

## Comparative Study of Electoral Systems Module 3: Macro Report

June 05, 2006

Country: South Africa  
Date of Election: 22 April 2009

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Date of Preparation: 4 October 2012

### NOTES TO COLLABORATORS:

- The information provided in this report contributes to an important part of the CSES project. The information may be filled out by yourself, or by an expert or experts of your choice. Your efforts in providing these data are greatly appreciated! Any supplementary documents that you can provide (e.g., electoral legislation, party manifestos, electoral commission reports, media reports) are also appreciated, and may be made available on the CSES website.
- Answers should be as of the date of the election being studied.
- Where brackets [ ] appear, collaborators should answer by placing an "X" within the appropriate bracket or brackets. For example: [X]
- If more space is needed to answer any question, please lengthen the document as necessary.

### **Data Pertinent to the Election at which the Module was Administered**

#### 1a. Type of Election

- [X] Parliamentary/Legislative  
 [ ] Parliamentary/Legislative and Presidential  
 [ ] Presidential  
 [ ] Other; please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

#### 1b. If the type of election in Question 1a included Parliamentary/Legislative, was the election for the Upper House, Lower House, or both?

- [ ] Upper House  
 [X] Lower House  
 [ ] Both  
 [ ] Other; please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

2a. What was the party of the president *prior* to the most recent election?

African National Congress (ANC)

2b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *prior* to the most recent election?

There is no Prime Minister in South Africa; however, the party of the Deputy-President is the same as of the President, that is, ANC.

2c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *prior* to the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all".) Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

Name of Political Party

Number of Cabinet Ministers

All cabinet posts were held by the ANC.

2d. What was the size of the cabinet *prior* to the election (total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 2c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count. Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

The total number of cabinet ministers was 28.

1. Defence, Charles Nqakula;
2. Justice and Constitutional Development, Enver Surty;
3. Health, Barbara Hogan;
4. Safety and Security, Nathi Mthethwa;
5. Public Enterprises, Brigitte Mabandla;
6. Public Works, Geoff Doidge;
7. Intelligence, Siyabonga Cwele;
8. Minister in the Presidency, Manto Tshabalala-Msimang
9. Provincial and Local Government S Shiceka
10. Public Service and Administration, R Baloyi
11. Finance Minister Trevor Manuel
12. Social Development, Zola Skweyiya;
13. Education, Naledi Pandor;
14. Labour, Membathisi Mdladlana;
15. Correctional Services, Ngconde Balfour;
16. Housing, Lindiwe Sisulu;
17. Arts and Culture, Pallo Jordan;
18. Sport and Recreation, Makhenkesi Stofile;
19. Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Marthinus van Schalkwyk;
20. Water Affairs and Forestry, Lindiwe Hendricks;
21. Minerals and Energy, Buyelwa Sonjica;
22. Home Affairs, Noziviwe Mapisa-Nqakula;
23. Foreign Affairs Nkosazana-Dlamini Zuma

24. Transport, Jeff Radebe;
25. Communications, Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri
26. Trade and Industry, Mandisi Mphalwa
27. Science and Technology, Mosibudi Mangena
28. Agriculture and Land Affairs, Lulama Xingwana

Source: <http://historymatters.co.za/list-of-new-cabinet-ministers/> searched 13 April 2011

3a. What was the party of the president *after* the most recent election?

ANC

3b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *after* the most recent election?

There is no Prime-Minister in South Africa. However, the party of the Deputy-President was ANC.

3c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *after* the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all"). Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

Name of Political Party

Number of Cabinet Ministers

All cabinet posts are hold by the ANC.

3d. What was the size of the cabinet *after* the election (total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 3c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count. Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

The total number of cabinet ministers is 34.

1. Ms Tina Joemat-Pettersson - Agriculture, Forestry & Fisheries
2. Mr Paul Mashatile - Arts & Culture
3. Ms Matsie Angelina Motshekga - Basic Education
4. Mr Radhakrishna Lutchmana "Roy" Padayachie - Communications
5. Mr Sicelo Shiceka - Cooperative Governance & Traditional Affairs
6. Ms Nosiviwe Noluthando Mapisa-Nqakula - Correctional Services
7. Dr Lindiwe Nonceba Sisulu - Defence & Military Veterans
8. Mr Ebrahim Patel - Economic Development
9. Ms Elizabeth Dipuo Peters - Energy
10. Mr Pravin Jamnadas Gordhan - Finance
11. Dr Pakishe Aaron Motsoaledi - Health
12. Dr Bonginkosi Emmanuel "Blade" Nzimande - Higher Education & Training

13. Dr Nkosazana Clarice Dlamini-Zuma - Home Affairs
14. Mr Tokyo Mosima Gabriel Sexwale - Human Settlements
15. Ms Maite M Nkoana-Mashabane - International Relations & Cooperation
16. Mr Jeffrey Thamsanqa Radebe - Justice & Constitutional Development
17. Ms Mildred Oliphant - Labour
18. Ms Susan Shabangu - Mineral Resources
19. Mr Trevor Andrew Manuel - Minister in the Presidency for National Planning
20. Mr Ohm Collins Chabane - Minister in the Presidency for Performance Monitoring, Evaluation & Administration in the Presidency
21. Mr Nathi Mthethwa - Police
22. Mr Malusi Knowledge Nkanyezi Gigaba - Public Enterprises
23. Mr Richard Masenyani Baloyi - Public Service & Administration
24. Ms Gwendoline Lindiwe Mahlangu-Nkabinde - Public Works
25. Mr Gugile Nkwinti - Rural Development and Land Reform
26. Ms Grace Naledi Mandisa Pandor - Science & Technology
27. Ms Bathabile Olive Dlamini - Social Development
28. Mr Fikile April Mbalula - Sport & Recreation
29. Dr Siyabonga Cyprian Cwele - State Security
30. Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk - Tourism
31. Dr Rob Davies - Trade and Industry
32. Mr Joel Sibusiso Ndebele - Transport
33. Ms Bomo Edna Molewa - Water & Environmental Affairs
34. Ms Lulama Xingwana - Women, Youth, Children & People with Disabilities

Source: [http://www.capegateway.gov.za/eng/your\\_gov/595](http://www.capegateway.gov.za/eng/your_gov/595) searched 13 April 2011.

4a. How many political parties received votes in the election? In this answer, we want political parties, not merely alliances or coalitions of political parties. Please include all parties that received votes, but do not include independents. Where coalitions are present, please count all member parties separately – for instance, a coalition of three parties would count as three parties in your answer, not as one party.

23 political parties received votes in the 22 April 2009 legislative election

<b>Party</b>	<b>Number of Votes</b>	<b>% of Votes</b>	<b>Number of Seats (400)</b>
African National Congress (ANC)	11,650,748	65.90%	264
Democratic Alliance (DA)	2,945,829	16.66%	67
Congress of the People (COPE)	1,311,027	7.42%	30
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	804,260	4.55%	18
Independent Democrats (ID)	162,915	0.92%	4
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	149,680	0.85%	4
Vryheidsfront Plus/Freedom Front Plus (VF+/FF+)	146,796	0.83%	4
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	142,658	0.81%	3
United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)	66,086	0.37%	2
Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)	48,530	0.27%	1
Minority Front (MF)	43,474	0.25%	1
Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO)	38,245	0.22%	1
African People's Convention (APC)	35,867	0.20%	1
Movement Democratic Party (MDP)	29,747	0.17%	-
Al Jama-ah	25,947	0.15%	-
Christian Democratic Alliance (CDA)	11,638	0.07%	-
National Democratic Convention (NADECO)	10,830	0.06%	-
New Vision Party (NVP)	9,296	0.05%	-
United Independent Front (UIF)	8,872	0.05%	-
Great Kongress of South Africa (GKSA)	8,271	0.05%	-
South African Democratic Congress (SADECO)	6,035	0.03%	-
Keep It Straight and Simple Party (KISS)	5,440	0.03%	-
Pan Africanist Movement (PAM)	5,426	0.03%	-
Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD)	5,178	0.03%	-
Women Forward (WF)	5,087	0.03%	-
A Party	2,847	0.02%	-

Source: <http://africanelections.tripod.com/za.html> searched 19 April 2011

4b. Please provide a source of data and link to a website with official, detailed election results (votes and seats) for all parties participating in the election. If the data is not available electronically, please provide the information in paper format if possible.

African Election Database: <http://africanelections.tripod.com/za.html> searched 19 April 2011

4c. Please list all parties who received at least 1% of the vote nationally, and the applicable electoral results for each, in the following table. Please indicate the source (even if the same as in Question 4b), and add additional rows to the table as necessary. Please provide party names both in English and in the original language, if applicable.

Source:

Party Name	Number of Votes	% of Votes	Number of Seats (400)	% of Seats
African National Congress (ANC)	11,650,748	65.90%	264	66%
Democratic Alliance (DA)	2,945,829	16.66%	67	16.75%
Congress of the People (COPE)	1,311,027	7.42%	30	7.5%
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	804,260	4.55%	18	4.5%
Independent Democrats (ID)	162,915	0.92%	4	1%
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	149,680	0.85%	4	1%
Vryheidsfront Plus/Freedom Front Plus (VF+/FF+)	146,796	0.83%	4	1%
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	142,658	0.81%	3	0.75%
United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)	66,086	0.37%	2	0.5%
Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)	48,530	0.27%	1	0.25%
Minority Front (MF)	43,474	0.25%	1	0.25%
Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO)	38,245	0.22%	1	0.25%
African People's Convention (APC)	35,867	0.20%	1	0.25%
Movement Democratic Party (MDP)	29,747	0.17%	-	-
Al Jama-ah	25,947	0.15%	-	-
Christian Democratic Alliance (CDA)	11,638	0.07%	-	-
National Democratic Convention (NADECO)	10,830	0.06%	-	-
New Vision Party (NVP)	9,296	0.05%	-	-
United Independent Front (UIF)	8,872	0.05%	-	-
Great Kongress of South Africa (GKSA)	8,271	0.05%	-	-

Source: <http://africanelections.tripod.com/za.html> searched 19 April 2011

4d. What was the voter turnout in the election?

Voter turnout in the 22 April 2009 legislative election was 17,919,966 (77.3 percent of registered voters, but an estimated 58.8% of voting age population)

Source: <http://africanelections.tripod.com/za.html> searched 19 April 2011 and our own calculations re. VAP.

4e. Please provide the following six statistics for the country at the time of the election studied, so that we may calculate voter turnout in various ways. Some definitions, where provided, are based on those developed by International IDEA.

- Total Population:

49,320,000

Source: <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0302/P03022009.pdf>

Definition: The total population includes all inhabitants, of all ages, both citizens and non-citizens (including illegal aliens).

▪ Total Number of Voting Age Citizens:

29,956,957

Source: <http://africanelections.tripod.com/za.html> searched 19 April 2011

Definition: This number is meant to approximate the eligible voting population.

Total Vote:

17,919,966

Source: <http://africanelections.tripod.com/za.html> searched 19 April 2011

Definition: The total number of votes cast in the relevant election. Total vote includes valid and invalid votes, as well as blank votes in cases where these are separated from invalid votes.

Total Number of Invalid and Blank Votes:

239,237

Source: <http://africanelections.tripod.com/za.html> searched 19 April 2011

Voting Age Population:

29,956,957

Definition: Includes all persons above the legal voting age.

Number of Registered Voters:

23,181,997

Source: <http://africanelections.tripod.com/za.html> searched 19 April 2011

Definition: The figure represents the number of names on the voters' register at the time that the registration process closes, as reported by the electoral management body.

5. Ideological family of political parties. For this question, please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 3 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

<b>Party Name</b>	<b>Ideological Family</b>
A. African National Congress	D
B. Democratic Alliance	H
C. Congress of the People	O
D. Inkatha Freedom Party	M
E. Independent Democrats	M (in terms of support base amongst coloured citizens in Western Cape, but not party platform)
F. United Democratic Movement	M (in terms of support base amongst Xhosa speakers in Eastern Cape, but not party platform)
G. Freedom Front Plus	M E
H. African Christian Democratic Party	I E
I.	

Ideological Party Families: (These are suggestions only. If a party does not fit well into this classification scheme, please provide an alternative and some explanation.)

- |                               |                                  |                      |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|
| (A) Ecology Parties           | (F) Left Liberal Parties         | (K) Independents     |
| (B) Communist Parties         | (G) Liberal Parties              | (L) Agrarian Parties |
| (C) Socialist Parties         | (H) Right Liberal Parties        | (M) Ethnic Parties   |
| (D) Social Democratic Parties | (I) Christian Democratic Parties | (N) Regional Parties |
| (E) Conservative Parties      | (J) National Parties             | (O) Other Parties    |





7. In your view, what are the five most salient factors that affected the outcome of the election (e.g. major scandals; economic events; the presence of an independent actor; specific issues)? Rank them according to their salience (1 = most salient).

1. The personality of the ANC presidential candidate Jacob Zuma (e.g. the fact that until very recently he had faced criminal charges on both corruption and rape; had been fired as Deputy President of the country, and then conducted a come-back campaign to oust President Thabo Mbeki as party president.)
2. The recent split in the ANC and the formation of the new Congress of the People.
3. The inability of COPE to settle on a well-known national leader
4. The personality of the new leader of the Democratic Alliance, Helen Zille
5. The reinvigorated campaign efforts of the ANC to meet the new challenge from COPE

8. Party Leaders and Presidential Candidates:

In the table below, report the leader(s) of each party. Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 3 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I). If candidates were endorsed by more than one party, please indicate this.

<b>Party Name</b>	<b>Name of Party Leader</b>	<b>Name of Presidential Candidate, if appropriate</b>
A. African National Congress	Jacob Zuma	Jacob Zuma
B. Democratic Alliance	Helen Zille	Helen Zille
C. Congress of the People	Mosiuoa "Terror" Lekota and Mbhazima Shilowa	Mvume Dlandala
D. Inkatha Freedom Party	Mangosuthu Buthelezi	Mangosuthu Buthelezi
E. Independent Democrats	Patricia De Lille	Patricia De Lille
F. United Democratic Front	Bantu Holomisa	Bantu Holomisa
G. Freedom Front Plus	Pieter Mulder	Pieter Mulder
H. African Christian Democratic Party	Kenneth Moshoe	Kenneth Moshoe
I.		

9a. Fairness of the Election

How impartial was the body that administered the election law?

- Very impartial
- Mostly impartial
- Not very impartial
- Not impartial at all

9b. Was there a formal complaint against the national level results?

- Yes
- No

9c. Were there irregularities reported by international election observers?

- Yes
- No
- No international election observers

9d. On what date was the election originally scheduled to be held?

22 April 2009

9e. On what date was the election actually held? If different from 1d, please explain why.

Yes

10a. Election Violence

To what extent was there violence and voter or candidate intimidation during the election campaign and the election day?

- No violence at all
- Sporadic violence on the part of the government
- Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
- Sporadic violence on all sides
- Significant violence on the part of the government
- Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
- Significant violence of all sides

10b. If there was violence, was it geographically concentrated or national?

- Geographically concentrated
- National

10c. Post-Election (and election-related) Violence

To what extent was there violence following the election?

- No violence at all
- Sporadic violence on the part of the government
- Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
- Sporadic violence on all sides
- Significant violence on the part of the government
- Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
- Significant violence of all sides

10d. Post-Election (and election-related) Protest

To what extent was there protest following the election?

- No protest at all
- Sporadic protest
- Significant protest

**Questions about the Possibilities of Electoral Alliance**

**Definitions:** A joint list refers to one on which candidates of different parties run together. Apparentement refers to a legal agreement between two or more lists to pool their votes for the purposes of an initial seat allocation, with seats initially allocated to the alliance then reallocated to the lists in the alliance.

11. Joint Lists/Candidates

There are multiple types of electoral alliances/coalitions, but we are explicitly interested in those involving joint lists or candidates - i.e. those where parties compete as a unit during the election.

Is this type of electoral coalition legally allowable?

- Yes
- No

Is this type of electoral coalition used in practice, even if not legally allowable?

- Yes
- No

If “Yes” was answered to either of the above questions, then please complete the following table for the election at which the Module was administered. Please mention only alliances that received at least 1% of the vote nationally. Add additional lines to the table as necessary.

<b>Alliance Name</b>	<b>Participating Parties (please indicate dominant members with an “*”)</b>
Alliance 1: African National Congress	The ANC is in a formal alliance with the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and with the South African Communist Party. But COSATU and SACP members stand for legislative office on the ANC list, as ANC members
Alliance 2:	
Alliance 3:	
Alliance 4:	
Alliance 5:	

12. If joint lists are possible, are they subject to different regulations than single-party lists? For example, higher thresholds, different numbers of candidates that may appear on the list, etc.

(please mark all applicable responses)

- Yes, joint party lists must satisfy higher thresholds
- Yes, joint party lists may present different numbers of candidates
- Yes, joint party lists are subject to other regulations that are different from the regulations governing independent parties; please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
- No, joint parties are governed by the same rules as the other parties
- Not applicable; no joint party lists are allowed

13a. Is there apparentement or linking of lists?

- Yes
- No

13b. If apparentement is possible, what lists can participate in such agreements:

- lists of the same party in the same constituency
- lists of the same party from different constituencies
- lists of different parties in the same constituency

14a. Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party?

- Yes
- No

14b. If candidates can run with the endorsement of more than one party, is this reflected on the ballot?

- No
- No party endorsements are indicated on the ballot paper
- Yes, candidate's name appears once, together with the names of all supporting parties
- Yes, candidate's name appears as many times as there are different parties endorsing him/her, each time with the name of the endorsing party
- Yes, other; please explain: \_\_\_\_\_

### **Data on Electoral Institutions**

If possible, please supplement this section with copies of the electoral law, voters' handbooks, electoral commission reports, and/or any other relevant materials.

Questions 15a through 21d must be repeated for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature.

#### **Electoral Tier (Segment) and House**

15a. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which electoral tier (segment) is being referred to? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

National

15b. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which house is being referred to (lower or upper)? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

National Assembly

#### **Questions about Voting**

16a. How many votes do voters cast or can cast? In systems where voters rank order the candidates, if there are 10 candidates (for example), the response to this question should be 10.

2 (1 for a party list for national legislature; and 1 for a party list for provincial legislature)

16b. Do they vote for candidates (not party lists) or party lists? (Note: Collaborators may select multiple answers, if appropriate.)

(Definition: Party bloc voting is used in multi-member districts where voters cast a single party-centered vote for their party of choice; the party with the most votes wins all of the district seats.)

Candidates

Party Lists

Party Bloc Voting

Other; please explain: \_\_\_\_\_

16c. How many rounds of voting are there?

One

16d. If there are lists, are they closed, open, flexible, or is there party bloc voting?

Closed (order of candidates elected is determined by the party and voters are unable to express preference for a particular candidate)

Open (voters can indicate their preferred party and their favored candidate within that party)

Flexible (voters can allocate votes to candidates either within a single party list or across different party lists as they see fit)

17. Are the votes transferable?

(Definition: In systems with preferential voting, a voter can express a list of preferences. E.g., votes can be cast by putting a '1' in the column next to the voter's preferred candidate, a '2' beside their second favorite candidate and so on. Votes are counted according to the first preferences and any candidates who have achieved the predetermined quota are elected. To decide which of the remaining candidates are elected the votes are *transferred* from candidates who have more than the necessary number to achieve the quota and from the candidate with the least number of votes. An example of this is the election in Ireland in 2002.)

Yes

No

18. If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated?

(Definition: Cumulative voting refers to systems in which voters are allowed to cast more than one vote for a single candidate.)

Yes

No

19. Is voting compulsory?

(Definition: Voting is compulsory if the law states that all those who have the right to vote are obliged to exercise that right.)

Yes; Strictly Enforced Sanctions

Yes; Weakly Enforced Sanctions

Yes; Without Sanction for Violation

No

20. Please list and describe any other features of voting that should be noted.

**Questions about Converting Votes into Seats**

21a. Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats?

- Yes  
 No

21b. If YES in Question 21a, what is the threshold?

[in effect, 0.25% of the vote, e.g. enough for 1 of 400 seats]

21c. If YES in Question 21a, what is the unit for the threshold mentioned in Question 21b?

- Percent of total votes  
 Percent of valid votes  
 Percent of the total electorate  
 Other; please explain: \_\_\_\_\_

21d. If YES in Question 21a, please specify to what House/ Electoral Tier (Segment) the threshold(s) apply.

**Please repeat questions 15a through 21d for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature. Countries with only one tier should proceed to Question 22.**

**References**

22. Please provide an official source for district-level election results. English language sources are especially helpful. Include website links or contact information if applicable.

<http://africanelections.tripod.com/za.html>

23. Please list any resources that were consulted in the preparation of this report, or that the CSES community may find especially helpful in understanding the political system described. Include website links if applicable.