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## **The collapse of the African National Congress monopoly and the introduction of coalition governance in South Africa: Is this a disaster to service delivery?**

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### **ABSTRACT**

African National Congress (ANC) has been enjoying the monopoly as the ruling party from 1994 and it has been poor in service delivery such that even citizens of South Africa realise how failing the democratic government can be. As South Africans realise the failures of ANC, the leaders of the party have become open to the idea of coalition with other small political parties and that marks more failures in service delivery. The aim of this paper is to explore some factors that cause poor service delivery in South Africa. This desktop conceptual research adopts analytic theoretical framework to analyse the problems brought by coalition governance in South Africa. Literature like newspaper reports, media statements, books, online videos will be used to collect data. Then the data collected will be thematically analysed. The conclusion will be that the coalition governments collapse due to lack of proper principles to monitor them.

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## **Introduction**

The African National Congress (ANC) has dominated the national elections since 1994 and became the ruling party in South Africa from 1994 to date (De Jager & Steenekamp, 2016). This domination however showed some cracks in some municipalities including Western Cape province municipalities as the years go by (Ngoepe & Netshakuma, 2018). South Africa is preparing for the national elections in 2024 and this may come with multi-party governance at national level. Many community members are uncertain about the nature of coalition governments or multi-party governance that will be formed as they will have impact on service delivery after 2024. This qualitative study particularly denotes the loss of control by the ANC that started by losing Western Cape province and now struggles to win outright majority in many municipalities around the country including Johannesburg, Tswane and Ekurhuleni. Furthermore, the study probes challenges which might come with national multi-party governance in South Africa and its impact on service delivery after 2024 national elections.

The study hints that there is a need for new policies, procedures, rules, norms values and standards to be created by the South African parliament to guide the multi-party governance in municipalities. Those new regulations may help nationally so that there will be no compromise in service delivery for all South African citizens. The African National Congress managed to get the overwhelming 62.7% majority votes in 1994 and this kept growing under the presidency of Nelson Mandela to 66.7% (Brooks, 2020). This did not come as a surprise following more than three decades of the liberation struggle in South Africa which expose the atrocities of the apartheid government under the white only minority group. From 1999 to 2008 under the leadership of President Thabo Mbeki the support significantly increased such that it was up to 70% by 2004 (Padayachee & Van Niekerk, 2019).

When Mbeki lost power to President Jacob Zuma in 2007 as the president of the ANC, the party's support with South African voters started to decline. In 2009

National elections, the ANC votes dropped to 65.9%. This trend grew such that in 2014 the ANC votes further dropped to 62.2% (Justesen and Schulz-Herzenberg, 2018). However, this support showed an exponential drop from 62.2% in 2014 to 57.5% in the year 2019. This was a clear message to the ANC that poor service delivery, corruption, poor governance and state capture resulted in South Africans losing trust in the ANC and its governance (Maserumule, 2016). The Democratic Alliance (DA) which became biggest opposition party in parliament also experience a drop in its support from 22.2% in 2014 elections to 20.8% by 2019 elections (Magubane, 2023). This made small parties to support one another as new political parties started to emerge. The 2019 local government elections results made things worse for major parties in South Africa because they lost control over many municipalities, and they were left with no other option but to form coalition governments with small emerging parties. It is from this series of events that Ndletyana (2018) argues that the concept of coalition governance is relatively new in South Africa hence it is having elements of disturbing and disorganizing the underperforming municipalities in service delivery to the communities. Therefore, it can be reasonably argued that coalition governance in South Africa lacks a proper guiding framework.

### **Theoretical framework**

This study adopts analytical school of thought. Analytical philosophy emphasizes clarity and argument, that is often achieved through logical and linguistic analysis (McGinn, 2002). Frege (1906) is considered as the father of analytical philosophy, a tradition that emphasizes on clarity of argument through the logical use of language in presenting thoughts. Within this framework Bertrand Russell found a space to argue for logicism and logical atomism (Soames, 2003). According to Soames (2003) Logicism and logical atomism refers to the practice of breaking the argument into basic propositions in order to understand its coherence as a whole. Similarly, Hallen and Sodipo (1997) argue for the analytical breakdown of issues to the simpler and logical thoughts through the use of logic in a simple ordinary

language. Soames (2003) seems to hold a view that philosophical problems arise from misunderstanding of language and all necessary truths are a priori, analytic and true in virtue if meaning of words depend upon how the world in fact is. Analytic theory helps in producing philosophy that is not ideologically motivated, but thought that is analytic and reflective (Hallen, 2005). Under Wittgenstein's (1937) inspiration, Rudolf Carnap (1961) sought to embed his analysis in logical positivism as a development to this tradition. Logical positivism holds that there are no specific philosophical truths and that the object of philosophy is logical clarification of thoughts (Soames, 2003). Carnap (1967) and other scholars contributed to this tradition by rejecting the doctrines of their predecessors of constructing artificial language to resolve philosophical problems. They argued that the Vienna Circle was erroneous because the "quest for systemic theories of language worked as a misleading intrusion of scientific methods into philosophy" (Glock, 2008: 44).

The analytic framework in this research work helps in acquiring a deeper or adequate understanding of the research problem prior to forwarding the researcher's own views. Since it is the framework which guides the researcher's methodology, it also helps to critically apply analysis that cannot be accusable of any biasness. This theoretical framework enables a researcher to be reflective and at the same time be within guards of rationality while being critical of his or her thoughts as Gaus (2017) argues. With the guide of logical positivism, the researchers have been able to deal with dogmas and ideological speculations around the issue of coalition governance in South Africa while operating as a neutral being in the battle between parties against and parties for coalition governance. As Soames (2003) argue that logical positivism holds that there are no absolute philosophical truths, but the object of philosophy is to clarify thoughts, this has helped the researcher to simplify his/ her thoughts. In this paper, the researchers have used the ordinary language in producing their critical thoughts while at the same time analysing the common thoughts that are currently existing

among South African citizens. The use of the ordinary language is due to the fact that in this work the researchers are dealing with real issues that involve real human beings in South Africa other than some metaphysical fantasies. Analytic theoretical framework is adequately relevant when dealing with the sensitive issues like this one of failing coalition governance and poor service delivery in South Africa. The argument in this paper seeks to be more rational than being emotional towards proposing new procedures and principles that may improve the functionality of coalition governance in South Africa.

Therefore, in this paper the researchers adopt this theoretical framework in attempt to do different as Mahlo (2020) argues that is not of a potent scholar to emotionally weep in corridors without addressing the problems that humanity faces. The issue of unguided coalition governance after a long time of being dominated by one party (ANC) has proved to be more problematic as it negatively impact service delivery in South Africa. According to Wall (2018) analytic theory can be briefly explained as concerned with three principles i.e (a) clarity of argument, (b) the use of ordinary language than creating a superficial language or philosophic jargon, and (c) demystification of the truth which quickly rejects dogmas and other indoctrinating aspects that can lead to biasness. The use of ordinary language is more relevant when philosophizing about the views of ordinary human beings like the South African politics and South African citizens that are subject of the discussion in this paper. As Hansen (2020) argues that when a researcher writes he/ she must be considerate of the fact that it is ordinary humans that will read the work, then it becomes necessary that the researcher avoids being extremely fanciful to the level of creating a superficial language that will be difficult to understand.

### **Research methodology**

**Ethical considerations:** According to Ficorilli (2022) '*ethical clearance*' is needed when one conducts research that involves human participants. However, in this

particular study ethical clearance is not necessary because the researchers engage published literature that is already available in the public domain. According to Bram and Angelina (2022) when using the literature, one must adequately acknowledge it. Therefore, this study adopts that principle as all literature used here will be sufficiently acknowledged. Researchers avow that all literature used here is adequately acknowledged.

With regards to **conflict of interests**, the researcher here can confirm that there is no conflict of interests with anyone or any institution. This research work stems from the literature that has already dealt with the issues that might have been capable of arousing institutional or personal conflict of interests. **Sampling**, the researchers present that this critical analysis is based on the observation that poor service delivery, unguided coalition governance, and corruption have hijacked the democratic joy in South Africa. The literature used in this paper captures the whole atmosphere of problems that come with the collapse of powerful ANC, coalition governance in South African institutions.

**Data analysis** This study adopts triple interpretation approach which relies on a triple layered interpretation of scholarly views. According to Aagaard (2017) a triple layered interpretation approach is made up of three levels of interpretation that include; (a) textual interpretation, (b) contextual interpretation, and (c) substantive interpretation. With textual analysis the text/ writing is understood as prima facie entailing the complete sense of what the author aims to communicate. In fact, Pochhacker (2022) argues that looking further than the literal meaning of the text may even misleads the reader while trying to find a hidden meaning instead of the apparent one. However, this paper views textual interpretation as quite simplistic and risking the disconnect between the author and the reader while the two should have similar understanding. *Contextual interpretation* refers to an instance whereby analysis takes into account the context at which the text was written (Piwosz et al, 2020). This paper takes Rashid and Sipahi's (2021) argument that text is always related to the personality of the author and the environment.

Albeit tersely, this means the reader must understand the author as an ordinary human being that is affected by his character and the environment to write as s/he wrote. *Substantive interpretation* as defines by Ramlo (2023) interrogates the substance of the text as either relevant or irrelevant in the contemporary time. In this paper, the fall of ANC and the rise of unguided coalition governance makes a good case of a failing democracy that needs to be saved.

### **Findings**

- African National Congress has lost its background fundamentals that made it rise into power as the democratically elected governing party in South Africa.
- The rise of unguided coalition governance by small political parties is a further deterioration of South African party politics as it can be seen in the rise of corruption and poor service delivery.
- South African citizens have lost hope in the government of ANC, hence the emergence of small parties branching off from the same corrupt ANC.

### **Data analysis and discussion**

#### **Brief historical background of the struggle for freedom in South Africa**

This section provides a brief history of the struggle to emancipate those South African racial groups which were oppressed. Although the ANC led this struggle, they had allied with other parties like PAC and AZAPO, BCM, and UDM (Ottaway, 1991; Tsholo, 2021). Although other parties were involved, but the ANC became more dominant in the struggle for freedom in South Africa as Tshishonga (2022) narrates. The ANC was formed in 1910 and officially launched in 1912 which according to Africa (2020). It served as a movement and platform for the blacks, coloureds, and Indians to voice their dissatisfaction and grievances against the apartheid rule established in 1948 which oppressed them in the Republic.

Apartheid government was seen as the extension of the colonial rule of more than 300 years in which western countries dominated the native people of South Africa (Clark & Worger, 2016). The 1960's witnessed the banning of both the ANC and the PAC in the aftermath of the Sharpsville massacre (Coffey, 2022). On the 30<sup>th</sup> of March 1960, the South African Apartheid Government declared a state of emergency and arrested over 200 people whom majority of them were members of the ANC and PAC (Forsee, 2019). According to Hollister (2023) this was due to the discomfort that these two parties were giving the National Party (NP) which was then the leading party of the Apartheid South Africa.

The two parties then resolved to establish underground structures to continue the struggle of the oppressed masses in South Africa. The PAC launched its military wing which was popularly known as POQO while the ANC and SACP jointly set up their military wing which was famously known as uMkhonto we Sizwe (Lissoni, 2018). During this time, many leaders of the ANC and PAC were either arrested, exiled, or killed. However, the effort to continue with the struggle doubled (Lissoni, 2018). The course was further strengthened by mobilizing the international community to support the fight against the apartheid rule in South Africa. Despite all this development, the South African apartheid regime continued to oppress the black South Africans.

Around 1963, Dr Hendrick Verwoerd declared Transkei as the homeland (Brownell, 2019). The main reason for declaring Transkei as a homeland was to keep blacks out of economic activities and creation of '*divide and rule*' policy to ensure that South Africa blacks do not find strength in working together. This process was followed by the creation of other homelands for different ethnic groups of black people in South Africa such as Gazankulu, Qwaqwa, Lebowa, Zululand, Ciskei and kwandebele (Robinson, 2018). After some years, the apartheid regime came with the concept of '*Independent states*' within South Africa to strengthen apartheid. It is from that process that there came to exist independent states like



Transkei for the Xhosa, followed by Bophuthatswana for Batswana, Venda (1979) for Vhavenda and Ciskei for the Xhosas in Ciskei (Robinson, 2018). The main idea of these establishments was to push most blacks to these pieces of land called '*reserves for the blacks*', provide them with citizenship confined to these areas so that they cannot disturb the whites people in their rich areas. These areas were rich with natural resources including gold, diamond, coals, copper, Iron (and good soil for farming). However, all these efforts failed due to pressure that ANC and other political parties were giving to the Apartheid government.

On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of February 1990, the then President of South Africa F.W De Klerk announced sweeping reforms that marked the beginning of the negotiated transition from apartheid to constitutional democracy (Kwenda et al, 2020). The reforms included the unbanning of the ANC and other anti-apartheid organizations, the release of political prisoners including the ANC leader Nelson Mandela, the end of state of emergency, and the moratorium of death penalty (De Klerk speech 1990). De Klerk received criticism from other members of parliament such as Koos van der Merwe of the Conservative party who saw him as a traitor. However, he was congratulated by many leaders including President W. Bush. The announcement by De Klerk led to negotiations which led to the formation of the forum known as Convention for a democratic South Africa (CODESA) which its negotiations led to agreement that South Africa should move into constitutional democracy. During CODESA, 19 groups were represented including the South African Government and the governments of the so-called TBVC states, the ANC, IFP, NP, SACP, DP, Dikwankweta party and others (Lissoni, 2018). This opened ways for national elections with all qualifying persons irrespective of their colour, race, sex, religion or ethnicity.

### **The rise and fall of ANC in different elections.**

In 1994 elections, the ANC received 62.7% support (Africa, 2022). These were the first democratic elections in South Africa that raised ANC into South Africa's ruling party. Nelson Mandela was the face of the ANC and received support from

all corners of the country. The ANC support grew to 66.4% in 1999 elections when Thabo Mbeki took over as the president of South Africa (Vele et al, 2010). During Thabo Mbeki's tenure, he came with business-friendly policies which led to the party support increasing to 70% during 2004 elections (Giollabui, 2017). The support of ANC dropped to 65.9% when Jacob Zuma took over as party and state president in 2009 (Southall, 2016; Shai et al, 2018) and ANC's support dropped further to 62.2% in 2014. Worse, Nyenhuis (2020) narrates that in 2019 elections the ANC showed exponential if not drastic decline in support to 57.2%.

While the ANC support was declining, the official opposition party which is Democratic Alliance (DA) also showed signs of declining in numbers of citizens who voted for them. According to Booysen (2019) this was surprising because one would expect that those people whom the ANC loses go and join the opposition, but it seems that they had no trust in DA too. In 1994, the DA (Formerly Democratic Party) performed poorly by getting 1.73% of the votes. The DP which changed its name to DA increased its support by 9.6% in 1999 and again to 12.4% in the following elections. It further increased its votes to 16.7% in 2009 and jumped to 22.2% in the 2014 elections. However, during Musi Maimane's era as party leader DA started to be marred by inhouse fighting which led to the beginning of declining of its votes to 20.8%. During that time, other political parties noticed the fluctuation of support leading to beginning of many political parties in South Africa. Most of these came from outraged members of different parties more especially the ANC, as Ntsebeza (2020) narrates. Julius Malema of ANC started the EFF party, Terror Lekota of the ANC started the party called COPE, recently Musi Maimane from DA started BOSA party while Heman Mashaba of DA also started Action South Africa political party (Maditsi & Bhuda, 2023). South Africa has become a production place of multiple political parties for which some of them emerge due to angry members who are just tired of these old political parties.

The IEC indicated that there were 2330 political parties in South Africa at some

stage, and this marks the decline of the already existing parties as they lose members to new parties (Booyesen, 2022). However, 701 of these are deregistered while 82 are rejected leaving registered parties at 1547 in number (Mahlati, 2019). Therefore, there are 2330 political parties in South Africa, and that explains why there is this unguided chaos of coalitions that are failing the state. This comes with the reality that South Africa is forced to ruling by coalitions in different municipalities at National level (Teichmann, 2023).

### **South African coalition chaos**

Since the beginning or the emergence of coalition governing structures in 2016, many coalitions governing structures started in metropolitan councils. The coalition governance in these metropolitan cities or parts of South Africa started showing governance cracks in the very first year they were formed, and this led to them being unstable (Nzo, 2022). Nzo (2022) from the Public Affairs Research Institute adds that these coalitions are marred by activities of the motion of ‘*no confidence*’ which destabilises working of councils towards service delivery. Coalition governance in municipalities at local, district, and metropolitan levels became a reality in South Africa since 2016. According to Coffey (2022) the 1<sup>st</sup> of November 2021 local government elections gave birth to 66 hung municipalities that were governed by coalitions in the Republic of South Africa. It is these elections that formed four major South African councils of the city of Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni, Nelson Mandela Bay and the city of Tshwane. They produced “*hung Councils*” as no one political party was able to secure an outright majority of over 50% (BusinessTech, 23).

The African National Congress (ANC) which has enjoyed electoral dominance at all state levels since 1994 achieved less than 50% during 2021 local government elections to the surprise of many including leaders of the ANC themselves (Mbanyane, 2021). This left the ANC with no option but to seek coalition partners and join the opposition benches in some councils. The Democratic Alliance as

second-largest political party failed to capitalize on ANC governance failures and also underperformed at the same polls as they achieve less than 22% of the total votes (Mbayane, 2021). This placed all political parties in a critical condition as they were all bamboozled by these results. Booysen (2023) argues that these results placed major South African political parties in a bind as they were reluctant to form coalition with each other and this led to instability (Mbanyane, 2021). The instabilities in different “*hung municipalities*” can be attributed to the parties, not forgetting their differences which caused a shift of focus from service delivery. One of the most notable failures of co-governing has been seen in Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality (BusinessLive, 2023; BusinessTech, 2023). Booysen (2023) argues that from 2022 to 2023, this municipality has been very unstable over ‘*who has the final say over the city council*’ with many looking at the lucrative seat of the mayor.

Admittedly, in short space of less than a year Johannesburg Metro had 6 mayors and one cannot be surprised if it can still have another. On 30 September 2022, the DA’s Mpho Phalatse was ousted as the mayor of Johannesburg through the vote of no confidence that was passed (BusinessTech, 2023). According to BusinessTech (2023) the coalition that removed her was comprised of ACDP, FF Plus, COPE, IFP, Action SA and later PA. The ANC’s Dada Morero took over as the new mayor. This was then challenged by the ousted Phalatse and in January 23 she came back into the office. She however did not stay long as she was removed again through the collaboration of EFF, PA and ANC (BusinessLive, 2023). The position was then given to Thapelo Amad from the Al-Jama-ah party. Booysen (2023) narrates that in less than a year, City of Johannesburg had the following mayors following the scrambling of coalitions:

2020- Dada Morero for less than two weeks.

2022- Mpha Phalatse for less than two months

2023- Thapelo Amad for less than a month

2023- Kabelo Gwamanda

On 8 May 2023, just two days after Gwamanda was elected as a mayor, former mayor Mpho Phalatse indicated that she is having information to support the allegations that Gwamanda is not fit for the office as he has committed fraud through the funeral scheme (SABC News channel 404, 8 May 2023).

Maditsi and Bhuda (2023) report that Ekurhuleni, Nelson Mandela Bay and Tshwane are also experiencing challenges in their co-governance. As reported by Ndletyana (2018) and BusinessTech (2023), citizens in these metropolitan municipalities that are co-governed complain about the quality of services they get from their municipalities. Citizens of these metropolitan municipalities blame the councils for spending time on internal political squabbles at the expense of planning and delivering services. Other challenges in these municipalities include the failure to promote and improve growth of the communities under which the municipalities operate.

### **Community views on coalitions and service delivery in South Africa**

There were journalists who posted on youtube and SABC news about the views of community members who live under those co-governed municipalities. It came out in reports that in some instances people stay long period of time without clean water, proper housing, proper transport coverage (Booyesen, 2023; BusinessLive, 2023). BusinessTech (2023) argues that in some places electricity is no longer known due to long lasting 'loadshedding', and this is for those who have houses, there is a number of people who have no houses. Analytica (2023) adds that when it comes to employment it is a mess, tenders are given to friends and relatives rather than qualifying people who remain unemployed. In total, the majority of people living in those metropolitan co-governed cities are dissatisfied with their municipality governance because much of what happens there is not for the benefit of the people. Therefore, it can be said that coalition governance so far in metropolitan municipalities has brought terror upon South African citizens instead of the promised democracy. Then through the reports from online blogs, videos, and newspapers about Tshwane and Johannesburg municipalities one gets an idea

that there is a lot that needs to be done about these coalition governments since they are now a live reality.

### **A need for policies to govern coalition.**

Political parties are betraying the voters, as Booysen (2023) narrates. These are the views of many in the two municipalities that they voiced through the reporters that came to hear from the basic citizenship level. The majority of the citizens in the two metropolitan municipalities indicated that political parties disrespect the people who voted for them. This is seen when a political party that gained less than 5% taking the position of mayorship at the expense of the party that has more than 40% of total votes because of collusion of certain political parties as per their political agendas and not the needs of the citizens. When getting into this type of arrangements, political parties do not consult the citizens who voted them into power in those municipalities (Umoh, 2023).

In the 2021 local government elections, ANC obtained 47.90% of the total number of votes casted in Johannesburg Metropolitan municipality, DA got 20.0%, and EFF settled for 10.60% (Maditsi and Bhuda, 2023). At the same time, Patriotic Alliance was at 2.93% with Aljamah gaining only 0.96%, and Action SA gaining only 16.05% of votes (Khambule, 2020). The DA led coalition in this municipality did not last long. Surprising, the Aljamah with the lowest votes in the municipality of 0.96% had its two members, Mr Amed and Mr Gwamande seating as mayors of the municipality (Maditsi and Bhuda, 2023; Booysen, 2023). Booysen (2023) argues that this shows injustice to voters who voted for ANC to reach up to 47.90%. In Tshwane, Dr Murunwa Makwarela also led the municipality as the mayor although for very short period (BusinessLive, 2023). Analytica (2023) reports have it that in less than four days Makwarela was taken off due to his court case on his insolvency. COPE only managed to make 0.19% in these elections and got only one seat in the council but managed to get Dr Makwarela into being a

mayor (BusinessLive, 2023). That is why some electorates see this as “robbery” of their votes. In Tshwane Municipality, ANC got 34.63% and were allocated 75 seats, DA made 32.03% and were given 69 seats, EFF reached 10.69% while FFP made 7.84% (Teichmann, 2023). Currently, the mayor of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality is Cilliers Brink of the DA party. However, as reported by SABC News Channel 404 several times after Kabelo Gwamanda took over mayoral position in Johannesburg council, there are allegations that he was involved in some unscrupulous ‘*get rich*’ scheme that was reported to have robbed community members (BusinessTech, 2023).

### **Lack of stability**

According to experts, Coalition governments can work effectively to the benefit of all South Africans if political parties are willing to professionally compromise on their preferences (Shai et al, 2018). Tsholo (2021) argues that political parties must understand each other as well as each other’s policies and manifestos which lead to political parties respecting each other before entering into coalition. Many electorates who participated believe that parties have the tendency of dwelling in the confrontations they made and experienced during election period. A good example is when the EFF party pronounced that they will never work with the ANC at all in their lifetime (Norwayi et al, 2020). Booysen (2023) further reports that these words were also echoed by several parties such as the Action SA and the Patriotic Alliance. However, in these coalitions all these commitments are not shared with voters during the campaigns. The main cause of instability in these municipalities is attributed to the lack of policies, procedures, norms and values that can guide political coalition agreements to avoid political parties focusing only on their benefits while forgetting to deliver the services to the communities. The suggestion here is for the parliament of South Africa to develop and pass the laws that govern coalitions with the aim of protecting the rights of the citizens. These laws should demand accountability from political parties, mayors, individual

MMC's and senior managers in the municipality who their responsibility is the developmental agenda of the communities. All these stakeholders are supposed to be held accountable to ensure that there is good performance management, audit outcome and provisioning of best value service to the community.

### **Political rivalry**

Some experts and people attribute the instability of coalition to political parties' political rivalry. For instance, political analyst like Norwayi et al (2020) argue that political parties that have no unity of vision and mission within themselves can never lead a senseful coalition that will benefit the masses of South Africa. But Onwuegbuchulam (2022) worsens the matter as he argues that these rivalries are also found within some political parties in the form of faction or the so-called camps. The political conflicts become endless as Onwuegbuchulam (2022) narrates that some people believe that those political parties who are alienated from coalitions turn into mobilizing themselves against those in the coalition. At times these differences turn violent and hinder all service delivery processes to the communities (Mongale, 2021; Onwuegbuchulam, 2022). It is during this time and in this regard that the municipalities lose the ethics and accountability that they are supposed to practice. Mongale (2021) narrates that at times this rough and terrific political warfare leads to political killings.

### **Expected Coalition Governance at National level in South Africa after 2024 elections.**

Many people have a fear that no party in South Africa including the ANC which is currently the ruling party will be able to have outright majority win of more than 50% in the national elections scheduled for the year 2024. This is also supported by the trend that has been observed in the last 2 national assembly and local government elections. Magubane wrote in The Mercury newspaper (9 May 2023) that there are prospects of ANC losing control of six of the nine provinces of the Republic of South Africa in the 2024 elections. Nonetheless, there are prediction that no single political party will walk away with the outright majority win hence a



caution that the citizens of the Republic of South Africa be geared and be ready for the National Coalition government after 2024 elections.

Should there be national co-governance in South Africa after 2024 as predicted and expected by many, there will be a need for stability in the country. If political parties are given the free run of matters with no policies, rules, procedures, values norms and standards, that will lead to total collapse of governance. This will suggest that the five years could lapse with no stable government and lack of proper service delivery. The position of the presidency might swing from one political party to the other like it is happening with the mayors' positions in some metro municipalities. Different political party ideologies which do not provide space for the tolerance of other political parties' ideologies can lead to poor service delivery. Then poor service delivery can in turn lead to instability and poor service delivery in the whole South Africa. Booysen (2022) in his analysis argues that some people are sceptical and afraid that should the country be governed by collation there will be service delivery chaos.

It came out during Cilliers's (2014) study that many people believe the ANC government has good social policies, but they are tarnished by levels of corruption within the party itself, the government, and state. Cilliers (2014) argues that ANC believe that other political parties cannot attract majority of the votes since they have their own policies but strive at all the times to improve on what the ANC is already providing. However, the promise by the ANC that it will become a social state puts the government under service delivery pressure. While many citizens of the Republic of South Africa who are believed to be ANC supporters believe the government is delivering, some believe that the demands from the citizens have tremendously grown in such a way that the ANC led government cannot cope and deliver services for the citizens of the Republic as expected (Analytica, 2023). The citizens who believe that ANC government is delivering are those who sympathize with government because of its Constitution argues Umoh (2023). The constitution of the Republic of South Africa is vulnerable for abuse even by citizens from

neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe and Mozambique who have access to services rendered in hospitals, clinics, schools, industries, and others meant for South African citizens with less or no control at all (Diseko, 2022).

Lack of control over these services gets them depleted and abused by undocumented people and this is seen by some people as weakness of the ruling party which can lead to the ANC losing the coming elections in 2024 (BusinessLive, 2023). Poor provisioning of electricity is sighted as one of the key issues that will contribute to the slump or exponential decrease in number of ANC voters and votes in 2024 elections. People from some of the provinces such as Limpopo and Eastern Cape also indicated that water supply problems across the two provinces will play an important role in decreasing the votes of the ruling party (Davey, 2023). Furthermore, crime rate has increased dramatically since the ANC came into power and it is believed that these further fuel the decrease in the number of votes for the ANC in the upcoming elections in 2024 (Analytica, 2023).

### **Conclusion and recommendations**

The question that remains unanswered is what has prompted the beginning of the multi-party governance or coalition governance in South Africa. Some experts believe that ANC's poor service delivery and loss of votes is the main contributor to the formation of disastrous coalition governance. With the experience already displayed by different municipalities across the country, South Africa needs ways of controlling the formation and running of coalition governance. While the country develops in fragile, unstable, and disastrous coalitions at local government level, this raises uncertainty for future formations of coalitions at provincial and national levels. The ways of controlling the formation and controlling of the coalition government can avoid a situation whereby at times the vote of no confidence is proposed not for the benefit of the communities but for wrong political reasons. The coming and going of political leaders in coalition governments will in most instances lead to instability in municipalities which in turn promotes poor service

delivery. This can be more damaging should the country reach to the level of National Coalition governing without parliament having developed control mechanisms of the coalition's governance. This may affect international trust to the country by investors, affecting the economy, jobs, education, health, and other sectors.

## **Recommendations**

This study however recommends that:

- The parliament speedily start and complete processes of coming with rules/laws to govern coalition governance for the benefit of service delivery. This should happen before 2024 National Elections.
- Parliament also speedily revises some parts of the constitution that allows for influx of undocumented persons and finds ways to control crime increases.
- Law enforcement institutions are given necessary powers to implement the laws properly without fear or favour by removing wrong control by authorities.
- The country needs to be careful of weak committee systems, weak cabinet and weak public accountability processes.

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