

**GEOGRAPHY AND VOTING: THE GROWTH OF
URBAN OPPOSITION TWO DECADES AFTER
SOUTH AFRICAN DEMOCRATISATION**

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**SOCIETY OF SOUTH AFRICAN GEOGRAPHERS CENTENNIAL CONFERENCE,
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ELECTORAL GEOGRAPHY

- **SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF ELECTION RESULTS AND PROCESSES** PRODUCES A CONTINUOUS OUTPUT OF RESEARCH.
- MOST RECENTLY IN THE U.S., JOHNSTON, MANLEY AND JONES (2016) HAVE DEMONSTRATED INCREASING **POLARISATION OF SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRAT OR REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES**. THIS POLARISATION IS MORE EVIDENT IN AND WITHIN SOME STATES THAN OTHERS, WITH SHARP CONTRAST BETWEEN LARGE CITIES AND RURAL AREAS.
- MANY STUDIES HAVE INTERROGATED **DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN VOTING TRENDS IN LARGE METROPOLITAN AREAS AND CITIES, WITH THOSE IN SMALLER TOWNS AND RURAL AREAS** (ARCHER, 1988; SHELLEY ET AL, 1996; MORRILL ET AL, 2007; GELMAN ET AL, 2008; LESTHAEGLE & NEIDERT, 2009; MCKEE & TEIGEN, 2009; EDGE, 2010). DEMOGRAPHICALLY, VOTES FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAVE TENDED TO COME FROM ELDERLY PEOPLE, AND THOSE WHO ARE WHITE, OR MARRIED, OR PROTESTANT, OR SOCIALLY CONSERVATIVE AND LIVING IN COMFORTABLE SUBURBIA, SMALL TOWNS OR RURAL AREAS. CONVERSELY, DEMOCRATIC PARTY SUPPORT HAS BEEN AMONGST WORKING WOMEN, THE SOCIALLY LIBERAL, JEWS, CATHOLICS, NON-RELIGIOUS PEOPLE, BLACK, HISPANIC, LATINO, OR ASIAN VOTERS, UNMARRIED OR HIGHLY EDUCATED PEOPLE, LIVING IN LARGE METROPOLITAN AREAS.
- MORRILL, KNOPP AND BROWN (2011) CONDUCTED **IDIOPHGRAPHIC QUALITATIVE RESEARCH SPECIFICALLY IN AREAS WHERE THERE WERE ANOMALIES TO THESE TRENDS**. THEIR MOST COMPREHENSIVE INFORMANTS WERE CULTURAL AND POLITICAL GEOGRAPHERS FROM THE AREAS CONCERNED. IN LARGE CITIES SUCH AS PHOENIX, JACKSONVILLE AND CINCINNATI, WHERE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES WON, IT WAS ATTRIBUTED TO INFLUENCES SUCH AS LARGE CORPORATES, A MILITARY BASE, OR A TRADITION OF NON-PARTISAN INDEPENDENT VOTERS. CONVERSELY, IN SOME RURAL COUNTIES IN WISCONSIN, KENTUCKY, AND COLORADO, DEMOCRATIC VICTORIES WERE FOUND TO CORRELATE WITH TRADE UNION INFLUENCE, UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES, ENVIRONMENTALLY CONSCIOUS IN-MIGRANTS, OR LOCAL ECONOMIES RELIANT ON TRAVEL AND TOURISM.

ELECTORAL GEOGRAPHY

- INTEREST IN THE DIVIDE BETWEEN **RURAL CONSERVATIVES AND URBAN LABOUR PARTY** SUPPORTERS IN THE UK GENERATED MUCH RESEARCH BETWEEN 1970 AND 2000 (TAYLOR & JOHNSTON, 1979; JOHNSTON & PATTIE, 1989). ANOTHER POPULAR TOPIC HAS BEEN THE EXTENT TO WHICH LOCALLY-BASED CANDIDATES RECEIVE MORE SUPPORT THAN THEIR OUTSIDER COUNTERPARTS (BOWLER ET AL, 1993; CUTTS & SHRANE, 2006; GÓRECKI & MARSH, 2012; JOHNSTON ET AL, 2016).
- ANOTHER COUNTRY WITH A COMPLEX AND WELL-INTERROGATED ELECTORAL GEOGRAPHY IS UKRAINE (SHULMAN, 1999; ANDRUSCHENKO, 2004; STEGNIJ, 2005; RAUSCH, 2007; PANIOTTO, 2014; VON LÖWIS, 2015; MARPLES & MILLS, 2016). SINCE GAINING INDEPENDENCE FROM THE SOVIET UNION, **LINGUISTIC AND IDEOLOGICAL FACTORS HAVE RESULTED IN SPATIALLY DIVERSE ELECTION OUTCOMES**, WITH HIGH LEVELS OF INTERNATIONAL INTEREST AND EVEN MILITARY INTERVENTION. THE PARALLELS OF POST-SOVIET UKRAINIAN ELECTORAL GEOGRAPHY AND POLITICS, WITH NOTORIOUSLY UBIQUITOUS LEVELS OF CORRUPTION, ARE EVIDENT IN RESPECT OF TRENDS AND TENDENCIES IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA, AND WORTHY OF FURTHER RESEARCH.
- **CRITICISM OF THE OBSESSION OF THE SUB-DISCIPLINE WITH STATISTICAL TECHNIQUES** AND ANALYSIS, WITH SCANT REFERENCE TO THE BROADER SOCIO-POLITICAL LITERATURE HAS BEEN PARTIALLY ADDRESSED IN RECENT YEARS WITH MORE EMPHASIS BEING PLACED FOR EXAMPLE ON POST-MODERNIST PERSPECTIVES (WARF & LEIB, 2011).

ELECTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

- STUDIES OF ELECTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA DATE BACK TO THE **PRE-DEMOCRATIC ERA** WHEN CONTESTATION WAS RESTRICTED TO THAT BETWEEN WHITE VOTERS SUPPORTIVE OF THE NATIONAL PARTY OR ITS OPPONENTS ON THE LEFT OR RIGHT (HEARD, 1974; STADLER, 1975; LEMON, 1984; HUMPHRIES & SHUBANE, 1989; RULE, 1989; LEMON, 1990), WHILE BLACK LIBERATION POLITICAL MOVEMENTS WERE BANNED UNDER APARTHEID LEGISLATION (LODGE, 1983).
- SINCE DEMOCRATISATION, THE EXTENT TO WHICH **RACIAL CLEAVAGES IN VOTER ALLEGIANCE AND THE RELATED SPATIAL DIMENSIONS**, ATTITUDES TOWARDS, AND RE-STRUCTURING REGIONALLY AND WITHIN URBAN AND METROPOLITAN AREAS HAVE RECEIVED MUCH ATTENTION (CHRISTOPHER, 1996; KHOSA ET AL, 199X; RAMUTSINDELA, 1998; LODGE, 1999; MUTHIEN, 1999; OLIVIER & RULE, 1999; REYNOLDS, 1999; SPENCE, 1999; MUTHIEN, 1999; SPENCE, 1999; FOX & LEMON, 2000; RULE, 2000; RAMUTSINDELA, 2001; MATTES & PIOMBO, 2001; MAHARAJ & RAMUTSINDELA, 2002; LODGE, 2003; MATTES & SOUTHALL, 2004; MCLAUGHLIN, 2007; LEMON, 2009).

THE 2016 LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS



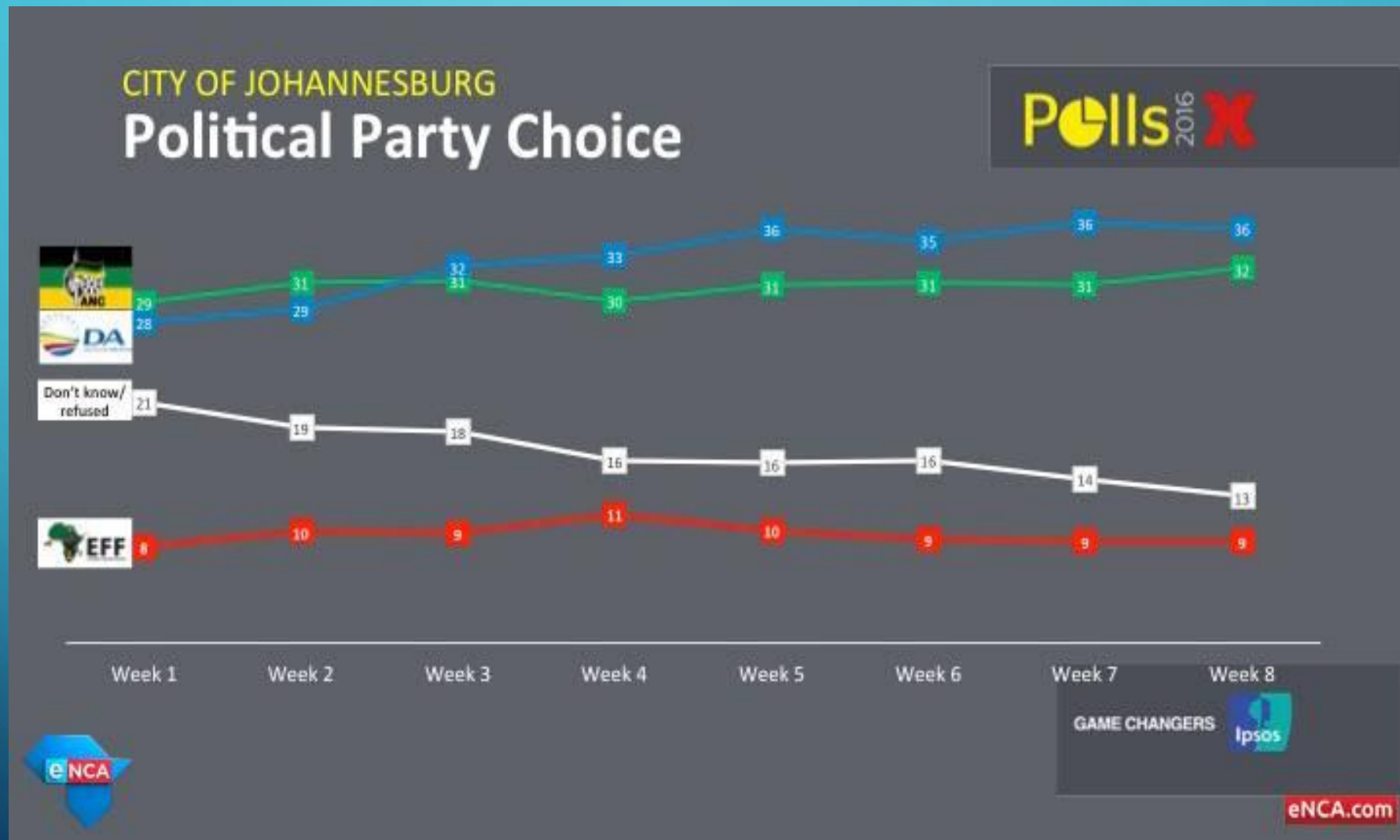
CAMPAIGN

- **MASSIVE PRESSURE FROM OPPOSITION D.A AND E.F.F. ON RULING A.N.C.** OWING TO ISSUES OF POOR SERVICE DELIVERY, QUALIFIED MUNICIPAL AUDITS, INEFFICIENCY OF STATE-OWNED ENTITIES SUCH AS S.A.A AND S.A.B.C, AND THE RESPONSE OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE PUBLIC PROTECTOR'S RECOMMENDATIONS, AND TO COURT JUDGEMENTS ABOUT HIS HAVING BENEFITED UNDULY FROM STATE-FUNDED ADDITIONS TO HIS HOME AT NKANDLA, KWAZULU-NATAL.
- DA CAMPAIGN HIGHLIGHTED ITS **GOOD GOVERNANCE RECORD IN WESTERN CAPE MUNICIPALITIES AND GAUTENG'S MIDVAAL**, ARGUING THAT IT WOULD BRING THE REQUISITE CAPACITY TO PROVIDE SUSTAINABLE ELECTRICITY, WATER, SEWAGE RETICULATION AND RUBBISH REMOVAL SERVICES TO OTHER MUNICIPALITIES.
- 2016 LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS WERE MMUSI MAIMANE'S FIRST AS NATIONAL LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION.
- EFF, ENCOURAGED AND GALVANISED BY ITS RAPID GROWTH AFTER FORMATION IN 2013 AND ITS CAPTURE OF 6% OF THE VOTE IN THE 2014 NATIONAL ELECTIONS, **FOCUSED ON GOVERNMENT CORRUPTION** AND THE ISSUE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL USE OF FUNDS FOR HIS PERSONAL RESIDENCE AT NKANDLA, AS DECIDED BY THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT.
- ANC SECRETARY-GENERAL GWEDE MANTASHE PROVIDED LEADERSHIP ON SEVERAL THEMES TO COMBAT OPPOSITION. THE **GOOD PERFORMANCE OF THE PARTY IN RUNNING JOHANNESBURG INNOVATIVELY** WAS HIGHLIGHTED. ALSO, THE NATIONAL ISSUE OF **ADDRESSING AND COMBATING RACISM**, AND THE SPECTRE OF FOREIGN INTERFERENCE AND ATTEMPTS TO INFLUENCE "REGIME CHANGE" WAS RAISED.

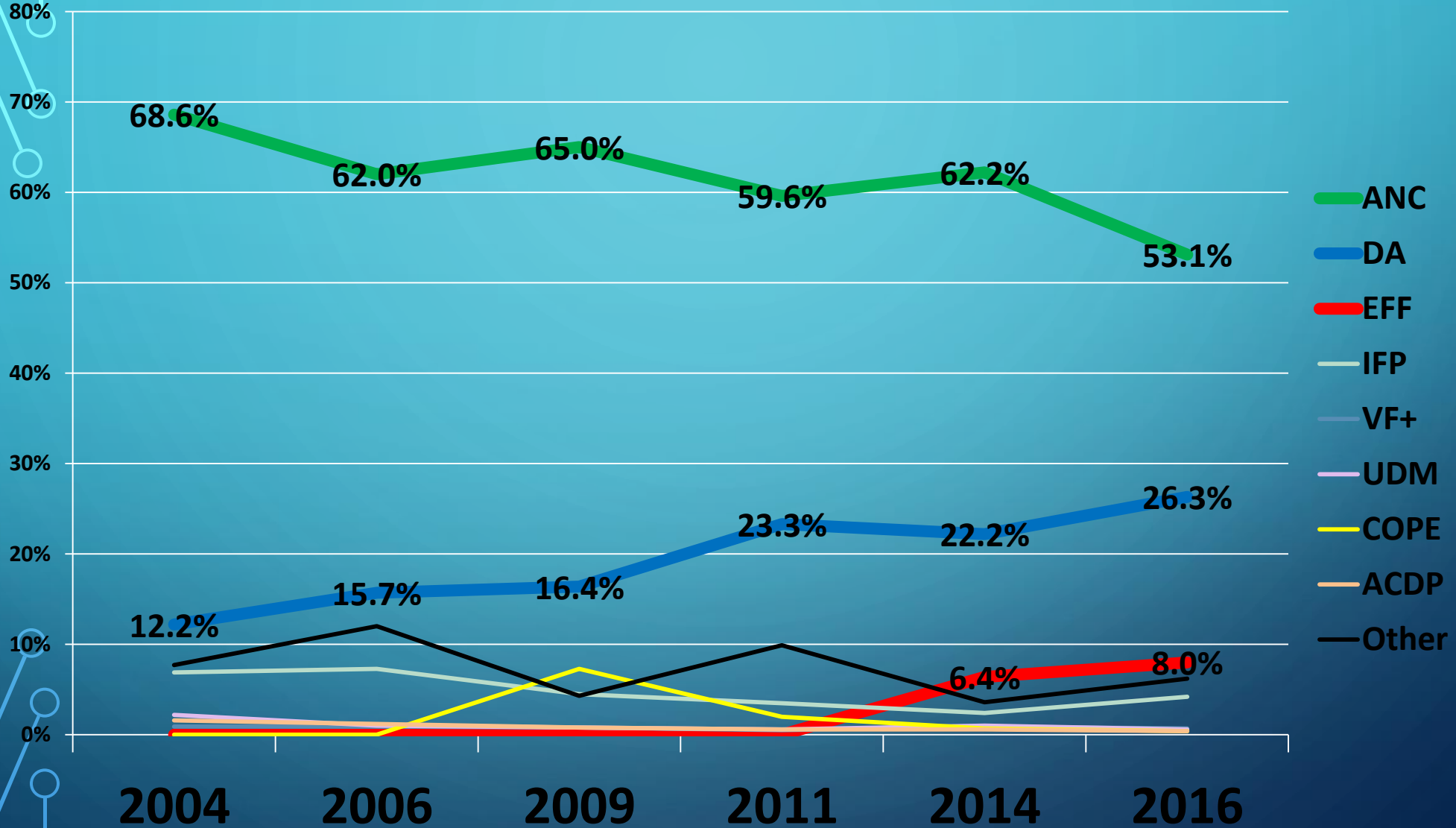
COMMUNITY PROTESTS

- THE CONTEXT OF THE ELECTIONS WAS CHARACTERISED BY **POLITICAL VOLATILITY**. FRUSTRATION AT **LINGERING SOCIO-ECONOMIC INEQUALITIES**, RACISM AND ETHNIC CONFLICT, AND THE 26.7% LEVEL OF **UNEMPLOYMENT**. CONTESTATION OVER **PERIPHERAL LAND BEING SETTLED BY MIGRANTS** FROM RURAL AREAS OR NEIGHBOURING ZIMBABWE, MOZAMBIQUE AND OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES.. ONGOING COMMUNITY PROTEST ACTION AGAINST POOR MUNICIPAL SERVICE DELIVERY HIGHLIGHTED THE INADEQUACIES AND **DYSFUNCTIONALITY** OF AS MANY A ONE-THIRD OF THE COUNTRY'S 278 MUNICIPALITIES (NEL, 2016).
- EXTRAPOLATING FROM THE RECORD OF PROTESTS DOCUMENTED BY THE S.A. POLICE SERVICE, RUNCIMAN ET AL (2016) ESTIMATE THAT THERE WERE **71,000 PROTESTS FROM 1997 TO 2013**. THESE MAINLY COMPRISED LABOUR PROTESTS (46%), COMMUNITY PROTESTS (22%). PROTESTS WERE NUMERICALLY MOST FREQUENT IN GAUTENG, BUT HIGHEST PER CAPITA IN THE FREE STATE (1997-2004), AND NORTHERN CAPE (2005-2013).
- MOST (80%) PROTESTS WERE CATEGORISED AS 'ORDERLY', 10% WERE 'DISRUPTIVE' AND 10% WERE 'VIOLENT'. OF MOST PERTINENCE TO THE 2016 LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS, WAS THE **VIOLENCE AND DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY IN THE CITY OF TSHWANE AT THE TIME OF THE SELECTION OF ANC MAYORAL AND WARD COUNCILLOR CANDIDATES**, BECAUSE OF THEIR PERCEPTIONS THAT DE FACTO POLITICAL PATRONAGE NETWORKS WOULD BE DISRUPTED BY UNPOPULAR TOP-DOWN NOMINATIONS.
- FOX AND BELL (2016) POINT OUT THAT "URBAN UNREST HAS BEEN A CONCERN FOR RULERS SINCE THE BIRTH OF CITIES" (ADES & GLAESER, 1995; ALEXANDER, 2010; ANTHONY & CRENSHAW, 2014; WALLACE, 2013).
- USING AFROBAROMETER DATA, HARDING (2010) FOUND THAT **URBAN RESIDENTS IN AFRICA GENERALLY HAVE A MORE NEGATIVE VIEW OF INCUMBENT POLITICAL PARTIES THAN OF THEIR RURAL COUNTERPARTS**. THERE IS A WEAKLY POSITIVE AND NON-LINEAR ASSOCIATION BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND PROTEST, CONSISTENT WITH POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE THEORY OF MOBILISATION. HOWEVER, AN INCREASE IN A COUNTRY'S LEVEL OF URBANISATION IS ASSOCIATED WITH A DECREASE IN THE PROBABLE NUMBER OR PROTEST EVENTS (FOX & BELL, 2016, 63).

OPINION POLLING



RESULTS



STATISTICAL CORRELATIONS BETWEEN DEMOGRAPHICS AND VOTING

CAPE TOWN				
	ANC16	DA16	EFF16	Other16
SA citizen	.345**	-.362**	.192*	.240**
Born in W Cape	-.526**	.493**	-.490**	.295**
Born in GP	-.331**	.374**	-.291**	-.363**
Grade 12 or More	-.473**	.504**	-.359**	-.313**
Flush Toilet	-.544**	.559**	-.476**	-.136
Informal	.822**	-.828**	.714**	.058
Satellite TV	-.733**	.758**	-.624**	-.227*
Mean Income	-.579**	.606**	-.483**	-.250**
English	-.713**	.703**	-.585**	.047
isiXhosa	.962**	-.962**	.855**	-.005
Afrikaans	-.604**	.608**	-.610**	.026
Setswana	-.148	.151	-.154	-.006
Sesotho	.572**	-.538**	.386**	-.189*
Sepedi	.b	.b	.b	.b
isiZulu	.081	-.078	.231*	-.159
Xitsonga	.075	-.064	.029	-.063
White	-.487**	.533**	-.436**	-.380**
Indian/Asian	-.317**	.293**	-.225*	.150
Coloured	-.560**	.525**	-.526**	.321**
Black African	.953**	-.950**	.868**	-.044
Median Age	-.614**	.642**	-.542**	-.238**

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

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

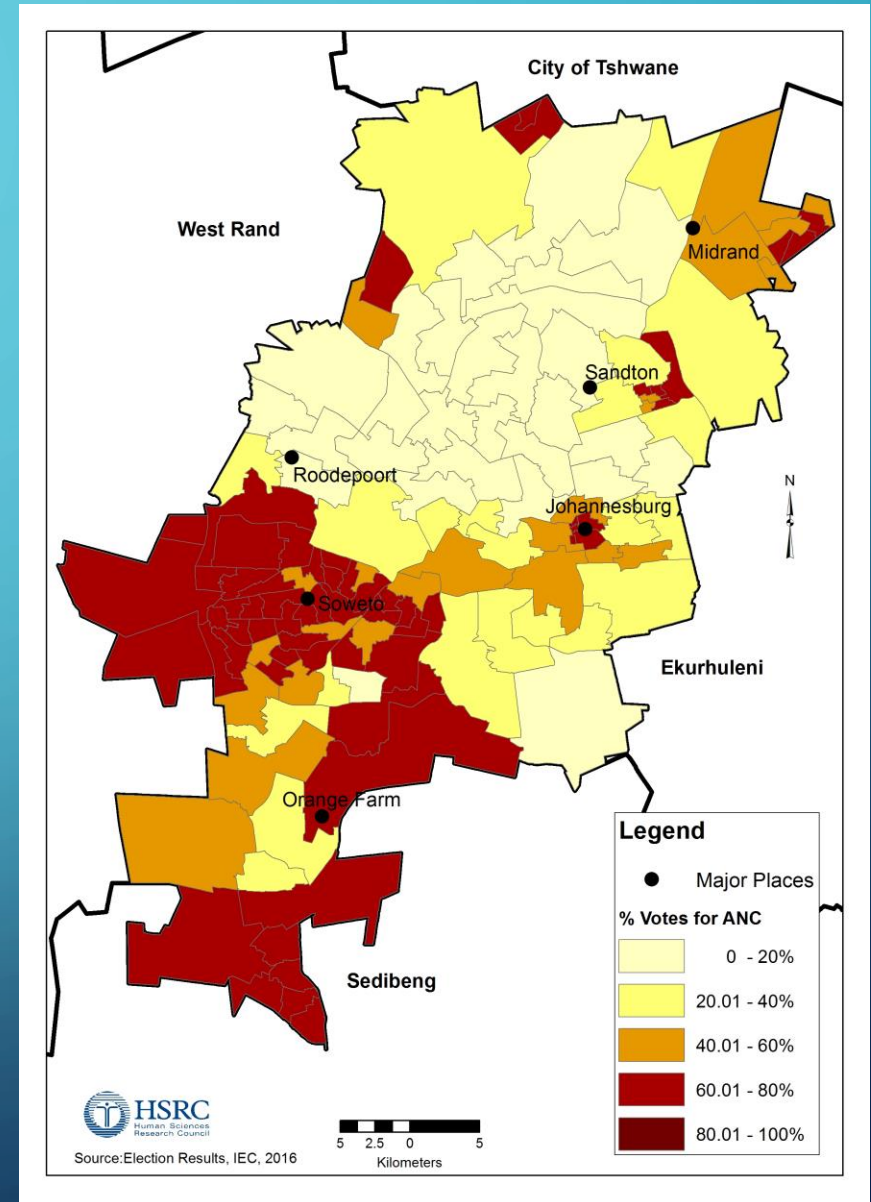
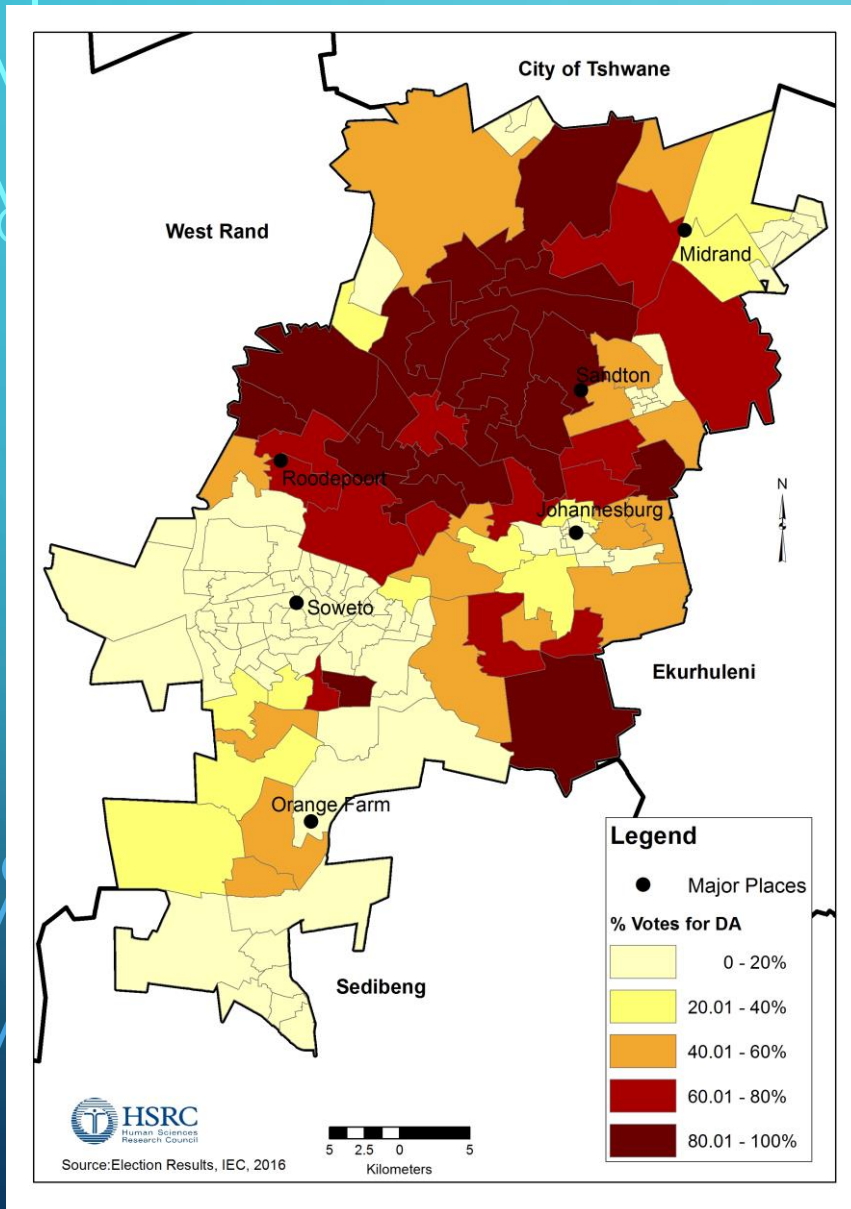
b. Cannot be computed because at least one of the variables is constant.

JOHANNESBURG				
	ANC16	DA16	EFF16	Other16
SA citizen	.180*	-.156	-.079	.132
Born in W Cape	-.631**	.673**	-.516**	-.241**
Born in GP	.245**	-.142	-.199*	-.031
Grade 12 or More	-.767**	.792**	-.470**	-.336**
Flush Toilet	-.204*	.224**	-.098	-.171*
Informal	.408**	-.444**	.383**	.149
Satellite TV	-.813**	.858**	-.550**	-.387**
Mean Income	-.710**	.746**	-.478**	-.327**
English	-.909**	.928**	-.680**	-.235**
isiXhosa	.601**	-.600**	.345**	.199*
Afrikaans	-.665**	.683**	-.531**	-.152
Setswana	.355**	-.334**	.199*	.033
Sesotho	.561**	-.508**	.164	.110
Sepedi	.308**	-.391**	.696**	-.041
isiZulu	.737**	-.728**	.250**	.376**
Xitsonga	.439**	-.486**	.583**	.008
White	-.848**	.892**	-.624**	-.342**
Indian/Asian	-.429**	.368**	-.328**	.200*
Coloured	-.342**	.350**	-.292**	-.056
Black African	.945**	-.962**	.716**	.221*
Median Age	-.778**	.806**	-.551**	-.281**

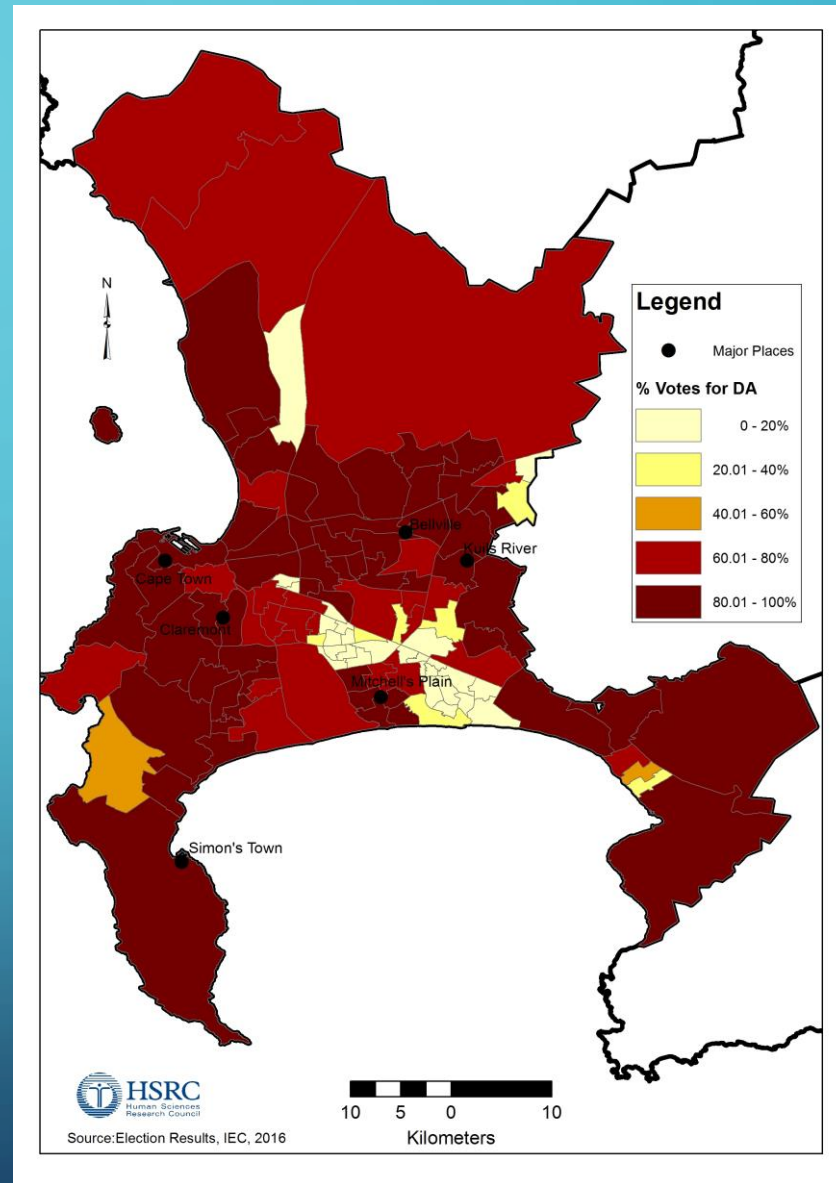
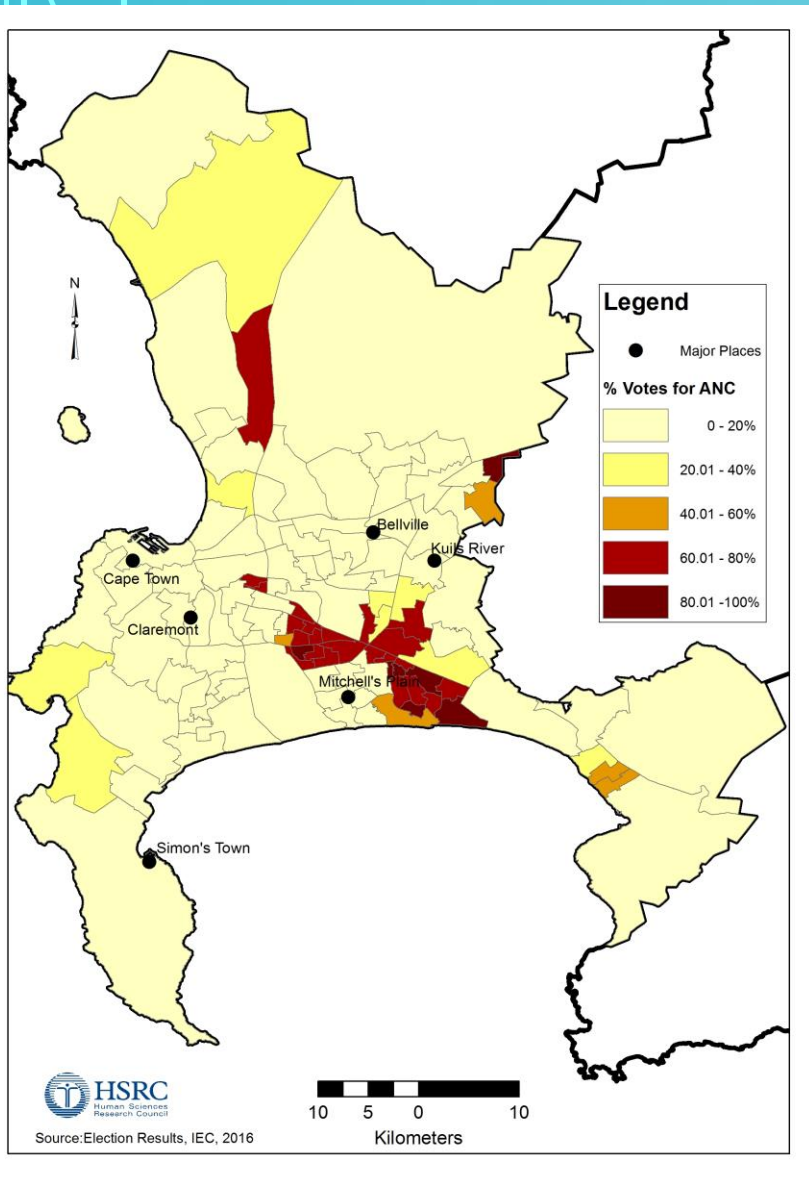
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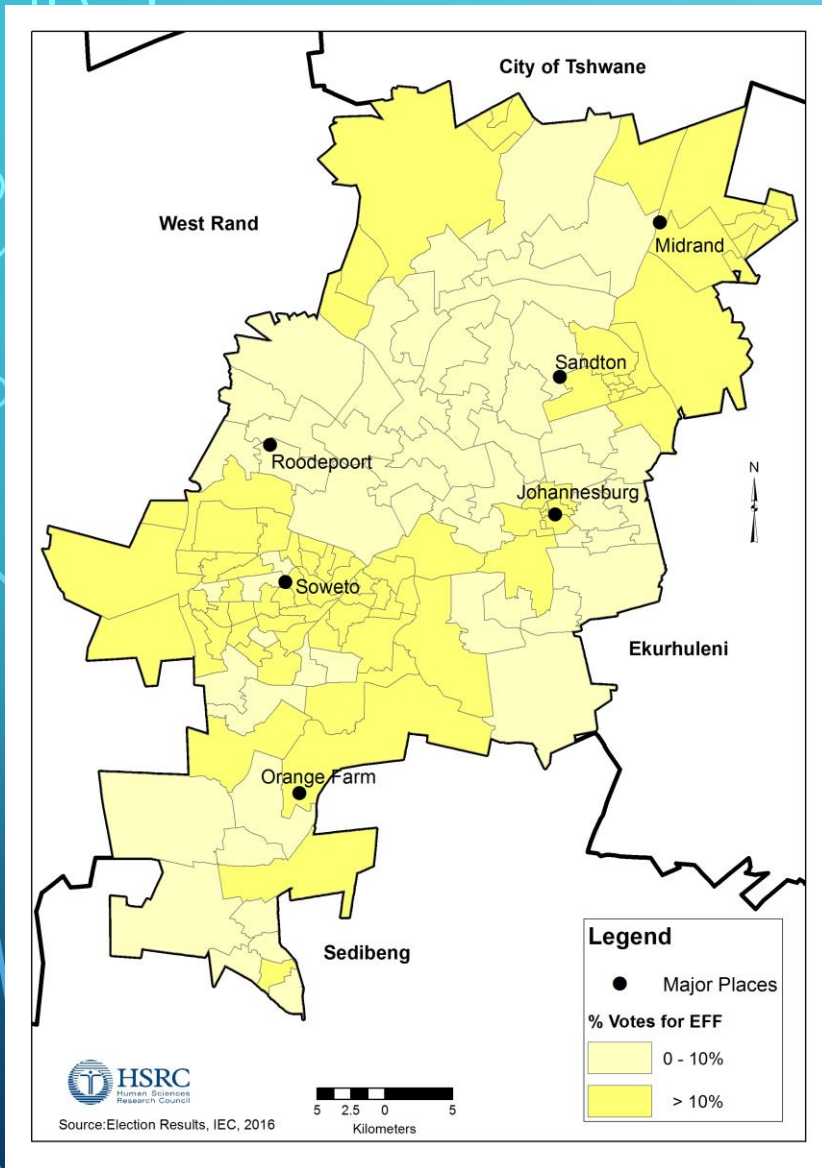
JOHANNESBURG



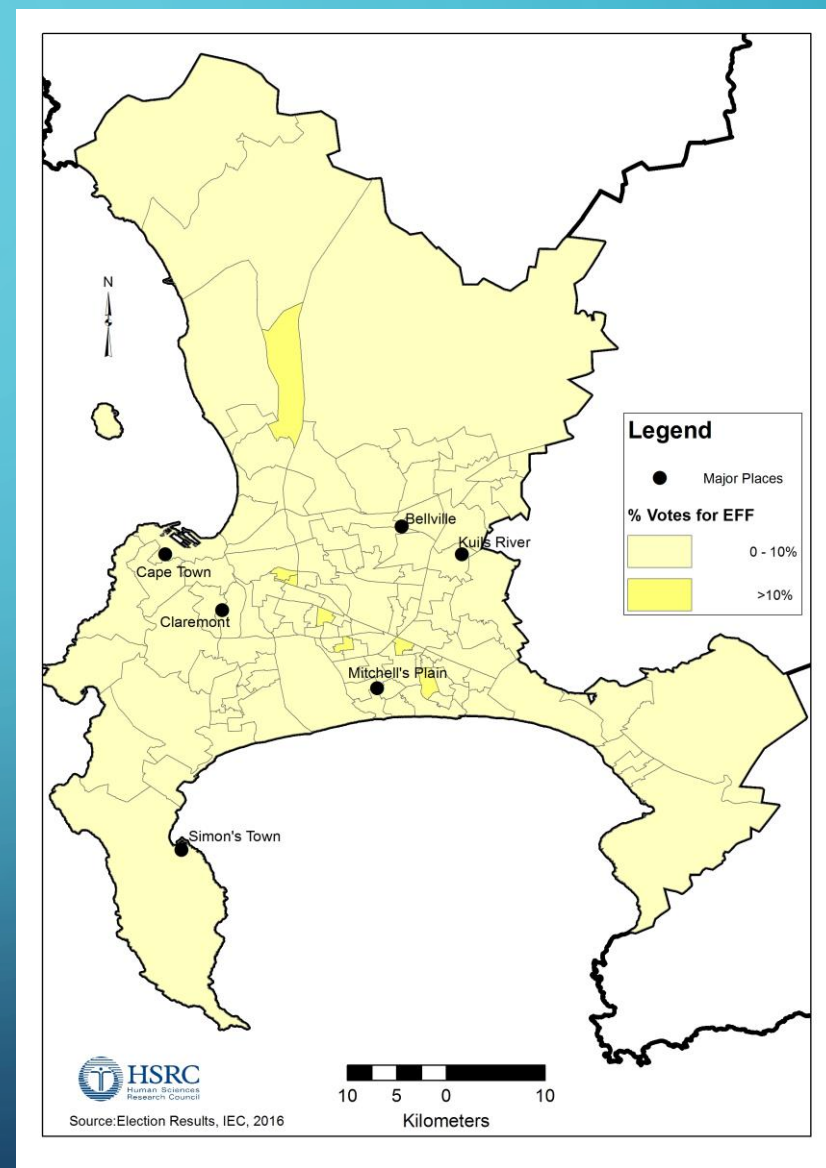
CAPE TOWN



JOHANNESBURG EFF



CAPE TOWN EFF



JOHANNESBURG – BEST & WORST WARDS BY PARTY PERFORMANCE

	ANC	DA	EFF	Other
Best	>78% 15. Phiri 130. Emdeni South 52. Emdeni North 4. Orange Farm North 36. Mofolo North	>86% 126. Weltevreden Park 99. Linden 83. Wilro Park 89. Constantia Park 106. Bryanston	>25% 111. Ivory Park North 107. Alexandra Central 95. Diepsloot Central 113. Diepsloot South 80. Ivory Park South	>29% 65. Denver 58. Homestead Park 61. Jeppestown 75. Alexandra South West 47. Dobsonville East- Mofolo North
Worst	<9% 83. Wilro Park 126. Weltevreden Park 99. Linden 101. Golden Harvest 89. Constantia Park	<6% 77. Ivory Park N-East 24. Freedom Park 78. Ivory Park Central 50. Bambayi 131. Bloubosrand	<3% 83. Wilro Park 99. Linden 89. Constantia Park 18. Eldorado Park East 126. Weltevreden Park	<2% 23. Glenvista 103. Morningside 101. Golden Harvest 132. Vorna Valley 94. Witpoort

CAPE TOWN – BEST & WORST WARDS BY PARTY PERFORMANCE

	ANC	DA	EFF	Other
Best	>82% 101. Joostenburg 91. Nonkqubela 98. Harare 95. Khayelitsha T3-V2 93. Solomon Mahlangu	>94% 5. Edgemean 21. Eversdal 70. Platteklouf 103. Bonnie Brook 73. Plumstead	>10% 104. Morningstar A.H. 34. Brown's Farm East 51. Langa West 92. Khayelitsha West 41. Gugulethu North	>17% 76. Hanover Park 46. Weltevreden Valley 87. Ikwezi Park 33. Surrey Estate 47. Woodlands
Worst	<1% 81. Rocklands 2. Boston 77. Oranjezicht 107. Parklands 21. Eversdal	<6% 98. Harare 33. Weltevreden Valley 34. Brown's Farm East 91. Nonkqubela 90. Mew Way North	<1% 21. Eversdal 112. Durbanville 15. Helderberg 70. Platteklouf 23. Blouberg	<2% 101. Joostenburg 54. Camps Bay-Robben Island 69. Capri-Masiphumelele 71. Tokai 88. Philippi West

EMERGING TRENDS

- **VOTING PATTERNS CONTINUE TO REFLECT THE HISTORICAL SEGREGATED RESIDENTIAL GEOGRAPHY OF JOHANNESBURG AND CAPE TOWN.**
- **SUPPORT FOR THE A.N.C. IS HIGHEST IN HISTORICALLY BLACK AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS, WITH ABOUT 10% OR LESS FOR THE D.A. AND 10% OR MORE FOR THE E.F.F.**
- **HISTORICALLY WHITE 'MIDDLE-CLASS' SUBURBS IN JOHANNESBURG THAT NOW HAVE MAJORITY BLACK AFRICAN POPULATIONS TEND TO HAVE BEEN WON BY THE D.A.**
- **INNER-CITY JHB WARDS SUCH AS HILLBROW/YEOVILLE HAVE RATIOS OF 55/20/15 (ANC/EFF/DA).**
- **THE EQUIVALENT CAPE TOWN CENTRAL WARD IS 75/10/5 (DA/ANC/EFF).**
- **BETWEEN 10% AND 25% OF VOTERS LIVING IN INFORMAL DWELLINGS ON THE URBAN PERIPHERIES SUPPORTED THE E.F.F.**