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The challenges of transitioning from opposition to governing party: The case study of the Democratic Alliance in South Africa's Western Cape Province.

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This Dissertation is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Social Science in Political Science
at the School of Social Sciences, College of Humanities,
University of KwaZulu-Natal

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DECLARATION

I Sandile Mnikati declare that:

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2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to all the members of the Mnikathi and Walleth family, you have been a pillar of strength throughout this journey. A worthwhile mention is the Wilson family your unwavering support does not go unnoticed

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First, I give thanks to God for His grace that has made possible the completion of this thesis. I am also extremely grateful for the invaluable guidance, patience and encouragement of my supervisors Dr. Khondlo Mtshali and Mr Sandile Mnguni. I do not think that I would have completed this research were not for their supervision.

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Abstract

Opposition, rivalry or competition between government and its opponents is an important aspect of democratisation (Dahl:1973). The role of opposition in strengthening democracy cannot be understated, it has become common knowledge that liberal democratic systems rely quite heavily on institutional opposition. However, opposition parties also need to prepare themselves to govern. Opposition parties that prepare themselves for government must also have a distinct set of policies which they would have to implement if were to become the governing party. This poses a dilemma for opposition parties as the resources that they invest in these preparations could be used to make them effective opposition. This research uses South Africa's Western Cape province as its case study. The rationale for choosing the Western Cape is because it is the only province, in South Africa, where an opposition party has successfully made the transition from opposition to governing party. This research will answer the following questions: (1) What do opposition parties have to do in order to prepare themselves to govern? (2) What challenges did the Democratic Alliance face when it first governed? The research relied on textual data as a result qualitative research method was deemed appropriate. While at the Western Cape provincial level the DA was prepared to govern, the study found that the DA efforts at the national level were hampered by ideological confusion and lack of clear and distinct policy goals. The study also deduced that the DA needs to fine tune its communication strategy so that its policies are clear to the South African public.

Key Terms: Democratic Alliance, African National Congress, Opposition Party, Democracy

Abbreviations List

ACDP- African Christian Democratic Party
ANC – African National Congress
ARV- Antiretroviral
BBBEE- Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment
BEE- Black Economic Empowerment
BN- Barisan Nasional
BNG- Breaking New Ground
COPE- Congress of the People
CEO- Chief executive officer
CUD- Coalition for Unity and Democracy
CV- Curriculum Vitae
DA - Democratic Alliance
DGP- Democratic Green Party
DP-Democratic Party
DSD- Department of Social Development
ECD-Early Childhood Development
ECOWAS- Economic Community of West African States
ENCA- ENews Channel Africa
EFF-Economic Freedom Fighters
ESKOM- Electricity Supply Commission
GNU - Government of National Unity
FIU - Forensic Investigative Unit
FPP- First-past-the-post
FF+ - Freedom Front Plus
HIV- Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IALCH- Inkosi Albert Luthuli Central Hospital
ID – Independent Democrats
IEC- Independent Electoral Commission
IFP- Inkatha Freedom Party
IPP- Independent Power Producers

ISMO- Independent System and Market Operator
KANU- Kenyan African National Union
MEC - Member of the Executive Council
MMP- Mixed-member proportional
NSC – National Senior Certificate
NEEI- National Education Evaluation Inspectorate
NFP -National Freedom Party
NHI- National Health Insurance
NNP- New National Party
NP – National Party
PAC – Pan Africanist Congress of Azania
PAY- Premier's Advancement of Youth
PDS- Senegalese Democratic Party
PRI- Partido Revolucionario Institucionalizado
PH -Pakatan Harapan
PS- Socialist Party
RDP- Reconstruction and Development Programme
PSC- Public Service Commission
SACC- South African Chamber of Commerce and Industry
SAPS- South African Police Service
SANAB- South African Narcotics Bureau
SME- Small and medium-sized enterprises
SASSA- South African Social Security Agency
UDM - United Democratic Movement
UNICEF- United Nations Children's Fund
VBS- Venda Building Society
WEF- World Economic Forum
YLP- Young Leaders Programme

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CHAPTER 1 - BACKGROUND and INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The Democratic Alliance (DA) is the official opposition party in the Republic South Africa. However, in 2009 the DA managed to oust the African National Congress in the Western Cape Province and has been the governing party since then. It has been touted as the party to take over the reins from the ANC at a national level. However, the transition from opposition to government is one that requires a great amount of planning. Furthermore, it requires opposition parties to start behaving and thinking like governing parties. The aim of this research is to discuss the challenges that opposition parties face when transitioning. Moreover, it will critically evaluate the DA's performance in its flagship province, the Western Cape, and ascertain whether its performance in the Western Cape is as good as it so proudly claims it to be. The research paper will go on to look at DA policies to see whether or not they are viable. Oftentimes opposition parties are looked at merely for the legislative functions and the responsibility of its leaders. One such case of a smooth transition has been that of the Liberal Party in Australia. During the years that it was in opposition the Australian liberal party went through an extensive plan. The plans which were put in place were so that the party could better equip itself for when it became the ruling party. Much has not been written with regards to transitioning in South Africa as opposition parties are oftentimes as I have alluded to above merely seen as watchdogs for the public and are rated by those standards.

1.1. Opposition parties in Africa and South Africa

Political parties are social organizations which represent a sector in society, they seek to win elections and operate the government (Farrell and Webb:2000). Opposition parties are tasked with holding governments accountable; to serve as an alternative to the ruling party and promote debate in parliament (African-di:2018). According to (Omilusi:20017 p6) "A

competitive opposition that challenges the dominant party, forces the dominant party's rulers to invest in their party's own cohesiveness and accountability towards voters"

Opposition parties across Africa are relatively weak. According to (Rakner and Van Dewelle:2009 p111) "regardless of the nature and quality of electoral institutions, opposition parties have remained numerically weak and fragmented". In the case of Botswana, for example, the overarching feature of its democracy is the weakness of its opposition parties".

The dominant pattern in sub-Saharan Africa is the existence of the dominant party system. This is due to the lack of trust the electorate has in opposition parties. Jung and Shapiro (1995) argue that "if opposition parties are not be perceived as realistic alternatives to the government of the day, the possibility of turnover is diminished". In the case of South Africa, the argument is that voters tend to vote along racial lines partly due to South Africa's racial oppression past. Habib and Taylor (1999) argue that until such time that there is a split in the ANC the electorate will not likely vote for the opposition. Habib and Taylor (1999) make the assertion that "ethnic patronage exists 'in the form of favouritism in bureaucratic appointments and state contracts awarded to businesses, and this 'produces a state-sponsored [black] middle-class whose commitment to the dominant party outweighs that to a neutral state or the need for opposition politics" . Further, the official opposition party is seen as a party which represents the interests of the white minority. In 2011 an Afro barometer reading suggested that 56% of the respondents who identified with the DA were white English and Afrikaans speakers

1.2 Contribution of opposition parties to development

It has been argued previously that autocratic governments are better at bringing about socio economic development than democratic states that have opposition parties. This argument stems from what is known as the Lee hypothesis dubbed after the former autocratic leader of Singapore. Whilst it is true that Singapore saw a surge in economic development under the

autocratic leadership of Lee Kuan Yew. According to Sen (1999) “this is based on sporadic empiricism, drawing on very selective and limited information, rather than on any general statistical testing over the wide-ranging data that are available”. It seems according to (Sen:1999 p7) “that there is overwhelming evidence to show that what is needed for generating faster economic growth is a friendlier economic climate rather than a harsher political system”. Opposition parties play a crucial role in scrutinising policies which are said to bring about socio economic development. Amartya Sen makes the assertion that if China had an opposition party the famine of 1958 could have prevented.

1.3 Democratic Alliance consolidating Opposition

The demise of South Africa’s National Party saw the rise of the DA as the official opposition. The DA under Tony Leon facilitated the fight back campaign which stressed the party’s dedication to political opposition and its consistent record of refusing to cooperate with the ANC (Mottair: 2015) The DA in the 1994 elections could only muster 1.7%. The 2009 elections were one of the first signs that the Democratic Alliance was the vanguard of parliamentary opposition (Southern: 2011). The 2009 elections showed that the DA managed to retain its white constituency and consolidated its coloured constituency however it failed to make serious inroads amongst black voters (Kotze:2001).

In 2014 the DA claimed according to (Whittles: 2014) “to have attracted 760 000 black votes, a figure arrived at ‘using 2011 census data and its own ward profiles”. However (Mottair: 2015) argues that the DAs growth in black townships in Cape Town is minimal. The DAs support in general has grown among eligible voters over the past 20 years and accounts for only 13% of the voting population (Mottair: 2015). The figures of the first quarter of the 2018 South African Citizens survey suggest that the largest population group which favours the DA is black at 42% and is followed by white people with 27%.

1.4 Research aims and objectives

This research paper seeks to assess the role of political parties in a liberal democratic society and, in particular, the role of the Democratic Alliance as an opposition party in South Africa. Moreover, it will look at the challenges that opposition parties face when transitioning from opposition to governing party. In doing so the research paper will explore the steps that the DA undertook when it prepared itself for governance in the Western Cape province and the challenges that they faced thereafter. The paper will go on to look at whether the Democratic Alliance and its policies are a viable alternative to the ruling party in South Africa.

1. What is the role of opposition parties?
2. What role do opposition parties, in particular the Democratic Alliance, play in South Africa?
3. What do opposition parties have to do in order to prepare themselves to govern?
4. What did (does) the DA do in order to prepare itself to govern in the Western Cape?
5. What challenges did the DA face when it first governed the Western Cape?
6. Is the Democratic Alliance a Viable alternative to the ruling party?
7. Are the Democratic Alliance policies compatible to South Africa's political climate?

1.5 Research methodology and methods:

Research methodology can be defined as a systematic way in which the study will be carried out (Rajasekar, Philominathan and Chinnathambi:nd). According to (Rajasekar, Philominathan and Chinnathambi:nd) research methodology can also take on the definition of the study of

methods by which knowledge is gained. There are two main research methods, namely, qualitative and quantitative research methods (Pickard: 2007: xvi). Oftentimes when a research problem is complex enough the research project may adopt a mixed methodology which is a combination of both quantitative and qualitative research. The research method that this project will adopt is qualitative research method. Qualitative research requires one to identify a text or visual that is suitable for analysis (Jackson II, Drummond and Camara: 2007). Furthermore, it could be argued that qualitative research is a set of interpretive materials that make the world visible and then transform it (Denzin and Lincoln:2003). According to Leedy and Ormrod (2005):

Qualitative research method serves to reveal the nature of certain situations, settings, processes, relationships, systems or people; gain insights into a particular phenomenon, developing new concepts or theoretical perspectives about the phenomenon and discovering problems that exist within the phenomenon.

It therefore could be argued that qualitative research is descriptive as it seeks to describe the role of political parties in Africa as a whole and the role that they play in the socio-economic development of a nation. The study is interpretive in that it seeks to gain insights into the political systems and opposition parties in South Africa as well as the African continent. The study will lastly seek to evaluate the policies and the performance of the Democratic alliance. Qualitative research will therefore as a result be the best method for this research project.

The research method will be a comprehensive review of literature which will make a critical evaluation of the information. This study will largely be a desk-based study. Data for this research will be sourced from a wide range of already published materials such as books, articles in academic journals, newspaper articles, and a wide range of relevant literature. Literature sourced for information is inclusive of articles; journals; newspaper articles and existing dissertations which speak to issues of socio-economic development; political parties;

opposition parties; democracy; The Democratic Alliance and the role of opposition in South Africa as well as the African continent. Obtained data will be analysed in a thematic manner. Thematic analysis is a method which analyses trends within data (Vaismoradi:2013). In cases where it arises statistical data which is derived from the above mentioned will be tabled or presented in the form of graphs.

1.6 Structure of dissertation:

Chapter 1 Introduction

Chapter one provides the background of the study and includes a discussion of the research objectives, research questions, and the significance of the study. Chapter one also includes a description of the research methodology for this research work

Chapter 2 Literature Review

The Literature review chapter provides the most relevant and most recent literature pertaining to opposition parties in Africa in general and in Southern Africa, respectively. The international literature on this theme will also be discussed. There is extensive discussion on how opposition parties function as well as how well they have performed in their roles. Existing gaps in the literature will be identified and pointers given on how the present study will fill those gaps.

Chapter 3 Theoretical Framework

The theories used in this study will be discussed in detail in this chapter, namely Liberal Democratic Theory and Liberal Transitional Theory was used to guide the scope of the study and they will be discussed at length in order to justify their relevance to the study.

Chapters 4 The DA Experience

A general discussion on the Democratic Alliance and its preparation for governance in the Western Cape will be the focus of chapter four. Moreover, this chapter will discuss its achievements in

government and will juxtapose these against examples of the state of the Western Cape province prior to when the DA was in government.

Chapter 5 Is the Democratic Alliance a viable alternative to the ruling party

Chapter five focuses on discussing the policies of the Democratic Alliance. The discussion will also include a discussion of whether the Democratic Alliances policies are a viable alternative in the South African political climate. The basis of this discussion is to provide an insight into the assessment of the practicality of the Democratic Alliances policies.

Chapter 6 Conclusion and Recommendations

Chapter six concludes the study, further making recommendations and presenting the results of the analysis of the study.

CHAPTER 2 - LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

In carrying out this research, I will need to review what other authors and scholars have said with regards to the role of opposition parties in Africa as well as South Africa. Furthermore, I will need to see what literature exists on the experience of African countries and South Africa and assess whether or not they have been successful in their tasks as opposition parties. From here, I will compare and contrast the different views so as to fish out what laxities exist in such views and where I need to contribute new ideas. A literature review provides an overall framework of where a piece of work fits in the grander scheme of things. According to (Sagepub:2018) “the literature review serves to explain the topic of the research and to build a rationale for the problem that is studied and the need for additional research” essentially the literature review seeks to portray the relevance of your study in its particular field.

2.1 Opposition parties in Africa and South Africa

Political parties can be described as social organisations which represent a sector in society, they differ from interest groups in that they communicate their interests to government institutions and further seek to win elections and operate the government (Brunnel:2005). Opposition parties in the political sphere have a crucial role in the functioning of any state. Opposition parties are tasked with holding the government of the day accountable; to serve as an alternative to the ruling party; promote debate in parliament or in senate as well as grooming future leaders (African-di, 2018). In essence opposition parties act as a watch dog of the public and ensure that government is acting in the interests of the citizens as well as ensuring that they act within the confines of the law. Furthermore, in ensuring that opposition parties are serving

as alternatives to the ruling party they tend to keep the ruling parties on their toes, it further creates a space whereby there is a healthy contestation of ideas.

However, what has become prevalent across the African continent is that African opposition parties are relatively weak. According to (Rakner and Van Dewelle:2009) “regardless of the nature and quality of electoral institutions, opposition parties have remained numerically weak and fragmented.” What this in turn leads to is that the opposition parties are unable to hold the sitting government accountable. One such example which serves as the testament to the weakness of opposition parties in Africa is the issue of Botswana. The overarching feature of Botswana’s democracy is the weakness of its opposition parties. Due to the country’s weak opposition the sitting government in Botswana had not for a long time been put under any significant pressure (Lotshwao:2011). What seems to be a contributing factor is the fact that factions tend to weaken opposition parties. Factionalism, (Lotshwao: 2011) argues, is a direct result of poor leadership, such poor leadership has failed to keep organisational unity. There has been a number of splits in a quest of power as a result of factionalism that have added to the weakening of the organisations. Over and above factionalism the leaders of opposition parties have proven to be weak leaders that fail to inspire confidence. According to Molefhe and Dzimbiri (2006). “The current attempts at opposition collaboration have been marked by a failure by the leadership to create an inspiring vision or to provide clarity”. Another contributing factor to why Botswanan opposition parties were weak was that they lacked strategy and clear ideologies to sell to potential voters (Lotshwao:2011).

What seems to be a general pattern in sub-Saharan Africa is the dominance of the ruling party and the outcomes are very often resounding victories. Several factors have been cited as reasons to the continual of the one-party dominance in Sub Saharan Africa. Opposition parties are often not trusted by the electorate, the electorate tends to have confidence in the ruling parties regardless of its flaws (Lekalake:2017). Whilst trust is chief amongst the reasons for opposition

parties not gaining the confidence of the electorate, muddled ideological stances and a lack of coherent policies are a contributing factor (Jordan and Halpin:2006).

Should opposition parties not be perceived as realistic alternatives to the government of the day, the possibility of turnover is diminished (Jung and Shapiro: 1995) According to (Lekalake:2017) “trust in ruling parties tends to be higher than trust in opposition parties in Southern African countries (48% vs. 37%)”; the exception to this rule is Malawi.

Data that was collected in Malawi before the 2014 elections showed that Malawians much preferred the then opposition party. This led to opposition presidential candidate defeating incumbent Joyce Banda (Lekalake:2017).

The weakness of African opposition parties is a subject that has been largely been written about (Brooks: 2004). Teshome (2009) remarked “African political parties are plagued by weak organizations, low level of institutionalization, and weak links to the society they are supposed to represent”. He further argues that fragmentation is a constant feature in African opposition parties. Smith (2011) argues that “opposition parties across the Southern African region confront many challenges in their attempt to function effectively he attributes fragmentation and factions as one such challenge”. For Teshome (2009) fragmentation is divided into four categories, which are: (a) Formal fragmentation: This takes place when a large number of parties are registered

(b) Competitive fragmentation: This kind of fragmentation emerges “when more parties are able to nominate candidates in a number of constituencies.”

(c) Electoral fragmentation: This “occurs when votes are spread more evenly across a large number of parties.”

(d) Parliamentary fragmentation: This appears “when parliamentary seats are more evenly distributed across a large number of parties.”

Intraparty conflicts are widely regarded as one of the reasons that lead to the fragmentation of political parties. Teshome (2009) argues that “In Ethiopia, intra-party conflicts not only further fragmented opposition parties, but also greatly damaged their image, and frustrated the hopes of millions of people who overwhelmingly voted for the CUD (Coalition for Unity and Democracy) in 2005.” One can also take the example of the IFP and NFP in South Africa where dismissed National Chairperson of the IFP at the time led a breakaway party. Piper (2014) remarked “the disaster of 2009 for the IFP was compounded by the failure to rethink strategies or reinvigorate the party, leading the IFP national chairperson, Zanele Magwaza-Msibi, to challenge unsuccessfully for IFP leadership”. Piper (2014) goes on to argue that when Msibi was dismissed from the party she went on to found the National Freedom Party (a break away from the IFP).

Another prevalent problem with African opposition parties is that they fail to form coalitions that have the power to oust the incumbents. The reason for the failure of opposition parties forming working coalitions is the polarised political landscape which they operate in (Beardsworth:2017). African political parties are often very centralised as Coalitions are most likely to last if they are between parties adjacent on the political spectrum (van Tilburg:2019). There are however patches where opposition parties have come together and managed to oust the incumbent in an election. One such example is that of Kenya in 1992 as well as 1997 (Beardsworth: 2017). According to Beardsworth (2017) “in the 1992 and 1997 elections, losing parties had cumulatively gained over 60% of the vote”, this coalition would go on to remove the Kenyan African National Union (KANU) who had been in power since 1963. Another example where a coalition of opposition has worked is that of Senegal in 2000 and Ethiopia in 2005 (Teshome :2009).

An attribute that weakens opposition parties in Africa is that certain political parties are moulded around the personality of their leaders. Teshome (2019) argues that these opposition

parties lack structures because they; largely rely on the charismatic appeal of an individual. The Economic Freedom Fighters of South Africa is one such example of a political party which is moulded around the personality of its leader. According to Van Onselen (2018) “the EFF is, ultimately, a mere extension of Malema's personality. It was forged by him, in his own image. A monument to one man. And it has adopted his personality as a result “. Another South African example is that of the Inkatha Freedom Party. Giliomee, Myburgh and Schlemmer (2001) argue that “IFP supporters who exhibited extremely high levels of loyalty to the party and to its former leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Although the ANC brought the IFP into government, they were unable to steal the party’s constituency”. Moreover, what becomes problematic is that the opposition parties split when another leader within its ranks starts ascending to the top.

Opposition parties look to set themselves as viable alternatives having said that it is imperative that they come up with sound alternative policies.

2.2 Opposition Parties and strengthening democracy

Opposition, rivalry or competition between government and its opponents is an important aspect of democratisation (Dahl:1973). Randall and Svåsand (2010) argue that “in the presidential election held in Senegal in March 2000, Abdoulaye Wade, leader of the Senegalese Democratic Party (PDS), squarely defeated the incumbent for the previous 19 years, Abdou Diouf, of the Socialist Party (PS)”. In the 2016 Gambian Presidential Election Yahya Jammeh’s 22-year rule came to an end as Adama Barrow united a divided opposition in a coalition with a promise of jobs and the creation of a level political field. In 2018 former Angolan president Jose Eduardo dos Santos was voted out albeit at a party congress, more than 98 percent of the

delegates elected Lourenco as the new chief of the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) (Torchia:2018).

It can be argued that most African states exhibit a dominant-party system. Therefore, parties that have a majority use their majority of representation in parliament to dominate motions. This has led in some instances to a form of tyranny rule. An example of such is that of the Democratic Green Party (DGP) in Rwanda who has vehemently opposed the extension of President Paul Kagame rule (African-di:2018). As mentioned above opposition parties play a critical role in strengthening democracy as in their oversight functions, they keep the ruling party on their toes and ensure that they blow the whistle on anything that may seem illegal or not procedural.

The role of opposition in strengthening democracy cannot be understated, it has become common knowledge that democratic systems rely quite heavily on institutional opposition. According to (Jung and Shapiro:1995) “it is doubtful that could long survive as minimally democratic without institutional opposition”; without opposition parties there is no one that ensures that there is an alternative to the ruling party, thereby depriving the electorate of preferences. Dahl (1973) argued that “opposition, rivalry or competition between government and its opponents is an important aspect of democratisation”. According to Robert Dahl healthy opposition parties facilitate opportunities for citizens to formulate their preferences as well as communicating their preferences through action.

When one looks at the South African context it is clear that the African National Congress (ANC) has dominated elections since the dawn of Democracy. However, such a dominant party system has allowed for the ANC to mobilise along racial lines. As long as race continues to dominate South African politics the white minority will remain excluded from any share of power (Giliomee, Myburgh and Schlemmer: 2001). The closest opposition party to unseating

the ANC government has not managed to be able to set itself as a viable opposition. The issue is that it is seen largely as a party which represents white people as opposed to the black majority. In 2011 an Afrobarometer reading suggested that 56% of the respondents who identified with the DA were white English and Afrikaans speakers whilst those who identified with the ANC spoke all eleven languages with isiZulu and isiXhosa being the majority (Mottair, 2015). Furthermore (Giliomee, Myburgh and Schlemmer:2001) seems to hold a similar view that “that if the Democratic Party (DP) wanted to challenge the ANC, it would have to become a black-led and predominantly black opposition”; this was an important observation. The DA has in its ranks, several black leaders and has been led by a black leader up until he resigned in October 2019 however public perception is that the DA is still a white party. Mottair (2015) asserts that “in 2013 a survey of 3009 respondents between the ages of 15-34 found that 52% of black respondents believed that the DA would bring back some form of apartheid and that 26% of Indians, 21% of coloureds and 19% of whites held the same view”.

It can further be argued that opposition parties can be seen as consolidating democracy. The Burundi case has managed to gain some momentum and other role players all over the world are beginning to take notice of what these organisations have to say. One such example is the Economic Community of West African States considering passing a law which may make it illegal for its member states to allow their presidents to seek a third term. It has become common thought that opposition parties are critical in consolidating democracy however it has been argued that this can only be the case in the event that governments enjoy the luxury of having the presence of viable parliamentary opposition parties (Habib and Taylor :2001). The idea behind this argument is that if no viable opposition party exists then voters will continue to vote for the ruling party. As a result, the ruling party has no reason to perform at its best and can become complacent in carrying out its work. Furthermore, opposition parties promote

debate based on policies this allows the citizenry to make decisions that are informed (Kiiza: 2005).

Oftentimes opposition parties that pull in different directions do more harm than good for young democracies (Makara:2009). According to Cavatorta (2009) “During processes of liberalization it might be expected that opposition groups, irrespective of their differences, would coalesce to achieve the one, common objective that stops them from operating freely: the institutional elimination of the authoritarian gate-keeper”. Morocco according to Cavatorta (2009) is one such country where fragmentation amongst the opposition political parties strengthens the hand of the authoritarian gate keeper. He attributes the fragmentation to religious divisions where the secular and Islamist parties often do not see eye to eye on issues. Cavotorta (2009) argues that “contrary to popular opinion, effective unity of the opposition does not occur, this is true especially when one examines the fractious relationships between secular/liberal movements on the one side and Islamist ones on the other”.

2.3 Opposition parties in Post -Apartheid South Africa

The presence of opposition parties is critical in any democratic dispensation. According to (Habib andTaylor: 2001) “democratic theorists insist that both the constitutional right to form an opposition and the reality of a viable electoral alternative must exist for the successful consolidation of democracy”. It has often been stated that one of the roles of opposition parties is to position themselves as an alternative or a government in waiting (Handley, Murray andSimeon: n.d). However, what has been understated is the role that opposition parties especially in the South African context play in ensuring that the government does not take lightly the role that citizens have bestowed upon them. Habib argues that should the governing

party fear that citizens will vote for an opposition party, they are more likely to enhance service delivery or at the very least attempt to satisfy the interests of the majority.

Since the dawn of democracy, the African National Congress (ANC) has received a resounding mandate to govern with no other party enjoying nearly as much support as it does. A popular narrative in political discourse in South Africa is that black South Africans, the majority voters, more often than not tend to vote along racial lines (Habib and Taylor: 1999). The ANC enjoys a hegemony in South African politics and there has been no real alternative to unseat it. It can be argued with a fair degree of confidence that the ruling party does not suffer from the uncertainty of losing an election (Giliomee, Myburgh and Schlemmer: 2001).

The ANC rose to electoral dominance in 1994 and has maintained that position ever since. The demise of the National Party saw the rise of the DA as official opposition. The Democratic Party (DP)'s (now the DA) under Tony Leon facilitated the fight back. According to Mottair (2015) "the campaign stressed the party's dedication to political opposition and its consistent record of refusing to cooperate with the ANC".

2.4.1 Inkatha Freedom Party as an Opposition Party

The IFP has managed to predominantly enjoy the support of the Zulu speaking people which is why it could be argued that their support is largely limited to KZN. According to Grootes (2010) "Until the 1980s, the IFP only allowed Zulu people to join, and then it continued to be based mainly in KwaZulu-Natal". He further goes on to argue that since 1994 the IFP has not done much in changing the perception that it is mainly a party for Zulu speaking people. Moreover, the problem with organisations like the IFP is that they oftentimes have poor electoral results. In 2014 the IFP received 2.4% of the vote, this is not much support except in exceptional circumstances whereby the need arises to form coalitions or to break the tightest

of ties, their voices mean, or achieve, almost nothing (Grootes:2014). Grootes (2014) goes on to suggest that to have political power, political parties must diversify and move away from identity politics to gain broad support.

However, when one takes a closer look at the results from the 2019 General elections it is clear that the IFP and other parties that represent a small segment of society did relatively well or fared better than they did in previous elections. According to Davis (2019):

The ANC experienced its biggest drop of support in the country in 2019 in KwaZulu-Natal, falling by almost 10 percentage points to its lowest ebb in over a decade. The big winners have been the IFP, taking over the position of official opposition from the DA, and the EFF, which quadrupled its vote.

The IFPs resurgence saw them grow by 5% in the 2019 general elections from the previous elections in 2014. Davis (2019) argues however that the IFPs resurgence is due to the fact that the National Freedom Party, a breakaway party from the IFP, saw a total collapse and lost about 5 % of the vote. One can then deduce that the 5% that the NFP lost went to the IFP. Mkhuleko Hlengwa the IFPs spokesperson was quoted in the *Mail and Guardian* as having said “The biggest decline arose out of the ANC’s sponsoring of the NFP project”. Davis (2019) argues that “as the NFP was a breakaway party from the IFP, it is reasonable to assume that its collapse led many of its former supporters to return to their original political home”. Although the IFP had such a strong showing in Kwa-Zulu Natal, the ANC still managed to retain a 55 % percent majority.

After the 2016 local government elections, the IFP gained control of five municipalities in the province of KwaZulu Natal (Herman:2016). The IFP had campaigned on the ticket of good governance and had vowed to root out corruption. However, their election promises have not materialised. A report from Government Performance Index for 2019, which was compiled by

Good Governance Africa (GGA), found that IFP led municipalities had performed poorly. The GGA index found that amongst the twenty worst performing municipalities, nine were in Kwa Zulu-Natal with the IFP running four of them.

2.4.2 United Democratic Movement as an Opposition Party

In the run up to the 1999 elections an opposition party that was formed by former ANC leader (Bantu Holomisa) and National Party leader (Roelf Meyer) came to the fore. The United Democratic Movement (UDM), much like COPE would later, raise expectations that it would bring the ANC below the fifty percent. According to Ndletyana (1999) “the formation of the United Democratic Movement (UDM), in particular, raised expectations that the political dominance of the ANC would come under serious challenge”. Ndletyana (1999) further argues:

The UDM would go on to record a measly 3.42 per cent of the national vote. However, at the time it was said UDM was among the most successful in the 1999 general election as the party garnered 3, 42 percent of the vote and earned seats in 6 of the 9 provincial legislatures. It also became the official opposition in the Northern Province and its stronghold, the Eastern Cape.

This was quite bad considering that it boasted of leaders such as Bantu Holomisa, Roelf Meyer as well as Malcom Taylor, leaders who were prominent and popular leaders at the time. However, Ndletayana (1999) disagrees stating that “though this electoral support may make the UDM's aspirations to challenge the ANC—which got 66.36 per cent—a mockery, it is a significant start for the party.” He further argues that it was not a bad performance for a party that was only two years old at the time and enjoyed no representation in the national assembly. The UDM’s future prospects are dependent on whether or not they can retain disgruntled ANC supporters , or not, their base is largely based on short term interests the voters' attraction to

the UDM emanates from dissatisfaction with the ANC government and a longing for the restoration of the past (Ndletayana:2019).

However, in the elections to follow the UDM began to see a steady decline in the electoral performances beginning with the 2004 general elections. According to Coetzee (2019) “The United Democratic Movement (UDM) has the third-highest decline in support. The party has lost 71% of its seats in Parliament since the 1999 elections, dwindling from 14 to four. The UDM lost its votes in 2004, just five years after it first took part in national elections”

However, in 2014 it managed a rebound in the Eastern Cape Province even though it performed poorly in the other eight provinces. This was partly due to the fact that embattled Congress of the People Leader (COPE), Mbhaziwa Shilowa, led a faction to join the UDM in the Eastern Cape. Shilowa led a faction of eight hundred members of his breakaway COPE faction to join and assist the UDM in the 2014 general elections (Smillie:2014).

The UDM has come under fire as an opposition party and has been criticised for doublespeak. In the National Assembly and at a national level, the party has positioned itself as a staunch opponent --to the ruling ANC. However, in Nelson Mandela Bay, the UDM is seen as the party that aided and abetted the ANC to loot the city's coffers (Felix:2018). The UDM claimed to be opposed to corruption and maladministration. However, they failed to showcase this as they, and former Nelson Mandela Bay mayor Mongameli Bobani were mired in corruption scandals. According to Tandwa (2019), “The Hawks have conducted a series of raids at Nelson Mandela Bay mayor Mongameli Bobani's home and office.” Political analyst Dr. Mcebisi Ndletyana argued that it was baffling that UDM leader Bantu Holomisa had not acted against Mongameli Bobani. He further argued that Nelson Mandela Bay's problems were not as a result of an ideological clash but rather resulted from the fact that Bobani was a dodgy character (Maseko:2017).

2.4.3 Freedom Front Plus as an Opposition Party

An opposition party that shares similar attributes to that of the IFP is the Freedom Front Plus (FF+). The Freedom Front Plus is a party that claims to represent minority groups. The party is founded solely on the basis of self-determination of the Afrikaner ethnic group. Their goal is to secede from the Republic of South Africa and establish their own independent Afrikaner state. The Freedom Front Plus mission statement quoted off their website reads:

The Freedom Front Plus is irrevocably committed to the realisation of communities', in particular the Afrikaner's, internationally recognised right to self-determination, territorial or otherwise; the maintenance, protection and promotion of their rights and interests, as well as the promotion of the right of self-determination of any other community, bound by a common language and cultural heritage in South Africa.

The FF+ much like the IFP has seen, until recently, a steady decline in its electoral performance. According to Southern (2008) before the FF+ amalgamation with the conservative party it had previously only managed to garner 2.2 percent of the vote and in 1999 it only managed 0.8 percent of the share of the vote and in 2004 it went up only slightly to 0.9 percent. Southern (2008) argues that the FF+ offers the Afrikaner voter something different from the Democratic Alliance and that is, as alluded to above, Self-determination of the Afrikaner.

Much like the IFP, the FF+ showed a comeback in the 2019 general elections. Afrikaner voters that would have otherwise voted for the Democratic Alliance felt alienated by the DA and opted for the conservative FF+. According to Du Toit (2019) "former DA supporters who voted for the Freedom Front Plus in this year's election felt alienated by the party." He argues that in a country where race dominates the racial discourse, the Afrikaner voter was concerned about preservation of their language and culture.

The votes undoubtedly came from the DA as for the first time since its inception the DA went backwards in the 2019 general elections. According to Du Toit (2019) “most, of these votes, if not all, came at the expense of the DA, who has shed more than 470 000 votes and almost two percentage points since 2014”. FF+ managed to become the 5th largest political party in South Africa surging ahead of the United Democratic Front and the Congress of the people (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa).

It could be argued that talks of affirmation action are what put the Afrikaner voter off the DA. According to Saba and Kiewet (2019) Pieter Groenewald the leader of the FF+ is quoted as saying “there’s no doubt we made inroads in the white electorate of the DA we openly came forward for the protection of minority rights, and we said we must abolish Black Economic Empowerment and Affirmative Action”

The FF+ success in the 2019 general election is off the back of the party’s consistency and coherence in its policy and stance on issues that have dominated the South African political discourse. The FF+ has been unapologetically vocal against the idea of land expropriation without compensation and preserving Afrikaans as a teaching medium in institutions of learning. The Afrikaans language came under fire on numerous occasions in the National Assembly where some of the members argued that the language was disturbing and that it was the language of the oppressor (Head: 2019) According to Head (2019) the FF+ responded by saying “ the statement by an EFF member [that Afrikaans is a disturbing language] is an insult to all speakers of the language. The FF+ views South Africa as a tapestry of communities with beautiful languages and cultures that should all be respected, valued, and promoted. No language is above another.” Moreover, the FF+ is a strong advocate for keeping Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in institutions of learning; moreover, the party requested Gauteng MEC for Education Mr. Panyaza Lesufi to preserve Afrikaans (Head:2019).

The FF+ has mobilised its supporters to make a stand against the land expropriation without compensation bill. The FF+ launched the 'Fight Back South Africa' campaign, culminating in drawing up and signing petitions (Gerber:2018). According to Gerber (2018), "FF Plus+ lodge more than 100 000 petitions against expropriation without compensation" while they argued for land reform within the ambit of the constitution, section 25, they, however, oppose expropriation without compensation.

While the FF+ recorded growth in the 2019 elections, it is essential to note that it remains by and large a minority party. According to Haffajee (2019), Waldimar Pelser, the editor-in-chief of Rapport was quoted as saying :

(The number) 360,000 is still a minority of a minority. It's small. It's much easier (for a small party) to grow off a low base. Its caucus is homogenous. It's easy to understand, and focused and not muddled by compromise. (The FF+) was vocal about issues, like Afrikaans as a language of instruction, that the DA could not speak about. (But) most Afrikaans voters (and there are about 1.5 million of them) still voted DA.

2.4.4 Congress of the People as an opposition Party

The ANC's poor performance in the 2016 local government elections could be seen as a result of the split that the party has endured with the Congress of The People (COPE) as well as the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). Traditionally most splinter parties or break away parties emerge from parties in opposition, the case of Cope is interesting as it arose from a breakaway from the ANC (Stravinsky and Fakir). On closer inspection though it would seem that the ANC's 2016 electoral poor electoral performance had nothing to do with COPE. COPE's electoral performance since its inception in 2009 shows a downward spiral. Cope was touted as the party that would break the ANC's stronghold on South African politics. This was due to the fact that COPE was perceived to be a party that shared the liberal credentials of the ANC

(Maserumule: 2015). According to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) Cope managed to garner 7.42 percent of the vote in 2009. However, in the 2011 local government elections COPE would go on to lose 5% of its share of votes it had garnered in the 2009 general election. In the provinces where COPE had done relatively well in the 2009 general elections its support declined in the 2011 local government elections, apart from the Northern Cape, where its electoral support stood at 12 per cent (Maserumule: 2015). Maserumule and Mathekga (2011) characterise COPE's electoral misfortunes as 'bleak', with the contention that it was most likely to disappear from South Africa's political radar. In the 2014 general elections COPE would haemorrhage more votes and the narrative quickly shifted from COPE being a party that could take on the ANC to a party that was fighting for survival (Maserumule:2015). In 2014 COPE went from being the third largest party in 2009 to being the eighth largest in 2014. This sharp decline in electoral performance has raised the question of whether or not COPE should close shop completely. The answer for Maserumule (2015) is that the argument that COPE was a contender to begin with is flawed. He argues that COPE was a failure from the onset. The 7.42 percent that it managed in the 2009 general elections was below the mark that COPE leaders had aimed for. However, he provides clarity and goes on to argue that he is of the belief that COPE will fade out of existence. In 2011 Phillip Dexter then COPE's communications chief penned a discussion document titled "*COPEing with the Crisis in the Congress of the People: Our responsibility in the National Democratic Revolution.*" Dexter (2011) argues that members must make choices on the future of the party either to renew the party or alternatively shut up shop and admit the end of a significant but failed experiment in democracy.

COPE has suffered immensely at the polls. There is a clear lack of coherent policy and direction from the party. The party's vicious factionalism and deep divisions have meant that the party is not working in unison and thus not performing its duties as an opposition party. In 2010 the

party's main brass Mbhazima Shilowa and Mosiuoa Lekota contested each other for the party's presidency which led to the expulsion of Shilowa (Modjadji:2014).

In an effort to position itself as a party who is against the notion of land expropriation without compensation the party's leader Mosiuoa Lekota aligned the party with Afrikaans trade union AFRIFORUM (Manyathela:2019). Manyatela (2019) further argues that "It's understood Cope members were not happy with Lekota's association with lobby group AfriForum. The party has lost a considerable amount of support and has crashed from holding thirty seats in the national assembly to occupying just two.

2.4.5 Economic Freedom fighters as an opposition party

While COPE is a considered a splinter party that walked away from the ANC, the EFF has also been referred to as a splinter party from the ANC. The difference however is that the EFF's formation came after the expulsion of EFF leaders Julius Malema and Floyd Shivambu from the African National Congress Youth League. According to Tau (2019) "The EFF is a political party that was formed after the expulsion of ANC Youth League leaders and some ANC members, in a similar fashion to how the PAC was formed". Much like COPE in 2009, the EFF went into the 2014 general elections having only been in existence for a mere six months. According to Mbete (2016) "The EFF won 6.3 percent of the popular vote in its first election in 2014, allowing it to take up twenty-five seats in the National Assembly and to become the official opposition in two provinces – Limpopo and North West". In the 2016 Local government elections the EFF managed to secure 8.2 percent of the vote showing a gradual upward trajectory.

The EFF also showed growth in provinces in Limpopo where they ended up being the second largest party in these after the ANC. The EFFs growth dispelled the notion that the ANC had

only lost support in the urban areas (Mbete:2016). According to *African News Agency* (2019) EFF spokesperson Mbuyiseni Ndlozi is quoted as saying “our people, particularly the elderly, have come to appreciate what we are about over the five years”. The EFF has grown with the most supersonic speed in the rural areas”. Mbete (2016) concurs with Ndlozi and states that the “EFF ideology resonates with life experiences in this rural mining milieu”. Mbete (2016) further argues that the EFF’s showing in rural areas is as a result of the ANC losing support in these areas.

Despite not winning any Municipality outright the EFF managed to assist various opposition parties, including the DA, to wrestle power away from the ANC. Cropley (2016) makes the assertion that “a party of South African radical leftists has emerged as electoral kingmaker in major cities Pretoria and Johannesburg, giving a first taste of power to an ANC renegade who was once an acolyte of President Jacob Zuma”. The EFF then became the kingmakers in 14 out of 27 hung municipalities which saw it give power to the DA in Nelson Mandela Bay, Thswane and Johannesburg (Mbete:2016).

The EFF’s future prospects look promising however a few organisational issues stand in its way. *Cape Argus* (2016) has Malema quoted as saying “We are concerned, because if we don't get the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal right, we can forget about growing the EFF's influence in the country”. Mbete (2016) argues “that unlike the ANC-breakaway party that preceded it, the Congress of the People (COPE), the EFF managed to sustain the electoral promise of its debut in elections, in 2014, in the challenging terrain of local government elections in 2016”. According to the Independent Electoral Commission, in the 2019, general Elections the EFF managed to win 10.77% of the vote continuing its steady upward spiral.

Since the inception of the EFF, the conversation around land expropriation without compensation has intensified, forcing it to become a major topic in the South African political discourse.

According to Mapenzauswa (2018):

The EFF, formed in 2013 by firebrand former ANC youth leader Julius Malema, has stolen some support from the liberation movement through populist rhetoric such as a call to nationalise the country's mines – backbone of the economy – and expropriate land without compensation, both of which resonate with millions of blacks resentful of enduring white privilege.

The EFF has forced the ruling party's leadership into the conversation of expropriation of land without compensation. The pressure mounted by the EFF has been so high that the ANC has agreed to support an EFF motion to amend South Africa's constitution to allow for expropriation without compensation (Mapenzauswa:2018).

The EFF came onto the South African political scene as a party who sought to fight against the corrupt administration headed up by former President Jacob Zuma. According to Oderson (2014):

A clash between a vigorous Malema and a tired-looking Zuma during parliamentary questions in late August (2014) changed the dynamic. Malema asked Zuma a simple question: When was he going to pay back the state's money judged by the Public Protector to have been wrongly spent on his Nkandla homestead?

However, it would seem that EFF is beginning to lose credibility as a crusader against corruption as they have also been recently embroiled in corruption scandals. According to Madia (2020), political analyst Lukhona Mnguni argues that:

Leaders must also realise when they have been tarnished to a point that it damages the brand of their organisation, you resign not because the accusations are right, but that the gravity of those claims are so big that remaining in their positions compromises all that they have worked for.

Madia (2020) argues that, this is advice that the leader of the EFF Julius Malema should heed as he and his deputy Floyd Shivambu have been embroiled in the VBS bank saga. Madia (2020) makes the assertion that “The collapse of VBS Mutual Bank in Limpopo has been linked to several ANC officials, but it has also allegedly been linked to the EFF through Malema's deputy Floyd Shivambu's brother, Brian”. However, Mnguni argues that the party may weather this storm as they have added new flavour into their political scene with their robust debates and holding the executive accountable (Madia:2020).

2.5 Democratic Alliance consolidating Opposition

The DA in the 1994 elections could only muster 1.7% however the Democratic Alliance in the 2014 general elections managed to win 22.23% of the vote. The 1999 elections was one of the first signs that the Democratic Alliance was the vanguard of parliamentary opposition unlike the (New National Party) whose opposition involvement seemed to be limited because it made up part of the Government of National Unity (GNU) (Southern:2011). Southern further suggests that the DA has failed to attract the coloured support in the Northern Cape. However according to internal DA polling, the DA believed that in can in fact push the African National Congress below 50% nationally. The DA had set its sights for Gauteng as well as the Northern Cape for the 2019 general elections (Beangstorm:2018).

The question that arises is do the DA electoral fortunes mean that the DA has consolidated opposition in South Africa. The 2009 elections were pivotal in that it showed that the DA had grown to an extent but still needed much work to do. The 2009 elections showed that the DA

managed to retain its white constituency and consolidate the coloured constituency however it failed to make serious inroads in the black constituency (Kotze:2001).

In 2014 the DA managed to become the official opposition party in Kwa Zulu-Natal, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Free State as well as Mpumalanga and grew by nine percent in Gauteng (Quintal:2014). This can be seen as enough reason to suggest that the DA had managed to woo a significant number of black voters. According to (Whittles:2014) the DA claimed, “to have attracted 760 000 black votes, a figure arrived at ‘using 2011 census data and its own ward profiles’”. However (Mottair:2015) argues that when one looks at how the DA fared in the black townships in Cape Town it suggests that the party’s advances into the black constituency was minimal. If the DA is taking these black voters away from the ANC it is questionable however whether or not it can threaten the ANC hegemony (Jolobe:2014). Up until the 2019 general the DA had been the only opposition party, which had managed to steadily increase its voter share since the 1994 elections (Coetzee , Leon. Le Roux:2019). The DA support in general has grown among eligible voters over the past 20 years and accounts for only 13% of the voting population (Mottair:2015). The figures of the first quarter of the 2018 South African Citizens survey suggest that the largest population group which favours the DA is black at 42% and is followed by white people with 27%. What this shows is that the DA is continuing to make significant inroads into the black communities.

For the first time since its predecessor the Democratic Party (DP), the DA went backwards in a general election. Although the DA maintained its status as the official opposition nationally it saw a decline in its share of the votes. According to the *Independent Electoral Commission* the DA in 2014 garnered 22.20% and the 2019 general elections saw them go backwards by two percentage points and losing five seats in the National Assembly.

In 2014 the DA became the official opposition in the largely rural province of Kwa Zulu Natal ousting the Inkatha Freedom Party which managed to receive 10.86 % of the vote as opposed to the DA's 12.76 percent of the vote. Even though the DA saw an increase in the amount of votes it obtained in the 2019 general elections its 13.65 % of the vote was not enough for it to retain its status as the official opposition in Kwa Zulu-Natal as the IFP surged ahead of it with 16.63% of the votes cast in Kwa Zulu Natal (Zulu:2019). The DA would also go on to lose its official opposition status in Mpumalanga. According to the *Independent Electoral Commission* the DA managed to garner 9.77% of the vote, even though it retained its three seats in the legislatures, which was not enough as opposed to the EFFs 12.79% which saw them double its share of the votes and the number of seats in the Mpumalanga provincial legislature from the 2014 general elections.

After its successes in the 2016 Local government election where the DA managed to retain the City of Cape Town and gained control of three more metros, it had its eyes set on the Gauteng and the Western Cape (Beangstorm:2018). However, it saw a decline in its share of the votes in the Gauteng legislature which meant that it could not realise its dream of governing the province. According to the *Independent Electoral Commission* the DA managed 27.45% of the vote which saw it go down two percentage points from the previous elections. It failed to push the ANC below the 50% mark and force a coalition. Nicolson (2019) remarked "The ANC has avoided entering into coalition discussions in Gauteng after winning 50.19% in the most contested province in the 2019 elections in a tense race that was difficult to call until the final voting districts were counted"

Political analyst and pundit Eusebius Mckaiser in his article in the *Mail and Guardian* (2019) argues that the DA should have at least garnered 30 % of the national vote considering that they were handed an electoral gift in the form of former president of Jacob Zuma. He goes

on to argue that it is impossible for the DA to justify a decline taking into account that South Africa has a weak economy and with unemployment and inequality at all-time high.

2.5.1 Democratic Party Merger with New National Party

In an effort to consolidate the opposition then Democratic Party Leader, Tony Leon, went into talks with then leader of the New National Party Marthinus Van Schalkwyk. Political analysts who thought the merger was inevitable were equally disturbed as they thought that the merger was equating liberalism to whiteness (Koopman and Sawyer: 2000).

According to the DA's website, "the DP made a decision that the best way to protect and strengthen democracy in South Africa was to build a strong opposition that was able to restrict the one-party dominance of the ANC". However, the merger between the DP and the NNP was short lived as a year later the NNP decided to walk away from the DA and forms an alliance with the ANC

2.5.2 Democratic Alliance Merger with the Independent Democrats

In 2010 the party leader, Helen Zille, announced that they would be merging with the Independent Democrats which were led by Patricia De Lille. This was done in an effort to consolidate the opposition and form a stronger opposition to the ANC. According to *The Mail and Guardian* (2010) "The DA and the smaller ID said they hoped their new alliance would capitalise on growing frustrations with the ANC over crime and the provision of education, healthcare and electricity". The ID came to the merger with a mere 1% of the national vote and much like NNP their support was dwindling.

2.5.3 Multiparty Democracy and Consolidation of opposition Parties

Mergers of different opposition parties have often been regarded as a way to consolidate the opposition and in the process strengthen democracy. However, the counter argument here is that oftentimes mergers are seen as a way to keep alive political leaders whose support and relevance has dwindled as well as ensuring that many ideas and political ideologies remain within the body politik (Mckaiser: 2014).

Mckaiser (2014) goes on to argue that if a party like the Independent Democrats or the New National Party is no longer relevant then surely it should be allowed to fade away as it has served its purpose and should not be saved by a merger of sorts. The obsession here is not with the consolidation of democracy but is rather with diversifying ideas in the political discourse.

Much has been written about opposition parties in Africa however what has not been taken into consideration is how these parties fare when they ascend to government. Arguments have been made of the importance of opposition parties becoming viable options to the electorate in order to keep the ruling parties on their toes. Opposition parties are oftentimes limited to the status of parliamentary opposition there has not been much scrutiny however in the instances of when they govern.

2.6 Opposition Parties in Asia

The majority of states in South East Asia have a form of multiparty democracy which provides for competitive elections. Burma is the only exception where in Burma only the Burma socialist party is recognised (Justus M. van der Kroef:2015). According to The Economist Intelligence Unit's 2017 Democracy index not a single South East Asian country was rated as a full democracy. Le Thu (2018) makes the assertion that "the countries were ranked by looking at their electoral processes and pluralism civil liberties; the functioning of government; political participation; and political culture". According to Le Thu (2018) "All indicators have shown a

noticeable deterioration from the 2016 Democracy Index, when both Cambodia and Myanmar were ranked as hybrid regimes”.

What is also an apparent trait is that parliamentary opposition in South East Asia is relatively weak and or inefficient. According to (Justus M. van der Kroef:2015) “the fact remains, however, that partisan parliamentary opposition is generally ineffective among Southeast Asian states today”. The lack of effective political; opposition has given rise to interest groups. Some of the interest groups are student movements, the military and religious bodies as well as communist movements (Justus M. van der Kroef:2015).

There are however patches within South East Asia where the opposition or opposition parties are relatively strong. The 2018 Malaysian general elections are one such example where the opposition coalition Pakatan Harapan (PH), or the “coalition of hope”, edged past the ruling Parisan Nasional (BN) coalition (Simandjutank:2018).

2.7 Role of Opposition Parties in New Zealand

In the Westminster system it is widely accepted that opposition parties seek to hold the government of the day accountable as well as present a viable alternative (Stanbury:2003). Generally, according to the Parliamentary Monitoring Group (2019) the second largest political party is considered to be the official opposition party, the leader of the largest opposition party is then considered to be the leader of the opposition. However, in 1996 New Zealand adopted an electoral system that allowed for both political party representation as well as single seat constituency representation (Ebherhard:2017). The Mixed Member Proportional system otherwise known as MMP made it exceedingly difficult to determine who or which party was considered to be opposition (Berg:2014). However former New Zealand leader of the opposition Dr Don Brash disagrees, argues that “there is not a big difference in the role of

opposition in New Zealand's MMP – mixed member proportional – versus the FPP – first-past-the-post – era of political system” (Brash:nd). . Moreover Dr. Brash argues that the MMP system allows for more effective oversight as the executive has less of a grip on select committees process because the Minister's party, in the current Parliament never has the majority of votes (Brash:nd).

One of the downfalls of the MMP system is that the lines between opposition parties and the executive is blurred (Berg:2014). In that there are oftentimes opposition parties that vote with government of the day on certain issues but are happy to vote against it on other issues. One can cite the realignment or positioning of New Zealand politics after the 2005 general elections. Having said that however the dominance of the National and Labour party has ensured that either one or the other is the opposition party.

However, in New Zealand the leader of the opposition has been given another dimension. The leader of the official opposition has a significant role to play in terms of security of the country. The leader of the opposition is a member of the security and intelligence committee, the director of the New Zealand Security Intelligence Service is mandated to consult the leader of the opposition on any security related matters (Berg:2014).

2.8 Contribution of opposition parties to socio-political and economic development

According to Santhirasegaram (2007) “Democratic or economic freedom or both does not promote economic growth of developing countries”. Moreover, Santhirasegaram (2007) argues that “most developing countries have less democratic freedom have higher economic growth than those having higher democratic freedom”. Sikuka (2017) describes development as “one of the simplest definitions of development can be considered as the objective of moving towards a state relatively better than what previously existed”, it is therefore a gradual positive change.

According to Julius Nyerere (1974) freedom and development are intertwined one cannot have the one without the other. In other words, development is freedom for Nyerere.

Amartya Sen in his book *Development as Freedom* (1999) much like Nyerere makes the argument that development and freedom are somehow related. Sen explores how for him freedom is a basic constituent of development in itself and an enabling key to other aspects (Yee: 2003).

Former Singapore leader Lee Kuan has argued that autocratic governments are better at bringing about socio economic development than democratic states that have opposition parties. However, Sen argues “that there is overwhelming evidence to show that what is needed for generating faster economic growth is a friendlier economic climate rather than a harsher political system”. Opposition parties play a crucial role in scrutinising policies which allow citizens to play a more active role. However Bueno de Mesquita and Downs (2005) argue that “authoritarian regimes around the world are showing that they can reap the benefits of economic development while evading any pressure to relax their political control”, Chinas economy has grown exponentially over the last decade or so however China does not subscribe to a liberal democracy that encourages opposition parties. Bueno de Mesquita and Downs (2005) remark “Over the past half century, a large number of such regimes have undergone extensive economic growth without any corresponding political liberalization”. Faust (2007) is of the opinion that the “consolidation of the one-party dominant regime of the Partido Revolucionario Institucionalizado (PRI) since the late 1930s came along with the so-called Mexican economic miracle”

However, there are arguments that have been put forward in support of the notion that a healthy democracy, is one with active and effective opposition parties. The point that this argument makes is that when people receive a higher economic development they tend to hold their

governments more accountable. Sikuka (2017) makes the argument that “ this assumption is maybe more visible in a country such as South Africa, where the fall of apartheid in 1991 and the subsequent attainment of independence in 1994 led to a growing middle class and educated black community, who now demand and expect more responsibility from their government”

Moreover, it is widely accepted that all the nations in the world that are economically advanced are those that are democratic. However, when one looks at the correlation between Democracy and development on the African continent seems to not be the case.

The table below shows that it is not necessarily true that is a correlation between advanced democracies and development

Table 1: Top 10 developed and the 10 least-developed countries in Africa

Top 10 developed African countries	
Ranking	Country
1	Seychelles
2	Mauritius
3	Algeria
4	Tunisia
5	Libya
6	Botswana

7	Gabon
8	Egypt
9	South Africa
10	Cape Verde
10 least developed African countries	
Ranking	Country
1	Central African Republic
2	Niger
3	Chad
4	Burkina Faso
5	Burundi
6	Guinea
7	South Sudan
8	Mozambique
9	Sierra Leone

10	Eritrea
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Source: Accord (12 OCT 2017).

Sikuka (2017) argues that “one would naturally expect Mauritius, which is regarded as the most democratic country in Africa, to be the most developed country on the continent”. He goes on to argue that “it is in fact Seychelles – a country that is not even among the top 10 democracies in Africa – that leads the most developed countries on the continent” (Sikuka:2017).

However, it can be argued that perhaps both Amartya Sen and Julius Nyerere are correct to an extent. Considering that when one looks at South Africa and Botswana, both these countries are considered to be advanced democracies and they feature as the most developed countries in Africa.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to show important issues concerning the role of opposition parties in Africa as well as South Africa. Relatively a new concept that the African continent is grappling with opposition parties are largely ineffective in Africa due to factionalism within the opposition parties as well as amongst opposition parties. The primary objective of holding the executive accountable is thus made futile.

Whilst it is generally understood and accepted that opposition parties have a hand in the consolidation of democracy in that they offer alternative policies to the electorate. One party dominance is still a prevalent feature in Southern Africa, so long as there are no viable alternatives voters are highly unlikely to change their voting patterns.

The notion of democracy as a trade-off for development is derived from the idea that when people receive a higher economic development, they tend to hold their governments more accountable. However, when one closely examines the African experience it is found that the most developed countries are not necessarily the most democratic. The following chapter will discuss at large the theoretical and conceptual framework that the study will seek to adopt.

CHAPTER 3 - THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

The theoretical framework can be considered as a plan or the blueprint of any research, its importance can therefore never be understated. Without the theoretical framework it would be fair to argue that the entire research is baseless. The theoretical framework also guides the literature review and gives existence to questions which the research will seek to address. The theoretical framework gives clarity to the structure of your research (Verschuren and Doorewaard: 2010).

This study will use the following theories: Liberal Democratic Theory and Liberal Transitional Theory. The Liberal Democratic Theory is an established subfield of political theory that is primarily premised on the notion of liberty which draw its existence from Thomas Hobbes' idea that speaks to freedom as negative freedom. It can be argued that Liberal Democratic Theory is a political ideology in which government operates within the ambit of classical liberalism. Central to this ideology is the presence of political parties, regular elections, and democratic institutions. Arthur (2010) makes the assertion that "the main elements of a liberal democratic society include political participation, freedom of expression, access to alternative sources of information, the right to association, free and fair as well as competitive elections and the existence of fundamental human rights". Liberal Democratic Theory allows for a smooth transition of government between parties. However, what is understated is the emphasis on political parties planning to become governments

Another theoretical approach that will be employed throughout this research work is the Liberal Transitional Theory. The theory will assist in evaluating the abilities of opposition parties to lead governments. For Taflaga (2017) "winning government is challenging enough for

opposition parties but planning for a transition that may not occur is a significant investment of the limited resources of opposition parties”. Furthermore, this theory looks at what parties do once they obtain power. Oftentimes literature that is concerned with transition focuses on the quality of the leaders of the opposition parties but not much emphasis is placed on the groundwork necessary to prepare parties for the role of governance

3.1 Liberal Democratic Theory

Liberal democratic theory traces its origins back to the enlightenment era. Central to this theory are ideas centred around the notion of freedom. In modern liberal democracies people enter into an agreement with officials who will in turn govern them for a fixed period of time. This agreement cannot be broken in that governments cannot rule the people for more than the set period of time. Liberalism according to Held (2006) is “associated with the notion that within the state individuals should be allowed to pursue their economic and political preferences”. The relationship between Liberalism and democracy is one where the two cannot be divorced. There are certain factors which accompany liberal democracy and they are the ideas of discussions and tolerance. Turner (2003) makes the assertion that “Liberal democracy has to do with the idea of having a ‘government through discussion,’ whereby there is a free exchange of ideas indirectly or directly produced by public opinion”.

3.1.1 Liberalism

Liberalism as a notion can take two meanings. Liberalism can be defined within the economic context as well as the political context. Oftentimes these two notions are conflated, it is worth mentioning that economic liberalism and political liberalism do not necessarily mean the same thing. Amico (2020) argues that “democracy and capitalism coexist in many variations around the world, each continuously reshaped by the conditions and the people forming them”. Henderson (2020) is of the view that to rebuild a strong liberal market economy one needs to

strengthen democracy. This notion has led to the confusion whereby liberal democracy is taken to be a capitalist system of government. However, economist Isabelle Ferreras argues that liberal capital economies are compatible with autocratic and illiberal regimes such as much as they are compatible with liberal form of governments (Amico:2020). The fundamentals of liberalism are taken to be, the importance of property rights, religious toleration, individualism, and some type of consent to being ruled (Townswell:2013). According to Harden (1999) the notion of political liberalism came as a counter to universalistic religious views whose proponents were so ardent as to wish to impose those views by force. Moreover, Harden (1999) goes on to add that economic liberals sought to justify the supposedly immoral greed that drives markets to greater production.

3.1.2 Democracy

The term democracy is derived from the Greek terms *demos* and *kratos* where *demos* means the common people and *kratos* is translated to mean strength (Ober:2008). It is generally accepted that there are two types of democracies, namely representative and direct democracy (Kessler:2005). A direct democracy is a democracy where the power lies directly with the electorate and the representative democracy delegates power to elected officials (Berga and Moreno:2019). Moreover, Berga and Moreno argue that, most western democracies are types of representative democracies and that it makes practical sense to elect a representative either to make decisions or to implement the mandate of the society.

An example of a direct democracy is the notion of a consensual democracy or democracy by consensus. For Ajei (2016) Consensual democracy is:

an indigenous, non-party democratic system rooted in the traditional African humanist and communitarian conceptions of the individual and the community, in which political decisions are characteristically reached by consensus.

Democracy however has been reduced to merely voting for a government through the will of the majority. The issue with this view is that it succumbs to Arrows theorem, which suggests that “if democracy is reducible to a decision mechanism based on a voting rule, and if that voting rule is inherently flawed as a decision mechanism, then democracy itself is flawed”. (Ober:2008). Furthermore, Democracy in the form of representative democracy has led to divisions in society along political lines more so in Africa where people have even been killed for their support of a political party (Matolino: 2019).

3.1.3 Liberal Democracy in Africa

The rise of liberal democracy in Africa came as a result of the colonial powers. As a result, the transition to democracy meant that there was some opposition to it and the first African leaders never really accepted it. Most African leaders tolerated it as a means to an end (Fatton:1990). However liberal democracy has not fared well in Africa as often the yard stick used to gauge the successes of these democracies is the existence of numerous parties.

If one were to follow this logic it becomes clear that this measure is one which is disingenuous at best. Moreover, the concept of free and fair elections is also a misleading one when one speaks of Liberal Democracy in Africa. Jotia (2012) argues that “it is not surprising that the 2008 Zimbabwean presidential elections were declared free and fair even though Morgan Tsvangirai had to seek political asylum in South Africa”.

Despite the fact that Liberal democracies have given a sense of hope on the African continent, their track records are questionable. Sachikonye (1995) makes the assertion that liberal democracies on the African continent has given rise to many autocratic regimes which have gone out of their way to block the rise of popular opposition forces. Jotia (2012) argues that

“elections are often merely used as a tool to legitimise unjust governments regardless of whether civil society deems them to be free and fair or not”.

The shortfall of liberal democracies in Africa can be attributed to the narrow definition of liberal democracy. The definition of democracy confines itself to “multipartyism and the periodic holding of elections, administered and monitored by bizarre constitutions which claim to be upholding the rule of law” (Jotia:2012). Corruption and looting of the state coffers have been embedded in Liberal democracies within Africa. Corruption and embezzlement have become synonymous with democratically elected representatives on the African continent. Warren (2004) argues that “political corruption ranks as one of the lesser evils. It is, however, the pathology most likely to be found thriving in democracies”. Africa is often referred to as a safe haven for corrupt officials, a factor which is seen to be contributing to the stunted development of the continent (Hanson:2009). According to a 2019 Transparency International survey, a corruption watchdog, six out of the ten most corrupt countries are in sub Saharan Africa. Hanson (2004) further argues that “a 2002 African Union study estimated that corruption cost the continent roughly \$150 billion a year”.

Another obstacle to liberal African democracies is that most of African democracies harbour war lords and autocratic leaders. Jotia (2012) argues that “the intolerance that most of the African governments have towards opposition parties is a clear indication that African democracy has no respect for personal freedoms and that it continues to suppress human rights”. He further argues that the dismal performance of African leaders in this regard is further proof that democracy in Africa is still a nightmare. Many political commentators and scholars have defined the notion of Liberal democracies on the African continent as an oxymoron. Tony Leon (2010) makes the assertion that “The World Bank noted that “until 1982, only one-tenth of African countries had competitively elected heads of state and, even as late as 1991, Africa “showed virtually no improvement” in its democratic fortunes”. Many of the African countries

post 1960 were not truly democratic countries. Larry Diamond of Stanford University notes that “only one African president, Aden Abdullah Osman of Somalia, was defeated at the polls between 1960 and 1990” (Leon:2010). Suggesting that many African leaders at the time were autocratic leaders. Moreover, one can deduce that the periodic elections that were held were rigged. According to Leon (2010) by the end of the 1980s, out of some 150 heads of state who had governed African countries since independence, only 6 had voluntarily relinquished power.

3.2 Liberal Transitional theory

Oftentimes literature that is concerned with transition focuses on the quality of the leaders of the opposition parties but not much emphasis is placed on the groundwork necessary to prepare parties for the role of governance. Taflaga (2017) argues that “studies that examine opposition transition to government planning emphasise the role of leaders and downplay shadow cabinets’ or party organisations’ role in planning processes”. When parties are in opposition it is imperative that they set themselves clear and distinct policies . Haddon (2019) argues that :

much of the preparation that opposition parties might undertake for government – considering any changes they want to make to departments or understanding what it is like to be a minister – has to occur before they take office. Other countries have transition periods to allow a new government to consider some of these issues.

Another critical aspect is that members of opposition parties should take it upon themselves to understand how government works. Haddon (2019) makes the assertion that “changes to government departments or the creation of new departments need to be thought through”. The Liberal Transitional Theory is critical in that speaks to the smooth transition of opposition parties to governance in democratic societies.

3.2.1 Shadow Cabinets

When discussing parties that refer to themselves as alternative governments as opposed to opposition parties it is important to discuss the notion of shadow cabinets. According to Bateman (2008) “an alternative government is a group whose purpose will include putting forward a policy set to provide choice to voters. (Often, of course, this goes hand in hand with the broader notion of opposition)”. It is important that one touches on the notion of the Shadow Cabinet. According to Taflaga (2017) “Winning government is challenging enough for opposition parties but planning for a transition that may not occur is a significant investment of the limited resources of the opposition”. In moulding themselves as alternative governments the primary way of doing so is by mirroring the structures of government in the form of a shadow cabinet. By doing so the alternative government or opposition party demonstrates that it can sufficiently do a better job in the current ministry (Bateman: 2008).

The Shadow cabinet is a feature of the Westminster system of government. It started off as a loose grouping of senior opposition members who would discuss the government’s actions and possible responses to their actions (Eggers and Spirling: 2014). One of the functions of the shadow cabinet is capacity building. The appointed members of the shadow cabinet are mostly likely to take up ministerial positions in the portfolios they serve in the shadow cabinet. Opposition parties cannot solely rely on merely criticising the governing party or the government of the time but must also bring about alternative policy (Eggars and Spirling: 2014).

In an effort to prepare itself for governance the Democratic Alliance, which is South Africa’s official opposition party, in 2007 initiated a programme which is known as the DA Young Leaders Programme. The DA’s Young Leaders Programme (YLP) is a political leadership learning and development programme for South Africans between the ages of 18 and 35 which

seeks to grow the party's own timber (Pillay:2014). Many of these young leaders have come of time and currently occupy positions in the DA's current shadow cabinet.

3.2.2 Policy formulation

The formulation of policies by opposition parties that want to make the transition to governing parties is critical. Thus, it is important that alternative governments have a research centre that deals with this particular aspect. According to Riddell and Haddon (2009) "Parties go through a process of policy preparations to show that they are a credible alternative government" the first of such was in the late 1960s in British politics under the conservative party's Edward Heath.

According to Riddell and Haddon (2009) "Heath ordered a thorough series of reviews of policy, involving outside consultants and the advice of former civil servants and ministers from the previous Conservative Government". It can be argued that having clear and distinct goals makes for easier policy formulation. Haddon (2010) argues that "understanding what the policy is for can make a big difference to how resources are used, whether it is setting out a position or whether it is a detailed plan of action for government". She goes on to further highlight the importance of clear and concise policy whilst in opposition. Citing the impact that the labour party had made in 1977 on issues they had prioritised in opposition including the devolution for Scotland and Wales (Haddon :2010).

Bratton and Logan (2015) argue that "a majority of citizens think that the political opposition has a viable vision and plan for governing in only four African countries namely Malawi, Madagascar, Namibia, and Ghana". Moreover, according to a 2015 Afrobarometer study across 20 countries, "only one-fourth (27%) of survey respondents consider that opposition parties

should monitor and criticize government in order to hold it accountable”. In fact, they are of the opinion that opposition parties should rather cooperate with the governing party.

This makes it difficult for opposition parties that constantly attack the ruling party to attract voters. Lekalake (2017) argues that opposition parties are more likely to do better if they highlight their policy positions and gain citizens support in their plans.

Contrary to popular opinion that African political parties are centred around the distribution of patronage resources as opposed to policy positions. Voters in African countries critically analyse the difference in economic and development policies between political parties. Bratton and Logan (2015) argue that a plurality of citizens (23%) claim to distinguish political based on their “economic and development policies 40% of Malawians claim to perceive policy differences, compared to just 11% in Mali”.

3.2.3 Alignment of Research Questions to Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Table 2 below shows how the research questions are aligned with the chosen theoretical and conceptual framework.

Table 2: Alignment of Research Questions to Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Research questions	Theoretical and conceptual framework
1. What is the role of opposition parties?	Liberal Democratic Theory, holding government accountable
2. What role do opposition parties, in particular the Democratic Alliance, play in South Africa?	Liberal Democratic Theory, holding government accountable
3. What do opposition parties have to do in order to prepare themselves to govern?	Liberal transition theory, develop alternative policies and appoint shadow cabinets
4. What did (does) the DA do in order to prepare itself to govern in the Western Cape?	Liberal transitional theory, develop alternative policies and presented itself as a viable alternative government
5. What challenges did the DA face when it first governed the Western Cape?	Liberal transitional theory, discuss challenges of transitioning
6. Is the Democratic Alliance a Viable alternative to the ruling party?	Liberal transitional theory

7. Are the Democratic Alliance policies compatible to South Africa's political climate?	Liberal democratic theory
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3.3 Conclusion

This Chapter discussed the two theoretical frameworks that are used in this study, namely, the Liberal democratic theory as well as the Liberal Transitional Theory. It argued that Liberal Democratic Theory is a political ideology in which government operates within the ambit of classical liberalism. Moreover, it traced the origins of the theory back to political philosopher Thomas Hobbes. The basic tenets of the Liberal Democratic Theory are political participation, freedom of expression, access to alternative sources of information, the right to association, free and fair as well as competitive elections and the existence of fundamental human rights. Furthermore, it was argued that Liberal Democratic Theory allows for a smooth transition of government between parties. However, what is understated is the emphasis on political parties planning to become governments.

The Liberal Transitional Theory explores the emphasis that is placed on the groundwork necessary to prepare parties for the role of governance. It looked at notions such as shadow cabinets and the importance of opposition parties developing their own alternative policies. It was acknowledged, that due to a lack of resources, for oppositions to plan for a change in government that was unlikely to occur in the foreseeable future was just as challenging as winning government. The next chapter will be the data analysis chapter which will look at primarily the DA experience through the lenses of the Liberal Transitional Theory

Chapter 4 The DA Experience

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter focused largely on the theoretical as well as conceptual framework adopted for this study. It was discussed that the two theories that would be adopted are the Liberal Democratic Theory as well as the Liberal transitional theory. This chapter will look at how political parties prepare themselves for government largely through the scope of the Liberal Transitional Theory. This chapter will then explore the measures that the Democratic Alliance went to in order to position itself to take over the administration of the Western Cape. Finally, this chapter will look at the initial challenges that were faced by the DA when they first took over the Western Cape government.

4.1 What do opposition parties have to do in order to prepare themselves to govern

In the previous chapter it was discussed that opposition parties set themselves for transitioning to governance by presenting themselves as viable alternatives. One way of doing that is appointing a shadow cabinet which mimics the cabinet appointed by the ruling party. The Collins English Dictionary describes a shadow cabinet as “the members of the main opposition party in Parliament who would hold ministerial office if their party were in power”. The United Kingdom Glossary page describes a shadow cabinet as:

the team of senior spokespeople chosen by the Leader of the Opposition to mirror the Cabinet in Government. Each member of the shadow cabinet is appointed to lead on a specific policy area for their party and to question and challenge their counterpart in the Cabinet. In this way the Official Opposition seeks to present itself as an alternative government-in-waiting.

Holzhacker (2005) argues “If the alternation of power among parties is to take place smoothly with a minimum of disruption to society and governmental decision-making, then opposition parties must be prepared to take the reins of government in case of a fall of government or fresh election”. Opposition parties that prepare themselves for government must also have a distinct set of policies which they would have to implement in the event that they become the governing party. According to Taflaga (2017) “oppositions could not solely rely on criticism of the government but needed — and were expected — to develop some policy option”.

The amount of time that a party needs or takes to prepare themselves for governance is dependent on the timeframe since it was last in power. According to Riddell and Haddon (2009) “much depends on how long a party has been in opposition and how quickly its leaders think it will win office again. Parties that have just been in office, such as Labour after losing in 1970 or the Conservatives after 1974, are often only semi-detached from power”. Riddell and Haddon (2009) go on to argue that the longer a party is in the opposition benches the more entrenched the opposition mindset becomes, which can be dangerous.

Haddon (n.d) argues that there are three phases of preparation that the opposition parties must undertake when preparing for governance which are namely (1) Making manifesto policies deliverable by one or more government departments (2) Thinking how to organise or reorganise the structure of government (3) Improving their understanding of how government operates and supporting their shadow ministers or spokespeople in learning how to be government ministers.

Haddon (n,d) argues that (1) consists of developing draft legislation and drawing up policies for implementation , moreover opposition parties need a clear enough idea of their legislative plans. (2) requires thinking about changes to government departments or the creation of new departments. In her first twenty-four hours former British Prime Minister Theresa May created

new ministries for Brexit and international trade and merged the departments of business and energy (Mance: 2016). (3) requires the upskilling prospective ministers, the argument that Haddon (n.d) makes is that ministers who are new to the job can find themselves on a steep learning curve. According to Haddon (n.d) Coraline Spelman the first secretary of state for environment, food and rural affairs during the 2010–15 coalition government, told the Institute that “we as ministers, particularly me with no ministerial experience, didn’t actually know what was required of us”.

Before becoming Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, Spelman shadowed the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government from January 2009 until May 2010, shadow Secretary of State for International Development from July 2001 until November 2003 (Solihull:2016). Despite her appointments in the British shadow cabinet, Spelman, and her party, as alluded to above, found it challenging to make a smooth transition from the opposition benches to governing. This notion reinforces Haddon’s idea that the longer the party is in opposition, the longer it will take them to get into the swing of governance.

4.2 What did the DA do in order to prepare itself to govern in the Western Cape?

Oftentimes opposition parties are looked to for legislative functions and their roles in executing oversight over the executive and not much consideration is taken into what it is that they do to prepare themselves to govern. In the 2006 local government elections, the Democratic Alliance became the largest coalition partner in the City of Cape Town. In doing so the DA managed to redefine itself as a credible governing party as opposed to merely an opposition party (Van Onselen: 2016). Southern (2011) argues that with Helen Zille at the helm it became much easier for the Democratic Alliance to position itself as governing party as at the time Zille was already mayor of the City Cape Town. The DA rode on the popularity of then leader Helen

Zille who had just been awarded world mayor in 2008 as their premier candidate. She was picked out of a pool of 800 cities and this paved the way for the Democratic Alliance to win the province in 2009 (Patricia De Lille: 2015). This was especially important because it allowed the DA the space to show rather than explain the difference between itself and the ANC. Zille, who had the task to manage a tricky coalition in the city of Cape Town, allowed the DA to showcase its ability to manage coalitions and it showed that it was intending on moving away from opposition benches to governing. In discussing this through the scope of the liberal transitional theory which emphasizes the need of sound and credible policies for opposition parties to implement once they are in power, this was a positive for the DA in the sense that it then allowed the party to not only talk about how its policies were better or more effective the party could now show how they were better in practice (James Selfe:2015) .

The fragile seven party coalition was the beginning of the DA's transformation into becoming a party of government. James Selfe former DA Federal Council chairperson argues that it was the DA's vision, for an open opportunity society for all, which caused the coalition partners to buy into the ideas that the DA was looking to advance.

The DA selected Helen Zille to become their premier candidate in the Western Cape in the 2009 general elections, Zille had previously held an executive position in the provincial legislature and had experience leading a highly successful government. The move to have Zille run as Western Cape premier candidate was a strategy informed by the fact that they wanted to persuade voters that their lives improve where the DA is in power (Coetzee:2009). Between the years 1999-2001 Helen Zille was the Western Cape's MEC (Member of the Executive Council) for Education and prior to that Zille was tasked with formulating the party's education policy (Quintal :2015). From 2001 until her election to the National Assembly Zille was leader of the opposition shadowing and mirroring the ruling party in the Western Cape (Quintal: 2015). It was argued above that opposition parties form shadow cabinets and develop policies

for when they transition to governing or ruling parties. Much like any government in waiting Zille's experience set her up to be the best Premier candidate and that meant she had been adequately prepared to lead the Western Cape government. Zille who was by now a seasoned and credible leader, that had served in the shadow cabinet of the Western Cape would be according to the Liberal Transitional Theory a natural choice, due to the fact that she could now implement policies which she had advocated and developed whilst in the opposition's shadow cabinet.

The DA undertook to behave like the government, they managed to portray themselves as a cleaner more efficient government than the incumbent ANC government. They did so by introducing programmes with a particular attention to infrastructure led economic growth which according to Zille (2009) is " a policy that has helped to attract R43 billions of investment into the metro region". Moreover in an effort to prepare themselves for better governance the DA introduced reforms in the City of Cape Town's Bid Adjudication Tender Award Committee, which decides all outside contracts, making provisions for the processes to be opened to the public (Zille: 2011). According to Nielson (2015) "when tenders are being adjudicated by the Bid Adjudication Committee; the meetings are open to the public – a situation not seen in any other municipality across the country. These meeting are advertised on the City's website and usually take place each Monday afternoon".

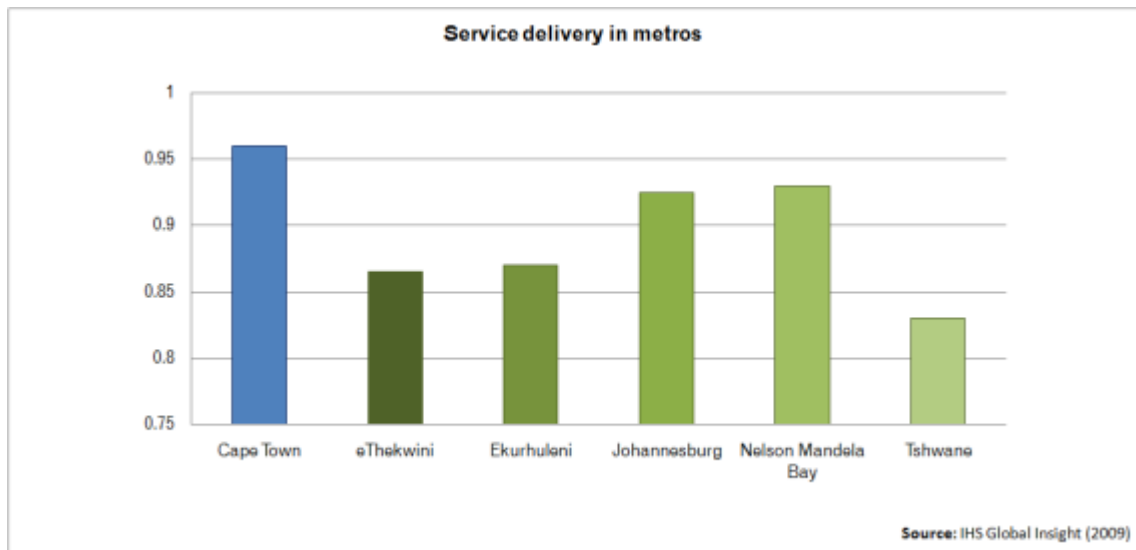
In preparing themselves to govern it is imperative that opposition parties gain the trust of the electorate. According to Lekalake (2017) "a 2017 Afrobarometer survey which looked at 500 interviews conducted in 2014/2015 in Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe, found widespread support for multiparty politics". However, the results also showed that "opposition parties are not trusted as much as governing parties and that very often they are not seen as a viable alternative to the dominant ruling party" (Lekalake:2017). The

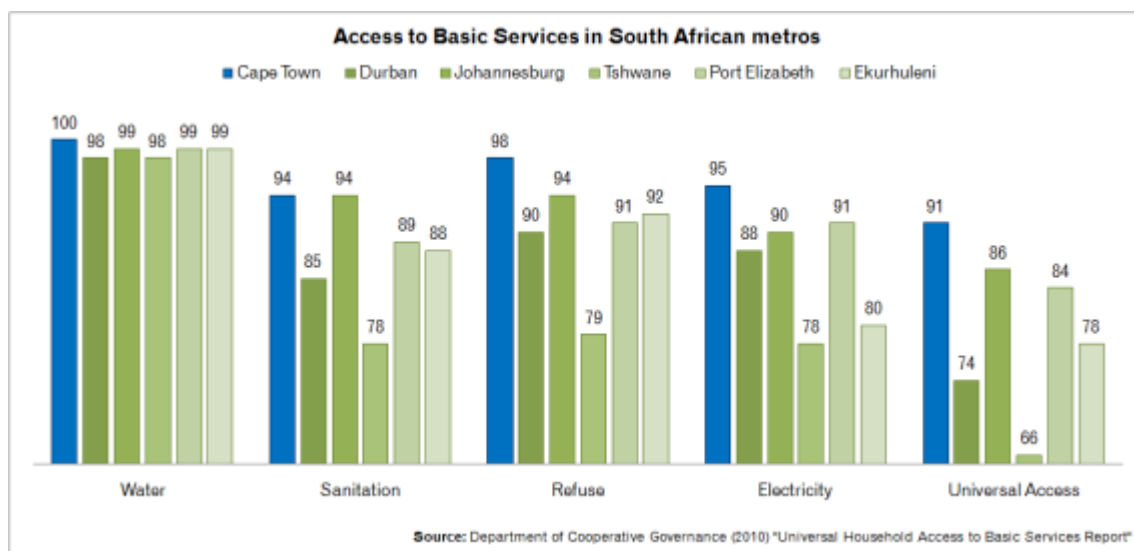
DA comprehends this phenomenon which is why they set out to win the support of communities they did not previously enjoy.

The tables below highlight some key areas where the DA in Cape Town performed relatively well showing that it was ready to run the Western Cape administration

Tables 3 and 4 : Service Delivery Riots and Access to Basic Services in South African Metros

The blue graphs indicate how the City of Cape Town (DA governed) performed against other metros in South Africa which are governed by the ANC.





4.3 What challenges did the DA face when it first governed the Western Cape?

Central to the Liberal Transitional Theory is the argument that in order for opposition parties to prepare themselves they must provide an alternative and they must do the necessary groundwork such as convincing the electorate that their policies are indeed better and that they will run effective and efficient governments. The Democratic Alliance has prided itself in clean governance as well as service delivery. However, pundits and analysts such as political analyst Jamie Mightie have accused the Democratic Alliance of harbouring racist views that are pro capitalist (Moeng:2019). Furthermore, many have accused the DA in the Western Cape in general and in particular in the city of Cape Town of looking out for the interests of the social elite and not necessarily the working-class majority. This has been in instances where the City of Cape Town has fined homeless people sleeping on the streets. According to Etheridge (2019) "Living on the street comes at a cost, as homeless people discovered after they were fined for "obstructing pedestrian traffic on sidewalks" and various other offences in Cape Town". The constitutionality of fining homeless people in the city of Cape Town has been challenged in the Western Cape High Court (Evans:2019). According to Evans (2019) spokesperson of

,Dingley Marshall, the law firm representing the homeless was quoted as saying “we would like to say to the court that its [the City's] interpretation of the by-laws as such that it is unconstitutional”.

A major challenge that the DA face is that they are seen as merely a party for white people only. As such it was important the new DA led government changed this narrative by putting the marginalised and poor at the fore front. According to Zille (2017) “more than 90% of the Western Capes public health spend goes to the poor and only 20% of the province’s 1,500 state-funded public schools are former model C schools and most of these are now entirely integrated. Many serve a significant number of children from disadvantaged families, for which the state pays an additional subsidy to the school”. She argues that contrary to popular opinion that the Western Cape does indeed spend its budget in a skewed manner. However, it is skewed to serve the poor and previously disadvantaged the most. In her last State of the Province speech Zille (2019) made the assertion that “what is undeniable, is that good governance enabled us to spend 82% of the Provincial Budget on delivering services to the poor as a capable state, we’ve also been able to leverage our monitoring and support role over local government to embed good practice and it shows”. However this claim remains implausible ,much like in Zilles article in the Daily Maverick, only the departments of health, education, human settlements, social development and cultural affairs were considered in compiling her slide show and not every single department under the Western Cape was scrutinised (Wilkinson:2014)

The issue of unemployment was one of the biggest challenges that the Zille led DA administration would have to tackle. In 2009 when the DA first came into power the unemployment level in the Western Cape was at 21.5% and in 2018 it was at 19.3% (De Villiers:2019). Unemployment often brings about gang related activities. Gangs are a major issue in the Western Cape Province, 83% of all gang related murders across the country occur

in the Western Cape (Knight:2019). According to the Western Cape Government (2012) “high levels of unemployment and poverty as well as inequality make up the gang eco system”. This would become the Zille administration’s biggest challenge. However, the DA argues that the government it led has overcome this challenge as the Western Cape ten years later has managed to record the lowest unemployment rate in the country. According to Zille (2019) “we have South Africa’s lowest unemployment rate at a full 14 percentage points below the national average on the expanded definition”. Moreover, the DA has claimed that it has created 508 000 new jobs in the Western Cape since the start of Zille’s administration’s first term, this was based on official statistics from the 15th February 2019 compared to those from the 3rd Quarter of 2009. It is worth mentioning that if every province had done that, South Africa would be close to the 5-million job opportunities Jacob Zuma promised the country by 2020 (State of the Province Address: 2019)

The DA claims that it has achieved job creation through its economic strategy known as the Khulisa Project. The Western Cape Government (2019) describes the project as giving more people in the province the opportunity to escape poverty and live better lives “we believe that the best and most sustainable way to do this is to create an environment in which businesses can grow – because growing economies create jobs.” Project Khulisa is the Western Cape’s targeted strategy to grow the tourism sector, since 2014 more than 20 000 jobs have been created in the Western Cape's tourism sector, with foreign tourist spend increasing by R4 billion (Pillay:2017).

On the 9th of February 2019 then DA Premier candidate Alan Winde was quoted as saying that “since 2009 the employment rate in our province has improved by a remarkable 20%, compared with Gauteng’s 7.5%”. Approximately 650000 jobs have been created in the Western Cape over this time. In the last year, 50% of all jobs created in South Africa were created in the Western Cape” (Geach: 2019)

The DA's pro jobs strategy has been so successful that according to the Western Cape Premiers office (2019) it has achieved the following:

- (1) Cape Town was named the top financial centre in sub-Saharan Africa, overtaking Johannesburg in the 2018 Global Financial Centres Index.
- (2) Cape Town is the city with the most job opportunities, based on an analysis of over 140 000 vacancies in January 2019 by Jobs search engine Adzuna.
- (3) The Cape Town-Stellenbosch tech ecosystem is the most productive in Africa, employing over 40 000 people. This is more than Lagos and Nairobi combined according to the Endeavour Insights Report 2018
- (4) 70% of SA's renewable energy manufacturing takes place in the Western Cape. This is the driving force behind our country becoming the fastest growing green economy in the world.

Makou (2018) provides evidence which shows that the claims made Zilles office are largely true, the Western Cape government created 75% of the 165,000 net jobs added to the South African economy between quarter one of the years 2017 and 2018. According to Makou (2018) "in the Western Cape a net of 123,000 jobs (job gains minus losses) were created between the first quarters of 2017 and 2018".

One of the hindrances to entrepreneurs in South Africa is that they are required to navigate through red tape, entrepreneurs that seek to approach government departments; agencies as well as state-owned enterprises are more often than not stalled by approvals (Msakinane: 2015). Tontsi (2004) cites the World Economic Forum (WEF) 2014 which states that "red tape costs SMEs a staggering R80 billion a year". In 2014 former CEO (Chief Executive Officer) of the South African Chamber of Commerce and Industry (SACC) Neren Rau stated that SMEs spend an average of 4% of their turnover on red tape. The DA's efforts to reduce red tape

generated over R1-billion in additional savings for businesses (Winde: 2019). Winde (2019) further argues that “with new enterprises flocking to the Western Cape, employment in the province grew by over 508,000 jobs, or 24.8% in the past decade – well ahead of second-placed Gauteng (18.6%) and KwaZulu-Natal (8.8%)”.

Another obstacle and an early challenge was that of youth unemployment. This is also an issue that is not only unique to the Western Cape but one that the entire country is facing (Daniel: 2018). According to Daniel (2018) “South Africa has the highest youth unemployment rate of any other country in the world”. In dealing with youth unemployment, premier Helen Zille launched the Premier’s Advancement of Youth Internship Programme which was launched in 2012. The aim of PAY (Premier’s Advancement of Youth Internship) is s to generate opportunities for current students to obtain essential workplace experience. Moreover, the Western Cape government has set up youth cafes, an initiative of the provincial Department of Social Development to help communities with after-school care, life skills, mathematics tutors and literacy (Kalipa:2019). According to former Western Cape minister of Social Development Albert Fritz, the first youth café opened in 2014 and in 2019 they were receiving approximately 10 000 visits a month

The DA would be faced with the challenge of turning around provincial government departments. In the 2008/09 financial year the Auditor-General reported that not a single provincial government department had received a clean audit (Auditor general South Africa:2009). Municipalities in the Western Cape did not fare any better. The only municipality which had received a clean audit in 2009 was the Cape Town metro. According to Dentlinger (2009) “the City of Cape Town has officially moved into the category of best performing audit outcome” which is particularly interesting that at the time the cleanest run municipality was run by the DA. Zille (2019) makes the assertion that “a full R1 billion saving

has been achieved across 27 red tape interventions studied, where bureaucracy would otherwise have stifled growth”.

According to the 2008/09 Auditor General’s report, which was the ANC’s last year in government, not one department received a clean audit. Winde (2019) opines “In 2009, not a single provincial government department obtained a clean audit from the Auditor-General, indicative of the kind of shambolic financial mismanagement that the ANC uses to grease the wheels of corruption wherever it governs.”

In her 2009 state of the Province Address Premier Helen Zille made mention of the fact that “poor financial management across various departments had seriously undermined their capacity to deliver on their core mandates”. She further cited the fact that “in the Department of Transport and Public Works, there was a looming shortfall of R100 million for bus subsidies” (Zille:2009).

According to a PSC (Public Service Commission) report on the Financial Disclosure Framework for 2009/2010 “Only 46% of senior managers in national and provincial departments submitted their financial disclosure forms to the PSC by 31 May 2010 - the submission due date (the Western Cape government achieved a 100% compliance rate, the first time a province has achieved this by the due date)”. According to the Western Cape Government (2010) the Western Cape provincial legislature passed the Business Interests of Employees Bill which it dubbed a Watershed in Curbing Corruption in the Public Service

The Bill according to Zille (2010) sought to achieve the following:

- (1) Provincial government employees and their families will be prohibited from directly or indirectly holding more than 5% of shares, stock, membership or other interests in an entity that does business with the provincial government, unless approval is given by the relevant Minister in accordance with certain criteria set out in the Bill.

- (2) Before the provincial government enters into any contract with an entity for the sale, lease or supply of goods and services, the entity must provide an affidavit disclosing whether or not it is owned or part-owned by employees of the Western Cape government
- (3) All provincial government employees will be required to disclose their business interests at prescribed intervals, in the same way that members of Cabinet already do so

Between April 2010 and December 2013 over 600 cases were investigated by the Western Cape government including tackling a huge backlog inherited from the former administration (Western Cape Government: 2014). Zille (2014) claimed that “Fraud, corruption and other irregularities were confirmed in more than 230 of these matters, and around 120 were registered with the South African Police Services (SAPS). Disciplinary action has been taken against officials implicated in these cases resulting in 43 dismissals. The Public Service Commission has also recognised our FIU as an example of best practice in the country”.

The trend of running clean governments seemingly continued under the premiership of Zille. In the 2018/19 financial year the Western Cape saw 83% of their departments and entities receiving clean audits, the closest contender was the Gauteng province at 52% (State of the Province Address: 2019). The Auditor General’s 2019/2020 report, however, shows a slight decline in the Western Capes audit outcome at 79%. Despite the decline according to the Auditor General’s report the Western Cape is still the cleanest administration which is followed by the Gauteng province which saw a rather sharp decline from 52% to 30%.

In an effort to turn around the provincial departments the Western Cape Government was ranked the best run province in 2013, this is according to an assessment done by the Department of Performance Monitoring and Evaluation in the Presidency. According to Africa Check

(2014) “the assessment looked at the quality of management practices across a comprehensive range of management areas, from supply chain management to strategic planning”. According to Geach 2020 the Western Cape achieved this feat again and that they were found by The Municipal Financial Stability Report, to be the most improved province from 2014 to 2018.

However, Hlatshaneni (2019) argues that clean audits do not necessarily translate to better services. Hlatshaneni (2019) cites a report by Good Governance Africa which was based on 1,142 people surveyed in the Western Cape, Free State and the North West. The report divided municipalities into categories of low performing and high performing municipalities according to their financial audit outcomes. According to Hlatshaneni (2019) “The report revealed that only 42% of respondents from high-performing municipalities and 40% from low-performing municipalities had access to sanitation outside the house”.

Interestingly enough in the build up to the 2014 general elections the DA made the claim that in the Western Cape government 99.1% of households access piped water, 93.4% electricity and 96.9% have toilet facilities, citing that this was only possible due to running a clean and efficient government. This claim is largely supported by South Africa’s 2011 national census which found “that 99.1% of households in the Western Cape had access to piped water”. According to the 2017 Water & Sanitation: Statistics SA analysis; Water & Sanitation Infrastructure: Auditor-General performance audit “households with access to improved drinking water sources by province in 2015 included Western Cape (99.4%) The Gauteng province was in second place, where 98.2% of households were found to have had access to piped water”. The census also found that, “93.4% of Western Cape households used electricity for lighting, compared to 91.1% in the Free State and 87.4% in Gauteng” (Statistics South Africa: 2011).

A challenge that the DA faced coming into government was having to turn around the Western Cape's department of education. As I have alluded to above education plays a vital role in assisting citizens acquire skills that make them more marketable. The DA inherited 74 dysfunctional schools (Zille: 2009). According to the DAs 2014 series "*The Western Cape Story*" underperforming schools are schools where the matric pass rate is less than 60%. Using that definition and data that was compiled by the Department of Basic Education 2013 in 2009 86 schools were underperforming in the Western Cape and that only 23 were deemed to be underperforming in 2013.

According to former minister of education in the Western Cape, Donal Grant "the number of passes in quintile one to three schools had increased from 7,798 in 2009 to 9,797 in 2012 three schools had increased from 7,798 in 2009 to 9,797 in 2012 which saw a 25% increase" (Grant 2014). Moreover, Rademeyer (2014) argues "the pass rate in Maths and Science improved drastically, the physical science pass rate improved from 53% in 2009 to 72.6% in 2013 and the mathematics pass rate increased from 65% to 73.3%". To tackle the issue of accessibility to education, the Democratic Alliance has opened up access to such an extent that there are 673 no-fee schools in the western cape (Department of Education:2017). The 2014 series "*The Western Cape Story*" claimed that "since 2009 there has been a 25% increase in the number of candidates from poorer schools to pass the NSC (National Senior Certificate) and there was increase of one thousand students to pass the NSC in Khayelitsha".

According to the Western Cape Government (2014) some notable achievements in the sector are:

- (1) Increasing the amount allocated to the Western Cape school feeding scheme by more than 100% from R112 million in 2009 to R260 million in 2013/2014 and expanding the programme to schools in Quintiles 4 and 5.
- (2) The expansion of no-fee schools programme, which already covers all public schools in Quintiles 1 to 3, to additional schools in Quintiles 4 and 5.
- (3) 216 schools in quintiles 1 to 3 applied for no-fee status and the Western Cape Education department has allocated R46 million in 2014/15 to cover the costs
- (4) The Western Cape Government also pays the highest amount of money, when compared to other provinces, to schools who qualify for fee exemptions - an amount of over R90 million over the past three years.

Moreover Zille (2019) claims that “between 2004 – 2009, under a previous administration, just 42 schools were built at a far slower rate during a previous administration”. According to The Western Cape government (2019) “since 2009 have built on average 13 schools and 206 new classrooms, for every year in office, amounting 32 schools and close to 2,057 classrooms over 2 terms”.

Undoubtedly a challenge that the new DA administration would have to tackle was that of access to health care. According to Oakes (2008) On the 4th of December 2008 then Western Cape Premier Lynne Brown announced that:

We reject the notion that residents of Khayelitsha, Mitchells Plain, Langa, Bonteheuwel and Gugulethu, to mention just a few townships, should travel many kilometres by train, bus and minibus taxi – at a cost they can ill afford – to supermarkets, shops and, especially, hospitals – to buy affordable goods or to receive even basic medical attention.

However, at the start of Zille's new administration it was found that there was not enough money to construct these and that only Khayalitsha hospital could be constructed (Zille:2009). In 2014 series "*The Western Cape Story*" the DA claimed that when it took over the Western Cape government there were over 6,000 vacancies in the health department. The vacancy rate for nurses was 34% and there was a shortage of ARV treatment

According to the DA's 2014 election manifesto in an attempt to address the issue of accessibility to health care system "in its first term in office the DA, built three brand new hospitals in Khayelitsha, Mitchells Plain and George and currently has 75 health care projects valued at R4.5 billion underway" eight percent of the Western Cape's population is already receiving free health care services. Moreover, in the 2014 DA manifesto, it claimed that it had reduced the number of nursing vacancies from 34% to 1%. The Western Cape governments health care system improved so much that "since 2009, life expectancy for men has increased from 59 years to a projected 66 years, and for women from 64 years to a projected 72 years" (Zille:2019) Wilkinson (2014) confirms the claims made by the DA but argues however that the claims may be slightly exaggerated. Wilkinson (2014) argues that "Kayalitsha Hospital opened in April 2012 and the Mitchells Plain Hospital opened in November 2013, a new hospital wasn't built in George, but an emergency unit was added to an existing hospital in July 2012". Moreover, the South African Institute of Race Relations' 2012 South Africa survey compliments the claim that hat nursing vacancies stood at 34%.

As alluded to above drug and gang related crimes are a serious problem in South Africa and in particular the Western Cape. According to Zille (2009) "substance abuse is our most serious social problem in the Western Cape. An adequate response involves co-ordination between many departments". According to Zille (2008) "the Western Cape government would prioritise conducting research for evidence based policing policy and strategy, and strengthening

coordination between the Metro Police and SAPS, especially around support for neighbourhood watches and substance abuse enforcement” .

Official figures from SAPS (South African Police Service) show that 60% of crimes nationally are related to substance abuse; in the Western Cape the number sits at a whopping 80% this is due to the fact that perpetrators are more often than not under the influence of drugs or trying to secure money for their next fix(Pondoyi:2013). In an article titled '*From Belhar to Bryanston: How the drug epidemic affects us all*' Zille opined (2008) opined “The perpetrators of these crimes are either under the influence of substances or trying to secure money for their next fix. The Central Drug Authority estimates that the socio-economic costs of drug abuse are R20 billion every year”. According to Ponndoyi (2013) the Western Cape Department of Social Development are of the view that “intervention should be in an integrated manner on a continuum consisting of four stages: prevention, early intervention, statutory treatment, and reintegration and aftercare”. Moreover Premier Zille went on to insist that were the DA to win national elections they would go on to re-establish the disbanded South African Narcotics Bureau SANAB and expand it in order for specialised anti-drug squads are based in all high drug-activity areas across South Africa (Zille:2008).

The issue of Human settlements is a challenge for South Africa as a whole. In response to the slowing down of housing delivery in South Africa’s cities, Robbins (2017) argues that “the national Minister of Human Settlements has urged a focus on housing mega-projects. These are scaled-up Greenfield projects of 10,000-15,000 housing units or more at a time”. Zille (2009) argues “that in terms of housing, the biggest barrier is a shortage of suitable land we will embark on an urgent land audit. Minister Madikizela has already met with the City of Cape Town to begin the process of transferring land to the City for flood relief and to insist with roll-

over in the upgrading of flooded settlements”. Zille (2009) further argues, that “we have also started the process of giving the City of Cape Town housing accreditation, up to level 3, so that it can take charge of housing delivery in the metro region”

4.4 Conclusion

The importance of opposition parties presenting themselves as viable alternatives according to the criteria set out by the Libera Transitional Theory has been highlighted. It was discussed that in order for opposition parties to prepare themselves for governance they must begin to behave like a government in waiting by establishing Shadow cabinets and coming up with alternative and sound policies. The DA did just this in positioning itself as a viable alternative to the ANC in the Western Cape at the time. The DA took it a step further in that that they could show how efficient and effective a DA government was. They did this by communicating their administration’s ‘successes’ in the City of Cape Town with a promise to bring that efficient and effective governance to the rest of the Western Cape Province.

When the DA first took over the Western Cape Government there was a myriad of issues in which they would have to tackle. The most notable was poorly run government departments from an administrative perspective and rampant corruption. It would take the insurmountable amount of effort from the Zille administration to address these over her two terms as premier of the Western Cape.

Apart from corruption and maladministration the province much like the rest of the country was in a conundrum in that its economy was ailing and unemployment was extremely high. The new Zille administration would have to be intentional and deliberate in how they addressed this issue. As discussed in this chapter the issue of unemployment and an ailing economy was a critical issue to address as this influenced drug related crime and drug use. Social development, education and healthcare were further obstacles that the new administration

needed to address. The strides that were taken in Zille's first and second terms are immense in trying to turn these departments around. Notable achievements were in the health and education sector. The following chapter will critically discuss whether the Democratic Alliance as an opposition party in the National Assembly is a viable alternative to the ruling party. It will look at issues such as whether their political ideology as well as policies of the DA resonate with the electorate and assess their feasibility.

Chapter 5- Is the Democratic Alliance a Viable alternative to the ruling party?

5.0 Introduction

Chapter 4 discussed the steps that opposition parties must take to prepare themselves to govern. The chapter then zoomed into the Democratic Alliance and analysed the preparations the Democratic Alliance undertook in order to position itself to be ready and fit to govern the Western Cape. The chapter also looked at the initial challenges that were faced by the DA when they first took over the Western Cape government and they overcame the. This chapter will do a thorough analysis of whether the DA is a viable alternative to the ruling ANC.

5.1 Does the DA provide a credible alternative to the ruling party?

The Democratic Alliance up until this election was the fastest growing political party since the new democratic era in South African politics. This upward trajectory came to a halt in the 2019 general elections. For the first time since 1994 the DA saw a decline in its support. Msomi (2018) makes the assertion “Perhaps it is time for the DA to die so that a more viable alternative to the governing ANC can emerge”. The argument made here is that the current political climate in South Africa where the ANC is busy trying to recover from the post Jacob Zuma era (Former president of South Africa) suits the DA perfectly to gain more support. According to McKaiser (2019) “It is impossible to justify a decline in the electoral fortunes of the DA given the gift of an ANC-led government that resulted in years of state capture, an economy on its knees, and inequality, poverty and unemployment staggeringly high”. The DA should have had received at least 25% of the vote as the official opposition party (McKaiser: 2019)

In the wake of the party’s disastrous showing at the polls in the 2019 general elections former DA leader Mmusi Maimane commissioned a review panel which consisted of Ryan Coetzee,

the party's former chief strategist, Tony Leon, a former leader, and Michiel le Roux, one of the founders of Capitec (Du toit 2019). The review panel's terms of reference were to conduct a review of the party's fitness to achieve its stated objective of building a constitutional liberal democratic alternative to the ANC. Moreover, it sought to investigate the underlying drivers of the party's performance in the 2019 general election (Coetzee, Leon, Le Roux: 2019). By its own admission the DA in its review states that "South Africa urgently needs a credible alternative to the governing ANC, an effective opposition and a strong constitutional liberal-democratic current in its body politic" (Coetzee, Leon, Le Roux: 2019). It goes on to state that it is therefore deeply concerning that the Democratic Alliance regressed in South Africa's 2019 general election, falling 1.5 percentage points to 20.7% from 22.2% in 2014, losing 470 000 votes nationally (Coetzee, Leon, Le Roux: 2019). Du Toit (2019) argues that "if the DA cannot establish itself as a viable alternative to the ANC in a period of grand corruption, capture and the Zuma government's destruction, when will it be able to do so?"

The problem with the Democratic Alliance is that there is an ideological division within the party. The DA finds itself at a crossroads where ideological purity clashes with practical imperatives of growth (Tabane: 2018). Haffajee (2019) argues the party is a divided house on economic policy, on land redistribution, on group identity politics versus the liberal humanism of its constitution. In his resignation letter former DA strategist Jonathon Moakes stated that the DA had been at a crossroads for some time now with some pretty fundamental disagreement as to who they are, who they are fighting for, and what they want to achieve (Moakes: 2019). This ideological confusion spilt out into the public arena, in August 2019, where there seemed to be a social media meltdown over the party's position on Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE). According to Mahlase (2018) "A public spat broke out on social media with some party members, including member of parliament Phumzile van Damme, echoing the sentiments of the party's then federal council chairperson, James Selfe, on social

media and denouncing the news reports as “fake news”, despite Ngwenya insisting the party had dumped BBBEE”. DA provincial Eastern Cape leader Nqabha Banga disputed that the DA had denounced BBBEE and said that it was merely Gwen Ngwenya’s (Head of policy) proposal and not a formal party position; he further opined that it simply would be suicidal for the Democratic Alliance to dump race (Mahlase :2018). This ideological confusion is cited in the DA review report as a contributing factor to the party’s decline in electoral support. The DA was found to be both uncertain and divided on how to approach the question of race and that this has had a particularly negative impact on its election performance (Coetzee, Leon, Le Roux: 2019). The problem with this ideological cleavage according to the Liberal Transitional Theory is that the Democratic Alliance does not have a coherent policy on BBBEE to present to the electorate. Moreover, the theory emphasises the importance of having clear and distinct goals which inform the party’s policy formulation. The DA’s incoherence on BBBEE is due to its confusion on whether it is a party based on pure classical liberal views or a party whose principles lie in the social liberal school of thought.

What is evident is that for an opposition party to position itself as a viable alternative it cannot be seen to be hemorrhaging votes. Du Toit (2019) argues that “the party needs to realise that if it wants to grow and truly become an alternative to the ANC it simply cannot afford to lose voters”. The party lost more than 470 000 voters with the Freedom Front scooping up 249 000 of them. Interim DA leader John Stenhuisen has vowed that going forward the party is going to be crystal clear on what it actually stands for stating that the party will no longer be a blue wobbly jelly at the centre of South African politics (Feketha:2019)

In an effort to become a viable alternative the DA needed to start making significant inroads amongst black voters. Failure to do so would just mean that the DA is nothing more than a small opposition of smaller minority groups. The idea that the DA is seen to be too white and therefore unattractive to black people saw the party elect its first black leader in Mmusi

Maimane. Durand (2019) makes the assertion that “Helen Zille, advised by an inner circle who vastly overestimated the reach and influence of the hostile, left-wing bubble in which they operated, succumbed and decided that to advance the DA’s cause, she had to step down in favour of a black leader”.

However, this did not sit well with the black electorate as Maimane was perceived as merely a puppet and the DA was in fact accused of window dressing by parachuting black leaders into positions of influence. Former DA leader Mmusi Maimane as well as former parliamentary Lindiwe Mazibuko are two examples of the DA ostensibly parachuting in black leaders to change the face of the party (McKaiser:20114). Mazibuko’s rise to leader of the official opposition had been a carefully coordinated exercise, she was first eased into our conscience as party spokesperson and then became the poster girl of the DA (Pillay:2011). The failed attempt to rope in AGANG founder Dr. Mamphela Ramphele is another example of the DA parachuting in black leaders. The DA courted Dr. Ramphele because it realised that it needed a black leader with some political gravitas (McKaiser:2014).

However, the DA has made the mistake of trying to court any black leader which shows a failure on their part of understanding the black electorate. McKaiser (2014) argues that although black voters are likely to vote for a DA that is representative of the country’s demographics, however it is not a case that any black leader will do; blackness is not sufficient it is just necessary.

In its quest to identify a black leader that would take over the realms from Helen Zille it was criticised heavily for promoting a certain type of black leader. McKaiser (2014) argues that unlike Mmusi Maimane and Lindiwe Mazibuko; Makashule Gana (DA member of Gauteng Provincial Legislature) is not the kind of person that the DA is comfortable to sell to its traditional voters and a pool of new voters. Gana is less articulate than Maimane and Gana does

not speak in a model C school accent (McKaiser: 2014). The failure to promote Gana gives off the impression that the DA is home to middle class black people that have attended former model C schools. Such an impression alienates a large section of the black electorate who identify with Gana and Gana's background (McKaiser:2014). It is distinctively clear that through the lenses of the Liberal Transitional Theory there seems to be a confusion on what the goals of the party are, this is largely informed by the party's quest to gain political expediency. In its effort to attract as many black supporters as possible the DA parachuted leaders who were not necessarily aligned to its goals and core values.

To win over black voters the DA then began to pander to race and identity politics. Friedman (2019) quotes Zille as having said that "for the first time in this election, the DA pandered to racial politics. It did not work. Hope we learn the lesson". The drift away from non-racialism towards identity politics has been mentioned as a contributing factor to the growth of the FF+. Durand (2019) argues that "it led to clear signs of unease among voters who had supported the DA. As expected, this involved whites but also spread to other minorities and to black voters who saw through the expediency of the race project". McKaiser (2019) however argues that the DA did not embrace identity politics enough and this is one of the core reasons for its poor showing in the elections. McKaiser (2019) further argues that "the criticism that it flirted with racialism and identity politics is therefore wrongheaded and can be ignored as fallacious".

The DA however failed to woo its new target market and did not make any significant inroads amongst black voters. According to election analyst Dawie Scholtz (2019) the DA had the support of 4.3% of black voters' support in 2014 and 4.7% in the 2019 general elections. Which means that it only saw a 0.4% increase amongst black voters.

With the recent election of Helen Zille, to the powerful position of federal chair, the DA is seen to be moving away from centre politics and positioning itself as a right-wing organisation that

seeks to attract disillusioned white voters that have opted for the FF+ instead (Tilberg:2019) . The election of Helen Zille saw the executive mayor of Johannesburg resigning. According to Mashaba (2019) “the election of Helen Zille is a victory for people who stand diametrically against my belief systems”. Mashaba went on to say that he believed that the DA in its current format was not the DA that he had joined.

Former DA Leader Mmusi Maimane would also follow suit and would resign a few days after Mashaba. On the 23rd of October 2019 Mmusi Maimane was quoted on 24-hour television news broadcaster, owned by e.tv, eNews Channel Africa (eNCA) as saying “the DA was not the vehicle best suited to take forward the vision of building ‘One SA for All’”.

As alluded to above it would seem that for the DA to become serious contenders to topple the ANC they would need to make serious inroads into the black electorate. In a country where structural inequalities which lie along racial lines are a reality for most black people. The DA needs to recognise the fact that race does matter. DA member of the National Assembly Hlanganani Gumbi argues “that race is a proxy for disadvantage in South Africa and that if we cannot accept that then we completely ignore the real effects of the migrant labour system on young black professionals called ‘Black Tax’”(Gumbi:2019). Black Tax, Gumbi (2019) argues “is the phenomenon of young black professionals having the additional expense of having to send their month income to the former homelands to assist their families”.

The rise of Helen Zille to Federal Council Chairperson has given off the impression that the DA is a narrow party that cannot transcend its internal whiteness to appeal to the masses. Zille who is an opponent of the notion that race is a proxy for disadvantage has been heavily criticised for her previous tweets where it seemed as though she defended colonialism. On the 16th March 2017 Zille argued from her twitter account that those claiming that the legacy of colonialism was only negative, need to consider the advancements that it had brought about

such as our independent judiciary, transport infrastructure and piped water (Zille:2017). Previously Zille had engaged in a public spat on Twitter with songstress Simphiwe Dana who claimed that the City of Cape Town was racist to which Zille replied that she disputed blanket generalisations and went on to tweet that Dana is a highly respected black professional and that she shouldn't try to be a professional black, because it demeans her (Aboobaker: 2011). This meant that a senior DA leader lost out on an opportunity to effectively communicate with potential voters (Mckaiser:2014). Leon, Coetzee and Le Roux (2019) make the assertion that Helen Zille's tweets about colonialism and the subsequent handling of the issue damaged the party's brand and dented its support level.

This shows the party's lack of understanding that as a political party that seeks to garner as many votes as possible and one that seeks to position itself as a viable alternative needs to capture the hearts of South Africans and communication is key in this regard. Mckaiser (2019) argues that the DA refuses to believe that winning votes is not just about policies and showing off the CVs of their politicians but rather it is about stealing the heart of the voter through savvy political communication.

Moreover, the DA has been criticised of being tone deaf and not being able to read the mood of the country. Von Memerty (2018) argues that "According to the DA, all the woes of the country are apparently due to the ANC and by implication all 11 million of their voters". Soon after the DAs horrendous showing at the 2019 general elections former DA Federal Executive Chairperson, Athol Trollip, blamed voters for the election results and suggested that South African voters needed to do some soul searching (Roodt:2019). Roodt (2018) argues that it is always "someone else's fault". According to the DA they are never part of the problem. They are the only unsullied heroes surrounded by a cesspit of evil doers (Roodt:2019).

However, with the election of John Steenhuisen as interim leader after Maimane's resignation, the DA seems to be steady and regaining the support it once enjoyed. After the 2019 general elections things started to quickly unravel with the DA losing safe DA wards in by-elections. Nine days before Maimane's resignations the DA did extremely badly in the province of Mpumalanga losing a safe DA ward to the FF+ in a by-election in the Govan Mbeki municipality (Cameron:2019) According to Cameron (2019) "with the likely election of John Steenhuisen as national leader – takes effect, the policy confusion, particularly over matters of how 'black' empowerment should be ironed out, abates, the party should strengthen". He goes on to argue that the Maimane led DA was haemorrhaging votes in Municipal by-elections since its poor showing at the in the 2019 general elections.

Dawie Scholtz election expert opined on the 5th December 2019 that he had witnessed the first piece of somewhat-good electoral news for the DA in a while "the by-election yesterday in Knysna in a coloured area: DA 42% (-2) ANC 29% (+18) EFF 13% (+10) First signs of DA stabilisation". Other coloured by-elections have been in the minus 15-25 territory for the DA (Scholtz:2019)

The notion that the DA needed a black leader at whatever cost seems to be false. The steepest increase in black support was in between the years of 2004 and 2009 when Zille was at the helm of the party. According to the IEC website the period between 2007 and 2015, during Zilles leadership term, saw the DA more than double its support base. According to Pressly (2019) "DA support dropped from 5.9 percent of black voters in 2016 to just four percent in 2019. That was in the period when Maimane led the party".

Table 5: Shows the DA's electoral fortunes in the years under the leadership of Helen Zille vis-à-vis under the leadership of Mmusi Maimane

	2019	2016	2014	2011	2009	2006	2004	2000
Black								
Eastern Cape	2.4%	3.6%	2.1%	2.4%	0.5%	0.9%	0.3%	1.6%
Free State	6.6%	7.4%	3.8%	5.8%	1.5%	2.6%	1.6%	6.6%

Gauteng	6.6%	12.5%	6.6%	5.4%	1.2%	4.9%	3.3%	9.6%
KwaZulu-Natal	2.2%	2.4%	1.5%	1.5%	0.6%	1.6%	0.8%	4.6%
Limpopo	3.1%	4.8%	3.6%	3.1%	0.7%	3.3%	2.1%	5.3%
Mpumalanga	3.2%	3.3%	1.1%	4.9%	1.0%	3.8%	0.8%	4.5%
North West	4.2%	4.7%	2.6%	5.6%	1.0%	1.6%	0.6%	1.5%
Northern Cape	3.5%	1.8%	1.7%	2.8%	0.4%	0.7%	0.6%	5.4%
Western Cape	2.6%	8.1%	2.1%	2.2%	0.5%	1.0%	0.3%	1.0%
National	4.0%	5.9%	3.2%	3.5%	0.8%	2.5%	1.4%	4.9%

	2019	2016	2014	2011	2009	2006	2004	2000
Coloured								
Eastern Cape	77.5%	84.0%	82.7%	80.6%	50.1%	44.8%	39.0%	65.7%
Free State	60.6%	63.8%	62.0%	61.0%	28.0%	28.2%	19.9%	39.7%
Gauteng	81.4%	89.5%	90.5%	88.5%	56.1%	48.8%	41.1%	72.6%
KwaZulu-Natal	82.4%	89.6%	85.1%	69.8%	65.3%	53.9%	45.4%	62.0%
Limpopo	69.7%	75.1%	74.6%	69.8%	53.7%	36.3%	26.4%	59.1%
Mpumalanga	69.7%	75.1%	74.6%	69.8%	53.7%	36.3%	26.4%	59.1%
North West	62.3%	63.6%	74.6%	78.7%	33.0%	3.3%	12.4%	42.5%
Northern Cape	38.5%	34.9%	33.1%	30.6%	13.0%	17.4%	8.8%	38.2%
Western Cape	71.7%	78.4%	78.1%	74.5%	63.3%	38.0%	24.5%	62.0%
National	69.7%	75.1%	74.6%	69.8%	53.7%	36.3%	26.4%	59.1%

	2019	2016	2014	2011	2009	2006	2004	2000
Indian								
Eastern Cape	68.7%	79.1%	76.5%	58.1%	57.7%	33.1%	37.1%	57.0%
Free State	68.7%	77.3%	69.5%	60.3%	53.5%	36.2%	35.8%	56.5%
Gauteng	48.7%	67.6%	58.3%	70.0%	48.8%	37.2%	32.1%	50.9%
KwaZulu-Natal	76.1%	81.0%	72.7%	56.3%	54.8%	36.6%	37.0%	58.0%
Limpopo	68.7%	77.3%	69.5%	60.3%	53.5%	36.2%	35.8%	56.5%
Mpumalanga	68.7%	77.3%	69.5%	60.3%	53.5%	36.2%	35.8%	56.5%
North West	68.7%	77.3%	69.5%	60.3%	53.5%	36.2%	35.8%	56.5%
Northern Cape	68.7%	77.3%	69.5%	60.3%	53.5%	36.2%	35.8%	56.5%
Western Cape	73.6%	79.1%	76.5%	58.1%	57.7%	33.1%	37.1%	57.0%
National	68.7%	77.3%	69.5%	60.3%	53.5%	36.2%	35.8%	56.5%

	2019	2016	2014	2011	2009	2006	2004	2000
White								
Eastern Cape	80.3%	97.1%	95.2%	98.0%	91.0%	95.7%	83.0%	96.1%
Free State	65.2%	86.8%	86.3%	91.5%	80.8%	84.0%	64.6%	96.4%
Gauteng	72.3%	92.0%	92.4%	93.2%	80.6%	96.9%	84.8%	97.9%
KwaZulu-Natal	80.1%	96.7%	94.9%	97.5%	78.9%	93.3%	75.2%	97.7%
Limpopo	51.9%	80.3%	73.4%	79.6%	71.5%	67.4%	56.9%	76.3%
Mpumalanga	51.7%	86.8%	86.6%	94.5%	74.7%	81.9%	66.9%	88.7%
North West	54.1%	84.1%	82.7%	96.1%	76.6%	88.2%	62.1%	84.2%
Northern Cape	60.6%	82.2%	80.9%	87.3%	56.7%	85.3%	63.4%	96.4%
Western Cape	80.9%	97.4%	93.7%	99.1%	93.7%	96.2%	77.8%	98.6%
National	72.6%	92.8%	91.4%	94.9%	82.7%	93.4%	77.6%	96.3%

	2019	2016	2014	2011	2009	2006	2004	2000
Total								
Eastern Cape	14.8%	19.7%	15.9%	16.4%	9.9%	8.6%	7.3%	11.6%
Free State	16.7%	20.6%	16.2%	20.0%	12.1%	12.5%	8.9%	17.9%

Gauteng	24.3%	37.2%	28.5%	33.3%	21.4%	26.7%	20.3%	31.8%
KwaZulu-Natal	14.0%	15.4%	13.4%	12.3%	10.3%	9.1%	10.0%	15.4%
Limpopo	5.3%	8.1%	6.6%	6.6%	3.7%	5.6%	3.8%	7.9%
Mpumalanga	7.9%	12.9%	10.0%	13.7%	7.6%	10.3%	7.2%	12.9%
North West	11.1%	15.1%	12.6%	15.9%	8.9%	8.4%	5.5%	10.2%
Northern Cape	24.0%	25.3%	23.4%	22.1%	13.1%	14.1%	11.6%	28.8%
Western Cape	51.9%	63.6%	57.3%	58.1%	48.7%	39.5%	26.9%	51.6%
National	20.4%	27.0%	22.2%	24.1%	16.6%	16.2%	12.4%	22.3%

Source: A Review of the Democratic Alliance Final Report 2019

The DA has had a strong showing in by-elections soon after the election of Helen Zille. In October 2019, the DA managed to retain a seat in the KwaZulu-Natal capital city with an increased majority. Pressly (2019) opines “The DA candidate won a very respectable 1073 votes (or 46.96%) compared to 942 votes (40.8%) for the ANC. The EFF trailed with 33 votes. The DA’s vote rose quite sharply from 44.43% in this ward (in 2016) or 2101 votes compared ANC with 41.13%”. The EFF came behind the Inkatha Freedom Party with just 189 votes then (or 3.87%). On the same day, the DA managed to retain its seat in Somerset East. This was a spectacular about turn considering that under Maimane’s leadership the DA was failing to hold onto seats it previously had. Pressly (2019) argues that “the most significant reversal was at Stilfontein, a seat won by the Freedom Front Plus with 56% of the votes on July 10”. The seat in the Matlosana municipality in North West, had been held by the DA since 2016 when the DA won it with a 64.49% majority with the Freedom Front coming in second with 22.98% (Pressly:2019).

This trend continued up until Maimane resigned as leader of the DA. According to the Independent Electoral Commission on the 9th October 2019 the DA lost a safe DA seat to the ANC in the Govan Mbeki municipality. The DA was pushed to third place by the FF+ which received 36% of the vote as opposed to the 26% received by the DA.

However, since then the DA has lost the City of Johannesburg the economic capital city of the Republic of South Africa. With executive mayor Herman Mashaba resigning due to Zille’s

election, as alluded to above, the DA-led coalition in Johannesburg fell apart. Joubert (2019) argues “the co-operative governance agreement between the DA and the EFF in Johannesburg came unstuck this week because the DA did not want to agree to the EFF assuming the speakership of the metro council”

Interestingly it would seem that two members from the DA caucus in the city of Johannesburg voted in favour of the ANC mayoral candidate instead of the DA candidate (Khumalo:2019). According to Khumalo (2019):

The ANC has 121 seats in the Johannesburg metro council, the DA 104, the EFF has 30, the IFP has five, the AIC has four, the FF Plus has one, the ACDP has one, Al Jamaah has one, the UDM has one, COPE has one and the Patriotic Alliance has one. The ANC mayoral candidate received 137 votes to DA’s 101 and EFF 30 votes.

With the Gauteng metro lost it would seem that the DA’s efforts in breaking out of its strong hold, Western Cape, and setting up itself as viable alternative to the ANC had been undone. This prompted Dawie Scholtz (2019) to suggest that the DA needed to at the very least garner more than 25% of the vote in 2024 general elections or get out of the way.

The notion that the DA has gone backwards because it lost Johannesburg is facile. It falsely suggests that elections were held where the party got a lower share of the vote than it did in 2016. Moreover, laying the blame squarely on Helen Zille’s election is unfounded. DA member of parliament Geordin Hill-Lewis argues that it is concerning that analysts and pundits are blaming either the voters, or the winning candidates in that internal election for the fall of the coalition government (Hill-Lewis:2019)

The direction of the party under interim leader John Steenhuisen will determine whether the DA can regain trust amongst the electorate and position itself as a viable alternative to the African National Congress. Upon election as DA interim leader Steenhuisen said that he would

dedicate every ounce of his fibre and being to restore the party to its former glory and take it back on to the path of victory.

One of the few issues that the party would have to deal with is the issue of race. Race for many South Africans is still an extremely sensitive topic. Steenhuisen has argued for a redress policy that does not utilise race as a proxy (McKaiser: 2019). According to Steenhuisen the party need not adopt race based policies instead the focus should be on targeting redress policies directly where they need to be, at the poorest in our society, almost all of whom happen to be black South Africans” (McKaiser: 2019).

Steenhuisen argues that “25 years of race-based policies have made poor South Africans poorer, have ended up locking more South Africans out of opportunity and have made a ridiculously small group of people in South Africa exceptionally wealthy” (Nkanjeni:2019).

5.2 Are the Democratic Alliance policies compatible to South Africa’s political climate?

According to Dodd and Boyd (2000) “policy is a plan of action agreed to by a group of people with the power to carry it out and enforce it”. The Democratic Alliance has been accused of having just merely passing off ANC policies as their own. According to Van Onslen (201) “the DA’s manifesto is a testament to how effectively, with the right marketing, you can give ANC ideas a fresh coat of paint, and present them as your own”. Silke (2019) argues that “with so many opportunities to put clear blue water between the ANC and itself on both economic and social policy, the DA has confused itself by drifting away from its core liberal principles”. Former DA leader and current Federal Council Chair Helen Zille opined in the Daily Maverick that in its quest for votes the DA ran the risk of beginning to swallow tenet, myth and shibboleth of African racial-nationalist propaganda which will be followed by institutionalisation of corruption, losing or winning elections would irrelevant as it would no longer offer an alternative (Zille:2017). The initial resignation of Gwen Ngwenya as DAs policy chief ahead

of the 2019 general elections raised eyebrows of the state of policy formulation within the party. According to Ngwenya (2019) “the bottom line is that I do not believe the DA takes policy seriously”. Losing their policy head only few weeks before a manifesto launch was a massive blow to the DA. In the aftermath of the 2019 general elections the DA decided to call for a policy conference in order to hash out its policy. The scope of this section will discuss the coherence of the DA’s policies as well as the adaptability of its policies. Furthermore, this section will engage with the key theoretical questions in determining whether the policy positions are coherent and whether the policy positions are actually feasible if they were to be in government.

5.2.1 Economic Growth and Job creation

In 2018 Victor Sulla who is a senior economist for the World Bank in charge of Southern Africa released a report which rated South Africa as the most unequal society in the world. 30 million South Africans (55.5%) live below the poverty line of R992 per month, the unemployment rate in the third quarter of 2018 was 27.7%. Poverty in South Africa has a “strong spatial dimension”, which demonstrates the enduring legacy of apartheid (Sulley:2018). What is evident from the report is that the gap between the haves and the have nots is widening and that structural inequality is still a factor when addressing inequality. South Africans have become increasingly frustrated in this regard and have turned to radical options such as radical economic transformation. Fakir (2019) argues that:

While poverty, land and inequality may be the underlying cause for friction in South Africa, the rhetoric of ‘us’ and ‘them’ zeroes in on another group as holding back progress and advancement, using white monopoly capital, the professional classes and the intelligentsia, banks, the media and all other scapegoats and culprits one can find.

The DA has therefore in response to the economic meltdown facing South Africa devised an economic strategy titled *Economic Growth and Jobs, Now*. In essence the strategy seeks to achieve higher and consistent economic growth, through asset migration, education as well as an environment which is conducive to job creation. The DA describes its economic policy as “one that seeks to create a society in which all South Africans enjoy both the fundamental freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution, and the opportunities to take advantage of those freedoms”

In dealing with the question of structural inequality the DA believes that it is critically important that citizens are empowered with the what former DA leader Maimane described as one of the most important assets which is that of ‘know how’ (Radio 702: 2019). The education system in South Africa is one which is rather unequal and therefore as a result perpetuates economic inequality. In its 2019 paper titled *Struggling to Make the Grade: A Review of the Causes and Consequences of the Weak Outcomes of South Africa’s Education System* the International Monetary Fund found that the bimodality of South Africa’s education system is perpetuating economic inequality. It is only the highly skilled that can have access to the economy and participate in the economy. According to the Democratic Alliance 2019 Manifesto under its economic strategy *Economic Growth and Jobs, Now* the DA believes that “post-school education trains and broadens minds, creates and provides access to jobs and helps our economy grow. Expanding access to the quality education and skills training needed by our people and our economy is an essential step in building”.

Moreover, in overcoming structural inequality it is of the belief that job creation is critical in improving the Gini coefficient. The DAs 2019 election campaign, as a result, concentrated on job creation as a strategic area to help boost the economy. The idea is that if every household in South Africa has some form of income or remuneration it would then have a trickle on effect on giving the opportunity for people to participate in the economy.

According to former DA leader Mmusi Maimane's speech delivered on 27th of April 2019 during its Freedom Day celebration, "we must step into the future with an economy geared for the future. The private sector is not the enemy. They are, in fact, the heroes of job creation, and we must treat them as valued partners in this critical task" (Maimane:2019). Moreover, he argued that it was government's role to free up the private sector so that it could be able to create the much-needed jobs and that the economy had to be demonopolised and decentralised (Maimane:2019).

The idea that job creation coupled with asset transfer and education can tackle structural inequality is problematic in the sense that it ignores the inherently unequal power dynamic in the labour market in South Africa. Creating jobs and growing the economy does not however deal with inequalities that South Africans face within institutions and the corporate world. It would seem that the DA pits those that are unemployed against the exploited worker in that it presents a false dichotomy that suggests that either we create employment for everyone and not address the issue of conditions of employment or we have decent work and accept that everyone has high levels of unemployment (Mckaiser:2019). This position it would seem portrays the DA as a party that espouses Libertarianism which is not an adequate response in tackling the structural inequality and economic injustice in South Africa.

However, DA policy Chief Gwen Ngwenya disagrees and argues that the DA has been slipping away from its Liberal roots. It has been the core principle position of the Democratic Alliance to oppose minimum wage, however if one were to look at the 2019 DA election manifesto it argues for a minimum wage which is pegged rather bizarrely to the old age grant (Ngwenya:2019). Khwezi Mabasa a senior researcher at the Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection (Mistra) argues that in an effort for the DA to appeal to a wider electorate it has shifted its strategic position leftwards (Mabasa:2019). Moreover, political analyst argues

that it would seem that the DA's growth strategy is not in line with the core values of the DA (Sguazzin: 2019).

A big part of the Democratic Alliances economic strategy is the unbundling of South Africa's power producer the Electricity Supply Commission (ESKOM). According to the 2019 DA manifesto on BBBEE, the DA believes that "a consistent and reliable supply of electricity and energy is vital to reigniting job-creating economic growth in South Africa". Moreover, it claims that Eskom's monopoly on electricity generation, if not addressed, will cripple our economy. Through the Independent System and Market Operator (ISMO) bill the DA believes that to end power utility Eskom's monopoly will ensure that "more economic power" is in the hands of South Africans and not a "corrupt and failing ANC (Kekana:2018). The ISMO bill will allow ESKOM to be split into a generating entity that can be privatised as well as a state-owned entity that can manage, own and operate the grid and its transmission. Technology firm Yoco conducted a survey which found that in the first quarter of 2019 50% of Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises lost 20% of their revenue or more during that period of load-shedding. Moreover, the survey found that 85% of business owners stated that load-shedding has reduced revenue, while 20% said that if load-shedding continues, they will have to consider either reducing their staffing levels or closing their businesses. The 2019 DA manifesto states that it is vital that we open up the market and allow the private sector to invest and inject efficiency into the system".

On the 26th of February 2019 former DA leader Mmusi Maimane was interviewed, on South African radio station, Radio 702 by talk Show host Eusebius McKaiser, where he described asset migration as transferring title or ownership to people in an aggressive manner. This is an issue which speaks to a very emotive and sensitive issue in South Africa.

The land issue according to Essa (2018) “remains among the most sensitive and divisive in the country. Apartheid was, at its core, a system of separate and discriminatory development, with black South Africans either dispossessed or denied access to land”. For the DA its stance on land is that land reform must be sped up within the confines of the constitution. The DA has adopted a position which seeks to accelerate land reform but keeps the constitution intact (Pillay:2018).

In its 2019 election manifesto under the heading *Land reform for jobs, justice and growth* the DA argues that “the current land reform programme is riddled with corruption, the diversion of the land reform budget to elites, lack of political will, and lack of training and capacity – all of which have proved serious stumbling blocks to meaningful land reform”. It further argues that land expropriation without compensation is a smokescreen for the failures of government over the last 25 years.

For the Democratic Alliance, the popular policy of land expropriation without compensation which would mean amending the constitution is a major threat to property rights and would fundamentally be a huge threat to the banking sector (Fourie:2018). The argument Gwen Ngwenya, DA head of policy, presents is that there is no need for expropriation as the constitution says that there must be compensation, and that that compensation must be just and equitable. Just and equitable compensation Ngwenya argues could be zero (Fourie:2018).

To bolster their argument the Democratic Alliance has referenced the success of the land reform programme in Cape Town. Where according to its 2019 election manifesto “62% of all land reform farms in the Western Cape are successful. The national government’s failure rate of land reform projects is currently standing at 92%.” An independent evaluation of the projects in the Western Cape show that the support package which is offered to farmers has an impact in terms of business growth and their quality of life. However, this claim was refuted by the

national government citing that it was impossible for this to be the case as land reform was a national competency and so the successes of land reform were not the provincial government's success. Linda Page, the spokesperson of the department of rural development and land reform was quoted as saying "it is only the department of rural development and land reform which has a land redistribution programme in the country". The DA does not have the power to perform this function (Whittles: 2018).

The Democratic Alliance is a proponent for compensation when dealing with land reform. The rebuttal to the DAs argument is an ethical one which is posed by philosopher Robert Nozick in his book *Anarchy, State and Utopia* known as the theory of entitlement which is a theory of redistributive justice and private property. The theory simply put is made up of three sections 1). A principle of justice in acquisition - – This principle deals with the initial acquisition of holdings. It is an account of how people first come to own unowned and natural world properties including being first on the land as per the Homesteading Principality this includes being first on the land 2). A principle of justice in transfer which states that an individual is entitled to something transferred to them by another person if and only if the transfer was fully voluntarily 3). A principle of rectification of injustice which stipulates the amount of compensation that the victims of injustice are entitled to (Douglas:2017). The argument presented here is that it is unjust to compensate those who had initially acquired the land illegally.

The DA appreciates that structural inequality is a result of apartheid where black South Africans were stripped of assets such as land. The project of apartheid denied black South Africans the right to own assets which is why in the city of Johannesburg the DA has become very intentional in saying that the administration must adjudicate on title deeds much more aggressively and that's there has been a title hand over of over 600 (Maimane: 2019)

It would seem however that the Democratic Alliances economic position is a hard sell to the electorate even though it is very sound, and this is largely due to the state of desperation that the majority of South Africans find themselves in. Davis (2020) argues that “one thing the DA can never be faulted on is research and data. When the party makes policy proposals, it does so with evidence – but often evidence was taken from international contexts which may not fit neatly into South African realities”. An example is the proposal that job-seekers may choose to opt-out of minimum wage for those who have obtained a job seekers exemption certificate much a system that has worked well in Germany (Davis:2020). Davis (2020) further argues that such a system would be unwise in South Africa as South Africa already has a history of the exploitation of cheap labour.

There is however an increasing appetite for aspects of the policy, such as, the unbundling of ESKOM and other state-owned entities. It would seem as though that some within the ruling ANC have also bought into the idea of unbundling ESKOM to save the tanking economy. President Cyril Ramaphosa as well as minister of Public Enterprises have also alluded to the move of unbundling ESKOM, the Presidential task team has also made recommendations on how the unbundling should go ahead (Evans:2019). Suggesting that some aspects of the DA’s economic policy are viable and implementable.

5.2.2 Affirmative action and Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment

The legacy of Apartheid and racial injustice still lingers on in post- Apartheid South African and most prevalent in structural inequalities which are largely along racial lines, the haves in South Africa are largely white and the have nots are black. Goodman (2017) argues that Apartheid has in fact persisted in economic form. According to Goodman (2017) “in the aftermath of apartheid, the government left land and other assets largely in the hands of a predominantly white elite”.

In a response to the effects the legacy of Apartheid has on the South African economy the ANC led government developed and implemented Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) which was later developed to Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE). According to the Department of Trade and Industries BEE strategy document the objective of BBBEE is to “situate black economic empowerment within the context of a broader national empowerment strategy which is focused on historically disadvantaged people, and particularly black people, women, youth, the disabled, and rural communities”.

Affirmative action is a policy that is designed to redress historical injustices against particular groups. The Merriam-Webster Dictionary describes affirmative action as “an active effort to improve the employment or educational opportunities of members of minority groups; women as well as to promote the rights or progress of other disadvantaged persons”. Affirmative action and Broad-based economic empowerment much like the Land question is an emotive and sensitive discussion because of South Africa’s segregated and unjust past. According to a report by law firm Werksmans attorneys titled *BBBEE Act and Codes Explained* “the primary purpose of the BBBEE Act and the Codes is to address the legacy of apartheid and promote the economic participation of Black People in the South African economy”. The DA seemingly recognises that the inequalities within South Africa are a legacy of apartheid. In its 2019 election manifesto the DA states that:

The reason that the DA supports a programme of race-based redress is, simply put, because it is an important part of our country’s reconciliation project and vital for justice. Redress by definition is a project aimed at redressing a past wrong, and once that wrong has been remedied, the need for said redress will by definition fall away. This means that a programme of redress does need a sunset clause. As a party that believes in liberal values and principles, we would seek to ensure that we move to a non-racial position as soon as a successful redress programme has been implemented.

It would seem however that the DA is very confused about its position on this issue. Until such time that the party adopted it as a policy in its manifesto it had been a rather contentious issue amongst party members. As alluded to earlier the confusion began when chief of policy Gwen Ngwenya had stated that the DA had formally scrapped BEE and other leaders had come to dispute that it had. The current posture on BBEEE is almost identical to that of the ANC policy. The DA has for the past decade had either been in support for race-based policy or mounting a weak offense to it. The DA in 2019 election manifesto argues for a different version of BEE which is ironically remarkably similar to the ANC version (Ngwenya:2019).

In her piece *How, race poisoned the DA* Ngwenya argues that Federal Council minutes of 14 and 15 July 2018 are recorded as “*Federal Council agreed on the framework of the policy. The policy proposals would now be improved within the framework by means of policy commissions that would take place by the end of August 2018. The policy would be finalised by the end of September 2018*”. The frame work Ngwenya argues is one that sought to see the party adopt the ESG empowerment index and scrap BBEEE as a policy, however as soon as this news was made public the party machinery went into overdrive in response to what it saw as a direct threat to its electoral prospects the following year and which it believed were now intricately linked to the perception that the DA supports race-based policy in general and BEEE in particular (Ngwenya:2019).

There is a big push amongst the so called pure or classical liberals within the Democratic. Two events are critical in examining the direction the DA will take in the debate on whether it should adopt affirmative action and race-based policies such as BBEE. The first is the return of former DA leader and Western Cape premier Helen Zille to the party and her subsequent election as Federal Council Chairperson (the second most powerful position) and the election of interim leader and leader of the opposition John Steenhuisen.

These two events are important in that both these leaders share the view that race is not a proxy to disadvantage and therefore the party should not adopt race-based redress policies (Mckaiser:2019). It's important to note that whilst they concur that redress is important they do not believe that race-based policies are the best way to tackle the issue of redress, this already is a clear departure from the position the party held under former leader Mmusi Maimane.

The leadership of Mmusi Maimane never really had an appetite for scrapping BBBEE it rather sought to replace it with a race-based programme that was confusing on the details of how exactly it differs from BBBEE (Ngwenya:2019). According to Cele (2019) "Mmusi Maimane put a lid on an attempt to reintroduce the debate on BEE, telling those pushing for racial classification to be scrapped from party policy to shut up and get to work". Ngwenya (2019) further argues that it had gone unnoticed how the then leadership of the DA leadership had punted ANC policy as its own, with no observable difference other than that they said it is different. She further argues that some examples where this has been done is where the DA fought tooth and nail against the implementation of free higher education but in its manifesto, it advocates for a position very similar to the one that it had opposed.

Helen Zille is a strong proponent for the rejection of race-based policies. In her Cape Press address in October 2019 Zille made it unequivocally clear that the DA should ashamedly reject black economic empowerment and affirmative action based on race (Paton: 2019). According to Paton (2019) she argued that "we must challenge the idea that blackness is a proxy for disadvantage when it enables this fig leaf for corruption and the kind of mess we are seeing in the state-owned enterprises," she said. Zilles stance on this issue dates as far back as 2013 when she had a fall out with then parliamentary Lindiwe Mazibuko who was seen as ostensibly supporting BBBEE. According to Lewis (2013) Zille, speaking at the Cape Town Press Club on Thursday, said "there was absolutely no excuse for the DA supporting Verwoerdian

measures like that.” Zille further opined that “this was why the party needed to reject the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) Bill and the Employment Equity Amendment Bill” (Lewis:2013)

Eusebius McKaiser is of the opinion that interim DA leader is seen to be a gentleman as he is polite, reasonable, open to persuasion and likeable he is however a Zille clone in that they both hold the view that that race-based redress policies should be not formulated and implemented (McKaiser:2019). Moreover, Steenhuisen recognises and appreciates that race matters as 99.9 % of South Africans who are poor happen to be black he believes however, that redress need not have to resort to “crude race classification” as redress policies should simply be directed at the poorest in South Africa (Merten: 2019).

Steenhuisen and Zille were two senior DA leaders who pushed for the re-appointment of Ngwenya as Policy honcho. Ngwenya holds the view that race makes everything rancid because it destroys merit and elevates mediocrity it shuns principle and replaces it with a racial logic defines how arguments are made and won, but most fatally it prostrates the individual before a false and hegemonic myth, that race is real.” (Ngwenya: 2019).

The findings of the DA review panel support the views of Ngwenya, Steenhuisen and Zille in that it recommended that “no redress policy can ever match the positive impact that excellent education, better healthcare, safer streets and a successful economy would have on the circumstances of South Africa’s poorest citizens Opportunity policies and redress policies can and should both be pursued, provided they are targeted at individuals, not groups (Coetzee, Leon, Le Roux: 2019).

The DA seems to be confused on BBBEE as well as Affirmative action . However, this confusion comes as a result of the DA slowly shifting towards embracing race-based redress

policy in search of attracting the black vote. The side effect is that it has deserted its liberal principles and values which has led to the confusion it now faces.

Gwen Ngwenya illustrates this point immaculately in her piece *“How Race Poisoned the DA”* where she maps the DAs gradual migration from over the last two or so years from the position that race-based policy be rejected, to the position that race-based policy is an essential part of our country’s reconciliation project and vital for justice.

Twenty years ago, according to Ngwenya (2019), in its 1999 manifesto the DA or the DP as it was then held the position that *“SA needs racism now in order to ‘put right’ the damage done by past racism – is typical of what passes for argument on the part of ANC hacks. The ideas in this manifesto clearly demonstrate that this notion is simply not true. It is possible to deal with the problems Asmal identifies – inequality, lack of access and exclusion – without reference to race. Indeed, race is a red herring in this debate”*. However, in its 2019 manifesto as I have alluded to above has completely embraced race-based policy. Ngwenya outlines how the DA got to the point where it had adopted race-based policies by arguing for it over the years using five different arguments:

- 1) Race is a proxy for disadvantage
- 2) Race is a dangerous but pragmatic necessity
- 3) Race is a temporary solution that, if limited by a sunset clause, can be endured
- 4) Racial targets are an alternative to racial quotas
- 5) Diversity is acceptable euphemism for demographic representivity.

Ngwenya (2019) further argues that “the DA soon will be left no choice but to purge itself of race-based policy; it is that or death for the party. It is too late now for the party to arrive there

through conviction, it will simply be the only principled course of action available to it after having indulged every other pragmatic antidote.”

The DA has begun this process in a timid manner. On the 23rd of May 2019 during the presidency budget debate former DA leader Mmusi Maimane made the assertion that “we must start by admitting that B-BBEE has not delivered economic inclusion. It is a fig leaf for redress, and it does nothing for 99% of South Africa’s excluded citizens. Scrap B-BBEE, Mr President, and replace it with a plan that offers real broad-based inclusion in our economy”

The school of thought that race need not be a proxy for disadvantage is currently the dominating school of thought in the Steenhuisen, Zille led Democratic Alliance. It is worth mentioning however that close Maimane allies that have remained as members of the Democratic Alliance still very much believe that it would be fatal for the DA to disregard race altogether.

Makashule Gana is one such member who holds this view. Gana who lost to Steenhuisen in his bid to become interim DA leader is of the view that the DA currently is not a party for all South Africans. On the 6th November 2019 during an interview on Radio 702 on the Eusebuis McKaiser show Gana made the assertion that the day the DA became a party for all South Africans he would leave politics for good as there would be nothing more for him to achieve.

Gana is of the view that apartheid was an unjust system in favour of white people at the expense of black people, and it is on that premise that he believes that you cannot speak about redress without making a reference to race. According to Gana (2019) if we accept the position that apartheid was unjust towards black people and because these injustices were race based it only makes sense to implement race-based policies to undo past injustices. This seems to be a central point to Gana’s argument.

Gana is not alone in sharing this view, as mentioned in a previous chapter, DA member of National Assembly Hlanganani Gumbi penned a piece to Helen Zille titled *Race matters*,

Helen! According to Gumbi (2019) “Race matters. We must not romanticise the advances that a very small size of the black middle class has made to overcome poverty and empower their families. This should not cloud our judgement from the hard reality that millions of black South Africans are currently trapped in poverty and will be for the next foreseeable future”.

Should the DA adopt a stance which rejects race-based policies as well as BBBEE they will have to be extremely careful in how they term so that it is palatable to the general public. The policy itself, much like the economic policy, is feasible. The challenge once again will be getting the buy in from an electorate which is still very much race obsessed. The DA however may be successful in selling this position if one looks at how the South African Social Security (SASSA) as well as the Department of Social Development (DSD) operates. These institutions do not explicitly state that they seek to promote or uplift black South Africans. However since, racial inequality runs along racial lines in South Africa naturally beneficiaries of these programmes are largely black.

5.2.3 DA’s Housing policy

Human settlements is an issue which many South Africans face. The challenges of human settlements are largely due to the legacy of apartheid which saw black South Africans being placed far away from cities and towns in substandard living conditions. According to Hartman (2018) “The lack of affordable housing in South Africa is a well-documented problem. The housing backlog reportedly stands at 2.3 million houses and is growing by around 178 000 houses a year.”

The right to housing is enshrined in section 26 of the Constitution, which states that:

- (1) Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing. (2) The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right. (3) No one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without an order of court made after considering all the relevant circumstances. No legislation may permit arbitrary evictions.

In its 2019 election manifesto, the DA recognises the need to expedite housing projects in order to remove the most vulnerable citizens from appalling living conditions. Under its programme of action titled Expanding access to housing: A home for all South Africans, the DA believes that “Millions of South Africans continue to live in appalling conditions with no safe place to call home. South Africa currently does not have adequate housing to meet the needs of our citizens and many are left to live in informal settings where there is little, but often no, access to basic services like water and sanitation”. It further argues that “the government can no longer follow its narrow policies known as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and then Breaking New Ground (BNG) programmes for addressing the housing backlog as these have patently failed” (DA Manifesto:2019)

It would seem that the DA is not merely paying lip service to the issue of housing but is taking proactive and necessary steps to address the backlog. The DA claims that in the Western Cape it has completed 212 967 housing projects since 2009 and projects to have completed 105 500 by the year 2022. According to the Western Cape Government (2019) “Catalytic and Priority projects are outlined for development across the Western Cape. These projects will, upon completion, yield just over 105 000 housing opportunities by 2022”.

Former DA executive mayor of Tshwane Solly Msimanga opted to sell the mayoral house and use the proceeds to build 40 RDP homes. According to Singh (2017) Msimanaga was quoted as saying “the house was previously valued so we knew roughly what we would get at auction.

This money will allow at least 40 less fortunate families to have decent roofs over their head”. “In his State of the city address on the 13th Apr 2018 Msimanaga proclaimed “On 23 November 2017, the mayoral mansion was sold at auction for R5,1 million. I am happy to announce that the proceeds from the sale have been earmarked to build 40 RDP houses, including land and services, for well-deserving families in Atteridgeville X 19, where the City is currently installing service stands”.

The DA’s housing policy in the Western Cape and particularly in the City of Cape Town has yielded positive results. According to Wilkinson (2014) “In 2003/04, 2004/05 and 2005/06, the last three years the ANC ran the City of Cape Town, an average of 3,287 housing opportunities were provided, according to the city’s annual reports. Under the DA, 9,576 housing opportunities were delivered in the city in 2008/09 and 8,950 housing opportunities were delivered in 2009/10”. This is an indication that the DA housing policy could be a viable and feasible option to be implemented at national level

5.2.4 DA’s Social Security Policy

The right to Health care, food, water and social security is enshrined in section 27 of the Constitution, which states that:

(1) Everyone has the right to have access to (1a) health care services, including reproductive health care(1b) sufficient food and water; and (1). social security, including, if they are unable to support themselves and their dependants, appropriate social assistance.² The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the realisation of each of these rights.³ No one may be refused emergency medical treatment.

South Africa is perceived as the leader and innovator with regards to social policy in the global South however, the implementation has not been so seamless (Patel 2016). According to Cassim (2015) “the welfare system fails to address the root causes of social welfare problems

– and thus its offering does not actively seek to cause structural change required to move individuals out of poverty and lower levels of income inequality”. Social policy aims to improve the citizen’s well-being and is primarily concerned with the welfare of those who experience some form of disadvantage (McClelland n.d).

The DA believes that opportunity is the vehicle through which all South Africans can be empowered to live lives that they value, to pursue their dreams and to develop their full potential. According to the DA 2019 Election manifesto “For too long South Africans have been left at the mercy of an uncaring and dysfunctional state. This has seen too many South Africans killed through negligence, inaction or worse”

Whilst the DA recognises the need for social interventions such as social grants, it does however believe that the first priority is to grow an inclusive economy, in order to reduce the number of social grants dependants. According to the DAs *Social Protection Policy* “It is clear that to ensure that the tax base can accommodate South Africa’s social protection system, we must continue to make it our first priority to grow the economy and create jobs”. But nonetheless it recognises that social grants have been one of the most effective policy interventions in South Africa in terms of reducing poverty and vulnerability. So much so that the DA sought to double child grant to R800. According to Deklerk (2018) “The Democratic Alliance wants to double the child support grant if it gets into government next year. Its leader, Mmusi Maimane, said the amount should be R800 to be sufficient to raise a child and fight malnutrition”.

The DA’s social security policy is one which is premised primarily on the notion of assisting someone to assist themselves. Central to its argument is that if the state can resuscitate the economy then the economy and create jobs there would be less reliance on the state to provide social security services. This is a viable and feasible stance, the biggest difference between the

DA's social security policy and that of the ANC's is that whilst the DA sympathises and recognises that there is a need to cater for the vulnerable in society, it seeks to assist people to acquire the skills and the know how to be eventually absorbed by a growing and inclusive economy. One way of creating employment opportunities is according to the DA is advocating for the protection and support of SMMEs by ensuring greater flexibility in the labour market through minimum wage exemption for businesses that fall into certain classifications.

5.2.5 DA's Sizani Health Policy

With tragedies such as Life Esidimeni and the Oncology crisis in the province of Kwa Zulu Natal, it is clear that the state of health care in South Africa is abysmal. The Life Esidimeni Scandal involved the deaths of 144 people. In a bid to save money the Gauteng Department of Health decided to move 1,700 vulnerable and mentally ill people from specialised care facilities to unlicensed organisations (Hodal& Rammod:2018). According to Keeka (2018) "parliamentary questions by the Democratic Alliance (DA) have revealed that at least 499 cancer patients died during 2015 and 2016 at two of KZN's largest hospitals - Inkosi Albert Luthuli Central Hospital (IALCH) and Greys - as a result of the ongoing KwaZulu-Natal Oncology crisis". On the 19 June 2017 the South African Human Rights Commission found what it termed the Kwa Zulu Natal provincials government "poor handling of the Oncology crisis", this after it was found that screening and treating cancer patients was found to be broken or non-existent in two major Durban public hospitals.

According to the DAs 2019 election manifesto:

The first step to fixing our poor public health system is to address challenges in terms of primary Healthcare – in other words, to make our clinics work and build more where needed. South Africa has a ratio of 1 clinic to 16 971 people, as opposed to the guideline

of 1:10 000. South Africa also has a ratio of 0.7 doctors to every 100 000 people, well below the average of OECD or BRICS nations

The National Department of Health Strategic Vision 2030 plan seeks to:

reduce the burden of disease, to raise the life expectancy of South Africans to at least 70 years, to ensure that the generation of under-20s is largely free of HIV, and to achieve infant mortality of less than 20 deaths per thousand live births and an under-5 mortality rate of less than 5 per thousand.

According to the DA Health policy the DA claims to subscribe itself to this vision moreover it “pledges itself to pursue the goal of adequate universal access to health care for all South African citizens and to giving effect to the Constitutional provision for guaranteed access to emergency medical treatment”.

The controversial National Health Insurance (NHI) has sparked debate on the ruling party’s universal health coverage for all. On Wednesday, June 26, 2019 minister of health Dr. Zweli Mkhize in his state of the Nation debate remarked “equally importantly, making progress towards universal health coverage requires transformation of the health system and reconfiguration of institutions for pooling of funds and purchasing of services to achieve social solidarity, efficiency, effectiveness and income and risk cross-subsidisation”

According to the department of health “the NHI is a financing system that will make sure that all citizens of South Africa (and legal long-term residents) are provided with essential healthcare, regardless of their employment status and ability to make a direct monetary contribution to the NHI Fund”.

Whilst the DA stands for universal access to health care for all citizens they are however also of the opinion that in order to achieve this government need not make big policy developments but should rather make the current regional management model work. In its 2019 election

manifesto the DA states that “as with education, South Africa has two types of healthcare. excellent, indeed, world-class, private healthcare as well as poor, inadequate and sometimes even dangerous public healthcare”

In response to the NHI the DA has formulated what it has termed *Sizani Healthcare Plan* Sizani health care plan seeks to strike a balance between universal subsidies to every South African resident whilst retaining the medical aid system. The biggest difference between Sizani and NHI is that while NHI will have its prices set by a ministerial committee Sizani will allow for transparent fair competition which will regulate prices and keep the prices low. Sizani seeks to decentralise the decision-making powers and localise systems of governance. Sizani will include but not limited to:

- 1) Funding through the current budget envelope, which includes the tax benefit currently afforded to medical aid clients
- 2) Heavy investment in the provision of maternal and child health services.
- 3) Reinforce the powers of provinces by ensuring they are adequately funded and equipped to provide quality healthcare to all.

Moreover Sizani seeks to “work with private healthcare insurance companies to extend the insurance coverage range in a manner which would improve affordability options for the lower- and middle-class, with the aim of having more than 50% of citizens covered by private healthcare providers”. Whilst embarking on a on a programme of revitalising public healthcare facilities, with a significant portion of the resources dedicated to improving and updating infrastructure and technology at primary healthcare facilities (The Manifesto for Change: 2019).

The DA is adamantly opposed to the NHI in as far as that it has suggested that it is willing to take it on constitutional review if passed into law successfully. According to Head (2019) Maimane remarked:

Should this Bill be passed in its current form; all South Africans will be the main casualties of this system. There are deep inequalities in the system. 84% of South Africans are dependent on an ailing health system with only 16% of our people who can afford private medical care.

In assessing the feasibility and the coherence of the DA's stance on health on the national stage. One can draw from its success in The Western Cape. According to Statistics South Africa (2016) "the Western Cape province has the highest percentage of households living within 30 minutes of their nearest health facility, at 91.5%". Moreover, Western Cape Government Health "has a unique system to ensure no stock-outs of medicines for which the Province is responsible for supplying. Supply is managed through a central depot, delivering to large facilities that deliver to smaller facilities". This is the model the DA believes that government should adopt as opposed to the NHI (Head: 2019)

5.2.6 Basic Education: Creating an Opportunity Ladder for All South Africans

Thomson (2017) argues that "liberalism has often prioritized educational concerns insofar as education has been understood to serve the goals of liberty". Elements of liberty focus primarily on equality however there have been elements which focus more fully upon liberty as it relates to education (Thomson:2017).

Education is a constitutional right, a basic human right which is enshrined in Section 29 Education of the constitution of South Africa. Section 29 states: (1) Everyone has the right - (a) to a basic education, including adult basic education; and (b) to further education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible. (2) Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable. In order to

ensure the effective access to, and implementation of, this right, the state must consider all reasonable educational alternatives, including single medium institutions, taking into account - (a) equity; (b) practicability; and (c) the need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory laws and practices. (3) Everyone has the right to establish and maintain, at their own expense, independent educational institutions that - (a) do not discriminate on the basis of race; (b) are registered with the state; and (c) maintain standards that are not inferior to standards at comparable public educational institutions. (4) Subsection (3) does not preclude state subsidies for independent educational institution.

There have been mounting calls to transform education in South Africa. Nguta (2018) argues that South Africa spends billions on education but is still one of the worst performers worldwide. According to 2018/19 UNICEF Education Budget Brief for South Africa R246 billion or 16.7 per cent of total government resources on basic education programmes in 2018/19. Despite the amount of money spent in this sector South Africa's basic education system is ranked 126th out of 138 countries (Mbiza:2018). Moreover, at the end of each academic year the government sugar coats the matric results to paint a better picture (Nguta: 2018). According to Macupe (2020) "performance in critical subjects is declining and the number of passes at 30% is a sign of the shortage of quality education. Individual stories of achievement should not distract us from this systemic issue".

Nguta (2017) makes the assertion that "Our education needs bold reforms and bold reforms require bold leaders". The 2017–2018 The Global Competitiveness Report ranked South Africa 114th out of 137 countries for the quality of its education system (Schwab:2017). However according to Nic Spaull, who is a research fellow with Research on Socio- Economic Policy at Stellenbosch, the method used by The World Economic Forum (WEF) is unscientific and unreliable. According to Spaull (2014) "The methods used to calculate these education

rankings are subjective, unscientific, and unreliable and lack any form of technical credibility or cross-national comparability.”

It would be disingenuous however to suggest that the South African basic education system is not in a crisis. Makou and Wilkinson (2018) argue that “between 2014 and 2016 an estimated 50% of 22 to 25-year-olds had not passed matric. An internal analysis from the Department of Basic Education found that 67.6% of people born between 1990 to 1992 managed to pass Grade 11; this means that there was a 32.4% drop out rate”.

The DA however claims that the “real” matric pass rate is 37.6% when one looks at the total number of enrolled Grade 10 students in 2016 that should have been in matric in 2018 compared to the total number that actually wrote and passed in 2018 (Ngqakamba:2019) .

The Democratic Alliance believes that Quality education is the key to improved quality of life. It empowers individuals to obtain a fulfilling job, contribute to the economy and utilise their talents to the full. The DA 2019 election manifesto (manifesto for change) states that:

our proposals to reform basic education are centred on radically improving teaching performance, the standard of education, school management, providing safer learning environments using technology to teach and learn, as well as making sure all children have a safe and conducive learning environment. These initiatives are crucial if we want all children to be able to access quality education.

The above-mentioned interventions by the Democratic Alliance have already been proven to be successful and viable where they have been implemented in the Western Cape. To overhaul the education system the Western Cape government introduced a system known as collaboration schools. Nguta (2018) makes the assertion that “collaboration schools are essentially government schools that are independently managed in collaboration with private partners in order to turn them around and improve outcomes for poor children”.

In order to usher in this idea, the Western Cape government made amendments that included collaboration and donor-funded schools whereby donors and funders have a huge stake in public schools (Ally:2018). Motsepe & McFarlane (2017) make the assertion that “these models follow a growing global trend of addressing public education challenges through partnerships with private entities”. In a statement released on the 16th of November 2018 the Western Cape Department of Education stated that “the bill constitutes the biggest public education reform since 1994, and is designed to achieve excellence in education for every child, in every classroom, in every school in the Province”.

5.3 Conclusion

It would seem as though that the claim that DA policies are almost identical to those of the ANC is untrue to a certain extent. There is clear blue water between the DA’s stance and that of the ANC on many issues the most obvious being the Economic policies of the two organisations. Whilst the ANC advocates for a radical economic transformation in order to tackle structural inequalities that exist within our society the DA on the other hand seems to believe that the best way to tackle structural inequalities is to grow an inclusive economy. They are strong proponents of a market-based economy vis-à-vis the ANC economic model that advocates for stronger government interventions.

The DA has argued for compensation with regards to land restitution as well as land redistribution. They have argued that section 25 of the constitution (the property clause) is not an impediment to land restitution and redistribution. The argument brought forward is that the duty lies with parliament to ensure that they pass legislation that expedites this process.

One such example where one sees this play is the issue of state-owned entities in particular that of ESKOM. The DA’s stance on the woes of the country’s power producer is that it must be privatised and dismantled into smaller entities furthermore it has argued for IPPs to be allowed

to enter the market to create competition in order to lower prices per unit and have a stable consistent power supply. They have taken a similar stance on health which is a clear deviation from the NHI. It would seem however that the DA's stance on issues of Affirmative action and race-based redress policies is as clear as mud. It has for example in its 2019 election manifesto adopted BBBEE as a policy, but its interim leader and Federal Council Chair are of the opinion that race should not be a proxy for disadvantage.

Apart from race-based policies the DA presents alternative views to the ruling party. However, the party has been criticised for being tone deaf and not cognisant of the society that it operates in. When one zooms into the DA's economic plan it can be argued that whilst its impressive to the economist and the political analyst it may not be to the ordinary working South African who feels that it does not address issues such as structural inequality in the work place, it is one thing to put a job in every home but it's equally important to ensure that citizens are treated well in the workplace.

Apart from that the DA presents strong alternative that lie are rooted in liberalism. The DA advocates for an *Open Opportunity Society for All*. A society in which every person has the right, the space and the capability to be himself, develop herself and pursue his own ends as an equal and fully legitimate citizen of South Africa (Chapman:2009). It is towards this realisation that the DA's policies are geared except for the vacuous BBBEEE policy which seems to be a misfit. Its policies in most cases are viable coherent alternative policies which in instances where they have been implemented have proven to be highly successful.

Chapter 6 Summary, Recommendations and Conclusion

6.0 Introduction

Chapter 5 discussed and assessed the compatibility of the DA's policies to the South African political climate and whether or not there was a clear difference between the alternative policies that the DA seeks to bring to the table and that of the ruling party. It was argued that the DA's policies can be seen as tone deaf and not in tune with the mood of the rest of the country at times. Whilst impressive to the academic and expert they run the risk of not being palatable to the ordinary South African. This however may not necessarily be an issue with the policy but rather a weak communication or messaging strategy that uses language that is not easily digestible to the ordinary South African.

However apart from the DA's stance, which at this stage is confusing, on BBBEE the DA presents credible and well thought through policies that have been backed up by their success stories in their flagship province the Western Cape. Political parties by nature seek to gain political power through seducing the electorate and garnering as many votes as possible. The DA realises that the failure to do so would render them useless as a political party and would be classified rather as a pressure group. The issue of race in South Africa is one which is still very sensitive due to its oppressive and racist past. It could be for this reason that the DA has not been clear on the issue of affirmative action. The DA is very aware of the need to woo enough black support but there is still a sense that the DA cannot abandon its liberal roots and adopt race-based policies. In an effort to try please both sectors of society the DA's stance on BBBEE and affirmative action is as clear as mud.

However, on the emotional issue of land the DA seems to have taken a clear stance which insists that section 25 of the constitution (property clause) is not an impediment to land reform,

but has rather argued that the ANC has had no political will to speed up land reform and has used section 25 of the constitution as a scapegoat. Leaning heavily on the High-level panel on land that was commissioned by parliament which found that the budget for land reform was “at an all-time low of less than 0.4% of the national budget, with less than 0.1% set aside for land redistribution” (Motlanthe:2017). This proved the DA’s claims that land reform was not a priority for the government. Since liberalism espouses the protection of property rights it does not come as a surprise that the DA does not support the notion of expropriation without the compensation.

This is a recurring theme within DA policies, they believe strongly in the realisation of an *Open Opportunity Society for All*. A society in which every person has the right, the space and the capability to be himself, develop herself and pursue his own ends as an equal and fully legitimate citizen of South Africa. This ideal is what shapes and forms DA policies which are in stark contrast to the ANC’s Democratic Centralism.

6.1 Summary

Using the case of the Democratic Alliance in the Western Cape, the study discussed the challenges that opposition parties face when transitioning from opposition parties to governing parties. In South Africa opposition parties are oftentimes seen as merely watchdogs for the public and are rated by those standards alone. The introduction to this study pointed out that in order for opposition parties to make the transition from opposition to ruling party they must prepare themselves accordingly and that they must exhibit that they are capable of being in charge of governance.

Chapter 3 discussed the theoretical framework chosen for this study which consists of the Liberal Democratic Theory and Liberal Transitional Theory. It was revealed that the Liberal

Democratic Theory allows for a smooth transition of government between parties. However, what is understated is the emphasis on political parties planning to become governments. The Liberal Transitional Theory assisted in evaluating the abilities of opposition parties to lead governments. Moreover, it was found that winning government was only part of the challenge for opposition parties but planning for a transition that may not occur is a significant investment of the limited resources of opposition parties.

Chapter four discussed challenges that the Democratic Alliance faced when they governed the Western Cape and how leading the multiparty coalition government in Cape Town exposed Helen Zille and the DA to governance and afforded them the opportunity to prove that indeed they could and can govern better than the ruling party. Moreover, it went on to gauge whether or not the DA had brought about tangible socio-economic change to the lives of the people of the Western Cape province and whether or not they were a viable alternative to the ANC. Chapter 5 examined whether or not the DA's policies were palatable in the current South African political climate and explored the claim that the DA's policies are much like the ANC's

6.2 Recommendations and Concluding remarks

This study recommends that the Democratic Alliance should speak to the voter's hearts as opposed to just bombarding them with facts and figures. The DA cannot take for granted that majority of voters are indifferent about clean and efficient governments but are more concerned about whether or not the government of the day can deliver services.

We have seen in chapter 4 that where the DA governs it governs well, the majority of claims that they have made with regards to its governance in the Western Cape are ostensibly true. It is therefore important that the DA finds a way to communicate this to the voter in a way that speaks directly to the voter.

It has also been established that the DA is tone deaf and has often failed to read the mood of the country. It is against this backdrop that it could be argued that the reason the DA saw a decline in its electoral support in the 2019 general elections was due to the fact that its messaging was incoherent and did not speak to the voter directly. The DA's policy as discussed in chapter 5 are viable alternative policies however as alluded to above they do not seem to resonate with the voter. This is because they are not communicated in a manner which is not digestible to the average South African voter. An overhaul of the communication strategy which is sensitive to the nuances of the political landscape. Whilst the urban voter may comprehend the language, the DA needs to find an effective way to communicate with people that it has not reached before.

Whilst it is important for the DA to make serious inroads in the black electorate in order to have a realistic chance at unseating the ANC it cannot make the mistake of alienating the minority groups on which its electoral support has been built on over the last two decades. It pandered to race based policies in order to woo over black support but in doing so it failed to retain the Afrikaans vote. Furthermore, this tactic did not work as it failed to also win black support as the DA never fully accepted race-based policies and were caught somewhere in the middle.

The country is in need of not only a strong opposition to the ruling party but equally it is in need of a strong and viable alternative to the ANC. The DA needs to grow electoral support in other provinces as failure to do so will render it as merely a regional party with no serious prospects of overthrowing the ANC at national level.

It is concerning that a party that seeks to set itself up as a viable alternative has started to decline in electoral support. The DA must get its house in order, the public spat between its own

members is off putting to the electorate. Political analyst Professor Somadoda Fikeni remarked in 2018 that the DA is busy mutilating itself in a corner, unprovoked.

The study mentioned the way the party handled the Patricia De Lille saga which was ongoing for close to 18 months ruined its brand. Going forward it would be wise that the DA ensures that when similar issues arise it is decisive in tackling such issues and stamp them out as early as possible.

It is evident that South Africa needs a credible alternative to the ANC. The DA needs to ensure that it unites itself towards a common purpose. The true test of whether the Democratic Alliance will last in its current form is how it manages the current ideological contestation which poses the biggest risk to the party's fortunes in future elections.

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