



University of the Witwatersrand

Faculty of Humanities

Political Studies

Master's Dissertation

Between Promises and Delivery: Political Party Platforms and Service
Delivery in Hammanskraal, Tshwane.

By

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Dedication

I dedicate this research to my late father, Nkhwela Mogale, my mother, Kgabo Mogale, and my beloved siblings—Melda, Betty, John, Helen, Suzan, Queen, Mogau, and Lehlogonolo—whose unwavering support and encouragement have shaped my journey from childhood to this milestone.

To my father, although you are no longer in this world, your dream of seeing me pursue education and excel in my academic career is now being fulfilled. Your legacy endures in the values and aspirations you instilled in us, and I hope to honour your memory by following the path you envisioned.

To my mother, your unwavering guidance, unconditional love, and endless support have been the cornerstone of my academic endeavours. Your selfless devotion and inspiration have shaped me into the person I am today. This research is a tribute to you—a testament to the incredible mother you are. I hope that earning this master's degree makes you proud.

To my siblings, your continuous love, sacrifices, and encouragement have played an invaluable role in shaping me into the woman I am today. For that, I am eternally grateful.

Acknowledgement

Romans 8:18 “The pain that you have been feeling can't be compared to the joy that is coming!” First and foremost, I express my deepest gratitude to God for granting me the strength and opportunity to advance my academic career to this level.

I extend my heartfelt appreciation to my late father, Nkhwela Mogale, and my mother, Kgabo Mogale. To my mother, I am forever grateful for the sacrifices you have made to support me throughout this journey. Your unwavering patience, encouragement, and constant reassurance—whether through late-night calls or voice notes during my most challenging moments—have been invaluable. During times of self-doubt when I contemplated deregistering, you remained my pillar of strength, continuously motivating me to persevere. Your unwavering presence, ensuring I had everything needed to complete this degree, has been the foundation of my success. Most importantly, thank you for being not only my mother but also my mentor throughout this academic journey.

To my sister, Queen, I sincerely appreciate your invaluable role as my editor, beginning from the proposal stage. Despite my countless last-minute emails and urgent revision requests, you remained patient and supportive. I am particularly grateful for your selflessness—amidst the excitement of your wedding preparations, you still made time to assist me with a chapter of my research just two days before your wedding. Your dedication and generosity will always be deeply cherished.

To my sisters, Suzan and Mogau, I am immensely thankful for your constant support. You diligently followed up on my progress, reminded me of my meetings with my supervisor, and encouraged me to submit my drafts on time. Your unwavering commitment to my success made this journey more manageable, and for that, I am truly grateful.

To all my siblings, thank you for your love, encouragement, and sacrifices. Your collective support has played a crucial role in my academic journey, ensuring that I could pursue my studies at one of the finest universities in the country.

I extend my profound gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Ahmed Veriava, for his insightful comments, constructive feedback, and unwavering guidance throughout my master's degree.

Your patience, even when I missed deadlines or submitted imperfect drafts, has been instrumental in my growth. Your mentorship has provided me with invaluable knowledge and shaped my academic development in ways I will always appreciate. I would also like to extend my appreciation to Dr. Albert Omolu for his guidance, support, and encouragement.

To my friends and course mates, I am incredibly grateful for your support, advice, and encouragement. To my friend, Pearl Chepape you provided a listening ear, reassurance, and words of wisdom during my moments of self-doubt—your kindness and strength have helped me navigate this challenging journey. To my course mates, Nkosana Sithole, Ofentse Ramudzuli and Siphosethu Ndlovu thank you for fostering a spirit of motivation and perseverance. Our shared experiences, mutual encouragement, and commitment to completing our master's degree together have been both inspiring and uplifting.

I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to the people of Hammanskraal and the political officials of the City of Tshwane for their cooperation in allowing me to conduct interviews. I am equally grateful to everyone who assisted in securing participants—your support has been deeply valued.

Finally, I extend my sincere appreciation to the Wits Postgraduate Merit Scholarship for providing me with financial support through Kirsh and Skye/Friends of Australia. Your generosity has allowed me to pursue my studies without financial constraints, enabling me to focus fully on my academic and research endeavours.

Thank you all for being part of this incredible journey.

PLAGIARISM DECLARATION:

I Phomello Mogale Student number: 2694408 am a student registered for MA in Political Studies in the year 2024. I hereby declare the following: I am aware that plagiarism (the use of someone else's work without their permission and/or without acknowledging the source) is wrong. I confirm that ALL the work submitted for assessment for the above course is my unaided work except where I have explicitly indicated otherwise. I have followed the required conventions in referencing the thoughts and ideas of others. I understand that the University of the Witwatersrand may take disciplinary action against me if there is a belief that this is not my unaided work or that I have failed to acknowledge the source of the ideas or words in my writing.

Signature: P.R Mogale

Date: 27/03/2025

Declaration

I, **Phomello Mogale**, student number **2694408**, hereby declare that this dissertation, titled *"Between Promises and Delivery: Political Party Platforms and Service Delivery in Hammanskraal, Tshwane,"* submitted to the Faculty of Humanities at the **University of the Witwatersrand**, is my original work and has not been previously submitted to any university for any degree or qualification.

Student Signature: PR Mogale

Date: 27/03/2025

Abstract

This study examines the relationship between service delivery and party-political platforms in the City of Tshwane, with a specific focus on the township of Hammanskraal. Political parties frequently make promises to enhance public services; however, townships and rural areas continue to experience infrastructure challenges, governance inefficiencies, and corruption, all of which hinder service delivery progress. This research investigates Hammanskraal residents' perspectives on service delivery in relation to the declarations and commitments made by major political parties during election campaigns.

The study employs inductive thematic analysis within the theoretical framework of accountability and political trust in service delivery, drawing on Principal-Agent Theory, Political Trust Theory, and Social Contract Theory. The analysis explores residents' perceptions of political party commitments and their outcomes, with a particular emphasis on the 2016 and 2021 local government elections.

Four key themes emerged from the study, identified through interviews with residents and political representatives, as well as an analysis of political party platforms, including manifestos and policy documents. The findings indicate a significant gap between residents' lived experiences and the promises made by political parties during election campaigns. Political instability, corruption, and persistent water scarcity were identified as major contributors to deteriorating service delivery conditions. Moreover, residents expressed widespread distrust in political parties and representatives, perceiving election campaigns as instruments for political gain rather than genuine efforts to implement sustainable governance improvements.

The study concludes that service delivery failures will persist unless governance reforms are undertaken, which are essential to enhancing democratic participation and restoring public trust in political leadership. The research recommends strengthening infrastructure development and implementing targeted service delivery reforms to improve governance effectiveness.

Keywords: Service delivery, Local government, Governance, Political party platforms, City of Tshwane, Hammanskraal.

Acronyms

SA- South Africa

NP-National Party

GNU- Government of National Unity

NDP- National Development Plan

ANC- African National Congress

EFF- Economic Freedom Fighters

DA- Democratic Alliance

FF+- Freedom Front Plus

PA- Patriotic Alliance

IFP- Inkatha Freedom Party

COPE- Congress of The People

ACDP- African Christian Democracy Party

BEE- Black Economic Empowerment

MDB- Municipal Demarcation Board

EPWP- Expanded Public Works Programme

COGTA- Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study and Research Problem

The City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, located in northern Pretoria, South Africa, consists of ten townships, including Hammanskraal (see Figure 1). As one of the largest metropolitan municipalities in the country, Tshwane is characterised by both well-developed urban areas and underdeveloped townships, reflecting historical spatial inequalities (Stats SA, 2022). Hammanskraal, with an estimated population of 21,345 (Stats SA, 2022), holds significant historical and socio-economic importance.

Established during the apartheid era as a segregated settlement for Black South Africans, Hammanskraal continues to experience systemic marginalisation and inadequate service delivery (Senganga, 2008). The legacy of spatial segregation persists, manifesting in limited economic opportunities, poor infrastructure, and insufficient access to basic services. Despite its incorporation into the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality under the Municipal Demarcation Act, aimed at enhancing governance and service delivery, socio-economic disparities and rapid population growth have placed substantial strain on municipal resources.

The 1998 White Paper on Local Government emphasises the role of municipalities in fostering community participation, improving service provision, and enhancing accountability (Singo, 2012). However, local government institutions, particularly in historically marginalised areas such as Hammanskraal, continue to face challenges in fulfilling these mandates. Recurring issues such as water scarcity, governance inefficiencies, and political instability contribute to persistent service delivery failures.

Political parties frequently campaign on promises to improve public services, yet these commitments often do not translate into tangible improvements. This study examines the relationship between political party platforms and service delivery in Hammanskraal, focusing on residents' perspectives on whether electoral promises align with lived realities. The research draws on Principal-Agent Theory, Political Trust Theory, and Social Contract Theory to explore how governance structures and political commitments shape service delivery outcomes, particularly in the 2016 and 2021 local government elections.

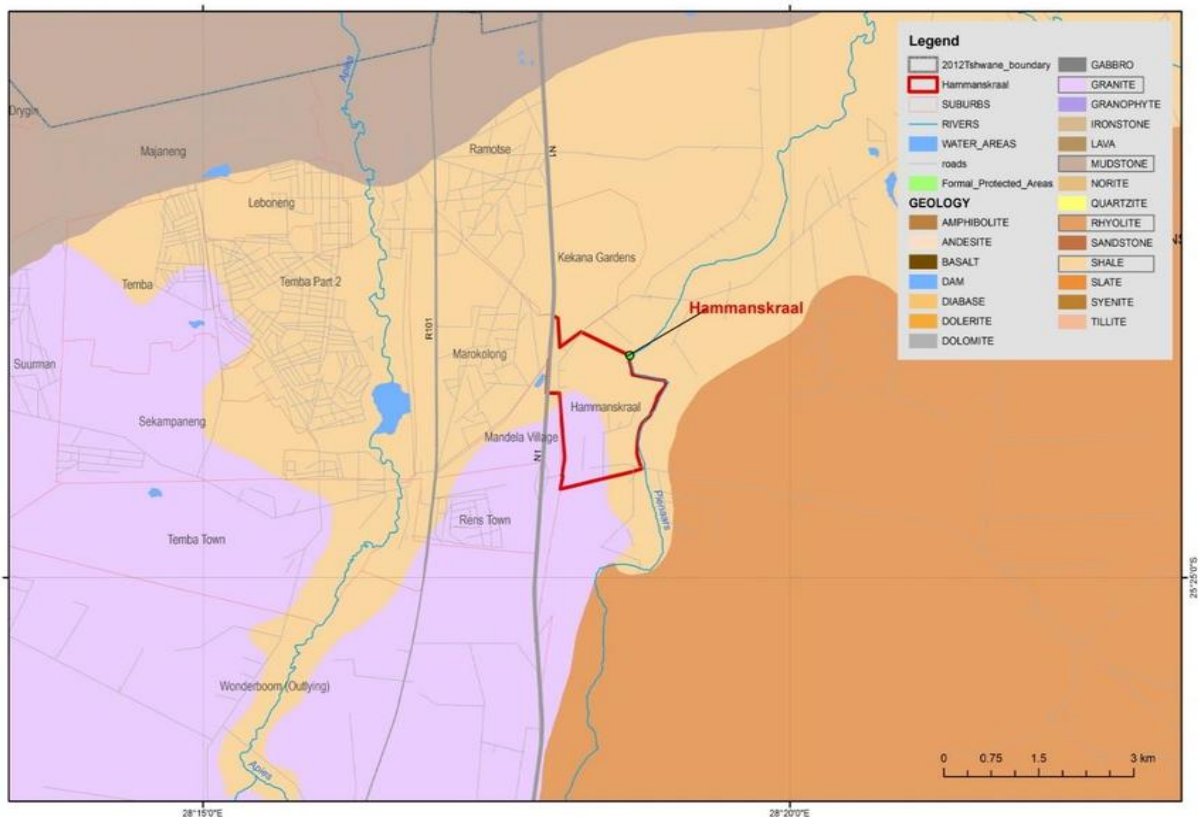


Figure 1 Hammanskraal Geological Map (Mohlala, 2016)

Hammanskraal faces a pressing challenge in the form of a persistent water crisis. For decades, residents have struggled with access to clean and safe water due to severe contamination at the Rooiwal Wastewater Treatment Plant. Despite numerous assurances from provincial and local governments to address this issue, little progress has been made. As a result, residents remain vulnerable to severe health risks, further exacerbating their distrust in governance. Beyond the water crisis, Hammanskraal also grapples with inadequate waste management, housing shortages, and deteriorating infrastructure. The township's roads are poorly maintained, housing remains insufficient to meet growing demand, and waste collection services are irregular. These failures in service delivery have intensified widespread dissatisfaction among residents, prompting frequent public protests as a means of demanding accountability.

Protests in Hammanskraal have become a recurring mechanism through which residents express grievances and frustrations regarding local government inefficiencies. These demonstrations also reflect broader failures of political parties to fulfil electoral promises, particularly in relation to essential services. In the 2016 and 2021 local government elections,

the African National Congress (ANC), Democratic Alliance (DA), and Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) each pledged to address these pressing issues. However, many of these commitments remain unfulfilled, further eroding public trust in the political system.

The quality of service delivery directly impacts the lives of township residents. In South Africa, service backlogs persist, and access to basic necessities—such as water, sanitation, and waste removal—remains critical to the well-being and development of communities. Ensuring the delivery of these essential services is a fundamental responsibility of political leaders, as they are entrusted with addressing public needs through effective governance. Political parties, therefore, play a crucial role in articulating their service delivery plans through electoral platforms. However, a significant gap often exists between these political pledges and the lived experiences of residents. Mamokhere (2019) asserts that service delivery remains one of the greatest governance challenges of the 21st century. The disconnect between political promises and real-life service delivery outcomes in Hammanskraal underscores a fundamental flaw in South Africa's democratic process. Political platforms shape public expectations, and the failure to translate election commitments into tangible outcomes undermines government legitimacy and accountability.

This disconnect is not unique to Hammanskraal but reflects broader systemic challenges within South Africa's local government framework. According to Dube (2022), service delivery failures in Hammanskraal have attracted significant public scrutiny in recent years. Against this backdrop, this study explores the intersection between service delivery and political party platforms during election campaigns to assess the extent to which election promises align with citizen expectations and actual service delivery outcomes in Tshwane (Hammanskraal). The central research question guiding this study is: **"To what extent are political party platforms and actual practice responsive to the service delivery expectations and concerns of residents?"** This question serves as the foundation for examining the gap between political commitments, residents' perspectives, and the realities of service provision in Tshwane. The study argues that there is a critical disjuncture between the promises political parties make during election campaigns and the actual service delivery outcomes experienced by residents of Hammanskraal. This disconnect undermines political trust and democratic accountability in local governance. Furthermore, this study looks at how political parties make promises during elections but often do not follow through. For instance, the struggles that the people of Hammanskraal are facing regarding service delivery even though parties promised to resolve

the issues reflect political incompetence. The study proves that this is why many people have lost trust in politicians and feel like they are not being heard.

The study’s findings reveal a significant disparity between political parties' service delivery promises, their actual governance practices, and the lived experiences of Hammanskraal residents. Through inductive thematic analysis, common challenges faced by residents were identified, particularly concerning access to essential services such as water and sanitation. Additionally, corruption and unemployment emerged as key factors contributing to service delivery failures. A comprehensive review of the literature on service delivery in South Africa, with a focus on Tshwane and Hammanskraal, was conducted. This historical analysis—spanning from the colonial and apartheid periods to the democratic era—provides insights into the longstanding challenges of municipal service provision. Furthermore, the study highlights how political parties have historically positioned service delivery within their electoral platforms. The findings also indicate that the City of Tshwane operates under a coalition government, a factor that has exacerbated service delivery challenges in Hammanskraal and other municipalities within Tshwane.

1.2. Establishment of the City of Tshwane

The City of Tshwane was officially established on 5 December 2000 following the amalgamation of 13 local councils that previously governed the Greater Pretoria area and its surrounding regions (Maluleke, 2024). The restructuring was part of post-apartheid municipal consolidation efforts, aimed at eliminating racially segregated local authorities and replacing them with democratically elected municipal councils. The City of Tshwane encompasses several major residential and administrative regions, including Akasia, Atteridgeville, Babelegi, Bronberg, Bronkhorstspuit, Centurion, Crocodile River, Cullinan, Eersterust, Ekangala, Elands River, Ga-Rankuwa, Hammanskraal, Laudium, Mamelodi, Pretoria, Rayton, Refilwe, Rethabiseng, Roodeplaat, Soshanguve, Temba, Winterveld, and Zithobeni (City of Tshwane, 2024). Following South Africa’s first democratic local government elections in 1995, various local municipalities were consolidated into the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. The entities integrated into Tshwane included:

No.	Integrated Entity	Type
1	Town Council of Centurion	Local Council
2	Northern Pretoria Metropolitan Substructure	Metropolitan Substructure
3	City Council of Pretoria	City Council

4	Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council	Metropolitan Council
5	Crocodile River Transitional Council	Transitional Council
6	Pinaarsrivier Transitional Representative Council	Transitional Council
7	Mabopane Transitional Representative Council	Transitional Council
8	Temba Transitional Representative Council	Transitional Council
9	Hammanskraal Local Area Committee	Local Area Committee
10	Eastern Gauteng District Council	District Council
11	Western Gauteng District Council	District Council
12	Winterveld Transitional Representative Council	Transitional Council
13	Ga-Rankuwa Transitional Representative Council	Transitional Council

Table 1 Entities Integrated into the City of Tshwane During Municipal Amalgamation

(source: City of Tshwane, 2024).

According to Senoamadi (2014) in Maluleke (2024), the Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB) classified Tshwane as a Category A-Grade 6 urban municipality, in accordance with Section 4 of the Local Government Municipal Structures Act (No. 117 of 1998). This classification recognized Tshwane as a highly urbanized and self-sufficient municipality, distinct from other local government structures.

On 28 May 2008, the Government Gazette published a proclamation that expanded Tshwane's jurisdiction to incorporate the former municipalities of Dinokeng tsa Taemane and Kungwini, as well as Motsweding District Municipality (City of Tshwane, 2024). This expansion was implemented after the May 2011 local elections, increasing the geographical size of Tshwane to 6,345 km², making it one of the largest metropolitan municipalities in South Africa in terms of land area.

1.3. Motivation

One of the persistent challenges facing the South African government is the disparity between political party commitments and the actual delivery of public services. While electoral campaigns often emphasize developmental priorities, the extent to which these commitments translate into tangible improvements in service delivery remains unclear. This study examines the alignment between political party platforms, and the service delivery needs and priorities of residents in Hammanskraal.

By analysing the relationship between electoral promises and residents' lived experiences, this research seeks to assess the extent to which political parties address community concerns. The findings will contribute to a broader understanding of democratic accountability, governance effectiveness, and the responsiveness of political institutions to local service delivery challenges. Furthermore, the study will provide empirical insights into political priorities at the

local level and the electioneering strategies of political parties, thereby informing policy discussions on governance and public service improvement.

1.4. Research Questions

This study investigates whether political party platforms accurately reflect service delivery in the City of Tshwane township, specifically Hammanskraal. The research is guided by the following primary question:

- **To what extent do political party platforms align with actual service delivery practices in addressing the expectations and concerns of Hammanskraal residents?**

To comprehensively address this question, the study explores the following sub-questions:

1. From the perspective of Hammanskraal residents, to what extent are these political promises realistic and achievable in terms of effective service delivery?
2. What are the key challenges, such as resource constraints or political conflicts, that hinder the fulfilment of these service delivery commitments?

1.5. Research objectives

The study aims to:

1. Analyse the key service delivery commitments outlined in the political platforms of the three most prominent political parties during the 2016 and 2021 local government elections.
2. Examine Hammanskraal residents' perceptions of political party commitments and assess the extent to which these align with actual service delivery outcomes.
3. Identify the primary challenges that obstruct effective service delivery in Hammanskraal.
4. Propose strategies to bridge the gap between political commitments and actual service delivery outcomes.

1.6. Geographical area and Scope of the study

This study focuses on Hammanskraal, a township within the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, specifically the Kanana and Lephengville areas. The research examines political party commitments related to service delivery in the 2016 and 2021 local government elections, assessing their alignment with residents' lived experiences.

The study specifically investigates four key areas of service delivery:

- Housing
- Electricity
- Water
- Sanitation

1.7. Definitions of terms

1. **Service delivery:** Chen et al. (2014), as cited by Mguni (2018), defines service delivery as the provision of essential services such as electricity, water, land, housing, and sanitation infrastructure.
2. **Local government:** Local government is one of the three spheres of government, alongside the provincial and national spheres (Civics Academy, n.d.).
3. **Informal settlement:** UN-Habitat (2015), as cited by Aygabeng et al. (2022), defines informal settlements as suburban areas where residents often lack security of tenure for the land or dwellings they occupy. These areas are typically deprived of essential services, city infrastructure, and adequate housing that complies with planning and building regulations.
4. **Metropolitan municipality:** Defined by the *Local Government: Municipal Structures Act, 1998 (Act 27 of 1998)* and the *Municipal Demarcation Act, 1998 (Act 27 of 1998)* as large urban settlements with high population densities, diversified and complex economies, and a high degree of functional integration across a larger geographic area than a standard municipality (Singo, 2012).
5. **Basic services:** The provision of essential needs such as water, food, electricity, energy, shelter, sanitation, healthcare, and education to improve people's quality of life.
6. **Decentralisation:** The transfer of authority from a central government to a sub-national entity (Ribot, 2002).
7. **Fiscal decentralisation:** The process of decentralizing fiscal resources and revenue-generating powers (Ribot, 2002).
8. **Intergovernmental relations:** The relationships and interactions between different levels of government (national, provincial, and local), focusing on the sharing of responsibilities and resources (Malan, 2012).
9. **Coalition government:** A form of governance in which multiple political parties collaborate to form a government and develop shared policy decisions (Ribot, 2022).

10. **Grassroots level:** The individuals and subnational institutions located further from the national government (Mpangalase, 2020).
11. **Community:** A group of people living in a defined geographical area, regarded as a collective entity (Godsell, 2015).
12. **Hung municipality:** A situation in which no political party wins more than 50% of the municipal seats, necessitating the formation of a coalition government (COGTA, 2021).
13. **Babelegi:** An industrial growth point established in Hammanskraal in 1971 (Godsell, 2015).

1.8. Outline of the study

The study The study comprises six chapters:

- **Chapter 1: Introduction**

This chapter provides the background of the study, outlines the establishment of the City of Tshwane, defines the research problem, and presents the key research questions guiding the investigation.

- **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

This chapter critically analyses existing literature on service delivery and political party platforms in Hammanskraal, Tshwane, and South Africa.

- **Chapter 3: Methodology**

This chapter details the research methodology, including research design, data collection processes, and analytical techniques. It also presents the theoretical framework underpinning the study.

- **Chapter 4: Coalition Politics and Governance Challenges in Tshwane**

This chapter examines coalition governments in Tshwane, exploring municipal structures and the historical-political context of the involved political parties.

- **Chapter 5: Findings and Discussion**

This chapter presents and analyses the research findings, including data from interviews with residents and political representatives. It provides a thematic interpretation of political platforms and governance dynamics.

- **Chapter 6: Summary, Conclusion, and Recommendations**

This chapter summarizes key findings, draws conclusions, and offers recommendations for enhancing service delivery and governance. It also suggests areas for future research

1.9. Conclusion

This chapter provided a summary of the study, outlining the study's context and its approach to answering the research questions. It began with a discussion of the study's background and research problem and then introduced the framework of the study, explaining the focus of each chapter.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

The literature review is a crucial component of any research study, providing a theoretical foundation and contextual background for the investigation (Mpangalasane, 2020). This study specifically examines relevant literature on service delivery and political party platforms, focusing on South Africa's electoral context. By reviewing previous research, this chapter sheds light on key issues related to service delivery, particularly during election campaigns. It highlights persistent gaps in understanding service delivery failures, electoral promises, and policy implementation in South Africa.

This chapter critically examines existing scholarship and research on service delivery and political party platforms, with a particular emphasis on local government and elections.

Post-apartheid governance in South Africa was expected to address historical inequalities by ensuring the provision of essential services such as water, housing, and electricity. However, systemic inefficiencies remain a challenge. Naidoo and Kuye (2005) argue that the post-1994 governance structure was inadequate in meeting the service delivery needs of South Africans. Persistent issues such as bureaucratic inefficiencies, mismanagement, and corruption have exacerbated service delivery failures, often leading to protests (Alexander, 2010).

Recent studies (Kariuki et al., 2023) have examined the disconnect between policy intentions and implementation, focusing on municipal governance and decentralisation. The case of Hammanskraal illustrates ongoing struggles with electricity, housing, water supply, and infrastructure, despite repeated electoral promises. Similarly, Booysen (2007) highlights the gap between political promises made during election campaigns and actual governance outcomes, particularly in ANC-led municipalities. Political manifestos of key parties provide further insight into their approaches to service delivery. The Democratic Alliance (DA) prioritises efficient governance and anti-corruption measures, whereas the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) advocate for radical economic transformation, including free basic services and land redistribution (Mathekga, 2006).

The emergence of new political parties such as the EFF has influenced local governance dynamics. Nirmala and Kapesa (2024) discuss the role of political contestation in driving

public engagement and policy shifts. However, literature remains limited on how these political shifts impact smaller communities like Hammanskraal, where formal political structures intersect with traditional governance systems.

This literature review explores key themes through the following subheadings:

- The history of service delivery and electoral campaigns in South Africa
- The current state of service delivery in South Africa
- Protests and public participation in local government
- Political platforms as tools for electoral campaigning
- Service delivery in Tshwane and Hammanskraal
- Decentralisation and its effects on local governance
- The intersection of unemployment, corruption, and service delivery challenges
- The politics of coalition government in Tshwane

2.2. Political Party Platforms and Service Delivery

The effectiveness of political party platforms in addressing service delivery in South Africa remains a subject of significant discourse. Political parties regularly present their plans for improving public services in their manifestos during election campaigns. However, these platforms often face challenges in aligning their promises with practical service delivery outcomes. In this section, we explore the relationship between political party platforms and service delivery, focusing on how these platforms shape public expectations and influence electoral outcomes. Furthermore, we will analyse the political dynamics in South African local governments, particularly how electoral promises in service delivery areas such as water, sanitation, and housing are translated (or not) into reality.

2.2.1. Service Delivery and Election Campaigns.

Service delivery remains a critical issue in South Africa, with the government struggling to address backlogs at a pace that meets public expectations. Naidoo and Kuye (2005) argue that since the post-1994 democratic transition, the South African government has faced the challenge of redressing the legacies of apartheid and colonialism. Basic services were severely lacking when the African National Congress (ANC) assumed power, further exacerbating public dissatisfaction (Naidoo & Kuye, 2005). This ongoing challenge has made service

delivery a central theme in electoral campaigns, as political parties attempt to leverage public frustration to gain voter support.

One of the primary campaign strategies used by political parties is the deployment of posters, a method that has been integral to electioneering in South Africa for over two centuries (Mpofu et al., 2012). These posters serve as tools for political branding and voter persuasion, representing the candidates and their political ideologies. Mpofu et al. (2021) highlight that such posters not only promote candidates but also encourage citizens to make informed voting decisions. The transition to democracy in South Africa was built on the promise of a "better life for all," fostering public expectations that the new government would implement inclusive policies to address social challenges such as poverty, inequality, and violence (Clarke & Bassett, 2016).

However, studies indicate that while the democratic government is expected to drive economic growth and alleviate poverty, service delivery remains a pressing concern (Munslow & McLennan, 2009). The persistent impact of apartheid, coupled with financial constraints, has limited opportunities for effective service provision (Munslow & McLennan, 2009). In response to these challenges, the government introduced the White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service in 1995, aiming to enhance public service efficiency (Mpehle, 2012). The 1996 Constitution further reinforced citizens' rights to essential services such as education, healthcare, housing, water, and social security, emphasising equitable distribution (Mpehle, 2012). Despite these legislative reforms, the gap between policy intentions and service delivery outcomes remains a significant issue.

2.2.2. The Current State of South African Service Delivery.

Steyn-Kotze (2006) asserts that true liberation cannot be realised without the effective delivery of public services. Although politicians frequently pledge to improve service provision, significant gaps and challenges persist. According to Makgopela and Radikonyana (2023), the South African Constitution enshrines every citizen's right to basic services, yet their accessibility remains inconsistent. Research by Makole et al. (2022) and Phukubje and Mathe (2021) underscores the intricate relationship between service delivery and citizens' lived experiences. Makole et al. (2022) argue that one of the primary challenges is the misalignment between national development plans and local municipal implementation, leading to a gap between political manifesto promises and tangible service delivery outcomes.

Phukubje and Mathe (2021) emphasise the necessity of citizen participation in governance to ensure effective service provision. They argue that meaningful public engagement is essential for responsive governance, as a lack of citizen involvement exacerbates the disconnect between governmental policies and the lived realities of communities. Councillors and elected officials must actively listen to their constituents to address their concerns effectively. However, Dube (2022) notes that in densely populated areas such as Hammanskraal, meaningful engagement between political representatives and citizens is challenging. This necessitates a bottom-up approach to service delivery, where key community leaders play an active role in identifying and addressing service-related issues.

For political parties to fulfil their electoral promises, they must accurately understand and respond to the needs of their constituencies. Phago (2012) highlights the importance of public participation in shaping service delivery strategies, arguing that an inclusive approach ensures that citizens' rights are upheld. Political parties, therefore, bear the responsibility of translating their campaign promises into actionable policies rather than merely using service delivery as a campaign rhetoric tool.

The politicisation of service delivery in South Africa has further complicated its implementation. Munslow and McLennan (2009) observe that service provision reflects the contradictions of the country's transition from apartheid to democracy. Despite notable democratic gains, South Africa continues to grapple with high unemployment (estimated at 33.5% in 2024), widespread inequality, political instability, and persistent poverty (estimated at 62.6% in 2023) (Mamokhere, 2019). This has fuelled nationwide protests, with citizens frequently taking to the streets to express their dissatisfaction with inadequate service delivery. Mamokhere (2019) identifies service delivery as one of the most pressing challenges facing South Africa in the 21st century.

Many municipalities continue to struggle with basic service provision, reflecting systemic inefficiencies and deep-seated inequalities. Kotze and Taylor (2010) report that disparities persist in access to essential services such as water, sanitation, waste removal, and electricity, disproportionately affecting poorer communities. A decade into South African democracy, these inequalities remained stark, with black communities bearing the brunt of service deficiencies. For instance, in 2014, the Thabazimbi Municipality in Limpopo was dissolved

due to its failure to provide adequate public services (Neethling, 2014). This case underscores the broader governance challenges that hinder effective service delivery at the municipal level. In conclusion, while South Africa has made strides in addressing historical injustices, service delivery remains a deeply entrenched issue that continues to shape political discourse and citizen engagement. Without significant structural reforms, enhanced public participation, and greater governmental accountability, the gap between policy promises and service delivery realities is unlikely to close.

2.2.3. Service Delivery in Tshwane and Hammanskraal

Several studies have demonstrated that cities such as Tshwane continue to reflect apartheid-era spatial planning, which significantly impacts development and service delivery (Dube, 2022). Tshwane operates within a historically entrenched governance structure that has faced service delivery challenges since the apartheid era—challenges that persist in the present democratic dispensation (Dube, 2022). According to the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA), many metropolitan municipalities, including the City of Tshwane, struggle to fulfil their constitutionally mandated responsibilities effectively (Dube, 2022). As a result, areas such as Hammanskraal continue to experience severe service delivery deficits, including a lack of access to clean water, unreliable electricity supply, and high unemployment rates.

One of the most persistent issues in Hammanskraal has been the water crisis, which has endured for decades and appears to be worsening (Dube, 2022). Located in the northern part of the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality in Gauteng, South Africa, Hammanskraal has a complex history rooted in apartheid-era forced removals and the segregation of Black South Africans. This legacy has left the area grappling with entrenched socio-economic challenges, including poor infrastructure, inadequate public services, and a lack of sustainable economic opportunities (Dube, 2022). Despite its geographical proximity to Pretoria, Hammanskraal has remained relatively underdeveloped, leading to growing dissatisfaction among residents regarding service delivery failures.

In recent years, Hammanskraal has garnered increased public and media attention due to its persistent struggles, particularly concerning access to clean water and sanitation. Repeated service delivery protests have taken place, reflecting the frustrations of residents over the government's inadequate response to their basic needs (Dube, 2022). The political dynamics

within Tshwane exacerbate these challenges, as multiple political parties have made service delivery commitments but have repeatedly failed to meet them. The ongoing difficulties in Hammanskraal exemplify broader systemic failures affecting many townships across South Africa, where historical inequalities continue to shape present-day governance and service provision.

The incorporation of Hammanskraal into the City of Tshwane following the Municipal Demarcation Board's decision in 2000 has done little to address these persistent service delivery issues (Dube, 2022). The metro faces multiple constraints, including financial limitations, governance inefficiencies, and a lack of engagement with Black residents. Additionally, a significant portion of land within the metro remains under the control of traditional authorities, further complicating urban planning and service delivery efforts. According to Godwin in Dube (2022), service delivery in Hammanskraal presents a significant challenge for Tshwane, as evidenced by ongoing water, sanitation, and road infrastructure deficits widely reported in the media.

The Hammanskraal water crisis, in particular, has reached critical levels, with studies confirming that water in the area remains unfit for human consumption (Makgopela & Radikonyana, 2023). Access to potable water is a fundamental human right, yet Hammanskraal residents are systematically denied this essential resource. Makgopela (2023) underscores that clean water is indispensable for human survival, and the failure to ensure its provision constitutes a serious human rights violation.

Beyond basic human welfare, the persistent water shortages in Hammanskraal also have far-reaching economic implications. Mnguni and Leonard (2024) highlight that water scarcity negatively affects key industries, including tourism and hospitality, which are essential to local economic development. Inadequate service delivery compromises businesses' ability to meet customer expectations, resulting in economic stagnation and job losses. This phenomenon is particularly evident in Hammanskraal, where water shortages have hampered the tourism and hospitality sectors, exacerbating already high unemployment rates (Mnguni & Leonard, 2024). The severity of the crisis has been widely reported in major news outlets. For instance, *Mail & Guardian* (2024) exposed how years of government neglect have led to dire conditions for residents, further illustrating the deep-seated governance and service delivery failures in the area.

2.2.4. Protests and Public Participation in Local Government

Service delivery failures often trigger social unrest, with citizens resorting to protests as a means of expressing their grievances. These protests frequently stem from political parties' failure to fulfil their electoral promises, particularly in marginalised communities. According to Mpofu et al. (2021), service delivery protests predominantly occur in impoverished areas rather than affluent ones. The local government faces substantial challenges, with service delivery deficiencies—particularly in water, electricity, and sanitation—being the most pressing issues affecting disadvantaged citizens (Mpofu et al., 2021). In response, citizens actively engage in local governance through protests, using these demonstrations as a mechanism to hold political leaders accountable for their promises.

Booyesen (2007) argues that service delivery protests have become a fundamental aspect of political participation in South Africa. Alexander (2010) further supports this assertion, noting that between 2006 and 2007—during the post-Mbeki era—the country experienced a surge in protests linked to service delivery failures. Research by Steyn-Kotze (2006) and Mpofu et al. (2021) highlights a pattern in which citizens protest against ineffective governance, particularly during election cycles. Booyesen (2007) specifically notes that the 2006 local government elections were marked by widespread protests related to service delivery failures, a trend that persisted into the 2016 elections. Similarly, Steyn-Kotze (2006) reports that protests during the 2004 and 2006 municipal elections were aimed at holding leaders accountable for governance shortcomings.

During the 2019 elections, service delivery concerns remained a central issue, leading to continued public demonstrations (Mpofu et al., 2021). Mpangalasane (2020) describes these protests as reflections of widespread dissatisfaction with local government performance, particularly in addressing service delivery challenges. The 2016 local government elections marked a significant shift in South Africa's political landscape, as no single party secured an outright victory in key metropolitan municipalities such as Tshwane, Johannesburg, and Ekurhuleni, leading to the formation of coalition governments (Mpangalasane, 2020). However, coalition governance has not necessarily improved service delivery, as many residents remain dissatisfied with the quality of municipal services.

According to Mpangalasane (2020), public perception of local government corruption remains a critical issue, with fiscal transparency reports indicating that 49% of residents believe councillors engage in corrupt activities. At the same time, some citizens acknowledge that certain councillors have made efforts to improve service delivery under coalition governance. Nonetheless, addressing governance challenges and achieving meaningful service delivery improvements within coalition structures remains a slow and complex process.

These protests not only highlight the broader governance crisis at the local level but also expose the stark disparities in service provision between affluent and impoverished areas in South Africa. Alexander (2010) describes these protests as part of the "Rebellion of the Poor," emphasising that local demonstrations primarily emerge from underprivileged communities. Mpehle (2012) argues that increasing public participation in policymaking is essential to addressing these governance challenges and ensuring a more inclusive approach to service delivery.

Alodat et al. (2023) stress the importance of political participation in democratic societies, as it allows citizens to hold elected representatives accountable and influence decision-making processes. Forms of political participation include joining political parties, engaging with elected officials, voting, and attending political rallies (Alodat et al., 2023). However, recent trends indicate declining public trust in political institutions and increased scepticism towards political parties, leading to reduced engagement in conventional political participation methods (Alodat et al., 2023).

Twala (2014) asserts that election campaigns often raise public expectations, sometimes creating false perceptions that all electoral promises will be fulfilled post-election. Consequently, protests have emerged as a critical tool for influencing councillors' performance. According to Twala (2014), protestors frequently express frustration over the unresponsiveness of municipal officials and councillors, further highlighting the disconnection between political representatives and the communities they serve.

2.2.5. The use of Political Platforms as a way of Campaigning.

Political platforms serve as strategic tools that political parties utilise during election campaigns to communicate their promises, priorities, and policies to the electorate. According to Makaanise (2023), political organisations at both local and national government levels employ various communication methods to enhance their electoral strategies. These platforms aim to persuade voters by outlining how a party intends to address societal challenges.

The key political platforms commonly used during election campaigns include:

- Party manifestos
- Election debates and speeches
- Media campaigns
- Public rallies
- Campaign flyers and posters

These platforms serve to inform and engage citizens on pressing issues and proposed solutions. Political advertising, through posters and manifestos, plays a significant role in influencing voter decisions regarding party and candidate selection (Mpofu et al., 2021). Sharndama and Mohammed (2013), as cited by Makaanise (2023), define a poster as a monologue that presents an anecdote, testimonial, or proclamation, with a clear modality distinction.

Among these platforms, political manifestos are the most commonly used in election campaigns. Phago (2012) asserts that manifestos articulate the proposed programmes of action that political parties intend to implement once elected to office. Therefore, political parties must thoroughly understand the challenges faced by local governments and outline feasible solutions in their campaigns. Election periods require meticulous planning, wherein parties develop strategic policies that align with the aspirations of the electorate.

Sebake (2021) emphasises that voters' aspirations form the foundation upon which political parties develop their manifestos to effectively engage in the electoral process. Furthermore, political advertising, such as television advertisements, must not only communicate key messages but also resonate with voters on an emotional level to ensure their needs and expectations are acknowledged (Ridout & Searles, 2011). This strategic communication approach enhances voter engagement and influences electoral outcomes.

2.2.6. Decentralisation Effects on Local Government.

Decentralisation has been introduced in many African countries, including South Africa, as a mechanism to strengthen local governance and foster public participation. Morell, as cited in Yuliani (2004), defines decentralisation as a governance approach that enhances the inclusion of local governments and promotes civic engagement in decision-making. Mokgopo (2017) argues that South Africa's local government is the only governmental sphere that operates within a decentralised system. Additionally, decentralisation is closely linked to democratic governance, sustainable development, and improved service delivery.

Decentralisation plays a critical role in service delivery and local governance by enabling a more democratic and participatory government structure. Reddy and Govender (2013) argue that the decentralisation process seeks to empower local communities by involving them in policymaking and governance. This participatory model ensures that essential public services, such as water supply, electricity, and sanitation, are effectively managed at the local level.

Intergovernmental relations are a fundamental aspect of governance in South Africa, ensuring that democracy is upheld across the three spheres of government: national, provincial, and local. Munslow and McLennan (2009) highlight that these spheres have distinct, yet interconnected responsibilities aimed at enhancing service delivery. The national government serves as the central authority, while provincial governments (comprising nine provinces) and local governments (consisting of 284 municipalities) function as subnational institutions. These three levels of governance must collaborate effectively to address challenges related to service delivery.

Municipalities play a crucial role in the provision of local services. According to Mokgopo (2017), following the abolition of apartheid, South Africa adopted a decentralised local government system that granted municipalities greater autonomy in managing their functions and service provision in both rural and urban areas. Consequently, the division of authority among the three spheres of government created a framework for decentralised governance.

South Africa's decentralisation is both political (democratic) and administrative (institutional), to improve local government efficiency. However, challenges persist, particularly in disadvantaged municipalities. Reddy and Govender (2013) note that the success of decentralisation is contingent upon the central government's fairness, accountability, and legitimacy. Similarly, Munslow and McLennan (2009) argue that effective decentralisation

requires robust accountability mechanisms to mitigate issues such as corruption and governance failures.

Despite its advantages, decentralisation often encounters obstacles that hinder service delivery. Mokgopo (2017) observes that some municipalities struggle with operational inefficiencies, leading to dysfunctional governance structures. This challenge directly impacts service delivery, limiting the effectiveness of local government institutions. The 1996 Constitution of South Africa mandates that local governments be financially self-sufficient and autonomous, enabling them to generate economic opportunities and raise revenues independently (Mokgopo, 2017). However, despite this constitutional mandate, local governments remain heavily reliant on national and provincial governments for financial support and policy direction (Singo, 2012).

Mpehle (2012) similarly argues that the distribution of municipal funds is highly centralised, with the national government serving as the primary source of financial resources. Naidoo and Kuye (2005) identify a key challenge at the local government level: the persistent lack of adequate funding for service delivery and infrastructure maintenance. Cameron (2014) concurs, stating that local governments face financial constraints that undermine their ability to deliver and redistribute services effectively.

A case study of Tshwane Municipality, as analysed by Dube (2022), illustrates the impact of financial limitations on service delivery. The municipality faced severe financial constraints, particularly in the provision of essential services to communities in Hammanskraal. Due to limited financial support from the national government, Tshwane struggled to maintain basic service delivery, exacerbating social and economic challenges. This situation highlights the broader issue of local government dependency on national funding, which often restricts municipal autonomy and efficiency.

Dube (2022) further asserts that smaller municipalities tend to have better mechanisms for holding officials accountable. In contrast, larger municipalities, such as Hammanskraal, face difficulties in ensuring political accountability and responsiveness. These challenges weaken the effectiveness of local government institutions, ultimately diminishing their capacity to provide essential public services.

Munslow and McLennan (2009) emphasise that flaws in fiscal decentralisation policies significantly impact government effectiveness. Poorly structured fiscal policies contribute to inefficiencies in policy implementation, reducing the ability of local governments to meet the needs of their constituents. As a result, the decentralisation process, while intended to enhance local governance, often falls short due to inadequate financial resources, governance weaknesses, and a lack of effective accountability structures.

2.2.7. The Intersections of Unemployment and Corruption as Challenges for Service Delivery.

Corruption remains a dominant issue in South Africa's administrative and political landscape. According to Hollands (2007), reports from the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) indicate that fraud and corruption involving government funds erode public confidence in democratic governance, necessitating urgent intervention. Corruption significantly impacts communities, particularly in economic and employment development. Hollands (2007) argues that corruption is often a two-way process, wherein for every corrupt official or politician who accepts a bribe, an individual or business is offering that bribe.

Poverty and unemployment are prevalent in Hammanskraal, with historical inequalities exacerbating these socio-economic challenges. Under apartheid, racial segregation in education and employment opportunities restricted economic mobility for Black South Africans (Vyas-Doorgapersad, 2024). Despite the transition to democracy, South Africa continues to struggle with achieving economic equality and poverty alleviation. Everatt (2008) noted that fourteen years after democracy, South Africa still lacked a comprehensive and sustainable anti-poverty strategy, a situation that arguably persists today. Many residents of Hammanskraal live in informal settlements, grappling with high levels of unemployment and limited economic opportunities. The potential for economic growth through tourism remains largely untapped, as many residents are unaware of its benefits. Steyn-Kotze (2006) highlights that marginalised communities frequently face unemployment, poverty, and inadequate or non-existent basic services, which directly affect areas like Hammanskraal.

The inefficiencies in policy implementation further contribute to unemployment and poor service delivery. According to Vyas-Doorgapersad (2024), gaps persist in the implementation of policies, leading to a scenario where only a small percentage of the population has access to well-paying jobs, quality education, and adequate public services. Corruption within local government exacerbates these issues. Transparency International (TI) reported that 24% of the South African public perceives local government as highly corrupt, particularly among councillors and municipal officials (Hollands, 2007). This perception weakens accountability and undermines service delivery.

Voter dissatisfaction with poor service delivery and unfulfilled political promises has led to decreased voter turnout. Many residents expect political parties to address key service delivery issues, yet when promises remain unfulfilled, they become disillusioned with the electoral process. Steyn-Kotze (2006) notes that the 2006 local government elections saw a significant abstention from voting due to frustration over poor service delivery. Similarly, Mguni and Leonard (2024) argue that water scarcity in Hammanskraal has severely impacted economic development and employment opportunities. The hospitality and tourism sectors, which rely heavily on a stable water supply, have been particularly affected, resulting in business closures and job losses. These sectors are vital for local economic development, yet their decline has contributed to Hammanskraal's persistent unemployment crisis (Mguni & Leonard, 2024).

2.2.8. The Politics of Coalition Government in Tshwane

Coalition governments play both positive and negative roles in the development of public policy (Mpangalasane, 2020). According to Mpangalasane (2020), a coalition government is “a form of government that involves multiple political parties working together to achieve united decision-making, particularly in forming a government or conceptualising diverse public policies.” In South Africa, coalition governments were traditionally more prevalent at the local (municipal) level, but they have increasingly become a reality at the national level with the establishment of the Government of National Unity (GNU). Mpangalasane (2020) highlights that coalition governments contribute to the formulation of more comprehensive and multidimensional policies due to the divergent perspectives brought by multiple political parties.

Coalition governments are formed by different political parties with the objective of achieving a common goal. Mpangalasane (2020) argues that an essential role of coalition governments is to provide multiple political parties with access to power, enabling them to participate in policy implementation and decision-making processes that drive effective service delivery at the local level. However, Setona (2023) presents a contrasting view, arguing that coalition governments are inherently complex and difficult to manage. Similarly, Mpangalasane (2020) identifies disorderliness as a key drawback of coalition governments, stemming from ideological differences between coalition partners and their distinct operational structures. These complexities can lead to challenges in policy leadership, creating uncertainty and governance instability that negatively impact communities.

Over the years, South Africa has seen a rise in coalition governments, particularly at the municipal level. Many municipalities formed coalitions after the 2016 local government elections due to hung councils (Mpangalasane, 2020). However, Setona (2023) explains that coalition governments have led to instability and political infighting among elected officials, often resulting in some municipalities being placed under administration. These political conflicts have disrupted service delivery and created uncertainty for communities reliant on municipal governance.

Chapter 7 of the South African Constitution outlines the framework for local government. However, Maluleke (2024) points out that Section 157 of the Constitution does not specify clear requirements for municipal councils to follow when forming coalition governments after elections. This legal ambiguity has posed governance challenges for coalition-led municipalities. The City of Tshwane serves as a prime example of these difficulties, as it has experienced long-standing coalition instability that has negatively affected infrastructure development and service delivery (Maluleke, 2024). Many municipalities within Tshwane have struggled to provide essential public services due to the fragile nature of coalition governments, undermining governance and diminishing public trust in elected officials. Both the 2016 and 2021 local government elections resulted in coalition governments in Tshwane, which led to ongoing governance challenges. Maluleke (2024) highlights that coalition instability in Tshwane has led to high levels of ineffectiveness, requiring urgent intervention. For instance, instability within the Democratic Alliance (DA)-led coalition resulted in the resignation of multiple mayors, further exacerbating governance challenges and service delivery failures.

2.4. Chapter Summary

This chapter provided an in-depth discussion on service delivery and the challenges faced by the community of Hammanskraal. The discussion revealed that service delivery issues are deeply rooted in historical inequalities, particularly those stemming from apartheid and colonial policies. While these issues are not unique to Hammanskraal, they disproportionately affect township and rural communities across South Africa.

The chapter also examined how political parties engage with service delivery concerns during election campaigns, often making commitments that remain unfulfilled. This failure has led to increased public dissatisfaction and service delivery protests as a means of holding political representatives accountable.

Many researchers have written about service delivery and elections in South Africa, but there is not enough research that focuses on smaller communities like Hammanskraal. This study helps close that gap by showing what local residents think and how local government and coalition politics affect their lives. Despite extensive studies on service delivery and the electoral politics in South Africa, limited research directly interrogates the disconnection between party political platforms and the lived experiences of the residents in townships like Hammanskraal. Moreover, this study fills that gap by drawing on residents' voices and exploring how coalition governance mediates these tensions.

Furthermore, the chapter explored the role of decentralisation in local governance, outlining its potential benefits as well as the challenges it presents, particularly in under-resourced municipalities. The discussion also examined the detrimental impact of corruption on service delivery, highlighting how unethical practices within local government continue to undermine development efforts. Additionally, the chapter addressed the intersection of unemployment and service delivery, emphasising how economic hardships and poor governance contribute to persistent socio-economic challenges.

This chapter was based on existing literature focusing on service delivery issues and political platforms in South Africa, particularly within the context of Tshwane and Hammanskraal. Moreover, the theoretical framework introduced in this chapter provides the foundation for the

findings and discussion presented in the subsequent chapter. The next chapter outlines the research methodology adopted for data collection and analysis.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the research methodology and design adopted for this study, detailing the approach, data collection methods, research techniques, data analysis procedures, sampling strategies, and ethical considerations. It also discusses the study's limitations and the theoretical framework guiding the research. Given the focus on service delivery challenges in Hammanskraal, a qualitative research approach was employed. The study employed both archival research and semi-structured interviews with residents and political representatives to explore these challenges.

3.2. Research Design and Approach

This study utilised a qualitative research design, combining archival research with semi-structured interviews to examine the service delivery challenges in Hammanskraal, particularly concerning their representation in the political discourse of South Africa's major political parties. The qualitative approach was selected to allow for an in-depth exploration of the lived experiences of residents, political commitments, and the perceived (mis)alignment between political promises and actual service delivery.

According to Creswell (2013), qualitative research is driven by interpretive/theoretical frameworks that inform the exploration of social or human problems. It employs an emerging, flexible approach to inquiry, collecting data in natural settings and analysing it inductively and deductively, establishing patterns or themes. The final written report or presentation reflects the voices of participants, the reflexivity of the researcher, and a comprehensive description of the problem and its contribution to the literature or calls for change.

The study was conducted in two distinct phases:

1. **Archival Research:** Examining political party manifestos and election platforms.
2. **Fieldwork:** Conducting semi-structured interviews with residents, political representatives, and key informants.

This combination of methods allowed for a holistic understanding of political discourse and its real-world implications for service delivery in Hammanskraal.

3.2.1. Phase 1: Archival Research

The first phase involved the collection and analysis of archival data relating to political party commitments regarding service delivery. The aim was to establish a baseline understanding of political discourse on service delivery issues, particularly water access, electricity provision, housing, and sanitation.

Data Sources

To ensure a comprehensive and balanced dataset, archival materials were gathered from various sources, including:

- Official political party manifestos from the ANC, DA, and EFF.
- Political speeches and public statements from the 2016 and 2021 local elections.
- Social media platforms and digital content (e.g., YouTube campaign videos, Twitter, Facebook).
- Newspaper archives and media reports (e.g., Daily Maverick, News24, Mail & Guardian).

Analytical Focus

The archival data was analysed to identify:

- Recurring themes in political party commitments concerning service delivery.
- Differences in policy approaches between the ANC, DA, and EFF.
- Shifts in political discourse between the 2016 and 2021 municipal elections.
- Discrepancies between electoral promises and post-election implementation.

3.2.2 Phase 2: Fieldwork and Semi-Structured Interviews

The second phase of the study involved semi-structured interviews with Hammanskraal residents, political representatives, and community leaders to explore the lived realities of service delivery.

Sampling Strategy

A multi-stage sampling strategy was employed to ensure diversity in participant selection, combining:

1. **Purposive Sampling:** Targeted key informants, such as political representatives, ward councillors, and community leaders, ensuring representation from individuals directly engaged in service delivery discourse. As stated by Ellen and Kamar in Seopetsa (2020), purposive sampling allows researchers to focus on individuals with specific expertise relevant to the study.
2. **Snowball Sampling:** Used to expand the participant pool by requesting referrals from key informants, enabling access to marginalized or hard-to-reach residents.
3. **Convenience Sampling:** Applied to select interview locations (Kanana and Lephengville), considering logistical constraints and ensuring accessibility for communities most affected by service delivery failures.

Sample Size and Composition

A total of 20 participants were interviewed, consisting of:

- 14 individual residents (aged 18 and above).
- 6 political representatives (2 from each major political party: ANC, DA, and EFF).

The sample was stratified to reflect diverse perspectives on service delivery, incorporating:

- Elderly residents, who provided historical perspectives on service delivery changes over time.
- Youth participants, who shared insights on political engagement and expectations.
- Community activists and leaders, who articulated collective grievances and advocacy efforts.

Data Collection: Semi-Structured Interviews

Interviews were conducted in-person at designated community centres and participants' homes. The semi-structured format allowed for open-ended discussions, enabling participants to express their experiences, perceptions, and concerns freely.

Key topics explored included:

- Personal experiences with service delivery failures.
- Perceptions of political accountability.
- Community coping mechanisms and resilience strategies.
- Evaluations of political party performance in addressing service delivery issues.

To ensure ethical compliance and data integrity, participants were:

- Provided with informed consent forms explaining the study's purpose and process.
- Assured of confidentiality and anonymity.
- Given the option to withdraw at any stage without repercussions.

Data Storage and Protection

To maintain data security and confidentiality, the study adhered to strict data management protocols:

- Audio recordings and transcripts were encrypted and password-protected.
- Identifying information was removed to ensure participant anonymity.
- Data access was limited to authorised researchers only.

Data Analysis: Inductive Thematic Analysis

The study employed inductive thematic analysis to derive meaningful insights from the collected data. As noted by Naeem et al. (2023), this approach allows researchers to identify themes organically from the data rather than imposing predefined categories.

Steps in Thematic Analysis:

1. **Data Familiarisation:** Involved repeated reading of interview transcripts and initial observations of recurring patterns in participant responses.
2. **Coding and Theme Identification:** Transcripts were systematically coded to identify key service delivery-related themes, such as:
 - Unfulfilled political promises.
 - Community dissatisfaction and protest culture.
 - Trust (or lack thereof) in political institutions.

3. **Comparative Analysis:** Convergences and divergences were evaluated between:
 - Political party narratives (archival data).
 - Residents' lived experiences (interview data).
4. **Narrative Reconstruction:** Participant-driven storytelling was used to contextualize service delivery challenges within the broader political landscape.

3.3. Ethical Considerations

This research adhered to strict ethical protocols to ensure the protection of participants' rights, dignity, and confidentiality. Ethical clearance was obtained prior to data collection in accordance with institutional guidelines.

Participation was entirely voluntary, with participants given the right to withdraw at any stage of the interview process without consequence. Informed consent was obtained through participant information sheets and consent forms, which clearly outlined the purpose, potential risks, and confidentiality measures.

To protect participants' privacy, interviews were audio-recorded with explicit consent. All data was securely stored, anonymized, and used solely for research purposes.

Additionally, to overcome language barriers, interview questions were made available in both English and Sepedi, the predominant language spoken in Hammanskraal. This ensured inclusivity, particularly for elderly participants who were more comfortable in Sepedi, enhancing the authenticity and quality of the data collected.

Ethical guidelines followed the principles outlined in the Belmont Report (1979), focusing on respect for persons, beneficence, and justice, and adhered to national and institutional research ethics frameworks.

3.4. Theoretical Framework: Political Trust and Accountability in Service Delivery

3.4.1. Relevance of Theoretical Framework to the Study

Accountability and political trust are crucial elements of democratic governance, particularly in contexts where service delivery shapes public perception of government performance. In

post-apartheid South Africa, efforts to enhance service delivery have often been marred by persistent failures in townships like Hammanskraal, where issues such as inadequate sanitation, water access, and poor infrastructure have eroded political trust.

This study investigates the relationship between political party platforms and service delivery in Hammanskraal, focusing on the impact of unfulfilled electoral promises on accountability mechanisms and the political trust of residents. The conceptual framework integrates three theoretical perspectives, offering an analytical model that links service delivery outcomes, residents' responses, and political party commitments.

3.4.2. Theoretical Foundations

The literature highlights key structural and political challenges in service delivery, which demand a theoretical lens that accounts for trust, accountability, and the role of the state in post-apartheid South Africa. The following section introduces the theories guiding this analysis.

From the literature, it's clear that problems in service delivery are not just technical, they are political. The study adopts a hybrid theoretical approach, combining three key perspectives: **Principal-Agent Theory**, **Social Contract Theory**, and **Political Trust Theory** to better understand the relationship between politicians and residents. Each framework provides a unique lens for understanding the interplay between service delivery, political accountability, and governance.

a. Social Contract Theory

Social Contract Theory, as proposed by Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau, argues that the legitimacy of government rests on its ability to meet citizens' needs (Laskar, 2013). Failure to deliver essential services, such as water and sanitation, undermines the social contract, leading to public dissatisfaction and diminished political trust.

b. Principal-Agent Theory

Principal-Agent Theory explores the relationship between citizens (the principals) and elected officials (the agents), focusing on the accountability mechanisms triggered by the failure to fulfil promises. This theory is relevant to this study as it examines how service delivery

failures lead to protests and elections, acting as corrective measures to realign government actions with citizen expectations.

c. Political Trust Theory

Political Trust Theory, as discussed by Hetherington and Husser (2012), emphasises the role of government performance in building trust between citizens and political institutions. This study will explore how repeated service delivery failures in Hammanskraal erode trust and contribute to a decline in political engagement.

3.5. Study Limitations

Several limitations must be considered in interpreting the findings of this study. First, the use of snowball and purposive sampling may have excluded other potential participants who could have provided valuable perspectives. Additionally, convenience sampling may have led to the omission of certain areas with critical service delivery issues. Consequently, the findings are not generalizable to the entire Hammanskraal population but instead reflect the lived experiences of the study's participants and their perceptions of government performance and accountability.

The timing of the data collection also posed a limitation. Interviews were conducted between December 2024 and January 2025. Due to delays in obtaining ethical clearance, data collection only began in December, a period marked by the festive season when many residents were away on holiday. As a result, the sample size was smaller than anticipated, and potential participants were often unavailable or uninterested in participating. This time frame impacted the depth of the data, as some individuals who could have enriched the study were not available.

Another challenge encountered was the reluctance of participants to engage in the study. Despite efforts to explain the study's purpose, many residents were uninterested in participating, which delayed the interview process. For example, during the initial interviews in Kanana and Lephengville, the researcher spent three hours seeking participants, yet only two interviews were conducted.

Conducting interviews in public spaces, such as on the streets of Hammanskraal, proved difficult due to external distractions, such as noise from traffic and passersby. This made it challenging for both the researcher and participants to communicate effectively. Of the 14

interviews conducted, only one took place indoors, where the environment was more conducive to clear and uninterrupted conversations.

Finally, the study's focus on the 2016 and 2021 local government elections and on three political parties (ANC, EFF, and DA) may have limited the scope of the findings. By excluding other political parties and election years, the researcher may have missed broader insights that could have been gleaned from a wider range of perspectives.

3.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter outlined the research methodology and design employed in the study. A qualitative approach was adopted, utilising snowball and purposive sampling to interview 20 participants. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to collect data, supplemented by political platforms, party manifestos, and policy documents. The data was analysed using inductive thematic analysis, ensuring the rigour and trustworthiness of the research process. The limitations of the study, the theoretical framework, and the ethical considerations were discussed in detail. The following chapter presents the results and findings of the research.

Chapter 4: Coalition Politics and Governance Challenges in Tshwane

4.1. Introduction

The governance of metropolitan municipalities in South Africa has increasingly been characterised by coalition governments, largely due to the decline of outright majorities by dominant political parties. Tshwane, as one of the key metropolitan areas in the country, has experienced significant political shifts in the 2016 and 2021 local government elections, leading to the formation of coalition governments. This chapter examines the coalition politics in the City of Tshwane has influenced local governance and service delivery with a specific focus on Hammanskraal. Since 2016, the City of Tshwane has experienced a significant political shift due to the absence of a single dominant party, leading to fragile coalition arrangements. Therefore, this chapter discusses the nature of coalitions, their impact on service delivery, and the broader implications for political trust and accountability. The discussion provides political context that supports the analysis of the gap between political party promises and residents' lived experiences, aligning directly with the core research questions of this study.

4.2. The Rise of Coalition Governments in Tshwane

The 2016 local government elections marked a turning point in Tshwane politics, as no party secured an outright majority. The Democratic Alliance (DA) formed a minority coalition government with the support of smaller parties. However, internal disagreements and shifting alliances resulted in leadership instability, with frequent motions of no confidence and administrative disruptions. These tensions culminated in the collapse of the coalition, followed by a period of legal disputes and temporary administration.

The 2021 elections again produced no clear majority, leading to further power-sharing arrangements between the ANC, EFF and smaller parties. However, the political dynamics remained unstable, with disagreements on budget priorities, service delivery approaches and leadership appointments affecting council operations.

4.3. Implications for service delivery in Hammanskraal

Coalition instability in Tshwane has had a direct impact on the quality and consistency of service delivery. In Hammanskraal, unresolved issues such as the water crisis, waste removal delays, and infrastructure backlogs have persisted despite repeated election promises. These service failures are not technical but also political in nature. Changes in mayoral leadership and disruptions in municipal management have delayed decision-making and derailed project implementation. For example, during leadership vacuums, critical service delivery contracts went unapproved, and budget allocations for maintenance projects were delayed. Hammanskraal residents reported that periods of intense political infighting were often followed by visible neglect in service provision, suggesting a strong correlation between governance instability and service failure.

4.4. The Coalition Politics and Political Trust

The repeated breakdown of coalitions has eroded public trust in the ability of political parties to govern effectively. According to political trust theory, trust is sustained when political actors are seen to act in the public interest and deliver on their promises. In Tshwane, however, residents increasingly view political leaders as prioritising party interests and personal gain over community needs. Principal-agent theory is also useful in understanding this dynamic. Citizens (as principals) delegate authority to elected officials (as agents) with the expectation that they will act on behalf of the public. Coalition conflicts such as those witnessed in Tshwane suggest that these agents are more responsive to internal political negotiations than to the needs of their constituents. This deviation undermines the legitimacy of democratic institutions.

4.5. Governance Disruptions and Administrative Capacity

Beyond the political wrangling, coalition governments in Tshwane have also struggled with administrative continuity. Shifts in leadership have resulted in policy reversals, inconsistent communication, and a lack of institutional memory. These disruptions have compromised the municipality's ability to implement long-term development plans, particularly in historically marginalised areas like Hammanskraal. In interviews, the political representatives acknowledged the difficulties posed by coalition governments. Some cited internal disagreements as a reason for delays in addressing critical infrastructure issues. Others pointed

to limited funding and lack of cooperation between departments as by-products of unstable coalitions.

4.6. Linking Coalition Politics to the Research Focus

The evidence presented in this chapter demonstrates that governance instability in Tshwane is not an abstract political issue; it has real and measurable consequences for service delivery.

The failure of coalition governments to deliver consistent, accountable, and community-responsive governance helps explain the persistent gap between political promises and service delivery outcomes in Hammanskraal

4.7. Chapter Summary

As Maluleke (2024) aptly notes in the literature review, “coalitions are inevitably part of South Africa’s political future.” The coalition government in Tshwane exemplifies broader political trends in South Africa, where no single party dominates, and governance outcomes are increasingly shaped by political alliances. Unfortunately, this has resulted in significant challenges, particularly regarding service delivery and the collapse of effective governance in the Tshwane municipal council. The 2016 and 2021 local elections gave rise to coalition governments that have proven unstable and dysfunctional, undermining governance efficiency, political trust, and the delivery of services to the community.

The coalition in Tshwane continues to grapple with ongoing instability, reflecting deeper systemic issues that have persisted for an extended period. Therefore, the political instability explored in this chapter provides important context for understanding residents’ dissatisfaction with service delivery. In the next chapter, these effects are made clear through interviews with Hammanskraal residents, who express deep mistrust, frustration, and disengagement outcomes rooted not only in failed delivery, but in the broken political system that surrounds it. As the 2026 local elections approach, the future of Tshwane’s coalition governance remains uncertain. It raises critical questions about whether the coalition will be able to deliver the stability needed for effective governance, or if continued fragmentation among parties will further hinder the region’s ability to function efficiently and meet the needs of its citizens.

Chapter 5: Results and Findings

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the data collected from political party platforms and interviews with residents of Hammanskraal, as well as political representatives from Tshwane and Hammanskraal. The primary objective of this study is to examine the extent to which political party promises align with the lived experiences of residents regarding service delivery. The findings of the research reveal a significant disconnect between the political parties' promises and the realities faced by residents, particularly concerning issues such as corruption, water access, political accountability, and employment.

Furthermore, the study identifies key emerging themes from the collected data, which include infrastructure, water access, political accountability, corruption, and unemployment. The discussion in this chapter is framed around the central research question: "To what extent are the political party platforms and actual practices responsive to the service delivery expectations and concerns of the residents?" The analysis will compare political party platforms, the commitments made during elections, and the lived experiences of the residents. By distinguishing the residents' perspectives from the political parties' promises, the chapter explores the structural administrative challenges and political barriers that hinder effective service delivery in Hammanskraal.

The study adopts an inductive thematic analysis approach and is situated within a theoretical framework of accountability and political trust in service delivery. This framework draws on Principal-Agent Theory, Political Trust Theory, and Social Contract Theory. The interviews with residents were equally divided between the communities of Lephengville (7 interviews) and Kanana (7 interviews). All participants possessed significant knowledge and experience regarding local political issues, which are deeply embedded in their daily lives. The interviews with political representatives took place in both Hammanskraal and Tshwane House, Pretoria. All representatives demonstrated an in-depth understanding of service delivery issues in Hammanskraal and the political dynamics surrounding service delivery in Tshwane.

5.2. Critical Analysis of Political Platforms

Policy Documents and Approaches to Governance by the Political Parties

ANC Policy Documents

The ANC's policy documents focus on a state-led development approach. Key documents include the following:

a. **National Development Plan (NDP) 2030**

The NDP is a long-term framework that outlines South Africa's development trajectory, championed by the ANC as a tool for state-driven growth. From the ANC's perspective, the NDP emphasises job creation, improved service delivery, and economic transformation, with the state playing a central role. Economic transformation is pursued through state intervention in critical sectors and the promotion of Black Economic Empowerment (BBE). Service delivery efforts are directed at addressing inefficiencies within municipalities to ensure that communities receive essential services. However, in areas like Hammanskraal, where basic services are still lacking, residents have expressed frustration over the gap between the ANC's policy promises and their practical implementation, leading to growing distrust toward the ANC.

b. **The ANC Ready to Govern Document (1992)**

This foundational document outlines the ANC's governance approach in the post-apartheid era, with a particular focus on local governance failures. The document highlights the inadequacies of the NDP, particularly in areas like Hammanskraal, where the gap between policy and implementation is evident. The challenges of ANC-led coalition governments further complicate service delivery and administration at the municipal level.

c. **ANC Policy Discussion Documents**

Periodically released at the ANC's national policy conference, these documents shape the party's governance direction. The policies emphasize improving local government efficiency, combating corruption, and implementing state reforms. Additionally, these documents address the challenges posed by coalition governance, particularly following the party's loss of control in several municipalities, including Tshwane.

DA Policy Documents

In contrast, the DA advocates for liberal democracy, decentralised governance, and free market principles. The DA promotes partnerships between the private and public sectors to improve service delivery and foster economic growth. However, this approach has faced resistance in communities like Hammanskraal, where residents are concerned about the affordability of services, particularly water. The DA's reliance on private sector involvement in service delivery raises concerns about the cost-effectiveness and accessibility of these services. Key documents include:

a. **The Vision of DA 2029**

This document outlines the DA's long-term governance framework, focused on eliminating corruption and improving service delivery. The DA's approach prioritises economic growth through investment-friendly policies and fosters an environment conducive to private sector participation in service delivery. In Tshwane, this approach is exemplified by the partnership between the DA-led government and private entities for water provision.

b. **DA's Good Governance Blueprint**

This document emphasises governance strategies aimed at ensuring accountability and transparency. It advocates for a performance-based approach to public service management, aiming to enhance efficiency and effectiveness in government. The blueprint also calls for the depoliticisation of municipal service delivery, ensuring that essential services are provided based on need and efficiency rather than political influence.

c. **DA Policy Conference Resolutions**

These resolutions highlight the DA's commitment to decentralisation, granting municipalities greater autonomy in governance. The focus on public-private partnerships, particularly in sectors like water supply, underscores the DA's belief in private sector-driven service delivery. However, this approach has led to tensions in Hammanskraal, where affordability remains a major issue for residents.

EFF Policy Documents

The EFF, with its radical stance on economic transformation and state-controlled service delivery, presents a contrasting approach. The party advocates for nationalisation of key industries, including water and electricity, and prioritises direct state control over essential services. This vision resonates with residents of Hammanskraal, who feel that privatisation has failed to meet their needs. However, the EFF's state-led approach often conflicts with the market-driven policies of the DA, contributing to tensions within coalition governance. Key documents include:

a. **The Seven Cardinal Pillars**

The EFF's policy framework emphasises state control over key sectors such as banking, mining, and land, with a focus on land expropriation without compensation. The policy also stresses social welfare, including free education, housing, and healthcare, and aims to establish a corruption-free government with strong accountability mechanisms.

b. **The EFF Municipal Government Policy (2016 and 2021)**

These policies focus on local governance and service delivery, advocating for direct state involvement rather than reliance on private companies. The policies prioritise government control over essential services like electricity, waste management, and water supply.

c. **EFF Policy Conference Resolutions**

These resolutions address issues such as the outsourcing of municipal contracts, which the EFF views as a source of inefficiency and corruption. The party calls for stricter oversight and accountability to ensure that service delivery is effective and transparent.

Impact of Governance of Tshwane

The National Development Plan (NDP) of the African National Congress (ANC) pledged to enhance service delivery. However, persistent failures in local governance contradict the party's policy goals. In contrast, the Democratic Alliance's (DA) governance model, articulated in its policy document *The Blueprint*, emphasises market-driven efficiency, leading to an ongoing debate over privatisation. Meanwhile, the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) advocate for a radical state-led governance approach, which often conflicts with the coalition dynamics that limit the party's direct influence in municipal governance. The ideological clash between the EFF's state-controlled service delivery model and the DA's market-driven approach has significantly contributed to the instability of the Tshwane coalition government. Furthermore, the feasibility of the EFF's state-controlled service delivery model raises concerns about municipal sustainability.

The ideological divisions among the ANC, DA, and EFF have played a critical role in Tshwane's governance instability. The collapse of the DA-led coalition in 2024 exemplifies the challenges of coalition governance, including political infighting and conflicting policy agendas that hinder cohesive governance. Reports by *BizNews* (2024) and research by Maluleke (2024) indicate that the DA's coalition, formed in 2021, ultimately failed due to frequent leadership changes, leading to dissatisfaction among coalition partners, particularly ActionSA. As a result, ActionSA withdrew from the coalition and formed a new government, further exacerbating service delivery issues. This instability has led to a decline in public trust, with many residents perceiving coalition governments as breeding grounds for corruption and political conflict.

The stark ideological differences between the ANC, DA, and EFF have contributed to an unstable governance environment in Tshwane. For residents, the failure of political parties to align their policies and effectively address service delivery challenges has fostered widespread dissatisfaction and distrust. The frequent collapse of coalition governments and persistent

political infighting have left many questioning the ability of their elected officials to fulfil their commitments. This growing disconnection between residents' lived experiences and political discourse reinforces the perception that political elites remain detached from the realities faced by communities in Tshwane.

5.3. Thematic insights from interviews and political platforms

To analyse the findings, an inductive thematic analysis was applied, identifying four key themes based on recurring patterns in responses from both residents and political representatives. These themes highlight areas of convergence and divergence between the lived experiences of residents and the political narratives presented by party representatives.

The data collected from political party platforms and interviews with residents and political representatives helped structure the study's analysis. A recurring pattern emerged, particularly in Hammanskraal, where service delivery failures expose the disconnect between political rhetoric and practical implementation. This gap underscores a broader governance crisis affecting municipalities across South Africa. Despite repeated electoral promises—including commitments to economic development, employment opportunities, and infrastructure improvement—residents continue to experience governance failures.

Thematic analysis of the interviews identified four critical governance challenges:

1. Service delivery and the water crisis in Hammanskraal – Ongoing infrastructure failures have exacerbated the water crisis, exposing inefficiencies in municipal governance.
2. Corruption and its impact on service delivery – Reports of mismanagement and financial irregularities have further eroded public confidence in local government.
3. Employment and economic opportunities – Political parties frequently campaign on job creation, yet economic conditions in Tshwane remain stagnant, leaving many residents unemployed.
4. Political trust and accountability – Repeated governance failures and coalition instability have led to a decline in public trust, with residents questioning the effectiveness of their elected representatives.

These themes highlight the governance challenges in Tshwane, demonstrating that political instability and conflicting ideologies have significantly impacted service delivery and public

confidence in local government. Addressing these governance failures requires a more cohesive policy framework, enhanced accountability measures, and a commitment to prioritising the needs of residents over political interests.

5.3.1. Service Delivery and Water Crisis in Hammanskraal.

The lack of access to clean water emerged as the most pressing issue identified by residents in interviews. Nearly all participants pointed to the scarcity of water as a major failure in service delivery, with many emphasising that the problem has persisted for over two decades, significantly impacting their lives and health. This longstanding issue aligns with Dube's (2022) assertion that "the issue of water in Hammanskraal has been ongoing for decades and it seems to worsen each day as it remains unresolved." The frustration and anger expressed by residents during the interviews underscore the seriousness of this issue, which continues to endanger their well-being. Beyond being a service delivery concern, the lack of clean water has transformed into a public health crisis, with some residents even reporting cases of Cholera outbreaks. One participant conveyed the gravity of the situation, stating:

“People fall sick because of unclean water. In 2019, Hammanskraal had an outbreak of Cholera due to the contaminated water” (Participant 6, 2024).

All three major political parties—the ANC, DA, and EFF—have recognised the provision of clean water as a priority in their manifestos. The ANC, for example, included plans in its 2016 and 2021 manifestos to rehabilitate the Rooiwal Wastewater Treatment Plant and install boreholes to alleviate water shortages. Similarly, the 2021 EFF manifesto emphasised "Clean water as a right," pledging to ensure that communities like Hammanskraal would have access to potable water. However, residents have expressed deep scepticism about the political leaders' ability to resolve the issue. One participant observed:

“The issue of water has been unresolved for a long time, yet political leaders continue to use it during their campaigns, promising residents clean water” (Participant 3, 2024).

This scepticism reflects a broader decline in political trust, with many residents feeling disillusioned by the broken promises of political leaders. Alodat et al. (2023) argue that this widespread disenchantment is intensified by a feeling of disengagement from the political process, lack of trust in political institutions, and growing scepticism toward political parties.

Notably, during interviews with EFF representatives, there were claims that progress is being made in addressing the water crisis. These representatives pointed out that, although challenges remain, the coalition government has initiated efforts to resolve the water issue. As one participant defending the party's position noted:

“The water crisis is being addressed effectively; clean water was delivered in January 2025. Water was purified in parts of Hammanskraal, but the full distribution was delayed because the EFF does not govern alone. Some trucks delivered water to certain areas, but residents had to pay for it” (Participant 6, 2025).

The participant highlighted that as part of a coalition, the EFF cannot unilaterally solve the problem, but they remain optimistic that significant improvements will be made by the end of their term.

The DA also acknowledges the water crisis, but its proposed solution leans heavily on private-sector partnerships to purify water from local dams, reflecting the party's neoliberal approach. However, many residents voiced concerns that such partnerships would lead to unaffordable water costs, making it inaccessible to many. They argued that, as a marginalised community, Hammanskraal residents should not be expected to pay for water access. One participant remarked:

“The DA’s plan for water privatisation would make water too expensive for poor households, which doesn’t sit well with us. Hammanskraal is already marginalised, and we shouldn’t have to pay for a basic service like water” (Participant 7, 2024).

While the DA's 2021 manifesto builds on the commitments made during their 2016 term, which included the deployment of water trucks and plans for improving the Rooiwal Wastewater Treatment Plant, the promised progress remains incomplete. As one participant explained:

“In 2016, when the DA governed Tshwane in coalition, they began projects to supply Hammanskraal with water, but they couldn’t finish the work. The water issue has been ongoing for too long, and they’re hoping to complete it in the coming years” (Participant 1, 2024).

The challenges in completing these projects reflect the long-standing nature of the problem, but also the limitations of a coalition government to address issues swiftly. While the DA advocates for private-sector involvement, the ANC proposes government-led infrastructure

projects, while the EFF emphasises state control over service delivery. However, residents continue to feel that none of these parties have delivered a sustainable solution, leading to disillusionment and dissatisfaction with the political process.

This ongoing failure to provide clean water highlights the broader service delivery challenges in South Africa, where political promises often fail to translate into tangible improvements. Makgopela and Radikonya (2023) note that, despite the promises made by politicians, gaps persist in service delivery, leaving communities like Hammanskraal without basic services.

An additional challenge exacerbating the delivery of water and other services in Hammanskraal is the prevalence of nepotism and favouritism in the hiring practices of the City of Tshwane. Many residents believe that officials are more concerned with personal gain than with improving the lives of the people they serve. The result is a lack of compassion for the struggles of marginalised communities, such as Hammanskraal, where residents have endured inadequate service delivery for decades. This perception aligns with the notion that elected officials often take residents' votes and voices for granted, knowing that their constituents feel they have no other political options.

The government's failure to deliver essential services such as clean water has led to a significant erosion of public trust. This failure to fulfil promises made over the past 20 years has prompted protests and heightened political engagement, as residents demand accountability and action from their leaders.

Political parties are expected to act as agents of the people, yet their inability to ensure the delivery of essential services like water undermines their legitimacy. As the public becomes more frustrated with the lack of progress, residents increasingly turn to legal action and protests as means of holding their leaders accountable. This situation illustrates the breakdown of the social contract theory, where the failure of the government to provide basic services results in public disengagement and dissent.

The political instability in Tshwane, particularly regarding the water crisis, underscores the disconnect between political promises and actual service delivery. The failure to prioritise infrastructure projects over political infighting, such as coalition disputes, not only exacerbates the crisis but also reinforces the public's perception that politicians prioritise elections over governance. Ultimately, the residents of Hammanskraal continue to suffer from the

consequences of these failures, with little faith that political leaders will fulfil their commitments.

5.3.2. Corruption and its effects on service delivery.

Interviews with residents revealed that corruption is a dominant theme and a significant barrier to improving service delivery, particularly in the context of municipal tenders. Many participants highlighted how corruption, especially the misallocation of funds intended for infrastructure projects, has undermined effective service delivery. Elected leaders were often accused of diverting allocated funds for personal gain, further exacerbating the community's hardships.

One participant stated:

“Based on my knowledge, for services to be delivered, there should be financial support. But when leaders get the money and tenders, they use it for their benefit instead of resolving our problems” (Participant 8, 2024).

The City of Tshwane has frequently been embroiled in scandals involving tender corruption, which residents believe has contributed to the failure to provide basic services like clean water, the upgrading of informal settlements, and road maintenance. Holland (2007) underscores that “most of the abuse of tenders for private gains comes in the form of corruption at the municipal level.” Both the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) and the Democratic Alliance (DA) have criticised the African National Congress (ANC) for mismanaging municipal funds, though residents expressed doubts about the ability of these opposition parties to offer meaningful solutions. Many questioned whether the criticism was politically motivated or if it represented genuine efforts to address the issues.

During interviews with ANC representatives, they acknowledged the existence of corruption but defended their governance by claiming that, despite financial constraints, progress was being made in addressing water issues in Hammanskraal. As Munslow and Mc Lennan (2009) explain, effective decentralisation requires accountability, and corruption within local governance remains a major obstacle to achieving service delivery goals. This aligns with the sentiments expressed by residents, who argued that corruption and mismanagement were at the root of their continued struggles.

An ANC representative stated:

“Our motive does not change; it is to serve the people, even though there are challenges, especially with politicians. There is progress with water issues in Hammanskraal” (Participant 3, 2025).

However, residents of Hammanskraal strongly disagreed with this claim. They pointed out that there had been little to no improvement in the provision of services over many years. Similarly, DA representatives admitted that corruption was a serious issue in the political leadership, but they attributed this problem to the coalition government, which they believed was marked by distrust and internal conflicts among political representatives.

All three major political parties—ANC, EFF, and DA—acknowledged corruption in their election manifestos. The ANC promised to combat corruption by ensuring greater accountability and transparency in local governance (ANC Manifesto, 2016). The EFF also emphasised its commitment to eradicating corruption through accountable municipalities (EFF Manifesto, 2016), while the DA pledged to combat corruption through transparent governance, prioritising the interests of the people (DA Manifesto, 2021).

However, once these parties were elected, their promises to fight corruption were largely forgotten, and service delivery remained only partially fulfilled. This demonstrates a pattern wherein political parties use promises of anti-corruption efforts to gain votes but fail to address the issue meaningfully once in power. This failure to eliminate corruption results in recurrent scandals, with previously elected officials involved in corrupt practices, such as the misallocation of tenders. As noted by several scholars, corruption often becomes ingrained in an organisation’s culture, perpetuating a cycle that is difficult to break, even when new individuals enter the system. The City of Tshwane, in particular, has struggled to resolve long-standing issues, with corrupt officials continuing to award inflated tenders to their associates, leading to substandard work and delayed progress.

In the principal-agent model, political leaders are expected to act in the best interests of the residents, who are the principals. However, corruption has eroded this trust, creating a significant gap between residents' expectations and the actual performance of their elected

officials. The repeated scandals, especially those involving tender corruption, have fuelled political protests and contributed to a decline in voter confidence. Protests have become the primary method for residents to demand accountability and highlight the failures of local governance.

Corruption, therefore, is not only an economic issue but also a political crisis that undermines the legitimacy of local governments. It weakens governance structures, fosters a lack of trust in political institutions, and exacerbates the challenges residents face in accessing essential services.

5.3.3. Economic and employment opportunities.

A critical issue raised during the interviews was the high unemployment rate, particularly among the youth in Hammanskraal. All three major political parties—ANC, EFF, and DA—made job creation a central theme in their election manifestos, pledging to invest in infrastructure projects, local manufacturing, and small businesses. For instance, the EFF’s 2021 election campaign emphasised radical economic redistribution with the slogan: *"Land and Jobs Manje!"* (Manje meaning *Right Now*), signifying an urgent approach to employment creation. Similarly, the DA committed to revitalising industrial areas, such as Babelegi, to increase employment opportunities for the youth. However, according to residents, these promises had not materialised, and job opportunities remained scarce.

One resident expressed frustration over the exclusion of youth from employment opportunities, citing the case of a newly built bakery and laundromat in Hammanskraal:

"The people who are employed there are older, not youth. They took the older people to the Manhattan Hotel for three weeks for training for the bakery, but they did not bother to ask the youth if they would be interested in working at the bakery." (Participant 11, 2024).

Similarly, another resident highlighted the role of political connections in job allocation:

"Even when employment opportunities are available in Hammanskraal, they are offered and given to individuals that are politically connected rather than to unemployed youth who need them most." (Participant 13, 2024).

This underscores the persistence of nepotism and favouritism, further deepening economic exclusion and eroding trust in political parties. As a result, voter apathy has increased, with many residents feeling disillusioned by unfulfilled promises.

During an interview with an EFF representative, they suggested that residents of Hammanskraal lack sufficient education about government systems and service delivery processes, which limits their engagement with ward councillors and other local government structures. Meanwhile, an ANC representative stated:

“The creation of jobs opens opportunities for everyone affected by unemployment, mostly targeting youth.” (Participant 4, 2025).

However, interviews with residents revealed a starkly different reality—unemployment among the youth remains a major concern, often pushing young people into crime and substance abuse as a means of survival. One participant commented:

“Unemployment and substance abuse have caused the youth to be on the streets.” (Participant 8, 2024).

Political party representatives acknowledged that job scarcity is not just a problem in Hammanskraal but a nationwide issue that requires coordinated efforts at all levels of government. While political leaders emphasised ongoing initiatives, such as the reopening of old factories and Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) tenders in Tshwane, residents remained dissatisfied with the lack of significant progress. A DA representative noted:

“There are employment opportunities that have been arranged for the people of Hammanskraal. Some are already active, like the reopening of old factories, hiring residents, and the EPWP tenders running in Tshwane.” (Participant 5, 2025).

Despite these initiatives, many residents believed that corruption and nepotism continued to undermine fair job distribution. The failure to invest in young people has reinforced perceptions that political leaders are not genuinely committed to addressing unemployment. The fact that employment training programs were conducted without involving young people further reinforced this belief.

The sentiment that leadership should be about serving the people was eloquently captured by former Malawian President Joyce Banda during Nelson Mandela’s funeral, where she stated:

“Being a leader is about falling in love with your people, and people in turn falling in love with you. Being a great leader is about serving your people with selflessness, sacrifice, and the common good of the community.” (Banda, 2013).

By this measure, the leadership of the City of Tshwane can be harshly judged, as they are widely perceived to lack genuine concern for the well-being of the communities they claim to serve. Unemployment remains one of the country's most pressing issues, yet the failure to implement meaningful job creation initiatives suggests a lack of political will to address this crisis.

5.3.4. Political Trust and Accountability.

A key theme that emerged from the data collection was the widespread distrust in local government and political parties. Nearly all the residents interviewed expressed the view that politicians do not prioritise their needs and only engage with the community during election campaigns. According to the participants, political parties lack honesty and transparency, leading to a deep-seated scepticism regarding their promises. Many residents indicated that after securing votes, political parties fail to follow up or take accountability for their commitments.

One resident expressed their frustration, stating:

“They never come back to us after elections. It shows that they were making those promises for the sake of campaigning, not because they truly meant them” (Participant 12, 2024).

The interviews further revealed that the failure of service delivery is often attributed to political incompetence and broken promises, particularly by parties that have governed Tshwane but failed to fulfil their electoral commitments. Additionally, political infighting within coalition governments was acknowledged as a major impediment to effective governance. One participant noted:

“The political parties in coalition sabotage each other; there is no honesty” (Participant 8, 2024).

This internal discord, as described by political representatives, creates significant governance challenges and undermines trust in political leadership. Residents widely expressed concerns that these power struggles divert attention away from critical service delivery needs, reinforcing public disillusionment.

A recurring issue highlighted in the interviews was the persistent failure to address Hammanskraal’s water crisis, which has remained unresolved for decades despite repeated political assurances. One resident lamented:

“Hammanskraal has had water issues for decades, and there is no progress or permanent solution to that issue, but they keep promising us clean water” (Participant 12, 2024).

This sentiment reflects a broader frustration among residents, who perceive these promises as empty rhetoric rather than genuine commitments to change.

Corruption and dishonesty were also cited as key barriers to service delivery. A participant provided an example of the deterioration of a government program responsible for road maintenance, stating that:

“It used to function well in the past, but now that tenders are involved, corruption has taken over” (Participant 10, 2024).

The interviews suggested that a lack of transparency and accountability not only leads to service delivery failures but also fuels political infighting, as party members work against each other instead of addressing community concerns.

One participant remarked:

“The politicians fight with each other, and they end up dividing, which causes them to neglect their duties and work against each other. This results in service delivery failures” (Participant 9, 2024).

This extensive mistrust of political parties contributes to declining democratic accountability. When residents lose faith in electoral promises, voter apathy increases, leading to civic disengagement. This aligns with the arguments of Mpofu et al. (2021), who assert that failures in service delivery can erode democratic legitimacy and incite public protests. Their research highlights that during the 2019 elections, the unequal redistribution and inadequate delivery of services intensified citizen dissatisfaction, prompting protests as a form of political expression. These protests not only reflected grievances but also demonstrated the public’s waning trust in government institutions.

Despite this disillusionment, some residents expressed a cautious belief that change is possible if political leaders prioritise transparency and accountability. However, many argued that service delivery challenges are unlikely to be resolved as long as political leaders prioritise corruption and personal gain over community needs. A widely shared perception was that political engagement is limited to election periods, with elected officials showing little to no interest in the city’s development once in office. One participant noted that many officials fail to visit certain areas of Tshwane outside of election cycles, reinforcing the belief that they have no real commitment to improving local conditions.

Ultimately, the reluctance to invest in the city and the failure to uphold campaign promises contribute to a pervasive lack of trust in political leadership. The absence of meaningful engagement and accountability further alienates the electorate, deepening political disengagement and skepticism toward governance structures.

5.4. Final Comparative Analysis of the Policy Documents in Tshwane

Policy Area	ANC	EFF	DA
Model of governance	The development is state led (NDP).	There is control by the state over the key sectors.	Market-driven and decentralised.
Approach to service delivery	Driven by the public sector.	No outsourcing, the services are state-owned.	Partnerships are in the public-private sector.
Coalition government	Coalition strategies are weak and resistant to sharing power.	Serve as the key player however favours opposition politics.	In favour of a coalition, however, conflicts in terms of party ideologies and policies.
Economic policy	The economy is mixed (capitalism).	The economy is state controlled and socialist.	Market policies are liberal-free.
Water policy (Focusing on Tshwane)	Invest in infrastructure through the government	Free distribution of water that is state funded.	Pricing models and purification through the private sector.

Table 2 Comparative analysis of ANC, DA, EFF policies and party ideologies regarding Tshwane.

The comparative analysis shows that the instability within the governance in Tshwane is mainly driven by the basic policy differences of the political parties, which leaves the coalition government fragile, causing service delivery failures. The disagreements within the coalition government over service model provision persist. There is a decline in voter trust in all three political parties due to recognised inefficiencies.

5.5. Chapter Summary

This chapter of the research presented the findings of the study guided by the main research question. The critical analysis of the party policies was presented, and thematic analysis was provided in detail, with the findings being linked to accountability and political trust. The themes were identified using the thematic analysis approach, which allows the researcher to interpret the themes in the context of literature and the research question. Furthermore, the themes were then discovered and presented through the residents' and political representatives' exact quotes and relevant literature with a theoretical framework. The chapter that follows provides a summary of findings, and conclusion, and recommendations from the research.

Chapter 6: Summary of Findings, Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1. Introduction

This study aimed to explore the lived experiences of Hammanskraal residents concerning service delivery, particularly in the context of the 2016 and 2021 local elections. This chapter synthesises the key findings from the research, addresses the research question, and offers conclusions and recommendations to improve service delivery in Hammanskraal. The findings are derived from inductive thematic analysis, focusing on the four main themes identified in Chapter 4. These themes were shaped by data collected from interviews with residents, political representatives, and political party platforms. The results of the study contribute to broader discussions on electoral accountability, local governance, and service provision in South African townships. The chapter concludes by providing recommendations aimed at improving service delivery and addressing challenges that hinder governance in South African municipal administration.

6.2. Summary of the Main Findings

The findings from the interviews clearly show that the challenges in Hammanskraal persist despite the frequent changes in political parties and coalitions. Corruption, lack of accountability, and negligence are at the heart of the persistent service delivery problems in the area. The study reveals that state officials are more focused on self-enrichment than on the needs of the citizens. Tenders are often awarded based on political connections and nepotism, and when questioned, no one takes accountability for the corruption. Furthermore, the study highlights that South African citizens tend to forgive their leadership, consistently voting for the same parties that have failed to deliver for decades.

The following paragraphs summarise the emerging themes from the interviews, reflecting the key concerns raised by citizens and the gap between political promises and actual service delivery outcomes. A critical comparative analysis of the political party platforms also sheds light on the discrepancies between their pledges and the realities of governance in Hammanskraal.

The study revealed significant service delivery backlogs affecting marginalised communities in South Africa, particularly in Hammanskraal. The issue of water access emerged as the most pressing concern for residents, with waterborne diseases like cholera posing serious health risks. Despite repeated promises from political parties such as the ANC, EFF, and DA, residents continue to struggle with undrinkable and scarce water. While the ANC proposed rehabilitating the Rooiwal Wastewater Treatment Plant, progress has been slow, exacerbating residents' frustration. The DA suggested a private-sector partnership, which raised concerns about the affordability of water, and the EFF framed clean water as a basic human right, promising progress by the end of their current term. However, the coalition government overseeing Tshwane has created restrictions, limiting the effectiveness of these solutions.

The study also found that the Hammanskraal community faces long-standing infrastructure challenges, particularly in the maintenance and upgrading of the local water plant. These failures have exacerbated the water crisis, contributing to disease outbreaks and further eroding residents' trust in political parties. Many residents perceive political parties' promises during election campaigns as hollow and primarily aimed at securing political gain rather than providing long-term solutions.

Corruption was identified by most participants as a significant barrier to effective governance. The manipulation of tenders, especially municipal tenders, was seen as a major obstacle to service delivery. Residents reported that tenders are often awarded based on political connections rather than competence, resulting in mismanagement and delays. There is also a pervasive lack of transparency in how municipal funds are spent, which fosters suspicion among residents about the proper allocation of resources.

Another critical issue raised by the residents was the high level of unemployment, particularly among the youth. While all three political parties included job creation in their platforms, residents reported that government employment programs have failed to deliver meaningful opportunities, particularly for young people. Nepotism and corruption were seen as the primary obstacles to fair distribution of employment, and government initiatives like the reopening of industrial parks were inaccessible to the residents of Hammanskraal. Additionally, there was a mismatch between the training provided by the government and the local economic needs, leaving many without the skills needed for available jobs.

Political distrust was another pervasive theme in the interviews. Many residents felt disconnected from their political representatives, particularly outside of election campaigns. The introduction of coalition governments in Tshwane has further undermined trust, with political infighting hampering effective service delivery. This lack of engagement has led to voter apathy and civic disengagement, as residents feel that their needs are not prioritised by elected officials. The constant cycle of unfulfilled promises has left many citizens disillusioned and unwilling to participate in the electoral process.

6.3. Conclusion

The findings of this study underscore the deep-rooted issues of corruption, lack of accountability, and political disillusionment that hinder service delivery in Hammanskraal. The repeated failures to deliver essential services, such as clean water and employment opportunities, have led to widespread frustration and distrust among residents. The role of political parties and the challenges of coalition governance have further complicated efforts to address these issues. The residents of Hammanskraal are increasingly disengaged from the political process, and voter apathy continues to grow as a result of the unfulfilled promises and lack of meaningful engagement from political representatives.

By addressing these issues, Hammanskraal can begin to rebuild trust in its political system and improve the quality of life for its residents.

6.4. Recommendations

Based on the findings and conclusions of the study, the researcher proposes the following recommendations for the City of Tshwane to improve service delivery in Hammanskraal. These recommendations are focused on addressing critical aspects of infrastructure, accountability, economic development, political engagement, and governance structures.

- **Strengthening Infrastructure and Service Delivery Development**

The government must accelerate the completion of water infrastructure projects in Hammanskraal to address the ongoing water crisis. It is crucial that these projects are prioritized and completed within set timelines to reduce service delivery backlogs. Furthermore, municipal oversight mechanisms should be strengthened to minimize

inefficiencies and ensure timely service delivery. The implementation of community-based monitoring systems will enable residents to hold local officials accountable for their duties, thereby increasing transparency and trust in the governance process.

- **Enhancing Accountability and Combating Corruption**

It is essential to establish mechanisms that prevent the improper allocation of funds and ensure full transparency in municipal financial processes. One critical measure would be the reform of the tendering process to ensure that public contracts are awarded based on merit and capability, not political connections. Additionally, policies should be introduced to protect whistleblowers who report corruption or mismanagement. The establishment of independent municipal audit committees would help track expenditures and ensure the government takes responsibility for financial oversight, further ensuring that resources are allocated effectively and ethically.

- **Addressing Economic and Unemployment Issues**

The government must prioritise youth employment programs and ensure that skills training aligns with the specific needs of the local economy in Hammanskraal. Enhancing access to funding for small businesses and entrepreneurship will empower the local community and stimulate economic development. Moreover, efforts should be made to create opportunities for local residents to participate in major infrastructure projects by encouraging public-private partnerships that focus on hiring from within the community.

- **Re-establishing Public Trust in Political Parties**

Political parties must engage with the community continuously, not just during election campaigns. Regular communication, transparency, and active engagement with residents will help foster a sense of participatory democracy. The establishment of performance evaluation metrics for elected representatives, with clear consequences for unmet service delivery targets, would further promote accountability and ensure that elected officials remain committed to their promises beyond election cycles.

- **Aligning Ideologies for Effective Coalition Governments**

For coalition governments to succeed in driving economic growth and improving service delivery, it is essential that political parties align on core political ideologies. This alignment will ensure that, even in the face of challenges requiring compromise, no party is forced to act in a way that conflicts with the interests of their constituents. Clear ideological alignment within coalition governments will also ensure greater policy coherence and stability, ultimately improving governance outcomes.

6.5. Recommendations for Future Study/Research

Given the small sample size used in this study, it is recommended that future research be conducted with a larger, more representative sample of Hammanskraal residents. This would provide a more comprehensive understanding of the community's lived experiences and their perspectives on the promises made by political parties during election campaigns. In particular, future studies should aim to include a broader geographic area within Hammanskraal, extending beyond the Kanana and Lephengville regions, to ensure that a variety of voices and experiences are captured.

Future research should also explore the dynamics of coalition governments in other South African municipalities to determine whether the challenges identified in Hammanskraal, such as political trust and service delivery issues, are prevalent in other areas. Moreover, quantitative research focusing on municipal expenditure outcomes and the relationship between financial management and service delivery could provide empirical evidence of policy failures and financial mismanagement, offering valuable insights for improving local governance and service provision.

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Appendix A

Key Political Parties (ANC, EFF, and DA): History and Political Perspectives.

This section provides an overview of the three major political parties— the African National Congress (ANC), the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), and the Democratic Alliance (DA)— that have played a crucial role in shaping coalition politics in Tshwane.

1. African National Congress (ANC)

The ANC, South Africa's oldest liberation movement, was founded in 1912 during a period of intense colonial oppression and racial segregation (ANC, 2024). Its origins can be traced to the collective resistance of Black South Africans against systemic land dispossession, economic marginalisation, and political exclusion imposed by both British imperial forces and Boer settlers. Initially, the ANC adopted a strategy of peaceful engagement with the colonial administration, advocating for the rights of the Black majority within legal constraints. However, as racial segregation intensified through laws such as the 1913 Natives Land Act—which restricted Black land ownership to just 7% of the country—the ANC evolved to include mass mobilisation, civil disobedience, and, later, armed resistance through its military wing, uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK) (Lephakga, 2013). By the mid-20th century, the ANC had emerged as the leading force in the resistance against apartheid, particularly after the National Party (NP) institutionalised rigid racial laws in 1948. Influenced by African nationalism, socialism, and social democratic principles, the ANC sought to reclaim political and economic control for indigenous South Africans while advocating for non-racialism and social justice (Dorman, 2019). The party's commitment to equality gained international support, leading to diplomatic and economic pressure on the apartheid regime. In 1994, under the leadership of Nelson Mandela, the ANC won South Africa's first democratic elections, marking the end of apartheid and the beginning of majority rule. Since then, the ANC has dominated South African politics, consistently winning national elections and maintaining control over provincial and local governments. Its governance approach has been shaped by policies focused on economic transformation and state-led development, such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the National Development Plan (NDP), which aimed to uplift historically disadvantaged communities. Despite its historical significance, the ANC has faced growing electoral challenges in recent years. While it previously enjoyed overwhelming public support, securing over 60% of the national vote for much of its tenure, the party's popularity declined notably in the 2016 local government elections. This decline was particularly evident

in major metropolitan areas, including Tshwane, Johannesburg, and Nelson Mandela Bay, where the ANC lost its outright majority, leading to the formation of coalition governments. Governance failures—including widespread corruption, inefficiencies in service delivery, and internal factional disputes—have significantly contributed to this loss of electoral dominance (Godinho & Hermanus, 2018). At the municipal level, the ANC's governance has been challenged by systemic inefficiencies, mismanagement of public funds, and patronage politics. Corruption scandals, particularly those involving municipal tenders and infrastructure projects, have further eroded public trust. The phenomenon of "state capture" under the administration of former President Jacob Zuma remains a defining example of the ANC's governance struggles, significantly tarnishing its credibility. Moreover, internal divisions within the party—characterised by ideological clashes between reformists and entrenched political elites—have undermined policy coherence and leadership stability. While the ANC remains South Africa's most influential political force, its declining electoral performance signals a shifting political landscape. The party's ability to retain national power will likely depend on its capacity to implement meaningful governance reforms, restore public trust, and enhance service delivery mechanisms. The rise of opposition parties, particularly the DA and the EFF, underscores the increasing competitiveness of South Africa's political environment, particularly at the local government level. The 2024 national elections placed further pressure on the ANC to address socio-economic challenges effectively. Failure to do so could result in further electoral decline and the establishment of a Government of National Unity (GNU) at the national level.

2. Democratic Alliance (DA)

The Democratic Alliance (DA), South Africa's official opposition party, was formally established in 2000, though its roots trace back to the Progressive Party (PP), founded in 1959 (Koekemoer, 2017). The PP emerged as a small but influential group of anti-apartheid liberal politicians who opposed the ruling National Party's policies of racial segregation. The party's early ideology was centred on constitutional democracy, individual rights, and free-market economic policies. Over the decades, the party underwent multiple mergers and name changes, consolidating into the Democratic Party (DP) in 1989 before evolving into the Democratic Alliance (DA) at the turn of the 21st century. This transformation reflected a strategic effort to broaden its support beyond its traditional liberal base and establish itself as a credible alternative to the ruling African National Congress (ANC). The DA's political ideology is broadly centre-right, advocating for liberal democracy, social liberalism, classical liberalism,

conservatism, and a free-market economy (neoliberalism). The party champions individual freedom, limited government intervention, and private sector-driven economic growth, positioning itself as a pro-business entity favouring market-friendly policies, deregulation, and foreign investment. However, its ideological stance remains contested, particularly within the South African political landscape, where state interventionist policies and social welfare programs have dominated since 1994. Historically, the DA's core support base has been white South Africans, particularly English and Afrikaans speakers, with strongholds in the Western Cape and affluent urban areas. Over the years, the party has actively sought to diversify its voter base by appealing to Black middle-class professionals, Indian and Coloured communities, and younger voters disillusioned with the ANC's governance failures. Despite these efforts, perceptions of the DA as a party primarily serving white and elite interests continue to hinder its broader electoral appeal. One of the DA's key political platforms is clean governance and anti-corruption initiatives. The party argues that transparent and accountable government is essential for improving service delivery, fostering economic growth, and restoring public confidence in democratic institutions. The DA has often positioned itself in direct opposition to the ANC's governance model, criticising the ruling party for systemic corruption, bureaucratic inefficiencies, and cadre deployment practices. The DA maintains that strict fiscal discipline, merit-based appointments, and efficient administration are necessary for ensuring effective governance at both the local and national levels. The DA has governed several major metropolitan municipalities, including Cape Town, Tshwane, Johannesburg, and Nelson Mandela Bay. While the party has demonstrated relative success in improving service delivery in some of these areas, it has also faced significant challenges in maintaining political stability, particularly within coalition governments. The 2016 local government elections marked a turning point for the DA, as it secured governance in multiple metros by forming coalitions with opposition parties, including ActionSA and the Freedom Front Plus (FF+). However, these coalitions proved fragile and unstable, often marred by policy disagreements, leadership disputes, and ideological tensions. The DA's most notable governance success has been in the Western Cape, where it has held power since 2009. The province is frequently cited as an example of better governance and service delivery, with the DA claiming that its pro-business policies, infrastructure development initiatives, and anti-corruption measures have contributed to its relative economic stability compared to other provinces. However, critics argue that the DA's policies have failed to address deep-seated socio-economic inequalities, particularly in historically disadvantaged communities such as the Cape Flats and rural farming areas. Challenges such as housing shortages, gang violence, and racial disparities in economic

opportunities remain pressing issues. Despite its successes, the DA has experienced internal divisions and leadership crises. The resignation of Mmusi Maimane in 2019, the party's first Black leader, exposed deep-seated ideological rifts within the organisation. His departure was widely seen as a setback to the DA's efforts to broaden its racial appeal, with critics accusing the party of failing to fully embrace transformation and diversity. The return of Helen Zille as Federal Council Chairperson further intensified debates over the party's direction and commitment to racial inclusivity. These internal conflicts have at times weakened the party's ability to present a unified and coherent alternative to the ANC (Koekemoer, 2017). As South Africa approaches future elections, the DA remains a formidable opposition force but faces significant strategic challenges. The party must navigate coalition politics more effectively, expand its support base beyond traditional constituencies, and refine its policy messaging to resonate with a broader spectrum of voters. Given the growing dissatisfaction with the ANC, the DA has a crucial opportunity to capitalise on governance failures, but its long-term success will depend on its ability to redefine its identity, overcome internal divisions, and prove its capability to govern beyond select municipalities and provinces.

3 Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)

The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) was established in 2013 by Julius Malema, the former president of the ANC Youth League (ANCYL), along with other former ANCYL leaders who had been expelled from the ANC. Malema's expulsion in 2012 followed a series of controversies, including his radical rhetoric, calls for nationalisation, and public defiance of ANC leadership, particularly against President Jacob Zuma. His departure from the ANC marked a significant shift in South Africa's political landscape, leading to the formation of a militant, leftist opposition movement that challenged the ANC's dominance from a socialist and Pan-Africanist perspective. The EFF's ideological foundation is deeply rooted in Marxist-Leninist and Fanonian principles, emphasising economic radicalism, class struggle, and African unity (Phadi, 2020). Positioned on the far left of the political spectrum, the party advocates for state-led economic interventions, nationalisation of key industries, radical land expropriation without compensation, and wealth redistribution. Unlike the ANC's mixed-economy approach, which seeks to balance state intervention with private-sector participation, the EFF promotes a more aggressive economic transformation agenda, aiming to dismantle South Africa's capitalist structure and redistribute wealth to the historically marginalised Black majority. A cornerstone of the EFF's policy framework is land expropriation without compensation, a demand rooted in South Africa's colonial and apartheid history. The party

insists that true economic freedom cannot be achieved without redistributing land, as land ownership remains one of the most enduring symbols of inequality. The EFF rejects the ANC's slow, market-driven land reform policies, arguing that they compromise the interests of Black South Africans in favour of white capital. Beyond land reform, the EFF supports the nationalisation of banks, mines, and strategic industries, asserting that state control over these sectors is crucial for addressing poverty, unemployment, and economic exclusion (Phadi, 2020). However, critics argue that such policies could destabilise the economy, deter foreign investment, and hinder private-sector growth. Despite its radical policies, the EFF has never governed at a national or municipal level, making it difficult to assess its administrative capabilities. Unlike the ANC and DA, the EFF has functioned primarily as a disruptive opposition force, employing populist rhetoric, parliamentary protests, and mass mobilisation strategies to influence political discourse. The EFF's open-border policy, advocating for a borderless Africa, has drawn sharp criticism, particularly regarding South Africa's economic stability and immigration control. However, the party remains highly influential among disillusioned youth and marginalised citizens, challenging the ANC's political hegemony and reshaping opposition politics in South Africa.

Appendix B

Interview Questions for residents

1. What are the main challenges and problems in relation to service delivery concerns and issues at Hammanskraal?
2. What promises were made by political parties?
3. Are the promises compatible with the expectations and needs of the citizens?
4. Do you think the promises made by political parties match the service delivered?
5. What do you think affects service delivery?
6. The City of Tshwane has been in the news about tender corruption; do you think that also affects the services and contributes to the lack of resources?
7. How long has the community experienced the unclean water issue?
8. Do you think this issue will ever be resolved and why do you think so?

Appendix C

Interview questions in Sepedi:

1. Ke mathata le ditlhohlo dife tše dikgolo tše di amanago le ditirelo tša setšhaba mo Hammanskraal?
2. Kediphadišano dife tše di tšwetšwego pele ke mekgatlo ya dipolotiki?
3. Nadiphadišano tše di a lekana le ditlhokego le ditebogo tša badudi?
4. Onagana gore diphadišano tše di a swana le ditirelo tše di fiwago setšhaba?
5. Keengseo o bonago se ama ditirelo tša setšhaba?
6. Motse wa Tshwane o be o le ditabeng mabapi le bomenetša ka ditenda, na o nagana gore le se se ama ditirelo gomme sa tliša go se be le methopo ya go lekana?
7. Setšhaba se bile le mathata a meetse a sa hlweke nako e kae?
8. Naonagana gore mathata a a tla rarollwa gomme ka lebaka la eng o nagana bjalo?

Appendix D

Interview Questions for Political Representatives

1. What was the party's campaign strategy and the key messages in the past 2 years local government elections in Hammanskraal?
2. How did the party engage with the communities and address the concerns during the campaign?
3. What were the top promises or commitments made by the party in the manifesto for Hammanskraal?
4. How did the party's 2016 and 2021 manifesto address the unique challenges and needs of Hammanskraal?
5. Were there any specific service delivery commitments or targets outlined in the manifesto or made by political party?
6. To what extent have the promises made by the party during the election campaign been fulfilled in terms of Hammanskraal's service delivery?
7. How do you explain the challenges faced by the community and what steps has the party taken or will take to address them?
8. Are there any revised or new commitments that your party will make to the people of Hammanskraal in future elections?

Appendix E

Participants information sheet



Dear participant

My name is Phomello Mogale. I am a masters student in Political Studies at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. My supervisor is DR. Ahmed Veriava. I am conducting a research study about the political party manifestos and service delivery in Tshwane township. The research title is Between Promises and Delivery: Political Party Platforms and Service Delivery in Hammanskraal, Tshwane. You are invited to take part in an interview. If you decide to participate, your participation in this research study will last about 20 minutes. The interview will take place in Hammanskraal.

The interview will be confidential, and the anonymity of the participant will be based on informed consent. When I share the results of the research study, I will not include your name. If you decide to participate in the research study, it should be because you want to volunteer. You do not have to take part, and you can also stop being in the study at any time. You do not have to answer any questions if you do not want to. There are no direct benefits should you choose to participate. Taking part in the research will not cost you anything. You will not be paid for taking part in the research study.

The risks for this research study are no more than what happens in everyday life or some of the questions asked may make you feel sad or upset. If this happens, I will stop the interview and continue another time.

This research study will be written as a research report. The research report will be available on the university library website. If you would like to receive a summary of this report, I will be happy to send it to you.

If there are any questions you would like to ask during or afterward about this research study, you can contact me or my supervisor on the details listed below. If you have any concerns or

complaints about the ethical procedures of this research study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0)11 717 1408, email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za.

Yours sincerely,
Phomello Mogale

Researcher:

Phomello Mogale, 2694408@students.wits.ac.za, 071 215 3770

Supervisor:

Ahmed Veriava, ahmed.veriava@wits.ac.za, 011 717 4335

Appendix F

Consent Form

Title of project: Between Promises and Delivery: Political Party Platforms and Service Delivery in Hammanskraal, Tshwane.

Name of researcher: Phomello Mogale

I,, agree to participate in this research project.

I agree to the following:

(Please circle the relevant options below)

The research study was explained to me. I understand what this study is about.	YES	NO
--	-----	----

I understand that I can volunteer to take part in the study	YES	NO
---	-----	----

I understand that I can decide to withdraw from the interview if I don't want to continue with the	YES	NO
--	-----	----

I agree that the interview may be audio recorded	YES	NO
--	-----	----

I agree that direct quotations from my interview may be used by the researcher in their research report.	YES	NO
--	-----	----

I agree that my participation will be based on informed consent.	YES	NO
--	-----	----

I agree that other researchers may use the information I provide in my interview (depending on their own ethics clearance being	YES	NO
---	-----	----

obtained) but my name and any personal information will not be
used or passed on

..... (signature)
..... (name of participant)
..... (date)

..... (signature)
..... (name of researcher)
..... (date)

Appendix G

Ethics Certificate

UNIVER
SITY OF
THE
WITWATERSRAND, V
JOHANNESBURG
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES ETHICS COMMITTEE
CONSTITUTED UNDER THE UNIVERSITY HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS
COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)

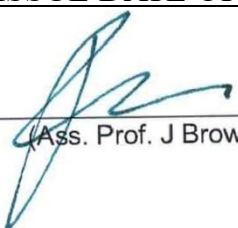
CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE PROTOCOL NUMBER: POLS-2024-11

PROJECT TITLE "Analysis of South African political party platforms versus residence
perspectives on service delivery in a City of Tshwane township: A case study
of Hammanskraal"

<u>INVESTIGATOR</u>	Phomello Mogale
<u>SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT OF INVESTIGATOR</u>	Political Studies
<u>DATE CONSIDERED</u>	October 2024
<u>DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE</u>	Approved unconditionally
<u>RISK LEVEL</u>	LOW RISK

EXPIRY DATE 30 June 2025
ISSUE DATE OF CERTIFICATE 1 August 2024

CHAIRPERSON



(Ass. Prof. J Brown)

cc: Supervisor:

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR

To be completed in duplicate and ONE COPY returned to the Chairperson of the School/Department ethics committee.

I fully understand the conditions under which I am are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee.

Signature

____/____/____
Date

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES