the violence that took place in South Africa prior to the first democratic elections in 1994 between the Xhosa people and the Zulu people (Nengwekhulu: 1986). In contemporary South Africa, the use of race to mobilize voters to vote for a candidate running for office is considered convenient since in most cases, it leads to one party acquiring more votes (Ferree: 2011).

In a survey that was conducted in Ghana by Lindberg and Morrison: 2008, the argument that was put forward by these two researchers was that an overwhelming majority of the respondents to the survey do not vote due to ethnic or family ties but cast their ballots after evaluation of candidates and parties. Despite ethnicity being one of the major tools of identity, as per Lindberg and Morrison, ethnicity is not the only factor that influences voters to take a decision of voting (Lindberg and Morrison: 2008). It should be noted that the survey that was conducted by Lindberg and Morrison was only done in Ghana using the results of two different elections. These elections in question took place consecutively. What is evident is that the results that were attained from this survey that was conducted by Lindberg and Morrison are vague in nature. They only took into consideration the results of two consecutive elections in Ghana and ended up concluding that a majority of people in the African continent are not solely influenced by ethnicity when voting.

Another study that deals with ethnicity and elections is the study that was conducted by Norris and Mattes. According to Norris and Mattes, there is an influence of ethno-linguistic and ethno-racial characteristics on identification with the governing party in a dozen African states (2003). The research that was conducted by Norris and Mattes was conducted in 12 nations in Africa. The fact that the Norris and Mattes research study was conducted in various places makes it more credible compared to that Lindberg and Morrison research study. The research study that was conducted by Norris and Mattes is relevant to this piece of work in the sense that it deals with ethnicity on the basis of race namely ethno-racial as well as ethno-linguistic. The most important factor in the Norris and Mattes research study that is relevant to the question of race and elections is ethno-race. According to Norris and Mattes, ethno-racial deals with ethnicity on the basis of race (2003).

Racial identity is more common in Western countries such as the US based on multiple reasons. Robinson: 2009 asserts that in the African continent, ethnic identity seems to be the most dominant factor that people use to identify themselves rather than race. In the research study that was conducted by Romero regarding ethnic identity and voting behaviour in the 2007 Kenyan elections, it was argued that ethnic identity seems to be a factor that a majority of Kenyans use when identifying themselves (Romero: 2010). In the South African context, there seems to be a small link between race and ethnicity in the sense that the two seem to work interchangeably. It is important to note that even though race and ethnicity sometimes work interchangeably, racial identity prevails ethnic identity especially in a country like South Africa that has a history of race being embedded into different social structures (Modiri: 2012). The discussion of what ethnicity is and the link that exists between race and ethnicity leads to the discussion of how these two key elements of identity manifests themselves in elections. The first as well as the second segment of the chapter was only meant at defining these two concepts and also finding the link between the two that is race and ethnicity. The following segment of the chapter is meant at stipulating the various ways in which these two attributes of the research study play a role in the voting behaviour and how political parties make use of these key elements of identity (race and ethnicity) when it comes to attracting voters.

2.1.4 THE USE OF RACE AND ETHNICITY IN INFLUENCING VOTERS' DECISIONS

This segment of the chapter is aimed at dealing with one of the questions which forms part of the objectives of this research study. When one speaks of an influence, one is speaking about the capacity to have an effect on the character, development, or behaviour of someone or something, or the effect itself. If race and ethnicity are the main factors taken into consideration by the voter before casting his or her vote, then it is safe to say that race and ethnicity have influenced that voter in question to vote for the candidate or the political party of his or her choice. As explained in the previous segment of the chapter, there is an interrelatedness between race and ethnicity and due to that, when the discussion of these two is within the context of elections and voting behaviour, the reasons leading to a decision taken by a voter of voting for a certain candidate or political party running for office become sophisticated in nature. Why the need to put emphasis on identity when discussing voting behaviour? According to Anyangwe: 2012: 40, " such knowledge is useful from political and

governance perspectives because it enables political actors to shape their policies to meet voters' aspirations and expectations''. The political climate of South Africa is currently at a stage that is not considered a good state by some experts due to the land expropriation without compensation motion that was recently passed in the national parliament. One is not wrong to argue that the manner in which different race groups and ethnic groups in South Africa responded to the motion after it was passed was different. How is the discussion of the recent events in the national parliament relevant to this research study? The policies that are adopted by different political parties are aimed at furthering the interests of different race groups and each and every political party does not conform to the same policies.

Still at the topic of political parties not having the same policies due to the racial and ethnic identity of its voters, it is important to discuss the current events taking place in the country surrounding the debate of land expropriation without compensation. The demand for the expropriation of land without compensation seems to be a demand that White South Africans should not benefit again from colonialism and apartheid (Hall: 2018). This is just but there are consequences for this. Not all rural land is owned by White people; does the state intend on taking ownership of land owned by Black people for instance, land under the Ingonyama Trust in KwaZulu-Natal? The relevancy of discussing these current events taking place in South Africa is to shed a light on how different ethnic groups and racialized groups respond and how these events will have an effect in who these different race groups and ethnic groups vote for in the upcoming national elections in 2019.

The voting behaviour of voters from the 2011 local elections to the 2016 local elections suggest that identity is not the sole factor influencing voters (Anyangwe: 2012). This is attributed to various factors such as the policy preference of voters. What this means is that, as much as there is a role played by race and ethnicity on who the voters vote for, there are other factors that must be taken into consideration as these factors are more likely to shape the voting behaviour of voters. The different political parties in South Africa are supported by different people from different racial and ethnic background. If one takes into consideration the issue of the debate of land expropriation without compensation as a major influence to ones voting behaviour in the upcoming elections in 2019, the question of race and ethnicity still finds a way to manifest itself. There are different political parties that supported these motion of land expropriation and there are political parties that did not support this motion.

The Democratic Alliance is one of those political parties that did not support the motion (Gerber: 2018). The DA is often painted as a political party for White people and this is a statement that is often used by other political parties to paint the DA as a political party that only seeks to promote the interests of White South Africans only (Naidu: 2006). It is permissible to argue that White South Africans who own the vast majority of land in the country would be compelled to vote for the DA as it is one of the political parties that seek to promote their interest. This segment of the chapter simply implies that even in instances where issue-based voting is at the centre, identity politics still find a way of manifesting itself.

A country that is segmented by factors such as race, ethnicity or any other key factor falling under identity for that matter is more likely to have a situation where such factors namely race, ethnicity, are predominant factor that influences voters' decision-making (Anyangwe: 2012: 42). According to Anyangwe: 2012: 42, "A society segmented along any of those lines is one that is culturally diverse. It is one where interests and political conflicts tend to be perceived and defined in terms of those cleavages or fault lines." This is another reason which adds to the view that there is in fact a role that is played by identity in influencing voters. A society that is plagued by racial division is more likely to have a situation where voting behaviour is along the lines of race whereas a society that is plagued by deep ethnic divisions is more likely to have a situation where voting behaviour is along ethnic lines (Lever: 2006: 458).

The incorporation of the term "rainbow nation" in politics played down the efforts to use race or ethnicity for gaining votes during the first democratic elections. This does not mean that identity notably race did not manifest itself when it comes to influencing voting behaviour. In the events leading up to the 1994 first democratic elections in SA, political parties such as the NP were seen as a White racist party, while the ANC was (and continues to be perceived as) the party of the majority Blacks (Anyangwe: 2012: 45-46). This is still prevalent in contemporary South Africa. Cooper: 1994 argues that there are political parties that are seen or regarded as upholding racist views e.g. the Freedom Front Plus. The FFP has always been regarded as a racially or ethnically exclusive political party (Cooper: 1994). The idea that some political parties use identity notably race and ethnicity to get votes justifies the notion that there is in fact a role that is played by race and ethnicity when it comes to influencing voting behaviour.

Anyangwe states that South African history shows that the country is racially divided and political party support in the country is highly racialized in nature (Anyangwe: 2012: 46). The major reason for this phenomenon lies in the legacies of colonialism including Apartheid (Anyangwe: 2012: 46). Race has always been a dominant feature shaping voting behaviour in South Africa. The history of Apartheid informs us that voting was a privilege reserved for White South Africans only during the Apartheid era. It is also of great importance to note that social cohesion was based solely on race and ethnicity during the Apartheid era. Due to these ideas of race and ethnicity being major determinants of a way of life for South Africans, it is permissible to argue that even in contemporary South Africa; there is in fact a role played by race and ethnicity in influencing voting behaviour. The impact that these two key elements of identity have on contemporary South African voting behaviour may not be as impactful as during the Apartheid era but the prevalence is still there.

When looking at the leading political party that is in power in contemporary South Africa, one might wonder if it is in fact that the ANC uses the history of racialisation to gain votes in some instances. Scholars such as Karen Ferree believe that this is the case based on the notion that the ANC paints the leading opposition political party as a White party (Ferree: 2011:198). According to Ferree: 2011: 198, the ruling party;

Uses a negative framing strategy that relies on "the control of information and reputation, the ability to frame election campaigns through a deeper campaign chest and bigger media presence, and a monopoly of African political talent" to cast opposition parties as untrustworthy.

Habib and Naidu assert that there is denial when it comes to admitting that there is in fact a role that is played by race when it comes to the voting behaviour of South Africans (Habib and Naidu: 2006:83). According to Habib and Naidu, it is often argued that the race argument treats race as an independent factor of voting behaviour (Habib and Naidu: 2006:83). Habib and Naidu further states that there is often an argument put forward that emphasising that race is a dominant factor of voting behaviour is not good in the sense that it adds to the division that already exists due to racial division that was formed as a result of Apartheid as well as colonialism (Naidu and Habib: 2006:83). Habib and Naidu are of the view that the voting behaviours in South Africa resemble the notion that ethnic as well as racial identities play a major role in determining the voting behaviour of South Africans (2006:84). The election results of 1999 show that race was in fact the most dominant factor influencing

voters in their decision-making of voting for political parties of their choice (Naidu: 2006:84). Naidu cites various sources to prove this. Political parties that were believed to be only concerned with the interests of the minorities used the tactic known as the politics of exclusion to try and scare minorities into believing that the political parties that were led by Black people were going to exclude minorities (Naidu and Habib: 2006:85). Political parties that were believed to represent the interests of the minorities managed to get tons of votes from minorities such as White people, Asians, Indians as well as Coloureds (Naidu and Habib: 2006:85). The National Party is an example of a political party that used this tactic.

Naidu and Habib also argue that the Eastern Cape supported the United Democratic Movement based on the fact that the person who was the leader of the party hailed from the Eastern Cape and was Xhosa (2006). What Naidu and Habib are implying is that in some instances, voters take into consideration ethnicity when voting. Ethnicity is one aspect of identity that tends to be confused with the notion of race. Naidu also discusses how a political party, such as the United Christian Democratic Party exploited ethnic divisions in the country by ensuring that it was more appealing to people who spoke Setswana (Naidu and Habib: 2006). According to Naidu and Habib, leaders of the UCDM argued that the ANC was a "Xhosa-led" political party, therefore it was not wise for those who did not speak Xhosa to support this political party (2006). The same phenomenon can be noted about the IFP, which had a majority of its supporters from voters who spoke isiZulu as their first language and people who hailed from KwaZulu-Natal. According to Naidu and Habib, race considerations will remain a reality in South Africa's future history based on the fact that this country has a long history of racial injustices that still exist till this day (2006). It would be unreasonable to believe that the dominance of race will diminish when it comes to being the main factor based on the fact that this country has been dominated by racism in the past 350 years (Naidu and Habib: 2006). Naidu and Habib believe that it is only "normal" to expect Black people to continue voting along racial lines because there has been White dominance in this country for such a long period of time (2006). Seekings believes that some Black people fear that if they vote for political parties that are led by White people, there is going to be an Apartheid 2.0 due to the fact that some White South Africans are not prepared to do away with segregation and accept diversity (Seekings: 2008).

Naidu and Habib: 2006 are of the view that in certain instances, some political parties are either inclusive or exclusive in racial terms. Naidu and Habib believe that race is not the only factor that is taken into consideration, but it is the dominant one (2006). According to Naidu and Habib, if a political party assumes that certain issues are only relevant to certain racialized groups and ethnic groups, some voters might judge that political party as not representing their interests therefore choosing not to vote for the concerned political party (Naidu and Habib: 2006). Naidu and Habib conclude by stating that even though race seems to be an important factor in daily realities and social interactions of South Africans, it is not the only variable or identity element that shapes the voting behaviour of South Africans (2006).

Ferree puts more emphasis on the use of race by the ruling party to gain votes (Ferree: 2011). A number of aforementioned scholars such as Habib, Naidu, James Wilmot provide reasons as to why race is still used in contemporary South Africa as an influence on voters. As stated previously, there is a coherent history of political parties using identity to gain votes. There are political parties that gain support from certain racialized groups and a good example of a political party that gains more support from a racialized group in particular is the Minority Front which has its head offices in Durban (Kekana: 2014). The Minority Front gains most of its support from the Indian population that is based in KwaZulu-Natal province (Kekana: 2014). Several articles written by scholars in relation to the "Indian vote" in South Africa suggest that the Minority Front is the political party that always get more Indian South Africans to vote for it during elections, provided it is local elections or national elections (Kekana: 2014).

Voting along the lines of race and ethnicity explains the failure of the governing political party to govern the Western Cape Province (Anyangwe: 2012: 47). The fact that the Western Cape province is dominated by coloureds as well as White South Africans contribute the ANC's failure to be able to capture enough votes to be the governing political party in that province (Anyangwe: 2012: 47). For a very long time, the Inkatha Freedom Party has always been regarded as a political party that seeks to uphold the interests of the Zulus thus being labelled a Zulu political party (Anyangwe: 2012: 47). The identity question in voting behaviour is manifesting itself not just racially, but ethnically as well. Although there is assertion supported by literature from various scholars that there is indeed a role that is played by identity when it comes to shaping the voting behaviour of the country, there are some scholars who

question this assumption. These scholars reject the idea that voters are “controlled” or obligated by race when voting (Ramutsindela: 2002). The argument that is put forward by scholars such as Ramutsindela, Cooper, Du Toit, Habib and Naidu is that there are some voters who make decisions of voting for political parties of their choice based on issues raised by these political parties running for office rather than solely the question of identity (Anyangwe: 2012: 48).

There are certain racialized groups that are not fully represented in political parties in South Africa and that is one of the reasons why local elections are important because under special instances, individual candidates are allowed to run for office (Le Fleur and Jansen: 2013). An ethnic group such as the Khoisan is not represented in a manner that most Khoisan would prefer and that is one of the reasons why local elections allow such groups to participate while representing their own interests (Le Fleur and Jansen: 2013). It is important to note that people may run for office during the local election as individual candidates not representing any major well-known political party and that is one of the reasons which make it easier for those racialized groups or ethnic groups that believe that they are not fully represented during national elections to run for office while promoting their own interests. In some cases, people use ethnicity to identify themselves not just race (Norris and Mattes: 2009). People sometimes confuse race and ethnicity.

Van Der Merwe, Mbanjwa and Du Plessis wrote a piece on a newspaper suggesting that “X is still drawn along racial lines” (2014). Voters make decisions based on race and not based on policies put forward by the political parties running for office (Van Der Merwe, Mbanjwa and Du Plessis: 2014). According to Van Der Merwe, Mbanjwa and Du Plessis, the presence of the large gap between the poor and the rich contribute to the notion that voters still vote while taking into consideration race in this country (2014). The DA has overwhelming support from White South Africans and it has been argued that this is due to the fact that the DA seeks to protect the interests of White South Africans (Van Tonder: 2015). According to Modisane: 2015, a large majority of Black South Africans can hardly identify with the DA. Modisane: 2015 asserts that a large majority of Black South Africans believe that the DA is just as the same as political parties that were there during the Apartheid era. These are political parties such as the National Party, Freedom Front Plus (Modisane: 2015).

Ferree blames political parties like the ANC for using racial systems of the past such as Apartheid to gain votes, especially votes from Black people (2011). Ferree argues that there are some Black people who are under the assumption that a political party that is led by a White person would bring back policies that are similar to those of the Apartheid era if put in office so they vote for political parties that are led by Black people instead (2011). Ferree believes that South African Post-Apartheid elections have become a racial imprint (2011). Ferree uses the data from 1994, 1999 elections as well as her own 2004 dataset to argue that one of the reasons why the ANC won by over 50% is because it depicted the opposition parties as violence-prone apartheid collaborators (2011). What Ferree means by this statement is that the ANC labelled the opposition parties as political parties which were in support of the policies that were put in place during the Apartheid era. According to Ferree, using race as a tool for negative branding helps in building racial consensus and maintaining party dominance (2011). If a political party such as the ANC labels the leading opposition as a political party representing only the interests of White South Africans who benefited from Apartheid, several voters will take this statement to the voting polls and cast their votes for the ANC or any other political party that is not considered as representing the interests of the White South Africans (Ferree: 2011). This is shown by the dominance of the leading political party in contemporary South Africa (Ferree: 2011).

In a research study that was conducted by Rule, it was argued that the 1999 South African national elections suggested that South Africa's voting behaviour was almost racialized (2004). People who were participating in the research study that was conducted by denied that they were motivated to vote for the political parties of their choice simply because of race (Rule: 2004). Rule was of the view that there was a strong coincidence that existed between the political parties' policies and the racial identity as well as the priorities of the voters (2004). The fact that during the 1999 elections voters voted while influenced by race does not mean that in every election in South Africa; voters are influenced by race when voting. According to Rule, "voting behaviour in this country strongly suggests that race is the primary consideration in the voters' decision about the political party for which he or she is to vote." (2004:7). According to Rule, there is evidence that proves that people are solely motivated by race when they vote for the political parties of their choice (2004). This might even be supported by the fact that in local elections, people are given a choice to vote for

individual candidates so race might be a major factor influencing the voter. What is of interest here is that when people were questioned if race was one of the factors that influenced them in their decision-making when it comes to voting for the political party of their choice is that people gave answers that implied that race played a minimal role in their voting decisions (Rule: 2004).

According to Mattes, the relationship that exists between race and party support in South Africa is owed to the experience of Apartheid that structured individual interests (1995). The point that made by Mattes is that the history of racial injustices that took place during the Apartheid era played a major role in shaping the voting behaviour of South Africans especially Black South Africans who voted for the first time in 1994. According to Mattes: 1995, "the over-emphasis of race during election campaigns by some political parties play a role when it comes to influencing people into thinking along racial lines". When doing this, political parties tend to mention race in a subtle manner. Political parties are still using race in contemporary South Africa to try to get people to vote for them. When leaders of political parties, e.g. White South Africans, Indian South Africans, Coloured South Africans try to speak any of the Bantu languages while addressing a crowd that is largely populated by Black South Africans, these leaders are trying to appeal to a certain racialized group and they are using language to achieve this. A good example of this would be the former leader of the DA when she was speaking Xhosa while addressing people during the DA's election campaign (Dlanga: Mail & Guardian: 2015).

In a research study conducted by Gavin Davis on the role race plays when influencing voters, he argued that the decline of partisan support was a clear indication that South Africa was gearing towards non-racialized society (2004). On an everyday basis, people tend to think outside the box as far as race is concerned, but during the election day, the results often show that people support a party or a candidate that fit their demographic profile (Davis: 2004). When people are asked if they are influenced by race when it comes to electing the political party or candidate of their choice, they often argue that race has nothing to do with whom they vote for or the political party that they choose to support (Davis: 2004). Election results often display a contrary outcome to what the voters say (Davis: 2004). Davis uses the critique of many scholars to try to explain if race is in fact one of the dominant influences in the voting behaviour of South Africans. According to scholars such as Taylor and Hocane, the outcome

of elections in South Africa can be interpreted through a careful consideration of class and economy (Davis: 2004). Later in the research study, there is going to be a detailed discussion of how class and race sometimes co-exist when it comes to explaining voting behaviour of South Africans either during national elections or during local elections.

In some instances, political parties or candidates running for office during local elections often appeal to voters in racial terms as well as ethnic terms. This is one of the reasons that make it convincing for some scholars to argue that the voting behaviour of South Africans is centred on identity. When the ANC was campaigning for the 1999 national elections, it described itself as a political party that represented the interests of Black workers, the Black middle strata, Black business in its various ramifications, the rural poor and others' (Davis: 2004). One of the reasons behind the success of the ANC (national elections as well as local elections) is that the ANC appears as a political party that seeks to redressing the racial injustices of the past (Davis: 2004). The ANC has always been a political party that prides itself on being a liberation party and the constant reference to the history of Apartheid helps political parties such as the ANC in influencing voters (Naidu: 2006). Not only has the ANC been vocal about its involvement in the struggle against the Apartheid regime, prominent leaders of the party have also been vocal about the issue of race since the first democratic elections (Naidu: 2006).

Political leaders such as Thabo Mbeki have spoken against a society that uses race as well as ethnicity as a motivation for influencing voting behaviour (Letsholo: 2005:11). In a research study that was conducted by Letsholo on the voting behaviour of voters after the 2004 elections, it was argued that the dominance of the ANC in the voting polls came as a result of politics of identity, economic factors and campaigned strategies (Letsholo: 2005:13). Letsholo was of the view that ethnicity as well as race did not play any vital role in the dominance of the ANC in 2004. Race and ethnicity were some of the factors that were taken into consideration by the voters but they were not the dominant factors that shaped the voting behaviour of these voters in question (Letsholo: 2005). When it comes to the voting decisions of the South African voters, several aforementioned scholars seem to be disputing the argument that race is the only factor influencing to the voters. According to Ferree: 2011, it is difficult to agree with the notion that race is the only factor influencing voters because of the country's diversity. South Africa is a multi-cultural, multi-racial society (Ferree: 2011).

Regardless of the position taken by the aforementioned scholars on race and ethnicity, the phenomenon of race and ethnicity taking the centre stage in every election is still persistent in contemporary South Africa. Race and ethnicity may not be the dominant factors shaping the voting behaviour of voters but the matter at hand is that there is in fact a role played by these two regardless of whether this role is minimal or impactful. If the question is to what extent are these two key factors of identity relevant in influencing voting behaviour then the answer is not to an extent that they did during the Apartheid era and the first three democratic elections in the country. This segment of the chapter discussed briefly how political parties take use identity notably race and ethnicity to influence voters in voting for these political parties running for office. The following segment of the chapter focuses on the interconnection between race and class while limiting the discussion to voting behaviour.

2.1.4.1 RACE AND CLASS IN SOUTH AFRICA UNDER THE CONTEXT OF ELECTIONS

This segment of the chapter discusses the close relation that exists between race and class within the South African context. The discussion of these two will be limited to voting behaviour. This segment starts off with a brief discussion of what class is then proceed to the discussion of class and race within South African elections and voting behaviour. According to Weber: 1978, class refers to;

....a category of men who have in common a specific causal component of their life chances in so far as this component is represented exclusively by economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income, and it is represented under the conditions of the commodity or labour market.

The definition of class or social class that is given by Weber implies that class deals with economic interests of a society (Weber: 1978). Weber asserts that one's social class is measured through the possession of goods and opportunities for income (Weber: 1978). There is a close relationship that exists between class and status. According to Weber: 1978: 932, status groups are defined within a sphere of communal interaction and there is always a level of identity. In relation to this research study, the identity in question is that of race and ethnicity. When dealing with the differences between class and status, Weber argues that the contrast between class and status is the nature of the mechanisms through which class and status shape inequalities of the material and symbolic conditions people's lives (Weber: 1978:935). According to Weber: 1978: 935, class affects material well-being directly through

the kinds of economic assets people bring to market exchanges whereas status affects material well-being indirectly, through the ways that categories of social honour underwrite various coercive mechanisms.

A discussion of class is incomplete without a brief analysis of Karl Marx's literature on class. It has already been established that race has always been a vital instrument used to mirror South Africa's socioeconomic pecking order. In this research study, the brief discussion of how Black South Africans were not allowed to vote during the Apartheid era is a good example showing how racialized identity has always been an instrumental factor in shaping the livelihood of South Africans. According to Karl Marx, there exists a relationship between what he calls the proletariat and the bourgeoisie (Karl Marx: 2018). The relationship between the two involves labour with the proletariat offering his services to the bourgeoisie in return of payments by the latter (Karl Marx: 2018). In general terms, Black South Africans fall under the proletariat as they are the majority of the working class whereas White South Africans fall under the bourgeoisie as they are the upper class. The bourgeoisie controls capital and the means of production whereas the proletariat provide the labour (Karl Marx: 2018). The history of South Africa establishes that the bourgeoisie attained capital and means of production through the enslavement of the native, through Apartheid and colonization. The relevance of the discussion of the history of SA in this segment of the research study is to show how these aforementioned events have an impact on influencing voting behaviour especially on the part of the proletariat.

White South Africans are affluent compared to other racialized groups in the country. The discussion of the affluence of the different racialized groups in SA is to show that those who are rich are influenced by different factors when voting compared to those who are poor. Previous election results show that the DA receives most of its support from White South Africans and minority racialized groups whereas the ANC receives most of its support from Black South Africans (Sylvester: 2009:3). When examining political party support in South Africa through the lens of class, the majority of South Africans who form part of the upper class support the DA whereas those who form part of the lower class as well as the working class support political parties such as the ANC, EFF, etc. What this means is that in South Africa, class and identity notably racialized identity have always determined political power. The majority of the ANC's supporters are to be found in the lower income groups. According

to Croucamp: 2018 of News24, the relative majority of opposition voters, on the other hand, can be found within minority groups who are generally higher income earners than Black South Africans. Issues of race and class cannot be divorced from each other in the socio-economic context of South Africa.

Croucamp asserts that South African political parties sets their election campaign to appease specific demographics. These demographics are organized along racial lines as well as class (Croucamp: 2018). As mentioned previously, the different racialized groups in South Africa support political parties on the basis of priorities or issues that political parties seek to address (Ferree: 2011). Pernegger and Godehart: 2007 argue that the middle class as well as the upper class is mostly found in urban areas in South Africa and the lower class is mostly found in rural areas as well as in townships. The South African lower class consist of a vast majority of Black people and the upper-class consist of a vast majority of White people as well as Indians (Pernegger and Godehart: 2007). As already stated previously, the political interests of those who control the means of production and those who provide labour are not the same. Political parties running for office take this factor into consideration when campaigning for office.

The inception of the EFF in 2013 has changed the political climate in SA. The discussion of identity and class has become an occurrence which takes place on a daily basis. One cannot talk about South African politics, the economy, land or any other topic, without bringing in the inequalities based on race. The inequality is along racial lines and those who form part of the lower class or those who are poor are the ones who are mostly affected by inequality. Although identity is an important factor taken into consideration by voters, in some instances, the social position of one determine political preference of some individuals (Seekings: 1997). This is one way in which class manifests itself in voting behaviour. What this segment of the chapter did was to briefly discuss what class is and link the discussion of class to South African voting behaviour. The next segment of the chapters continues the discussion of identity, elections and voting behaviour. It seeks to explore the link between the three.

2.1.4.2 IDENTITY, ELECTIONS AND VOTING BEHAVIOUR. A LINK BETWEEN THE THREE.

This segment of the chapter continues from the previous discussion of the link that exists between race and ethnicity and how these two key elements are used by political parties to influence voting behaviour. The discussion is not merely on race and ethnicity only but it also includes different aspects of identity for instance, religion. This segment of the chapter

discusses how the identity of candidates running for office or the members of political parties that the electorate vote for have an impact in influencing voters. There is a general discussion of how identity is influential in elections.

One of the interesting aspects of identity when it comes to how people identify themselves is that identity can be used as a tool for political mobilization (Eifler, Miguel, and Posner: 2010: 508). Ethnic identities as well as racial identities are powerful motivators of voting behaviour in Africa (Eifler, Miguel, and Posner: 2010). In a number of African countries, ethnic identity is seen as an important tool for political mobilisation (Eifler, Miguel and Posner: 2010: 494). According to Eifler, Miguel and Posner 2010: 494, " ethnic identities matter in Africa for instrumental reasons: because they are useful in the competition for political power". Eifler, Miguel and Posner came to this argument after conducting surveys among 35,000 respondents in 22 public opinion surveys in 10 countries in Africa. South Africa is a notable country in Africa where both racial identities as well as ethnic identity go hand in hand as far as influencing voters is concerned. According to Ramutsendela: 2002: 47, "identity can be mobilised for political action." One aspect of one's ethnicity includes language and language is another tool that is popular among Black South Africans when it comes to identity (Ramutsendela: 2002).

Nationality is also seen as a dominant factor used for identity among some South Africans especially White South Africans, Indian South Africans as well as Coloured South Africans (Ramutsendela: 2002: 47). These are South Africans who use nationality as a major tool for identity rather than using ethnicity or racial identity when identifying themselves (Ramutsendela: 2002: 47). In a national survey of public opinion that was conducted by HSRC in 1999, at least 61% of the respondents argued that they saw themselves as South Africans (Ramutsendela: 2002: 47). As previously discussed, language is also a popular factor that used by South Africans as far as identity is concerned. In the HSRC national survey conducted in 1999, at least 15% indicate that their primary identity was in terms of language (Ramutsendela: 2002: 47). Various South African languages that are used by South Africans as a source of identity have been previously listed in this research study. Another source of identity is religious categorisation and South Africa is no exception to this phenomenon (Ramutsendela: 2002: 48). In other words, religion is also used as a major source of identity and in South Africa, this is a phenomenon that is often seen occurring. In the HSRC national

survey conducted in 1999, it was concluded that at least one out of ten Indian South Africans used religion as a major source of identity (Ramutsendela: 2002: 48). The African Christian Democratic Party is one of the prominent political parties in South Africa that consist mainly of Christians (conservative Christians) (Swart: 2012).

In the first democratic elections that took place in 1994, race as well as ethnicity were arguably the determinants of voting behaviour in that time (Ramutsendela: 2002:49). While explaining the link that exists between identity and elections, Ramutsendela (2002:49) uses the critique of Eldridge and Seeking who also argued that during the first democratic elections in South Africa, race as well as ethnicity were major determinants of the voting behaviour. This interpretation is problematic in the sense that the identity of the voters whose voting behaviour is in question must also be brought into discussion. According to Mattes: 1995: 36, "because if we claim that group-related factors like race or ethnicity , influence voting decisions directly, the first necessary condition is that voters must think of themselves in racial or ethnic terms". As far as the identity of South Africans is concerned, South Africans do not only rely on race as well as ethnicity only as a source of identity.

According to Habib and Naidu: 2006:81, ".....the racial census thesis is not the only factor that determines and/or explains voter behaviour of the South African electorate". Habib and Naidu 2006: 81 argued that voters voted for the political parties of their choice after making rational choices during elections. Habib and Naidu used the elections results of the 1994 national elections, 1999 elections as well as the results of the 2004 national elections to conclude that race as well as ethnicity were not the only factors as far as motivating voters into taking decisions of voting for political parties of their choices was concerned (2006: 81). According to Habib and Naidu: 2006: 83, " in the run-up to the elections political parties configured their electoral campaigns on the assumptions inherent in this racial census thesis". The point that is being made by Habib and Naidu is that even political parties focused on identity as a way of attracting voters. Political parties such as the Democratic Party as well as the New National Party "prioritized... issues in relation to how particular issues correlated to the interests of their specific racial and ethnic group support as revealed in opinion poll data" (Taylor and Hoeane 1999: 133-44).

The question of identity is very important as far as shaping the voting behaviour of people is concerned. Race is one of the most important characteristics of identity and South Africa has

a long history of how valuable race was as far as shaping voting behaviour is concerned. It is important to take into consideration the fact that some people prefer to use other characteristics to identify themselves, but the question of race always plays a major role in one's identity, especially in a society like South Africa. Since the first democratic elections, every South African president has been a Black person. According to scholars such as Ferree, the idea of having a Black person as a president of the country for the next following years is something that every South African should get used to (Ferree: 2011). This is due to the dominance of the ANC in elections, which is a political party that is mostly supported by Black South Africans who are the majority in the country. When dealing with the race of the candidates that are running for office in local elections, it is very difficult to get adequate information as far as the identity of the people running for office is concerned based on the fact that the emphasis towards local elections is put when the elections are around the corner.

Habib and Naidu believed that politicians, especially politicians who represented opposition political parties to the ANC were making a huge mistake in basing their electoral campaigns on racial assumptions about the South African electorate (Habib and Naidu: 2006:83). Habib and Naidu believe that if people running for office keep on mentioning race in their election campaigns, this might have negative effects when it comes to attracting a cross-section of the electorate (2006:84). The argument that is made by Habib and Naidu is that not every South Africans care about race especially when it comes to sources of identity and the manner in which identity is used to draw votes by candidates running for office or political parties running for office. Literature focusing on the African continent as well as Europe explains the various ways in which elections campaigns are often shaped by the use of identity to attract votes. In this research study, there is a thorough discussion of how elections in countries such as the United Kingdom, Canada as well as Kenya are often dominated by identity as the dominant source of the voting behaviour of the voters. This leads to the next segment of the chapter which explores the voting behaviour of students in tertiary institutions considering that this research study uses students as participants.

2.1.5 VOTING BEHAVIOUR OF STUDENTS IN TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS.

The need for the discussion of the voting behaviour of students in tertiary institutions is of great importance and relevance to this research study. The research study involves tertiary

students as respondents so it is only permissible that there is a brief discussion of the voting behaviour of students. This segment of the chapter will evaluate and discuss briefly the role that is played by various aspects of identity notably race and ethnicity when it comes to shaping the voting behaviour of students in tertiary institutions. In this segment of the chapter, literature from South African scholars as well as literature from European scholars will be used.

According to Letsholo: 2005, "voting behaviour refers to factors that determine the manner in which a particular group of people vote for a specific political party." The political thinking of young people in South Africa has changed drastically. The success of the #feesmustfall campaign proves that there is in fact a role that is played by the youth in tertiary institutions when it comes to influencing decision-making at the executive level of the national government. Age is one of the key factors that should be noted when discussing the voting behaviour of youth (Wiese: 2012:1). According to Wiese 2012: 2, ".....there are a number of age effects that determine and influence levels of participation during elections." The literature on the voting behaviour of young people suggests that the youth is apathetic when it comes to voting (Wiese: 2012: 2). As stated by Wiese, if a large proportion of the South African youth shows apathetic attitudes to participation in political activities of voting or taking part in elections; this should be seen as a concern. Some of the general reasons which attribute to the youth's apathetic attitude towards elections include focusing more of their efforts locally. Rather than getting caught up in the oomph of elections, students prefer and are choosing to, make differences in their communities rather than spending their energy in what they see as largely irrelevant elections (Anderson 2015: 6). Anderson is referring to students who are in tertiary educational institutions in the US. When looking at South Africa, apathy attitude by the youth towards political participation is blamed at political institutions' failure to involve the youth and prioritising their interests (Sachs 2006:1). The difference when it comes to South African youth as far as political attitude is concerned is that the South African youth has a history of being actively involved in politics. This makes it impermissible to state that the youth in South Africa is apathetic towards politics. It would however be permissible to state that the involvement of the South African youth in politics has been on the decline compared to the youth that was fighting the Apartheid government.

Social characteristics such as gender, race, ethnicity to name a few, are important when it comes to determining voting behaviour (Ball & Peters 2005:175). Wiese uses the critique of Ball and Peters while discussing voting behaviour in tertiary institutions. The reason for this is to show that students in tertiary institutions are not exempt from having these characteristics (race, gender and ethnicity) as major factors determining their voting behaviour. There is no concrete connection between the South African youth of today and the struggles that were faced by the youth that was at the forefront of these past struggles in question for instance, the youth of 1976 (Peter: 2004: 9). The current generation is privileged enough to be the youth that has been exposed to media more than any other generation in South African history (Peter: 2004: 9). What this means is that the current generation gets an opportunity to see a "non-racial South Africa", a rainbow nation, "a better life for all". In terms of this research study, being exposed to concepts such as "a non-racial SA" has a potential of subtracting identity voting especially race-based voting from the equation as the new generation is led to believe that race is not as important as it was during the apartheid era.

Heywood (2002:243) adds to the discussion of sociological factors link voting behaviour group membership. In terms of this research study, the sociological factors in question are race as well as ethnicity. Voters tend to assume a voting behaviour that reflects the social position or circumstances of the group to which they belong. Although sociological factors do play a role when it comes to determining voting behaviour, there is empirical evidence suggesting that the link between sociological factors and party support has declined in modern societies (Heywood: 2002: 243). The Heywood statement regarding the decline of the link that exists between party support and sociological factors was made in 2002 and if the fact that this study is conducted in 2018 is considered, one would note that in terms of the Heywood logic, the decline has even been worse. Stating that the voting behaviour of students who are in tertiary educational institutions is race as well ethnic-based in nature would be vague. This is stated while taking into consideration some the factors that have been listed in this segment of the chapter such as the constant "non-racial South Africa" concept that the youth sees in the media, the apathy attitude towards politics by the youth and the fact that race as a lived experience manifests itself differently to different people and students in tertiary institutions are not all going to share the same view about voting behaviour regardless of their race.

When Wiese says the South African youth's view on political participation is apathetic and disengaged she is saying that their views on politics and democracy in general are different from those of previous generations (Wiese: 2011). Almost every person in tertiary has access to the internet which is the most important source of communication as well as information nowadays. Social media falls under a source of communication in the sense that people communicate regarding voting on social media. If a person has made up his or her mind regarding a political party that she or he is going to vote, social media has the power of changing that by influencing the person to change his or her electoral behaviour. The effect that the media have on an electoral is huge (Wiese: 2011). The role that is played by the media is that of informing people about the elections and the media also plays a huge role when it comes to the way in which people form their opinion regarding their view on political parties of their choice. The media is one of the determining factors of voting behaviour (Wiese: 2011). The media plays a major role when it comes to influencing voters in their electoral choices, especially people in tertiary based on the fact that a number of students in universities have access to the internet which makes it easier to get one's point across. Wiese used the critique of different scholars to argue her point of how mass media is often used to influence people into voting for political parties and the candidates that represent these political parties.

Wiese uses the critique of Heywood to make her point about how influential mass media is in influencing voters. Wiese asserts that Heywood associates the influence that the mass media has on the people to what he refers to as dominant-ideology model (Wiese: 2011). Ideological control and manipulation have the capacity to shape individual choices (Wiese: 2011). Since a majority of people in universities have access to mass media, it is easy to influence these people in their individual choices when it comes to voting, who they vote for and the reasons why these people are voting for whom they are voting for. It is true that political participation is low in youth, but it increases during early adulthood (Wiese: 2011). University students who were not active in politics sometimes become active political participants when they get into universities due to being exposed to university "politics". These people could be influenced by a number of reasons to become active political participants in universities, e.g. the identity of the people that are active political participants in university, the issues that need to be addressed in universities, the easy access to the mass media, which is manipulative in nature etc. There are student representatives in almost every tertiary institution that is in South

Africa and these representatives are elected yearly. Some people involve themselves for the first time in politics through these different student representative organizations. The media play an important role in informing people about elections and at the same time it has the capacity to shape the way in which people or voters form their opinions on the political parties or candidates that are running for president.

As stated previously in the literature concerning the voting behaviour of students who are in tertiary institutions, there is an apathy attitude shown by the youth towards political participation. The recent figures regarding voting registration throughout the world dispute the notion that there is a loss of interest in the youth when it comes to being involved in politics and politics being limited to participating in elections. In the UK for instance, there was a record young voter turnout recorded during the 2017 general elections (Pentelow: 2017). During the voter registration for the 2019 South African national elections, the Independent Electoral Commission stated that more than 400,000, or 82%, of the new registrations were people under the age of 30 (Tandwa: 2018). The aim of discussing voting behaviour of students in tertiary institutions was to try and justify the need for the use of university students in this research study as research study respondents. There is in fact an increase in the number of young people who participate in political activities in the country South Africa.

In this segment of the chapter, various sociological characteristics that are vital for shaping voting behaviour were listed. Some of these characteristics include race and ethnicity which have been discussed on an in-depth basis at the introduction of this chapter. In this chapter, there was a discussion of all relevant literature concerning race and ethnicity and the role that these two key elements of identity play when it comes to influencing voting behaviour. The chapter started off with a brief discussion pertaining to what these concepts mean. The reason for this was to ensure that there was a clear understanding of what it is that the research study is all about. The discussion of what these two concepts mean was followed by a brief discussion of the link that exists between the two. There was a discussion of African literature as well as US literature. The segment of the chapter following the discussion of the link that exists between race and ethnicity got into a broad discussion of the heart of the research study. There was a discussion how race and ethnicity are used to influence voters. Literature from scholars such as Naidu was used to prove that political parties in South Africa

rely on identity notably racial identity when it comes to canvassing for votes and voters actually take this notion into consideration when voting. The next chapter discusses theories used to guide this research study.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the theoretical framework that guides this research study. The two major theories used in this research study are as follows: critical race theory and sociological theory. In this chapter, there will be a broad description of these theories. The chapter starts off with a brief discussion of what these theories mean before moving on to key elements that these theories possess. The discussion of characteristics of these theories is followed by the discussion of the relevance that these theories have on this research study from the literature to the analysis of data. This chapter helps in guiding the entire research study as the theories used offer insight into addressing and answering the research questions and objectives.

3.1.2 CRITICAL RACE THEORY

Critical race theory is a theory that is centred on race. South Africa is a country that has a long history of social, political, economic injustices that were centred on race. There were times when race determined if a person was allowed to vote or not meaning that to a great extent, race played a major role in determining the political party in power. Critical race theorists all favour the social construction of race over the biological notion of race and this is one of the reasons why the critical race theory was created. During the Apartheid era, race overtly shaped the social dynamics of South Africa (Puttick: 2012:11). Despite the democratic changes that were brought about after the 1994 national elections, race continues till this day to have an impact on the lives of South Africans. After the first democratic elections in 1994, it was clear that a discourse on race and how race continues to shape the social fabrics of South Africa was needed as there were not that many changes despite Black South Africans being afforded political power (Puttick:2012). Scholars who are considered as critical race theorists saw it fit to have a discourse on race and its impact on the livelihood of South Africans after coming to a realization that there were not that much of a change after 1994 (Modiri: 2012).

According to Delgado and Stefancinc: 2012: 2, critical race theory is “a collection of activists and scholars interested in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power.” Critical race theory rejects the notion that “race” can be neutral and objective

(Crenshaw, et al., 1995). Critical race theory explores, for example, how systems of culture, privilege and power are related (Delgado, 1989). It considers how the construction of race benefits certain groups, and it examines the historical context of uneven power relations (Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado & Crenshaw, 2003). What can be detected from the above statement is how aforementioned scholars such as Matsuda, Delgado and Crenshaw also uphold the notion that race is socially constructed. In the context of this research study, the historical injustices inflicted on Black people by the White minority during the Apartheid era do have an impact on the well-being of Black South Africans in contemporary South Africa. Critical race theory asks questions about the processes that institutions and organisations use to maintain ethnic, racial, gender and other forms of subordination (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002). Critical race theory is built on two previous movements' namely, critical legal studies and radical feminism (Delgado and Stefancic: 2012: 4). It is a theory that was established in the US hence the use of US scholars on a frequent basis compared to South African scholars.

Critical race theory contains an activist dimension (Delgado and Stefancic: 2012: 3). It challenges the notion that racialized identity as well as race as a concept do not matter. Critical race theory affirms the relevancy and the prevalence of race in any society in the world. Critical race theory also affirms that there is dominance of one racialized group at the expense of other racialized groups and SA is no exception to this notion held by the critical race theory. Race as a system that is used to classify people into different categories is embedded in every social, political, cultural and economic structure to maintain the dominance of one racialized group at the expense of minority racialized groups (Onwuachi-Willig: 2008). A good example of this phenomenon is through the ownership of property and the exploitation of labour by one racialized group at the expense of other racialized groups (Cheryl I. Harris: 1993). According to Harris: 1993 1709, racial identity and property are deeply interrelated notions. The manner in which the role that is played by race in our society manifests itself in various shapes and forms and elections is no exception to this. Critical race theory is of the view that people should not be comfortable with the false perception that we live in a colour-blind world where everyone is equal and treated in a fair and equal manner without the consideration of one's racialized identity (Modiri: 2017). South Africa is a country that has a long history of racial inequality and one of the various ways in which these inequalities were maintained was by ensuring that Black people were not allowed to

participate in elections or voting. According to Modiri: 2012: 229, South Africa is a country with a unique history of totalitarian White supremacist rule and institutionalised anti-black racism. This makes it permissible to have a discussion of how the question of race is still relevant today even though a majority of South Africans are under the false assumption that we are now living in a post-Apartheid society where everyone is equal (Modiri: 2017).

There are at least five tenets that form the basic perspectives, research methods and pedagogy of CRT (Solórzano, 2002). In simple terms, these are the characteristics of critical race theory. The first tenet argues that race is central and endemic to finding out how a society functions (Yosso, 2005). In the context of this research study, race is examined from the angle of voting behaviour. In other words, one seeks to unpack the extent to which race is central in shaping voting behaviour. The second tenet of critical race theory challenges dominant ideologies that oppress certain racial groups in society. The second tenet affirms that world is organized along racial lines. The second tenet of critical race theory makes one aware of the fact that in relevance to this research study, elections are also organized along racial lines. Tenet three of critical race theory pledges commitment of the theory itself to social justice, liberation, transformation and addressing oppression based on class, gender and racial oppression (Yosso, 2005). Through tenet four, critical race theory unpacks racialization and race as a lived experience. Not only does tenet four focuses on racialization and race as a social construct, it also examines the consequences that follow these experiences of race as a lived experience. The fact that voting on the basis of identity specifically racial identity is prevalent in today's society can be attributed to the history of racialization and race-based voting as a consequence of racialization. There has been a thorough discussion of race in the literature and how the history of racial inequality that took place during the Apartheid era and still taking place today manifests itself when voters vote. This is one way in which the fourth feature of critical race theory is relevant to this research study. Tenet five argues that critical race theory adopts a trans-disciplinary perspective in that it moves beyond disciplinary boundaries by drawing on scholarship from disciplines such as ethnic studies, women's studies, sociology, history, law and, psychology, (Solórzano, 1997; Yosso, 2005).

As far as weaknesses or gaps that exist within critical race theory, the fact that this theory is mostly prevalent in law is one of the weaknesses of critical race theory. As far as the historical

background of the critical race theory is concerned, critical race theory was not always a movement that was in every discipline (Delgado and Stefancinc: 2012: 3). It started off as a movement in the law discipline, but it has rapidly spread beyond the law discipline to other disciplines such as sociology, political science, education (Delgado and Stefancinc: 2012: 3). The second weakness of critical race theory is that it is mostly prevalent in the US where Blacks are a minority whereas Black people are a majority in South Africa. Another weakness of the critical race theory is that it is a theory that was formulated or founded in the US so it is of great relevancy if it is applied in a study concerning the United States. The manner in which critical race theory manifests itself to these people is different. Critical race theory is profoundly prevalent in legal studies although it is a theory that has spread throughout a number of disciplines. It is common in studies concerning law. The story-telling narrative that is adopted by critical race theory is also seen as a weakness. Story-telling hinders debate and discussion based on the notion that it argues that some people have expert knowledge on issues pertaining to race and this makes the growth of the movement slow (Kennedy: 1989: 1745-1746).

Modiri argues that in South Africa, there is an insistence of the belief that since 1994, race relations as well as equality has improved (2012: 406). Modiri is against this notion and he uses the term "pre-disadvantaged" to shed light on the notion that race still shapes every social structure in South Africa even though there is an assumption that post-apartheid era is not characterized by race (2012: 407). Assuming that a certain racialized group was pre-disadvantaged is against critical race theory because this sets out a false narrative that this racialized group is not disadvantaged anymore (Modiri: 2012). Modiri is against the idea that South Africa is now a colour-blind society and he supports his argument by stating the fact that racism has been embedded in every social, economic, political and cultural structure here in South Africa (2012: 407). This argument put forward by Modiri leads to the discussion of a voting pattern or voting behaviour that does not include racial identity in it. Aforementioned scholars state that the history of racial segregation in South Africa or Apartheid plays a vital role in shaping South Africa's contemporary voting behaviour. Race is in fact involved in the question of influencing voters when they vote but race being the dominant factor or the only factor that influence voters is debatable which why this research study is necessary.

Some of the most important concepts that are discussed by various critical race theorists include terms such as essentialism. A number of South African scholars who are considered as critical race theorists have discussed this term and these scholars include the likes of Maart (2015, 2016) as well as Modiri (2012) who are two of the scholars whose works is very relevant to this research study. The discussion of such terms is important since these terms fall under the discussion of race and one aspect of the critical race theory is the critical analysis of race. The definition of essentialism by Maart has already been given in page 10 of the study. The way in which essentialism is relevant to this research study is by taking into consideration how voters believe that certain racialized groups have attributes that solely belong to them and this attributes are enough for this people or voters to convince them to vote for candidates or political parties running for office. What is of interest here is that Modiri is against the notion of essentialism and he presents what he refers to as anti-essentialism when trying to prove his point of the non-existence of essentialism.

According to Modiri (2012: 416), anti-essentialism refers to "an analytical tool used also in feminist theory to highlight that an identity category (like woman or Black person) cannot be fixed, categorised or boxed into a common experience with one singular essence". People who fall into the category of anti-essentialist are people who believe that they do not possess any attributes that would identify them in any other particular way other than human (Maart: 2015). Modiri refers to this phenomenon as anti-essentialism whereas Maart refers to this phenomenon as non-essentialisms. According to Maart (2015: 181), "non-essentialism refers to the belief that there are no specific traits or characteristics that any entity possesses or must possess in order to exist as such an entity". A good example of this would be a person who does not believe in the idea that a person must be "black" in skin colour in order to be considered as such. This is known as the biological notion of race. Steve Biko is among scholars turned activists who made a clear definition of this when he was defining what a Black person is. According to Biko, "being black is not a matter of pigmentation but rather a reflection of a mental attitude" (Biko: 2015). Robert Sobukwe shifts the discussion of Blackness to Africanness. Sobukwe defines an African as anyone who lives in and pays his allegiance to Africa and who is prepared to subject himself to African majority rule (Pogrand: 2006). Maart argues that a non-essentialism is anyone who refuses to refer to himself or herself as Black, White, Coloured, Asian, African American, Indian, heterosexual, gay, amongst others, taking

the position that they do not possess any particular way other than human (2015: 181). These are some of the concepts that are important when it comes to the discussion of the critical race theory and there is a link that exists between these concepts and this research study.

As far as the relevance of critical race theory to this research study is concerned, critical race theory serves as a framework for challenging and dismantling notions of colour-blindness in the voting behaviour of South Africans. Critical race theory helps in examining the historical context of race, and it can be used as an analytical tool for making sense of the role that race plays in voting behaviour in South Africa. Critical race theory also scrutinizes the various ways in which race affects social groups differently. The responses given by the research study respondents will help in unpacking how race as a social construct affects different racialized groups differently. Even in social systems concerning political power, the question of racial identity has found a way to be a key player. According to Modiri (2012: 406), South Africa is "a country with a long and tragic history of racial segregation and institutionalised race-based discrimination and oppression." This makes it permissible to scrutinise and examine the role that is played by race in the voting behaviour of people in South Africa. Still on the topic of relevancy of the critical race theory to this research, critical race theory affirms the prevalence of a role played by race when it comes to influencing voting behaviour as this theory is against the notion that there is a non-racial society. It is difficult to answer the question of the extent to which race is a motivating factor on the voter when voting when answering this question using the critical race theory. In terms of the critical race theory, there is in fact a role that is played by race regardless of how minimal that role is but the bottom line is that race is important when it comes to shaping voting behaviour in South Africa. One way in which critical race theory will help in analysing the extent to which race is influential on the voter's voting behaviour is by focusing on the racial historical context of South Africa. As far as the framework for analysis is concerned, critical race theory will help in answering questions pertaining to the history of racism in South Africa and the impact that the history of racial inequality has on different racialized groups. Critical race theory will also act as an analytical tool to answer questions pertaining to the history of Apartheid and the role that this history plays in influencing South African voters from different racialized groups. All in all, questions pertaining to the race aspect of the research study will be guided by the critical race theory in the sense that this theory affirms the prevalence of race in social structures such as

elections. The objective regarding the extent to which race is a factor playing a role in influencing voting behaviour will be answered through a quantitative method of counting the number of those who agree that they take into consideration race when voting against those who argue that they do not take into consideration race when voting.

This segment of the chapter started off with a brief discussion of what critical race theory is. The discussion of the definition of critical race theory was followed by the discussion of the tenets or characteristics of critical race theory as well as important terms or concepts associated with critical race theory. The next segment of the chapter continues from the discussion of the theories guiding this research study.

3.1.3 SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY

The second theory that guides this research study is the sociological theory of voting behaviour which is also referred to as the Colombia theory of voting behaviour. This theory of voting behaviour focuses on social characteristics (Héroux-Legault: 2015: 1). Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet are considered as the founding fathers of the sociological theory as they are the ones who first introduced the notion that voters often vote along the lines of social characteristics. In the discussion leading up to this chapter, it was stated that race as well as ethnicity are some of the key elements of identity that are used to influence voting behaviour and this theory of voting behaviour is of the same view. The assumption held by the sociological theory is that majority of people vote according to their original political predisposition (Agomor and Adams 2014: 2). Voting behaviour is complex in the sense that not one theory of voting behaviour is complete in itself (Wiese: 2012). As explained in the literature concerning the definition of what race is, the social construction element of race overrides the biological element of race. In the case of this chapter of the research study, mentioning the social construction aspect of race is relevant in the sense that the sociological theory of voting behaviour explicitly states that voting behaviour is shaped by a sense of social group (Lazarsfeld et al: 1968). In simple terms, the sociological theory is a theory of voting behaviour that reaffirms the sentiment that there is a role played by social factors such as ethnicity when it comes to shaping the voting behaviour of voters. The sociological theory emphasises the importance of identity elements such as language. There is a correlation that exists between ethnicity and language (Fought: 2006).

The sociological theory of voting behaviour is more shaped by a sense of belonging to a social group (Lazarsfeld et al.: 1968). When underlying the sociological theory of voting behaviour, Lazarsfeld states that ".....people vote, not only with their social group, but also for it" (Lazarsfeld et al., 1968: 148). In the South African context, it can be argued that voters are influenced by the decision taken by the social group to which they belong in when voting. Heywood also supports the idea put forward by Lazarsfeld and company that the sociological theory links voting behaviour to group membership. Voters tend to assume a voting behaviour that reflects the social circumstances of the group to which they belong (Heywood 2002: 243). In terms of this research study, it is permissible to be of the view that there are some research respondents who fit the criteria mentioned by these scholars. These are voters who vote in terms of the social group that they belong to. If one shares the same ethnicity as well as racial identity with a candidate running for office, there are members of a social group who are going to be influenced to vote for that candidate solely on those terms.

The sociological theory is based on social determinants rather than attitudes when it comes to factors influencing voting behaviour (Catt 1996:8). As stated throughout the research study, the main factors being dealt with include race and ethnicity and in terms of sociological theory, race as well as ethnicity forms part of the factors that influence voters. In terms of the sociological theory, one's social position and social circumstance ultimately determine one's social behaviour. As stated in the literature, race is socially constructed and there was proof given to support this claim from the scholarly work of Maart to the scholarly work of Modiri. If race is socially constructed, the lived experience of one has an effect on how that particular individual votes according to the sociological theory. What makes this theory of voting behaviour relevant to this research study is that it goes hand in hand with the two social and political constructions namely, race and ethnicity.

Even though these two sociological factors listed in this research study namely race and ethnicity are important when it comes to playing a role in shaping voting behaviour, it should be noted that there has been a decline in the link that exists between party support and these sociological factors. Heywood 2002: 243 argues that there is empirical evidence showing that the link between party support and sociological factors has weakened in modern societies. As stated, sociological theory affirms the role that is played by identity factors such as race and ethnicity when it comes to influencing voting behaviour. When one looks at the history of

South Africa through the lens of how race shaped the way of life in South Africa, from who was allowed to vote during the Apartheid era and who was not allowed to participate in such, to who was allowed to own land to who was not allowed to own such commodity, it is clear that identity factors notably race has always been vital in determining one's political faith or destiny in SA.

As stated previously, Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet were the first scholars to embark on a research study concerning sociological theory and the link that this theory has on voting behaviour. In the study that was conducted by these three prominent scholars, it was argued that certain social characteristics of voters such as class, religion, race and establish a connection between them and the voting for a certain political party (Lazarsfeld et al: 1958). The objective of exploring the role that is played by race as well as ethnicity when it comes to influencing who voters vote for is answered by the sociological theory of voting behaviour in the sense that this theory reaffirms that there is in fact a role that is played by social group factors such as race as well as ethnicity when it comes to influencing voting behaviour.

The sociological theory of voting behaviour has two key characteristics that govern it. The first one is the macro-sociological approach and the second one is the micro-sociological approach (Agomor and Adams 2014: 19). The macro-sociological approach is based on the idea that individuals promote the interests of the social groups that they represent (Agomor and Adams 2014: 19). If a politician or a political party is running for office during local elections, he or she is going to promote the interests of the social group that he or she belongs in. In the case of this research study, it was explained in the literature how policies by political parties are in line with the members of the society that these political parties seek to enhance, protect. A political party such as the ANC is more likely to shape its policies to ensure that it promotes the interests of the social group that the ANC represents; so do all the other political parties in the country. The micro-sociological approach insists on the differences in the closer social environment, and not social structure (Agomor and Adams 2014: 19). This approach is in line with the link that exists between race and class as discussed in the literature in the sense that it calls for the abandonment of the idea that identity overrides class when it comes to determining voting behaviour. The micro-sociological approach calls for the emphasis to be put on the environment under which people live in rather than social structure.

One of the weaknesses of the sociological theory is that it assumes that political parties lack the capacity to attract voters or influence voting behaviour in the sense that it assumes that voters are incapable of being influenced by other factors other than social determinants (Agomor and Adams 2014: 19). According to Agomor and Adams 2014: 19, "regardless of this criticism, the idea about the social determinism conditioned by group interests and socialization cannot be ignored during the assessment of the electoral behaviour of the citizens." The assumption held by this theory of voting behaviour is that voters who are in a similar situation develop social behaviours and also similar electoral-political attitudes (Augusto and da Silva 2014: 455). Putting the sentiments shared by Augusto and da Silva to the context of this research study, if a voter who grew up in eMlazi and racialized as a Black person decides to vote for a political party or candidate of his choice, his surroundings be it the racial identity of the people around him or the ethnicity of other members of that person's society is going to have an effect on that person's electoral-political attitude. The sociological theory acts as an analytical tool in the sense that it will either deny or disagree with the notion that there is a role played by ethnicity when it comes to this identity factor that is ethnicity being influential on voters when voting.

The advantage of voting behaviour theories is the ability to work hand in hand with other theories concerning voting behaviour. This phenomenon is known as voting behaviour orthodoxy. Voting behaviour orthodoxy is a generally accepted view or belief with regards to voting behaviour (Wiese 2011: 53-54). Wiese: 2011 asserts that this generally accepted view or belief involves the integration of some characteristics of all the theories of voting behaviour. Some of these theories of voting behaviour include the sociological theory which had just been discussed briefly and which also forms part of the theories used in this research study, the rational choice theory and the party identification theory to name a few. According to the Party Identification Theory, voters vote primarily out of long-term loyalty to a particular political party (Ball and Peters 2005:172). The party identification theory stresses loyalty that voters show to political parties (Wiese 2011). The rational choice theory regards voters as individuals who base their voting decisions on the findings acquired after careful assessment of various issues at hand (Catt 1996:7). As much as these theories of voting behaviour overlap and are interchangeable, it is of great importance to state that not all these theories can guide this research study.

According to Heywood 2002: 243, the rational choice theory focuses on the individual instead of socialisation and the collective social group's behaviours. This is problematic in the context of South Africa considering that the history of Apartheid teaches one that people were judged collectively hence there were clear laws and legislations which stated that different racialized groups and ethnic groups should be separated. The Group Areas Act of 1950 is a good example of a legislation that explicitly stated that certain racialized groups notably Black South Africans were prohibited from residing in certain neighbourhoods. How is this relevant to the question of race and ethnicity and the link that exist between the two when it comes to influencing voting behaviour during elections in South Africa?

When one vote for a political party or a candidate running for office simply because of race and ethnicity, that is not rational but then again, when one looks at the history of racialization, Apartheid, colonialism in the country, it is clear that it would be considered fair on one to vote in racial lines considering that Black people were victimized due to their racialized identity. The rational choice theory claims that individuals analyse the performance of political parties and base their decisions on rational considerations (Wiese: 2012: 41). The question is, seeing that there are multiple "fly by night" political parties emerging in South Africa due to factions within different major political parties such as the IFP and the ANC, how does one evaluate the performance of such parties considering that these parties have never held any political power?

The party identification theory is another theory which deals with voting behaviour, which is relevant to this research study but which cannot be used due to its contradictory views or conflicting views. The party identification theory states that voters vote out of long-term loyalty and with a sense of identification with a particular political party (Heywood 2002:242). With constant "eruption" of new political parties in South Africa, party loyalty seems to be deteriorating as these new political parties are doing well as far as attaining seats in the national assembly. If these new political parties are gaining votes that means that some political parties are losing voters so there was no loyalty to begin with. Heywood 2002: 242 argues that voters are regarded as people who identify with political parties and are long-term supporters who consider a party to be "their party". This leads to partisanship manifesting itself (Heywood 2002: 242).

When bringing this notion brought forward by Heywood to the South African context, a good example of how this theory is questionable would be Julius Malema. Julius Malema, a former president of the ANC Youth League was campaigning for the ANC praising the former president stating that he would even "kill for Msholozzi" and now he is a leader of a political party that opposes the ANC. The ANC was "his party" but that has changed. If a well-known political figure such as Malema can change gears as far as political affiliation is concerned, the voters are more likely to follow suit. This model or theory pertaining to voting behaviour states that voters remain loyal to a political party from one election to the next and this can be proven to be false in the South African context. This segment of the chapter just listed two theories of voting behaviour which could have been used to guide this research study but due to weaknesses in these theories; these theories were not used. The reason for this is to justify the use of the chosen two theories in this research study namely the critical race theory as well as the sociological theory. Regardless of how relevant some of these theories pertaining to voting behaviour are (rational choice theory, etc), there are problematic as far as guiding this research study.

To sum up the sociological theory of voting behaviour, it is important to close off this segment of the chapter by explaining the theory some more in short. A sociological theory is a voting behaviour theory that states that voters vote along the lines of social characteristics such as race, ethnicity, religion and so forth. The reason for voting along these lines is that of belonging to a social group be it this social group in question is defined along the lines of race, ethnicity, language or whatever the case may be provided that it is a social group defined by social characteristics. Some of the key elements or characteristics of the sociological theory include the macro-sociological approach as well as the micro-sociological approach. As far as the relevance of this theory to this research study is concerned, the sociological theory will help in guiding the formation of some of the questions that will be asked when it comes to the collection of data. The sociological theory puts more emphasis on the idea that a member of a social group takes decisions pertaining to voting in line with the social characteristics of the social group that such person belongs to. The social characteristics that this research study deals with is race as well as ethnicity so it is only right that a theory or a theory guiding this research study revolves around these themes. The next chapter discusses the various

methods that were used in this research study as far as the collection of data as well as the analysis of data is concerned.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, there is a brief discussion of the study setting namely, the location where the collection of data took place. There is a discussion of the research design guiding the research study as well as the methods that were used to collect data. This chapter also contains the discussion of the tools that were used to collect data and the reasons for choosing such tools are discussed briefly. In addition, there is a description of the sampling method that was used to select research study respondents. The reasons for selecting these research respondents in particular are also discussed. This chapter also covers the reliability and the validity section of the study. In simple terms, there is a brief discussion of the methods that will ensure that the collected data is reliable and valid. This chapter ends with a brief discussion of the manner in which data that has been collected is analysed.

4.2 STUDY SETTING

Due to the practical nature of the research study, the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal was the preferred place for collecting data for this research study. As far as the demographic characteristics of UKZN are concerned, UKZN is a right place to conduct a research study of this magnitude as it has Blacks, Indians, Whites, Coloureds, Asians, etcetera, offering a full range of the South African population. South Africa is a diverse country with different ethnic groups and racialized groups. The aim of this study is that of exploring the role that is played by race and ethnicity when it comes to influencing voters when voting. This makes it permissible to have research study respondents from different ethnic groups and racialized groups and a tertiary institution such as UKZN – Howard College Campus fits this description of a place that has people from different ethnic groups as well as racialized groups. A tertiary educational institution such as the UKZN is both multi-racial as well as multi-ethnic and this makes it likely to have responses that differ from each other rather than having results that are one-sided. The various student societies that are registered with the Student Representative Council also made it permissible to conduct this study in UKZN as this meant that the researcher had a chance to get data from people who have other identity elements and this is good for the research study in question. This meant that the researcher had a chance to get research participants or respondents who are active in politics be it politics in the sense of being affiliated with political parties or active in politics in the sense of being an

avid member of the university's political seating. In simple terms, the diversity nature of the UKZN environment is an element that made it appropriate to conduct this study in the UKZN-Howard College.

The feasibility element of the research study itself meant that data had to be collected in a place that was convenient for the researcher and that place is the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal. Howard College specifically is the campus in question where research respondents were asked to participate in the research study through questionnaires. Another reason which made UKZN-Howard College Campus an appropriate place for the collection of data was the fact that no expenses were going to be required while collecting data considering that the researcher lives a few miles from the campus itself. Ignoring the feasibility element would have meant that data had to be collected in every higher education institution and that would not have been possible.

4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

According to Kerlinger (1986: 279), "a research design is a plan, structure and strategy of investigation so conceived as to obtain answers to research questions or problems." This research study is a quantitative one and as such, it involves the use of a statistical tool to derive data. Ranjit Kumar argues that a quantitative study is specific (2014: 132). According to Neuman, in quantitative research data is in the form of hard data or numbers (2002: 167). In the case of this research study, data is in the form of numbers while discussing the survey questionnaires. Not only does this research study adopts a quantitative approach, it is a descriptive research. According to Neuman 2013: 38, "descriptive research presents a picture of the specific details of a situation, social setting, or relationship." In terms of this research study, the picture that this research study seeks to paint is that of the role that is played by race as well as ethnicity when it comes to shaping the voting behaviour of South Africans during elections. This is done through a set of questions in a questionnaire.

According to Neuman, a descriptive research aims to describe a well-developed idea about a particular social phenomenon (2002: 38). In the case of this research study, the social phenomenon that is being discussed is that of the link that exists between race as well as ethnicity when it comes to shaping the voting behavior of voters during elections in South Africa. Neuman argues that a descriptive research starts off with a well-defined issue or a question and tries to describe it accurately (2002: 38). In the case of this research study, the

phenomena or the issue at hand is that of the link that exists between race and ethnicity and the role that these two key elements of identity play when it comes to influencing who voters vote for in elections. The literature of this research study started off with an in-depth discussion concerning what race as well as ethnicity is. The aim for this is to ensure that there is a good description of the issues at hand as descriptive research entails just that. The research study is cross-sectional as data was collected at one point. A descriptive research provides a detailed, highly accurate picture and that is another reason why the researcher chose to adopt a descriptive research study. A descriptive research reports on a causal process and in the case of this research study, the causal process in question is that of voting and being influenced by race and ethnicity when voting. Has there been any change as far as voters being influenced by race and ethnicity when voting is concerned? A descriptive research is a good research design to describe such phenomena. A descriptive research locates new data that contradicts old data (Neuman 2013:38). In the case of this research study, this study will determine if there has in fact been a change in the voting behaviour of voters as far as having race and ethnicity as major influencers of voting behaviour.

4.4 SAMPLING

According to Kumar 2014: 228, “the purpose of sampling in a quantitative research is to draw inferences, with respect to the focus of your enquiry, about the group from which you have selected the sample....” In terms of this research study, the inference in question is that of determining if race as well as ethnicity are taken into consideration by voters when electing a candidate or a political party running for office and the group that will help in reaching a conclusion about this matter are the students who form part of the questionnaire respondents. The target population that was being studied in this research study are students at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal- Howard College. The sample size or number of students who participated in this research study is 100 students in the humanities faculty who are post-graduate students. The students are over the age of 18-40 and they are South African citizens as these research study deals with voting. Only students eligible to vote forms part of this research study. 100 students is deemed appropriate by the researcher due to the variation in the sampling population. The mere fact that students from different ethnic groups as well as racialized groups participated in this research study makes the sample size appropriate as different views are represented. Initially, 120 questionnaires were distributed and only 100 were returned giving a response rate of 83%.

The type of sampling method adopted by this research study is purposive sampling. The main objective of a purposive sample is to produce a sample that can be logically assumed to be representative of the population (Lavrakas: 2008). Selecting a total of 120 students to be part of this research study is logical in the sense that University of Kwa-Zulu Natal – Howard College Campus is predominantly Black so there are more Black students compared to other racialized groups of students. Other racialized groups are also represented in the research study. This is shown through the number of Black students who were selected to be part of this research study through questionnaires. Those who were excluded from being part of this research study are international students who are not eligible to vote in South Africa's elections, first-year students simply because there is a proximate number of young students who are first-year students who are under the age of 18 thus not being legible to vote.

The need for the inclusion of students is so that there are actual participants who either affirm or deny that there is a role played by race and ethnicity when it comes to influencing voting behaviour in contemporary South Africa. The reasons which make the UKZN students appropriate participants have been stated. It is of great importance to note that the research study's objective could still be achieved without including the respondents in the study. The respondents are merely there to either affirm or deny the extent to which race and ethnicity are important factors in influencing the voting behaviour of South Africans. The research study does not revolve around the respondents. The views of respondents who participate in this research study through questionnaires merely adds to the study's discussion of the role that is played by race and ethnicity when it comes to influencing voting behaviour in SA. The students either affirm or deny the role that is played by race and ethnicity when it comes to influencing voting behaviour in SA.

4.5 DATA COLLECTION

Data was collected through the distribution of self-administered questionnaires. These questionnaires were distributed to students on campus by the researcher. The questionnaires contained a total of 16 questions with the first section of the questionnaire dealing with the demographics of the research study respondents and the remaining questions seeking address the role that is played by race as well as ethnicity when it comes to shaping the voting behaviour of the research study respondents during elections. The researcher was nearby to help research respondents with any inquiries they may have, yet not lead research

respondents to a direct answer. The questions are closed-ended as there are straightforward with an aim of addressing the objective of the research study without having the research study respondents tampering with the possible outcome of the research study by giving their views.

4.6 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

According to Smith 1991: 106, “validity is defined as the degree to which the researcher has measured what he has set out to measure.” The existence of the link between the questions and the questionnaires and the research study objectives makes the research study results valid. The questions in the questionnaires represents the issue that they are supposed to measure. The issue in the case of this research study is the role played by race and ethnicity when it comes to influencing voting behaviour. A questionnaire was developed by the researcher as this is deemed valid. According to Kumar 2014: 214, “the greater the coverage, the higher the validity”. Kumar further states that it is vital that the instrument that is used to collect data covers all the aspects of the issue or the attitude being measured (2014: 214). The questionnaire does exactly that by ensuring that the questions that are asked contain aspects relating to race and ethnicity and also the research respondents are asked if these two factors are important to them when taking a decision of voting for a candidate or a political party running for office. The researcher also started out by sending out the questionnaires to peers who are also researchers to see if there was any disagreement by the peers in relation to the content of the questionnaires or the questions being asked.

Reliability is only prevalent in research if the research tool is consistent and stable, hence predictability and accurate (Kumar 2014: 215). The questionnaire used for the collection of data in this research study is consistent as far as the questions being asked are concerned. The aim of asking the research respondents questions that are much more similar in relation to the link that exist between race and ethnicity and if these voters would vote on the basis of these factors is to check consistency in the answers given by the research study respondents. As mentioned earlier, the research tool that is the questionnaires were distributed to peers first to test consistency and this was done to ensure that there was reliability.

4.7 DATA ANALYSIS

As far as the analysis of the data that has been collected is concerned, descriptive statistics is the method that was used to analyze data in this research study. Kumar 2014: 252 argues that quantitative data is analyzed using statistics. The analysis of data will take place through a descriptive analysis of statistics. Descriptive statistics are used to describe the basic features of the data in a study. They provide simple summaries about the sample and the measures. They form the basis of virtually every quantitative analysis of data (Kumar: 2014). Not only was the analysis guided by descriptive statistics; the theories used in this research also guided the analysis of this study.

4.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Permission and approval to conduct the research study was approved by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee. Research respondents were given a consent document and the researcher explained the purpose of the research study as mentioned in the informed consent document. The research study also contains a gatekeeper's letter which permits the researcher to conduct the research at UKZN. Research respondents who were willing to partake in the research study were required to complete a declaration form. Self-administered questionnaires were distributed by the researcher during weekdays to students. Students were asked to fill in these questionnaires out of their own free will.

4.9 LIMITATIONS TO THE STUDY

As far as the limitations to this research study are concerned, the availability of respondents to take part in the questionnaire is one of the issues at hand. There are a number of students who are old enough to have voted during the first democratic elections. The problem with getting such respondents to be part of this research is that most of them are part-time students who only attend classes late in the afternoons whereas the collection of data took place during the day. Another issue that made it a bit difficult to collect data that represents all the racialized groups on campus is the fact that the University of KwaZulu Natal – Howard College Campus is a predominantly Black tertiary educational institution and it was difficult to find respondents who have been categorized as White, Asian to participate in this research study. There is a proportional representation of all the racialized groups that are on campus, meaning that the number of respondents is based on the availability of the different students from different racialized groups on campus. As far as the number of the research respondents is concerned, one might argue that the number of the research respondents who were asked

to participate in the research is not big enough to be able to come to a conclusion about the voting behaviour of people in South Africa as a whole or the voting behaviour of young people who are studying in higher education institutions.

This chapter discussed the researching procedures used in this research study. In so doing, the sampling process, the research design, data analysis and ethical considerations guiding the study were discussed in detail. In the next chapter, the responses acquired from the research study respondents by using this research process are presented and analyzed.

CHAPTER 5

DATA PRESENTATION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter discussed the research methodology and design used in this research study. This chapter focusses on a quantitative presentation of the data gathered from the research respondents, focussing on the students' perspectives on the role that is played by race and ethnicity when it comes to shaping voting behaviour. A quantitative method was employed in this study. The 100 questionnaires completed by the research study respondents constituted the quantitative survey. The findings emanating from the data will be offered.

5.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF RESEARCH STUDY RESPONDENTS

There is a total of 100 respondents who participated in the survey questionnaires. There is a total of 50 females and 50 males. Out of the 50 females who participated in this research study through questionnaires, 25 of those females are Black, 15 are Indian and 10 are White. Out of the 50 males who participated in this research study, 15 of those males are Indian, 25 of those males are Black while 10 of those males are White. The following is a table illustrating the above data.

GENDER	BLACK	WHITE	INDIAN
MEN	25	10	15
WOMEN	25	10	15
TOTAL	50	20	30

Table 1: Race and gender statistics of the respondents

As stated in the previous chapter, a total of 120 questionnaires were distributed around campus and only 100 were returned fully completed thus rendering a response rate of 83% (100 questionnaires returned completed ÷ 120 questionnaires distributed × 100% = 83%).

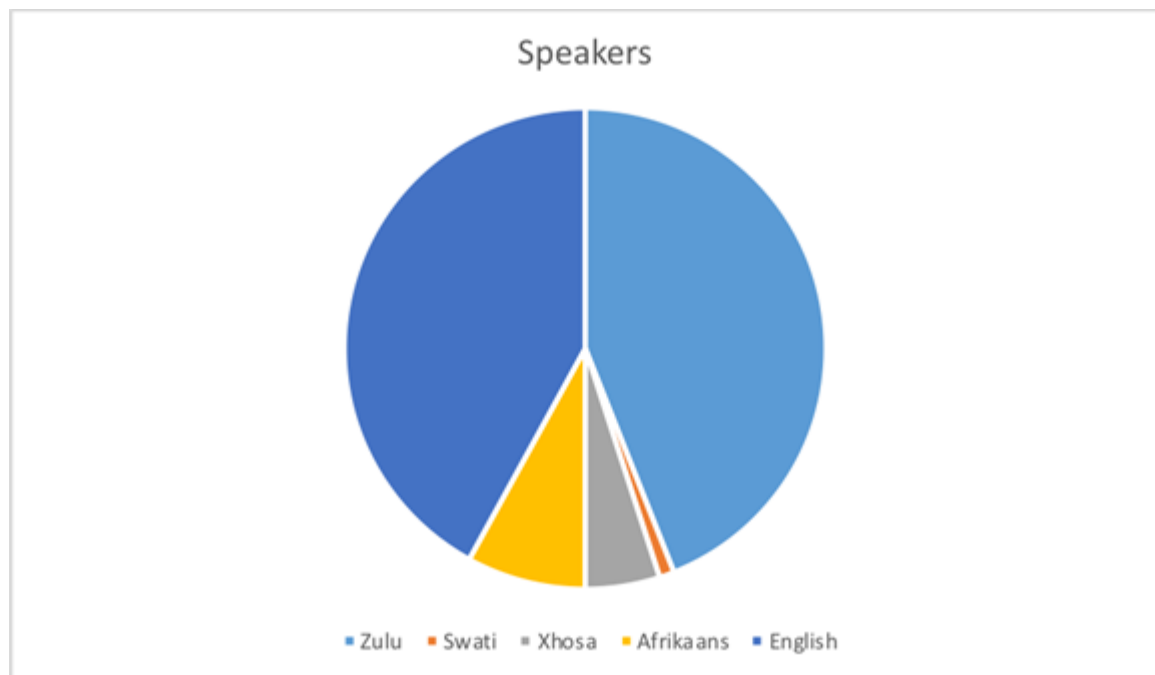
Table 2: Age distribution of respondents

	Frequency	Percent
Valid 18 – 25years	43	43
26 - 33 years	37	37
34 - 40 years	20	20
Total	100	100.0

The above table (Table 2) shows that majority of the respondents (39%) were between the ages of 18-25 years old. Respectively, 37% of the respondents were between the age of 34 and 40 years of age whereas just under a quarter of the respondents (24%) were between the age of 26 and 33 years old.

The study consisted of students or respondents from different ethnic and racialized groups. Relative to the sample group, the utmost number of respondents (n= 44: 44%) were from one particular ethnic group (Zulu). The following pie chart shows that a majority of the respondents identified as Zulus while a majority of the respondents who fall under the second largest group of respondents that is Indians, all identified themselves as English speakers. Out of the 20 White respondents who participated in this research study, 8 of the respondents said that they speak Afrikaans as a first language while the remaining 12 said they speak English as a first language.

Figure 1



The reason for asking respondents to state their language was to ascertain the ethnicity of these individuals on the basis of language as stated in the theoretical chapter of this study. The above pie chart shows that there are five different ethnic groups that participated in this research study. The Zulus consisted of the majority of the respondents with 44% followed by

the English speakers with 42% followed by Afrikaans speakers with 8% followed by the Xhosa speakers with 5% and lastly the least respondents in terms of ethnic group on the basis of language are Swati's with 1% which means only one research study respondents identified as Swati.

5.3 RACE AND ETHNICITY ASPECT OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The following segment of the chapter seeks to present the findings that were provided by the research study respondents. There will be a brief short description of the questions that were in the questionnaire to explain how the questions in the questionnaire were structured to answer the main objectives of the research study.

QUESTION 1 SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS PRESENTATION

The aim of this question in the questionnaire was to get the respondents to either affirm or deny their position on race being a factor they take into consideration before casting their vote for the candidate running for office. Respondents were provided with a statement and they had to either affirm (yes) or deny (no) that they take into consideration race before voting. The statement is as follows:

I take into consideration the race of the candidate running for office before casting my vote.

The following table illustrates the answers that were given by the respondents when they were asked to either affirm or deny that they take into consideration the race of the candidate running for office before casting their vote.

RACE	Take into consideration race before casting vote	Does not take into consideration race before casting vote
BLACK	18	32
INDIAN	2	28
WHITE	1	19
TOTAL	21	79

Table 3:

A total of 79 respondents answered "no" when asked if they take into consideration the race of the candidate running for office before casting their vote. A total of 21 respondents answered "yes" when asked when asked if they take into consideration the race of the

candidate running for office before casting their vote. These are respondents who believe that the race of the candidate running for office is important.

As far as the gender of these research participants is concerned, a majority of females as well as males who were participants in this research study answered “no” when asked if they take into consideration the race of the candidate running for office before casting their vote. In terms of numbers, 14 out of the 15 Indian females who were asked to participate in this research answered “no”. Out of the 25 Black females who were asked to participate in the survey questionnaire, 16 of the females answered “no”. The other 9 Black females answered “yes”. Not even one White female respondent out of the 10 White females’ respondents answered “yes”. A total of 40 females out of the 50 who were asked to participate in the survey questionnaire do not take into consideration the race of the candidate running for office before casting their vote. Only 10 females’ respondents in total answered “yes”.

Only one Indian male respondent out of the 15 that was asked to participate in this research answered “yes”. The 14 remaining Indian males answered “no”. Out of the 10 White males who participated in this research study, only one White male answered “yes”. The other 9 White males answered “no” when asked if they take into consideration the race of the candidate running for office before casting their vote. Out of the 25 Black males who participate in the survey questionnaire, 16 of those males answered “no” and only 9 answered “yes”. In total, 39 males out of the 50 who were participating in the survey questionnaire answered “no”. Only 11 males in total take into consideration the race of the candidate running for office before casting their vote.

QUESTION 2 SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS PRESENTATION

Question 2 of the survey questionnaire asks respondents if they would prefer to be led by someone who shares the same race as the voter or a candidate who has been racially categorized in the same racial category as the voter. The responses that were given by the respondents are interesting. The question asked is the same as the previous question but the wording is different. The only difference is that respondents were given an extra option of stating that the race of the candidate running for office does not matter. This was done to ensure that there was reliability and validity in the responses provided by the respondents. This was also done to ensure consistency.

The following table represents the answers that were given by the participants in this research when they were asked if they would prefer to be led by someone who shares the same race as them.

RACE	YES	NO	DOES NOT MATTER
BLACK	19	-	31
INDIAN	1	4	25
WHITE	-	2	18
TOTAL	20	6	74

Table 4

Percentage wise, a total of 38% of Black respondents who were part of this research study prefer to be led by a candidate who shares the same race as them and a total of 62% of the remaining Black respondent who were asked to participate in the survey questionnaire do not think that the race of the person or candidate who is leading them matters. What is even more interesting with this result is that not even one Black respondent answered “no” when asked if he or she prefers to be led by someone who shares the race as him/her. As far as other racialized groups that were part of this research study is concerned, a large majority of respondents both White and Indian argued that the race of the person or candidate leading them does not matter.

A total of 25 Indian respondents out of the 30 Indian respondents who participated in the survey questionnaire stated that the race of the person or candidate leading them does not matter. Percentage wise, a total of 83% of Indian respondents answered that the race of the person or candidate leading them does not matter and only 3% answered that they prefer to be led by a person or candidate. The remaining 14% of Indian respondents answered that they do not altogether prefer to be led by a person or candidate who shares the same racial identity as them.

Out of the 20 White respondents who participated in the survey questionnaire, 18 of the White respondents answered that the race of the person or candidate leading them does not matter while the remaining 2 White respondents answered that they do not altogether prefer to be led by someone who shares the same race as them. In total, 20 respondents prefer to be led by someone or a candidate who shares the same race as them whereas a total of 74

respondents do not believe that the race of the person or candidate leading them matters. Only 6 respondents in total answered that they do not altogether prefer to be led by a person or candidate who shares the same race as them.

QUESTION 3 SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS PRESENTATION

Question 3 of the questionnaire is aimed at establishing the extent to which identity notably race and ethnicity is considered as an important factor to the voter. Respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the following statement:

Race and ethnicity of the candidates running for office is important.

The respondents were given 4 options to choose from namely, strongly agree, agree, strongly disagree and disagree.

There is consistency in the responses that were given by the respondents with Black respondents agreeing with the sentiments of importance of race and ethnicity of candidates running for office and the non-Black respondents that is Whites and Indians disagreeing with the sentiments of importance of race and ethnicity of the candidate running for office. The following table illustrate the responses that were given by respondents in relation to the statement pertaining to the importance of race and ethnicity of the candidate running for office. (n) Represents the number of respondents within each racialized group and % represents the percentage within each racialized group.

Race of Respondents	Strongly Agree		Agree		Strongly disagree		Disagree		TOTAL	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
BLACKS	14	28	7	14	21	42	8	16	50	100
INDIANS	4	13	-		17	57	9	30	30	100
WHITES	-		-		19	95	1	5	20	100
TOTAL	18	18	7	7	57	57	18	18	100	100

Table 5

The table above shows that the majority of respondents are against the notion that the race and ethnicity of a candidate running for office is important. 57% of the respondents strongly disagree with the statement that the race and ethnicity of a candidate running for office is important. 18% of the respondents strongly agree that the race and ethnicity of the candidate running for office is important. When adding the total percentage of all those who are for the importance of race and ethnicity of the candidate running for office, a total of 21% comes up

whereas all those who are against the importance of race and ethnicity of the candidate running for office equals to 79%.

QUESTION 4 SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS PRESENTATION

Critical race theory states that racism is embedded in every social, political, economic structure of the society. Question 4 of the questionnaire asks the respondents if he or she believes that the emphasis of Apartheid (which is a system of racial segregation that was formally imposed on the masses from 1948 until 1994) by political parties running for office in South Africa play a role when it comes to gaining votes for these political parties. Apartheid is one way in which racism was embedded in the political, social, economic structures of South Africa.

When asked if respondents believed that the emphasis of Apartheid by political parties running for office play a role when it comes to helping these political parties gain votes, 89 respondents answered "yes" and only 11 respondents answered "no". In terms of percentage, this means that a total of 89% of the respondents who participated in the survey questionnaire believe that there is a major role that is played by the emphasis of Apartheid when it comes to gaining votes for some political parties here in South Africa. When respondents were asked about the role that is played by identity when it comes to influencing them in their decision making of voting for a candidate or a political party running for office during local elections, interesting results were revealed

The following table illustrates the results obtained from respondents while answering question 4 of the questionnaire.

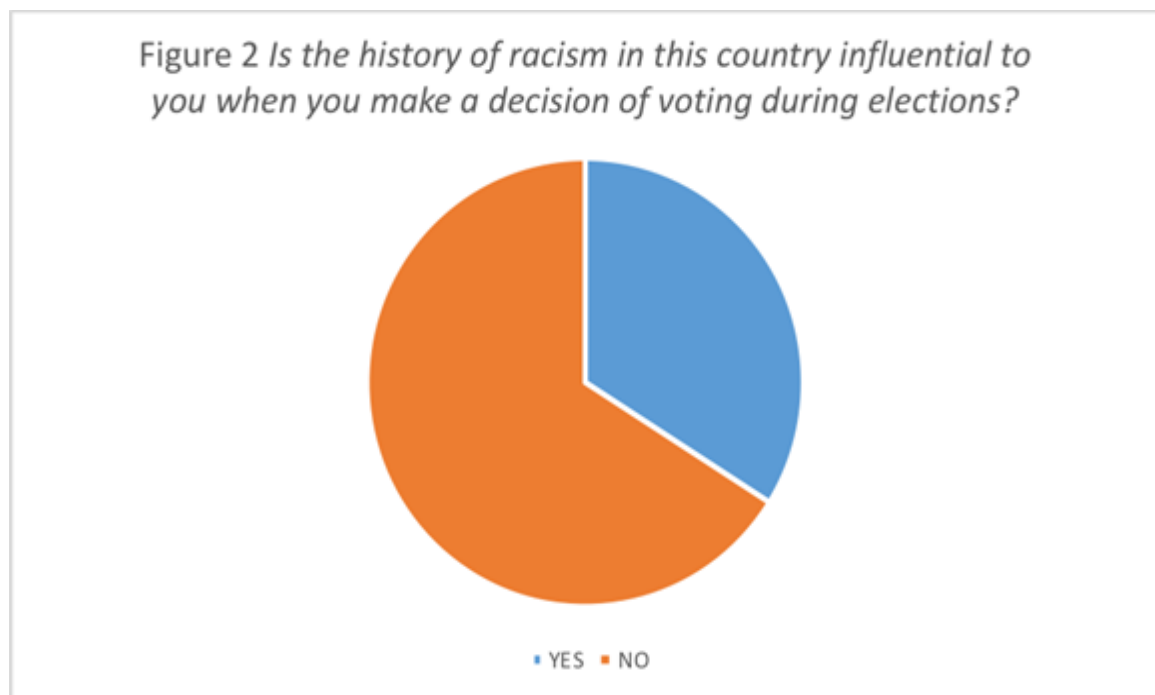
RACE	YES	NO
BLACK	39	11
INDIAN	23	7
WHITE	17	3
TOTAL	79	21

Table 6

QUESTION 5 SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS PRESENTATION

Question 5 of the questionnaire sought to answer the question regarding the role that is played by the history of racism in the country when it comes to being influential on the voter when electing a government. Racism is one way in which race shows prevalence in a society and the aim of this question is to get some clarity as to whether voters do care about the historical injustices inflicted based on race when taking a decision in elections.

Figure 2 *Is the history of racism in this country influential to you when you make a decision of voting during elections?*



A total of 66% of the respondents answered “no” when asked if the history of racism is influential to them when taking a decision of voting during elections. 34% of the respondents answered “yes” when asked if the history of racism in the country is influential to them when they make a decision of voting during elections. As far as the different racialized groups are concerned, more Black respondents argued that they in fact take into consideration the history of racism when taking a decision of voting during elections. The following table illustrate the above mentioned results in racial terms.

Is the history of racism influential to you when voting?	Race		
	Black	Indian	White
Yes	17	11	6

QUESTION 6 SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS PRESENTATION

Respondents were asked if the race of the leader of a political party or the ethnicity of a political party leader would influence them to vote for a candidate or political party running for office. Out of the 25 Black male respondents who were asked to participate in this research study, 8 of those male respondents said that neither race of the leader of the political party or the ethnicity of the political party leader would influence them to vote for a candidate or a political party running for office. Only 3 Black male respondents said that the ethnicity of the political party leader would have an influence on them when taking a decision of voting for a candidate or a political party running for office during local elections in South Africa. 2 other Black male respondents said that both the ethnicity as well as the race of the political party leader would influence them when voting. 12 Black male respondents said that the race of the political party leader would be enough to influence them when voting.

Out of the 25 Black females' respondents who participated in the survey questionnaire, 13 Black females' respondents said that neither race of the leader of the political party or the ethnicity of the political party leader would influence them to vote for a candidate or a political party running for office. 10 Black females' respondents out of the 25 who participated in this research study said that both ethnicity as well as the race of the political party leader would influence them when voting. Only 2 Black females' respondents said that the ethnicity of a political party leader would influence them to vote for a political party running for office.

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As far as the Indian male respondents are concerned, 13 of the Indian male respondents out of the 15 Indian male respondents said that neither race nor ethnicity of the political party leader would influence them to vote for a candidate or a political party running for office. Only one Indian male respondent said that the ethnicity of the political party leader would influence him when voting for a candidate or a political party running for office. Another one Indian male respondent said that both ethnicity as well as the race of the political party leader would influence him when voting when voting for a candidate or a political party running for office. Out of the 15 Indian female respondents who participated in the survey questionnaire, 13 of them said that they were not influenced by the race of the political party leader or the

ethnicity a political party leader when voting. The remaining two Indian female respondents said that both ethnicity as well as the race of the political party leader would influence them when voting for a candidate or political party running for office.

As far as the White respondents are concerned, 18 out of the 20 respondents said that neither race nor ethnicity of the political party leader would influence them to vote for a candidate or a political party running for office. One White male respondent said that the race of the political party leader would influence him when voting for a candidate or a political party running for office. One White female respondent said that the ethnicity of the political party leader would influence her when voting.

QUESTION 7 SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS PRESENTATION

There is a major role that is played by elections campaigns and a question concerning election campaign was also included in the survey questionnaire to try and ascertain whether there is a role that is played by race when it comes to getting votes for some political parties or candidates running for office. The question that dealt with election campaign is as follows:

If a person campaigning for office shares the same race as you, would you be motivated to vote for his or her political party?

When answering this question, respondents were given three options to consider that is; yes (meaning that the voter would be motivated to vote for the political party of the person who share the same race as the voter), no (meaning the voter would not vote for the person asking him or her to vote simply because they share the same race or they fall under the same racial category) and take into consideration other factors other than his or her race. The following is a table illustrating the responses that were given by respondents.

RACE	YES	NO	TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION OTHER FACTORS OTHER THAN RACE
BLACK	10	4	36
INDIAN	5	4	21
WHITE	-	3	17

Table 7

QUESTION 8 SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS PRESENTATION

Question 8 of the questionnaire is aimed at calculating the extent to which ethnicity is seen as an important factor during elections by voters. This is one of the questions that will help in answering some of the research study main questions. Respondents were asked to state the extent to which they agree with a statement that they were provided with. The statement in question is as follows:

It is important that ethnicities stick together when voting e.g. Zulus should support other Zulus, etc.

Respondents were given four options to choose from namely, strongly agree, agree, strongly disagree and disagree. The following table illustrates the results derived from the respondents.

Race of Respondents	Strongly Agree		Agree		Strongly disagree		Disagree		TOTAL	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
BLACKS	26	52	5	10	14	28	5	10	50	100
INDIANS	-	-	4	13	20	67	6	20	30	100
WHITES	-		-		14	70	6	30	20	100
TOTAL	26	26	9	9	48	48	17	17	100	100

Table 8

QUESTION 9 SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS PRESENTATION

As far as question 9 of the questionnaire is concerned, respondents were asked to either agree or disagree with the sentiment that politicians put more emphasis on issues pertaining to race in order to gain votes. If politicians do in fact use race in order to gain votes, that means there is in fact a role played by race in voting behaviour as politicians would only use race if there are some benefits attached to the use or emphasis of issues pertaining to race. In the context of this research study, the benefit in question is that of gaining votes. The following table illustrates the results derived from respondents pertaining to question 9 of the questionnaire.

Race of Respondents	Agree		Disagree		TOTAL	
	n	%	n	%	N	%
BLACKS	34	68	16	32	50	100
INDIANS	22	73	8	27	30	100
WHITES	20	100	-	-	20	100

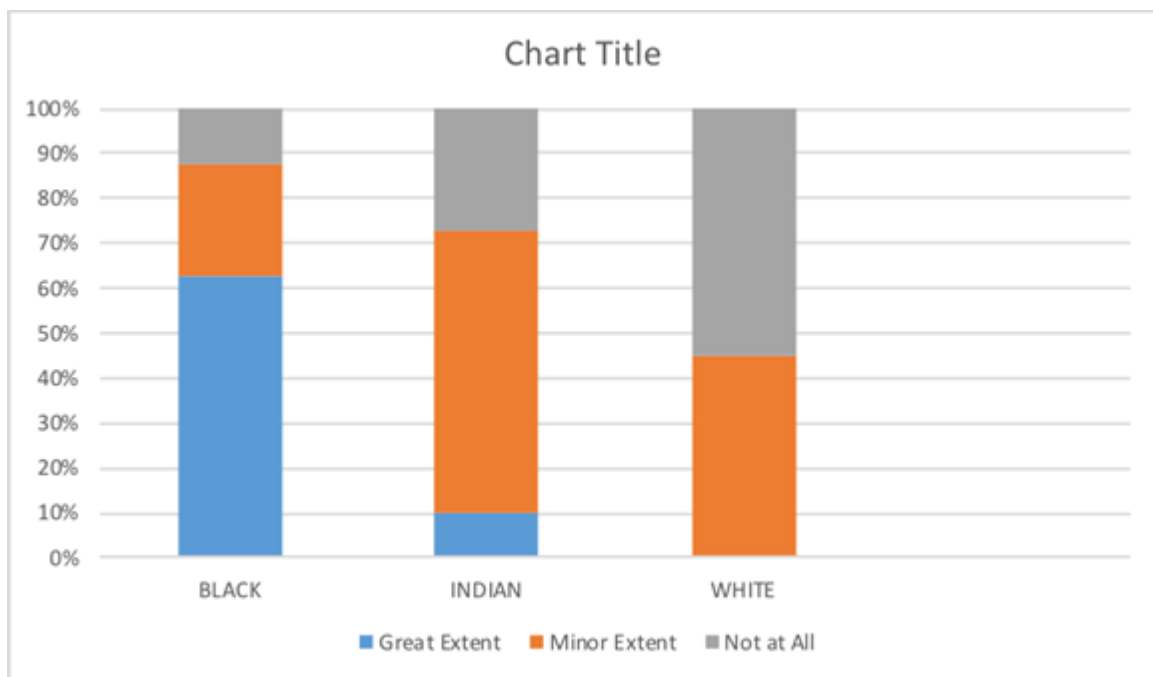
TOTAL	76	76	24	24	100	100
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Table 9

QUESTION 10 SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS PRESENTATION

Question 10 of the questionnaire seeks to determine the extent to which ethnicity is seen as an important factor in political decisions. In the context of this research study, political decision refers to a decision taken by a voter when electing a political party or a candidate running for office in SA. The following graph details the responses that were given by respondents' percentage wise.

Figure 3



The above graph shows that Black respondents put so much value into ethnicity and the other racialized groups that is Indians and Whites do not believe that ethnicity is important in political decisions. The following results details the above results in an even simpler format of a table.

RACE	Great Extent	Minor Extent	Not at all
BLACK	31	13	6
INDIAN	3	19	8

WHITE	-	9	11
TOTAL	34	41	25

Table 10

QUESTION 11 SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS PRESENTATION

Question 11 of the questionnaire asks respondents if they believe that it is important for politicians to pay allegiance to kings from different ethnicities when campaigning for elections thus acknowledging the importance of ethnic tribalism. In the events leading up to the 2019 national elections, all three leaders of leading political parties in South Africa that is the DA, the EFF and the ANC “visited” the king of the Zulu nation with “gifts” and this was seen as paying allegiance and using ethnic tribes to gain votes by some. Respondents only had to agree or disagree in a simple “yes” or “no” format. The following graph illustrate the results that were accumulated from the respondents.

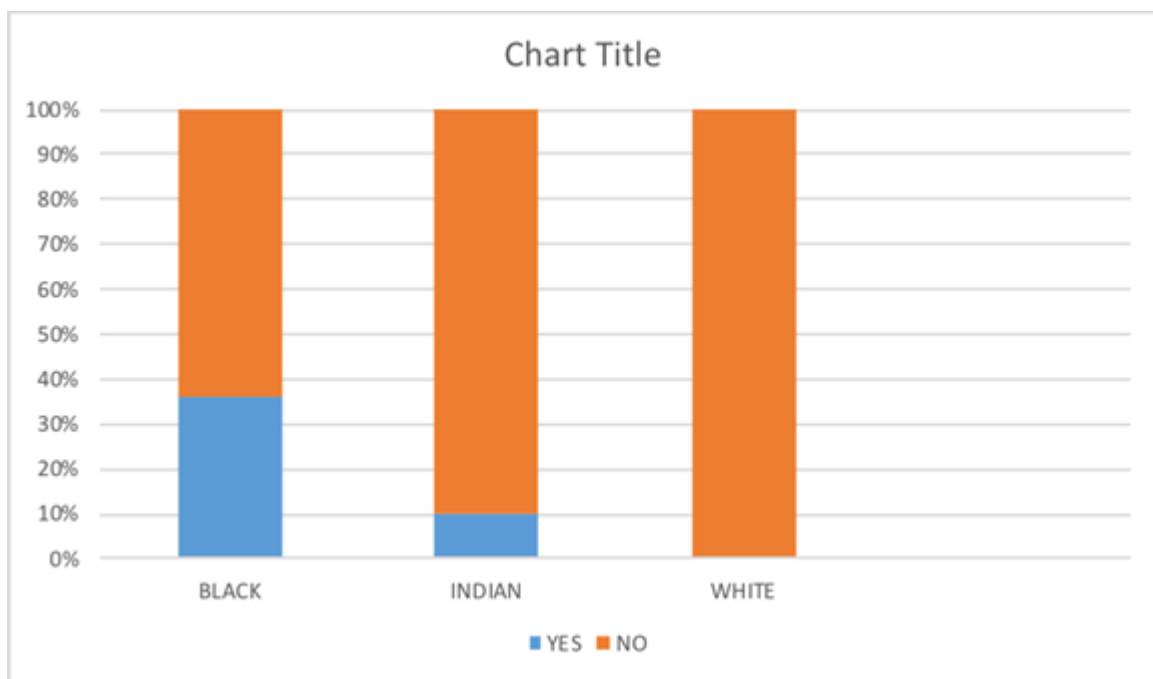


Figure 4

As far as the ethnic groups that participated in this research study are concerned, out of the 18 Blacks who answered “yes”, all 18 are from the Zulu tribe and all the other tribes said “no”. There is a strong sense of tribalism within the portion of the Zulu respondents who participated in this research study.

QUESTION 12 SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS PRESENTATION

Question 12 of the questionnaire was aimed at examining if respondents believe that it was important for each ethnic group to support one another. This is the same question that was asked in question 8 but it has been asked differently to ascertain whether there is consistency in the responses that are given by respondents as far as their strong belief in ethnicity during voting is concerned. Respondents were asked to state if they agree or disagree with the following statement:

It is important to support politicians who share the same ethnicity as me as a voter e.g. as a Zulu person, it is important that I vote for another Zulu person.

The following table illustrate the results that were accumulated from the respondents.

Race of Respondents	Strongly Agree		Agree		Strongly disagree		Disagree		TOTAL	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
BLACKS	32	64	14	28	-		4	8	50	100
INDIANS	-	-			27	90	3	10	30	100
WHITES	-		-		16	80	4	20	20	100
TOTAL	32	32	14	14	43	43	11	11	100	100

Table11

The above table shows that Black people who were respondents to this research study regard ethnic ties as an important factor when it comes to voting. Other non-Black racialized groups who participated in this research study do not put much value in ethnicity as far as ethnicity being an important factor when it comes to voting.

This chapter presented the results that were obtained from the respondents. The following chapter will analyse the results that were presented with the aim of answering the research objectives.

CHAPTER 6

DATA ANALYSIS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, there is an analysis of the data that was presented in the previous chapter. The analysis of the collected data helps in answering the research questions as well as fulfilling the objectives of the research study. The analysis of data is guided by the two theories that were discussed in chapter 3. This chapter starts off by analysing the race aspect of the questionnaire data followed by the ethnicity aspect of the data. The theory that will help in this process is critical race theory. The theory that helps in the analysis of the ethnicity aspect of the questionnaire is the sociological theory. The chapter continues from the analysis of the findings to the conclusion, recommendations and ends the research study with a brief discussion of suggestions for future research.

6.2 RACE AND ETHNICITY ASPECT

6.2.1 IMPORTANCE OF THE RACIALIZED IDENTITY OF THE CANDIDATE RUNNING FOR OFFICE

As explained in chapter 3 of the research study through the mentioning of Cheryl L Harris' work on whiteness as a tool for obtaining ownership of property and exploitation of labour, the same consequence prevailed in South Africa until 1994 when South Africa had its first democratic elections. The consequence in question is that of obtaining political power through racialized identity and not allowing other racialized groups notably Black South Africans to participate in the process of electing those occupying political office. The effects of such events are still prevalent in contemporary South Africa. The answers that were provided by the respondents support the statement that racialized identity still plays a role in influencing voting behaviour in South Africa. The question relating to the extent to which racialized identity and race in general is a motivating factor is of interest in the sense that the responses that were provided by the respondents show that there are mixed reactions about the role that is played by race in influencing voters on who they elect. When asked if respondents take into consideration the race of the candidate running for office before casting their vote, a total of 18 Black respondents which is equivalent to 36% answered "yes".

Based on the literature that was discussed in this research study as well as critical race theory, the history of racism is one of the major attributes to this notion held by mostly Black respondents regarding race as a major factor taken into consideration before casting their vote.

As stated in the literature, it was only till 1994 that Black people were allowed to vote and to a great extent, race determined the identity of those who held political power. It is not a surprise that a group of Black respondents opted to answer “yes” when asked if they take into consideration the race of the candidate running for office. As stated in chapter 3 of the research study, race cannot be objective and due to that notion, race as a lived experience does not affect one as an individual but rather as a member of a racialized group. It is no surprise that a majority of people who said that they take into consideration race before casting their vote are Black. This attributed to race as a lived experience and how their racialized identity meant that there could not get access to certain privileges e.g. the right to vote and own property.

6.2.2 FOR AND AGAINST BEING LED BY A RACIALIZED LEADER WHO SHARES THE SAME RACIALIZED IDENTITY AS THE VOTER

There is consistency in the responses that were given by respondents as far as preferring to be led by a leader who shares the same racialized identity as them is concerned. 38% of Black respondents argued for leadership of a leader who is racialized as them. As far as White respondents are concerned, the responses that were given by White respondents imply that race does not matter to them as 90% of White respondents argued that the race of the leader does not matter. A large majority of Indian respondents also argued that race of the leader is not important as 83% of Indian respondents argued that the race of the leader does not matter. The history of uneven power distribution in the country partially explains the phenomenon of seeing that a majority of Black respondents are all in support of being led by a leader who shares the same racialized identity as them. In the literature, there is a discussion of how class is somehow interrelated to race. In the context of the results that were derived from the respondents and the analysis of such results, the issue of class shows that Black respondents who are part of the upper class are affected by issues pertaining to race differently compared to those who form part of the lower class. Aforementioned discussion of race in the literature shows that this research study adopts the notion that race is socially constructed and race as a lived experience does not manifests itself in the same way hence the results that were given by respondents are not the same.

To a great extent, Indian and White respondents deny the idea that the race of the leader whom they elect matters and that he or she should share the same racialized identity as them. There are consequences that follow race as a lived experience as tenet 3 of critical race theory

states. One of the reasons which can be attributed to color-blindness to some of the respondents who participated in this research study is that of privileges that one has by virtue of the racial group he or she has been racialized under. 86% of all the White respondents as well as the Indian respondents do not believe that the racialized identity of a leader matters. As stated in the literature as well as in the theoretical framework, race cannot be objective. Race as lived experience does not affect one as an individual. It is no surprise that a large majority of respondents who are not Black do not believe that the race of a leader does not matter.

6.2.3 EXTENT TO WHICH RACE AND ETHNICITY OF CANDIDATE RUNNING FOR OFFICE IS IMPORTANT.

In total, 18% of all respondents strongly supports the notion that race and ethnicity of candidate running for office is important. The extent to which respondents affirm and support the importance of race and ethnicity of candidates running for office is minimal compared to those who are against this idea. Critical race theory tells us that the social construction of race affords one certain privileges due to the racialized identity as explained by Cheryl L Harris. The explanation for color-blindness from some respondents can be attributed to the refusal to do away with privileges they have obtained due to their racialized identity. The fact that a total of 18 respondents agree that race and ethnicity of candidates running for office is important already explains that there is in fact a role that is played by race and ethnicity when it comes to influencing voting behaviour in SA. Although it must be emphasized and stated that the responses given in this research study are not enough to come to a conclusion that the entire country holds the same views as the respondents considering that the number of respondents is small. The extent to which race and ethnicity are important factors influencing voters is minimal. As explained in the literature, identity is not the only factor that is taken into consideration by voters when electing a leader. In the literature, there is a discussion of issue-based voting and how even in instances involving issue-based voting, voting along the lines of racialized identity is still prevalent. Voting along the lines of racialized identity is not the only factor that prevails even in instances where voters vote in terms of issue-based voting. Voting along the lines of ethnicity also finds a way to manifest itself as shown in the literature discussing Kenyan elections. In terms of this research study, racial identity prevails over ethnic identity when it comes to being factors taken into consideration by voters. The history of injustices inflicted on people based in their racialized identity is responsible for the

views held by respondents especially Black respondents as far as racialized identity is concerned.

6.2.4 HISTORY OF RACISM AND ITS IMPACT ON DECISION-MAKING DURING ELECTIONS.

Race being a system that is used to classify people into different categories affirms that societies are organized along racial lines. The very same racial lines determine people's way of life as stated in previous chapters. Maart 2015: 187 defines racism as follows:

An act of aggression, however subtle, that is carried out by an individual, a group and or person or body representing an Institution who considers themselves/itself superior; being part of the group holding power carrying a justifiable act against someone with little to no power, with the intent to humiliate, debase and belittle the person/s based on the concept of race and centred on a system of beliefs with a particular ideology-that of supremacy.

The question on the questionnaire wanted to know from respondents if they believed that the above phenomenon is used or emphasized by political parties to gain votes. The majority of respondents agreed that political parties do in fact put more emphasis on the history of apartheid in the country to gain votes. A total of 79% of respondents' Black, White and Indian all agree that the emphasis of Apartheid is only a tool used to gain votes. In terms of critical race theory, the wrong narrative that there is a color-blind society is relevant when applying it to this question of the questionnaire. Conforming to the idea that the country should be non-racial and color –blind can be attributed to be the main reason why some of the respondents that is 21% of the respondents believe that the emphasis of racism is not used to gain votes. Putting more emphasis on the history of racism alone already affirms that there is a role that is played by race as far as influencing voters is concerned. If race was not a factor taken into consideration by voters when voting, the history of racism would not even be mentioned as a plot used to gain votes. It is a plot used to gain votes because it works and due to the history of injustices inflicted on the majority on the basis of race, it will always work until there is equality not in terms of political equality but also in terms of economic equality.

As previously stated, race as a lived experience affects people in different ways. When asked if respondents take into consideration the history of racism in the country, a majority of respondents 66% said no. the remaining 34% of respondents said "yes". The history of racism is not going to be factor taken into consideration when voting by a voter who has never been

a victim of overt racism. The fact that the current generation of young people live in a period where the idea of a non-racial society is preached and emphasized by all public institutions is partially the explanation behind the results obtained from respondents as to why they argue that the history of racism is not influential to them when voting. If one has never been at the forefront fighting for equality during the apartheid era, the history pertaining to racism in the country is not going to be that much of a factor determining who the person in question votes for. This explains why a majority of respondents argued that the history of racism is not influential to them when taking a decision of voting. Another factor which adds to the choice of responses taken by respondents in relation to the history of racism in the country and its role in decision-making when voting is the age factor. Almost half of the respondents are between the age of 18 and 25 which makes it permissible to argue that these respondents were young enough not to be aware of all racial activities that were happening in the country in the early and the late 90s when some of were born.

6.2.5 EXTENT TO WHICH ETHNICITY IS IMPORTANT IN VOTING BEHAVIOUR

The theory guiding the responses that were provided by respondents in relation to the role that is played by ethnicity when it comes to influencing voting behaviour in SA is the sociological theory. As stated in chapter 3 of this research study, sociological theory presumes that voters vote along the lines of social characteristics. In the case of this research study, a majority of Black respondents agree that there is in fact an important role played by ethnicity when it comes to being a factor motivating these voters to vote for political parties or candidates of their choices. Generally, the strongest feature of ethnicity in South Africa is language especially among Black South Africans. When respondents were asked if they agree with the notion that ethnicities should stick together when voting e.g. Zulus should support other Zulus, a large majority of Black respondents stated that they strongly agree with this notion (52%). When applying the sociological theory in this research study to unpack the reasoning behind this consensus within Black respondents, one understands that language is the element that provides a sense of belonging to these respondents. Sharing the same ethnicity and speaking the same language is in line with being an avid member of a social group and this notion enhances the idea of group membership.

The history of homelands in South Africa informs one about how important ethnicity was as far as grouping of people is concerned. The Bantustans or homelands, established by the

Apartheid government, were areas to which the majority of the Blacks population was moved to prevent them from living in the urban areas of South Africa (Butler et al 1978). People were grouped on the basis of ethnicity and the effects of such grouping are prevalent in contemporary South Africa hence the consensus among black respondents about the importance of ethnicity when voting. Aforementioned scholars such as Heywood argue that voters vote in terms of the social group that they belong to (Heywood 2002: 243). In terms of this research study, a sense of belonging to a social group is mostly upheld by Black respondents hence 52% of all Black respondents agree that it is important for ethnicities to stick together whereas only a small portion of Black respondents that is 10%, strongly disagree with the idea of ethnicities sticking together when voting. As stated in chapter 3 of this research study, macro-sociological approach states that individuals promote interests of the social groups that they represent. In terms of this research study, the reasoning behind the view held by a majority of Black respondents as far as ethnicity is concerned is that Black respondents believe in the idea of supporting those who are of the same ethnic group as them. The lived experience of one has an impact as to how that particular individual votes and due to the fact that Black people's racialized lived experience is common, the results from the Black respondents are bound to be the same or show a similar common trend.

The results from respondents paints a picture that voting on the basis of ethnicity is predominant among Black South Africans whereas Indian South Africans and White South Africans do not believe in the idea of voting on the basis of ethnicity. As much as a majority of Black respondents are of the view that ethnicity is an important factor in influencing voting behaviour, there are some Black respondents who opposed this notion by strongly disagreeing that ethnicity is important in influencing voting behaviour. The extent to which ethnicity is considered a motivating factor by the respondents is great. In terms of this research study, voting behaviour orthodoxy (defined in chapter three of the research study) manifest itself in the following ways. Rational choice theory which is a voting behaviour theory that is briefly discussed in the theoretical framework chapter of this research study instills a sense of individuality on respondents. This is to state that the respondents especially the Black respondents whose responses were different from the rest of other Black respondents as far as ethnicity being a motivating factor is concerned made rational choices after careful consideration as rational choice theory states. These are respondents who did not allow their

racialized lived experience and social characteristics notably ethnicity determine the factors that they deem important and influential when taking a decision of voting for a political party or an individual candidate running for office. As stated in chapter three of the research study, rational choice theory stresses the importance of individuality instead of socialization and the collective social group's behaviours (Heywood 2002: 243). In relation to this research study, the respondents who are against racialized identity being a motivating factor when voting can attribute individuality as a major source of the decision they took. The limit in this research study is that respondents were not given opportunities to explain reasoning behind their choice of responses as the questionnaire comprised of close-ended questions.

When respondents were asked about the importance of paying allegiance to kings when campaigning for office, there were mixed reactions as far as responses are concerned. The sense of belonging to a social group and voting on the basis of social characteristics possessed by such groups manifested itself when respondents were asked if they believed that it is important to pay allegiance to kings when campaigning for office. The reasoning behind the responses that were given by respondents is explained through the sociological theory. A small portion of Black respondents that is 18 respondents argued "yes" when asked if they believe that it is important to pay allegiance to kings when running for office. These are respondents who believe in the idea of upholding an idea of belonging to a social group. The respondents who answered "no" do not believe that it is important to pay allegiance to kings when campaigning for office. The social construction of race notion which has been emphasized throughout the research study teaches one that the racialized lived experience of one dictates the livelihood of a person. The Indian respondents as well as the White respondents were all against the idea of paying allegiance to kings when campaigning for office. White respondents all argued "no" when asked about the importance of paying allegiance to kings when campaigning for office. In short, ethnic tribalism is not deemed as important by Indians and White respondents who were part of this research study and the history of one's racialized lived experience is one of the major reasons for such responses.

To sum up, this segment of the chapter analyzed the responses that were received from the respondents who participated in this research study through questionnaires. Voting behaviour differs according to race and ethnicity and this notion is supported by the responses of the respondents. Race is a factor that is taken into consideration by Black

respondents and this can be attributed to racialized lived experience of Black people and the history of how racialized identity was a focal point used to determine who held political power in the country. Ethnicity is also a factor that is influential to Black respondents' especially Zulu respondents. The analysis of the findings also indicates that in some instances, there is not that much of a difference as far as the views held by respondents are concerned. There are black respondents who support the idea of taking decisions for themselves without being influenced by their racialized identity and also without being influenced by social characteristics such as ethnicity. All in all, the responses received from this research study indicate that respondents believe in the idea that ethnicity is important when it comes to being a motivating factor of voting behaviour whereas there is a minimal role that is played by race when it comes to influencing voting behaviour in SA.

6.3 CONCLUSION

The voting behaviour of respondents who participated in this research study is not exclusively racial since the majority of respondents who participated in this research study argued that they are not influenced by race when they vote. It is not exclusively ethnic either but to a great extent, ethnicity does influence a majority of respondents who participated in this research study. There are respondents who care about the racialized identity of the candidate that they are voting for and race is one of the most important elements that influence these respondents when they vote. There are also respondents who care about the ethnic identity of the candidate that they are voting for. As far as the people's understanding of what race means in South Africa, people are still holding on to defining race using biological traits rather than using the social construction aspect when defining race. The history of racial injustices committed against Black people in South Africa is one of the main reasons why people still understand race on the basis of physical appearances such as the colour of one's skin. It has only been 22 years since the first democratic elections and that is a short period of time compared to the time in which the Apartheid government existed.

There is a shift from a voting behaviour that is exclusively racial and this is supported by the responses that were given by the respondents who participated in this research study. Ethnicity is only seen as an important factor influencing voting behaviour by Black respondents and tribalism is a factor that contributes to this notion held by a majority of Black respondents. The responses that were given by respondents in relation to ethnicity shows

that Black respondents' value ethnicity as a motivating factor whereas Indian South Africans as well as White South Africans do not put value into ethnicity as a motivating factor influencing voting behaviour. Past research studies on race and elections also suggest that there is in fact a gradual shift from a voting behaviour that is exclusively racial in SA. Some of the past research papers on ethnicity and the role played by ethnicity indicate that ethnicity is still prevalent in Africa as far as being a motivating factor of voting behaviour. There was a brief discussion of the Kenyan elections to state how influential ethnicity is. The research study also opened up with a brief discussion of the ANC conference held in late 2017 to paint a picture of how ethnicity is prevalent in South Africa. South Africans do care about race but they accept that race is not the only factor that they take into consideration when they vote. The findings of this research study indicate that race is still an important tool used to gain votes by political parties and candidates running for office. In South Africa, there are political parties that are referred to using racial categories e.g. the Minority Front which is a political party that is referred to as an Indian political party. That is enough to convince an outsider that race still plays an important role in shaping the voting behaviour of voters in South Africa.

The responses to the questionnaire that were given by the respondents who participated in this research indicate that South Africans especially young South Africans are not as concerned as the older generation is about the impact that race plays when it comes to shaping the voting behaviour of South Africans. When answering certain questions on the questionnaire, some respondents were even arguing that Black South Africans tend to use race even in instances where it is not needed. One respondent argued that the fact that I am conducting a research study on how race influences people when they vote is a prime example of how Black people seek to use race in instances where race is not needed. One of the reasons for this is that some of the respondents who were participating in this research study are young enough not to have been born in the Apartheid era where race was used to determine or shape the way of life of South Africa be it, the distribution of resources, the right to vote, etc. What can also be learned from this research study is that a person's age plays an important role in one's understanding of how race works here in South Africa.

Voters still vote on the basis of identity in South Africa even though there seems to be a gradual shift from this idea. Racialized identity seems to override ethnic identity as far as being an influential factor on the voter when electing a candidate or a political party running

for office. This is due to the history of racialized identity and its impact on people's day to day basis. In this research study, respondents were asked about the question of ethnicity and how it influences them when they vote. It is not surprising that some respondents argued that they do in fact take into consideration the ethnic identity of a candidate running for office before voting for such candidate while some of the research study participants argued that they do not care about either the ethnic identity or the race of the candidate running for office. There are also some countries in Africa other than South Africa where the notion of ethnic identity play a major role in determining the voting behaviour of voters as far as national elections are concerned and this was discussed in the literature. Africa is not the only continent where the question of identity (in this case; racialized identity) is often used to determine the voting behaviour of some voters when they vote. In countries such as the US, Canada as well as the UK, racialized identity is also used by some people or some politicians to try and gain votes and some voters actually believe in the idea of voting while being considerable of the race of the candidate running for office.

As far as this research study is concerned, it is safe to argue that race is definitely one of the factors that are considered as valuable as far as shaping the voting behaviour of the people is concerned although race is not the only factor even though the extent to which race is influential is small. The same can be said about ethnicity. It is safe to argue that ethnicity is a factor that is considered valuable as far as shaping the voting behaviour of South African voters although ethnicity is not that much of a factor for Indian South Africans as well as White South Africans. An alternate measure that can be taken to ascertain the extent to which ethnicity is a motivating factor is by including more Indians and White South Africans on the research study as participants to try and see if ethnicity is still going to be seen as an important factor. The findings of this research study indicate that ethnicity as a factor influencing voting behaviour is only prevalent among Black South Africans. The idea of race has a complex history. It has been used for centuries to categorize, reward, and penalize people based on perceived differences. Despite often being misguidedly defined by skin tone and other physical attributes, **race** has no genetic basis. This powerful social construction has a tremendous impact on individuals' lives because it is often employed to establish and maintain privilege and power dynamics. Access to resources and opportunities are often distributed along racial lines.

To conclude, a majority of respondents who participated in this research study do not perceive race as a major influential tool to be considerate of when voting and a majority of Black respondents deem ethnicity as an important factor to be considerate of when voting. South Africa has a long history of racial injustices. It is argued that this attribute contributes to race being one of the major factors that shape the voting behaviour of some voters in South Africa. Race is taken advantage of by some political parties when running for office and that is another reason why it will take some time for South Africans to vote on other basis not just on the basis of racialized identity or ethnicity. To some extent, there is a role that is played by race as far as influencing voters is concerned but the extent to which racialized identity is an influential factor is small whereas the extent to which ethnic identity is an influential factor is great among Black people. Black people are the ones who are considerate of race when voting and this notion is supported by this research study results. A number of respondents who argued that they are influenced by race are Black and in the literature, it was discussed how and why Black South Africans are considerate of race when voting.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

Race is a powerful tool that is still used in this day and age for many various reasons. It would be essential to see a nation that tries to move away from the idea of judging people based on the racial categories that they fall under. Bearing in mind that South Africa is a country that has a long history of racial injustices, it would take quite some time to have a society where race is not used as means to gain votes by politicians and people or the voters do not rely on race to make their choices as to who they vote for. What is of interest when discussing race in the South African context is that moving away from an idea of a South African society where race does not play a vital role in social spheres such as elections would be undermining the long fight against racial injustices that took place in the past such as not allowing Black people to vote and not regarding them as citizens. Ethnicity is also not a tool that can be used as an alternative for racialized identity voting based on the violent history of how ethnicity has been used to spike violence in the African continent. The Rwandan genocide is a prime example of how ethnicity can be a dangerous tool leading to the death of people if it is being used a major tool for electing those who occupy political power.

People should not be judged based on the color of their skins but the content of their character. This is an important element that has been preached several times. The color of one's skin should not be such a big issue to the extent that it plays a role in the capacity of that person being put into office or being voted into office by the voters. The same can be said about ethnicity as in most cases, tribal wars erupt if ethnicity is emphasized as an important factor driving voting behaviour. It should be argued though that in this day and age, having conversations to dismantle the fact that racialized identity is important would be more or less meaningless because race is still a dominant factor in South Africa not just in playing a role in the voting behaviour of South Africans but also in playing a role in areas such as the allocation of resources or the ownership of resources in this country. Having a society that is colour-blind would first require an effort to dismantle White supremacy which is a system that is still in place and that contributes to racialized identity being a vital tool as far as shaping the way of life of every South African citizen. Although the idea that we are all human beings who are equal is ideal, it is important to point out that racialized identity prevails that idea therefore leading to inequalities. The idea that we are all human beings who forms part of one race is idealistic but far from reality especially in a country such as South Africa. Issue-based voting seems to be an adequate model that can correct the historical injustices that have been committed under racialized identity. It should however be pointed out that this would require a research study on its own to inquire whether voting on the basis of issue-based voting is actually better than voting on the basis of identity notably racialized identity and ethnicity.

6.5 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

For future purposes, the next research study conducted on race and ethnicity and the role that these two key identity elements play in influencing voting behaviour should be conducted on a larger scale. What this means is that a large number of respondents should be asked to participate in the research. The future research study should not be limited to questionnaires only. Interviews should also be conducted in that way, respondents will be given a chance to voice their opinions on race and ethnicity and the role played by these two in relation to voting behaviour in SA. The reason for this is that when people are participating in questionnaires, it might happen that they are holding back some information and as a result of that, they are giving answers that are considered socially acceptable; not really expressing how they feel on the subject being discussed. I believe that it would also be appropriate to

conduct a research study similar to this in an area that is dominated by respondents of different ethnicities and different racial categories rather than a university campus that is dominated by one racial group to try and see if the responses from the research study participants would be same.

I believe that conducting such research in an area that does not have people or respondents who have a bit of knowledge about race and ethnicity such as students who are in tertiary institution would bring interesting results rather than "stale" results. I believe that if the next research study on race and ethnicity and role played by these two in voting behaviour can be conducted through interviews, different outcome would suffice rather than having a situation where most respondents are giving the same answer about how they feel about race and ethnicity in relation to voting behaviour. It would be interesting to get matured people's views on race in South Africa and to hear them explain how things have changed in the democratic South Africa compared to the South Africa that was under the system of Apartheid. This would be appropriate to conduct future research in an area such as an old age home where matured people could give their opinions on race. I believe that the age factor definitely plays a role in the responses that are given by respondents.

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APPENDICES

DECLARATION OF CONSENT

PROJECT TITLE: Exploring the role that is played by race and ethnicity when it comes to influencing voting behaviour in South Africa.: A study conducted among students at UKZN.

RESEARCHER

Full Name: Xolani Nkosi

School: Social Science
and Identity

College: Humanities

Campus: Howard College

Proposed Qualification: Master of Social Science

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I, **Xolani Njabulo NKosi**, Student no.**210509108** am a MA student, at the school of social sciences, at the University of Kwazulu Natal. You are invited to participate in a research project titled: **Exploring the role that is played by race and ethnicity when it comes to influencing voting behaviour in South Africa. A study conducted among students at UKZN.** The aim of the study is to try and determine whether people are influenced by race when they take a decision of voting for a candidate or political party running for office during local elections in South Africa.

Through your participation, I hope to understand your understanding of race and the role that race plays when it comes to influencing you as a voter in taking a decision of voting for a candidate or political party running for office during local elections in South Africa. Your participation on this research project is voluntary and this research project is conducted on an anonymous basis. Please sign below to show that you have read and understood the contents of this letter. The questionnaire will take approximate 10 minutes to complete.

DECLARARTION OF CONSENT

Title of research. Exploring the role that is played by race and ethnicity when it comes to influencing voting behaviour in South Africa. A study conducted among students at UKZN.

I.....(Full Name) hereby confirm that I have read and understand the contents of this letter and the nature of the research project has been clearly defined prior to participating in this research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

Participants Signature.....

Date.....



14 June 2018

Mr Xolani Njabulo Nkosi (SN 210509108)
 School of Social Sciences
 College of Humanities
 Howard College Campus
 UKZN
 Email: 210509108@ukzn.ac.za

Dear Mr Nkosi

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Gatekeeper's permission is hereby granted for you to conduct research at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), towards your postgraduate degree, provided Ethical clearance has been obtained. We note the title of your research project is:

"Exploring the role that is played by race and ethnicity when it comes to influencing voting behavior in South Africa: A study conducted among students at UKZN".

It is noted that you will be constituting your sample by handing out questionnaires to students who are South African citizens over the age of 18 and from the College of Humanities on the Howard College Campus.

Please ensure that the following appears on your notice/questionnaire:

- Ethical clearance number;
- Research title and details of the research, the researcher and the supervisor;
- Consent form is attached to the notice/questionnaire and to be signed by user before he/she fills in questionnaire;
- gatekeepers approval by the Registrar.

You are not authorized to contact staff and students using 'Microsoft Outlook' address book. Identity numbers and email addresses of individuals are not a matter of public record and are protected according to Section 14 of the South African Constitution, as well as the Protection of Public Information Act. For the release of such information over to yourself for research purposes, the University of KwaZulu-Natal will need express consent from the relevant data subjects. Data collected must be treated with due confidentiality and anonymity.

Yours sincerely

**MR SS MOKOENA
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05 January 2017

Mr Xolani N Nkosi 210509108
School of Social Sciences
Howard College Campus

Dear Mr Nkosi

Protocol reference number: HSS/2053/016M

Project title: "The influence of race on the voting behavior of people during local elections in South Africa".

Expedited Approval

In response to your application dated 24 November 2016, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol have been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. Please note: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

.....
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

/px

cc Supervisor: Professor Rozena Maart
cc Academic Leader Research: Prof M Naidu
cc School Administrators: Ms N Radebe, Mr N Memela & Mr S Ehiane

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

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Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3587/8350/4557 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4609 Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za / snymann@ukzn.ac.za / mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

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Please complete the following questionnaire by ticking the appropriate box. Thank you for your assistance.

SECTION 1 - DEMOGRAPHICS

- Please state your gender

MAN	WOMAN
TRANSGENDER	INTERSEXED

- Please state your age group.

18 - 25	
26 - 33	
34 - 40	

- Please specify your first language

Afrikaans
English
IsiNdebele
IsiXhosa
IsiZulu
Sepedi
Sesotho
Setswana
siSwati
Tshivenda
Xitshonga
Other (Please Specify

- Please specify the racial group/race that you identify yourself with.

*Race in this context refers to the process of social construction and the materiality of race, that is: that race is socially constructed; that the material conditions under which racialized identities are lived out determine someone's experience of race.

BLACK
WHITE
INDIAN
COLOURED
OTHER

SECTION 2 – RACE AND ETHNICITY ASPECT

- I take into consideration the race of the candidate running for office before casting my vote.

YES	NO
-----	----

- I would prefer to be led by a leader who shares the same race as me. For instance, as a Black/Indian/White South African or whatever the case may be, would you prefer to be led by another Black/Indian/White person?

YES	NO	RACE OF THE LEADER DOES NOT MATTER
-----	----	---------------------------------------

- To what extent do you agree with the following statement?

Race and ethnicity of the candidates running for office is important.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree
----------------	-------	-------------------	----------

- Do you think that the emphasis of Apartheid (a system of racial segregation which was imposed on the masses from 1948 till 1994) by political parties running for office in South Africa play a role when it comes to gaining votes for these political parties?

YES	NO
-----	----

- Is the history of racism in this country influential to you when you make a decision of voting during elections?

YES	NO
-----	----

6. Would any of the following factors influence you to vote for a political party or a candidate running for office? *Tick one*

Race of the political party leader
Ethnicity of the political party leader
Both of the above
None of the above

7. If a person campaigning for office shares the same race as you, would you be motivated to vote for his/her political party?

YES	NO	TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION OTHER FACTORS OTHER THAN RACE
-----	----	---

8. To what extent do you agree with the following statement?

It is important that ethnicities stick together when voting e.g. Zulus should support other Zulus, etc.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	disagree
----------------	-------	-------------------	----------

9. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with the following statement.

Politicians put more emphasis on issues pertaining to race in order to gain votes.	Agree	Disagree
--	-------	----------

10. To what extent do you think that ethnicity is important in political decisions?

To a great extent
To a minor extent
Not at all.

11. Do you think that it is important for politicians to pay allegiance to kings from different ethnicities when campaigning for elections thus acknowledging the importance of ethnic tribalism?

Yes	No
-----	----

12. Do you agree with the following statement?

It is important to support politicians who share the same ethnicity as me as a voter e.g. as a Zulu person, it is important that I vote for another Zulu person.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	disagree
----------------	-------	-------------------	----------

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