

## Comparative Study of Electoral Systems Module 4: Macro Report

November 10, 2016

Country:	South Africa
Date of Election:	7 May 2014
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Date of Preparation:	10 November 2016

### 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

- 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  
 Lower House  
 Both  
 Other; please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

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

African National Congress (ANC)

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

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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. List also cabinet members that are 'independent'. If known, specify if the 'independents' are affiliated or close to certain parties.

Name of Political Party  
African National Congress

Number of Cabinet Ministers  
all

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.

34 cabinet ministers

Portfolio	Minister
<b>Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries</b>	Tina Joemat-Peterson
<b>Arts and Culture</b>	Paul Mashatile
<b>Basic Education</b>	Angie Motshekga
<b>Communications</b>	Dina Pule but replaced by Yunus Carrim on the 9 <sup>th</sup> July 2013
<b>Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs</b>	Lechesa Tsenoli replaced Richard Baloyi on the 9 <sup>th</sup> July 2013
<b>Correctional Services</b>	S'bu Ndebele
<b>Defence and Military Veterans</b>	Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula
<b>Economic Development</b>	Ebrahim Patel
<b>Energy</b>	Ben Martins
<b>Finance</b>	Pravin Gordhan
<b>Health</b>	Aaron Motsoaledi
<b>Higher Education and Training</b>	Blade Nzimande
<b>Home Affairs</b>	Naledi Pandor
<b>Human Settlements</b>	Connie September replaced Tokyo Sexwale on 9 <sup>th</sup> July 2013
<b>International Relations and Cooperation</b>	Maite Nkoana-Mashabane
<b>Justice and Constitutional Development</b>	Jeff Radebe

<b>Labour</b>	Mildred Oliphant
<b>Mineral Resources</b>	Susan Shabangu
<b>Police</b>	Nathi Mthethwa
<b>Public Enterprises</b>	Malusi Gigaba
<b>Public Service and Administration</b>	Lindiwe Sisulu
<b>Public Works</b>	Thulas Nxesi
<b>Rural Development and Land Reform</b>	Gugile Nkwinti
<b>Science and Technology</b>	Derek Hanekom
<b>Social Development</b>	Bathabile Dlamini
<b>Sport and Recreation</b>	Fikile Mbalula
<b>State Security</b>	Siyabonga Cwele
<b>Minister in the Presidency for the National Planning Commission</b>	Trevor Manuel
<b>Minister in the Presidency for Performance Monitoring and Evaluation as well as Administration in the Presidency</b>	Collins Chabane
<b>Tourism</b>	Marthinus van Schalkwyk
<b>Trade and Industry</b>	Rob Davies
<b>Transport</b>	Dipuo Peters
<b>Water and Environmental Affairs</b>	Edna Molewa
<b>Women, Children and People with Disabilities</b>	Lulu Xingwana

3a. What was the party of the president *after* the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential?

ANC (however, SA's chief executive is actually closer to a prime minister than a president, even though the chief executive can appoint ambassadors and declare war)

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

SA does not have a Prime Minister (however, SA's chief executive is actually closer to a prime minister than a president, even though the chief executive can appoint ambassadors and declare war)

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. List also cabinet members that are 'independent'. If known, specify if the 'independents' are affiliated or close to certain parties.

Name of Political Party  
 ANC

Number of Cabinet Ministers  
 all

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.

35 Ministers

Department	Ministry/Incumbent
President	Jacob Zuma
Finance	Nhlanhla Nene
Presidency	Jeff Radebe
Women in the Presidency	Susan Shabangu
Energy	Tina Joemat-Peterssen
Justice & Correctional Services	Michael Masutha
Basic Education	Angie Motshekga
Telecommunications & postal services	Siyabonga Cwele
Transport	Dipuo Peters
Home Affairs	Malusi Gigaba
Trade & industry	Rob Davies
Public service & Administration	Collines Chabane
Environmental Affairs	Edna Molewa
Higher education & training	Bonginkosi "Blade" Nzimande <input type="checkbox"/>
Labour	Mildred Oliphant
Science & technology	Naledi Pandor
Agriculture, Fisheries & forestry	Senzeni Zokwana
Health	Aaron Motsoaledi
Public Works	Thulasi Nxesi
Defence & military Veterans	Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula
State security	David Mahlobo
Police	Nkosinathi Nhleko
Water & Sanitation	Nomvula Mokonyane
International Relations & Cooperation	Maite Nkoana-Mashabane
Rural Development & Land reform	Gugile Nkwinti
Economic development	Ebrahim Patel
Mineral Resources	Nkgoako Ramahlodi
Social Development	Bathabile Dlamini
Public Enterprise	Lyn Brown
Sport & Recreation	Fikile Mbalula
Art & Culture	Nathi Mthethwa
Small Business Development	Lindiwe Zulu
Communications	Faith Muthambi
Human Settlements	Lindiwe Sisulu

Tourism	Derek Hanekom
Cooperative governance & Traditional Affairs	Pravin Gordhan.

[http://www.parliament.gov.za/live/content.php?Category\\_ID=167](http://www.parliament.gov.za/live/content.php?Category_ID=167)

<http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/south-africa-cabinet-members-2014>

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. Please provide separate information for elections held contemporaneously (e.g., legislative and presidential voting), when voters cast separate ballots.

13 Parties – However, the South African Communist Party is not listed separately on the official homepage of Parliament, but rather is running on the ANC ticket.

([http://www.parliament.gov.za/live/content.php?Category\\_ID=107](http://www.parliament.gov.za/live/content.php?Category_ID=107) )

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.

<http://www.elections.org.za/content/Elections/Results/2014-National-and-Provincial-Elections--National-results/>

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: <http://www.elections.org.za/content/Elections/Results/2014-National-and-Provincial-Elections--National-results/>

<b>Party Name</b>	<b>Number of Votes</b>	<b>% of Vote</b>	<b>Number of Seats</b>	<b>% of Seats</b>
African National Congress (ANC)	11.436.921	62.15	249	62.25
Democratic Alliance (DA)	4.091.584	22.23	89	22.25
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	1.169259	6.35	25	6.25
Inkhata Freedom Party (IFP)	441.854	2.40	10	2.5
National Freedom Party (NFP)	288.742	1.57	6	1.5
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	184.636	1	4	1
Freedom Front Plus (FFP) [Vryheidsfront Plus (VFP)]	165.715	0.9	4	1
Congress of the People (COPE)	123.235	0.67%	3	0.75
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)				.075

African Independent Congress (AIC)	97.642	0.53	3	0.75
AGANG SA	52.350	0.28	2	0.5
Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)	37.784	0.21	1	0.25
African People's Convention (APC)	30.676	0.17	1	0.25
<b>Total</b>	<b>17.612.996</b>	<b>94.7</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>100</b>

The missing 3.3% of votes are taken up by parties that got less than 1% in the elections.

4d. What was the voter turnout in the election? Please also provide an official Internet address (preferably) or other official source where this information is available.

Voter turnout 73.48%; VAP turnout 53.77%

<http://www.elections.org.za/content/Elections/Results/2014-National-and-Provincial-Elections--National-results/>

<http://www.idea.int/vt/countryview.cfm?id=246>

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. Please also provide an official Internet address (preferably) or other official source where this information is available.

▪ **Total Population:**

54.002.000

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

▪ **Total Number of Voting Age Citizens:**

34.691.652

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

▪ **Total Vote:**

18.654.771

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:**

252.274

▪ **Voting Age Population:**

34.691.652

Definition: Includes all persons above the legal voting age.

▪ **Number of Registered Voters:**

25.388.082

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 4 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Party Name	Ideological Family
A. African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	I
B. African Independent Congress (AIC)	N
C. African National Congress (ANC)	D
D. African People's Convention (APC)	C
E. Agang SA (AGANG)	G
F. Congress of the People (COPE)	D
G. Democratic Alliance (DA)	G
H. Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	C
I. Freedom Front Plus (FF+)	M; E
J. Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	M; E
K. National Freedom Party (NFP)	M -> only very limited reach
L. Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)	C
M. United Democratic Movement (UDM)	N; D (in terms of support base amongst Xhosa speakers in Eastern Cape, but not party platform)

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
- (B) Communist Parties
- (C) Socialist Parties
- (D) Social Democratic Parties
- (E) Conservative Parties

- (F) Left Liberal Parties
- (G) Liberal Parties
- (H) Right Liberal Parties
- (I) Christian Democratic Parties
- (J) National Parties

- (K) Independents
- (L) Agrarian Parties
- (M) Ethnic Parties
- (N) Regional Parties
- (O) Other Parties



6a. Ideological Positions of Parties:

Please indicate party positions on a left-right dimension (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator). Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 4 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Party Name	Left										Right	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
A. African National Congress (ANC)				x								
B. Democratic Alliance (DA)							x					
C. Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)			x									
D. Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)								x				
E. National Freedom Party (NFP)							x					
F. United Democratic Movement (UDM)					x							
G. Freedom Front Plus (FF+)									x			
H. Congress of the People (COPE)						x						
I. African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)									x			



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. Issues around service delivery and corruption. While the opposition pointed to the shortcomings of government, the ANC campaign highlighted that it had “A good story to tell” about 20 years of successful service delivery.
2. Scandal around President Zuma’s private residence (Nkandla) and the Public Protector’s report on the matter
3. Stronger political opposition: The emergence of the EFF and changes within the DA leadership

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 4 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. Economic Freedom Fighters	Julius Malema	Julius Malema
D. Inkahta Freedom Party	Mangosuthu Buthelezi	Mangosuthu Buthelezi
E. National Freedom Party	Zanele kaMagwaza-Msibi	Zanele kaMagwaza-Msibi
F. United Democratic Front	Bantu Holomisa	Bantu Holomisa
G. Freedom Front Plus	Pieter Mulder	Pieter Mulder
H. Congress of the People	Mosiuoqa "Terror" Lekota and Mbhazima Shilowa	Mosiuoqa "Terror" Lekota and Mbhazima Shilowa
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?

7 May 2014

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

7 May 2014

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:	The ANC is in a formal alliance with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and with the South African Communist Party (SACP). However, 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.)

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

#### **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.

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.

50% of MPs are elected via a national list, whereas the other 50% are drawn from 9 provincial lists

### 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?

Using the d'Hont formula, creates a de facto threshold of approximately 0,25% for 1 seat in parliament.

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.

National Assembly

**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.

Electoral Commission of South Africa: <http://www.elections.org.za/content/default.aspx/>

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.

Parliament: <http://parliament.gov.za/>

Presidency: <http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/>

Statistics South Africa: <http://www.statssa.gov.za/>