

EISA ELECTION RESOURCE CENTER



A weekly review of the South African 2019 national and provincial elections

THE VOTER'S ISSUES – SOUTH AFRICA, 2019

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A citizen's decision to vote, and who they vote for, is influenced by several factors woven into South Africa's complex social, economic and political fabric. However, there are common concerns that the majority of voters want their political parties to address in the hope that they will inch South Africa forward towards the ideals envisaged at the dawn of its democracy.

This week's EISA brief looks at how the common concerns of average South Africans are being addressed in the manifestos of political parties contesting the 2019 national and provincial elections.

Land – Qiqa Nkomo examines the tangible and symbolic value of land by analysing the potentially extremist stances on the land expropriation policy.

Housing – Sandile Khuboni focuses on the issue of state housing and the lack of progress made to mitigate the spatial imbalances that apartheid left behind.

Inequality – Thembelani Mazibuko looks at how the ANC, DA and EFF plan to respond to the challenge of inequality in South Africa.

Unemployment – Maite Dithaba tackles the complexities of the competing capitalist and socialist ideologies parties advance to

*Social issues and
party manifestos*

**THE LAND
DEBATE**

**CRIME AND
SECURITY**

**STATE CAPTURE
AND
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INEQUALITY

HOUSING

enhance job creation and alleviate unemployment.

State capture – Sizwe Nene examines how our constitutional democracy is compromised by internal state corruption, and what the parties say about this.

Crime and safety – Nancy Hakizimana looks at how parties propose to make South Africa a safer place for all who live in it.

THE LAND DEBATE

WRITTEN BY QIQA NKOMO

The Native Land Act of 1913 formalised spatial segregation and the dispossession of indigenous people's land and livestock (SAHistory, 2017). The Group Areas Act of 1950 imposed further restrictions on property transactions and identified areas where specific races could reside (Duggard, 1978).

When it was instituted in 1994, government's land policy aimed to redress apartheid's injustices through land restitution and redistribution, and influence the land tenure system, particularly regarding commercial farms, to favour previously disadvantaged people (Lahiff, 2008).

But after 25 years of democracy, the land reform programme has failed to achieve its objectives. As a result, many political parties contesting the 2019 elections have proposed various policies on land reform. The debate is no longer about whether or not to expropriate land, but whether to expropriate land with or without compensation.

Political parties such as the African Democratic Congress (ADC) have capitalised on the debate by using taglines such as "the land belongs to the people". The implication of this tagline would authorise the state to take private property for public works without paying the party that owned the land prior to it being expropriated. The ADC is not alone in championing the principle of expropriation without compensation: the ANC seeks to use expropriated land for agricultural purposes as a strategy for economic growth.

Instead of using expropriated land for agriculture, the Azanian People's Organisation seeks to restore dignity to black people by using the land for housing. The call of the United Democratic Movement (UDM) on government "to return all land expropriated ... to its original owners" (UDM, 2018) operates on the assumption that the state would become the custodian of land. The UDM's stance is echoed by the Black First Land First party and the Economic Freedom Fighters, both of which are proponents of the nationalisation of private property for equal redistribution.

At the other end of the spectrum are parties in favour of expropriation with compensation. The Inkatha Freedom Party advocates for the expropriation only of unused land to be given to poor people, and for the owners of land earmarked for expropriation to be fairly compensated (IFP, 2019). The Democratic Liberal Congress (DLC) and Freedom Front Plus (FF+) have argued that land expropriation without

compensation undermines the “cornerstone of free market, which is private property” (SABC, 2019). In affirmation of the DLC and FF+’s sentiments, the manifesto of the Democratic Alliance (DA) states that individuals have a right to own land without restrictions, and that uncertainty over private property rights would destabilise South Africa’s economy (DA, 2019).

The Congress of the People has publicly stated that constitutional provisions do not hinder the objectives of land restitution and redistribution (Petersen, 2018). In line with this assertion, the GOOD party advocates for land expropriation without compensation within the confines of existing constitutional provisions. The party believes a comprehensive land audit should be conducted in urban areas to identify unused and underused land to be expropriated for public use (GOOD, 2019).

The emotive taglines and constitutional manoeuvring we’re seeing suggest that the parties in favour of expropriation without compensation, as well as those that oppose the proposed policy, operate from potentially extremist stances. This does not inspire confidence that any of these proposals are inherently beneficial to the people. Resolving the land debate lies in the formulation of a policy that will benefit previously disadvantaged people all the way from the language used in the policy to the budget allocation and the successful implementation of the policy.

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CRIME AND SECURITY

Written by Nancy Hakizimana

A 2018 report by the Institute of Economics and Peace ranked South Africa 125 out of 163 countries on the global peace index, which measures peace by studying levels of societal safety and security, the extent of domestic and international conflict, and the degree of militarisation. This finding is underscored by a study by the Human Sciences Research Council between 2003 and 2015 that revealed that only 21% of South Africans are satisfied with government’s efforts to reduce crime (Bohler-Muller *et al*, 2016). As the national elections approach, it is no surprise that questions of how political parties intend to tackle crime have come to the fore.

Three major approaches have emerged: the hardline approach; the optimisation and strengthening of the South African Police Service (SAPS); and community-centred approach, which seeks to address the social and economic root causes of crime.

The hard line

Several parties, such as the African Christian Democratic Party, the African Covenant, the African Transformation Movement and the Inkatha Freedom Party, are advocating for the reintroduction of the death penalty to the justice system. Other parties, such as the African Content Movement (ACM), the Azanian People's Organisation and the National Freedom Party (NFP) argue that a gun-free society would contribute greatly to eradicating crime.

Investing in the police

Most parties recognise the importance of optimising and strengthening the SAPS. For example, the ANC, Democratic Alliance (DA) and Freedom Front Plus's manifestos propose increased police visibility by increasing the number of officers, whereas the Economic Freedom Fighters propose maintaining police presence by reopening police stations and satellite police stations. The ACM advocates for incentivising police by increasing the pay of SAPS employees. In an effort to make police more efficient, the Congress of the People proposes upskilling officers through special training and the formation of specialised units. The DA advocates decentralising control over the SAPS to allow local government to have more authority on crime specific to their provinces, such as gang violence in Western Cape.

Tackling crime at local level

In addition to optimising and strengthening the police, some parties encourage community involvement in combatting crime. The Land Party's manifesto, for instance, suggests that all South Africans should take part in police training for six months. This, the party argues, would equip citizens with the skills to make arrests and defuse dangerous situations, and create awareness on what to be vigilant for. The ANC and the United Democratic Movement are also in favour of strengthening community support groups, and the NFP proposes incentivising community policing forums by paying members for their services. In recognising that crime is often symptomatic, GOOD believes in addressing the root causes of crime by prioritising social services and social development.

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STATE CAPTURE AND CORRUPTION

WRITTEN BY SIZWE NENE

Corruption in South Africa has become so rampant that it threatens the state's constitutional democracy. In brief, corruption involves bribery, fraud, embezzlement, extortion, the abuse of power, conflicts of interest, favouritism and nepotism (Corplan *et al*, 2010: 38). It has cost the country's GDP at least R27 billion and 76 000 jobs that would have been created (Patel, 2017). Ahead of the 2019 general elections, many political parties' manifestos have spoken out against corruption.

The mismanagement of state funds during Jacob Zuma's tenure as president has resulted in gains for smaller parties, who have been able to leverage against a lack of accountability in government. One cannot overlook the significant role played by parties such as the United Democratic Movement, the Congress of the People and the African Christian Democratic Party in revealing maladministration in government.

This contributed to a string of strategic litigation and timely interventions in Parliament that compelled a full bench of the court to confirm the powers of the public protector, and found that Zuma "had failed to uphold, defend and respect the constitution as the supreme law of the land" (Mbetse, 2018). In the wake of Zuma's resignation as president, the ANC has condemned corruption, as have the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF).

The DA has always been vocal on corruption as an official opposition party. Its 2019 election manifesto focuses on combatting corruption that leads to cash for jobs and sex for jobs. Nepotism, the DA argues, hinders the attainment of the goals of fairness and opportunity. The party's manifesto outlines that it plans to address the mismanagement of state-owned enterprises, including irregularities in procurement, inflated contract prices, middleman service fees and kickbacks.

Though the EFF, particularly its deputy president, Floyd Shivambu, is implicated in the VBS scandal, it is essential to acknowledge the oversight role the party played in revealing the relationship between the Gupta family and Zuma. The EFF's election manifesto states that the party's stance on corruption is to increase, harness and enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of governance institutions to pre-empt all forms of corruption in both the private and public sectors.

The ANC can be judged by how it has dealt with corruption within its structures. Noting the commissions of inquiry that have been established, the ANC doesn't emerge as bold enough in curbing corruption. The same can be said about the EFF for not taking any action against its deputy president. Similarly, the DA did not institute any legal action against its candidate for Gauteng Premier, Solly Msimanga, on the controversial multibillion-rand contract between Glad Africa and the City of Tshwane under former mayor Solly Msimanga (Riddle, 2019).

The ways in which all three of South Africa's larger parties have dealt with corruption has left much to be desired. As a result, smaller parties will again be called upon to expose and fight corruption and maladministration. The emergence of the GOOD party is likely to strengthen their role.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND JOB CREATION

WRITTEN BY: MAITE DITHEBE

According to the quarterly labour force survey released by Statistics South Africa for the fourth quarter of 2018, youth unemployment in the country is at 54% – twice the national rate of 27%. Slow economic growth has compounded the issue and no reprieve is in sight, with National Treasury predicting the economy to grow by only 1.8% in 2019 and the International Monetary Fund predicting even more modest growth of 1.2% this year (Reuters, 2019).

Reigniting the economy through creating jobs is a priority of all parties contesting the election, but their approaches differ significantly, falling broadly into two distinct schools of thought: capitalist and socialist.

The capitalist centre

The ANC's election manifesto has included an unequivocal message on reviving the economy so that South Africans are able to realise their aspirations. President Cyril Ramaphosa has emphasised that attracting investment in sectors such as mining, manufacturing and agriculture, and expanding exports, would create employment (Magubane, 2019), spark economic growth and increase local demand for goods.

The Democratic Alliance's manifesto focuses on attracting investment, and targeting the manufacturing, agriculture and tourism sectors to boost the economy and reduce unemployment, with the aim of achieving an annual GDP growth rate of 3% (Head, 2019). Smaller parties such as the Freedom Front Plus, the Inkhata Freedom Party and the Congress of the People also emphasise the importance of attracting investment and developing small, medium and micro enterprises to create jobs and broaden the skills base.

These parties share a capitalist approach that prizes the privatisation of the means of production and advocates for investment to boost economic growth.

The call for a 'classless society'

Other parties such as the Economic Freedom Fighters, on one of its campaign posters, emphasises, "Our land and jobs now". The party's manifesto addresses the expropriation of land without compensation, the nationalisation of strategic sectors of the economy, the abolition of tenders, and the protection of industrial development to create jobs (Daniel, 2019).

The newly formed political party Socialist Revolutionary Workers Party (SRWP), founded by the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, believes in the dignity of the working class (Toli, 2019),, and seeks to overthrow capitalism in South Africa and replace it with democratic socialism in the pursuit of a classless society (Polity, 2019). Both parties' manifestos speak of how nationalisation will create jobs, arguing that capitalist approaches such as investment in strategic sectors and the privatisation of state-owned enterprises cannot provide a job for every worker and a worker for every job.

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SOCIAL ISSUES AND PARTY MANIFESTOS



SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL ELECTIONS, 2019

UNEMPLOYMENT



South Africa's official unemployment rate is 27.5%. The country's youth unemployment is significantly higher at 52.8% (Stats SA, 2018)

CRIME

- An estimated 830 000 incidences of housebreaking occurred in 2017/18 - 4,25% of all South African households affected.
- An estimated 16 809 incidences of murder occurred in 2017/18 - an increase of 4% from the previous year.
- Households satisfied with the police services in their area decreased from 57,3% in 2016/17 to 54,2% in 2017/18.
- 40,035 cases of rape were reported in the year (Stats SA, 2018)



INEQUALITY



- South Africa remains the most unequal country in the world.
- The top 1% of South Africans own 70,9% of the country's wealth while the bottom 60% only controls 7% of the country's assets.
- 55,5% of South Africans live below the national poverty line of R992 per month.
- The worst affected are black South Africans, unemployed, less educated, female-headed households, large families and children. (World Bank, 2018)

CORRUPTION

- South Africa ranked 71 out of 180 countries for corruption (Transparency International, 2018)
- Bribery, procurement irregularities, embezzlement and stolen resources are the most common forms of corruption in South Africa (Corruption Watch, 2018)
- Government's irregular expenditure totaled R80 billion in 2018 (Auditor General, SA)



HOUSING



The housing backlog reportedly stands at 2,3 million houses. (80,1%) of South African households lived in formal dwellings in 2017, followed by 13,6% in informal dwellings, and 5,5% in traditional dwellings. 13,6% of South African households were living in 'RDP' or state subsidised dwellings. (Stats SA, 2018)

LAND

- A total of 17,439 million ha have been transferred from white ownership since 1994, which is equal to 21% of the 82,759 million ha of farmland in freehold in South Africa. (Rand Daily Mail, 2018)
- 67% of land is commercial, predominantly white owned land
- 15% Black communal areas
- 10% other state owned land
- 8% remainder - urban area and metropolitan areas (DEA, 2012)



PARTY MANIFESTO FOCUS: INEQUALITY

WRITTEN BY THEMBELANI MAZIBUKO

South Africa is one of the most unequal countries in the world. As such, political parties have to develop clear and coherent policies around the challenge of inequality. Inequality can be defined as “the unequal distribution of income and opportunity between different groups in society” (www.wol.iza.org, 2019). Different political parties have different views on how to deal with this issue. Nevertheless, one can group the policy proposals into three broad areas: reformist, conservative and interventionist.

The reformist ANC

The ANC’s policy on inequality revolves around ensuring that previously disadvantaged people and businesses owned by previously disadvantaged people enjoy carve-outs such as affirmative action, Black-Economic Empowerment and a township economy fund. The ANC also wants to make it easier for small and black-owned businesses gain access to credit and it also wants to ensure that government allocates 30% of procurement to small businesses and cooperatives. On the other hand, the GOOD party’s plans to reduce inequality is centered around creating the conditions needed for job creation. This includes creating the conditions for investment, providing policy certainty and focusing on industrial growth. GOOD also wants to use welfare spending to alleviate extreme poverty.

Not dissimilar from the ANC, the African Transformation Movement, wants to establish community-based mining companies that will enable the poor to benefit equally and fairly from these minerals. The ATM also wants to give priority to disadvantaged people to have ownership in emerging and new sectors of the economy including mining and manufacturing, all this in an effort to lessen the financial gap between communities and mining companies.

The conservative DA

Parties such as the DA are more conservative in their approach to this issue. The DA’s policy proposals are more geared towards growing the growing the economy, and through that, ensuring that more people participate in the economy. The DA is far more focused on education and skills development as well as spurring entrepreneurship. The IFP also highlights the need for foreign investment whereas it also wants more public private partnerships on state-owned enterprises and, interestingly, government services. Job creation is also a big part of the IFP’s manifesto with a call for an unemployment register in every municipality and the establishment of a department of Youth and Job creation. The FF+ manifesto does not mention the word inequality, furthermore, the FF+ manifesto does not provide solutions to alleviate alleviating poverty, save to say that indicators such as poverty, unemployment status and access to education, as opposed to race, should be used when assisting disadvantaged people.

The interventionist EFF

The EFF can be described as a democratic socialist left-wing populist as well as nationalist political party. Parties such as the EFF are considerably more interventionist in their approach to tackling inequality. The EFF supports the expropriation of land without compensation, the nationalisation of mines, banks and other strategic sectors of the economy, free quality education, healthcare and housing and the

introduction of a minimum wage. The EFF would also promote labour absorbing industries through industrialization and the protection of infant industries. Not unlike the EFF, PAC believes that “land is a source of wealth” and “that freedom that is without land redistribution is not genuine”. As such, the PAC intends to build “an African economy to suite African people”. The PAC also intends to use government intervention in order to breach the gap between white capital and impoverished African businesses.

HOUSING AND PARTY MANIFESTOS

WRITTEN BY SANDILE KHUBONI

Forcible displacement during apartheid rendered millions of black South Africans homeless. In aiming to address this imbalance, by 2013, the democratic government had delivered more than 3 million houses to poor and low-income households (Financial and Fiscal Commission, 2013). In 2017, 13.6% of South Africans were living in state-subsidised or reconstruction and development programme (RDP) houses (Statistics South Africa, 2018). But many South Africans are still waiting for houses, and the department of human settlements has a massive backlog of title deeds that need to be issued. Compounding the slow delivery of suitable housing to disenfranchised South Africans is the condition of state-subsidised houses, with 10% of people living in them having raised concerns about their quality (Statistics South Africa, 2018).

The housing backlog and a lack of adequate housing are often the reason for service delivery protests. An estimated 2.1 million households are considered inadequate and lack access to basic services, particularly in informal settlements. “Housing delivery is highly politicised and subject to politicking and protests throughout the country, particular in the context of medium-to-large state-subsidised housing projects undertaken by provincial housing departments” (Tissington, Mushi, Mirungi-Mukundi, & Durajoye, 2013).

Informal settlements constitute a vital electoral constituency for political parties, and the delivery of houses to deserving communities during the election period has an influence on electoral outcomes. Winning these voters over is clearly in the interests of the parties, considering that, in 2017, an estimated 13.6% of South African households were categorised as informal (Statistics South Africa, 2017).

The table below highlights some of the key promises on housing parties are making in their manifestos.

Party	Issue(s)	Activities
ANC	Apartheid spatial planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Release land at the disposal of the state for site and service ▪ Transform the composition and function of the property industry, and establish an ombudsman for the property sector ▪ Address the title deeds backlog and deficits in

		institutional capacity
EFF	Apartheid spatial planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ensure there are no more informal settlements by 2021 ▪ Subsidise housing finance for middle-income earners ▪ Make it illegal for banks to repossess houses whose bonds are 50% paid ▪ End apartheid spatial planning and expropriate land without compensation close to inner-city centres for sustainable housing ▪ Establish a state housing construction company ▪ Convert unused state buildings into affordable housing for the poor
DA	Housing backlog	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Give title deeds to recipients of RDP and Breaking New Ground (BNG) houses ▪ Create a national housing database that would be controlled by provincial and municipal government ▪ Conduct a national housing audit to verify ownership of RDP and BNG houses
IFP	Apartheid spatial planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Establish housing support centres in communities ▪ Build quality, dignified single and family units ▪ Ensure profits from housing projects are reinvested in communities ▪ Improve access to low-cost subsidised housing for people who earn between R3 500 and R15 000 a month
GOOD	Housing backlogs and creating inclusive cities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Stop expansive, low-income housing on city outskirts, which is fueling urban sprawl and recreating apartheid-era dormitory suburbs of poverty ▪ Develop inclusive, higher-density housing to form part of the urban fabric ▪ Ensure towns and cities provide services to informal settlements ▪ Provide title deeds to residents in informal settlements so that they have security of tenure and can invest in their homes
African Transformation Movement	Housing and basic service backlogs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Introduce larger stands ▪ Fund the social housing programme properly and make it more accessible to all those who qualify ▪ Drive economic development in rural areas so that people are not compelled to move to cities in search of better opportunities

The promise of housing has been a political carrot since the dawn of democracy in South Africa. However, in 2019, voters will know that the promises parties make are likely to be hollow as many of them, particularly those on the housing list, are still waiting for what was promised to them 25 years ago.

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