THE 2009 KwaZulu-Natal Election

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ACCORD

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

The 2009 KwaZulu-Natal Election: A drop in Levels of Intimidation and Violence ?

The African Alliance for Peace (AfAP) 2009 Observer Mission

Research and analysis provided by the
The Maurice Webb Race Relations Unit (MWRRU)

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU- NATAL

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The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) is a non-governmental organisation working throughout Africa to bring creative African solutions to the challenges posed by conflict on the continent. ACCORD's primary aim is to influence political developments by bringing conflict resolution, dialogue and institutional development to the forefront as an alternative to armed violence and protracted conflict.

Acknowledgements

The Report

Based on its mandate from the KwaZulu-Natal Legislature, ACCORD, in collaboration with its African Alliance for Peace (AfAP) partners, the Nairobi Peace Initiative-Africa (NPI-Africa) and the West Africa Network for Peace (WANEP), undertook to contribute towards creating a climate for peaceful, free and fair elections. The AfAP deployed a special Election Observation Mission, with former President of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo, to observe and monitor levels of violence and intolerance in the province of KwaZulu-Natal between 18 and 24 April 2009. The observer teams were staffed by delegates from the rest of Africa who were senior experts in the fields of conflict resolution and peacebuilding; and by South Africans, mainly students from the University of KwaZulu-Natal deployed through the Maurice Webb Race Relations Unit (MWRRU). This report examines electoral related intimidation and violence during the 2009 provincial election and is based on the findings of the AfAP observer teams.

The Authors

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Executive summary

During the 2009 South African national and provincial elections, the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), based on a mandate from the Legislature of the Province of KwaZulu-Natal, undertook to design and deploy an Election Observer Mission in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. The Observer Mission known as the African Alliance for Peace (AfAP), included ACCORD partners the Nairobi Peace Initiative-Africa (NPI-Africa) and the West Africa Network for Peace (WANEP). The AfAP Observer Mission sought to contribute towards creating a climate for peaceful, free and fair elections by observing and monitoring levels of violence and intolerance in KwaZulu-Natal between 18 and 24 April 2009. The AfAP was headed by former President of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo. The observer teams were staffed by delegates from the rest of Africa who were senior experts in the fields of conflict resolution and peacebuilding; and by South Africans, mainly students from the University of KwaZulu-Natal deployed through the Maurice Webb Race Relations Unit (MWRRU). The mission was divided into 24 teams, and was deployed to 11 hotspot areas during the pre-polling, polling and post-polling phases of the 2009 elections in KwaZulu-Natal. Each team observed polling at approximately 20 stations, thus totalling the number of stations observed to nearly 400.

This report is based on the analysis of 523 observation records submitted by the AfAP observer teams covering the pre-polling, polling and post polling periods of the elections in KwaZulu-Natal in violent 'hot spots' throughout the province. The observation records were designed to illicit information regarding the presence of election related violence or intimidation. The analysis in this report was carried out by the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Maurice Webb Race Relations Unit, under the leadership of Professor Paulus Zulu.

The findings point to key conclusions that the 2009 elections in KwaZulu-Natal were generally free of violence and intimidation. Although there were instances that called for attention, the results of this study indicate that South Africans in the province were able to cast their votes freely. The main findings of the observation reports indicated that:

- Campaigning in the traditional 'hot spots' in KwaZulu-Natal during the pre-polling phase was generally free of violence and intimidation;
- The large majority of voting stations observed during polling were accessible to the electorate;
- A third of voting stations observed had campaign activities within or directly in their proximity while a tenth had individuals inside or near polling stations influencing voters;
- The majority of voting stations observed on election day reflected the fact that women were not specific targets for election related violence and intimidation;
- Ninety-nine percent of voting stations observed on election day were free from specific incidents of violence and intimidation;

- Only 12 percent of observations registered the presence of items categorised as weapons during polling;

- In more than nine in ten (95 percent) of the observations made, there were neither contentious issues nor dissenting opinions regarding the counting and recording of votes; and

- In the post-polling phase only 4 percent of observed polling stations lodged complaints with the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC).

The value of election observer missions in general was also revealed by the AfAP. In a de-briefing session, observers reported that the visibility of the AfAP in polling stations lead to an overall feeling of voter security and was generally welcomed by IEC officials. Indeed the fact that all parties concerned agreed to the AfAP's deployment at a seminar on political intolerance hosted by the KwaZulu-Natal Legislature in February 2009 indicates a commitment to cooperation for the furtherance of free, fair and non-violent elections in South Africa. Finally, the presence of both local and African observers enhanced the AfAP's neutrality and legitimacy. The MWRRU analysis corroborates the final pronouncement of the AfAP Observer Mission. The elections went without serious incidents prompting former President of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo, as leader of the AfAP Observer Mission to declare at the end of the observation period, that in spite of the few isolated and sporadic incidents of political intolerance, "this will not substantially adversely affect the outcome of the results of the elections".

This report seeks to document the outcome of the AfAP Observer Mission, and highlight specific considerations which need to be observed by violence monitors during elections. The key findings, derived from the AfAP election observation documents, focus on behaviour and presence which might lead to creating a culture of intolerance and intimidation during elections. Thus, while election observation traditionally focuses on the procedures of polling, the AfAP team monitored the presence and behaviour of political actors and the ability for voters to move freely to exercise their right to vote. Distinguishing from procedural elements, AfAP observers moving among voters, security officials, the media, political actors and other independent election observers, concentrated on the climate of the polling, and the manner in which political intolerance was mediated or diminished. The result of this observation procedure is evidenced in the collection of hundreds of records.

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), based on a mandate from the Legislature of the Province of KwaZulu-Natal, undertook to formulate and deploy an Election Observer Mission in KwaZulu-Natal during the 2009 South African national and provincial elections. The Observer Mission known as the African Alliance for Peace (AfAP) included ACCORD partners the Nairobi Peace Initiative-Africa (NPI-AFRICA) and the West Africa Network for Peace (WANEP). The AfAP undertook to contribute towards creating a climate for peaceful, free and fair elections by observing and monitoring levels of violence and intolerance in KwaZulu-Natal between 18 and 24 April 2009. The AfAP was headed by former President of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo. The observer teams were staffed by delegates from the rest of Africa who were senior experts in the fields of conflict resolution and peacebuilding; and by South Africans, mainly students from the University of KwaZulu-Natal deployed through the Maurice Webb Race Relations Unit (MWRRU). This report is based on the analysis of 523 observation records submitted by the AfAP observer teams covering the pre-polling, polling and post polling periods of the elections in KwaZulu-Natal in violent 'hot spots' throughout the province. The observation records were designed to illicit information regarding the presence of election related violence or intimidation.

Understanding levels of violence and intimidation in KwaZulu-Natal, and their relationship to elections, will deepen knowledge about the relationship between conflict and democracy in post-apartheid South Africa. Since 1984 political violence in KwaZulu-Natal has claimed the lives of as many as 20,000 people. More than half of these deaths occurred after 1990, after the unbanning of liberation movements. The three month period that preceded the first democratic election in 1994 saw the death of 1,000 people and between 1994 and 2000 a further 2,000 people were killed (Mottiar, 2004). Indeed, the 1994 provincial elections in KwaZulu-Natal were described as, "the most serious instance of political obstruction of free electioneering" (Lodge, 1999). Election campaigning in 1999, although recording less violence, was still plagued by the advent of party strongholds and no-go areas affecting free and fair campaigning. The 2004 provincial election did not present significant challenges to free electioneering but still recorded various hot spots of election related violence and intimidation.

Concerns about violence and intimidation featured prominently in the media before the elections on 22 April 2009. These concerns, together with a broad sense that the general elections of 2009 would be a milestone in South Africa's current political history, drew greater attention to the question of violence and intimidation in KwaZulu-Natal. Indeed, the AfAP mission arose out of a special sitting of the KwaZulu-Natal Legislature on 24 February 2009, to examine the issue of political intolerance in the province. The special session was supported by all parties and resulted in, among other things, the special mandate to ACCORD to contribute towards creating a climate for peaceful, free and fair elections. Importantly, the AfAP mandate was to observe (note what is happening) and to monitor (solicit information relating to its observations) the levels of violence and

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Election Day, Voters in Nkandla, KZN

intolerance. Indeed, this particular mandate must be underscored: the AfAP mission was not organised to scrutinise the election process and its procedural aspects as other civil society and international observer missions. It was required to discern levels of violence and intimidation, particularly in districts of the province historically plagued by conflict and identified as 'hot spots' for potential violence.

During the 25 April 2009 debriefing immediately after the elections, the AfAP observer team members identified some key issues that emerged during their observation. They also shared lessons learned and discussed the possible impact of the mission. This debriefing session highlighted various areas including:

- The role of security forces in preventing violence and intimidation;
- The role of the media in the public discourse on the elections;
- Various types of intimidation and intolerance and their relationship to the organisation of free and fair elections; and
- The relevance of these types of missions in future elections in Africa.

This is the background of this report which assesses the impact of violence and intimidation in KwaZulu-Natal during the 2009 elections.

Security

Previous incidents of violence in areas such as Ulundi, Umsinga, Escourt, Greytown and KwaDukuza in advance of elections suggested that the freedom to participate in voting could be placed in grave peril. In the run up to the 1994 elections, Schlemmer and Hirschfield predicted that the elections characterised by intense rivalry would "take place in an atmosphere of intolerance, and in a culture of violence that has developed over the past decade … without there being unambiguous, clear and sanctionable rules of behaviour, and without there being referees who are equally acceptable to everyone" (1994:142). Mary de Haas, KwaZulu-Natal violence monitor, suggested back in 2004 that the main hindrance to free political activity and advancing the country's democracy is the neglect of security issues.

Incidents of violence ahead of the 2009 elections sparked fear of the resurgence of political violence in the province. This resulted in the establishment of an election security task team to investigate the extent of tensions in the province, a step followed by the identification of potential flashpoints based on the course of incidents of growing tensions. Eventually, members of the South African Police Service (SAPS) and South African National Defence Force (SANDF) were deployed to flashpoints. Security forces managing the elections included emergency services, local traffic police and the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC). A call to deploy members of the security force from outside the affected areas to guard polling stations was heeded.

The maintenance of order and stability in the pre-election phase was important for the integrity of the elections. This ensured that contesting parties could campaign freely and that voters could attend rallies and other campaigning activities without fear of intimidation or harassment. In the 2009 elections the security forces were responsible for ensuring that all political parties could campaign in all areas, a critical factor in KwaZulu-Natal as the political landscape had been characterised by territoriality manifested in 'no-go' areas during times of heightened political intolerance and violence in the past decades. Areas identified as hotspots in the assessment of the province's readiness for the elections were: Nongoma, Ulundi, Greytown, Estcourt, Umsinga and KwaDukuza. Security provisions were made for political events, demonstrations and VIP visits.

In February 2009, 80 members of the National Intervention Police Unit, and 40 SANDF members were deployed in Nongoma and Ulundi after the eruption of violence between the ANC and IFP in rallies held in the same area (Mthembu, 2009). On quiet days with no rallies, back-up officers were tasked with crime prevention by holding roadblocks. In total, 60 people were arrested on election-related offences and 25 illegal firearms were seized in the run up to the elections (Mthembu, 2009).

Ballot
Box

The role of the media

The historical conflict between the ANC and the IFP was a feature in media analysis during the election campaigns. Indeed, all previous elections had been tainted by incidents of violence and intolerance between the two main rival parties. It is important to note that beyond this story line, five issues dominated media coverage especially the print media in the months leading up the 2009 elections: 1) the economy; 2) crime; 3) service delivery; 4) political intolerance; and 5) public morality and clean governance. In three of these: crime, service delivery, public morality and clean governance, the ANC as the party in power was sharply criticised. The government itself and the ANC had come to acknowledge that crime and corruption had reached a point of grave concern. The economy was a more sensitive area since globalisation and other international factors which impacted on the economy fell outside the direct control of government. However, the print media also covered aspects of the government's economic policy, particularly the issues of unemployment and the shortage of skills as well as black economic empowerment (BEE). Issues of public morality, governance and corruption were also prominently debated in the media. Finally, the print media criticised the record of the ANC government in the fight against HIV/AIDS.

Besides commentary and analysis, the national media in particular also focussed on voter's education and information, which were critical during the pre-election period. In particular the Mail and Guardian, a national weekly newspaper, offered vital information through its election guide where voters were informed about party political manifestos in order to maximise community participation. Also, the Natal Witness (03/02/09), a daily provincial newspaper, published a call guide for the registration process in both English and IsiZulu. This enabled voters who had access to the media to make informed choices.

The electronic media, especially the South African Broadcasting Commission (SABC), the national public broadcaster, offered programmes aimed at giving all political parties a platform to reach their constituencies. The programme "2009 Election Debates" started on 11 January and was aired up to 19 April 2009. This was a live broadcast for 15 weeks where party representatives were invited to articulate their manifestos to the electorate. Week nine of the election debates was hosted at the University of KwaZulu-Natal and the theme of the day was 'Political Tolerance', a topic befitting a province with a history of political intimidation and violence during election times. All major political parties represented in the KwaZulu-Natal Legislature were present. In addition, Channel One of the SABC through the "Asikhulume" programme, managed to ensure that all political parties were given a fair chance of exposure in the media to promote themselves, including opportunities for its audience to question party leaders. Also, E-TV, the second free-to-air channel, focused numerous programmes on the election.

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Election Day - Mangosuthu Buthelezi casting his vote in Ulundi KZN

The role of the IEC

South African elections are managed and controlled by the Independent Electoral Commission, (IEC), a statutory body created for the first time in advance of the first national democratic elections in 1994. The principal purpose was to ensure that the elections were free and fair. The presence and operations of the IEC has been tremendously functional in determining acceptance of the election results by contesting parties. The functions of the IEC have been to prepare for the elections starting with the registration of voters, setting-up the election logistics and managing the elections.

Besides the IEC as the principal, independent watchdog of the elections, Chapter 5 of the South African Electoral Act allows all registered parties to appoint two party agents per voting station. The IEC also invites party agents to assist in the monitoring of the actual polling thus ensuring that there is a collaborative responsibility by all participants to oversee the actual voting and to participate in the counting process, and in the determination and declaration of the results.

THE AFRICAN ALLIANCE FOR PEACE (AfAP) OBSERVER MISSION

The AfAP Observer Mission undertook to assess the levels of political intolerance and electoral violence in the province over the period 18 - 24 April 2009 and to pronounce its findings within 24 hours of the poll. Based on the collective experience of the mission members in other African elections, the AfAP was expected to focus particularly on districts of the province historically plagued by conflict and identified as 'hot spots' for potential violence.

In addition to senior experts in the field of conflict resolution and peacebuilding from several African countries in Eastern, Southern and West Africa, the observer teams were staffed by South Africans, mainly students from the University of KwaZulu-Natal. The AfAP Observer Mission, headed by former President of Nigeria Olusegun Obasanjo, was divided into 24 teams, deployed to 11 hotspot areas during the pre-polling, polling and post-polling phases of election 2009 in KwaZulu-Natal. Each team observed polling at approximately 20 stations, thus totalling the number of stations observed to nearly 400.

AfAP Observer Mission leader former President of Nigeria Olusegun Obasanjo meets with then KZN Premier, Sbu Ndebele; with him is ACCORD's Executive Director Vasu Gounden.
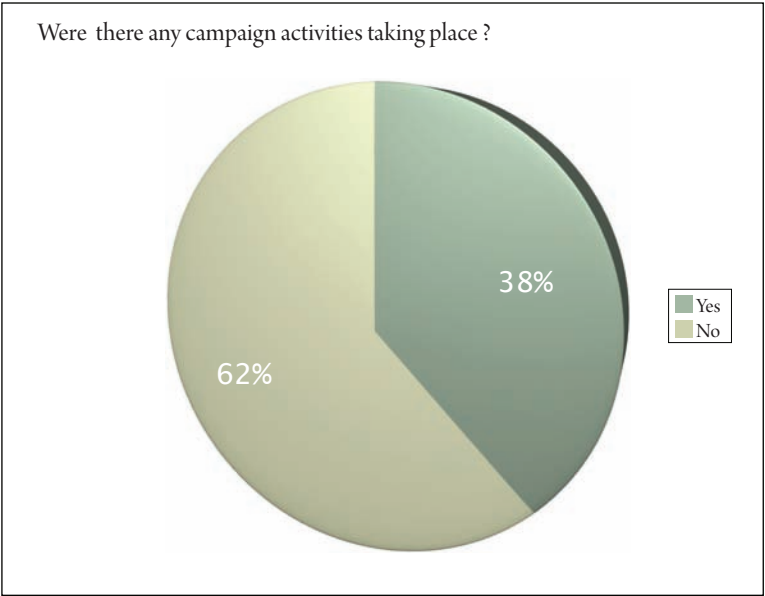
The teams were deployed as follows:

- Port Shepstone;
- Greytown;
- Bergville;
- Escourt;
- Durban;
- Stanger;
- Empangeni;
- Ulundi;
- Vryheid;
- Pongola; and
- Nongoma.

In order to assess the observation systematically, ACCORD commissioned the Maurice Webb Race Relations Unit, University of KwaZulu-Natal, which collaborated with ACCORD in deploying the AfAP mission, to analyse 523 observation records from the mission. The observation records covered pre-polling, polling and post-polling periods in the violent 'hotspots' in KwaZulu-Natal between 18 and 24 April 2009. Of the 523 forms, 143 were recorded at the pre-polling stage between 18 and 21 April 2009. The observation forms submitted by the mission on the main voting day, 22 April 2009 totalled 348. Finally, observers submitted 32 records in the immediate post-polling period after voting had concluded until the end of 24 April 2009. The main findings are documented below.
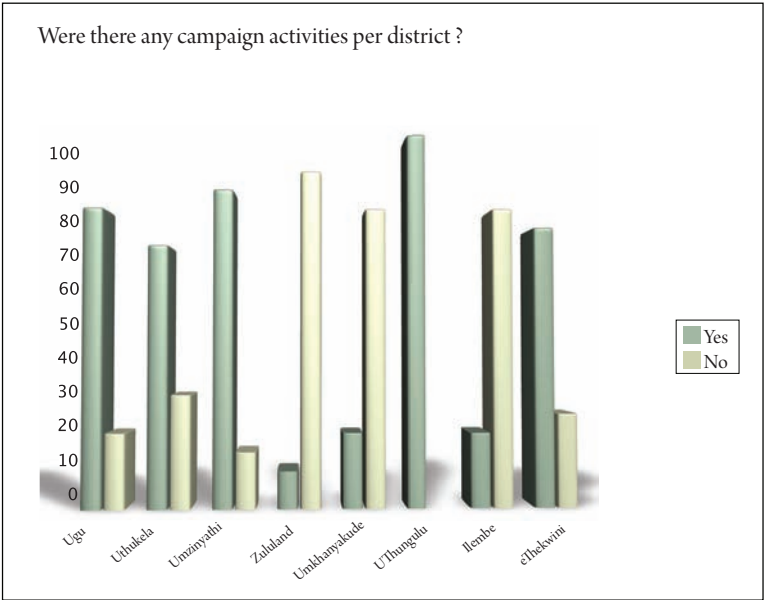
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Pre-polling Observations
Political campaigning

Graph 1: Campaign activities

Were there any campaign activities taking place ?

38%

62%

Yes
No

Graph 2: Campaign activity per district

Were there any campaign activities per district ?

100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0

Ugu   Uthukela   Umzinyathi   Zululand   Umkhanyakude   UThungulu   Ilembe   eThekwini

Yes
No

Graphs 1 and 2 illustrate the occurrence of campaign activities that took place during the election campaign period. Out of 143 visits made to villages and settlements there were 56 recordings of campaign activities which were mainly by the ANC (34 percent) and the IFP (18 percent). Almost two-fifths (38 percent) of the areas visited had campaign activities taking place. It is apparent that most campaign activities occurred within Uthungulu, Umzinyathi, Ugu, Ethekwini and Uthukela districts and were mostly by the ANC and the IFP as seen in Graph 2. In some instances (13 percent), the two parties campaigned in the same area.
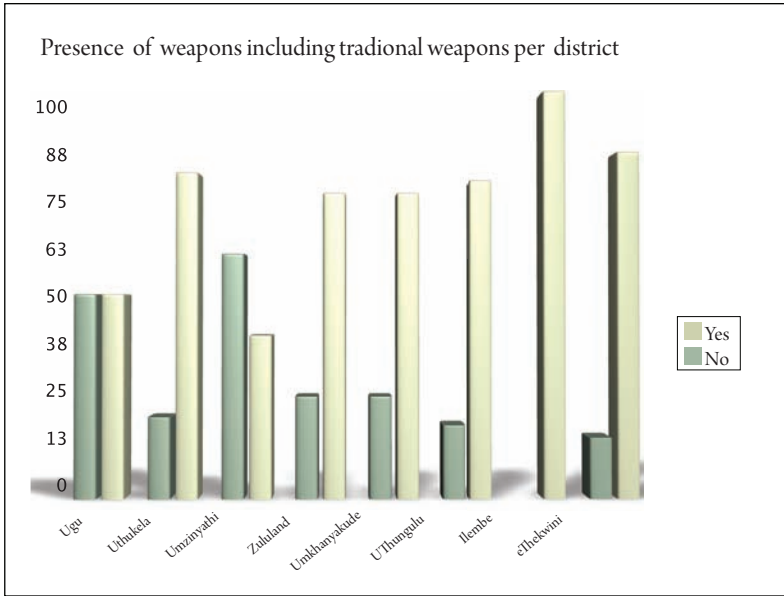
Presence of weapons

Observers were tasked with the responsibility to scrutinise the presence and nature of weapons possessed by people engaged in campaign activities which could present threats or danger to other participants. Graphs 3 and 4 illustrate these observations.

Graph 3: Presence of weapons including traditional weapons
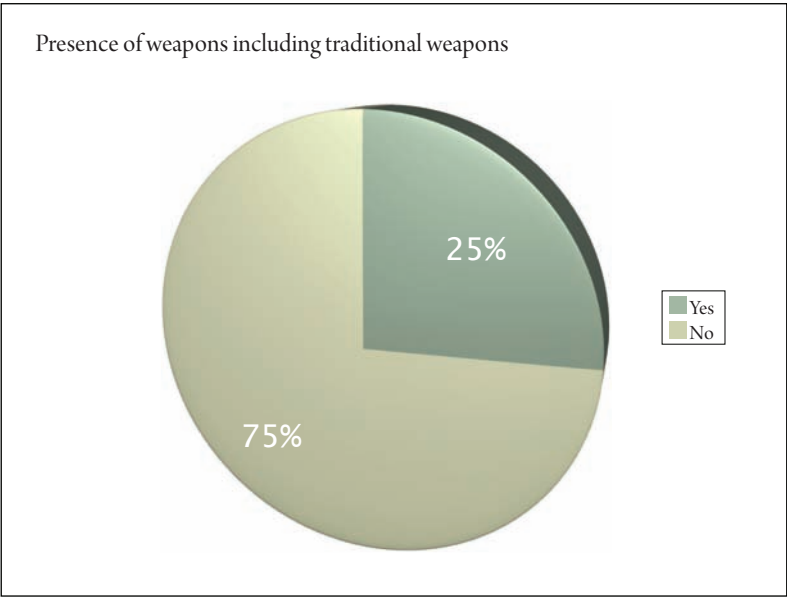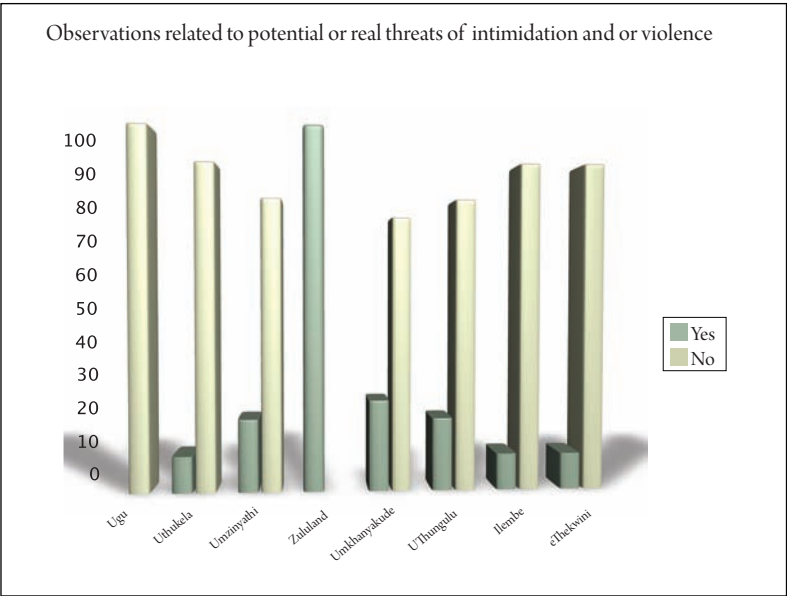
Graph 4: Presence of weapons per district

The presence of weapons was recorded in a quarter (25 percent) of observations. Observed weapons were catapults, assegais, knobkerries and sticks. This phenomenon was more prevalent in the Ugu amd Umzinyathi districts (50 and 60 percent respectively) as depicted in Graph 4. Rural men may carry sticks, knobkerries and other "non combat" material when travelling, especially on foot from one place to another. Such artefacts are regarded as protective tools against snakes and other wild animals and, therefore, not necessarily indicative of any aggressive intentions. Nevertheless, international norms for elections hold that the presence of these items during polling can be used to intimidate voters, and is inappropriate in the context of free elections. It was only in the context of political violence in the 1980s to the 1990s that the carrying of weapons including dangerous weapons was defended in the name of tradition. This abuse led to the inclusion of ordinary artefacts such as sticks and knobkerries referred to as traditional weapons under the rubric of "weapons" in electoral governance norms.

Pre-polling violence

Graph 5: Incidents of violence

Incidents of violence

4%

96%

Yes
No
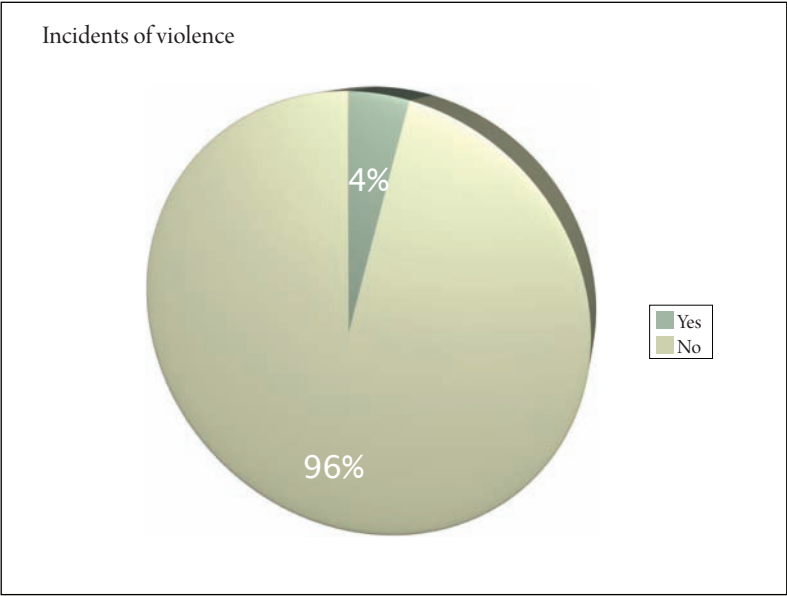
Graph 6: Observations of potential or real intolerance per district

Observations related to potential or real threats of intimidation and or violence

100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0

Ugu   Uthukela   Umzinyathi   Zululand   Umkhanyakude   UThungulu   Ilembe   eThekwini

Yes
No

The campaigns were generally free of violence and intimidation. Reports of intimidation were recorded in only 4 percent of the areas visited. All observations in the Zululand District indicated potential or real threats of intimidation and/or violence. It is an area already noted as a "trouble spot". Historically, there had been much violence and intimidation in areas such as Nongoma and Ulundi such that the National Ministry of Security had despatched the security forces to normalise the pre-election climate in these areas.

Election day monitoring and observation

The graphs below indicate observations made on polling day. Observers were required to fill structured questionnaires with any observations they made in the course of their visits to the polling stations.

Access to polling stations

Graph 7: Free physical access to polling stations
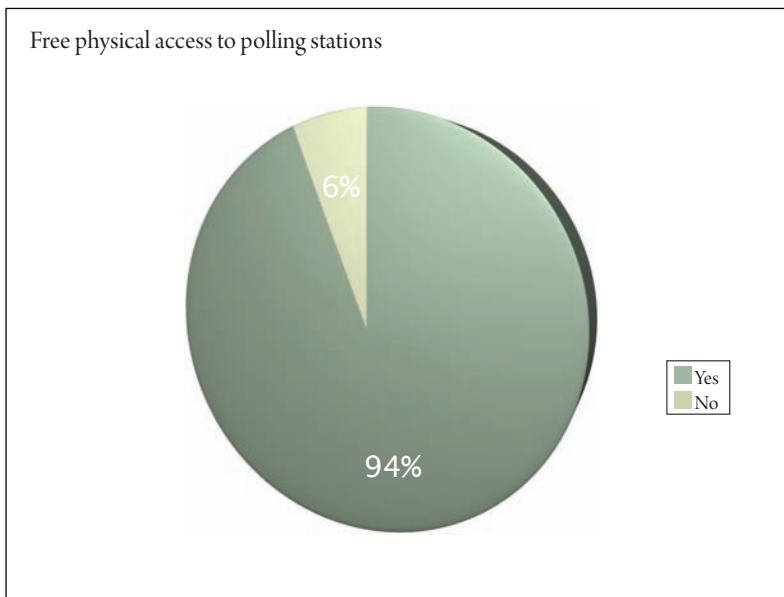
Approximately 94 percent of voting stations observed were freely accessible by the electorate while a small proportion (6 percent) of polling stations were reported to have had voters experiencing difficulties in entering the stations. In this minority of situations, it became clear that there was a misunderstanding in some polling stations regarding the checking of the voters' rolls by political parties. This resulted in political parties engaging voters before they proceeded to the polling stations. This had the potential for intimidation as the refusal by voters to be checked at the booth of a party that they did not support could expose their preferences.

Graph 8: Intimidation of women voters

Intimidation of women voters

2%

98%

Yes
No
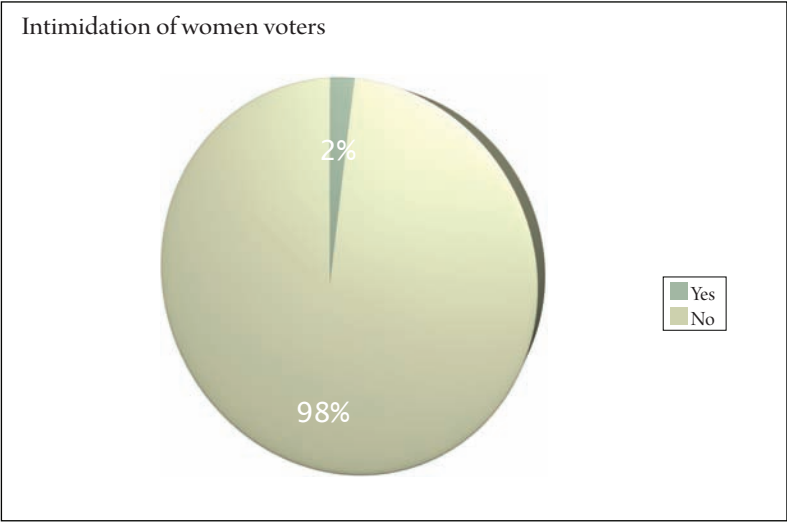
In the past elections women have been victims of violence and intimidation. Equal participation by women has been argued to be the benchmark for democratisation as Stanton put it that "Social science affirms that a woman's place in society marks the level of civilisation" (Schlemmer and Hirschfeld, 1994: 171). The above graph illustrates that in almost all the polling stations (98 percent) observed women voters were not targets of violence and intimidation.

Incidents and threats of violence and intimidation

Graph 9: Specific incidents of violence and intimidation

Specific incidents of violence and intimidation

1%

99%

Yes
No
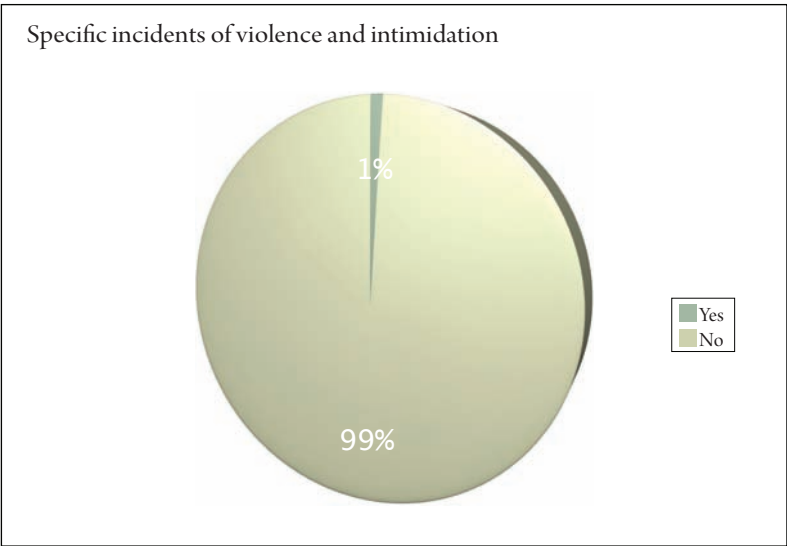
The province was generally peaceful. This was evident in that 99 percent of the observed polling stations were free of violence and intimidation. There was one serious incident of intimidation recorded by AfAP observers in Wembezi, outside Escourt. The incident was defused when security forces were called in and the polling proceeded normally.

Graph 10: Observations related to potential or real threats of intolerance on election day
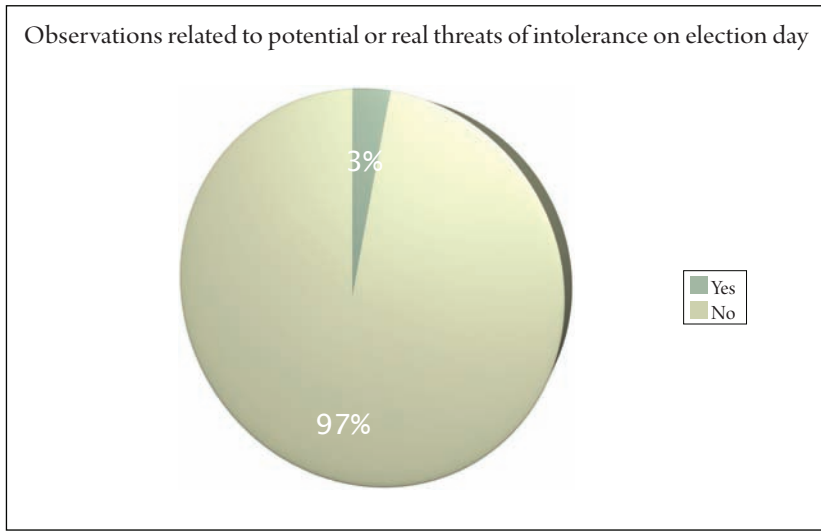

Graph 10 is a summation of all possible signs of potential and actual violence and intimidation. As depicted on the graph, there were almost no such signs noticeable as an overwhelming majority of polling stations visited (97 percent) were reported to be free from potential or real threats of intimidation and violence.

Graph 11: Presence of weapons on election day
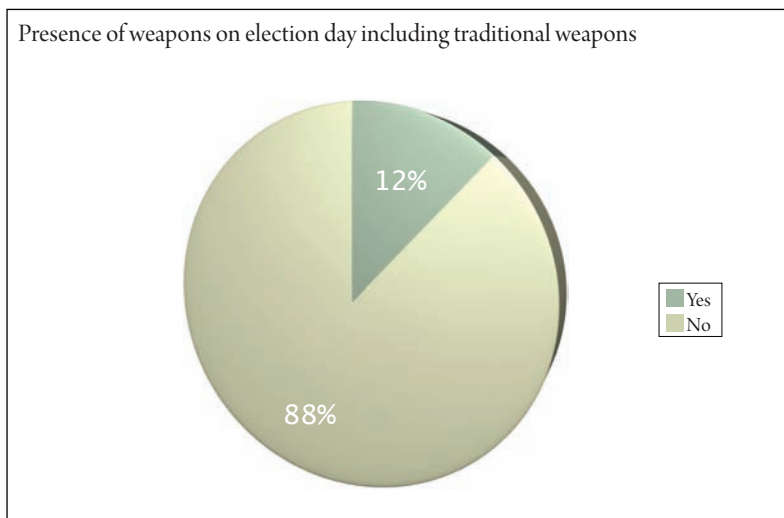
Graph 12: Presence of weapons per district on election day
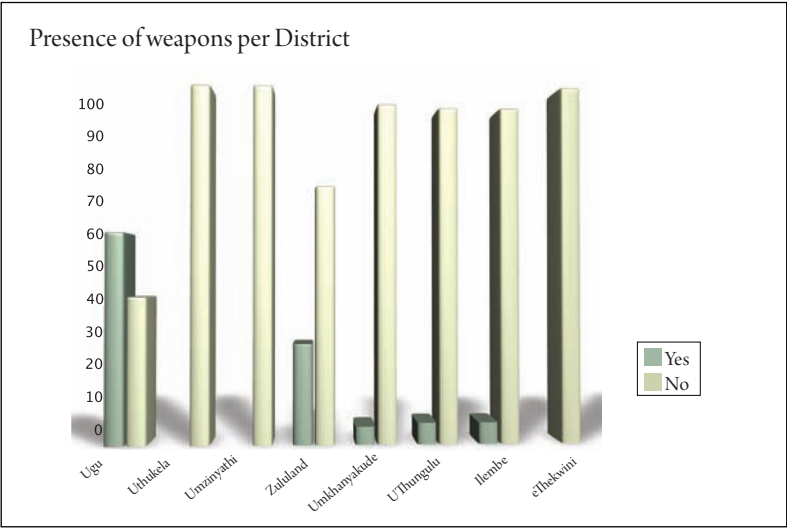
Again, graphs 11 and 12 represent the totality of polling stations visited by the AfAP on election day. About a tenth (12 percent) of observations recorded the presence of weapons in the polling stations. These were primarily traditional weapons ranging from catapults, sticks, knobkerries and assegais which were mostly present in the Ugu and Zululand Districts (59 and 28 percent respectively).

Election day campaigning

Graph 13: Campaigning activity in the vicinity of polling stations on election day
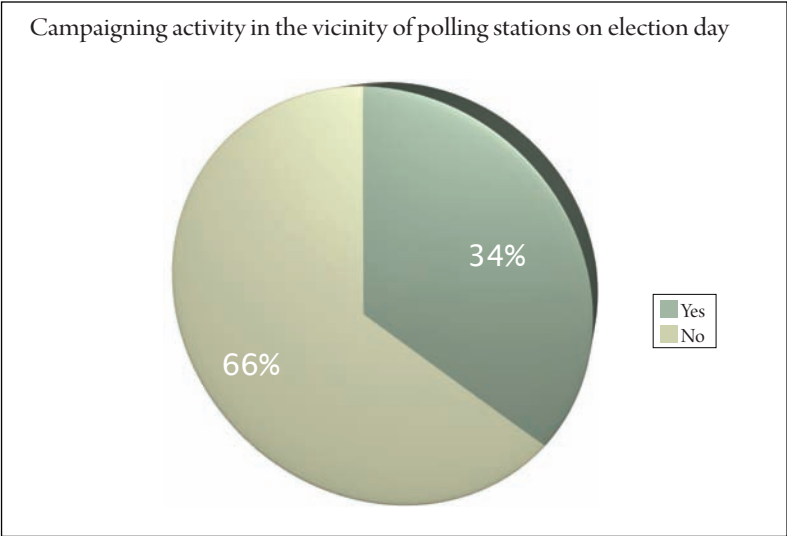
Graph 14: Campaign activities in the vicinity of polling stations per district
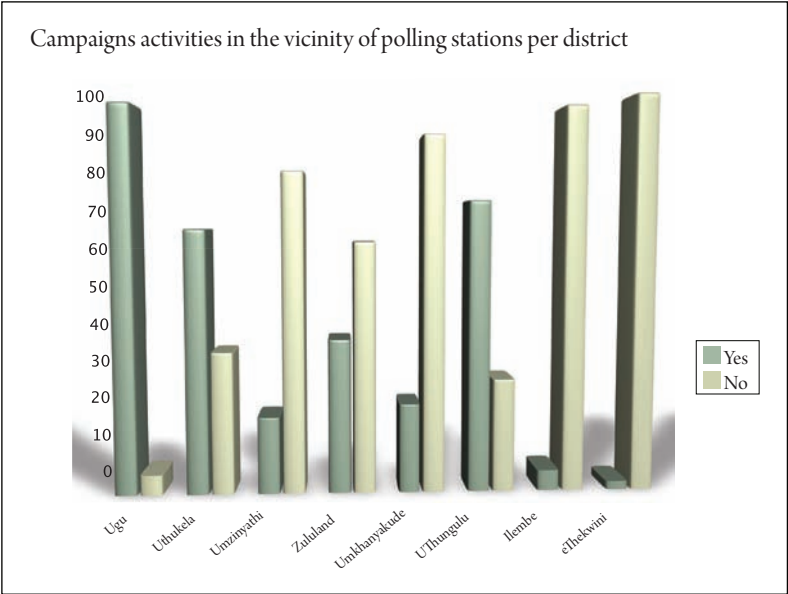
Graphs 13 and 14 illustrate campaign activities in the vicinity of polling stations observed while voting was in progress. Almost a third (34 percent) of polling stations had campaign activities within or in their proximity. This was mostly in the Ugu, uThungulu, Uthukela and Zululand Districts where observers noted extensive campaigning. Incidents varied from 94 percent of observations in polling stations in Ugu District to 73 percent in Uthungulu, 34 percent in Zululand and 64 percent in Uthukela.

Any Influence on Voters?

Graphs 15 and 16 are responses to a question on whether or not individuals or groups of people attempted to influence voters in or near the polling stations visited.

Graph 15: Presence of individuals influencing voters inside or near polling stations

Presence of individuals influencing voters inside or near polling stations
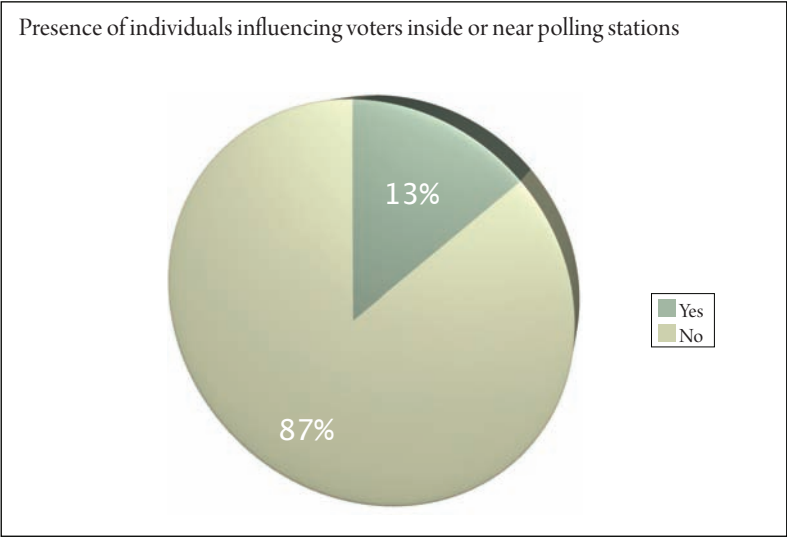
Graph 16: Presence of individuals influencing voters inside or near polling stations per district
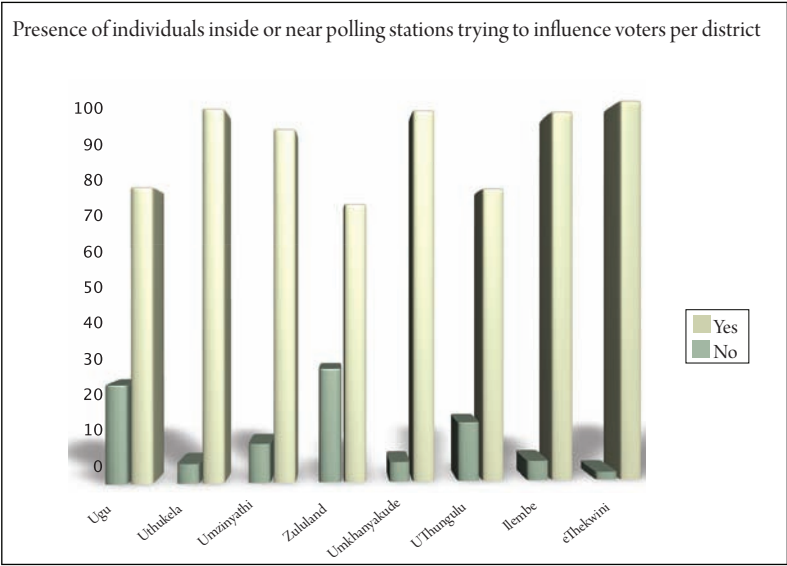
Almost a tenth (13 percent) of polling stations reported to have had individuals inside or near polling stations influencing voters. The Ugu and the Zululand districts had the most of these incidents at 24 and 28 percent respectively as seen on Graph 16 above. Some stations in these districts had political party banners at the gates, and groups of people wearing party outfits danced and sang songs associated with their political parties. This could be perceived as intimidating those who were not supporters of that party and could lead to harassment of those wearing regalia for other parties.

Election day complaints

Graph 17: Complaints lodged to IEC regarding irregularities
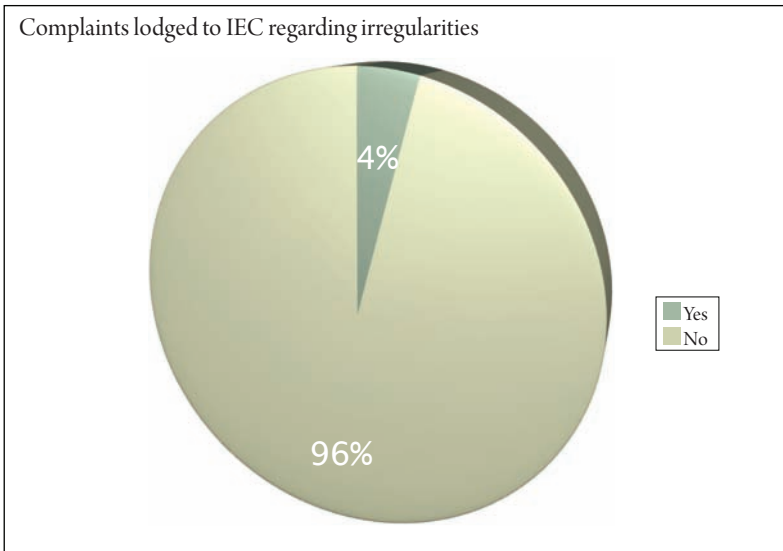
With the exception of only 4 percent of the stations visited, there were no other complaints lodged with the IEC regarding irregularities, intimidation and violence These complaints were received from 50 percent of the stations visited in the Ugu District.

Graph 18: Technical or administrative irregularities and complaints lodged with the IEC

Graph 19: Technical or administrative irregularities and complaints lodged with the IEC per district
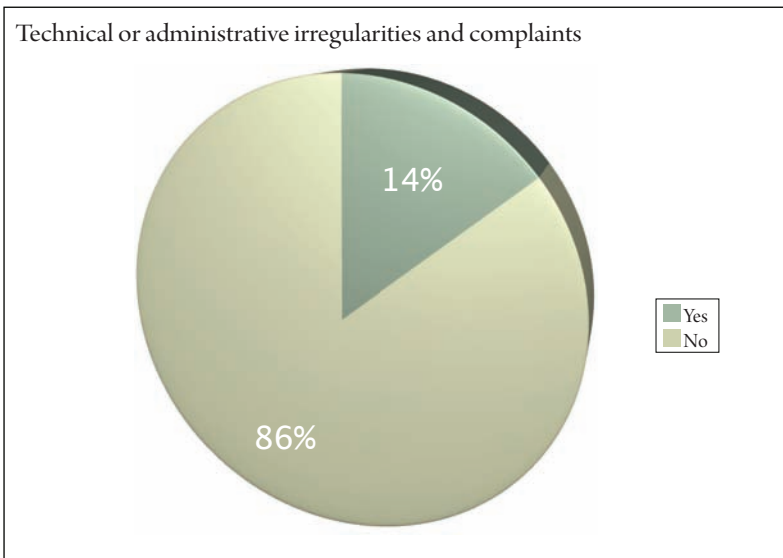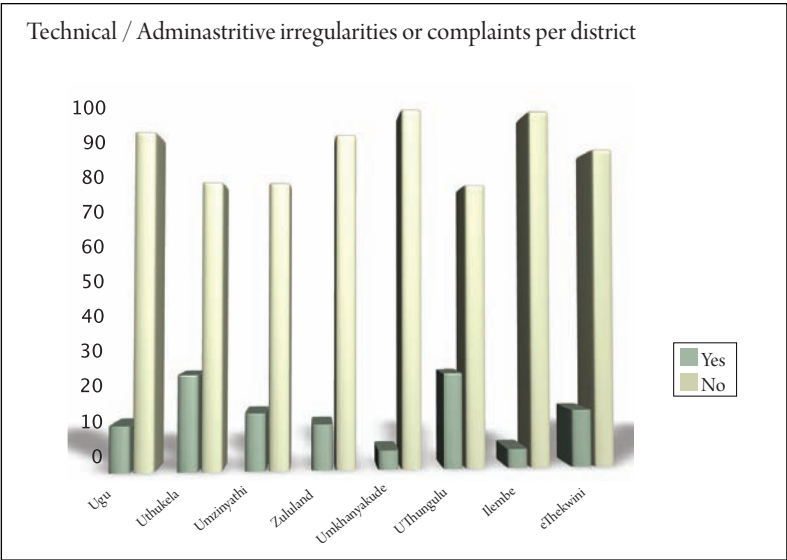
Technical / Adminastritive irregularities or complaints per district

Graphs 18 and 19 indicate that nearly a tenth (14 percent) of polling stations visited had complaints regarding technical and administrative irregularities during the voting process. Such complaints included late opening of polling stations due to logistical delays. For instance Royal Natal Park polling station in Bergville opened three hours late. This resulted in long queues as voters waited for material such as ink stamps to be delivered. Other logistical limitations included a shortage of ballot papers. This problem can partly be explained by the decision of the IEC to allow voters to vote in any polling station irrespective of where they were registered. The decision was a result of the latest developments in technology which made it possible to access voter information at any polling station in the country. This put a strain on some polling stations that ended up running out of resources. In Greytown, AfAP observers noted that one ballot box was used for both provincial and national ballots. IEC officials had to separate the ballots manually during the counting session.

Graph 20: Contentious issues or dissenting opinions regarding the counting and recording of votes

Contentious issues or dissenting opinions regarding the counting and recording of votes

5%

95%

Don't
know

No
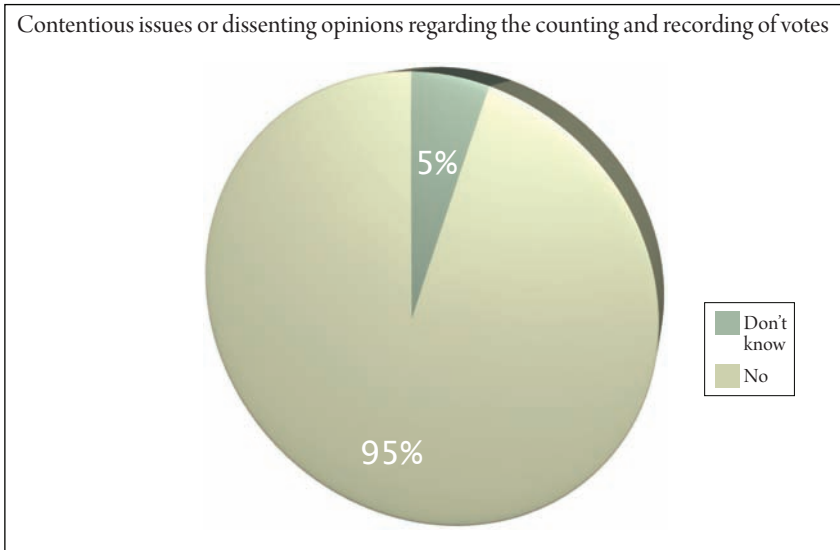
Graph 20 indicates that in more than nine in ten (95 percent) of the observations made, there were neither contentious issues nor dissenting opinions regarding the counting and recording of votes.

CONCLUSION

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Election Day, Voting Stations in Nongoma KZN

According to this report, the AfAP Observer Mission's observations main findings indicated that:

- Campaigning in the traditional 'hot spots' in KwaZulu-Natal during the pre-polling phase was generally free of violence and intimidation;
- The large majority of voting stations observed during polling were accessible to the electorate;
- A third of voting stations observed had campaign activities within or directly in their proximity while a tenth had individuals inside or near polling stations influencing voters;
- The majority of voting stations observed on election day reflected the fact that women were not specific targets for election related violence and intimidation;
- Ninety-nine percent of voting stations observed on election day were free from specific incidents of violence and intimidation;
- Only 12 percent of observations registered the presence of weapons during polling;
- In more than nine in ten (95 percent) of the observations made, there were neither contentious issues nor dissenting opinions regarding the counting and recording of votes; and
- In the post-polling phase only 4 percent of observed polling stations lodged complaints with the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC).

KwaZulu-Natal election results in 2009 demonstrated a relative maturity in the institutions of democracy in a province once riddled with political intolerance expressed in violence and intimidation.

In total 17 political parties contested the elections. Despite the few instances which tested this maturity, for instance in the build up to the elections, there were few incidents of violence including killings, but the presence of security forces did much to minimise the potential damage this could have caused on the elections. Political parties campaigned freely and voters were able to access various messages and thus able to make informed choices. Voting occurred without serious incidents, prompting the former President of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo, as leader of the AfAP Observer Mission, to declare that in spite of the few isolated and sporadic incidents during the elections, "this will not substantially adversely affect the outcome of the results of the elections". This was echoed by the South African Institute of Race Relations which maintained that political violence in the province had been exaggerated and had only occurred in isolated and minor incidents.

Finally, relative to the situation in the province just over 14 years ago when violence and intimidation were rife and presented a genuine barrier to election campaigning and freedom of the electoral process, the KwaZulu-Natal's political culture markedly improved in levels of tolerance.

Table 1: KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Elections 2009

Results Report

Results as at 07/05/2009 12:49:12 PM

SOUTH AFRICA

Electoral Event	22 April 2009 National Election
Province	KwaZulu Natal
Municipality	All Municipalities
Registered Population	4,475,217

Party Name	Abbr.	No of Votes	% Vites
A Party	NO_ABBR	621	0.02 %
AFRICAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY	ACDP	20,851	0,59
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS	ANC	2,256,248	63,97%
AFRICAN PEOPLE'S CONVENTION	APC	4,199	0,12%
AL JAMA-AH	NO_ABBR	6,261	0,18%
ALLIANCE OF FREE DEMOCRATS	AFD	1,454	0,04%
AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION	AZAPO	6,322	0,18%
CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE	CDA	1,026	0,03%
CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE	COPE	54,611	1,55%
DEMOCRATICALLIANCE/ DEMOKRATESE ALLIANSIE	DA	364,518	10.33%
GREAT KONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA	GKSA	1,389	0.04%
INDIPENDENT DEMOCRATS	ID	7,086	0.20%
INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY	IFP	723,940	20.52%
KEEP IT STRAIGHT AND SIMPLE	KISS	2,410	0.07%
MINORITY FRONT	MF	38,944	1.10%
MOVEMENT DEMOCRATIC PARTY	MDP	7,917	0.22%
NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION	NADECO	4,384	0.12%
NEW VISION PARTY	NVP	1,199	0.03%
PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA	PAC	1,852	0.05%
PAN AFRICANIST MOVEMENT	PAM	521	0.01%
SOUTH AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS	SADECO	2,695	0.08%
UNITED CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY	UCDP	1,326	0.04%
UNITED CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT	UDM	7,529	0.21%
UNITED INDIPENDENT FRONT	UIF	2,128	0.06%
VRYHEIDSFRONT PLUS	VF Plus	6,600	0.19%
WOMEN FORWARD	WF	1,202	0.03%
Total Valid Votes		3,527,234	100.00%
Spoilt Votes		47,002	

Source: Independent Electoral Commission [Available at: http://www.elections.org.za NPStaticReportsreportsReportParameters.aspx?catid=7, accessed 21 April 2010]

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ANNEX 1: LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACCORD	African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes
AfAP	African Alliance for Peace
ANC	African National Congress
COPE	Congress of the People
DA	Democratic Alliance
FET	Further Education and Training Colleges
ID	Independent Democrats
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
MF	Minority Front
NADECO	National Democratic Convention
NHI	National Health Insurance
NIA	National Intelligence Agency
NPI-Africa	Nairobi Peace Initiative-Africa
SABC	South African Broadcasting Commission
SANDF	South African National Defence Force
SAPS	South African Police Service
SDU	Self Defence Unit
SETA	Sector Education and Training Authorities
SPU	Self Protection Unit
UDM	United Democratic Movement
WANEP	West Africa Network for Peace

The 2009 KwaZulu-Natal Election: A Drop in Levels of Intimidation and Violence?

A research report examining electoral related intimidation and violence in the province of KwaZulu-Natal during the 2009 elections. The report is based on findings of the African Alliance for Peace (AfAP) Observer Mission deployed by the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) upon a mandate from the KwaZulu-Natal Legislature. The report has been compiled in partnership with the Maurice Webb Foundation, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

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UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL