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LOOKING BACK, STEPPING  
FORWARD**

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# The Results of Election '04: Looking Back, Stepping Forward<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

*It is undeniable that the electoral dominance of the ANC has been steadily increasing since 1994 at both national and provincial levels. The 2004 election will probably be remembered particularly for the fact that the ANC secured its Parliament of Hope, winning over two-thirds of the seats in the National Assembly and the power to form the government in all nine provinces. In contrast to the ANC's consolidating hold on the electorate, the opposition's share of the vote has steadily declined and fragmented since 1994. What do the 2004 electoral returns mean in the context of the evolution of politics and partisan competition in South Africa over the past decade? What do trends in voter registration, turnout and electoral violence say about the consolidation of democracy in South Africa? This paper traces trends in South African electoral politics over the past decade, with particular emphasis on the 2004 election results and the increasing normalisation of democracy and what that means for the character of South African party politics. I argue that trends in voter turnout and declining electoral violence could be viewed as a process of democratic maturation, rather than solely a symptom of widespread disengagement from the political system. The paper assesses trends in electoral outcomes at the national and provincial levels and discusses implications for democratic stability. In light of the 2004 elections, the paper also assesses the composition of the national parliament and Cabinet in terms of retention of members with experience in governance and trends from 1994 to 2004. Finally, the paper assesses what implications all these trends have for the consolidation of democracy in South Africa.*

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<sup>1</sup> The views and opinions expressed in this paper are those solely of the author and do not represent the views of the US government.

On 14 April 2004, South Africans voted for the third time in democratic national and provincial elections. This third test of majority rule demonstrated that the institutionalisation of democracy in South Africa is well under way and that politics are normalising to an extent that can be observed in many established democracies around the world. Now that the 2004 election has come and gone, we can begin to evaluate what the results mean for the state of democracy and party politics, and the future of a democratic South Africa.

In contrast to the politically tense situation that surrounded the 1994 election, in 2004, the electoral process was calm. There were very few incidents of politically motivated violence and the remaining issues revolved around the more technical aspects of electoral administration. To many South Africans, for whom the memories of the heady days in 1994 are still fresh, electoral politics in 2004 may even have seemed dull. One of the factors contributing to this seemingly unexciting electoral process was the fact that the results were known well before the first ballot had been cast. There was no doubt that the ruling African National Congress (ANC) would retain its position and remain in government. The main questions were: how large would the ANC's margin of victory be and would there be a further fragmentation of the opposition? By the evening of April 15, the answer to these questions became apparent: the ANC was heading towards winning a two-thirds majority, while the opposition remained as fragmented as it had become after the 1999 election.

In the end, the ANC won 279 out of the 400 seats in the National Assembly (NA), and the power to form the government in all nine provinces. Thus, the ruling party increased its dominant position in South African politics. On the other side of the benches, the opposition failed to band together behind a few larger parties, and returned to parliament with 13 parties sharing 121 seats. The Democratic Alliance (DA) performed well and increased its support above the levels that the DP reached in 1999, yet failed to reach the 30% threshold that it had projected it would win along with its alliance partners. The DA was the only opposition party that increased its representation in the NA by more than one seat. The New National Party (NNP), experienced a devastating defeat as it saw its national support decline to less than two percent. As the results came in on election night, many pronounced the NNP dead. By August 2004, they were proven right, when NNP leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk announced that the party would disband in the next year. Ten years after the advent of democracy in South Africa, the architect of apartheid decided to close up shop.

In order to assess what the election results mean for the future of South Africa, this

paper aims to discuss various aspects of the 2004 election. It aims to draw out electoral trends during the past decade of majority rule and addresses the question of how we should interpret the increasingly dominant position of the ANC. I will also investigate the increasing fragmentation of the opposition. Finally, I turn to an examination of the new parliament and cabinet, and pose the question, “What comes next?”

## **Trends in Political Violence and Turnout**

The 1994 election exhibited a duality common to political transitions: the period was filled with the spirit of hope and renewal, but within a climate of insecurity and political intimidation. Politically-related violence spiked the year before the election with a large number of political assassinations, violence between supporters of rival political parties, and fears that the White Right or Inkatha would destabilise the electoral process. Violence monitors estimated that before the April polls, hundreds of people died each month in politically-related violence, with the highest number of incidents occurring in KwaZulu Natal (KZN) between members of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). Monitors were also worried that members of the White Right would stage a violent incident capable of derailing the electoral process. In the end, the election took place without major incidents, but the process was on a knife’s edge.

In 1999, there were still incidents of violence and intimidation, but on a much smaller scale. KwaZulu Natal remained a hotspot, but whereas in the six months preceding the 1994 poll, over 300 people died each month, in the entire five months before the 1999 election, just under 300 people were killed in the province.<sup>2</sup> Other hotspots included areas where the United Democratic Movement (UDM) was growing and posed a challenge to the ANC, such as in the Cape Flats, Richmond in KZN, and several townships outside of Johannesburg. The White Right, which had threatened to derail the election in 1994, remained passive. The relative calm of the 1999 election was a sign that politics were beginning to normalise.

The decrease in political violence can be traced against not only a growing acceptance of electoral means to resolve political conflict, but also the increasing dominance of the ruling party at national and provincial levels. Friedman (2004) argues that in a country dominated by identity politics, the ANC is secure in its

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<sup>2</sup> Author's interview with Fran Fearnley, head of the Electoral Code of Conduct Observer Coalition in Musgrave, KZN, April 1999.

position, and therefore does not need to intimidate opposition parties or voters. I would like to suggest that the ANC's dominance in itself contributed to the peacefulness of the 2004 election, regardless of whether or not this dominant position is due to identity politics. In a context where there is no doubt that the ruling party will win an overwhelming majority, there is little reason for political tension to rise to violent levels. The only remaining problem could be when despondent opposition supporters resort to intimidation and violence to prevent the ruling party from winning. This did not happen in 1994, 1999 or 2004.

In fact, remaining incidents of electoral violence and intimidation occurred with highest frequency in the provinces in which the ANC did not already hold a majority, the Western Cape and KZN. In 1999, in addition to these two areas, electoral violence spiked in the Greenfields area of Johannesburg and in the Eastern Cape, where the UDM mounted what seemed to be a serious challenge to the ANC's position (though in hindsight, the extent of this challenge may have been miscalculated). Consistently across all three elections, in the regions and areas where the outcome was uncertain, violence and intimidation arose. In the areas where there was little question that the ANC would win, electoral violence was much diminished. Thus, the ANC's security in its dominant position can be interpreted as one of the factors underlying the increasing peacefulness of the electoral process.<sup>3</sup>

By April 2004, the electoral process had become so routine that many described the campaign and voting day as boring and reporters searching for controversial stories had little to cover. There was no large-scale political intimidation, the number of politically-related deaths was minimal, and there were very few "hotspots" of conflict between rival parties. The list of potential trouble areas identified by the Independent Electoral committee (IEC) included mostly informal settlements where fires had destroyed people's identity documents, preventing them from voting.<sup>4</sup> The IEC worried that these people would try to vote anyway, and could get

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<sup>3</sup> The reasons for the ANC's dominant position are many and varied, and the central debate revolves around whether or not racial politics underpins the ANC's dominant position. Johnson and Schlemmer (1996) as well as Giliomee and Simkins (1999) provide the now classic formulations of the "racial census" argument for the ANC's dominance, while Friedman's (2004) contribution could be read as a nuanced version of the argument. Piombo (2004) argues that, instead, a combination of institutional and social factors account for the ANC's dominant position.

<sup>4</sup> The informal settlements in Hout Bay and Khayelitsha, which had experienced devastating fires ahead of the election, are examples of areas on which the IEC kept close watch for possible violence from those disfranchised when their identity documents were destroyed.

violent when denied (Courtney Sampson<sup>5</sup> 2004, pers. comm., 8 April). There were reports of intimidation in KZN and a few other areas, but overall the campaigns and voting day were overwhelmingly peaceful. The electoral process was perceived to be on track to such an extent that the European Union, United Nations, Commonwealth and Carter Center all declined to send delegations to monitor and observe the 2004 election.

In 2004, not voter *intimidation* but voter *apathy* was a major concern amongst political leaders and analysts. As in 1999, people had to be registered on the voters' roll in order to cast their ballots on election day. The responsibility to register lies with the individual South African, who must be in possession of a specific form of identification, a bar-coded identity document, and apply to be included on the voters' roll by registering at a local office of the Department of Home Affairs. While people could register at any Home Affairs office at any time up until the election date was announced by the President, most people either did not know about or were unable to take advantage of this opportunity. Therefore, as it had done in 1999, the IEC held special "registration weekends," during which local voting stations opened for the purpose of registering eligible voters and allowing those already registered to check the voters' roll to make sure that they were listed. Originally, the IEC planned to hold only one registration weekend for the 2004 election, but during the initial weekend in September 2003, so few potential voters registered that the IEC resorted to holding another weekend in November (see Hlala 2003). In the end, 75.4% of eligible voters (i.e. those over the age of 18) registered to vote, a decline of 5% compared to the registration figures of 1999 (see table 1).

South Africa has witnessed a steady decline not only in voter registration, but also in turnout on voting day. Participation in the national election, calculated as a percentage of the voting age population, decreased by almost 30% between 1994 and 2004, reaching a low of just under 58% in 2004. However, due to doubts about the accuracy of the census data on which the voting age population figures are based, this is not the turnout figure that is commonly cited. The IEC and the ANC government prefer to use turnout rates calculated as a percentage of all citizens registered to vote, rather than a percentage of all citizens over 18, thus presenting a different picture. Based on the number of registered voters, the decline in national turnout looks less dramatic: 12.6% between 1999 and 2004. An impressive 89.3% of registered citizens turned out to cast their ballots in 1999, while a still rather high 76.7% of registered voters turned out in 2004. However, when using the number of

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<sup>5</sup> Provincial Electoral Officer of the Western Cape.

registered voters as the basis for turnout calculations, one needs to take into account that the population has steadily grown since 1994. Even if one maintains that the official demographic statistics of the census cannot be trusted, it raises the question whether all new potential voters have indeed been included on the voters' roll.

*Table 1: Registration and Turnout 1994-2004, National Ballot*

	<i>Voting Age Population (VAP)</i>	<i>Registered Voters</i>	<i>VAP - Registered</i>	<i>Turnout - Registered</i>	<i>Turnout - VAP</i>
1994	22,709,152	n/a	n/a	n/a	86.0%
1999	22,589,369	18,172,751	80.4%	89.3%	71.8%
2004	27,436,819	20,674,926	75.4%	76.7%	57.8%

*Source:* The 2004 VAP is based on the 2001 census figures (of people who are 18 years or older) obtained at: <http://www.statssa.gov.za/SpecialProjects/Census2001/Census/Database/Census%202001/Census%202001.asp>. The 1999 and 1994 VAP figures are from Reynolds (1994:187; 1999:178). The registration figures are from the IEC at <http://www.elections.org.za>. In 1994, there was no voters' roll.

The turnout picture does not change substantially at the provincial level (see tables 2 and 3). The 2004 turnout for the national ballot does vary across provinces, with KwaZulu Natal registering the lowest turnout on the national ballot (51.4%) and the highest turnout (64.9%) occurring in the Eastern Cape. Nevertheless, all provinces fall within 13 percentage points of one another. Using voting age population as a basis for calculation, on both the provincial and national ballots, not a single province witnessed a 2004 turnout above 65%, and half of the provinces showed a turnout in the 50s. This stands in marked contrast to 1994, when some provinces saw turnout rates of more than 90%, and the lowest turnout was 81% (in KZN, which was probably due to the tense political climate in the area prior to the election). Even in the ANC's stronghold provinces, turnout has shown a relatively sharp decline across the three democratic elections.

**Table 2: Turnout 1994-2004, National Ballot by Province**

	2004 Voting Age Population (VAP)	2004 Registered Voters	2004 VAP-Registered	2004 Votes*	2004 Turnout - Registered	1994 Turnout - VAP	1999 Turnout - VAP	2004 Turnout - VAP
National	27,436,819	20,674,926	75.4%	15,863,554	76.7%	86.0%	71.8%	57.8%
EC	3,559,309	2,849,486	80.1%	2,310,226	81.1%	91.6%	68.7%	64.9%
FS	1,692,978	1,321,195	78.0%	1,042,120	78.9%	82.7%	73.5%	61.6%
GP	6,325,393	4,650,594	73.5%	3,553,098	76.4%	86.3%	80.0%	56.2%
KZN	5,467,448	3,819,864	69.9%	2,807,885	73.5%	79.9%	64.3%	51.4%
MP	1,805,135	1,442,472	79.9%	1,157,963	80.3%	85.4%	74.7%	64.1%
NC	519,481	433,591	83.5%	329,707	76.0%	91.9%	69.8%	63.5%
LP	2,756,231	2,187,912	79.4%	1,686,757	77.1%	84.0%	70.1%	61.2%
NW	2,286,637	1,749,529	76.5%	1,353,963	77.4%	89.2%	70.4%	59.2%
WC	3,024,207	2,220,283	73.4%	1,621,835	73.1%	88.9%	69.7%	53.6%

*Source:* The 2004 VAP is based on the 2001 census figures (of people who are 18 years or older) obtained at <http://www.statssa.gov.za/SpecialProjects/Census2001/Census/Database/Census%202001/Census%202001.asp>. The 1999 and 1994 VAP figures are from Reynolds (1994:187; 1999:178). The registration figures are from the IEC at <http://www.elections.org.za>.  
*Note:* \* including spoiled ballots.

*Table 3: Turnout 2004, Provincial Ballot by Province*

	<i>Votes*</i>	<i>Turnout -Registered</i>	<i>Turnout - VAP</i>
National	15,516,324	75.0%	56.6%
EC	2,259,903	79.3%	63.5%
FS	1,027,401	77.8%	60.7%
GP	3,452,225	74.2%	54.6%
KZN	2,782,565	72.8%	50.9%
MP	1,129,585	78.3%	62.6%
NC	323,894	74.7%	62.3%
LP	1,636,461	74.5%	59.4%
NW	1,321,787	75.6%	57.8%
WC	1,582,503	71.3%	52.3%

*Source:* The 2004 VAP is based on the 2001 census figures (of people who are 18 years or older) obtained at <http://www.statssa.gov.za/SpecialProjects/Census2001/Census/Database/Census%202001/Census%202001.asp>. The registration figures are from the IEC at <http://www.elections.org.za>.

*Note:* \* including spoiled ballots.

Around the world, “second elections” tend to demonstrate lower levels of turnout than founding elections (Bratton 1998), so it is not surprising that turnout rates declined between 1994 and 1999. But the fact that turnout continued to decline with the 2004 election has given rise to speculations about a slow descent of South African democracy. Yet, the 2004 turnout rates are not so low as to jeopardise the quality of democracy. In fact, South African participation rates are beginning to approximate those in other countries at similar levels of economic development and with similar dominant party systems. Pippa Norris, in her work *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism*, has found that that most countries at South Africa’s level of economic development and length of democratic rule tend to demonstrate turnout rates averaging around 70% of the voting age population, while dominant party democracies record average turnout rates of 57% (Norris 2002). Given the position of the ANC, South Africa seems to fit into the dominant party category and indeed witnessed a turnout of 57.8% in the 2004 national election.

Interpreting the decline in turnout has become a heated debate among political analysts. On the one hand, supporters of the ANC claim that “apathy” is not a problem and the decline represents the normalisation of the democratic process. On the other hand, critics of the ANC’s predominant position argue that the decline in

turnout is a symptom of a declining democracy in which people do not think that their vote will make a difference, and are, thus, less inclined to register and vote. Regardless of the position one takes in this debate, there are a number of factors underlying the lower level of registration for the 2004 election (75.4% of the voting age population compared to 80.4% in 1999, see table 1). These include inability to get to a registration point, lack of the proper identity document, confusion about the registration process, and probably disinterest, see for example Terreblanche (2003) and Pressly (2003). The decline in turnout could reflect similar problems. In addition to these underlying factors, there is the issue of the timing of the 2004 election. It was held on the tail end of the Easter holiday, a four-day weekend during which many people travel. Those who were traveling may have voted less than those who did not because many registered voters did not know that they were not restricted to the voting district where they registered but could cast their ballots anywhere in the country. This lack of knowledge is partly attributable to the IEC, because some provincial electoral officers intentionally did not publicise the information (Makhanya and Khumalo 2004). In combination with the extent of traveling during the Easter weekend, it may partially explain why KZN, GP and the WC exhibited the lowest turnout rates in the country.

On the positive side, one cannot argue that the relatively low turnout in 2004 was due to political intimidation or a poorly organised electoral event. On the morning of 14 April, most voting stations opened on time, and most also closed on schedule. Stations at which there were still queues at closing time allowed all people in the queue to vote. The presiding officer at each polling station could decide to extend voting hours until midnight, instead of closing at the official time of nine pm. Voting proceeded smoothly, with few of the impediments that had been experienced in the previous elections, such as a lack of ballot papers, inadequately trained staff, and wrong sections of the voters roll.<sup>6</sup> Unlike 1994 and 1999, there were relatively few incidents of overcrowded polling stations at which people had to wait the entire day to vote. Overall, the process was judged free and fair, with only a few complaints about irregularities and intimidation lodged with the IEC.

The biggest problem encountered on election day pertained to the fact that the IEC had difficulty projecting how many voters were likely to turn up at each station. The new provision enabling voters to cast ballots anywhere in the country created an organisational problem: without knowing how many people would take

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<sup>6</sup> Many of these problems were observed by Piombo while she was an election monitor in the Western Cape during elections in 1999 and 2000.

advantage of this option of the so-called “Section 24a”<sup>7</sup> vote, planning for bottlenecks was difficult (Courtney Sampson<sup>8</sup> 2004, pers. comm., 8 April; see also Makhanya and Khumalo 2004). On election day, reports came in that election officials were at times unclear on how to handle voters who were trying to cast ballots outside the districts where they were registered, and occasionally turned people away. This administrative difficulty was, however, the only major obstacle on voting day.

As Kabemba (2004) argues, this represents a remarkable achievement ten years into a democratic South Africa. Similarly, the fact that political leaders and analysts worried about voter apathy, rather than electoral violence, signifies that politics have become increasingly routine, a sign of the institutionalisation of democracy in South Africa. Whether or not the decline in participation holds negative implications for the quality of democracy in South Africa is a topic that will be discussed at the end of this paper. Here, it is important to note that, given the high levels of electoral fraud and voter intimidation elsewhere in Africa, and South Africa’s own history of political violence as well as the often tense situation surrounding elections, it is significant and positive that we can discuss the electoral process in terms of “normal” politics.

## **Electoral Outcomes 1994 to 2004**

It is undeniable that the electoral dominance of the ANC has been steadily increasing since 1994 at both national and provincial levels (see tables 4 to 14). The 2004 election will probably be remembered particularly for the fact that the ANC secured its “Parliament of Hope,” winning over two-thirds of the seats in the National Assembly and the power to form the government in all nine provinces.<sup>9</sup> The ANC increased its share of the national vote to almost 70%. The party won a plurality of votes in all nine provinces, and a majority in seven, with the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal being the exceptions. The ANC became a party in government in all the provinces, and announced the premiers within a week of the election.

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<sup>7</sup> “Section 24a” refers to the amendment to the Electoral Law that enables people to cast their ballots outside of the voting district where they are registered.

<sup>8</sup> Provincial Electoral Officer of the Western Cape.

<sup>9</sup> This is significant because a two-thirds majority enables the ANC to unilaterally change the constitution.

In contrast to the ANC's consolidating hold on the electorate, the opposition's share of the vote has steadily declined and fragmented since 1994. Within this broad trend, there is a difference between the periods 1994 to 1999 and 1999 to 2004. The largest increase in the number of opposition parties represented in the National Assembly occurred between 1994 and 1999. Between 1999 and 2004, there has been a slight concentration of the opposition vote behind the largest opposition party, though as a bloc, the opposition saw its share of the vote decrease. The largest opposition party in parliament in 2004 (the DA, with 50 seats) has over one-third fewer seats than the largest opposition party in 1994 (the NP, which held 82 seats). The share of the vote held by opposition parties in 2004, just over 30%, was contested among 20 different parties, 13 of which gained entrance into parliament. In 1994, just 6 opposition parties got into the National Assembly, while in 1999 this doubled to 12. At the same time, however, the largest opposition party in parliament has gotten larger, in terms of absolute number of votes, share of the vote and parliamentary seats. After the 2004 election, the DA, holds just over 12% of the national vote and 50 NA seats, while in 1999 the largest opposition party (the Democratic Party, the predecessor of the DA), held less than 10% of the vote, and 38 seats.

The DA, as the largest opposition party, promised that in 2004 it would make inroads into the black vote but the party seems to have won the support of only a tiny percentage of this population group. Although the DA became the "official opposition" in six provinces, it has not earned this position by cultivating a broad support base that reflects the diversity of South African society. The party's support remains overwhelmingly urban and is confined primarily to minority-group voters. The DA lost a great deal of the Indian vote it had earned in 1999, but picked up a fair amount of Coloured voters who jumped ship from the sinking NNP. The DA seems to have won virtually all the moderate white-Afrikaans and liberal-English votes. So, despite proclamations of becoming an alternative to the ANC, the DA remains a minority, conservative, urban-based opposition party. Whether this will prove a base from which to broaden out remains as doubtful after 2004 as it was before the election.

Other trends among the opposition saw the NNP decimated: its share of the national poll reduced to just 1.7%, down from 6.9% in 1999 and 20.6% in 1994. The party that dominated South African politics for 50 years is now represented in only two provincial legislatures, and will cease to exist after September 2005. A number of small parties managed to hold on to or slightly increase their representation in the NA: the PAC, AZAPO, ACDP, MF, UCDP and FF+. There

Table 4: National Election Results, 1994 – 2004

	Votes			% of Votes			Seats		
	1994	1999	2004	1994	1999	2004	1994	1999	2004
ACDP	88,104	228,975	250,272	0.45%	1.43%	1.60%	2	6	7
AEB	--	46,292	--	--	0.29%	--	--	1	--
ANC	12,237,655	10,601,330	10,880,915	63.12%	66.35%	69.69%	252	266	279
AZAPO	--	27,257	39,116	--	0.17%	0.27%	--	1	1
DA*	338,426	1,527,337	1,931,201	1.75%	9.56%	12.37%	7	38	50
FA	--	86,704	--	--	0.54%	--	--	2	--
FF+	424,555	127,217	139,465	2.19%	0.80%	0.89%	9	3	4
ID	--	--	269,765	--	--	1.73%	--	--	7
IFP	2,058,294	1,371,477	1,088,664	10.62%	8.58%	6.97%	43	34	28
MF	13,433	48,277	55,267	0.07%	0.30%	0.35%	--	1	2
NNP	3,983,690	1,098,215	257,824	20.55%	6.87%	1.65%	82	28	7
PAC	243,478	113,125	113,512	1.26%	0.71%	0.73%	5	3	3
UCDP	--	125,280	117,792	--	0.78%	0.76%	0	3	3
UDM	--	546,790	355,717	--	3.42%	2.28%	--	14	9
Other	145,683	28,866	113,161	--	0.20%	0.75%	--	--	--
Valid Votes	19,533,498	15,977,142	15,612,671	100%	100%	100%	400	400	400

Source: The results were obtained from the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) at [www.elections.org.za](http://www.elections.org.za), and Reynolds (1994; 1999).

Note: \* DA results reported for 1994 and 1999 are results of the DA's predecessor, the Democratic Party (DP).

seems to still be room for small parties in South African politics, though whether this is an artifact of the electoral system remains an open question.

The UDM increased its position to fourth in the NA, despite losing more than half of its MPs during the floor crossing period in late 2003, which weakened the party's ability to wage an effective election campaign. The UDM lost support, compared to its 1999 performance, and shows every indication that its role in the future will be limited to that of a regional political force, centered in the Eastern Cape. Interestingly, the newcomer in the 2004 election, the Independent Democrats, in existence for less than a year, broke into the national political arena with a larger vote share than the NNP but smaller than the UDM. Analyses in the wake of the election, however, lauded the ID for its impressive showing, while five years earlier, the UDM had been castigated for winning a comparable percentage of the national vote. The different reactions were probably caused by different expectations. Before the 1999 election, many had anticipated that the UDM, given the leadership profile of its founders, Roelf Meyer and Bantu Holomisa, would enter the national political arena as a significant contender, while in 2004 expectations for de Lille's ID were clearly less ambitious and proved more realistic.

## **Provincial Results**

In addition to its national success, the ANC also consolidated its dominance in the provincial electoral contests, for the first time forming the government in all nine provinces. The party has yet to secure a majority in KZN and the Western Cape, but it won a plurality of the vote in the KZN provincial election, another first for the ANC. The party took the initiative to nominate premiers for all nine provinces, and eight of these were new to the position. As Lodge (2004) notes, the ANC declined to announce its premier candidates before the election, arguing that this way all party members would work harder for the election campaign. Unofficially, the move was meant to curb factional infighting in a number of provinces. When the list of nominees finally became known, there were more than a few surprises. Only one of the premiers serving before the election, Sam Shilowa of Gauteng, was re-nominated. This does not mean that the new premiers came to office without any government experience: all the new premiers had been Members of the Executive Council (MECs) in their respective provinces, showing that the ANC is consistently developing its leadership capacity. The ANC selected four women to be premiers, an increase over the single female premier (Winkie Direko) serving before the 2004 election. When the ANC released its premier nominations, the party stated that the candidates were all relatively young, and would have the energy and

Table 5: Seat Allocation in Provincial Legislatures, 2004

	Eastern Cape	Free State	Gauteng	KwaZulu-Natal	Mpumalanga	Northern Cape	Limpopo	North West	Western Cape
	63 seats	30 seats	73 seats	80 seats	30 seats	30 seats	49 seats	33 seats	42 seats
ACDP	--	1	1	2	--	1	1	--	2
ANC	51	25	51	38	27	21	45	27	19
DA	5	3	15	7	2	3	2	2	12
FF+	--	1	1	--	1	1	--	1	--
ID	--	--	1	--	--	2	--	--	3
IFP	--	--	2	30	--	--	--	--	--
MF	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	--	--
NNP	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	--	5
PAC	1	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--
UCDP	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	3	--
UDM	6	--	1	1	--	--	1	--	1

Source: IEC website, <http://www.elections.org.za/library1.asp?KSId=19&iKid=3>.

motivation to “pull the provinces into shape” and increase service delivery across the country (Tabane *et al.* 2004).

## **Eastern Cape**

In 1999, the big story in the Eastern Cape (EC) involved the performance of the UDM, as it broke onto the political scene, secured the second highest number of votes in the province and became the Eastern Cape's official opposition. While the UDM managed to hold onto this position in 2004, its support declined, with the party winning only six seats in the EC provincial legislature, compared to the nine it had earned in 1999. Furthermore, the UDM held on to its position by just a single seat. The DA increased its representation in the EC from four to five seats, thus retaining its position as the third largest party in the province, but this time much closer on the heels of the UDM than in 1999. The PAC held onto its single seat in the EC legislature, while the NNP lost all its representatives in the province. The ANC increased its hold on the EC electorate and made most of its gains at the expense of the UDM. The latter party was clearly not able to hold on to many of the supporters it had wooed away from the ANC in 1999. The ANC's support came from all areas of the province, while the UDM supporters were concentrated in rural areas, mostly in the former Transkei. The DA's supporters were primarily located in the urban areas of the Eastern Cape.

After the election, the ANC replaced EC Premier Makhenkesi Stofile with the former Arts, Sports and Culture MEC, Zisiwe Beauty (Nosimo) Balindlela. Stofile's administration had been marked by poor service delivery, especially in the rural areas of the province, and in-fighting within the provincial ANC. Stofile had been elected in 1999, and therefore could have served a second term, so his replacement demonstrated that the ANC was committed to 'redeploying' premiers who had not performed well or who had not been able to control factional fighting within their provincial party organisations. Incidentally, Stofile got a position in the new national cabinet as Minister of Sport and Recreation.

Balindlela's appointment came as a surprise in the Eastern Cape, as in 1998, she had been fired from her position as Education MEC by Stofile after she failed to improve matric results and demonstrated poor financial management of her department. Soon after she took office as the new EC premier, she alienated the provincial party structures by nominating a provincial cabinet (executive council) without consulting them. When the provincial party leaders complained to ANC Secretary General Kgalema Motlanthe, they were told that appointing the MECs was Balindlela's prerogative, and that the national leadership would not interfere (*Daily Dispatch* 30 April 2004). This exchange provides an

example of the national organisation’s policy of supporting its chosen provincial leaders even in the face of resistance from provincial party structures, pointing to the national leadership's continuing efforts to control the party organisation from the top down.

**Table 6: Eastern Cape Provincial Election Results**

Party	Votes 2004	% of Votes 2004	Seats 2004 (63)
ANC	1,768,987	79.3	51
DA	163,785	7.3	5
PAC	22,324	1.0	1
UDM	205,993	9.2	6
Others	70,454	3.2	0

**Parties in EC Legislature, 1994 - 2004**

Party	1994%	1999%	2004%
ANC	~80	~75	~79.3
DA	~1	~7.3	~7.3
NNP	~1	~1	~1.0
PAC	~1	~1	~1.0
UDM	~1	~9.2	~9.2

Source: IEC website, [www.elections.org.za](http://www.elections.org.za).

Note: The bar graph presents the % of the provincial vote for each party represented in the legislature between 1994 and 2004.

### Free State

Election results in the Free State saw the ANC retain the 25 seats it had won in 1999. Change only occurred within the ranks of the opposition. The DA increased its representation from two to three seats and the ACDP won its first seat in the Free State legislature. The NNP lost its representatives in the Free State, while the FF+ retained its single seat. In 1999, the official opposition in the Free State had been the DA, and in 2004 the party retained that position, though with the ANC's lead so overwhelming, the position becomes almost symbolic.

Following the election, the choice of premier in the Free State reflected the dissatisfaction of the ANC's national leadership with factional infighting in the province. Provincial party leader Ace Magashule, who had repeatedly stirred up conflict in the provincial ANC structures, did not get nominated for the premiership. Instead, the party put forth Beatrice Marshoff, former Social Development and Welfare MEC. Marshoff was not a prominent figure in Free State politics prior to her nomination, nor was she considered popular in the provincial party organisation. Marshoff had only been included in the provincial cabinet in 2001, when then-Premier Isabella (Winkie) Direko reshuffled the executive council in the wake of provincial in-fighting. And, Marshoff was not included in the top 30 of the candidate list that the Free State party branches had sent to the national ANC office. Supporters of Magashule, upset that he had been passed over, argued that Marshoff would further widen the gap between

the national ANC organisation and the Free State party structures (Tabane, *et al.*). In fact, some branches went so far as to threaten that they would boycott the local election in 2005, in protest over Magashule’s demotion. Magashule himself publicly accepted the appointment of Marshoff, and rejected claims that he had been snubbed by the National Working Committee of the ANC (Ndlangisa *et al.* 2004).

**Table 7: Free State Provincial Election Results**

Party	Votes 2004	% of Votes 2004	Seats 2004 (30)
ACDP	13,119	1.3	1
ANC	827,338	81.8	25
DA	85,714	8.5	3
FF+	24,946	2.5	1
Others	60,489	5.9	0

Party	1994%	1999%	2004%
ACDP	~1.3	~1.3	~1.3
ANC	~81.8	~81.8	~81.8
DA	~8.5	~8.5	~8.5
FF+	~2.5	~2.5	~2.5
NNP	~0	~0	~0

Source: IEC website, [www.elections.org.za](http://www.elections.org.za).

Note: The bar graph presents the % of the provincial vote for each party represented in the legislature between 1994 and 2004.

## Gauteng

In 2004, Gauteng, where the NNP used to be relatively strong, turned its back completely on the former ruling party and denied the NNP even a single seat in the provincial legislature. The DA picked up most of the fallout from the NNP and increased its seats in the Gauteng legislature from 13 to 15. In 1999, the DP wooed many of the moderate Afrikaners who in the past had supported the NP, and in 2004 the DA continued to build on this support. Testament to this trend, the DA won wards in Centurion and the East Rand, former NNP support bases, while retaining its hold over Houghton and other more traditionally liberal suburbs. The ACDP, FF+ and the UDM retained their single seats in the Gauteng legislature, while the PAC and the new ID also won one representative each in the province. The IFP lost one of its three representatives in Gauteng.

Among all the provinces, Gauteng is the only one that did not see a change in premiership after the 2004 election. Between 1994 and 1999, Gauteng had been beset by factional disputes within the provincial ANC structures, leading to the mid-term removal of premier Mathole Motshekga. After the 1999 election, the party nominated Sam Shilowa for the top position in the province, in the hope that he would be able to bring some stability to provincial politics. The fact that the ANC retained him in this position is a signal that he successfully improved

party relations in the province. Shilowa’s continued position as premier also attests to the way the ANC manages its continuing alliance with COSATU and the SACP. High ranking officials of the two organisations are incorporated into the ranks of government, in an attempt to keep COSATU and the SACP, which have a tendency to criticise the government’s right-leaning economic policies, in line.

**Table 8: Gauteng Provincial Election Results**

Party	Votes 2004	% of Votes 2004	Seats 2004 (73)
ACDP	55,991	1.6	1
ANC	2,331,121	68.4	51
DA	708,081	20.8	15
FF+	45,648	1.3	1
ID	51,921	1.5	1
IFP	85,500	2.5	2
PAC	29,076	0.9	1
UDM	33,644	1.0	1
Others	67,326	2.0	0

**Parties in GP Legislature, 1994 - 2004**

Party	1994%	1999%	2004%
ACDP	~1.6	~1.6	~1.6
ANC	~68.4	~68.4	~68.4
DA	~20.8	~20.8	~20.8
FA	~1.3	~1.3	~1.3
FF+	~1.3	~1.3	~1.3
ID	~1.5	~1.5	~1.5
IFP	~2.5	~2.5	~2.5
NNP	~0.9	~0.9	~0.9
UDM	~1.0	~1.0	~1.0
PAC	~0.9	~0.9	~0.9

Source: IEC website, [www.elections.org.za](http://www.elections.org.za).

Note: The bar graph presents the % of the provincial vote for each party represented in the legislature between 1994 and 2004.

## KwaZulu-Natal

The 2004 election saw ground breaking results for the ANC in KZN. For the first time, the ANC won a plurality of the vote and soundly beat the IFP on its home ground. Not only in Durban, which the ANC has held since the local election in 1996, but in many of the rural areas as well, the ANC polled enough votes to become the largest party in the province. The ANC also won back many of the Indian voters who had flocked to the DP in 1999, thus making significant inroads in Indian voting areas (for a detailed analysis, see Naidu 2004b). Whilst the ANC increased its representation in the KZN legislature from 32 to 38 seats, the IFP lost four of its 34 seats and ended up with 30 representatives. The DA held onto the 7 seats it had won in 1999, while the ACDP and the MF both got two seats in the KZN legislature. The UDM managed to hold onto its single seat, while the NNP lost its representation in the province.

The IFP found the election results difficult to swallow, and immediately launched a court case to protest the certification of the provincial result. The

party claimed that it had lodged complaints with the IEC about the conduct of the poll in 47 voting districts, but that the IEC had certified the provincial result without hearing the IFP's case. The party argued that approximately 367,000 votes in KZN had been tampered with, enough to overturn the ANC's plurality in the provincial poll. A week later, the IFP dropped the court case, in the "interests of national unity," on the same day as IFP spokesperson Reverend Musa Zondi was nominated to serve in the new national cabinet as a deputy minister. In the end, the IFP did not become part of the national government. Thus, the IFP emerged from the 2004 election as a much reduced political force, with a tenuous position in its traditional stronghold, and needing to resort to tantrum tactics to retain influence on the national scene.

The ANC included members of the IFP and the MF in the new KZN provincial government, thus extending an olive branch to the IFP in pursuit of provincial stability. The ANC refused, however, to let the IFP nominate the premier, and instead put forth their own provincial chair, Sibusiso (S'bu) Ndebele. Before the election, rumours had circulated that Deputy President Jacob Zuma might be deployed to the province as the premier, in response to allegations of impropriety in the arms deal scandal (Naidu 2004a; *The Star*, 22 April 2004), but the ANC, true to its policy of supporting beleaguered members until proven guilty, retained Zuma as the Deputy President in the national cabinet. Ndebele was a somewhat controversial candidate for the premiership, as he had been involved in hostilities between the IFP and ANC in the province, and therefore may not have been the most suitable candidate to repair relations between the two parties. Yet, as the leader of the provincial ANC, it would have been insulting to the KZN party organisation to nominate anyone else for the top post in the province.

As an initial assertion of its newfound power in KZN, the ANC announced that the provincial legislature would sit once again solely in Pietermaritzburg, finally putting an end to the IFP's attempt to relocate the provincial government to Ulundi, the former capital of KwaZulu. The issue of the location of the provincial capital, whether in the apartheid-era Pietermaritzburg or the former homeland capital of Ulundi, had for the past decade divided parties and people in the province. Interestingly, the DA's support of the IFP position on the issue seems to have cost the DA 50,000 votes in Pietermaritzburg (See Vapi 2004).<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> The DA earned 47,573 less votes on the provincial than the national ballot in Pietermaritzburg's voting districts.

**Table 9: KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Election Results**

Party	Votes 2004	% of Votes 2004	Seats 2004 (80)
ACDP	48,892	1.8	2
ANC	1,287,823	47.0	38
DA	228,857	8.3	7
IFP	1,009,267	36.8	30
MF	71,540	2.6	2
UDM	20,546	0.8	1
Others	74,340	2.7	0

Party	1994%	1999%	2004%
ACDP	~1.8	~1.8	~1.8
ANC	~47.0	~47.0	~47.0
DA	~8.3	~8.3	~8.3
IFP	~36.8	~36.8	~36.8
MF	~2.6	~2.6	~2.6
NNP	~0.8	~0.8	~0.8
PAC	~0.0	~0.0	~0.0
UDM	~0.0	~0.0	~0.0

Source: IEC website, [www.elections.org.za](http://www.elections.org.za).

Note: The bar graph presents the % of the provincial vote for each party represented in the legislature between 1994 and 2004.

## Mpumalanga

Party politics in Mpumalanga are ANC politics, as the opposition has never been able to gain much of a foothold in the province. In 2004, the opposition parties performed even worse than they had in 1994 and 1999, with the DA being the only exception. The DA managed to increase its representation in the Mpumalanga legislature from one to two seats. The NNP and the UDM had both earned seats in 1999, but lost these in 2004. The FF+ managed to hold on to one representative in the province.

When forming the provincial government, the ANC decided not to retain controversial Ndaweni Mahlangu as premier. In 1999, when one of his subordinates was found to have made fraudulent claims about licencing in national parks, Mahlangu stated that it was “okay” for politicians to lie under certain circumstances. This caused much uproar. Yet, the party backed up its premier at the time, and insisted that despite his statement he was a competent public official. However, following the 2004 election, the ANC replaced Mahlangu, although he could have served another term. Former Safety and Liaison MEC Sampson Phathakge (Thabang) Makwetla, a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee, became the new Mpumalanga premier.

Makwetla is thought to represent the ANC's attempt to select premiers who embody youth and dynamism. In 2002, he was deployed from his position as an ANC whip in the national parliament to Mpumalanga in order to stabilise politics in the province, which at the time was being torn apart by corruption scandals and infighting (Thabang, *et al.*; see also Ndlangisa, *et al.*). Before the

2004 election, despite evidence of corruption and incompetence, Mpumalanga MEC's had been retained in office. Thus, Makwetla is facing a serious challenge in addressing the problems that have characterised Mpumalanga politics over the past few years.

**Table 10: Mpumalanga Provincial Election Results**

Party	Votes 2004	% of Votes 2004	Seats 2004 (30)
ANC	959,436	86.3	27
DA	77,119	6.9	2
FF+	13,732	1.2	1
Others	61,405	5.6	0

Party	1994%	1999%	2004%
ANC	~80	~86.3	~86.3
DA	~1	~6.9	~6.9
FF+	~1	~1.2	~1.2
NNP	~1	~10	~1
UDM	~0	~0	~0

Source: IEC website, [www.elections.org.za](http://www.elections.org.za).

Note: The bar graph presents the % of the provincial vote for each party represented in the legislature between 1994 and 2004.

## Northern Cape

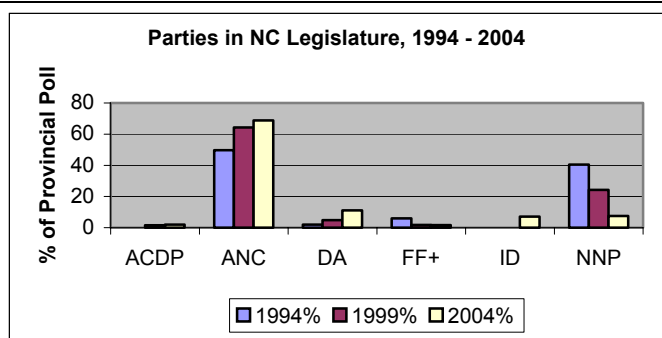
The most remarkable electoral trend in the Northern Cape has been the performance of the NNP. In the 1999 election, the NNP had retained some of its strength in the Northern Cape, primarily among rural, Coloured residents. After the 2004 election, the NNP's position was markedly diminished.

The party saw its support in the province decline by more than 50,000 votes, compared to 1999, and retained only two of the eight seats it had earned in the 1999 election. The DA benefited from the NNP's decline and increased its representation in the Northern Cape legislature from one to three seats. The new ID won two seats in the Northern Cape legislature, while the ACDP won its first seat in the province. The FF+ retained its single seat.

Regarding the formation of the Northern Cape provincial government after the 2004 election, premier Mannie Dipico, having served two terms, had to be replaced and found his way into the NA. In his place, the ANC nominated former Health MEC Dipuo Peters. Peters is one of the four new female premiers.

**Table 11: Northern Cape Provincial Election Results**

Party	Votes 2004	% of Votes 2004	Seats 2004 (30)
ACDP	5,995	1.9	1
ANC	219,365	68.8	21
DA	35,297	11.1	3
FF+	4,948	1.5	1
ID	22,485	7.1	2
NNP	23,970	7.5	2
Others	6,642	2.1	0



Source: IEC website, [www.elections.org.za](http://www.elections.org.za).

Note: The bar graph presents the % of the provincial vote for each party represented in the legislature between 1994 and 2004.

## Limpopo (Formerly Northern Province)

The ANC increased its overwhelming share of the seats in the Limpopo legislature, from 44 to 45, while the official opposition, the DA, increased its representation from a single to two seats. The ACDP and the UDM both retained their single seats, but the NNP and the PAC lost their representatives in Limpopo.

The new Limpopo Premier, Sello Moloto (former Health MEC), is considered by many to be a rising star within the ANC, and the most effective MEC in the province (*The Star*, 22 April 2004). Moloto's appointment is significant not only because it is an example of a promotion of a well functioning party member, but also because Moloto is a member of the SACP. The nomination of an SACP member for the position of premier can be seen as an attempt by the ANC to shore up its relationship with the SACP, just as it had done with the nomination of COSATU leader Sam Shilowa as premier of Gauteng.

Moloto will have to remain vigilant about preventing provincial party politics from degenerating into the factional infighting that in 2001 had caused the ANC to disband its provincial structures. Since then, Premier Ngoako Ramathlodi had been able to control the problem, and had reportedly rebuilt a solid party organisation. Nevertheless, the new premier needs to avoid the tensions that led to the 2001 dissolution, while he is facing an urgent need to improve service delivery in the context of widespread unemployment in the province.

**Table 12: Limpopo Provincial Election Results**

Party	Votes 2004	% of Votes 2004	Seats 2004 (49)
ACDP	20,418	1.3	1
ANC	1,439,853	89.2	45
DA	57,930	3.6	2
UDM	27,780	1.7	1
Others	68,533	4.2	0

Party	1994%	1999%	2004%
ACDP	~0.5	~0.5	~0.5
ANC	~89.2	~89.2	~89.2
DA	~3.6	~3.6	~3.6
FF+	~0.5	~0.5	~0.5
NNP	~0.5	~0.5	~0.5
PAC	~0.5	~0.5	~0.5
UDM	~0.5	~0.5	~0.5

Source: IEC website, [www.elections.org.za](http://www.elections.org.za).

Note: The bar graph presents the % of the provincial vote for each party represented in the legislature between 1994 and 2004.

## North West

In 1999, the UCDP entered the electoral contest in North West for the first time, and managed to become the second largest party in the province. Based primarily in the former Bophuthatswana homeland area, the UCDP managed to secure a traditional, rural support base, comprising mainly people loyal to Lucius Mangope, the former homeland leader. In 2004, the party retained its three seats in the North West legislature as well as its status as official opposition in North West, but with a diminished share of the vote. Many of the party's supporters from 1999 returned to the ANC in 2004. North West is one of the three provinces in which the DA was not able to become the official opposition, though with two representatives, it became the third largest party in the province. The NNP lost its seat in the North West legislature, while the FF+ managed to hold onto its single representative in the province.

After the 2004 election, North West premier Popo Molefe, who had served two terms, was redeployed to a seat in the national parliament and replaced by former Economic Affairs MEC Edna Molewa. Molewa has been popular in the provincial ANC structures, and was considered a front-runner in the competition for the premier nomination before the 2004 election. She is a former MEC, former MP, and ANC Women's League provincial chair. Molewa's appointment was hailed as an attempt to forge unity among the various ANC factions in North West, which had supported different candidates for the premiership in advance of the election (Ndlangisa *et al.* 2004).

*Table 13: North West Provincial Election Results*

Party	Votes 2004	% of Votes 2004	Seats 2004 (33)
ANC	1,048,089	80.7	27
DA	64,925	5.0	2
FF+	17,123	1.3	1
UCDP	110,233	8.5	3
Others	58,193	4.5	0

Party	1994%	1999%	2004%
ANC	~80.7	~80.7	~80.7
DA	~5.0	~5.0	~5.0
FF+	~1.3	~1.3	~1.3
NNP	~53.0	~11.0	~11.0
UCDP	~8.5	~8.5	~8.5

Source: IEC website, [www.elections.org.za](http://www.elections.org.za).

Note: The bar graph presents the % of the provincial vote for each party represented in the legislature between 1994 and 2004.

## Western Cape

In the Western Cape, the most notable result of the 2004 election was the decimation of the NNP, which lost 12 of its 17 seats in the provincial legislature and witnessed an all-time low of less than 11% of the vote in its last remaining provincial stronghold. In 1994, the NNP had won 53% of the vote in the Western Cape and seats in all nine provincial legislatures. Ten years later, the Western and Northern Cape were the only provinces in which the party won any representation. The 2004 result for the NNP in the Western Cape was one of the many signs that the once-powerful party was near ruin. All of the NNP's remaining representatives in the National Assembly came from its Western Cape list, another sign that the party was reduced to, at most, the role of a small regionally based party. In contrast to the NNP's decline, the DA and the ACDP demonstrated that their support in the Western Cape was rising. Both parties increased their vote share and their number of seats in the provincial legislature, the DA from 5 to 12 and the ACDP from a single to 2. The UDM managed to hold onto its single seat, while the new ID entered the Western Cape legislature with three representatives.

The ID, DA and the ANC were the principal beneficiaries of the collapse of the NNP in the province. The ANC succeeded in making inroads into different communities, including the working-class Coloured townships around Cape Town, traditionally NNP strongholds. Despite the problems that had plagued the provincial ANC before the election, the party waged a successful campaign and emerged as the party with the plurality of votes in the Western Cape. In 1999, the ANC had also been the largest party in the province, but the NNP and the

DP had been able to come together and, with a majority between them, had formed a coalition government. In 2004, the situation was different, as the ANC and NNP had brokered an agreement before the election that they would form a coalition to govern the Western Cape.

Thus, once the election results were announced, the ANC formed the provincial government together with the NNP, and elected ANC provincial leader Ebrahim Rasool as Western Cape premier. Rasool’s appointment put to rest any speculation about whether the ANC would uphold its pre-election pact with the NNP, in which the party had supposedly promised multiple cabinet positions, including the premiership, to the NNP. When, prior to the election, opinion polls started to show just how low the NNP’s support had shrunk, the ANC had begun to spread rumours that the NNP would not be given the premiership, and only a limited number of cabinet positions. Both parties denied the rumours at the time. Yet, the ANC also claimed that it had not committed itself to any specific number of positions for the NNP, and that it would accord its coalition partner representation in the provincial cabinet commensurate with the NNP’s level of support in the province. The NNP subsequently received two provincial cabinet posts.

**Table 14: Western Cape Provincial Election Results**

Party	Votes 2004	% of Votes 2004	Seats 2004 (42)
ACDP	53,934	3.4	2
ANC	709,052	45.3	19
DA	424,832	27.1	12
ID	122,867	7.8	3
NNP	170,469	10.9	5
UDM	27,489	1.8	1
Others	58,306	3.7	0

Party	1994%	1999%	2004%
ACDP	~1	~1	~3.4
ANC	~32	~42	45.3
DP	~8	~12	27.1
FF+	~2	~1	~1
ID	~1	~1	7.8
NNP	~55	~38	10.9
UDM	~1	~1	1.8

Source: IEC website, [www.elections.org.za](http://www.elections.org.za).

Note: The bar graph presents the % of the provincial vote for each party represented in the legislature between 1994 and 2004.

Given the Western Cape election result, Rasool’s nomination as Premier came as no surprise. It also showed that the ANC's national leadership had decided not to impose an outsider on the province, as it had previously done with other provinces that demonstrated tensions within the provincial party organisations. By late 2003, the ANC in the Western Cape had begun to show cracks that revolved around financial difficulties and internal tensions which split the party into “Africanist” and “Charterist” camps. These tensions had led to rumours that

senior ANC leaders wanted to appoint a premier from outside the province, in an attempt to avoid favouring one faction over the other. Another supposed motivation behind the wish to nominate an outsider was the fact that Rasool had at times been accused of questioning national leadership's directives (*News 24*, 16 April 2004).

## Interpreting Electoral Trends

### The ANC

There are many ways to interpret the electoral trends described above. Firstly, the ANC's increased share of the vote must be considered against a decline in the levels of registration and turnout. The decline has occurred in the context of a growing population, in other words an increase in the number of citizens eligible to vote.<sup>11</sup>

As noted by both Mattes (2004) and Seekings (2004), the South African electorate has changed in the past 10 years. There were 5 million more people in the Voting Age Population (new potential voters) in 2004 than in 1999. Over 2 million more people registered to vote in 2004. Yet, the ANC only increased its absolute number of votes by 279,585. What this means is that the party won a larger share of the poll, but the result could also be interpreted as a decrease in "real" terms. If turnout had increased proportionate with the increase in population, the overall number of ballots cast would have been much larger. Therefore, the ANC's result of near 70% could well be an artifact of the decline in turnout.

Second, interpreting the election results raises the question of how one should understand the electoral dominance and centralisation of power within the ANC. The debate about the ANC as a dominant party tends to overlook one important aspect of the phenomenon: becoming a dominant party was not an automatic process, and retaining that position has required effort. The ANC has worked hard to prevent the organisation from following in the footsteps of liberation movements throughout Africa that fractured soon after independence in the 1960s and 70s. The mid-1990s were an arduous time for the ANC as the

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<sup>11</sup> The increase in citizens eligible to vote is especially important as we calculated the 2004 registration and turnout figures on the basis of the 2001 census, which more accurately captured African township dwellers than the 1996 census, on which the 1999 registration figures were based. Given that the data we used were three years old, and had some problems, it's likely that we still undercounted the South African population. The impact of HIV/Aids, however, may have altered the population figures somewhat in a way not yet captured by the census.

organisation refashioned itself from a liberation movement into a governing party and began the transformation of South African government and society. The past ten years have truly been a test of majority rule, as the ANC has faced a myriad of challenges, stemming from both within and outside the party.

Internally, the ANC faced a number of demands. First of all, it had to reconcile divergent organisational cultures. In exile, the organisation had been forced to function in a top-down, hierarchical manner, enforcing strict party discipline. Within South Africa, the United Democratic Front (UDF) fought the struggle against apartheid as an umbrella body of grassroots organisations that were loosely aligned with the ANC. The UDF, in contrast to the ANC in exile, governed itself through a system of consultation and discussion, as the numerous sub-units retained their autonomy. After the National Party unbanned the ANC in 1990, the two organisations began to merge, a process of integration which has created many challenges. The tension between “internals” and “exiles” still underlies power rivalries that exist within the ranks of the ruling party. In addition, once the ANC had won seats in national and provincial governments, it had to fill the positions from within its ranks. This left the party apparatus without many of its most talented individuals, as they moved into government positions. Therefore, the ANC not only had to reconcile the different UDF and exile communities, it also had to virtually rebuild its organisational structures when active members from the branches were deployed in government positions.

While facing these internal challenges, the ANC had to take over a government that had been designed to oppress the majority, and turn it into an organisation capable of empowerment and upliftment. The liberation-movement-turned-governing-party had to transform the apartheid bureaucracy into a civil service that would transform and uplift, manage the demands of a modern, industrial economy as well as the needs of traditional, small-scale farmers, and confront the problems of endemic poverty, unemployment, underdevelopment, and poor education. In other words, the demands were many and the party faced them with varying success.

Throughout the first decade of majority rule, the ANC never took its position as a “dominant party” for granted. Instead, the ANC strategically used its position to influence the creation of political institutions that provided the party with mechanisms with which it could insulate itself from centripetal pressures, such as an electoral system of proportional representation with closed party lists and a centralised federal system, which focuses lines of power and accountability upwards to the national leadership. The fact that the ANC refused to nominate premier candidates prior to the 2004 election, and instead nominated people to be “deployed” as premiers three days after the polls is the latest example of such

centralising tactics. It defused factionalisation within the provinces, while reinforcing the party's control.

The ANC has also pursued less formal mechanisms to preserve its status, such as maintaining the strategic alliance with the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). This alliance enables the ruling party to internalise and co-opt criticism from the left and provides it with the ideological flexibility to curtail the organisational ground for opposition parties. In addition, the ANC has frequently contributed to a political discourse that demonises the opposition as racist and reinforces the social cleavage between blacks and whites. The resulting image of black government versus white opposition has prevented the successful politicisation of competing lines of division, whether based on interest groups, ethnic identities, or class. On top of all these long-term strategies, the party runs a formidable election machine that brings disaffected supporters back to the party at election time. For an extended analysis of these dynamics, see Piombo (forthcoming March 2005), and Piombo (2002).

The electoral performance of the ANC and its dominant position must be interpreted against all these factors. The tendency to centralise power in the presidency, to strictly enforce party discipline, and to crack down on public dissent outside of party structures are all defensive mechanisms to strengthen party unity. The ANC has apparently felt that this was necessary to begin and manage the transformation of South African society. Similarly, the ANC seems to view its dominant position as enabling continued transformation without derailment. Yet, the party's tendencies toward intolerance of public criticism and centralisation of power are worrisome from the perspective of democratic accountability, responsiveness, and transparency. Where one party controls so many seats in parliament, the most important debates take place within the party caucus. If the party then exhibits signs of intolerance of dissent and centralisation of power, it hinders vibrant public debate and raises concern about the continued democratic development of South Africa.

## **The Opposition**

The opposition to date has barely presented itself as a viable alternative to the ANC. It remains a group of parties with leadership and policy platforms that fail to attract a wide range of South African voters. Several trends amongst opposition parties are worth noting here. First, the decline of the NNP, which seems to be the almost inevitable conclusion for the party that created the apartheid system. In 1994, the NP still emerged from the election as the second largest party in parliament, with representation in all nine provincial legislatures. In 1999, the "New" NP was reduced to third position, with its remaining support

concentrated primarily in the Western and Northern Cape. Although, the party retained members in all nine provincial legislatures, in seven of these its representation was down to three seats or less. In 2004, the NNP's performance was disastrous. The party won seats in just two provincial legislatures (in the Western and Northern Cape), and had to share the ranking of the fifth largest party in the NA with the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) and the new Independent Democrats (ID).

The NNP's poor performance can be attributed to many factors, but chief among them is the fact that since 1994 the party has frequently changed its opposition tactics. The NNP's involvement in a number of coalitions and alliances has confused its image amongst voters. The last straw seems to have been the coalition agreement the NNP worked out with the ANC in 2001, which gave the ANC government power in the Western Cape. This deal put the NNP back into a close relationship with the ruling party, which made it difficult for the NNP to present itself as a genuine opposition party. In 1996, the NP had withdrawn from the Government of National Unity precisely because of this problem, so it should have been no surprise that it resurfaced in the 2004 campaign.

When the 2004 election results began to filter into the IEC on the evening of April 14, the rumours began that the NNP was considering disbanding (Michaels 2004). The party denied these claims, and continued to present itself as a coherent organisation. Yet, in July 2004, three and a half months after the election, the party announced that it would disband during the next defection window in September 2005. Party leader van Schalkwyk announced his intention to join the ANC and urged other NNP members to follow his lead. The NNP had been unable to carve out a role for itself in the new South Africa, and the party's attempts to re-invent itself drove even its core supporters away. Alliances with and then withdrawals from the DP and ANC contributed to the image of a party that is lost, unsure of which way to turn, and without any core principles to guide it in the post-apartheid period. Ultimately, the party was forced to concede that its experiment in creating a moderate, Christian-Democratic party, capable of attracting credible leaders and transforming into a non-racial organisation, had failed.

Together with the decline of the NP/NNP, the rise of the DP/DA represents an important realignment in South African party politics during the past decade. The transformation of the Democratic Party from a liberal, English-dominated voice for freedom into its current conservative form took more analysts by surprise than did the decline of the NNP. After the 1994 election, the DP had seven representatives in the National Assembly, and decided that it would operate as a moderating voice and attempt to persuade the larger parties to adopt DP policy perspectives. The DP tactics changed by 1998, as the party began to

position itself for the 1999 election. The DP shifted to a more aggressive stance, becoming a very vocal opposition party, which earned party leader Tony Leon the moniker, “the chihuahua.”

In its bid to become the largest opposition party in 1999, the DP pursued the NNP’s Afrikaner support base, and subsequently created an alliance (the Democratic Alliance) with the NNP in June 2000.<sup>12</sup> Following the withdrawal of the NNP from the new party in 2001, the DP decided to maintain the new creation and officially became the DA in April 2003.<sup>13</sup> In its current form, the DA’s strategy of “aggressive opposition” seems to alienate many South Africans. Regardless of DA claims that it represents the interests of all South Africans, the party is widely perceived as a conservative protector of minority interests opposing all ANC propositions on principle.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, the DA’s potential to develop into a party capable of mounting a genuine electoral challenge to the ANC will remain limited, unless the party radically changes tack and recruits a large cohort of black supporters. The DA made small inroads into the black electorate in the 2004 election, but has yet to break through to significant support levels amongst this group. Similarly, the DA has yet to genuinely transform its leadership to include black, Coloured and Indian leaders. At present, most of its leaders are white, and those who are not have histories from the struggle era that render them suspect to many South Africans.

The IFP emerged from the 2004 election as the third largest party in the NA, the same ranking as in 1994 and 1999. The IFP’s bid to increase its performance outside KZN had failed in 1999, and after the 2004 election, its presence in other provinces declined even further. But the most negative outcome of the 2004 election for the IFP was that the party lost its position as the largest party in KZN, and failed to secure a ministerial position in the new national cabinet. Analysts had speculated that the ANC would want to retain Buthelezi in his cabinet position, in order to prevent him from returning to an exclusive focus on KZN politics (Sefara and Momberg 2004), but the ANC leadership evidently did not consider this a serious enough threat to retain Buthelezi at the national level. The ANC gave the portfolio of Home Affairs, which Buthelezi had held since

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<sup>12</sup> This party existed only at the local level, as the parties were prevented from merging at the national and provincial levels by constitutional provisions that then existed against floor-crossing in the national and provincial legislatures.

<sup>13</sup> In March-April 2003 the defection window enabled DP (and NNP) representatives at national and provincial levels to cross the floor to the DA, thus ending the existence of the DP.

<sup>14</sup> The series of opinion polls released by the Institute for Democracy in South Africa, the South African Broadcasting Corporation and Markinor in 1999, called “Opinion ‘99” revealed that most South Africans did not perceive the DP as inclusive, and little evidence since has disconfirmed this trend.

1994, to his former deputy minister.<sup>15</sup> Initially, two IFP members were selected to serve in the national cabinet as deputy ministers, but shortly before the swearing-in ceremony, the appointees sent a letter to President Mbeki, explaining that they could not take up their seats until the issues around the formation of a provincial government in KZN had been resolved. Mbeki retaliated by withdrawing the nominations, saying that he would only appoint ministers who were willing to work, which left the IFP without representation in the national cabinet. Both the IFP's defeat in KZN and the exclusion from the national cabinet are highly significant, as KZN is the IFP's stronghold and the party previously retained national relevance by serving in cabinet.

The United Democratic Movement (UDM) which entered the national political scene in 1999, had briefly raised hopes that a non-racial or multi-racial opposition party had arrived. Yet, in 2004, the UDM did not perform well, and seems to have been reduced to a primarily black, Eastern-Cape based, regional force. In the 2004 election, another newcomer represented a sign of hope for multi-racial opposition. The Independent Democrats (ID), formed in April 2003, just one year before the election, performed reasonably well, securing 7 seats in the National Assembly. Led by fiery politician and ex-Pan Africanist Congress member Patricia de Lille, the new party seems to have the potential to become a multi-racial voice for the poor, if it can build a party organisation that does not sustain itself solely through the charisma of its leader, De Lille. Finally, amongst the smaller opposition parties in parliament, the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), though representing a small percentage of the overall vote, continues to perform relatively well. The ACDP has consistently increased its vote share since 1994.

Underlying these trends is the decline in voter turnout. At this point, one can only speculate as to which categories of eligible voters declined to exercise their right. The decreased share of the vote earned by the opposition as a whole would suggest that it is mainly opposition voters who stayed at home. However, the fact that the ANC's absolute number of votes increased by only 279,585 indicates that, while ANC supporters did not shift their votes to the opposition, the ruling party failed to motivate a large number of its potential supporters to make the trip to the polling station.

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<sup>15</sup> The ANC was forced to include an IFP representative in the cabinet in 1994, due to power sharing provisions in the interim constitution. After 1999, the ANC retained party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi as Minister of Home Affairs, as part of a deal that the ANC made with the IFP in KZN.

## Alternative Electoral Systems

What would the election results look like under alternative electoral formulas? Would there be more fluidity in the South African political landscape? Would smaller parties band together? Would the ANC's position be as secure? These questions are central to the ongoing debate about electoral reform (discussed by Nijzink and Piombo 2004) but not easy to answer. It is difficult to meaningfully map the 2004 election results onto a simulated constituency system. Leaving aside the thorny issues of constituency boundaries and the most appropriate number of constituencies, parties and voters would have behaved differently under a first-past-the-post constituency system, which makes it almost impossible to accurately predict electoral outcomes under such an alternative system. If the 2004 election results had been tabulated on the basis of plurality in a number of geographical units, both parties and voters would have chosen campaign strategies and made voting choices appropriate in the context of these new electoral rules (see Piombo 2002). The same is true if a certain threshold would have been introduced. Parties would probably change their strategies to best suit the new electoral rules. However, it is fairly easy to assess how many of the parties that gained entrance into the National Assembly in 2004 would have won representation under different electoral thresholds, while retaining the system of proportional representation with closed party lists.

Based on the 2004 election results, imposing even a one percent threshold would reduce the number of parties represented in the National Assembly from 12 to 7. Furthermore, the three largest parties in parliament would increase their share of seats, while the remaining four smaller parties would not have benefited. Imposing a five percent cutoff would increase the ANC's share of the 400 NA seats to well over 300 and reduce the number of parties in parliament to just three. Clearly, the current system in which the number of votes necessary to win a single seat is determined by the total number of votes cast in the election, works to the advantage of smaller parties. It enables a variety of parties to be represented in parliament. Yet, there is a tradeoff to the fact that small parties are able to gain entrance into the NA. With only one or two MPs, it is difficult to cover all portfolio committees and have an impact on public policy making.

There is no doubt that imposing different thresholds would limit representation. Imposing a one percent threshold would eliminate small parties with a regionally concentrated support base, such as the UCDP and MF, while a five percent threshold would eliminate most opposition parties. In other words, based on the 2004 results, such thresholds would simply advantage the ANC. However, if parties knew beforehand that they would have to get a certain number of votes in order to pass the threshold, they might alter their campaign strategies and group together before the election, in order to increase their vote

share. Even with a one percent threshold in place, the logic of party campaigning and alliance building would probably change significantly, which could alter the party political landscape and electoral outcomes. In this way, imposing a threshold could eventually even lead to the emergence of a credible alternative to the ANC, to replace the current opposition of a fairly large number of parties with different ideological and policy platforms that rarely work together to present a coherent alternative to the ANC's policy proposals.

*Table 15: Electoral Results under Different Thresholds*

	<i>No threshold</i>		<i>One Percent</i>		<i>Five Percent</i>	
	<i>Seats</i>	<i>% vote</i>	<i>Seats</i>	<i>% vote</i>	<i>Seats</i>	<i>% vote</i>
ANC	279	69.7%	290	72.4%	313	78.3%
DA	50	12.4%	51	12.9%	56	13.9%
IFP	28	7.0%	29	7.2%	31	7.8%
UDM	9	2.3%	9	2.4%	-	-
ID	7	1.7%	7	1.8%	-	-
NNP	7	1.7%	7	1.7%	-	-
ACDP	7	1.6%	7	1.7%	-	-
FF+	4	0.9%	-	-	-	-
UCDP	3	0.8%	-	-	-	-
PAC	3	0.7%	-	-	-	-
MF	2	0.4%	-	-	-	-
AZAPO	1	0.3%	-	-	-	-
Total	400	100%	400	100%	400	100%

*Notes:* Results were tabulated by imposing a cutoff of 1% and 5%, respectively, and then distributing the seats among the parties above the threshold. To do this, I employed the following procedure. Once the parties below the threshold were eliminated, percentages for each party were re-calculated based on the aggregate number of votes earned by the remaining parties. These percentages were then translated into seats via the largest remainder method: a quota of votes per seat was calculated by dividing the remaining number of votes by the number of seats. The quota is called the Droop quota, where the number of votes cast in the election is divided by the number of seats to be filled, plus one. If the number of seats based on the whole vote shares is not 400, then additional seats are added to the parties whose remainders (the decimal portion of their quota) are the highest, until all seats are allocated.

## **The Representation of Women**

How do women fare in South African politics? Many argue that whatever the disadvantages of the current electoral system, one of the benefits has been that it promotes the representation of women and other minority groups. This is because in the current system of proportional representation with closed party lists, party leaders can place women in “electable” positions on candidate lists,

thus ensuring that they will be represented in parliament and the provincial legislatures. In a candidate-centered constituency system, women may not achieve the same level of representation. Particularly in the context of a traditionally patriarchal society in which women are often not represented in formal power structures, the closed list variant of proportional representation is useful to ensure that women make it into parliament.

So how do women fare in South African politics? There are no legal requirements for women (or other minorities) to be included in the parties' candidate lists. Measures to increase the political participation of women are within the discretion of the individual political parties. They must decide to give priority to the representation of women when generating their candidate lists. In fact, parties employ different procedures to compile their lists, and also follow different criteria for including women and other minorities. The ANC has a formal requirement that at least 30% of its candidates must be women. No other political party sets a similar earmark, but all claim to promote the advancement of women in their processes of candidate selection. Yet, not all achieve comparable results, as table 16 shows.

Setting a target for the representation of women, like the ANC has done, seems to work. The ANC has produced the most women MPs, both in terms of absolute numbers (not surprising given the fact that the ANC is by far the largest party) and as a percentage of the party's representatives. More than one-third of the ANC's parliamentarians in both houses are female (38%). Only the UDM and the MF perform better than the ANC. One of the MF's two NA members is a woman, while one-third of the UDM's representatives in the NA are women, as is the UDM's sole permanent delegate to the NCOP. Other parties perform dismally when it comes to representing women: the FF+, PAC, UCDP, and AZAPO have no women representatives, while only 14% of the ACDP and NNP representatives in the NA are women.

Clearly, whether or not women are adequately represented in parliament is not just a function of the type of electoral system, but also, and perhaps more importantly, a result of the policies of the individual political parties. Therefore, whether or not women would do as well in a constituency system remains an open question. Parties could make a similar effort to select female candidates in such a system, which could mean that the closed-list variant of proportional representation is not necessary to ensure adequate representation of women in parliament. The debate on electoral reform prior to the 2004 election did not touch on the representation of women, instead focusing on the effects of the electoral system on political party representation. However, the effect of the different types of electoral systems on the representation of women remains an issue worth considering, especially in light of the fact that the debate over

whether or not South Africa should alter its electoral system will be reopened in advance of the 2009 national and provincial elections.

**Table 16: Women in Parliament, 2004**

	<i>Women in Both Houses of Parliament</i>		<i>Women in NA</i>		<i>Women in NCOP</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Total</i>	<i>150</i>	<i>33%</i>	<i>131</i>	<i>33%</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>35%</i>
ANC	118	38%	106	38%	12	34%
DA	15	25%	10	20%	5	50%
IFP	8	26%	7	25%	1	33%
UDM	4	40%	3	33%	1	100%
ID	2	25%	2	29%	0	0
MF	1	50%	1	50%	na	na
ACDP	1	14%	1	14%	na	na
NNP	1	11%	1	14%	0	0
FF+	0	0	0	0	0	0
PAC	0	0	0	0	na	na
UCDP	0	0	0	0	0	0
AZAPO	0	0	0	0	na	na

*Source:* The list of members posted on [www.parliament.gov.za](http://www.parliament.gov.za) and a list of members of the NA and NCOP provided by parliament's public information office.

*Notes:* The NCOP section of the table only refers to the 54 permanent delegates and excludes the 36 special delegates who are rotating according to the topic under discussion. In the table, 'na' means the party in question does not have any permanent delegates in the NCOP.

## **The New Parliament**

What do the 2004 election results mean for the composition of the National Assembly, not only in terms of political party representation but also with regard to the mix of new and experienced members? How many elected representatives are new to parliamentary politics? What is the level of experience that is retained? Comparing the 1999 and 2004 results, turnover in the National Assembly has increased, while at the same time a fair amount of experience has been retained in the form of MPs who have served in parliament since 1994.

In 1999, 40% of the politicians who won a seat in the National Assembly were new MPs (159 out of 400). One-third of ANC MPs had not served in the first parliament, while 87% of the DP contingent was in parliament for the first time. The IFP and NNP returned the most experienced group to the NA in 1999: only 15% of IFP MPs and 29% of NNP MPs were first time MPs. Thus, in 1999, the

NA saw a large number of fresh faces, with 60% of its members having served in the first parliament.

*Table 17: Retention and Turnover, National Assembly*

<i>Party</i>	<i>Total MPs 1999</i>	<i>New MPs 1999</i>	<i>% New MPs 1999</i>	<i>Total MPs 2004</i>	<i>New MPs 2004</i>	<i>% New MPs 2004</i>	<i>MPs serving 10 yrs</i>	<i>% MPs serving 10 yrs</i>
ACDP	6	4	67%	7	2	29%	2	29%
AEB	1	1	100%	-	-	-	-	-
ANC	266	86	32%	279	124	44%	100	36%
AZAP O	1	1	100%	1	1	100%	0	0
DP/DA	38	33	87%	50	30	60%	6	12%
FA	2	2	100%	-	-	-	-	-
FF	3	0	0	4	2	50%	2	50%
ID	-	-	-	7	6	86%	1	14%
IFP	34	5	15%	28	15	54%	5	18%
MF	1	1	100%	2	2	100%	0	0
NNP	28	8	29%	7	3	43%	3	43%
PAC	3	1	33%	3	3	100%	0	0
UDM	14	14	100%	9	8	89%	0	0
UCDP	3	3	100%	3	2	67%	0	0
<i>Total</i>	<i>400</i>	<i>159</i>	<i>40%</i>	<i>400</i>	<i>198</i>	<i>50%</i>	<i>119</i>	<i>30%</i>

*Source:* The 1999 data was obtained from the IEC and parliament. The 2004 data was provided by parliament's public information office, but their list of MPs for 2004 included only 393 of the 400 NA members. The members missing from the list were all ANC members. The figures of MPs who served in all three parliaments from 1994 to 2004 include members who switched parties during this time.

In 2004, turnover in the National Assembly was even higher than in 1999. The third parliament saw 198 new members take up their seats (almost 50%), while just under one-third of its members have ten years of experience, i.e. have been in parliament since 1994 (30%). Among the various parties, the largest number of new members can be found in the ranks of the ANC: 124 new MPs are ANC members. This means that 44% of the ANC caucus consists of new MPs. The DA, with 60%, has a higher rate of new MPs, which is not surprising since the party has shown significant growth since 1999.

Some of the “new” faces in the National Assembly in 2004 are actually members who served in the first parliament but not the second: 14 of the ANC’s new MPs and 3 of the IFP’s new representatives fall into this category. The UDM’s contingent is composed almost entirely of new entrants into parliament.

The only UDM MP who has served in parliament before is party leader Bantu Holomisa. Some of the UDM's MPs from 1999 left the party during the March 2003 defection window and are now serving in the third parliament as members of other parties, such as Annelize van Wyck and Gerard Koornhof who are both ANC parliamentarians. Only 12% of DA MPs have been in parliament since 1994 (this figure includes DA MPs who previously served in other parties in parliament).

## **The New Cabinet**

The new cabinet demonstrates the ANC's commitment to cultivate leadership and expertise and promote loyal party members. The ruling party has also paid careful attention to its many constituencies, balancing the tensions between those who were in exile and those who stayed in the country during the apartheid era and rewarding its partners in the Tripartite Alliance by granting top positions to COSATU and SACP members. The ANC ensured that at least 30% of the positions went to women and that minorities were represented, though the latter were incorporated more on the deputy rather than the ministerial level. Notably, the number of African ministers has increased since 1994. There are now six minority ministers in the cabinet; 79% of ministers are black/African, up from 52% in 1994 (figure from Reynolds 1994: 214).

Like the new National Assembly, the new cabinet demonstrates a mix of experience and new recruits. Thirteen of the 28 ministers retained their positions, and most of the new ministers have either served as deputy ministers or in parliament before assuming their new positions. Four ministers moved from one portfolio to another, two deputy ministers became ministers; two of the new ministers came from the National Assembly, and three from service in other areas of government. The cabinet also includes members of two other parties: Marthinus van Schalkwyk from the NNP (though in 2005 he will become an ANC member), and Mosibudi Mangena from AZAPO. IFP leader Buthelezi lost his portfolio and an ANC member took his place. Sixteen of the ministers come from the ranks of the ANC in exile, five from the United Democratic Front (UDF), one is a former official from the Transkei government, and two each are COSATU and SACP members.

In contrast to the relative stability at the ministerial level, there was a great deal of turnover among the deputy ministers. Almost half of the new deputies are women (10 out of 21), and many started their political careers in the UDF. There are more "internals" than "exiles" (16 versus 2) among deputy ministers and a relatively high percentage are from minority communities (52% compared to 21% of ministers). Seven deputies are white, one is Coloured, and three are

Indian.

In 1994, the ANC had balanced NP with ANC ministers and deputy ministers. In 2004, the party retained some ministers who had not performed well, and balanced them with deputies whom the party thought would ensure that the department would run smoothly. For example, the party retained Manto Tshabalala-Msimang in the Health portfolio, despite criticism of her handling of the HIV/Aids crisis, and brought in a deputy minister, Noziziwe Madlala-Routledge, to whom the party planned to quietly transfer responsibility for HIV/AIDs programmes. Reportedly, the decision to retain Msimang was based on the ANC leadership's irritation at the condemnation of the government's position on HIV/AIDs by the press and the international community (ANC speechwriter 2004, pers. comm., 5 May). Similarly, Ngonde Balfour was moved from Sports and Recreation to Correctional Services, where Cheryl Gillwald, formerly the deputy minister of Justice, became his deputy minister. Balfour's tenure in the Sports and Recreation portfolio had not been noted for its success, while Gillwald's reputation as a hard-working, competent deputy minister earned her the position as deputy in Balfour's new portfolio (*Ibid*).

Overall, the new cabinet represents a mix of old and new. The trend towards increasing the proportion of African ministers at the expense of minority cabinet members points to the ANC's increasing confidence in its position, and marks the fact that the party has moved away from the power sharing arrangements of the 1994 interim constitution. This trend could also mean that the ANC feels it no longer needs to attend to the fears of minority groups by over-representing them in cabinet positions, which could be interpreted as a sign of the maturation of South Africa's democracy. The ruling party seems committed to balancing abilities and incorporating minority members at the deputy level, but in the more visible, ministerial positions, is beginning to bring appointments in line with the demographics of the country.

## Conclusion

In the final analysis, it seems that democracy is taking root in South Africa. There are signs of party dominance, which could be creating voter apathy, but the country's levels of voter participation are not unusually low when compared with other countries in similar situations. The increasing dominance and centralisation of the ANC are reasons for concern from the point of view of democratic accountability and transparency, but at the same time, the ANC's dominance has increased political stability in post-apartheid South Africa.

The continuing “irrelevance” of the opposition may become a threat to democratic stability. If voters de-aligning from the ANC do not find an alternative political home through which to express their political aspirations, the party system could become divorced from the realities of political life. In a system with proportional representation based on closed party lists, this disconnect could ultimately prove destabilising.

But such pessimism is not yet warranted. The 2004 election pointed to areas that need to be monitored but mainly demonstrated that politics are normalising in South Africa. Democracy is stable and performing well. If South Africa can avoid the pitfalls of permanent party dominance and a slow erosion of the democratic freedoms it has enjoyed during the past decade, the second ten years of democracy will be worth celebrating.

## Appendix: The New Cabinet

President: Thabo Mbeki  
Deputy President: Jacob Zuma

<i>Portfolio</i>	<i>Minister</i>	<i>Deputy Minister</i>
Agriculture and Land Affairs	Didiza, Thokozile	Du Toit, Dirk Cornelis (NNP)
Arts and Culture*	Jordan, Pallo	Botha, Ntombazana Gertrude Winifred
Communications	Matsepe-Casaburri, Ivy	Padayachie, Radhakrishna 'Roy' Lutchmana
Correctional Services	Balfour, Ngconde	Gillwald, Cheryl Ellen
Defence	Lekota, Mosiuoa k	George, Mluleki Editor
Education	Pandor, Grace Naledi	Surty, Mohamed Enver
Environmental Affairs and Tourism	Van Schalkwyk, Marthinus (NNP)	Mabudafhasi, Thizwilondi Rejoyce
Finance	Manuel, Trevor	Moleketi, Philip Jabu
Foreign Affairs*	Dlamini-Zuma, Nkosazana	Pahad, Aziz Goolam Hoosein Van der Merwe, Susan Comber
Health	Tshabalala-Msimang, Mantombazana	Madlala-Routledge, Nozizwe Charlotte
Home Affairs	Mapisa-Nqakula, Nosiviwe	Gigaba, Knowledge Malusi Nkanyezi
Housing	Sisulu, Lindiwe	-
Intelligence	Kasrils, Ronald	-
Justice and Constitutional Development	Mabandla, Brigitte	De Lange, Johannes Hendrik
Labour	Mdladlana, Membathisi	-
Minerals and Energy	Mlambo-Ngcuka, Phumzile	Xingwana, Lulama Mary Theresa
Minister in the Presidency	Pahad, Essop	-
Provincial and Local Government	Mufamadi, Sydney	Hangana, Nomatyala Elizabeth
Public Enterprises	Erwin, Alexander	-
Public Service and Administration	Fraser-Moleketi, Geraldine	-
Public Works	Sigcau, Stella	Kganyago, Ntopile Marcel (UDM)

<b>Portfolio</b>	<b>Minister</b>	<b>Deputy Minister</b>
Safety and Security	Nqakula, Charles	Shabangu, Susan
Science and Technology*	Mangena, Mosibudi (AZAPO)	Hanekom, Derek André
Social Development*	Skweyiya, Zola Sidney Themba	Benjamin, Jean
Sport and Recreation	Stofile, Makhenkesi	Oosthuizen, Gerhardus Cornelius
Trade and Industry	Mpahlwa, Mandisi Bongani	Hendricks, Lindiwe Benedicta
Transport	Radebe, Jeffrey Thamsanqa	-
Water Affairs and Forestry	Sonjica, Buyelwa Patience	-

NB: unless otherwise noted, all ministers and deputy ministers are ANC members.

There are three new departments in 2004. The former ministry of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology was split into a Department of Arts and Culture and a separate Department of Science and Technology. A new Department of Social Development was created. An additional deputy minister was allocated to the Department of Foreign Affairs.

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## The Centre for Social Science Research

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The CSSR is an umbrella organisation comprising five units:

The Aids and Society Research Unit (ASRU) supports quantitative and qualitative research into the social and economic impact of the HIV pandemic in Southern Africa. Focus areas include: the economics of reducing mother to child transmission of HIV, the impact of HIV on firms and households; and psychological aspects of HIV infection and prevention. ASRU operates an outreach programme in Khayelitsha (the Memory Box Project) which provides training and counselling for HIV positive people

The Data First Resource Unit ('Data First') provides training and resources for research. Its main functions are: 1) to provide access to digital data resources and specialised published material; 2) to facilitate the collection, exchange and use of data sets on a collaborative basis; 3) to provide basic and advanced training in data analysis; 4) the ongoing development of a web site to disseminate data and research output.

The Democracy in Africa Research Unit (DARU) supports students and scholars who conduct systematic research in the following three areas: 1) public opinion and political culture in Africa and its role in democratisation and consolidation; 2) elections and voting in Africa; and 3) the impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic on democratisation in Southern Africa. DARU has developed close working relationships with projects such as the Afrobarometer (a cross national survey of public opinion in fifteen African countries), the Comparative National Elections Project, and the Health Economics and AIDS Research Unit at the University of Natal.

The Social Surveys Unit (SSU) promotes critical analysis of the methodology, ethics and results of South African social science research. One core activity is the Cape Area Panel Study of young adults in Cape Town. This study follows 4800 young people as they move from school into the labour market and adulthood. The SSU is also planning a survey for 2004 on aspects of social capital, crime, and attitudes toward inequality.

The Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU) was established in 1975 as part of the School of Economics and joined the CSSR in 2002. SALDRU conducted the first national household survey in 1993 (the Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development). More recently, SALDRU ran the Langeberg Integrated Family survey (1999) and the Khayelitsha/Mitchell's Plain Survey (2000). Current projects include research on public works programmes, poverty and inequality.

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