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Why youth make a decision not to vote in elections: perspectives of youth in the Siyabuswa community of Mpumalanga

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This research study was conducted to explore why youth in the Siyabuswa community of Mpumalanga made the decision not to vote in the elections of the country. The chapter provides the background of the study, the statement of the problem and rationale of the study. It also provides the main research question, aim and objectives, as well as the theoretical framework of the study. There is also a brief overview of the research approach and methodology. Key concepts are defined and the organization of the report is thereafter highlighted.

1.2 Background of the study

South Africa has come far with its democracy. The foundation for the demographic design and implementation of policies that ensure that democratic consolidation, citizen participation and competitive multi-party engagement to take place, has been laid. The country prides itself in the free and fair elections it holds, where each and every citizen of the country has the right to vote (Davids, Langa, Maphunye, Mncwango, Sedumedi, & Struwig, 2005).

It is without a doubt to believe that the democracy of South Africa has come under threat with the alarming percentages of youth who decide not to exercise their right to vote by participating in national and municipal elections. In supporting this statement, Oleynik, Alexander and Cherepanya (2003, pg.89) state that, "South Africa's under-performing educational system can lead to crime, poverty and disenfranchisement among youth, which threaten national stability, development and democracy." It is important that youth are engaged in the voting process because they will be responsible for the future of the country. The youth determine their future and they do so by voting. It is not only for them but for the future of the country as a whole (Quinn & Isler, 2012).

Mzolo (2014, pg. 169) argues that "The role of the youth in South African politics is probably as old as society's construction of the youth as a social category". Youth played a very crucial role in all the historic events that have taken place in South Africa, and it is through their political involvement that the country is where it is today. It is therefore important to understand what demotivates youth from participating in the elections of the country.

Attitudes to voting of youth in the Siyabuswa community of Mpumalanga also appear apathetic based on communication in social media and the researcher's personal interaction with youth. The youth had a number of reasons to why they have decided not to participate in the country's' elections. These reasons ranged from their dissatisfaction with service delivery, to unemployment as well as corruption. However, no research to date has investigated reasons for this apathy.

1.3 Statement of the problem and rationale for the study

According to Statistics South Africa (2016) the total population of South Africa is 55.6 million, of which 36, 2 % (20, 1 million) are youth. The National Youth Policy (2015), define youth as falling within the age group of 14 to 35 years of age. This definition of youth is consistent with the definition within the African Youth Charter which states that youth are young people between the ages 15 and 35 years (National Youth Policy, 2015; African Union, 2006).

In Scott, Vawda, Swartz and Bhana (2012), the argument brought forth is that it is significant to consider that youth in this country contribute a substantial proportion of the population. In 2013, the estimated population of eligible youth voters from ages 18 to 29 years for the 2014 national elections was 10.9 million. This comprised 34% of eligible voters. However, only 6.4 million youth were registered to vote (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2014). During the 2014 national and provincial elections, only 18 654 771 general voters cast their votes out of the 25 388 082 who were registered to cast their ballot. The voter turnout was reported to be 73.48%, which was a great decline compared to the 77, 3% turnout in 2009, 76, 73% in 2004 and 89, 3 % in 1999 (Independent Electoral Commission, 2014) [hereafter IEC]. In these statistics, youth voter turnout was seen to be low. Millions of youth between 18 and 29 years remained unregistered during the elections, which as a result decreased the overall levels of registration and the eligible voter turnout (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2014).

There is a long history of youth engagement in politics when looking at South Africa. As a result, their activities have a crucial impact on the history of the country (Schoeman & Puttergill, 2007). Due to these activities led by youth in the 1970s and 1980s, such as the 1976 political uprising, they contributed to the political and social transformation and democracy of the country (Mathoho & Ranchod, 2006). Given the history of youth being in the forefront of politics, it would be expected that they would currently be in the forefront of democratic processes in the country, such as casting their votes during elections. (Schoeman

& Puttergill, 2007). It is however evident that youth voter turnout is lower than expected as seen in recent elections in the country (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2014). Malada, (2008) points out that the poor participation of youth in elections has been a growing concern especially when looking at history of elections in South Africa. Unlike during the apartheid regime, youth now have the constitutional right to vote for the National Assembly, provincial and local government from the age of 18 years.

Malila (2013) conducted a research study in South Africa that demonstrated that the level of youth engagement in political activities was low. They also did not show a general interest in politics. Schoeman and Puttergill (2007) believe that this poses as a threat to the democracy of the country, especially in light of the fact that voting in a now democratic country is meaningful. It is important for individuals to exercise their votes in the elections of the country, whether national or municipal, as they build and maintain the democracy of the country (Schoeman & Puttergill, 2007).

This research study was undertaken to help us understand the attitudes of youth toward voting by exploring reasons why they are not engaging in politics by exercising their right to vote. As reported by Malada (2008), it is important for youth to vote as they will be practicing their right to freedom of expression. Their vote becomes their voice (Schoeman & Puttergill, 2007).

South Africa is not the only country to experiences low turnout rates in youth voters; it is a worldwide phenomenon (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2014). According to Dermody, Hanmer- Lloyd and Scullion (2010) when coming to elections, youth are arguably the most disengaged of all people in the voting age population. Regardless of their eligibility to vote, they continue to not vote throughout their lives and it has seemingly become a norm.

Schoeman and Puttergill (2007) explain that the decision of youth to vote or not, is highly influenced by tangible, as well as intangible considerations. Dermody, Hanmer- Lloyd and Scullion (2010) have attempted to investigate the attitudes and behaviours of youth in Britain to the reasons behind their decision not to vote. It was found that youth did not trust politicians and their government due to dissatisfying experiences with the performance of the government. This therefore resulted in their loss of interest to participate in the political processes of their country.

Although research has been conducted on youth and their attitudes towards voting (Dermody, Hanmer- Lloyd & Scullion, 2010; Oyedemi & Mahlatji, 2016; Schoeman & Puttergill, 2007;

Tracy, 2016), the perspective of youth in the Siyabuswa community has not been investigated. Siyabuswa, located in the Former KwaNdebele homeland, suffers from lack of development like many other former homelands in the country (Nobel, Zembe & Wright, 2014). Roberts, wa Kivilu and Davids (2010), talk about youth being the drivers of development in societies. This is why it is important to understand the attitudes of youth in Siyabuswa toward voting. This will serve as a gateway into their motivation towards the development of Siyabuswa as a former homeland faced with challenges of poverty and unemployment.

This study sought to provide insight into why youth in this region do not vote. Its importance lies in the participation of youth in elections as they are the leaders of tomorrow. The study would provide community leaders in the Siyabuswa community with knowledge regarding why the youth decide not to vote, and how they can be stimulated to then cast their votes in forthcoming elections. It was also intended to contribute to the existing knowledge on the attitudes of youth toward voting in order to address the issues that contribute to youth deciding not to participate in elections.

1.4 Research Question

What are the perspectives of youth in the Siyabuswa community in Mpumalanga regarding why they do not vote in elections?

1.5 Aim and Objectives

Aim

The main aim of this study was to explore the perspectives of youth in the Siyabuswa community in Mpumalanga regarding why they do not vote in elections.

Objectives

i) To investigate how informed the youth in the Siyabuswa community are on the registration and voting process.
ii) Explore the views of youth in the Siyabuswa community regarding what are the main reasons that demotivates them from being active participants in local/municipal and national elections
iii) To explore what youth think can be done in the Siyabuswa community to encourage them to participate in elections.

1.6 Theoretical Framework: Social Cognitive Theory

Theory seeks to help explain, if not then possibly predict the phenomena that we experience and occur in the world. In qualitative research, researchers use theory as means of explaining behaviour and attitudes (Creswell, 2003). The theory used to guide this study was that of social cognitive theory. In understanding social cognitive theory, let us start by briefly discussing cognitive theory. According to Lesser and Pope (2007, pg. 60), "The rationale behind cognitive theory is that the affects and behaviours of human beings are largely determined by the way in which they structure their world". This basically informs us that the way in which people think result in the emotions that they experience (Lesser & Pope, 2007). Sheafor and Horejsi (2006) identify this theory as cognitive-behavioural theory due to their interpretation of how the cognition of individuals produces thoughts, which thereafter results in emotions and behaviours that are exerted into the world. This is because it is believed that how people think has a strong influence on their emotional reaction as well as how they then behave (Sheafor & Horejsi, 2006).

Albert Bandura contributed tremendously to the ideas behind social cognitive theory. It is in his work where he stated that this theory demonstrated the interactional model of causation where environmental events, personals factors and the individual's behaviour operate as determinates interacting with each other. It is hypothesised that human thoughts are powerful instruments when comprehending the environment and thereof dealing with it. This is because people should not be perceived as only knowers and performers, but also as human beings that are self-reactors with the capability to self-direct (Bandura, 1986). According to Parvanta, Nelson, Parvanta, and Harner, (2010), this theory demonstrates that the manner in which an individual behaves is a result of their perceptions; constant interaction that occurs between the individual and their external environment and their internal psychosocial characteristics.

According to Bandura (2001, pg. 1) "Social cognitive theory distinguishes among three modes of agency: direct personal agency; proxy agency that relies on others to act on one's behest to secure desired outcomes; and collective agency exercised through socially coordinative and interdependent effort". This is argued to be determined by what is identified as human agency where one has to take into consideration that people are not just agents of experiences, they go through these experiences as agents (Bandura, 2001). Plotnik and

Kouyoumdjian (2013) explain that the focus of social cognitive theory is primarily on the forces that influence the development of personality. These are the cognitive-personal factors which include social roles and the expectations of those roles, beliefs and genetic influence; behavioral factors such as actions, conversations and the emotional expressions of individuals; and lastly, environmental factors. They include the social, political and cultural forces that exist in the environment of an individual (Plotnik & Kouyoumdjian, 2013).

It is emphasized that, in this theory, the motivation and regulation of human behavior is due to the exercise of self-influence. Future responses to events are believed to be motivated and regulated by the cognitive representation of what occurs in the present. Therefore the actions and behaviors of individuals are due to the cognitive processes of the events that have taken place or are happening in the present (Bandura, 1991). Believed to be the founder of this theory, it is indicated that Bandura incorporated the behaviorism and the social learning theory in order to bring an understanding on how human actions and behaviors are adapted and changed (Stajkovic & Luthans, 1998).

Bandura (1986) explains that individuals draw on their knowledge and their ability to symbolise power to find innovative ways of action. They base their actions on thoughts which depend highly on their reasoning skills. Bandura (1986) further argues that, even though people may know how to reason logically, they may also fail to consider the full consequences of their decisions. With the use of this theoretical framework, the researcher will be able to seek reasons into why the youth of Siyabuswa decide not to vote. As explained by Bandura (1986) that human beings behave and respond to the world according to what they have cognitively processed and made conclusions of. This is highly dependenton on the events that occur in their environment. Therefore, this theoretical framework will help inform the study about the perceptions of youth in the former Kwa-Ndebele Region on their decision not to vote.

1.7 Brief overview of the Research Methodology

This study utilised the qualitative research approach and a case study method. Purposive sampling was implemented to recruit 15 youth who currently reside in Siyabuswa. Data was collected by conducting face-to-face interviews with participants and using a semi-structured interview schedule as research tool to guide discussion. After having had obtained permission

to record the interviews, they were transcribed and then analysed using the thematic analysis process.

1.8 Definition of Key Concepts

1.8.1 Youth

Annan (2007) defines youth as a transition that occurs between childhood and an individual being an elder. It is an interface between childhood and adulthood (Mafema & Tshishonga, 2010). The definition of youth differs from one country to another. Aspects of social, economic and development issues are considered when defining youth. The Caribbean policies extended the age period of youth to begin at 15 and end at 30 years of age due to the high rate of unemployed youth. Youth were previously categorised as individuals between the ages of 15 and 24 (Cunningham, 2003). In South Africa the definition of youth is echoed in the National Youth Commission Act No. 19 of 1996, which defines the range of South African youth between the ages of 14 and 35 years (Strelitz & Boshoff, 2008). Similar to what has been done in the Caribbean, South African policies extended the age span in order to address and also compensate for past injustices, which resulted in socio-economic issues such as poverty and unemployment in youth.

1.8.2 Elections

According to Taylor (1996, pg. 8), "Elections are double-edged weapons in the rise of democracy and in the formation of a dominant, stable and permanent political order". Elections are further defined as a system that allows legitimate political activities. They allow new political groups to bring change by demonstrating the illegitimacy of the old regime. They provide an opportunity for these new groups to enter into politics while also bringing threat to other groups, especially old political groups. They are believed to be a tool used to resolve political conflict without having to resort to physical forces (Taylor, 1996).

South Africa has what is called the Electoral Act, which covers the proceedings of the elections of the country. Bodies such as the IEC can amend the Act, which has been proven necessary since the historic elections that occurred in 1994 (Dumont, 1997).

1.8.3 Vote/voting

Voting is defined as a democratic method to making decisions. These decisions are made based on the majority of votes (Harrington-Mackin, 1994). According to Tideman (2006), a

collective decision is made by the votes casted. Ultimately an option prevails and is determined in a manner believed to be rational. Cowen and Laakso (2007, pg. 2) argue that "voting brings an individual person into the political arena by stripping the individual of any personality to make 'the vote', both abstract from the person of any particular voter and equivalent to all other voters". Through those votes, people are represented and their individual voices are deemed vocal.

1.8.4 Perspectives

According to Ross (1983), a perspective is the manner in which a person views their reality from what they have experienced in the social world. It is stated that "This fact of the elimination by reason of synthesis is sometimes termed the perspective of the actual world from the standpoint of that concrescence" (Ross, 1983, pg. 2). What this means is that, individual experience the external world however go through internal processes that then result in the views that they have about their environment. The coupling of their experiences and cognitive processes makes up what is the known as their perspective (Ross. 1983).

1.9 Organisation of the Report

This research report consists of five chapters. Chapter One provided an introduction to the study by outlining the background, problem statement and rationale of the study, as well as the aims and objectives. Chapter Two, the literature review, focuses on information relevant to the research topic, while Chapter Three discusses the research design and methodology of the study. Chapter Four presents research findings and discusses these research results. Lastly, Chapter Five presents a summary of the findings, conclusions based on the study, as well as recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The chapter reviews literature on youth apathy towards voting. According to Onwuegbuzie and Frels (2016), literature review should not be seen as just a phase in a research process, but a methodology in the study. When one reviews literature, one would have to select a topic, search for literature related to the topic, and develop an argument by surveying and critiquing the literature. Onwuegbuzie and Frels (2016) further argue that a common method used to acquire knowledge is through an engagement with what has already been done and that is what a literature review entails.

2.2 History of Siyabuswa in KwaNdebele and its Political Background

According to South African Cities Network (2011), Mpumalanga was established in 1994 containing former homelands known as KwaNdebele, Kangwane, Gazankulu and Lebowa as well as some parts of the old Transvaal Province. These areas were under the Homeland Laws such as the KwaNdebele Town Planning Act No. 10 of 1992, which were aimed at regulating the planning, establishment and development of the areas (South African Cities Network, 2011). Mpumalanga was established after the Land Act and other apartheid legislation had been dismantled. However, the many realities of the impact that these legislation had on these former homelands still remain (Von Fintel & Pienaar, 2013).

Nobel et al., (2014) explained that former homelands seem to carry a heavier burden of deficiency when compared to the rest of South Africa. For example, the deprivation of living environment; education; material deprivation and employment. When narrowing it down to KwaNdebele region, it is indicated that the area has the lowest percentage in two domains of deprivation, which are mineral deprivation and employment deprivation. The former KwaNdebele region also experiences insufficient infrastructure due to its status as a former homeland under the old apartheid regime (Nobel et al., 2014).

In 1913, during the apartheid regime, the 1913 Land Act was implemented in South Africa. The apartheid government implemented policies which forcefully evicted around 3.5 million people to the homelands that were established for black people. This Act prohibited black

people from acquiring land anywhere outside of the boundaries of the homelands, which made it impossible for blacks to develop their communities (Von Fintel & Pienaar, 2013). Beinart (2012) argues that regardless of the oppressive laws in homelands, they managed to develop their own governance, cultural identity as well as political movements.

KwaNdebele was one of the last homelands to be created as was established in the mid-1970s. It consisted of two communities. The Ndebele community and the BaSotho community. The government implemented a plan to expand the homeland by incorporating small farms such as the Moutse and Nebo farms into the KwaNdebele map and this lead to a massive conflict amongst traditional leaders. This is because the Moutse Traditional leaders did not want their communities to be merged with the KwaNdebele homeland. The Moutse and Nebo community, did not want to merge with the KwaNdebele homeland as they believed that their independence will be compromised should they agree to such a motion. The youth went up in arms protecting what they believed was theirs. Hundreds of lives were lost in 1986 when a bitter clash occurred and the leaders were also forced to go up in arms. The youth of KwaNdebele played a major role in the history of the former homeland as the youth of KwaNdebele Youth Congress (KWAYCO) opposed this motion of independence and participated actively in the bitter clash (Khunou, 2011).

2.3 Challenges faced by youth of Siyabuswa in the Former KwaNdebele homeland in Mpumalanga

It is very unfortunate that the youth of Siyabuswa suffer from the scars of the apartheid system. However, studies conducted do not narrow their focus on the challenges faced by youth in Siyabuswa. Siyabuswa is hardly an area researched regardless of its history, which might be a contributing factor to the lack of development in the community. Most of the statistics and research done covers Siyabuswa under Mpumalanga or the former KwaNdebele region. Therefore, it is assumed that the findings include the experiences of individuals in Siyabuswa.

After the release of Mandela and South Africa having its first democratic elections, Khunou (2011, pg. 246) put forth that "The majority population, both urban and rural, had for a long time been longing to replace the Bantustan system of governance with a more just and equitable social, political and economic order". One would argue that to some, that still remains a hope. According to Nobel et al., (2014), regardless of the decline in poverty levels in former homelands due to social grants, these areas seem to still have very high poverty

levels. All former homelands comprise 73.6% of income-based poverty levels. The former KwaNdebele region sits at 66.7% of this poverty line while the rest of the country is found to be at 46.0%. The whole of South Africa has a poverty line of 55.7%. This justifies how economically deprived KwaNdebele communities are.

One of the major issues experienced by youth in Mpumalanga is unemployment. In Mpumalanga, youth of working age population in 2015 accounted for 58.9 % of the population and 69.9% of these youth were unemployed. From the year 2008 to 2015, youth who had not worked previously, and would not be able to claim any related skills, increased from 49.4% to 61.6%. This resulted in Mpumalanga youth being ranked the third most vulnerable youth in the country. It was also found that female youth unemployment rate was higher than male youth unemployment rate by 1.4 %. Within this 7 year period, the highest unemployment rate among the population was found to be African/Black youth. In 2008, the unemployment rate of African/ Black youth was estimated to be 34.0 % and in 2015, the number increased to 40.9%, which showed a major decline in youth employment amongst African/Black youth. On the other hand, the unemployment rate of white youth improved from 20.3% in 2008 to 11.3% in 2015 (Economic Analysis, 2015). This demonstrates how vulnerable African/Black youth are in the Mpumalanga Province and sequentially in Siyabuswa.

According to the 2011 census, the Dr JS Moroka Municipally (which is the municipality administering services to Siyabuswa), experienced an unemployment rate of 46.6%. Youth unemployment rate was at 61.4% (Statistics South Africa, 2011).

Other challenges that youth in KwaNdebele face include the issue of education. KwaNdebele region is a very traditional area where things such as the initiation of girls and boys is actively practised. This impacts on the education of youth as it results low performances of learners who struggle to catch up with school work after spending months in initiation schools. Some of these learners return from initiation schools and perceive themselves as “men” and “women” and therefore lose motivated to continue with school (Welch, 2000).

Another issue identified was the parents ‘views on their children’s’ education. (Welch, 2000, pg. 9) reported that, “Learners in one school further indicated that a major problem regarding initiation and the extent to which it affects schooling is the attitude of parents who seem to value traditional practices more than school-based education.”

According to Von Fintel and Pienaar (2013), former African homeland households have lower education levels than non-homeland households. This was seen evident in KwaNdebele in a research study conducted by Welch (2000, 22) reporting on learners who shared that, "…some of the female learners who dropped out of school to become prostitutes, mainly because of unemployment and poverty in their families." Some learners face challenges of broken households as older children run households and are responsible for their siblings as their parents work in big cities, such as Pretoria and Johannesburg. This was seen to affect the performances of these learners (Welch, 2000).

Some other issues found in the study was the issue of many schools in KwaNdebele lacking facilities such as libraries, laboratories, toilets and other facilities to maximise the performance of learners. Some facilities were old and needed renovations. Welch (2000, pg. 16) noted that "…in some of the schools visited in the former KwaNdebele region, ceilings have collapsed, causing intolerable noise when it is raining, as well as heat during the summer". This makes it difficult for youth to learn as their environment has proven to not be conducive enough for maximum learning to occur. These are some of the factors which cause generational issues in the community as the future of youth in KwaNdebele is compromised.

2.4 National and Municipal Elections

Citizens are the ones who decide whether or not to participate in politics. They are ultimately the ones who determine the structure of the government (Johnson, Reynolds & Mycoff, 2008). Some citizens have decided to participate in elections more than others (Cronin, 1999). Cronin (1999) further indicates that while some people decide to vote in every election, some vote selectively depending on which election it is, while other decides to not vote at all. It is believed that voting varies according to socio-economic status. Those who are better educated vote more than those of lower classes, especially those who have little education and earn lower pay (Johnson, Reynolds & Mycoff, 2008; Cronin, 1999).

Regardless of this argument, Schoeman and Puttergill (2007, pg. 154) puts forth that "Elections and the act of participation through voting remain, for many, the defining proof that they have a voice and the opportunity of 'asserting the political self, of expressing identity and autonomy'." It may be well argued that youth who decide to vote are also

voicing out a concern that needs to be identified and addressed, hence the importance of such research studies.

One step towards this inquiry is to understand the South African electoral system. It is argued that, "In a democratic system, parties compete openly in an electoral process." (Sabie, 2011, pg. 184). The Human Science Research Council [hereafter HSRC] (2016) confirms this point by indicating that political Parties in South Africa have the freedom and space to register to contest in elections and also campaign for their parties during elections. This is as permitted by the constitutional democracy of the country. The primary task of political parties is identified to involve the organisation of the chaotic public will (Sabie, 2011).

South Africa follows a Westminster system of Proportional Representation. This is imbedded in the constitution as being the highest rule of law in the country and is executed at a national and provincial level. This system also allows the representation of multiple parties in the country which is considered essential for a country like South Africa due to its history of apartheid and colonialism (HSRC, 2016). Sabie (2011, pg. 187) however, indicated that "When a political party wins an election it is in a position to execute its policies." So far most of the policies implemented were those of the ruling party of which is the African National Congress (ANC). This party has governed South Africa since the first non-racial and non-sexist elections of the country in 1994 (Sabie, 2011).

In South Africa, the municipal elections are held separately to the national and provincial elections which occur on the same day. It is put forth that the model adopted in April 1994 during the first democratic elections of the country, still exists to this day. This is believed to ensure elections are held fairly and voters elect a political party of their choice. The national parliament has a total of 400 seats, therefore based on the support secured by political parties through votes, lists containing 400 names of party members are drafted. These members are sent to parliament to represent the party and its voters. The African National Congress (ANC) has managed to maintain its status as the ruling party; obtaining majority votes in elections and securing majority of the seats in the national parliament (Sabie, 2011). This however changed during the 2016 municipal/local elections where the ANC still remained as the ruling party however the Democratic Alliance (DA) managed to win a total of three major metro cities in the country. At the end of the elections, the ANC had lost 50% majorty in metro cities such as the City of Tswane and the Nelson Mandela Bay Metro to the DA (Areff, 2016).

2.5 The mobilisation of voters

Sabie (2011) puts forth the reality that one of the functions of political parties is the mobilisations of voters so that they can maximise voters who vote for them. This is done continually, however it is argued that political parties tend to increase such efforts just before elections. Activities such as door-to-door campaigning, community meetings, rallies, party manifestos, and advertisements through billboards and newspapers are some of the common strategies political parties use to reach voters. Sabie (2011) continues to demonstrate that, campaigns through social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook are the latest strategies used by political parties to predominantly target young voters.

Political parties utilise a lot of resources during these campaigns. Although airtime on SABC channels is free for all political parties, these parties still have to spend on the production of the television and radio advertisements. This therefore favours political parties that are well-resourced (Sabie, 2011). The HSRC (2016) argues that the Electoral Commission although not directly linked, obligates political parties to educate their voters during elections. This is usually done through campaigns and the launching of party manifestos. Parties are allowed to campaign freely without any form of intimidation when attempting to reach voters. It is believed that no voters are coerced into voting or not voting for a particular party regardless of the voting strategies used by political parties. Campaigns strategies are said to be monitored by the Electoral Commission as they have to abide by the rule stated in the Electoral Act. Political parties have the responsibility to tolerate one another during these campaigns and violence in any manner towards one another is deemed a criminal offense (HSRC, 2016).

The campaign environment is not as easy and smooth sailing as the commission would want it to be. As indicated above that, political parties need to be monitored in the period of elections (HSRC, 2016). According to the Commonwealth Observer Mission report (2014), two political parties had their television adverts banned. The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) had to ban adverts from the DA and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) during the campaign for the 2014 national elections of the country. The DA had a total of six adverts banned. The advert titled “Ayisafani”, alongside five radio adverts were banned, as they were believed to could provoke violence against the police and they were also a direct attack to the current president of the country, President Zuma. The DA challenged the decision at the Electoral Court and the adverts were later allowed to air on the SABC channels.

On the other hand, the EFF had its adverts banned as they were calling for their supporters to physically remove e-tolls. The SABC never aired the advert however, it made rounds in other media platforms. The DA continued their campaign by sending an estimate of over 1.5 million bulk text messages to voter stating issues such as the report by the Public Protector on the 200 million taken from taxpayers' money, for the security upgrades for the Nkandla resident owned by the president. A day before the elections, the Electoral Court ruled in favour of the ANC after they appealed to the court against the DA (Commonwealth Observer Mission, 2014). It is quite evident that election campaigns are a battlefield for political parties.

As mentioned above, political parties utilise a lot of resources to campaign for their parties. It is believed that election campaigns favour those who have the most resources as they are able to create bigger campaigns then those who do not have the same amount of resources (Sabie, 2011). Commonwealth Observer Mission (2014) puts forth that during the 2014 national elections, some opposition parties pointed out that State resources were abused during campaigns. It was alleged that the ruling party used State resources, such as police vehicles used to transport material owned by the ruling party. Unfortunately, political parties with fewer resources cannot afford as much visibility as others with the resources.

2.6 Youth apathy toward voting

In the work of Roberts et al., (2010, pg. 87) it is noted that the "United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA 2005) argues that the Millennium Development Goals are about youth. As such, youth will be responsible for determining whether countries achieve their goals". This demonstrates that youth are a priority for development to occur in a country and for it to be sustained through economic growth, poverty reduction and by also addressing long-standing socio-political division through youth participation (Roberts et al., 2010). It is argued that the youth are the future of the country hence their contribution to the politics of this country is of significance (Quinn & Isler, 2012).

2.6.1 Youth apathy towards voting on a globally scale

According to Esser and Vreese (2007), it is without a doubt that youth worldwide are reluctant to participate in politics by exercising their vote during the elections and this has

become very alarming. The reason behind this concern is because in a democracy, elections play a vital role. Furthermore, elections ensure that there is a representation of the population in the political field for the legitimacy of the political system. Schoeman and Puttergill (2007, pg. 154) put forth that "Elections and the act of participation through voting remain, for many, the defining proof that they have a voice". Furthermore, it is believed that voting is important in building and maintaining democracy as voting is one of the core ingredients towards the democracy of the country (Schoeman & Puttergill, 2007; Booysen, 2015). Schulz-Herzenberg (2014) argues that youth carry the potential to change politics and for as much as they appear to recognise that the weight their vote has, they are the least to carry out that duty.

According to Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2005), youth in Britain were found to be the most disengaged, in all of the electoral segments of the country. Youth seem to have normalised not participating in elections by not voting throughout their lives. Britain has seen a major decline in the participation of youth in voting not only in their general elections, however also seen to decline in their local and European elections (Dermody, Hanmer-Lloyd and Scullion, 2010). According to Mori (2005) cited in Dermody, Hanmer-Lloyd & Scullion, 2010), 43% of Britain youth between the ages of 18 to 24 years did not vote in 1997. A major increase was recorded in 2001 when 61% of youth did not vote. The figure increased to 63% in 2005. This demonstrates how concerning youth apathy towards voting is as youth are the ones who arguably the future leaders of nation significance (Quinn & Isler, 2012).

The youth in America has shown similar apathetic behaviour where the government decided to implement strategies to get the youth to vote. The legal age for eligible voters was dropped to 18 years of age during the 1972 elections. Very high levels of youth voter turnouts were recorded, however in 1996 and 2000, youth voter turnout declined drastically. One of the strategies proposed to target youth voters is that of introducing education policies and changing some voting laws. This includes engaging youth in a civic education course where civic and governmental material discussed in school settings. This follows the ideas that the higher the education levels of an individual the higher their chances of getting involved in civic activities and also participating in elections by voting. The voting laws that gave being put forth to encourage voting behaviour at a young age in order for it to become a norm includes allowing learners to preregister to vote from age 16 or 17 years. These are some of

the measures believed to encourage youth to vote from a young age and hopefully continue with this behaviour even in their adult life (Pero & Nelson, 2012)

2.6.2 Youth apathy towards elections in South Africa

Resnick and Casale (2014) explain that "One of the most robust findings in the literature on political participation is that younger people tend to be less engaged in formal modes of the democratic process, particularly voting." The hypothesis is that youth do not vote because they lack access to political information, knowledge and socio-economic resources. This follows the ideas of Quintelier (2007) indicating that youth do not vote because they do not have much responsibility in their lives where they are pressured to decide what happens in politics.

Wattenberg (2007) echoes similar sentiments by indicating that perhaps one should consider the impact of the life cycle of individuals when looking at their voting behaviour. Wattenberg (2007, pg. 182) emphasises that "An individual's place in the life cycle plays an important role in determining the kind of personal experience that seem relevant at any given point in time, which in turn affects one's political priorities and values". It is believed that since young people are in the process of establishing their careers, completing their education and getting a job, it is easy for them to not be as engaged in politics; however things change once one has entered into adulthood, has established a career and is more conservative.

According to Mattes and Richmond (2014, pg. 1) "…many people see the youth as the primary catalyst of activism and political change." Hence it is very crucial to have youth involved in political activities such as voting. Schoeman and Puttergill (2007) provide us with a discussion on the third local government elections of the country by looking into the voting patterns of youth in South Africa. A decline in youth voter turnout has declined since the very first democratic elections of the country and this without a doubt, is a major concern (Schoeman & Puttergill, 2007). Oyedemi and Mahlatji (2016, pg. 10) argue that "Democracy and freedom came to South Africa at a great price. This and future generations cannot take the right to vote for granted and must uphold the values of the democratic process." This could be a justifiable reasoning for this concern; however Schoeman and Puttergill (2007) puts forth that there are a number of reasons behind why youth decide to vote. What was found to influences these decisions ranged from tangible to intangible considerations (Schoeman & Puttergill, 2007).

In a study conducted on the 2006 municipal elections in South Africa, it was found that 32% of the respondents did not vote in the elections. Of that, 78% were youth between the ages of 16 and 24 years, 20% were youth aged between 25 and 35. Only 11% of people that did not vote were adults aged 36 years and above (Roberts et al., 2010). The reasons behind why the youth did not vote were different. Those who were younger reported to not voting due to their ineligibility because of the voting age. Youth aged 25 to 35 years did not give a firm response to why they decided not to vote. Of the respondents who were eligible to vote, 10% of them reported to being either disillusioned with the political process or they were not interested in politics (Roberts et al., 2010).

2.7 Contributing factors to youth apathy towards voting

Schoeman and Puttergill (2007, pg. 160) puts forth that "Youth apathy about participating in elections is a worldwide phenomenon". It is argued that regardless of the youth not participating in traditional methods of politics such as voting, they are seen to participate more in marches, rallies and riots. It is therefore important to understand the factors that influence this decision from youth on not to vote during the elections.

Concerns about the attitudes and behaviours of the youth to participate in the elections of the country have sparked a number of debates to the reasons behind this phenomenon. Identifying and understanding what drives the youth to vote or decide not to, is essential in our country for the strengthening of our democracy (Tracy, 2016). Schoeman and Puttergill (2007) share similar sentiments as they argue that when one exercises his or her vote, he or she helps build and maintain the democracy of the country.

One would wonder if youth are being apathetic hence they are not voting, or their reasons to not participate in elections are way greater than being just apathetic. Quintelier (2007) puts forth that, when comparing youth political involvement and that of the older generation, it always seems as though youth are the ones who are always disengaged. Youth are the ones who are least likely to vote during elections and their participation in elections are continuously declining. This justifies why one would believe that youth are apathetic towards politics. However, it was also believed that youth are apathetic because they do not have the same responsibilities as the older generation. They do not want houses, they do not have children to provide for or even a stable residence, which are some of the factors believed to trigger political engagement (Quintelier, 2007)

Tracy (2016) argues that her study demonstrates that the decision made by South African youth not to vote is not due to apathy as many would like to believe. However their reasons are more inclined with their socio-economic standing as well as their analysis of the politics in South Africa and how they affect their lives. Pero and Nelson (2012) this statement by indicating that for an individual to vote, the benefits of doing so must outweigh the cost involved in voting. (Burns, Jobson and Zuma, 2015, pg. 83) explain that the due to the history of the country, youth of South Africa are faced with an uncertain future due to the "…impact on their sense of belonging – their feeling part of a promised dream of freedom, having a valued identity to celebrate, and being afforded the opportunity to transition successfully into independent adulthood".

2.7.1 Frustration of their current socio-economic status

Malila (2013) indicates that youth in South Africa face challenges despite the transformatory intentions of the new government led by the ANC. This generation of youth suffers the same as the previous generation. This is due to low education, poor school completion and their inability to secure employment. Youth continue to live in high levels of physical and material insecurity due to crime, corruption by bureaucrats, food shortage or the income of cash as well as the impact of HIV/AIDS. Therefore, due to these social factors, youth are politically apathetic and this influences whether they vote or not. Their dissatisfaction with the current political structures has them opting rather for the engagement in protest actions as they believe it is the best approach to get their voices heard (Malila, 2013).

Tracy (2016) conducted a research study on the factors that influence voting among youth in South Africa. A total of 277 focus groups and 49 one-on-one interviews were conducted with over 2000 youth between ages 18 to 24 years found in high school and tertiary institutions countrywide. It was found that youth reported to growing increasingly frustrated by the socio-economic challenges they continue to face. These include unemployment, poor housing and poor education amongst other challenges. According to Oyedemi and Mahlatji (2016) youth are very concerned with the socio-economic standing of their lives and as a result, this determines whether they decide to vote or not. Unfortunately, the youth of South Africa find themselves faced with socio-economic issues. A study by Oyedemi and Mahlatji (2016) revealed a direct impact in youth voter turnout due to the socio-economic challenges faced by youth. Oyedemi and Mhlatji (2016) argue that the government has attempted to address these socio-economic issues since the 1994 elections, however it is due to the slow progress and

inability to attend to all the demands made by youth which include employment, access to education and electricity amongst other needs that then results in youth being apathetic towards elections.

2.7.2 Crime and Corruption

An issue that also emerged in the study conducted by Tracy (2016) was that of crime and corruption. Youth in the study reported to be detrimentally affected by it. Crime and corruption in South Africa tends to undermine the national integrity of the country. As a result, it generates anger and outrage in the citizens of the country. Billions of Rands are lost in South Africa due to commercial crimes, fraud and corruption. This was found to be a major concern to youth in the study and therefore was seen to be one of the reasons for their apathy towards voting. What was deemed a major problem to the youth, was the response to crime and corruption. The youth indicated that, it was the lack of response to these crimes that was disheartening to them. They felt of though institutions such as the South African Police Service and the South African justice system were not addressing these issues of crimes perpetuated to citizens in the manner that they should as perpetrators are easily set free. The high levels of crime in the country have made them to lose trust in the police and justice system (Tracy, 2016).

The concern of youth regarding corruption was linked to the issue of accountability and the lack of an attempt to do away with corruption in the country. Their major concern with corruption is the fact that it occurs within the government of the country by political leaders. The youth have indicated to have lost trust in the leaders of the country due to the corruption. The participants indicated to have feelings of being betrayed by political leaders, predominantly mentioning the Nkandla scandal. They believed political leaders get rich at the expense of poor; as they get richer while the poor get poorer as a result of corruption (Tracy, 2016).

A study conducted by Sader and Muller (2004) echoed the same sentiments by youth who were apathetic to voting. A total of 20 young South Africans were interviewed in an attempt to explore voting behaviour of youth. Participants who were apathetic towards voting reported to not voting because of the corruption by government officials who enrich themselves on the expense of ordinary citizens. Corruption is a major issue in the country which should be addressed (Sader and Muller, 2004).

2.7.3 Dissatisfaction in service delivery

Burns, Jobson and Zuma (2015, pg. 83) describe young people as "ticking time-bomb". This is due to the frustration expressed by youth towards the repeated failure of the State to respond to their demands. Schoeman and Puttergill (2007) put forth that the youth of South Africa have a long history of political engagement. This has often had a crucial impact on the history of the country. Youth have low voter turnout, however they have been active participants of other political activities such as service delivery protests. These service delivery protests include a demand for basic needs and services as well as infrastructure (Schoeman & Puttergill, 2007).

According to wa Kivilu, Davids, Langa, Maphunye, Mncwango, Sedumedi and Struwig (2005) in a survey conducted aimed at determining the voting behaviour in South Africa, it was reported that youth indicated to have had their lives improved in the last five years. However, the majority of the youth remained unhappy with the level of service delivery in the country. It was in the study conducted by Schoeman and Puttergill (2007) on students at the University of Pretoria where race indicated a distinction in students concern when coming to service delivery. Schoman and Puttergill (2007) found that service delivery and high levels of crime were on top of the list for students to decide not to vote. However, a large percentage of white students listed crime as their concern, while most black students highlighted service delivery as the primary issue. It was concluded that black students are more exposed to crime however had less access to basic needs and services. On the other hand, white students had access to services and are not that exposed to crime.

The study conducted by Sader and Muller (2004) indicated that youth perceived voting to be meaningless as they believe political parties fail deliver on those promises. Youth participants in the research study conducted by Tracy (2016) demonstrated the same sentiments when participants indicated having a low trust in government and being dissatisfied with how they respond to their demands. Furthermore, others felt that they were not competent enough to engage in politics as they reported politics being too complicated. Some of the limitations with this study is that it was too restrictive when looking at the age and educational criteria of the participants. It did not look at youth in a general spectrum. The research also looked at youth in all provinces of the country however was not specific to former homelands (Tracy, 2016). The research by Sader and Muller (2004) also demonstrated the same weaknesses as

youth who were interviewed were not specifically from former homelands such as the Siyabuswa village in KwaNdebele.

2.7.4 No accountability taken by party members

According to Sabie (2011), one of the gaps in the current electoral system of South Africa is manner in which voters have access to party members in parliament. Sabie (2011, pg. 186) argues that "The structural deficiency of the present system in South Africa can lead to a serious lack of accountability and contact between MPs and their constituencies." It is argued that these structures hinder citizens from having direct access to political leaders and allows leaders to act without having to directly answer to those who vote for them.

The issues that arise with this gap is that political leaders lack accountability for their actions (Sabie, 2011). Tracy (2016) states that youth have become critical of the lack of accountability in political leaders and senior officials who are seen to be power hungry, corrupt and manipulative. Tracy (2016, pg. 3) puts forth that "Lack of political accountability by political leaders and the fact that they often only engage youth at election time are issues that appear to affect whether young people participate in elections or not." Accountability is an issue that has caused youth to lose trust in political leaders and this may be a contributing factor to their apathy to voting.

2.8.5 Born frees not born free?

According to Burns, Jobson and Zuma (2015, pg. 83) studies have pointed out that youth known as "born frees" have excluded themselves from the democratic culture of the country. They have proven to being disinterested in participating in elections as they continue to suffer issues of unemployment, poverty and inequaity (Oyedemiand Mahlatji, 2016). It is due to this alienation that low voter turnout and the low levels of political interests are seen in the country. Burns, Jobson and Zuma (2015, pg. 83) emphasise that "This lack of participation is echoed in their reportedly low levels of trust in politicians, political parties and local government."

Oyedemi and Mahlatji (2016) conducted a study by conducting a focus group with youth and focused on voting age during the 2014 national elections and who fell in the category labelled 'Born frees'(Oyedemi & Mahlatji, 2016, pg. 6). "Born frees" are the beneficiaries of democracy having had been born from the year 1994 after a long history of political struggle

in the country. They were born in an era where political equality had been finally achieved (Oyedemi & Mahlatji, 2016). Tracy (2016) identifies these youth as the 'Mandela generation' as they were born in a democratic country after the 1994 elections. In 2014, they were eligible to cast their votes for the national and provincial elections which was their very first elections. A total of 1.9 million 18 to 19 year olds were reported to eligible to register for the 2014 elections (Tracy, 2016).

What was found in the study conducted by Oyedemi and Mahlathi (2016) was that, most of the young participants indicated that their decision to vote or not does not make any difference. Others put forth that due to the ruling party and government not addressing their needs and not bringing much positive change to the lives of youth even after 20 years of democracy, voting is not seen as important. The issue of unemployment and difficulty to secure jobs as youth was mentioned several times in the discussion. The participants were university students; therefore they were concerned with employment after graduation. Some of the participants indicated that they did not know the importance and implications of voting because the value of their vote would not be evident when looking at the socio-economic conditions they find themselves in as the youth of the country (Oyedemi & Mahlatji, 2016). This is a major concern as one would wonder whether these born frees are really born free especially when looking at the socio-economic challenges they are faced with.
The National Development Plan (NDP) emphasises that, youth unemployment is a major issues in the country. Measures of reducing its high levels must be implemented in order to award youth with broader opportunities. In an attempt to address unemployment issues faced by South African youth, the NDP proposes measures such as improving the schooling system by increasing the number of learners achiving 50% and above in literacy and mathematics; introducing community-based programmes for youth providing life-skills training and entrepreneurship skills; to increase FET colleges graduaton rate by 75% and also to provide student funding for those who are from poor families. Other measures include subsidising placements for matric graduates to enter the workforce; to expand learnerships and training vouchers for job seeking youth; and to also expand the role played by state-owned enterprises in the training of artisans and technical professionals (National Planning Commission, 2012)

Roberts et al., (2010) put forth that it is as if low voters turnout has been normalised in the democratic politics of South Africa. One needs to realise that this may indicate that citizens of the country are becoming more apathetic and dissatisfied and therefore see no legitimate

political alternative to turn to. This is a challenge, therefore a need exists for interventions targeted at youth to be encouraged towards civic and political participation (Roberts et al., 2010). Furthermore, Scott et al., (2012) put forth that examining the voting patterns of the youth in South Africa is important to the democracy of the country as they are the energy driving the future of the country (Roberts et al., 2010) and should therefore be active participants (Scott et al., 2012). Youth are without a doubt the ones who can help address the challenges that the country faces (Roberts et al, 2010).

2.8 Chapter summary

The literature provided has justified the need into the inquiry of youth apathy towards elections in South Africa. Regardless of the different studies that have been conducted, it has emerged that similar themes recur. The themes that re-emerge include issues such as socio-economic challenges affecting youth, unemployment, poor education, corruption, dissatisfaction with service delievery amongst others. These are some of the reasons behind why youth decide not to vote.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a discussion on the research design and methodology utilised in this study. The study approach, design, and sampling methods, research instrument as well as the pre-testing of the research instrument will be articulated. Other things that will be discussed also include the manner in which data was collected and analysed and how the ethics in research was considered.

3.2 Research Approach

An exploratory research design was selected for this study. It is situated in the qualitative, interpretive approach of phenomenology. Miller and Dingwall (1997) explain that this approach seeks to understand human experience from the individuals' perspectives. De Vos, Strydom, Fouché and Delport (2005) explain that it is important for a researcher to select or develop a research design that will be suitable for the specific goals that have been set out for the research project. Royce (2011) puts forth that when researcher use this approach, they rely heavily on in-depth interviews as well as observations from the participants. A great deal of the advantages of this research design can be found in the work of Sarantakos (2013) where it is stated that this approach is naturalistic, which entails that the research process is undertaken in a natural setting. Furthermore, the qualitative approach to research is field focused. It is flexible, empathetic as it seeks to understand people and not measure them. It is also found to be subjective, holistic, reflexive, context-sensitive, open and communicative which plays a very crucial part in the research process (Sarantakos, 2013). In selecting qualitative research methods, the researcher was able acquire in-depth information from the participants. This allowed participants to voice out what they believed to be the reasons why they do not vote. It also allowed the interview session to be flexible.

This research explored the reasons behind why youth from Siyabuswa Community decided not to cast their votes during the elections of the country. Therefore, in using explanatory research design, the researcher was able to obtain the different perspectives of the research participants as Neuman (1994) explains that qualitative research approach does not assume that a single reality exist however through this research approach, different realities can be revealed.

The study used a phenomenological research design. According to Rubin and Babbie (2010, pg. 218) phenomenological research is very much associated to qualitative research and "refers to a philosophical paradigm for conducting qualitative research that emphasises a focus on people's subjective experiences and interpretations of the world". It attempts to find understanding of the participants from their own perspectives and also understand their feelings, thoughts and how they view reality (Cresswell, 2003; Rubin & Babbie, 2010). For this reason, phenomenological studies are particularly effective at challenging structural and normative assumptions about a particular issue (Lester, 1999).

The researcher adopted the phenomenological research approach because it presented as most suitable to realise the aims and objectives of this study, namely to explore the perspectives of youth in a particular community regarding the issue of voting.

3.3 Population and Sample

3.3.1 Population

The youth targeted were those from Siyabuswa. The community of Siyabuswa is located in the Mpumalanga Province. Mpumalanga Province currently has three districts and a total of nineteen local municipalities (South African Cities Network, 2011). Siyabuswa is situated in the former Kwa-Ndebele region. Kwa-Ndebele was one of the many homelands that were established during the apartheid era. It also happened to be the last homeland created (Jensen & Zenker, 2015). It was established for Southern Ndebele people in the 1970s. The capital of this homeland was Siyabuswa and in 1981 the government of the time granted Kwa-Ndebele the status of self-governance (Khunou, 2011).

Just as in other former homelands formed in South Africa during the Apartheid era, Siyabuswa experienced a lack of development (Nobel, Zembe and Wright 2014). As a result, many youth in Siyabuswa, as well as in the Mpumalanga Province are unemployed. In the province, youth account for 69.9 % of the unemployment statistics when evaluating the working age population (Economic Analysis, 2015).

On a personal note, the researcher also chose the Siyabuswa community as the research site because she grew up in and around the community, and is thus familiar with the problems youth are experiencing and that they are politically apathetic. She is also passionate about

bringing research into the community as she would like to contribute to the social development of youth in the community in which she grew up.

3.3.2 Sampling Procedure

Purposive sampling was used in selecting a sample of 15 participants. It is emphasised that purposive sampling "is to *purposefully* select participants or sites…that will best help the researcher understand the problem and the research question" (Creswell, 2003, pg. 185). According to De Vos et al., (2005), the researcher must think critically about the parameters of the population he/she intends to study and also choose the study case accordingly. This enables the researcher to accumulate data that provides rich detail and a range of specific information about the phenomenon studied in that specific context.

Sarantakos (2013) explains that this sampling technique is a non-probability sampling procedure that does not employ the rules of probability. In this instance, the researcher must take into consideration that the findings of the study cannot be representative and therefore generalised. The following selection criteria were used for recruitment of potential research participants:

- youth between the ages of 18 to 34 years (because they are eligible to vote);
- both sexes;
- reside in the Siyabuswa community;
- youth who have decided not to participate in local, municipal or general elections.

The manner in which the participants were recruited was by personally approaching youth in social places, such as shopping complexes, taxi ranks, bus ranks and parks as well at any place where youth gather to socialise. They were given the participant information sheet during recruitment process so that they could fully understand the purpose of the research and what it would entail. The researcher recruited research participants ethically in the sense that they were not compelled to participate in the study and the researcher prioritised not invading their privacy and confidentiality (Thomas & Hodges, 2010).

3.4 Research Instrument

In the data collection process, a semi-structured interview was used. The interview schedule consisted of both open-ended and close-ended questions (see Appendix C). Royse (2011)

explains that the advantage of using semi-structured interview schedule is the fact that it provides flexibility in the manner in which questions are asked. Between the lines of structured and unstructured interviews, lie semi-structured interviews and they contain elements of both those types of interviews (Sarantakos, 2013). However, Hessie-Biler and Leavy (2011) argue that when semi-structured interview schedules are used, the interview flows naturally.

3.5 Pre-testing of the Research Instrument

According to Feig and Stokes (2011), in order to ensure that the research instrument captures what it is intended to, a pre-test should be done. This also provides us with some validation of the study instrument (Creswell, 2003). Therefore the pre-test allows the researcher to refine the research instruments and to assess how long the data collection will take. The instrument in this study was pre-tested on a participant who met the selection criteria. He was not included in the research sample of participants. However, based on his input, the researcher confirmed that the issues she intended exploring were relevant and she was able to make minor amendments were made to the phrasing of questions. After the pre-testing the instrument the researcher changed the way in which questions were asked in order to allow the interview session to flow. It was found that some of the questions made the participant to repeat something he had already said. Therefore in order to address this issue, the researcher replaced those questions with new one. The new questions were still within the scope of the study and adhered to the aims and objectives of the project.

3.6 Data Collection

Face-to-face interviews were utilised with each participant in collecting data. Qualitative interviews are designed to be flexible, iterative and continuous (Rubin & Babbie, 2005). The researcher's communication skills acquired when completing the social work honours degree promoted successful engagement with participants. As advised by Rubin and Babbie (2005) and Immy (2005), the researcher also used appropriate words and questions to guide the interview and gather rich information.

At the commencement of interviews, the researcher reminded participants about the purpose of the study and explored whether or not they need any clarification and allowed the participants time to consider signing the form consenting to the interview and also audio-recording of the interview. (When recruiting potential research participants, the researcher

had briefly informed them about the purpose of the study and invited them to participate). This was important as it helped build trust as it provided honesty and trustworthiness in the interview session (Sarantakos, 2013).

The time and place of interviews was chosen by the participants. Siyabuswa library was used on some occasion as it has private discussion rooms. This venue was suggested to the participants in order to ensure privacy should they not have another venue where they thought the interview could be conducted. Three languages were used during interveiews. The languages used were English, IsiNdebele and Sepedi. The interviews were conducted in the language participants felt most comfortable communicating in. For example, if the participant was not comfortable with using English, then the researcher would be open to communicating in the two local languages as she is also fluent in IsiNdebele and Sepedi. The interviews were expected to take approximately 30-60 minutes, however they ranged between 10 and 48 minutes. A total of fifteen interviews were conducted, which proved sufficient for saturation to be reached.

As Royse (2011) points out, with the advantage of employing qualitative research methods, the researcher will be able to read the facial expressions and moods of the respondent and therefore respond to them accordingly.

3.7 Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data. De Vos et al., (2005) puts forth that the process of data analysis provides order, structure and meaning to the collected data. It does not happen overnight. It is characterised as being a time-consuming, creative, messy, fascinating and an ambiguous process. Qualitative research is interpretive. Researchers collect data, analyse it through finding themes or categories thereafter find personal or theoretical meaning in the data analysed in order to make conclusions or interpretations about the study. They draw on the lessons learnt and also offer further questions that could be asked from the study (Creswell, 2003).

According to Creswell (2003, pg. 191) "*Phenomenological research* uses the analysis of significant statements, the generation of meaning units and the development of an 'essence' description". Different analysis processes are used for qualitative research studies. It all depends on the design that the researcher has selected. However generic steps are always taken (Creswell, 2003).

Step 1

In the initial stage of thematic analysis the researcher has to familiarise herself with the data. This involves organising and preparing the data for analysis by transcribing the interviews and thereafter reading through the transcripts in order to start the coding process (Creswell, 2003). The researcher did so by transcribing all the interviews and while transcribing, the researcher made notes for each interview. This assisted a lot in the coding process.

Step 2

As advised by Saldana (2016) and De Vos, et al. (2005), the researcher captured the essence of qualitative codes by clustering them together according to similarity and regularity (a pattern). This analytic procedure actively facilitated the development of categories of themes. Thereafter, a description of the setting or people and the themes for the analysis are generated. It is through the reoccurrence of certain themes that major findings of the study emerge. In order to follow the principals of phenomenology, one needs to bear in mind that these themes are analysed for them to be shaped into general descriptions. The researcher coded data in this manner.

Step 3

The next step of the data analysis is to gather the themes completed with the sub-themes by using specific illustrations, multiple perspectives from the participants or even quotations (Creswell, 2003). The researcher used different colours to identify themes and alphabets to identify the sub-themes that emerged. This made the gathering of themes and sub-themes easier. Under the different colours and alphabets, the researcher then drafted quotes to use for the compilation of the report.

Step 4

The final step was to then make an interpretation of the data by providing a meaning to what has been studied. The researcher could discuss the lesson learnt during the study or their own personal interpretation of data. Meaning to data can also be linked to what literature has offered (Creswell, 2003). This was done in the research report. The researcher provided interpretations of the data and also presented a link between the data and literature.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

According to Sarantakos (2013), efforts to make research more systematic and accountable have been taking place for over 30 years. Creswell (2003) indicates that during the proposal stage of the research, the researcher needs to anticipate ethical issues that may arise during the study. The researcher must find ways to address these ethical issues. Social work research needs to ensure that no harm is done to the participants (Rubin & Babbie, 2010) by finding ways of identifying and minimising harm or risk to their participants (Royse, 2011). Padgett (2008) emphasises that in order for a study to ensure trustworthiness, the researcher must carry out the study in a fair and ethical manner.

The following are the ethical issues that were considered in this study:

3.8.1 Voluntary participation and informed consent

The role of the participants was clearly stipulated in the study. The participants were given an information sheet with details about the study and they were given the opportunity to decide whether they want to participant or not (see Appendix A). The participants were informed about their freedom to choose whichever without prejudice. Creswell (2003) puts forth that the participants need to know about the procedures of the study, as well as what is to be anticipated in the research.

The participants freely consented to the interview as well as the recording of the interviews in a written format (see Appendix B). The process was explained to the participants, as well as the importance to record the interview before the participant signs both the consent forms.

The participants were informed of their right to refuse to answer any question they do not feel comfortable with and they can also withdraw at any given time of the interview with it being held against them. It is important to inform the participants on their right to voluntarily participate in the study and also withdraw at any given time in order to minimise any harm from taking place during the data collection process (Creswell, 2003). Rubin and Babbie (2010, pg. 257) stress that, “No one should be forced to participate”. All participants must be aware that they are participating in a study, be informed of all the consequences of the study, and consent to participate in it”. The researcher ensured that all participants were aware of this through the participant information sheet as well as verbally before the interview took place.

3.8.2 Anonymity and Confidentiality

It is argued that, a respondent can only be considered anonymous when the researcher cannot identify a given response to its owner (Rubin & Babbie, 2010). According to Royse (2011), qualitative interviews cannot provide us with much anonymity as the researcher has to interact with the participant during the interview. In order to provide the participants with some form of anonymity, their names, audio recordings and records were kept confidential. The audiotape recordings, consent forms or contact-information sheet were kept in a secure place. Soft copies of any of the recordings or information of the participants were stored in the laptop of the researcher which is protected by a password. The researcher also ensured that hardcopies of the data collected were protected at all times by securing them in a place where they were not easily accessible to other people. When compiling the research report pseudonyms were used instead of the real names of the participants. This helped with protecting the participants from being traced.

According to Royse (2011), confidentiality is when the researcher ensures that potentially sensitive or information that is considered private is protected by the researcher. This also includes the protection of the identity of the participant. The researcher ensured that the information obtained was shared between the researcher and the supervisor of the researcher. This was explained in the information sheet of the study and the researcher also verbally explained this to the participant before the interview. The researcher informed the participants that pseudonyms would be used instead of real names, as well as the reasons for doing so.

3.8.3 Non-maleficence

Rubin and Babbie (2005, 73) emphasise that "Social work research should never injure the people being studied, regardless of whether they volunteered for the study." Royse (2011) has indicated that it is unlikely for social work researcher to propose research studies that would have the potential of resulting in harm to their participants. Researcher must find ways to minimise any harm from taking place (Royse, 2011). In order to minimise any harm in this study, the research participants were informed of the counselling/debriefing services they could use if there was a need. Counselling would be provided by two designated social workers at the Siyabuswa Social Welfare Offices. A need to refer any participant to the Social Welfare Offices did not arise within the interview session, however participants were advised to contact the social workers should they see a need to on a later stage.

3.9 Trustworthiness

According to Shenton (2004), in ensuring trustworthiness of a qualitative study four factors are considered. These factors are credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. Shenton (2004) explains that in order to achieve credibility of the study, the researcher has to make certain that the study measures what is intended. A way of doing so is by ensuring honesty in informants while collecting data. Participants in this study were given an opportunity to decide whether they want to participate in the study or not. They were also allowed to pull out of the study at any point in time of the study should they wish to do so. This was stated clearly in the consent form and the researcher highlighted it to the participants before they signed the consent form. Shenton (2004) puts forth that this ensures that participants are genuinely willing to participate in the study.

Neuman (2000) states that pilot studies enhance the transferability of a study. This demonstrates that the research study can be applied and generalised to a larger population. Pre-testing the instrument does not only ensure that the study instrument captures what it is supposed to, but also allows the researcher to confirm the trustworthiness of the study. This is known as transferability (Padgett, 2008). Another measure that ensures transferability was achieved was by the researcher using purposive sampling in selecting participants for the study. The participants had to fall under the age bracket of being a youth in South Africa; they had to be residents of Siyabuswa community and they must have made the decision not to vote in elections. Shenton (2004) states that another method of ensuring transferability occurs when the research study can be repeated in the same context, using the same methods and with the same participants, the future researcher should obtain similar results. The researcher hopes that the report will be detailed enough for any future researcher who would be interested in conducting a similar study. The researcher also had a reflective journal which was used in the field during data collection and also when the data was analysed.

According to Toma (2006, pg. 416) “In qualitative research, dependability involves accommodating changes in the environment studied and in the design itself” This may occur when the researcher is collecting data and has his/her understanding of the environment gets refined. The manner in which the researcher ensured that this was taken into consideration was by keeping a reflective diary throughout the project. The researcher had to be mindful of the events that were happening in the field and reflect on how she thought this influenced the responses of the participants. The researcher found that during the time of data collection, the

election period had just passed. In her reflective diary she noted that perhaps it is due to the events that occurred during the municipal elections that created such animosity for the participant to end up deciding not to participate in the elections.

3.10 Limitation of the Study

It is without a doubt that gathering data during interviews in qualitative research have advantages. However, one of the shortcomings identified relates to the fact some participants self-report on socially desirable responses (Rubin & Babbie, 2005).Sussman, Stienmetz and Peterson (1999) put forth that a way of improving the result of a study is to remove the participants who respond in a socially desirable manner. However, Rubin and Babbie (2010) counter this guideline by arguing that an attempt to this is a challenge as one can never guarantee gross inconsistencies as people want to be seen in a socially desirable manner. Rubin and Babbie (2005) further address this issue by putting forth the notion that when the researcher communicates non-verbally by nodding or smiling while the participant is responding, they may be introducing their own subtle biases. Sarantakos (2013) provides us with an alternative to this issue by explaining that should the researcher have knowledge of the nature and source of errors that may occur, she could effectively use his/her interview training skills to eliminate these errors and therefore insure that the interview process is completed successfully. Therefore the researcher was aware of such errors during the interview sessions. In an attempt to address this issue the researcher kept a reflective diary where she reordered what she felt had happened in the session. This allowed the researcher to be mindful of the manner in which she asks questions and the interview skills she decided on using. This was done in order to establish if the way in which she asked questions or probed contributed to how participants responded.

3.12 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided us with a detailed description of the research design and methodology utilised in this study. The chapter discussed the study approach, design, population and sampling methods, research instrument and the pre-testing of the research instrument. The data collection and data analysis methods were described. Lastly, the ethical considerations and limitations of the study articulated.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

A number of studies have explored reasons to why the youth of today, living in a democratic country, make the decision not to vote (Dermody, Hanmer- Lloyd & Scullion, 2010; Oyedemi & Mahlatji, 2016; Schoeman & Puttergill, 2007; Tracy, 2016). Many youth in Siyabuswa also displayed apathy towards voting, which was observed by the researcher on social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook. However, the reasons behind had not been explored.

The aim of this study was to explore why youth in Siyabuswa decide not to cast their votes during the elections of the country and the findings of the study are presented in this chapter. The qualitative data collected in the study was analysed by means of thematic analysis. The demographic profile of the participants is provided below, followed by the themes that emerged in the study. The findings are critically discussed in relation to the objectives of the study presented in Chapter One, as well as an application of theory to the relevant themes.

4.2 Demographic Profile of the Participants

Fifteen participants were interviewed in this study. The sample consisted of nine males and six females who live in Siyabuswa. During the data collection process, the researcher approached the same amount of male and females, hoping to explore perspectives on the topic from both sexes. However, most of the females approached were interested in voting and were voting, while most of the males approached did not vote.

The ages of participants ranged from 20 years to 29 years. Within the sample, some youth were unemployed, whilst others were still students. There were teachers, artists and an IT intern. The primary languages used in Siyabuswa are IsiNdebele and Sepedi. The researcher speaks both languages fluently and did not require translation during the interviews. Data was collected using English, IsiNdebele and Sepedi as a form of communication.

Table 4.1: Profile of participants

Participants' Pseudo-names	**Gender**	**Age**	**Occupation**
1. Junior	Male	20	Student
2. Phillip	Male	22	Unemployed
3. Vergo	Male	23	Unemployed
4. Patrick	Male	23	Student/Entrepreneur
5. Jabu	Male	24	Musician
6. Max	Male	26	Teacher
7. Bandile	Male	27	Artist (Comedian)
8. Sandile	Male	28	Teacher
9. David	Male	29	Medicine Student
10. Lethabo	Female	21	Student
11. Zodwa	Female	22	Student
12. Jessie	Female	23	IT Intern
13. Zipho	Female	24	Unemployed
14. Lebo	Female	25	Unemployed
15. Emma	Female	26	Mathematics Teacher

4.3 Themes that emerged from the study

According to Lee (1999, pg. 29) "… the qualitative researcher must generate themes, categories, and patterns based on raw data…" Themes are described as a nature of classification. They are different and fall into different groups and categories (Tesch, 1990). A summary of themes and categories emerging in the study are summarised in the table below.

Table 4.2: Summary of themes and categories emerging in the study

Categories	Themes
1. Knowledge of registration and voting process	Maximal
	Minimal
2. Influence to vote owing to the advertising of elections	Marketing strategies ineffective
	Marketing strategies effective
3. Voting history of participants	Never registered, never voted
	Voting not consistent
4. The main reasons behind their decision not to vote	Corruption
	Not satisfied with party management and the party system as a whole
	Unnecessary spending by government
	Empty Promises
	Not satisfied with service delivery
	Political parties' conflict displayed on media platforms
	Current election system found not convenient for youth
	Want youth leadership
	Found elections not to be personally beneficial to them
	Lost confidence in the current president of the country
	Government is not listening to the voices of youth
5. Voting behaviour of participants' friends	Non-voter friends
	Voter friends
	A mixture of voter and non-voter friends
6. What would encourage youth to decide to vote	Personal growth and knowledge
	Delivery of promises by the government
	Change from a party system to voting for an individual
	Youth Leadership within parties
	Addressing of greed and power issues in political parties
	Implementation of an online system for elections
	Change in campaign strategies

Tesch (1990) explains that qualitative researchers tend to categorise themes by looking at the commonalities that emerge in the themes they have identified in their data. According to Tesch (1990, pg. 138) "If the themes are grouped, they can be said to be in a category'. These themes have to belong to a particular category and cannot fit into the category somewhat. They must fit totally."

Verbatim quotes in this study are used when presenting the findings, to illustrate the themes identified in the data. Holstein and Gubrium (2003) emphasise that verbatim quotes are important in published results due to the ethical implications of the study. The quotes may be tidied; however, this should be done after data have been analysed. The data must also be tidied by the researcher and not the transcriber so that the meaning of the findings is not altered. This addresses the potential for misrepresentation of the respondents due to the data being misunderstood (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003). The table above summarises the different themes that emerged in the study.

4.3.1 Knowledge of registration and voting process

The first objective of the study was to investigate how informed the youth in the Siyabuswa community were on the registration and voting process. Generally, elections are administered by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC). They ensure the smooth running of elections that are deemed to be free, fair and transparent. The elections of the land follow the rules and regulations of the Electoral Act (HSRC, 2016). Before elections, political parties campaign for voters to be drawn to their parties. Elections are held on a national and provincial level and thereafter on a municipal level (Sabie, 2011). Voters have to register to vote and thereafter cast their votes on a later stage. Votes are tallied, verified and results are reported to the nation (HSRC, 2016). The researcher asked the participants if they knew what the registration and voting process entailed, and to also run her though it.

4.3.1.1 Maximal Knowledge

Most of the participants had maximal (i.e. very good) knowledge of the registration and voting process. This was illustrated by the participants such as Bandile [hereafter participant 7] who stated that:

"You start by obviously being registered before you vote. You must be on the data roll. When you vote, you vote; there is local government and national thing. So, when you go to the voting station I think you vote twice. You vote who you want to rule in local government and

who you want to rule in government. Then after you voted they take the results and divide them in percentages. Let's say 60% of the people voted for the ANC then it means that seats in government, 60% will come from the ANC. I think that is how it works."

David [hereafter participant 9] also illustrated maximal knowledge of the process by explaining that:

"They first take statistics to know how many people are going to vote in terms of how many youth and adults as well as how many first-time voters. From there they register. After registering they know how many people registered meaning they can approximate how many people will vote. Thereafter we vote. People have to vote where they registered. Then after voting the votes are counted. The votes are announced. They also announce how many people voted out of the expected amount of people who voted. They also discuss why some people did not vote. They also give citizens outside of the country who are abroad a chance to also vote. That is what I know."

4.3.1.2 Minimal Knowledge

The participants who only registered and never voted, presented as having minimal knowledge of the process.

Patrick [hereafter participant 4] had this to tell:
"Not the whole process. Just the registering part because that's where I ended. That's the only part I know."

Emma [hereafter participant 15] did not have good insight regarding voting procedures. She remarked that:

"*No I don't know the process. I just know that you register. I am not even sure that you register a year before something. But I know you register then later on you go to the voting stations. But the whole process, I don't know. I just see when people are busy registering and all of that and know it is time but I am not bothered that's why I am not familiar with the process."*

Jabu [hereafter participant 5] indicated that he knew nothing of the process. This is what he had to say:

"No, I don't. Nothing. Like I said, we are never involved. No one came to be and told me to be part of this and this is what you will gain out of it and this is what you will gain out of it."

4.3.2 Influence to vote owing to the advertising of elections

In an attempt to address the second objective of the study, the researcher sought to understand what demotivates youth during elections, which results in their decision not to vote. In doing so, the participants were asked to describe how often they would hear, or see, advertisements to register and vote on media platforms such as the television, radio, newspapers and also billboards. All of the participants expressed that elections were well advertised and they would see and hear of them everywhere. This is what a few participants had to say:

Participant 4: *"Like every day. You go on your Facebook, Twitter, Instagram; you see a lot of celebrities trying to do campaigns for these parties. So basically, it is everywhere so you cannot say you have not seen anything. You cannot miss it. It's everywhere. The streets, radio, TV celebrities like I said and also businesses saying I'm voting for this party."*

Participant 9: *"After every 10 minutes on the radio. Register to vote…it's your right…what what. If it is not that when you are on the road there are billboards or people on the speakers. It is well advertised but I chose not to vote. And if you check most advertisements come from the ANC. Why? Because they have money. The more money you have the more the advertising."*

As seen in the work of Sabie (2011), elections are vastly advertised. It is more about the political parties campaigning for voters to elect them into parliament. It is arguably impossible for one to say they have missed an advert and not aware of elections as political parties campaign through media platforms such as television and radio adverts, rallies, billboards, newspapers, magazines as well as door-to-door campaigning. Most recently political parties have tried using social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook to reach young voters. Therefore, if one has not seen it, he or she has heard it. If they have not heard it, they must have seen it (Sabie, 2011).

4.3.2.1 Marketing strategies ineffective

It is evident that the youth in this study were well aware of coming elections during the election period as they are encouraged to go out and register to vote and thereafter vote.

However, when the participants were asked if this then influences them to then go out to vote, most of them reported that they were not persuaded to vote through media.

Participant 2 illustrated this by saying that:

"Personally, no…' cause I feel like they are just buying your vote for that time then afterwards it's back to the same thing. Being jobless, poor education. So, for me it's like I see what you are doing but I still know that you guys have still not fulfilled other stuff. So, you can't jump into new without fulfilling the things you were supposed to do."

Participant 15 expressed animosity towards the election advertisements by sharing that:

"They actually make me angrier because how much do they spend advertising these things of theirs. How much do they spend to have these adverts of theirs on television? Do they really care about other things? So, they have a budget for all these other things in order to make sure that they advertise and to make sure that they convince people to go and vote, but they can't do things that youth especially demand. They don't have a budget for that…It doesn't influence me."

Participant 14 shared what discouraged her during the campaign season:
"When the local elections came, I was demotivated. I voted in 2014 which was my first time. I did register for the local elections. From the first time, they opened the registration period, I register, but from the time of registration and the actual day of voting I was demoralized by what was happening around me. Because I did register because I did it for the experience and the experience convinced me to do it again. But then I was demotivated by our political stance. The things that were happening politically around us. Our leaders. All these things that were happening. Worse on the day, I was in Pretoria. Am I allowed to use names? So, the ruling party is doing all these things. Like if you are going to be spinning expensive cars owned by the ANC just to say to people that they must vote for the ANC. With the girls and all of that, I am thinking that there is a lot of money put into all of these things. It is wasteful. And you are acting as if you have won already on the day of elections."
The issue raised by the participant was that a lot of resources go into these campaigns, whereas political parties should be using those resources to deliver on their (economic) promises. Sabie (2011) argues that political parties utilise a lot of resources during campaigns. According to the HSRC (2016), political parties are permitted to educate their voters about their parties. The Electoral Commission may have rules and regulations that

ensure that smooth sailing of the election period, however they do not dictate how much resources should be utlised by the political parties HSRC (2016).

According to the HSCR (2014), elections are not just a one-day event as a lot of groundwork and preparations has been seen to occur prior to that day of elections. One can therefore not ignore the amount of resources utilised during the campaigning of elections (Sabie, 2011). Political parties are not the only ones seen to campaign however. For example, the IEC runs its own campaigns to encourage citizens to register. Various political parties also run their independent campaigns to mobilise citizens to vote for them (HSRC, 2014). When looking at the strategies some political parties host rallies where t-shirts are distributed to the masses. This more t-shirts distributed to people, the visible to party will be (Commonwealth Observer Mission, 2014). As argued by Sabie (2011) that election campaigns favour those with the most resources.

A theme frequently emerging in the study was that of the ineffectiveness of the marketing strategies by political parties. Findings suggest advertising campaigns are viewed as a waste of money and is a means to detract from the fact political parties are incompetent and unreliable.

Zipho [hereafter participant 13] shared that:

"I just think elections are a way of showing who can throw the biggest party. It is always like that. Who will fill up the Dome or the Stadium? The campaigns behind them are always about who is trending, and what are we saying about the other party. So when it comes to elections I feel like it's about who are we bashing this year. It's about who is moving forward and who is not. They don't care about people at the grass root level. It's about who can throw the biggest party and who can win. It seems like that. Why call all these celebrities during campaigns and make us dance to King Kotini whereas they could gather community members and discuss the issues within the community? Tell them what we want and if it is feasible then have it done. Unlike we are there dancing to King Kotini and there is this big cake, get free t-shirts and then we go home and then what? What have I gained with a t-shirt?

When highlighting the issue of campaigns utilising a lot of resources, Participant 10 had this to say:

"I don't know if I am going astray but they are wasting money and time on this whole marketing thing rather than wasting their time on helping people. It is as if their main focus as parties is to market themselves. Like look at. We are better than the other party instead of going and help people. I know during the buzz they go to hospitals and old age homes and help them for one day. You can tell that they are only helping out for that day and it is not something that they are used to hence they always posting it all over. It's like when you eat every day, you won't go around telling people that you ate all the time because it is something you are used to doing."

Lebo [hereafter participant 14] echoed the same sentiments by indicating that:

"All these things that were happening. Worse on the day, I was in Pretoria. Am I allowed to use names? So, the ruling party is doing all these things. Like if you are going to be spinning expensive cars owned by the ANC just to say to people that they must vote for the ANC. With the girls and all of that, I am thinking that there is a lot of money put into all of these things. It is wasteful. And you are acting as if you have won already on the day of elections."

Participant 15 stated that:
They have money to campaign and all of that but they do not have money for us. It is very expensive to advertise it is expensive. If SABC 1 is going to be playing your advert like ten times a day, you should know that they spend millions on that advert. So they would rather spend money advertising or campaigning than spend money helping people. I feel like the reason they spend so much money of campaigning is because their work does not speak for them. Because if there was service delivery, they wouldn't be spending so much as we would be looking forward to voting because politics has done this for me. But reality is we know that instead people in politics will be in big houses and flaunting their cars so why should I be voting if I am going to be helping them to stay in power?

Looking at the challenges that these youth face coming from Siyabuswa, one can understand why they are not sold by the campaigning strategies political parties use. These participants reported to not favour the way in which these parties campaign due the fact that they utilise resources they feel the government could be using to address the social ills they go through. Most of the political parties throw big festivities during rallies and spend a lot on advertising their parties. The participants reported to not being happy with these strategies as they would rather have the government spend on the things they promised to the people.

Participant 14 also raised a relevant point. He expressed the opinion that campaigns should also focus on what voting entails because many youth do not have this knowledge. It is almost taken for granted that youth will know all about the meaning of voting and the procedures that need to be followed. He implied that people facilitating the voting campaigns do not have good insight into what benefits engaging in voting holds.
Participant 14 illustrated this saying:
Even the people who are campaigning if you ask them about the benefit of my vote, they too do not know and refer you to google instead. That's one of the things also. Why are you voting for when you do not know what you are voting for?"

4.3.2.2 Marketing strategies effective

Some participants presented a positive view of the effectiveness of political campaigns in motivating people to adopt. They had observed members of the community taking steps to vote because they had been encouraged to do so.

However, Participant 4 explained that he too became motivated to vote, but this incentive was broken down because of the complications faced when taking steps to vote.

Participant 4 had this to share:

"Yes, sometimes it does influence me because I see a lot of people getting involved in this and I ask myself, why don't I take part to maybe bring change in my community or country? The problem is when you get to the registering station you find no one, or two or three people and no one really explains the whole process to you, so that kills the excitement as a youth to do this. I went there with an aim that I am going to get there and get educated, about the process… it's going to be great and I'm going to get some few points about this, but you get there and people assume that you know about the whole process and I don't. They only give us information about the parties instead. They do not tell us about the benefits of our vote.

4.3.3 Voting history of participants

The researcher posed a question to participants regarding their voting history. This enabled the researcher to understand when the apathy to voting occurred, as well as reasons behind their decision not to vote.

4.3.3.1 Never registered, never voted

Most of the participants informed the researcher that they had not participated in any elections.

Even though Junior [hereafter participant 1] knew that he was old enough to cast his vote he never got around to doing so:

"I thought of voting last year, which was supposed to be my first time, but it never happened. I was supposed to register because during that time my friends were busy registering, but I never thought about it until it was voting time. That's was when I thought I should have but it was too late…I had missed the registering opportunity."

Participant 13 shared that:
"No, I did not register. I have never registered. Not even once. With the last elections, I was like I am going to register but I did not go. I got my ID and thought of going to vote because they say you can register, even if you have not yet turned 18. But I decided to skip the elections because I was not yet 18. When the next elections came. I was like "no". I had an awakening. There has not been any change. I told myself I will vote when I see change."

Participant 15 said:
"Nope, never. As I said, I hate doing things for other people and as much as my parents would force me to go register and vote, I never went there. I feel like they don't take me serious. I am just a statistic in South Africa. They don't take me serious, so why should I benefit them by being a statistic. Why should I go register my name for them to be happy that youth are coming forward to vote for us? I feel like if I go to register, it might influence me to go vote. I will never go and register. I feel like ever, unless the politics of the country change. I have never casted a vote. My ID document is so clean. It does not have these stamps. It is clean."

This confirms what Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2005) put forth by explaining that it has become what could seemingly be seen as a norm, for youth to not participate in elections. Youth have normalized not voting from reaching their voting age, and throughout their young adult lives. One can note that here is an amount of hostility to this subject, especially when participates explain why they have decided not to vote.

4.3.3.2 Voting not consistent

Some participants had irregular voting patterns for different reasons:

Participant 9 indicated that:

"I voted once back in 2000…I don't remember, I think 2007. That was my first and last. I voted once. I never voted again after that. When they talk about registrations I just choose to ignore it."

Vergo [hereafter participant 3] missed his first elections even after registering and had this to say:
"I did register in 2014 but could not vote because the week before voting I lost my ID and couldn't vote. But with the last elections (2016) I did not register or vote because I was just not interested."

Sandile [hereafter participant 8] reported that he had voted in all previous elections. However, he did not vote in the previous elections, stating that it was primarily because of the inconvenience of the voting system. According to the Commonwealth Observer Mission (2014), during elections, citizens are required to register in an area where they are residents. This becomes a challenge to some young people due to the kind of life they lead as seen with participant. Participant number 8, who is a comedian and travels a lot shared the following information:

"The local elections last year, I was too late, as an artist we always travel so I do not know which place I am going to be. I thought I was going to be in Centurion because for some reason, I could not register in Centurion. I had to drive to Siyabuswa and I was not on the list. I drove to Delmas but I was too late because that is where I registered the very first time. So, what I can say is that, if I want to vote knowing very well that I did not register anywhere, I have to be in Delmas."

4.3.4 The main reasons behind their decision not to vote

Exploring why youth are not participating in elections was the main thrust of the research. A number of themes emerged regarding reasons why youth do not vote. In particular, a lot of hostility was expressed by the participants regarding the current state of political affairs.

4.3.4.1 Corruption

It became apparent that participants felt disheartened by corruption in government and hence the decision to not continue voting or not to vote at all. Some of the challenges Malila (2013) indicated to be the challenges that youth are faced with which has become a post-apartheid issue is corruption. Malila (2013) argues that regardless of the changing times, youth continue to suffer from high levels of material insecurity due to crime and corruption by bureaucrats.

This was illustrated by participant 9 when he stated that:

"Truly speaking when I voted for the first time I was still young and it was that thing that I was excited as a first-time voter. And when growing up you knew that the party you had to vote for was the ANC because of loyalty and Mandela and all that. Thereafter that I started having more information. At first I did not have much information and you know as a youth when voting for the first time it is about how it makes you feel. But after that you look at the changes that happen and start to evaluate things. You look at what changed before voting and after voting…nothing. So I lost all hope. Because if the party cared about the people, they know the person is corrupt, why don't they remove the person? So it is as if they are not listening to the voices of the people. Maybe if the next leader is a good leader and I can see it maybe I could vote again. Not that I will never vote again. I am not willing to vote for another party so I would rather stick to this one so that they fix it."

Participant 7 shared similar animosities, however more concerned about what corruption entails for taxpayers' money:

"I think my main reason is…there is just too much corruption. And my problem with corruption is that the moment there is corruption it means someone's tax money is being used in the wrong direction and people work hard for their money."

Participant 9 shared that:
"I don't think they are fair because every time there are elections you find ballot papers missing, ballot papers that have been found dumped somewhere. So we go into elections with others already knowing which party will win. Unless if the media is reporting wrong, but knowing ANC…I'm sure their right. They are making sure that they do not win in majority

numbers because it is going to be suspicious, but they always want to be in power. So that is not democracy."

In this respect, my findings concur with those of Tracy (2016) who established that it is not that youth are apathetic, or lack interest in politics, as research on the behaviors of youth suggest. Rather, it is more to do with their dissatisfaction regarding the poor progress government is making and the corruption taking place on the government level.

4.3.4.2 Not satisfied with party management and party system as a whole

Participants reported that they were not happy with the way in which parties manage issues within their political parties. This was also found in the study conducted by Tracy (2016) where youth expressed frustration with the lack of accountability displayed by political leaders. These people were deemed powerful people as they are able to face no consequences to their decision of getting involved in corruption

Participant 7 had this to say:

"My main problem right now is that these leaders that we have right now are not accountable to anyone. They are Gods, you cannot touch them. They are untouchable."

Participant 7 further shared that:
"It is simply because of this thing of dominant party system. You know when you have dominant party system, you lose that sense of democracy. Because this party knows that, you know what, whatever we do we know we are still going to be there. So, I think they are no longer serving the community at large or the public. They are just serving a certain party. And everyone who votes for that party or whatever, they vote with this idea of saying that maybe I will get something from this. So, it is no longer about choosing a good candidate. It is about maybe I will get something or I have been getting something. There is no longer scrutiny. Scrutinizing these people to say but what have they done in the last five years?"

He further elaborated his point when sharing that:
"The main issue with parties is that there is a God in the party. There is someone who is being served. There is a God. You cannot tell me that everyone in the ANC cannot see that

Zuma is fucking up the country. They see that but they are just like you know what they are also benefiting. So, we need to serve this person so that we can also gain something. So there is a God within the party system. I can make an example about the EFF. EFF does not have many years but they already have scandals. That's a problem on its own. And you look at these parties and how they were created. Like ANC was there to fight the struggles. But the plan was to fight the struggles…you finish fighting the struggles, what then? What now? No plan. No plan going forward. And it will take many years to fix. If we can. I do not know if we can. It will take many years to even fix these things that are happening. But is has been 22 years…so it's tough. I mean I don't see progress. People are now still living in apartheid systematically. It is not something you can see with your naked eye. These parties are creating policies that can only benefit the three of us. But how many black people do we have in the country. We talk about things such as BEE. They are good policies but how many people are they benefiting. Very few. Those people are at the top are the ones who are benefiting."

4.3.4.3 Unnecessary spending by government

What the participants deemed to be unnecessary spending by government was also a popular theme that emerged in the study. This ranged from government spending government resources for their own personal gain, or government money spent on projects participants felt were not what the communities needed. This results in the mistrust of youth to the government (Dermody, Hanmer-Lloyd & Scullion, 2010). Most participants in the study displayed this mistrust in the government.

Participant 5 said that:

"Another thing is this thing of spending, it hurts me too much. You always find that these people are spending money on unnecessary things. The same money that could be helping young people. What I have noticed about youth in Siyabuswa is that a lot of them have so many brilliant ideas but they never know where to go. There is funding but we never know about it. I only found out yesterday that there is funding at the municipality for youth. I did not know the whole time. They never give us this information. It is always kept to themselves. That is why you find people spending this money on themselves because the money is not doing what it is supposed to be doing because no one is communicating to us that there is this funding that is available, come and utilize it."

Some of the participants interviewed reside in Siyabuswa however due to perusing qualifications in higher education institutions and also jobs which are not available in Siyabuswa, they have been able to witness life outside of Siyabuswa. It is then how they have made observations of the unnecessary spending of the government.

Max [hereafter participant 6] also elaborated on the unnecessary spending issue by demonstrating that:

"It's not going to change my life. Voting and not voting is the same…even if I was to put an X and then have a membership card of whatever party I will be favoring and participate on the rallies. That's me helping get tax payers money wasted. Last Thursday I was with one of the boys and they spent R750 000…on the 8th. That's just for one bunch. They were like 30 people. That's R750 000 except their hotel fees. That's the party they had. Now R750 000, how many households does Alex have? How many households does whatever place have if you could split that money amongst them and just give the R200? Or you just take one kid to school? As a musician, you are exposed to this and you see the truth."

On the other hand, participant 7 shared this experience:

"You can choose any party. You can take for example the DA. It has one of the well run metro. They run Cape Town very well. But then Cape Town on its own is divided into two parts. There is no average person in Cape Town. It's either you are rich or you are poor. And it is either you stay in Cape Town, Rondebosch and what what or you stay in Khayelitsha or Gugulethu. So those people, you cannot trust such people because they are also not making any transition. That is the apartheid system and it is still there. They have that kind of the thing. So I feel like even the parties that we would chose now they will not make a transition. They will actually make things worse. Because you can think of the DA. When I see the DA I think of a lot of things. You know there was a time where they had a project where, they just constructed bicycle lanes. Like it cost billions. They just constructed bicycle lanes in their main roads and their highways. Bicycle lanes, it costs billions and then you go back to Khayelitsha and you find that people are still struggling. So you get confused like how did this happen. Why would someone take this money and spend it on bicycle lanes. And who are these bicycle lanes for? Because truly speaking poor people are not riding bicycles. You cannot ride a bicycle with an empty stomach. You can't. You cannot buy a bicycle. You know how much a bicycle is? And those racing bicycles are very expensive. I once saw one in Cape

Town which was like 50 000 and I was like 'what!'. So I feel like these parties are not ready."

Youth presented as demotivated to vote as they believe that the government is misusing government resources; rather they should be addressing socio-economic issues within communities. What aggravates the issue is that at the end of the day, youth believe that political leaders are not accountable for how resources are being misused (Tracy, 2016).

This seems to not only be an issue faced by youth in South Africa. Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2005) indicated that youth in Britain had the lowest engagement in politics when compared to other age groups. Their mistrust in the government and political leaders was one of the main reasons behind their disinterest in voting.

4.3.4.4 Empty Promises

The issue of empty promises was also a dominant theme in the study. A lot of participants echoed the same sentiments when coming to empty promises made by political parties to be one of the major reasons behind their decision not to vote. One thing that has to be noted is that youth always want to participate in something they know that it will have an outcome for them. Youth want to see things happen so that it enhanced their lives as young individuals (Tracy, 2016)

The responses of the participants demonstrated that they held the government accountable for the promises that they made to them during campaigns. Whether they voted or not, they took note of whether the government delivered on those promises, which then rendered them worthy of their votes. If they did not live up to their promises and the expectations that the youth had, they would then have to face a society of youth who decide not to vote due to their inability to live up to their promises.

This point was illustrated by Zodwa [hereafter participant 11] when she said:
"I think they are useless. You vote and then nothing happens. That is why I decided not to vote".
Participant 5 had this to say:
"Understanding. I started understanding this whole thing. Because they always talk about voting for change, but where is the change they are talking about. Take for instance, their

manifestos. They always promise things and say all these things that never happen. They say all these promises and we buy them and we vote, but nothing happens. So, in my understanding, these people tell us all these things and at the end of the day we never see them. So they are more focused on selling us the idea and not on actually implementing the idea."

Participant 6 echoed similar sentiments when he shared that:

"Like we don't know what democracy is in South Africa. We have not reached that saturation point where we can say we know what is or what democracy entails…the government is not doing anything. So, hope is the new currency. Voting for me doesn't make sense. The government is just putting a picture in the front to say that they are doing this and that. I think that if you can go back to every manifesto of every political party that participated in this thing and say, how many of these pointer that you guys told us about have you accomplished? And which places were the first and like a proper report. They won't disclose that and even if you were to initiate such a thing, trust me they will pay you off fast. You will be out of the system as soon as possible. You are not going to exist so to say. I know what I am talking about. I have had the opportunity to be close to a lot of people who are within such vicinities. People are taken out of positions because one funded whatever. People are put in positions because that guy is the one who has the most projects. It is through such that my interests in politics deteriorated."

It became obvious when analysing data gathered that youth in Siyabuswa continue to not see much development in the community. They seem particularly sensitive to politicians failing to meet their expectations. This is understandable because most of them are suffering from poor socio-economic issues such as poverty, unemployment and low income households (Nobel et al., 2014). The participants stressed they wanted to see developments before supporting the government. Not delivering on promises made to communities, such as Siyabuswa, is reflected in the disengagement of youth when coming to elections and voting.

4.3.4.5 Not satisfied with service delivery

It is without a doubt that South Africa is one of the countries that suffers from poor service delivery. This has resulted in service delivery protests as community members demand

services on basic resources such as water, electricity, sanitation as well as housing (Tracy, 2016). This issue of service delivery is a theme that was also emerged a number of times in the study. Participants expressed to being demotivated due to the poor service delivery they have seen in their communities. What seems to make matters worse is the belief that the government is not responding to their grievances.

This is what participant 5 had to share:

"Ever since an early age, I knew that ANC is in control. So since I am older now and understand politics, I have never seen the change they talk about. Maybe in Pretoria, Jo'burg and other places, but here at home there is no change. They never improve. They always tell us about change, but we never see that change. Take for instance government services, they never improve. If you check, government institutions do not give you the best services, one would have to go to private institutions which are very expensive. You would get to a place and the receptionist doesn't smile at you and you do not know what you have done to the person. So, you can understand how frustrating that is. More especially in government clinics and hospitals, they never give you the best services. So if maybe they can work on that instead of wanting our votes maybe things will be better. Because their focus is on our votes and not the services. Obviously, they do get complaints but nothing changes."

Participant 5 stated that:
"Look at the government staff, they are always angry and obviously when they are angry they will give you an attitude. When a person gives you an attitude, it is obvious that you will not get the best service. Like I would go to the clinic sick, not knowing what is wrong with me and all they do is give me pain block and that's it. I think about it, how many people die in public facilities. How many times do you hear that someone went to a government hospital and they survived? They were sick for this duration and they lived? The government is just not responding, because people have been voicing out their concerns. Way before I was born but nothing is happening."

Similar findings were found in the study conducted by Schoeman and Puttergill (2007) on university students. The students highlighted the issue of service delivery as one of the reasons why they decide not to vote.
Schoeman and Puttergill (2007) found that when coming to this theme a sub-theme that arose was that of race. It was found that white students were more concerned with the response to

crime, while black students were more focused on the issue of service delivery, especially towards meeting their basic needs.

The participants in this study were all black as Siyabuswa village is dominated by black people. The issue of crime was not raised; however, it was the issue of service delivery that predominantly emerged. Disappointments regarding service delivery included roads not being upgraded or repaired, as well as the problems faced within public facilities, such as government schools and medical centres. As mentioned above, the youth of Siyabuswa suffer the consequence of apartheid having had been one of the homelands in the country. Not much development occurs and the socio-economic status of the community remains an issue. Hence, it is important to them that the government delivers on their promises as it carries the potential for drastic change in the lives of community members.

4.3.4.6 Political parties' conflict displayed on media platforms

Some of the participants had an issue with the conflict between different political parties and how they are displayed on media platforms. A lot has been happening in the recent years in the political battlefield of the country. A lot of media coverage has demonstrated the hostilities within the parliament during parliamentary sittings as well as press conferences where political parties call each other out more especially during election campaigns (Commonwealth Observer Mission, 2014). This, however results in youth such as the participants, being demotivated to vote.

Lethabo [hereafter participant 10] shared that:

"The way they are just not professional. Like you saw how they were last year in parliament. We were the joke of the universe basically."

Phillip [hereafter participant 2] said that:

"I just didn't like how the management was in all parties. It was all about sabotage. Finding dirt on other parties and it is all about making news. Always news is bad news and the rand depreciates when such scandals come out. They are not even focusing on helping out the community because it is their job. They do it to show other parties what they did and it's like we just did this what can you do…it is more of a show and this is why…I didn't like the show. It is not my show, I don't like the show."

Participant 7 made his point of view clear:
"So why should I vote because I feel like my vote is just to put people in parliament. And then what are they discussing in parliament? Because I know one sitting just in parliament is costing us a lot of money. But what are they discussing. The whole year, they were talking about Nkandla. We have like serious issues."

Perhaps it would be unrealistic for there to be peace and harmony in the political arena because, as Sabie (2011) argues, there is no harmony in politics. Conflict is the order of the day. However, probably one could suggest that political parties should look into the manner in which they decide to address conflict especially when displayed in public.

4.3.4.7 Current election system found not convenient for youth

Participants found the current election system not convenient to the lives that youth live. As mentioned above, Sabie (2011) illustrated that political parties have recognised that a way in which they can access youth is through online media such as Twitter and Facebook. Youth are engaged in these platforms on a daily basis which indicates that with young people spending so much time online, perhaps a way to encourage higher turnout in voters such spaces should be considered.

Participant 1 illustrated this by saying that:

"The problem is the convenience of voting. I can promise you now, if the voting system was online like five years back I would have voted every year. The thought of having to wake up and go to some voting station and registering station…ya eish…my friends and myself we do not find it interesting."

Participant 1 further shared that:
"People do not want to out there to stand in a queue, sometimes in the sun, like my friends. Especially when coming to registering as they spend hours in the queue. So it feels like it is not important at that time because you are going to just register. So you are thinking to yourself why can't you go online and register, online rather than stand in queues then you can stand in line for the actual voting. So, I feel when coming to my friends the problem is about the convenience of registering."

Subrahmanyam and Smahel (2010, pg. 1) explains what is said to be "digital youth". Youth of today are surrounded by digital media. They have access to computers, the internet, mobile phones as well as other devices used as a mode of communication. The lives of youth are now lived online as they spend hours every day on their devices. Yardi (2008, pg. 143) argues that "Youth are a demographic of highly engaged, core members of the 'always-on' crowd – active users of the internet, instant messaging, video games, and social networking sites". The youth of today have used the internet as one of the highest modes of interaction. This clarifies why the participants found the current voting system to not be convenient for the lives they lead.

4.3.4.8 Want youth leadership

Participants demonstrated to have issues with being led by the older generation, especially those acquiring positions because of their political history having had been involved actively in the apartheid struggle. In most literature (Roberts et al., (2010); Quinn and Isler, (2012); Oyedemi and Mahlatji (2016))., it is argued that youth are the future leaders of the country however majority of the youth in the study indicated that they need to be led by youth rather than leaders who have attained positions due to what happened during the apartheid era.

This is what participant 15 said:

"I was not there during the apartheid era and I feel like our black brothers are saying that since they struggled during those times then it is payback time now. It seems as though they want us youth to struggle of which they classify it as working hard. Just work hard like we did but if you check it, it's payback time for them. They are just enjoying the benefits. I am talking about those who are in power now because they are favored by the circumstances that happened. They feel that it is something that is due to them so the country should just support them while they enjoy or while they take what is due to them. I don't want to be part of that."

Participant 15 further stated that:

"Take for example the ruling party. It feels as though they are the ones who gave South Africans freedom. However, when you look back into history, is it only the ruling party that fought? No. It's almost, not all but every other black person and all the other black parties that were there. They fought during the struggle, but it was unfortunate, or fortunate, for them that they had majority of people hence they became the ruling party. But I feel like when

they come to us, it is as if they gave us this freedom, we should at least respect them and give them what they want, so that they can keep this freedom for us. It is not their freedom. Everyone fought for this freedom. Come here to Siyabuswa you will hear a lot of stories about people who were involved in the struggle. Some lost their children during apartheid. Why can't they have the payback too? They are not even benefiting. You talk to them and you realise that they are very hurt. You hear a lot of untold stories. There are many wounds in people which have not healed and they are not even getting anything. Come to think of it that if my very own community is not benefiting and someone somewhere out there is benefiting, why should I bother?"

Participant 4 indicated that:

"We cannot focus on things based on things that were said by the older generation. We cannot base things on what happened in the olden days. Okay, good, but what you are saying, how does it benefit and affect me? I am a youth and I need change. We cannot hold on to the chain and routine. Do not talk about things that older people are talking about because we are youth, so it means you are still holding on to old mentalities and we are youth."

This demonstrated a major call for youth leadership in order for youth to possibly feel involved in the political arena of the country. Tracy (2016) borrows us the idea that possibly youth would vote should they feel included therefore probably having youth leaders in parliament to discuss issues faced by youth would then encourage youth to vote.

4.3.4.9 Elections not personally beneficial

The youth of today live in a society very different to that of youth who lived during the apartheid era, such as the very much discussed youth of 1976. The youth of today fight a different struggle. An economic struggle (Mattes and Richmond, 2014). What was found to demotivate participants to partake in elections was the fact that they felt it was not beneficial to them and their livelihood (Schoeman and Puttergill, 2007). In the research study conducted by Tracy (2016), participants indicated to having low trust in government and being dissatisfied with how they respond to their demands as youth faced with socio-economic issues such as low levels of education and unemployment. Voting was therefore not beneficial to them.

Participant 6 illustrated this issue by sharing that:

"I don't need to produce a card to be where I am. Me… getting probably a job opportunity in Europe does not have any affiliation with my political reference from my country. That is why I have never given it a chance and said let me see…and I haven't even been convinced otherwise by the political realm itself."

Participant 14 shared what disheartened her and made her to believe that the elections do not benefit her personally:

"I have closed this chapter, I do not see myself voting again. Yes, you have power as an individual but personally, that doesn't improve anything for me. There is nothing about politics or the leadership of the country that inspires you. All you do is complain. It's just bringing negativity into me personally so I am just closing that chapter for my peace, for me to cope basically with all that is happening. Because when you vote, you take it personal. You are like 'how could you, I voted for you'. So, I decided not to partake in it."

Participant 5 expressed:

"I only voted once because it was my first time. I did it because of the excitement of being a first-time voter but after understanding what votes are about I stopped voting. It is because they say vote for your voice to be heard but I feel like my voice is never heard. So I voted and there was no change. Yes, I do have the right to vote but how has that benefitted me at the end of the day?"

One needs to understand that the challenges that these youth face are due to the legacy of apartheid (Nobel et al, 2014). These youth face unemployment as indicated by Statistics South Africa (2011) when looking at unemployment rates of youth in the Dr JS Moroka Municipality administering services to Siyabuswa. Some young people from the community find themselves having to seek jobs outside of the area because there are not much job opportunities for them. They are also faced with challenges of poor education (Welch, 2000). These are some of the challenges that are very direct to youth as it affects their lives directly. It is because of that they decide to not vote. Tracy (2016) argues that youth decide not to vote because of the socio-economic challenges they are faced with on a daily basis. While some continue to be hopeful some decide to disengage as they believe that they have to fend for themselves as the government is not doing what it has promised to do for them.

4.3.4.10 Lost confidence in the current president of the country

Participants reported to have lost confidence in the current president of the country. One would see the major role in which media plays when coming to reports on what occurs in the country. As Sabie (2011) indicates that South African politics are a battlefield. A lot has been reported on scandals that have occurred in the country due to government officials misusing government resources (Tracy 2016). Opposition parties have made it a point that all these scandals are highlighted during election campaigns as an attempt to demonstrate why voters should not vote for the other party. The issue surrounding the Nkandla residence owned by the president of the country has made enough rounds in the country. It is a scandal largely covered by media reports and it is believed that it was one of the issues brought up during the 2014 national and provincial (Commonwealth Observer Mission, 2014). A lot of participants reported to being very disappointed with the president of the country.

Participant 9 illustrated this by saying that:

"When I voted the first time, it was the time when Zuma was going to be the president. I actually believed in the guy. I voted then this happened. All his scandals and everything then I saw that I wasted my vote."

Participant 15 displayed a lot of hostility towards the president of the country by stating that:

"We are in debts. We cannot afford things so why should I vote... I don't even have a president. I just live in a country that has a president. What am I voting for?"

Participant 15 further shared that:

"I cannot be calling someone who feels that their family deserve better, my president. I believe that when you are a leader, you lead by example. And when you are a leader you must understand the struggles of your people. You cannot be a leader, knowing the struggles of people but then you flaunt your riches in their faces and say, 'Look at me, I am driving a Maserati.' You can't. Then you are not a leader. How do I call you my leader if I cannot even access your office, you pay a hundred people to guard you but you say you want to protect us? How are you going to protect us when you have a hundred people protecting you? How do you protect us? Not even the MECs. They are part of the country they live in but they are not a part of me."

Participant 7 said:

"My main problem is that a person can lead now and they will give him another term. How many more years are they going to give that lady, how many more years are they going to give that president? He tried but it is not working. We need to move on but we are not moving on."

It is basically an argument of youth feeling not protected by political parties by holding political members accountable for their actions. As discussed, youth decide not to vote as they feel that political leaders are not accountable for their actions (Tracy, 2016). This is very similar to the theme on participants reporting to not voting due to the lack of accountability by corrupt political leaders. It is more targeted towards the president as he is the biggest political leader in South Africa.

4.3.4.11 Government is not listening to the voices of youth

Participants expressed to have lost hope in the elections of the country. Mattes and Richmond (2014) puts forth that South African youth are no longer apathetic towards voting however, they feel alienated from the whole political process. They believe that elected leaders do not listen to their views hence their lack of participation in elections.

Participant 14 had this to say:

"After all these scandals, you guys are this arrogant…so I had that attitude. I was like, I am not partaking in this. So much that it demolished the whole political system, that if they are doing this because they are in power and we thought they were our only hope, so now we are going to vote in another party thinking that they are our only hope and when they get there it is something different. So I have lost all hope. Because they all have scandals in their different parties. I have lost all hope. I do not see anyone better. Yes, I hear what they saying but that's all they have been doing…saying stuff. Okay, they have been doing stuff. We have improved as a country one way or the other but there are those places where things have deteriorated. Fairly, they are good but as people, as leaders, I am not inspired."

4.3.5 Voting behaviour of participants' friends

According to Engle (2014), since the end of apartheid over twenty years ago, voting apathy has been expressed by the "born-free" generation due to the discontent with the ANC government. The country saw a major decline in youth voters in the 2004 and 2009 elections.

During the 2014 national and provincial elections, an estimate of 1.9 million 18 – 19 year old were eligible voters however only 34% of these "born frees" were registered to vote. Tracy (2016) explains that youth need to feel included in order for them to participate in democratic processes such as elections. Should youth feel a disconnection between their livelihood and politics, this may contribute to their apathy to voting (Tracy, 2016). In order to address the third objective on what would encourage youth to vote, the researcher asked the participants to share what conversations took place in their circle of friends regarding elections.

4.3.5.1 Non-voter friends

Majority of the participants reported that most of their friends do not vote.

Participant 5 had this to say:
"We usually talk about it. I and my friends are six in total and the five of us are not interested. Even on Election Day we are never excited about it, we get on with our own business as if nothing is happening. We do not normally talk about it because it has nothing to do with us. We would rather focus on day and what we have planned for the day which is outside of what is happening."

Participant 6 was adamant that none of his friends vote. He shared that:

"I will tell you the truth and the truth is in my circle of friends, none of them have ever voted. All of them. I can even call two of them now. It's the sad reality. It's the reality that we are in. We are in the music industry and the music industry has its own world. The only people that monopolies to the political…you will see them. They are self-distinguished. It's your Triple Nine, Mabala Noise and your Kalawas. You will see them. But then there is us that are beneath and those are the ones seen most busy. How many rallies do you have and how many manifestos do you have? In five years how many gigs of such a stature do you have? But there is us who you will see in clubs every Friday. There is us who will be at your stokvels every Sunday. At jazz festivals. There is us who are working on a daily basis but there is you who is elite who wait for someone to do something and then you get the gig."

This illustrate what Sader and Muller (2004) found in the study they conducted, namely that youth decided not to vote because they found voting meaningless as political parties fail to deliver to their demands. Participant 6 reported to not voting at all of and found that all of his

friends do not vote as well. This is because the government is not affording opportunities for youth to further their careers.

4.3.5.2 Most voter friends

Participants also shared that most of their friends participate in elections.

Participant 3 said:

"Most of my friends vote. It is only a few of us who do not vote. We do not see things the same so we would argue about this whole thing. Those who vote would try to convince us that these people do deliver on their promises because they say they have seen them. But I have not seen them deliver. Those who do not vote share the same sentiments as I do."

4.3.5.3 A mixture of voter and non-voter friends

Some participants explained that some of their friends vote while some decide not to vote. This demonstrate that there are those youth who decide to vote based on reasons they believe to benefit them while some youth decide not to vote as they believe that this will not benefit them (Oyedemi and Mahlatji (2016).

Participant 15 illustrated this by sharing that:
"Then my friends…I have friends who are politicians which obviously they will say go and vote because it is beneficial for them. They will actually convince me to vote. And then I have friends…few of them who say no we are not going to vote because anyway who killed Chris Hani hahaha. So, me and my friends are like 'Who killed Chris Hani? We want the truth. They killed Chris Hani and they allowed people to take our land'. You know. So why should we go and vote? So I have those kind of friends. When people go to vote we are just there sitting and watching them because who killed Chris Hani? Do they have land? No, they don't. They have small land. They built their houses it is done. We need land. Maybe if we can get our land. Actually, land is not enough. We need our land and the cow they killed. So, I have different circles of friends."

4.3.6 Perspective on what would encourage youth to vote

It is without a doubt that youth apathy towards voting is a major concern as indicated by a number of authors (Roberts et al., (2010); Quinn and Isler, (2012); Oyedemi and Mahlatji (2016)). It is therefore important to understand what demotivates youth to not vote in the

hopes that these issues will be addressed. Youth participation in elections by voting is seen to be very essential as they are the future leaders of the country (Quinn and Isler, (2012).

Participants were asked to share what they think should be done and what would needs to change in order for them as youth from Siyabuswa to decide to vote. This was done in an attempt to address the third objective of the study. This is what participants shared:

4.3.6.1 Personal growth and knowledge

Mattes and Richmond (2014) presents findings on a study conducted investigating the political knowledge of South Africans. It was found that young adults had the highest level of information regarding the politics of the land. This indicates that youth are informed however decide to not participate in elections due to factors they find discouraging.

Participant 1 had this to share:
"If we ignore the whole system that it is not online so we assume that is continues the way it is. So, for me to vote, I would say the more you grow, you become more engaged and then you see how the government currently in power doesn't do things the way you like. The more you grow that's when the things affect you the most. Like when we are young we are told to vote and should exercise our rights but you can't see the effects of the wrong government and if it's the right government for you because you are still young. You are not spending on anything and you do not have responsibilities. So, the more you grow, personally I would say that is what would encourage me to vote because the more you grow things change you realise the wrongs of the government and how it is affecting you."

Participant 4 said:
"Since I see that I am not getting any assistance with information, I think it has to start with me. I have to do more research about this so that it helps me and also my siblings. I have to get the information and be able to go to other people who know more than I do so that I get there and tell them what I know and they should not discourage me but provide me with more information. I will be getting the information for me, my siblings and anyone else who would benefit from this information."

This confirms the ideas brought by up by Quintelier (2007), namely that people might not vote in their youth years, but their behavior tends to change when they enter into adulthood.

Adulthood comes with responsibilities, which youth do not have. It also come with a certain degree of political knowledge hence one would decide to participate in elections. Voting has a sense of responsibility within one's life.

4.3.6.2 Delivery of promises by the government

Most of the participants were adamant that they wanted the government to deliver on their promises. This was found to be one of the dominating themes in the study. Participants indicated that they would have to see promises being delivered, then they could consider voting in coming elections.

Participant 3 said:

"I would decide to vote only if they fulfill their promises and deliver. They have to deliver on these services. Most of these youth get discouraged because they promise them jobs. Youth unemployment here at home is too high. You find people working without qualifications that you have but you cannot get a job. If youth were being employed they would vote because they would see that there is delivery to the promises working in their favor. That would change their mindset to vote".

Participant 14 shared the same sentiments by explaining that:
"Actions. Like I said, I'm tired of words, promises and all of that. If there was to be a party that acts right, it's through their actions that will maybe influence me to vote again. But maybe."

4.3.6.3 Change from a party system to voting for an individual

Participants indicated that they are not happy with the current voting system. They advised that the government should look into changing the party system and have citizen rather voting for individuals.

Participant 7 expressed that:
"Which brings me to point where I say, you know what, maybe we do not need a party system. We need individuals. We need a system which will support individuals who say you know what I can run this country. I have this and that and that and that experience. I have

this and this qualifications. I know this and that about the economy, about education, about finance. So that's what I think. Parties no. They are not the way to go."

Participant 9 said:
"And again, something that would help is if we voted for the president rather than the party. If we were given that opportunity but we find ourselves in a situation where if you vote for ANC your president will be Zuma. If you like EFF the Malema will be your president. So, what if you like the policies of the party like the EFF but do not like Malema?"

Participant 9 also said that:
"Maybe they should change the whole system. They must change the way in which we choose the leader. Because it is only a handful of people who decide who is the leaders. We just decide which party should lead but we do not determine who leads us."

At this point in time, this suggestion is probably not realistic. It might be a good idea to vote for individuals rather than a party when looking at issues, such as the accountability of political leaders. However, one should consider whether this could be a system fit for the democratic and the political field of this country. The municipal elections of the country present something very similar to the system of voting for an individual. The difference is that the individual belongs to a particular political party (Commonwealth Observer Mission, 2014). With that said, the participants still do not participate in the local elections to choose who governs their municipality.

4.3.6.4 Implementation of an online system for elections

According to the Commonwealth Observer Mission (2014), the IEC had developed a mobile application which was targeted at youth voters to enable them to check their registration status. It also helped them to find voting stations convenient to them and keep them up to date with news on elections using social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook. Schulz-Herzenberg (2014) advised that probably the IEC in coalition with the Department of Home Affairs, should look into implementing an automatic registration process for youth where eligible citizens are registered on the voters' roll automatically. This will decrease low registration levels in youth and hopefully increase youth voter turnout. This strategies would

probably encourage youth to vote as youth indicate that this current voting system is not convenient for them and the lives they lead.

Participant 1 illustrated this point by saying that:
"It's about the convenience behind it. People prefer something that based online nowadays. It's not necessarily that everyone who doesn't to vote does not want to vote but how it's done is what affects people and their decision to vote or not… the minute you include online systems it becomes hyped up and everyone feels they need to engage in it".

Participant 8 said that:
"My point of view is that maybe IEC must come up with an online system where people can vote so that people can vote anywhere they are. Because you find citizens in Europe, people in different places and they want to vote because they are not permanently staying there. This is why people are not voting because some people travel a lot and they get told that they have to go vote where they registered. So that is one of the main important reasons that IEC must check."

4.3.6.5 Youth Leadership within parties

According to literature, youth are the future leaders of this country (Roberts et al., 2010); Quinn and Isler, (2012); Oyedemi and Mahlatji (2016)) however participants indicated that they need more young people to lead them. Mattes and Richmond (2014) argue that youth are frustrated that political leaders are alienating them in politics and are therefore ignoring their views. Perhaps there is a need for young leaders making major decisions within politics. This would then encourage voting in youth.

Participant 6 illustrated this by stating that:
"The change of leadership vacuum. But it is not going to be an overnight thing. Because the leader that is going to be in front of us and stand for the right things will be influenced by the people who have been there. What we have now is that we have old men that fought for the struggle and fought for freedom and now these old men have found freedom 20 years before…23 years to be particular. 23 years freedom was given to a black man and old man said let me taste what I have missed out on for the past 40 years of my life. Now they are using what white man was doing then, now. Just in a different system, in a different face.

Leadership is bad. Form the back to the front. From the start to the end. From all corners of the system…So there is a lot that the government has to do and I am not putting pressure on them. They just lost it on the first step. They have to go back on the drawing board and clean it up. Everyone with grey hair must go out. Why did the fees must fall thing succeed? Was there any grey hair there? There was no grey hair. Anything that's has youth will go ahead. Youth need to be shown. You can't work at your daddy's business if your daddy has not shown you have to count 20 cents. Because you are going to make mistakes every day. And when you make mistakes your daddy is going to ask what you are doing and you are going to feel discouraged. Now when you get discouraged you are going to meet bad people and start doing bad things. That's where we lose it.

4.3.6.6 Addressing greed and power issues in political parties

Participants reported that they want the government to address issues of greed and hold political leaders accountable for their actions.

Participant 9 explained that:

"If the current leadership is held accountable is for every wrong that they have done, then I will believe that they believe in freedom and justice. Then they are worth voting for. But for now…no."

Participant 5 said that:

"They must shift their focus on fighting each other for power and focus on us. All their focus right now is power, they want power. They must forget power and focus on us, as they say that they are here for us because that is what they are here for. They are here to make our lives better but they are not focused on that anymore. These people are as if they are more human than us. They must treat us as human beings as well because right now it's as if it's them there as human and us here as just us. They are more human. They have everything, they go to private hospitals and we go to these hospitals they give to us. They must forget power and be for the people as you say you are. They must forget this power because it is this power that makes them to be greedy".

4.3.6.7 Change in campaign strategies

The marketing strategies of political parties were seen to not influence most of the participant to vote. It was therefore suggested that political parties look into different ways of campaigning.

Participant 11 explained that:
"The way in which politics are presented. Especially when they are campaigning because we know that they are just lying. It's just billboards and all that but after elections its goodbye and they do not give a crap anymore."

Participant 12 had this to share:
"If we have people who are actively campaigning before the elections. They come out, they meet people. They talk about their concerns about the community and how they are going to fix it. People who are actively involved in fixing the community. You don't just show up and be like I want this position. Before that they are just nowhere to be found. They must also be people from our communities. People we know and trust."

4.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the findings of the study and a critical discussion of how the findings concur or contradict research findings of other research focusing on the topic. What was established was that the youth of Siyabuswa do not vote due to similar reasons as the youth seen in studies conducted by the likes of Tracy (2016), Malila (2013) as well as Oyedemi and Mahlatji (2016). Their reasoning ranges from issues of corruption and crime, to the manner in which political parties campaign, make empty promises then forget them until the next election comes. The highlighted their dissatisfaction with service deliver and how reckless the government utilise resources as one of the major contributors to why they decide not to vote. The issue of unemployment emerged where the youth felt as though they did not need the government for their careers. They would rather do things themselves. The youth seem alienated from the whole political system. It is as if they have decided to make their own way as the political way has not worked for them so far. The animosity they show is due to the political events and continued disappointment by political leaders and their parties. Their trust in elections has faded as they try to make a life outside of the politics of this country.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this study was to explore the perspectives of youth in the Siyabuswa community in Mpumalanga regarding why youth do not vote in elections. This chapter presents a summary of the main findings of the study. These findings are discussed in relation to the objectives of the study. Recommendations are presented as well as the conclusion of this study.

5.2 Summary of Findings

5.2.1 To investigate how informed the youth in the Siyabuswa community are on the registration and voting process.

The study revealed that some of the youth in Siyabuswa community are familiar with the registering and voting process. However, most participates had only voted once (i.e. the first time they had the legal right to vote) and never voted again. Participants who had never voted did not have a good understanding of voting procedures.

5.2.2 Explore the viewpoints of youth in the Siyabuswa community regarding what are the main reasons that demotivate youth from being active participants in local/municipal and national elections.

5.2.2.1 Participant voting history

Youth tend to be excited when they first have the legal right to vote and this drives them to complete the voting process. However, after the first experience of voting, the motivation to vote dwindles. Thus, most youth do not have history of voting on a regular basis.

5.2.2.2 Effectiveness of election campaign marketing strategies

Finding show that the participants were well aware of the election periods in the country as the IEC and different political parties' campaign in order to mobilise voters. Findings also indicated that most participates were not influenced by the campaigns during election to go out and vote. Most of them displayed some animosity to the campaign strategies of political parties, more especially of the ruling party. Thus, although aware of upcoming elections, marketing strategies are not effectively motivating them to actually vote.

5.2.2.3 Main reasons not to vote

In terms of the main reasons why the participants decided not to vote, findings show that the participants were not happy with the level of corruption in the country more especially corruption displayed by political leaders. A lot of hostility and anger was also projected toward the country's president.

The participants were also not satisfied with the manner political parties manage their political leaders. They should ensure that leaders are held accountable of their corrupt actions.

Other reasons influencing youth to not vote included the unnecessary spending by government. Participants felt that financial resources were being misdirected while the poor remain marginalised. They also indicated that they were not satisfied with the quality of services delivered.

Findings revealed that participants were not pleased with the conflict between political parties. It was suggested that perhaps these political parties must focus on dealing with issues faced by youth rather than to publicly spend time fighting one another.

They also demonstrated anger and frustration because political parties spend much money on advertising campaigns, when this money could be used to address pressing challenges experienced by disadvantaged community members.

Youth also made it clear that the current electoral system is not convenient for lives they lead. The participants indicated a need for the system to be revised to accommodate youth of this modern age.

Youth also expressed the desire for their voices to be heard and that youth leaders become more involved in political activities.

Finally, youth felt discouraged to vote because by doing so did not bring about constructive change. Deciding not to vote was a way of signifying to political leaders that they were not satisfied with existing living circumstances.

5.2.3 To explore what youth think can be done in the Siyabuswa community to encourage youth to participate in elections.

Participants suggested that in order for them, and other youth, to be encouraged to vote is through personal growth and knowledge when coming to politics and elections. The participants saw it as their responsibility to be informed about the process which may encourage participation in elections. Findings suggested that the IEC should consider implementing online systems for youth to register and vote. The study also indicated that the government would have to deliver on their promises to the youth and their community.

Participants suggested that the government should consider changing the whole political system by having people vote for individuals rather than for parties. This way they feel they will play an active role in choosing who their president is, unlike with the current system where citizens vote for a party and the party chooses a leader to be president.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, presented below are the recommendations:

- It is recommended that municipal leaders in the Siyabuswa community be informed of the reasons why youth are choosing not to adopt.
- Community leaders should explore ways of actively engaging youth in political matters, whether through social media platforms or school programs. In this way youth will feel included in the democratic processes of the country.
- Youths' suggestion that the voting process should become electronic should be explored further.
- A study focusing on youth who regularly vote in the Siyabuswa community is recommended. Findings could suggest how the mind-set of youth not voting can be changed. This could also bring more knowledge on how youth perceive democracy.

5.4 Conclusion

The study revealed that youth of Siyabuswa decide to not participate in the election processes of the country by not casting their votes. Those who have participated in elections even though majority of the participants had only voted once, they felt that they do not need to cast

their votes again due to the socio-economic challenges they face as the youth of this country as well as the brutality of politics in this land. This is a major concern, as it threatens the democracy of South Africa. It is popularly believed that youth do not participate in elections because they are apathetic to politics. However, this study demonstrated that the youth are not apathetic. Rather they are of the point of view that if they don't vote it also sends a message to the government that they are not happy with the progress being made to realise their rights and needs through empowerment. One need to take into cognisance that perhaps there is a disconnection between the government and the youth of South Africa. From the study, the participants indicated that the only time that political parties intact with them is during the election period and once that is over, they disappear. It is a major issue because it contributes to why youth decide not to vote. The study has indicated that the youth have decided to alienate themselves from the political field by not casting their votes. They have taken sole responsibility of their future without the aid of the government as they have been disappointed by the government's lack of delivery to their promised.

Youth are arguably the future of this country and that is why it is important they are active participants of the democracy that has been fought for by our heroes. They must then keep fire of democracy burning for the next generation. Voting is an essential for the democracy of this country hence it is of major concern when youth decide not to participate in elections. The government needs to listen to the voices of youth. It may be farfetched to expect the government to respond to each and every demand by the youth, however proper engagement with them can allow political participation to occur. This is will ensure that youth are included in discussions as well as the problem solving of the issues that both government and the youth are facing.

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Appendix A

Participant Information Sheet

Why youth make the decision not to vote in elections: perspectives of youth in the Siyabuswa community of Mpumalanga.

Good Day

My name is Promise Thlologelo Rampa and I am a Masters student in Social Work at the University of the Witwatersrand. As part of the requirements for the degree, I am conducting a research on the views of youth in Siyabuswa community regarding their decision not to vote in the country's elections. It is hoped that this information may improve social workers' understanding of the experiences of youth who decide not to cast their vote and thereafter help to address the concerns.

I therefore wish to invite you to participant in my study. Your participation is entirely voluntary and refusal to participate will not be held against you in any way. If you agree to take part, I shall arrange to interview you at a time and place that is suitable for you. The interview we last approximately an hour. You may withdraw from the study at any time and you may also refuse to answer any questions that you feel uncomfortable with answering.

With your permission, the interview will be tape-recorded. No one other than my research supervisor will have access to the tapes. The tapes and interview schedules will be kept for two years following any publication of research findings or for six years. Please be assured that your name and personal details will be kept confidential and no identifying information will be included in the final research report.

The interview will include sensitive issues therefore in the case where you may experience some feelings of emotional distress and that you need support counselling following the interview, I will arrange for this services to be provided free of charge by a social worker at the Siyabuswa Social Welfare Offices, situated at Siyabuswa B. If you are in need of support counselling, you can contact Ms Pinky Mguni or Ms Mmabothakga Mokoena on 013 973 3927

Please feel free to ask any questions regarding the study. I shall answer them to the best of my ability. I may be contacted through my cell number 0764964603/ 0814558153 or may contact my research supervisor Pricilla Gerrand on 011 717 4475. Should you wish to receive a summary of the results of the study; a summary will be available on request. Thank you for taking the time to consider participating in the study.

Yours Sincerely

Promise Thlologelo Rampa

Appendix B

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE STUDY

Research Topic: Making the decision not to vote in elections: perspectives of youth in the Siyabuswa community of Mpumalanga

I hereby consent to participate in the research project. The purpose and procedures of the study have been explained to me. I understand that I may refuse to answer any particular items and withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences. I understand that my response will be kept confidential.

Name of Participant: ……..

Signature: …… Date……

Signature of researcher: …….

Date: …….

CONSENT FORM FOR AUDIO-TAPING THE INTERVIEW

Research Topic: Making the decision not to vote in elections: perspectives of youth in the Siyabuswa community of Mpumalanga

I hereby consent to the tape-recording the interview. I understand that my confidentiality will be maintained at all times and that the tapes will be destroyed two years after any publications arising from the study or six years after completion of the study if there is no publication.

Name of Participant: ……

Signature: …… Date …….

Signature of researcher: ……Date……

Appendix C

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Demographic Information

Pseudonym:

Age:

Sex:

Occupation (if employed):

Main Questions

i. There is always a buzz about the elections of the country in terms of people being encouraged by the government to register to vote and then eventually vote. What would you say about the elections of the country?
ii. What do you know about the voting process, that is, the procedures that take place to help all adults cast their vote?
iii. How often do you hear about registering and voting from social media such as radio, television or even newspapers? How do they influence your decision to cast or not to cast your vote?
iv. Have you ever registered to vote? If yes, why did you decide not to cast your vote on the day of voting? If you did not ever register to vote, why did you decide not to register to vote?
v. Which elections have you not participated in? For example, national elections, provincial elections and municipal elections?
vi. What are the main reasons you decide not vote?
vii. Within your circle of friends are you the only one who has made the decision not to vote or it is something that youth around you feel the same about? Please explain.
viii. What do you think can be done to encourage youth, such as you as well as others, out there who have decided not to cast their votes in the elections of the country?

Thank you for participating in this study.

Appendix D

Ethics Clearance Certificate

Appendix E

Faculty Approval Letter