

# EISA ELECTION RESOURCE CENTER



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

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## **WILL THE #MUSTFALL MOVEMENTS INFLUENCE VOTING IN 2019?**

**WRITTEN BY NANCY HAKIZIMANA AND SIZWE NENE**

The origin of the “#MustFall” movements in South Africa, particularly at institutions of higher learning regarding fees, can be traced to the history of underprivileged black students. Chikane (2018) highlights that these movements work towards “de-linking [...] the current state of nature that imagines South Africa as a country that is equal for all”. What began as apolitical movements for students who protested against a higher education system that they viewed as exclusionary and inherently colonial, the student “#MustFall” movement became politicised with the involvement of certain political parties. This ignited scepticism among students.

This article sets out a brief explanation of the multilayered dynamics between student bodies, the leaders of student organisations and political parties, and how this dynamic might impact the 2019 national and provincial elections. How were students’ perceptions of politics altered by the movement and how has the movement impacted on the election prospects of the three largest political parties (the ANC, the DA and the EFF)?

The #FeesMustFall protests, which began in October 2015, saw students across the country call for a free education system, as promised by the ruling ANC two decades ago. The protests ended after unilateral concessions were made by student leaders during talks with university and government officials, leaving masses of students disillusioned with what they saw as a failure to realise the intention of #FeesMustFall. As such, students questioned what they saw as the premature ending of the protests.

*SA elections,  
2014-2019*

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**POLITICAL  
TRENDS IN  
SOUTH AFRICA:  
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The majority of these questions were directed at ANC-backed student organisations such as the Progressive Youth Alliance at the University of the Witwatersrand, where student leaders were accused of taking bribes from ANC leaders to stop the #FeesMustFall protests (Daily Vox Team, 2015). These allegations of bribery have since diminished the credibility of ANC-backed student organisations and negatively impacted on their prospects during student representative council (SRC) elections. In addition, since the protests in 2015, despite the ANC government introducing bursary schemes for poor and working class families, and the government's announcements of further plans for free education in various state of the nation addresses and budget speeches, the ANC's 2019 election manifesto contains no concrete plan for free higher education.

Similarly, while the Democratic Alliance Students Organisation (DASO) rejected fee increases and participated in protests at universities, especially in Western Cape, DASO's support to reopen certain campuses during the protests raised questions about its position with regards to poor and working class students. This raised further questions about its parent organisation's stance on inclusive socioeconomic development, especially since the DA demonstrated minimal support for free education during the #FeesMustFall protests. The DA did, however, condemn violent protests while criticising the ANC, which gave the impression that the party only intended to maximise its chances of political advancement.

The lack of any mention of free education in the DA's 2019 election manifesto also highlights the party's minimal overall alignment with the #FeesMustFall agenda. Rather, in its manifesto, the DA proposes a bursary package for students from lower-income families who cannot afford university fees. This is seen as a solution that will only benefit a few and leave many students in the same situation they find themselves in at present.

Unlike the student organisations backed by the ANC and the DA, the EFF's Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command (EFFSC) focused on South Africa's broader economic frustrations. This approach garnered student support across universities over a relatively short period and enabled the EFFSC to capture the sentiments of students aligned with the #FeesMustFall movement. This became evident after the EFFSC won SRC elections at the University of Limpopo in 2016, the University of the Witwatersrand in 2017 and the University of KwaZulu-Natal in 2018. But this surge in support for the EFFSC should not be overestimated. SRC elections are not a clear indication of allegiance as student voter turnouts are generally low.

Although the student "#MustFall" movements have ignited political debates on campuses across the country, they will not profoundly influence national voting trends in 2019. Nevertheless, the formation and participation in these movements, and the resulting dialogues, are an indication of youth interest in political issues. Youth engagement in protests and debates around critical issues such as corruption, governance, identity and space ultimately informs their voting decisions. The "#MustFall" movements were premised on a lack of youth access to South Africa's political, social and economic structures. Therefore, the extent to which political parties are able to provide plans for economic growth and social inclusion may influence youth voter trends.

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## POLITICAL TRENDS IN SOUTH AFRICA: WITHER THE ONCE DOMINANT ANC?

Written by Maite Dithebe and Thembelani Mazibuko

In the 2019 National and Provincial elections, South Africa finds itself at a crossroads. While it is true that the ANC is still the dominant party, trends including municipal elections results, opinion polls as well as some by-election results show that the ANC does not have the kind of lock it had on voters in the early to mid-2000s. The emerging trend is that voters are more discerning as well as more critical in terms of how they vote and, as a result, in the 2019 elections, voters are more inclined than they were ten years ago to switch their vote away from the ruling ANC. These trends, coupled with inevitable liberation movement fatigue especially among the youth as well as overall disillusionment sees the ANC base diminishing. The question to be asked then, is what are the factors that have led to this situation?

To understand the emerging trends, one has to go back to the ANC's 52<sup>nd</sup> National conference that was held in Polokwane in 2007 that saw the clear division of the party into two opposing factions or slates. In that conference, the Jacob Zuma led slate was victorious over the Thabo Mbeki led slate (Setati, 2012).

It was against this backdrop that Mosiu Lekota, who was going to be the chairman of the ANC - had the Thabo Mbeki slate won - broke away from the ANC and founded his own party, the Congress of the People (COPE) (Rossouw & Webb, 2008). This new party was seen largely to be made up entirely of former ANC members who were loyal to Thabo Mbeki (Rossouw & Webb, 2008). This split was arguably the largest split from the ANC in the democratic era. In the 2009 National and Provincial elections, COPE went on to win 7 % of the vote nationally. In addition, COPE was the official opposition in five of the nine provinces. Analysis of the results showed that there was a relation between COPE's percentage gain and the ANC's percentage loss (IEC, 2019).

Table 1: COPE and ANC election results

Province	COPE percentage	ANC percentage loss/ gain
Eastern Cape	13.67	-10.45
Free State	11.61	-10.68
Gauteng	7.78	-4.36
KwaZulu-Natal	1.29	+15.97
Limpopo	7.53	-4.30

<b>Mpumalanga</b>	2.91	-0.76
<b>North West</b>	8.33	-7.82
<b>Northern Cape</b>	16.67	-8.08
<b>Western Cape</b>	7.74	-13.70

Source: IEC, 2019

This relationship exists in different provinces, albeit to varying degrees. The only province where this relationship does not exist is KwaZulu-Natal where both COPE and the ANC gained votes, political scientists attribute this to Jacob Zuma's Zulu ethnicity, which, was a point of mobilization among his supporters during his rape trial. Below is a table showing the ANC's election results between the 2004 and 2009 elections. What one sees is the emergence of a trend, the trend is that voters are now more willing to switch their votes away from the ANC to other parties. The questions; is this a once of event where voters go back to the tried and tested ANC in the next election or will this trend where voters are willing to not vote for the ANC continue?

*Table 2: ANC provincial percentage, 2004 and 2009 election results.*

Province	2004 percentage	2009 percentage	percentage gain/ loss
<b>Eastern Cape</b>	79.31	69.70	-9.61
<b>Free State</b>	82.05	71.90	-10.15
<b>Gauteng</b>	68.74	64.76	-3.98
<b>KwaZulu-Natal</b>	47.47	63.97	+16.5
<b>Limpopo</b>	89.72	85.27	-4.45
<b>Mpumalanga</b>	86.34	85.81	-0.53
<b>North West</b>	81.83	73.84	-7.99
<b>Northern Cape</b>	68.75	61.10	-7.65
<b>Western Cape</b>	46.28	32.86	-13.42

Source: IEC, 2019

### **A continuing trend? Enter Julius Malema and the Economic Freedom Fighters**

In 2012, following a failed appeal to the National Disciplinary Committee of Appeal, then ANC Youth League leader Julius Malema was expelled from the ANC (Bauer, 2012).

It is upon this backdrop that, in July of 2013, Julius Malema, along with a throng of former ANC Youth League leaders founded the Economic Freedom Fighters party (EFF) (Montsho & Ngoepe, 2013). The premise of the EFF was that black South Africans in particular had not enjoyed the fruits of democracy and that the ANC government had not done nearly enough to redistribute economic power to black South Africans. The following was the EFF's performance in the 2014 National and Provincial elections.

*Table 3: EFF provincial election results, 2014*

Province	East.Cape	Free State	Gauteng	KwaZulu-Natal	Limpopo	Mpumalanga	North-West	North Cape	West. Cape
%	3.48	8.15	10.30	1.85	10.74	6.26	13.21	4.96	2.11

Source: IEC, 2019

In those elections, the EFF garnered 6.25 % of the vote whereas the ANC garnered 62.15 % of the vote. COPE, which in the previous elections gained 7.42 % of the vote nationally, only managed to win 0.67% of the vote. Importantly for this research is the following question: Did the trend which began in the 2009 elections where a significant amount of former ANC voters switched their votes to another party (COPE) continue in the 2014 elections. While the emergence of COPE and the EFF was an important factor in the decline of the ANC, the ANC's then President, Jacob Zuma's actions also contributed. Even though he was cleared in court, the rape trial arguably put a cloud over his head among some voters, a factor that may very well have affected the 2009 election results. Additionally, his long running corruption charges were only dropped a few weeks before the elections. Another issue which may have affected the ANC were the upgrades to his Nkandla residence where the then public protector found that Jacob Zuma had "unduly benefitted" from security upgrades to his property. The main issue is that President Zuma did not follow the public protector's recommendations of paying back a portion of the funds.

### In conclusion

Hence, what is emerging in many of the provinces is that former ANC voters are now more willing to vote for newer parties. However, in KwaZulu-Natal the trend is reversing with the ANC gaining votes in the intervening period. This raises numerous questions with regards to the reasons voters are switching away from the ANC. If ethnicity and the geopolitics are the reasons then the results, including the results in KwaZulu-Natal, can be coherently explained. Going into the 2019 elections, it is clear that the electorate, especially the former ANC voter, is more fluid than it was ten to fifteen years ago. The emergence of newer, more radical as well as more populist parties such as the African Transformation Movement, the African Content Movement and Black First Land First, which all emerged after the 2014 elections, highlights that there is a growing discontentment with the ruling party and therefore that there is opportunity for newer parties to tap into that disillusionment.

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## 2019 ELECTIONS: WHO'S NOT COMING BACK

Written by **Thembelani Mazibuko**



### **IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi**

Buthelezi has been the leader of the IFP since 1975 and a member of parliament since 1994. Opinions on his legacy are divided, some say he colluded with the Apartheid government in a civil war that killed thousands of fellow countrymen in KwaZulu-Natal, others say that his decision to eventually participate in the first democratic election secured the democratic transition. He served as South Africa's first minister of Home Affairs, and, during a short stint while acting Head of State in May 1998, he authorised on behalf of President Mandela, a SADC peacekeeping mission into Lesotho by South African Defence Force troops. He will be missed, if nothing else, for his humour, wit and institutional memory.



### **Minister of Trade and Industry Rob Davies**

Davies has been an ANC member of Parliament since 1994. In 2005 he was appointed deputy minister of Trade and Industry and was appointed minister in 2009. He was reappointed in 2014. He has been an instrumental figure in marshaling South Africa through multilateral fora including the Tripartite SADC-COMESA-EAC Free Trade Area, the Economic Partnership Agreement with EU, AGOA and the World Trade Organisation Bali package.



### **Deputy minister Lluwellyn Landers**

Lluwellyn Landers has been an ANC member of Parliament since 1994. Prior to that he served in the Tricameral Parliament. He served as a deputy minister in the cabinet of Apartheid era president PW Botha. More recently, he has served as deputy minister of International Relations and Cooperation in the cabinet of former President Jacob Zuma and President Cyril Ramaphosa thereafter.

## WHAT DO THE ELECTORAL LEGISLATIVE AMENDMENTS MEAN FOR YOU?

Compiled by Qiqa Nkomo

<b>2013 Electoral Amendment Act</b>	<b>2016 Local Government Municipal Electoral Amendment Act</b>	<b>2019 Electoral Laws Amendment Act</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Persons that ordinarily reside outside of the Republic must be entered into the voters roll created for such persons using the South African Identity Document and their passport.</li> <li>• Eligible voters that are imprisoned on the day of elections are deemed to reside in the district that the prison is in.</li> <li>• Persons permitted to cast special votes prior to Election Day: pregnant persons, physically impaired, differently abled, absent from own district due to working in election process, being security in connection with elections.</li> <li>• Two party agents are permitted for each voting station. If voting takes place in different rooms or separately in an enclosed area then the two agents may be present in each room/area.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Only natural persons that are duly authorised by the party may submit a party list nominating ward candidate.</li> <li>• Voters are permitted to request another ballot paper prior to placing the one they have already made a mark on the ballot box.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No person may campaign or use the word ‘Electoral Commission’, ‘Independent Electoral Commission’ or the acronym ‘IEC’ in their campaign or trade under a name containing those words. Only the voting stations within a ward in which the person resides</li> <li>• The Electoral Court may hear and determine any dispute relating to membership, leadership, constitution or founding instruments of a registered party.</li> <li>• The voter’s roll that will be used in the election must be certified by the chief electoral officer for the election.</li> <li>• The stamping of the identity documents of voters is no longer required to prove that one has voted.</li> <li>• Voters that do not have a physical address will be prescribed one by the IEC. The IEC will take a conventional address or a descriptive address from the voter.</li> <li>• Only legal entities may apply to the IEC for accreditation to conduct voter education.</li> </ul>

Changes for Voters	Changes for Political Parties
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ If you're a South African citizen living in a different country on Election Day you may apply to be entered on the voters roll for such persons using your ID and passport.</li> <li>➤ If you in prison on the day of elections you may vote within the district that the prison is in.</li> <li>➤ Pregnant persons, disabled persons, people that are physically impaired, persons working in election processes outside of their district on election day are eligible to cast a special vote a day prior to elections. You can apply for a special vote: 4<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> April 2019. Special voting days: 6<sup>th</sup> &amp; 7<sup>th</sup> of May 2019.</li> <li>➤ You're allowed to change your mind but only if you have not placed your ballot paper in the ballot box, you ask for another ballot paper if you have made a mark on your current paper.</li> <li>➤ You may bring any matter relating to the membership, leadership, constitution or founding instruments of a registered party before Electoral Court.</li> <li>➤ You cannot apply in your capacity as an individual to the IEC for accreditation to conduct voter education. Only in your capacity as part of/working for an organisation may you apply to be accredited by the IEC to conduct voter education training.</li> <li>➤ If you do not have a physical address, it is your responsibility to say where they stay. Those that refuse to even describe where they stay only get national assembly ballot paper</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Parties are allowed to have two of their members present at each voting station. If the voting station has more than one area/room, each party member may be present in each voting room/area.</li> <li>➤ Only persons that have been given permission by a political party may submit a party list nominating a ward candidate.</li> <li>➤ Parties/individuals are not allowed to use the words 'Electoral Commission', 'Independent Electoral Commission' and 'IEC' in their campaign or trade under a name containing those words.</li> <li>➤ You may bring any matter relating to the membership, leadership, constitution or founding instruments of a registered party before Electoral Court.</li> </ul>

HEADING INTO THE  
SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTIONS  
**2014-2019**



**2015**

**Ministry of Finance volatility**

Nene fired as Minister of finance  
Des Van Rooyen hired and fired  
Pravin Gordhan replaces DVR  
The ZAR plummets

**2016**

**"State of Capture" 14 October  
Public Protector Report -**

investigation into alleged improper  
and unethical conduct by the  
President and other state  
functionaries

**2017**

**ANC electoral conference**

Cyril Ramaphosa faction  
marginally victorious, 17  
December

**2018**

**Jacob Zuma 'resigns' as**

President of South Africa on the  
14th of February

**2018**

**Cyril Ramphosa** sworn in as

President of South Africa on 15  
February

**2018**

**Land reform -** The Joint  
Constitutional Review Committee  
(JCRC) ruled that section 25 of the  
SA constitution can be altered

**2018**

**Malusi Gigaba** removed as  
Minister of Finance. Replaced by  
**Tito Mboweni**, 9 October

**2019**

Tom Moyane removed as SARS  
Commissioner

**2014**

ANC voter share declines  
DA grows support base  
First time contenders Economic  
Freedom Fighters gain support

**2015**

**#Feesmustfall** student-led  
protest movement begins, mid-  
October 2015

**2016**

**3 August, SA Local government  
elections -** DA and EFF gain  
control of major metros

**2017**

S&P **downgrades** SA's long-term  
foreign currency debt to non-  
investment grade in April  
followed by Fitch in November

**2017**

**Save South Africa**

Massive and unprecedented civil  
society and political party  
marches against government  
corruption  
#Zumamustfall

**2018**

**Ramaphoria**

Zuma exits at 23% approval  
rating and Ramaphosa enters at  
64% approval  
Post "9 wasted years"

**2018**

**VAT increase**

The first VAT rate increase since  
1993 (14% - 15%),

**2018**

**Commissions of enquiry**

Zondo Commission  
Nugent Commission  
Mrwebi Commission

**2019**

**8 May South Africa elections**