ELECTION UPDATE 2006

contents

MPUMALANGA

Priscilla Shongwe
South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC)

Mpumalanga Province is situated in the east of South Africa, north of KwaZulu-Natal and borders on Swaziland and Mozambique. The capital city is Nelspruit situated in the Lowveld area.

The province is divided into three district councils. These are Ehlanzeni, Nkangala and Gert Sibande. After the 2006 local government elections, the regions will be increased to four districts with the incorporation of Bushbuckridge into Mpumalanga Province.

The Preparedness of the Election Management Body (EMB)

Steven Ngwenya, Provincial Electoral Officer stated that the Mpumalanga Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) Provincial Office was ready for the 2006 municipal elections scheduled for 1 March 2006. He was speaking at the official launch of the local government elections 2005/2006 held at the Mpumalanga Parks Board, in Nelspruit on 13 January 2006. The IEC confirmed that ballot papers and materials used for voting purposes had already been dispersed to all voting sites.

Mpumalanga Province has 1355 voting districts, which consist of 403 wards. The

total number of registered voters in the province is 1 617 636.

Preparedness of Civil Society Organisations

The IEC was confident that civil society organisations were prepared for the local government elections. The Commission conducted a number of educational interventions in preparing them for these elections.

Organisations dealing with women were trained, as well as those focusing on youth, the non-governmental organisation community (NGOs), traditional leaders, the disabled, farm workers and the public in general.

The interventions implemented by the IEC included road shows where they interacted with the targeted groups face to face. They also engaged in consultation processes with regards to the electoral processes.

Conflict Management

The Provincial office identified ten municipal panelists experienced in IEC work and procedures, all of whom were trained in conflict resolution management. They are listed in the table below.

Table 1: Panelist information

NAME OF PANELIST	CONTACT DETAILS	MUNICIPALITY
Rev. J.M.S Mngomezulu	Cell:0829486980 Tel: 017- 8111939	Albert Luthuli Msukaligwa
Abel Jacobus Bronkhorst	Cell: 0824971341 Tel: 017- 735 2245 Fax: 017- 735 5314	Mkhondo Seme
Samuel Ziba Sibeko	Cell: 08243002999 Tel: 017- 683 0552 Fax: 017- 683 0568	Lekwa Dipaleseng Govan Mbeki
Thulani Mtsuki	Cell: 0828950579 Tel: 013- 656 6177 Fax: 013- 656 6176	Delmas Emalahleni
Pastor Dumisani Geoffrey Ndlovu	Cell: 082 8437848 Tel: 013- 241 1962 Fax: 013- 242 1803	Steve Tshwete Emakhazeni
Elias Mandla Mabena	Cell: 0835838667 Tel: 013- 973 1037 Fax: 012- 735 1844	Thembisile Dr. J.S. Moroka
Mduduzi Ngwenya	Cell: 0823609035 Tel: 013- 755 3451 Fax: 013- 755 2842	Thaba Chewu Mbombela
Rev. Christopher Joseph Maseko	Cell: 0835895209 Tel: 013- 785 0478 Fax: 013- 785 0117	Umjindi Nkomazi
Rev. Thanduxolo Abednigo Ntsuntshe	Cell: 0833457370 Tel: 013 269 0323	Greater Marble Hall Greater Groblersdal
Kobodi Sephorah Mokgopa	Cell: 0725952212 Fax: 013- 237 0161	Greater Tubatse

Delimitation Process and Disputes

The process of delimitation in the province is informed by a number of people residing in a particular area. New developments and settlements leading to an increase in the number of people have a concomitant increase on the number of voting stations. In urban areas, it is stipulated that voters should not exceed

3000; with 1000 as the total in rural areas. The main aim of these provisions is to avoid long queues for voters. The number of voting stations in the province has increased in comparison to the 2004 elections. The SABC news reported on 23 February that more than 300 marchers took to the streets to demand that Balfour and Siyathemba be incorporated into Gauteng instead of Mpumalanga Province. Balfour was incorporated into Mpumalanga in 1994. The marchers presented the memorandum to the police as there were no available local government officials to receive it. Prior to their incorporation into Mpumalanga in 1994, Balfour and Siyathemba were considered as comprising a soft border area and did not fall under any municipality. Siyathemba residents have various complaints ranging from the bucket toilet system to a Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) housing project that has not been completed. Residents complain that Mpumalanga province fails to provide adequate services to them.

Protests on Delivery of Services

Protests against service delivery have been reported at Secunda, Standerton and Delmas. In Nelspruit, a group of about 500 contractors and workers employed by Mpumalanga working on a water programme, picketed at the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (Dwarf) to hand over a memorandum to their regional leader. They had banners and slogans stating "Nothing about us without us", "Fights unemployment and not of increasing it" "No delivery no vote" The masses complained that decisions were taken without consultation. They also demanded that the programme's management devise constructive strategies to sustain the programme in conjunction with the contractors and the workers. They also alleged they were not clearly briefed about the programme's policies and that the department was turning a deaf ear since there was no written agreement signed by both parties.

Complaints on service delivery were amongst the first issues raised by community members participating in the educational intervention implemented by the IEC. Rollen Wallace of Nelsville near Nelspruit claimed in the *Lowvelder* that the ANC is racist as they only assist the so-called Africans with RDP houses. He indicated that people of other racial colours who are poor also deserve to be equally assisted.

Hazyview's residents (under the Mbombela Municipality) believe that they are suffering from neglect by their local municipality. Although residents pay rates and taxes, the town is seriously lacking in infrastructure. They have only one government school that is overcrowded, no high schools, hospitals or old age facilities. The town currently does not have a taxi rank and taxi drivers are using the parking areas of the local shopping centre from which to operate. The community members indicated that they want a councillor who lives permanently in Hazyview to represent them.

Hectorspruit – the controversy over RDP houses is far from being solved in Nkomazi Municipality. *Ligwalagwala FM* hosted a talk show at the local hall on 16 February 2006 in an attempt to find a solution to the housing dispute. Illegal occupants have occupied RDP houses without permission. One hundred and fifty houses were built in the area but at a later stage they were reserved for people from Schoemansdal – a ward that is some kilometers away.

Civic and Voter Education

The IEC assigned one co-ordinator per local office to be responsible for voter education. Field workers were contracted to assist in the process. In total, Mpumalanga Province had 200 field workers. Each field worker had to provide voter education in two wards. (In

other words 1 field worker would be responsible for two wards). The number of registered voters determined the number of field workers needed for voter education.

Voter education started in August 2005 and ended on 28 February 2006. Two-day workshops were held and training was conducted on electoral democracy development, voter education and balloting education. Assessment forms were issued out to workshop participants to measure the impact of the education. The field workers had to prepare a schedule per week, which was then used by the IEC officials to monitor them. The IEC had to get a confirmation form signed by the person who was hosting the field worker. Activity reports were submitted to the provincial office every Friday. The training manuals were developed by the IEC. The media (local newspaper) was also involved in voter education and the *Mpumalanga News* published relevant information.

Brief History of Local Government Elections

The Municipal Structures Act (together with the Local Government: Municipal Demarcation Act, 27 of 1998) required the entire country to be divided into municipal areas by the Municipal Demarcation Board. The MEC for local government in each province was mandated to establish a municipality for each of the demarcated municipal areas, at the same time determining the number of councillors for each municipal council. In total, 284 municipal councils (6 metropolitan councils, 231 local councils and 47 district councils) were established – a district council area covering the areas of a number of local councils. (Municipal Election Report, 5 December 2000).

The local elections are generally not supported in comparison to the Provincial and National elections. Politically, the period from 1994 to 1999 has been referred to as the period from resistance to reconstruction; the period from 1999 to 2004 as the period from reconstruction to development, and from development, delivery is expected from local government. The current situation in the province is far from meeting the expectations of the various communities.

Delimitation Process

The Delimitation Directorate is responsible for delimiting (or subdividing) the entire geographic area of South Africa into voting districts, with the assistance of a Geographical Information System (GIS), which is managed by the IEC GIS Directorate.

Each voting district is serviced by one voting station only. A voter residing in a voting district may register and vote only in the voting district in which that voter is resident. Once registered, a voter's name will appear only on the segment of the voters roll for the voting district at which the voter is registered.

Voting districts have been delimited so as to minimise the voter inconvenience of standing in long queues at voting stations and to assist in electoral logistical planning. Voting districts are principally determined on the basis of geographical size and number of eligible voters. Urban voting districts contain some 3000 voters located within a radius of approximately 7.5 km from the voting station. Rural voting districts accommodate some 1200 voters located within a radius of some 10km of the voting station. Administrative province and not geographic province provide the registration statistics, i.e. if a voting district is geographically located in Limpopo but is managed by PEO/MEO in Mpumalanga, its figures will be shown under Mpumalanga. This applies to all cross-border municipalities. Details of the Municipal Delimitation Report are provided below. This includes information on the wards, voting districts and the registered voter totals.

Table 2: Municipal Delimitation Report

Municipality	Wards	Voting District	Registered Voters
Greater Marble Hall	14	61	51936
Greater Groblersdal	29	106	105334
Greater Tubatse	29	127	114979
Gert Sibande			
Albert Luthuli	22	78	80338
Msukaligwa	16	46	56649
Mkhondo	15	59	57492
Pixley Ka Seme	11	36	33947
Lekwa	14	32	46336
Dipaleseng	6	18	18892
Govan Mbeki	31	78	120834
Nkangala			
Delmas	8	21	25236
Emalahleni	32	82	149252
Steve Tshwete	24	45	85755
Highlands	7	30	22683
Thembisile	30	86	117520
Dr. JS Moroka	30	94	111877
Ehlanzeni			
Thabachewu	12	40	41720
Mbombela	36	167	222247
Umjindi	7	23	26610
Nkomazi	30	126	127999
Totals	**403**	**1355**	**1617636**

Bushbuckridge was still managed by Limpopo province for the 2006 elections and the first three municipalities

(Greater Marble Hall, Greater Groblersdal & Greater Tubatse) were managed by Mpumalanga province but will be incorporated or administered by Limpopo province after the elections.

Voter Registration

Registration was targeted by the IEC for July 2005 in those voting stations that had been split by the IEC.

The second phase comprised a series of registration weekends where all voting stations were opened for people to register. These began on 3 September 2005 and ended on 19 and 20 November 2005. The number of people who registered to vote increased in comparison to the initial stage of the registration process.

Political Campaigns

The DA leader, Tony Leon visited Mpumalanga province to canvass votes in the Emluti, a rural area outside Nelspruit. He encouraged residents to go all out and vote for his party, because it was the only one prepared to fight corruption in government. He also engaged in door-to-door campaigning and visited an old man who had been applying unsuccessfully for an identity document for the past fifteen years. He also promised his audience that the DA would provide them with basic services such as water, electricity and proper roads in the area. He added that the ANC had failed the people ever since it came into power.

The DA provincial leader, Clive Hatch said that the ANC had no direction after he visited one of the schools in Emluti where the roof of the school's administration block had been blown away and teachers were working under terrible conditions

(*Mpumalanga News*, 13 February 2006).

The African Christian Democratic Party congratulated the ruling party for successes achieved in 2005 and criticised them on the issues of housing. *News 24.com* reported that Tony Leon said the ANC has governed so badly that it could not campaign properly in some areas such as Delmas, where bad planning by the ANC council contributed to a typhoid outbreak in 2005 and resulted in a number of people losing their lives.

Nominations and Party Lists

In terms of section 11 of the Local Government: Municipal Electoral Act, 2000 (Act No. 27 of 2000) the Electoral Commission compiled the timetable for the elections of municipal councils. The registered political parties were required to submit party and ward lists or proportional representation and ward lists on 19 January 2006. Political parties contesting in Mpumalanga Province are:

1. African Christian Democratic Party
2. African National Congress
3. Azanian Peoples Organization
4. Black Peoples Convention
5. Democratic Alliance
6. Economic Freedom Movement
7. Greater Middelburg Residents Association
8. Highveld Residents Concerned Party
9. Independent Democrats
10. Inkatha Freedom Party
11. Middelburg Residents Organization
12. National Democratic Convention
13. Pan Africanist Congress of Azania
14. Sindawonye Progressive Party
15. The Socialist Party of Azania
16. United Christian Democratic Party
17. United Democratic Movement
18. United Independent Front
19. Freedom Front Plus

The total number of registered parties in Mpumalanga Province is nineteen.

Table 3: Candidates per ballot

Province	Ward	PR	Total
Mpumalanga	2214	2044	4258

Media Coverage of Elections

SABC displayed a readiness for the elections. They deployed a number of journalists to cover the election events. The media was also involved in voter education programmes, which were conducted by the IEC.

Mpumalanga News published an article written "you must vote, vote and vote again" and they said South Africans will vote for who they want to represent them at municipal level. The above statement applies to the voting procedure which involves putting a cross on more than one ballot paper. Each voter receives three ballot papers one each for the ward, local and district municipalities. The provincial office of the IEC housed the SABC for the purposes of election updates.

The *Lowvelder* newspaper posed the same five questions to each of the political parties each. These questions and responses are duplicated below (24 February 2006, p. 50).

Questions: DA

1. What will you do to curb corruption?
DA councilors have been requested to sign a contractual agreement and a code of conduct for them, to which the party will hold them accountable. A culture of integrity, transparency and accountability will be instilled. Reliable channels whereby the public can report any incident of suspected corruption will also be set up and all cases will be taken seriously. The party will clamp down harshly on any councillor found guilty of corruption and such a councillor will be dismissed from council and expelled from the party.

2. What infrastructure development will receive budget priority?

The development of sustainable infrastructure will receive priority as this will lead to job creation and economic growth and attract investments. Infrastructure cannot be viewed as an isolated budget priority but rather as an aspect of an integrated programme.

3. Non-payment of services is an issue. What will your party do to address this?

Ensure that there is a fair and equitable indigent policy in all municipalities to cater for those sectors of the population that are unable to afford the payment of services. Once that is in place we'll carry out a performance audit on the accuracy of municipal billing systems. We will then implement strict credit control policies to ensure that all persons and organisations liable for rates do in fact meet these obligations. We will, if necessary, resort to litigation for the recovery of debt.

4. How will your party ensure that its candidate has the ability to tackle these challenges?

All DA candidates underwent an extensive training programme prior to nomination, which provided them with the foundation required to be an effective councilor. The party will continuously assess which skills are required for any given challenge and provide all with the required training.

5. Why should someone vote for your candidate?

DA candidates were selected through a democratic process of electoral colleges and screened. To date no DA candidate has been found guilty on any charges of corruption, in fact all of them undergo a strict probity check. The DA strongly believes it has fielded the best candidates available who are representative of their communities.

Questions: ANC

1. What will you do to curb corruption?

The ANC has always been opposed to corruption. It is the only party that exposes and deals with corruption regardless of who is involved. We will continue to fight corruption and have a zero-tolerance approach.

2. What infrastructure development will receive budget priority?

The ANC has plans to continue improving the lives of our people by providing clean water and sanitation by 2010, ensuring that every household has electricity by 2012 and creating jobs.

3. Non-payment of services is an issue. What will your party do to address this issue?

The ANC will continue to encourage communities to pay for services they are getting. Government will also continue to improve on the provision of services.

4. How will your party ensure that its candidate has the ability to tackle the challenges?

The ANC, through its structures in a democratic process, is deploying capable women and men as its candidates for the local government elections. All the party's candidates sign a pledge, committing themselves to good service delivery and work for the communities without any expectations of personal gain.

5. Why should people vote for your candidates?

The ANC has a track record of good service delivery over the past 11 years. Although more still has to be done, the party has completed some remarkable work in a short space of time. We therefore believe that the electorate must vote for the ANC to give us another mandate to deliver services to them.

Use of State Resources

Ninety fiver percent of voting stations were designated to be housed in schools. The local municipal offices allocated office space for IEC officials. The members of DA complained that ANC officials were using state resources to campaign for the election. In fact, it is very difficult to separate the role of premier of the province when he is campaigning for his political party or when he is reporting as the premier.

Political Violence and Intimidation

Issues include the tearing down of posters belonging to other political organisations. Defacing of posters was also reported. In Witbank, the Democratic Alliance launched a formal complaint and opened a case of theft at Witbank Police Station, after its posters were allegedly stolen and used in the Arrive Alive campaign. Chris Griffiths, the DA councillor for Witbank told the *Lowvelder* that 3000 posters, at a cost of R20.00 per poster had gone missing since 2004 amounting to R60 000. According to a letter dated 17 February 2006, Ntau Letebele, director of safety promotions, stated that his department had commissioned street pole advertising, which in turn sub-contracted Poster Pros to distribute 600 posters in the Mpumalanga areas of Nelspruit, Middelburg and Witbank. Letebele argued that the department had been informed that the posters were mounted on new boards whereas the DA insisted on

having evidence to the contrary.

The *Lowvelder* also reported that the South African Communist Party (SACP) would not tolerate those members who contested elections against the ANC. This warning came from Bushbuckridge party secretary, Thabo Theledi. It appears that in Bushbuckridge there were members of the SACP who contested the elections against ANC while wearing T-shirts of the party. He also indicated that problems might occur within the Alliance in Bushbuckridge but that they fully supported the ANC.

Role of Security Forces

Preparations and consultation processes with the SAPS started eight months ago with the IEC holding regular meetings with the security forces in preparation for the local elections. Each and every station was allocated one security officer to monitor the situation and to ensure

smooth running of the electoral procedures. Requests for assistance from the South African National Defence Force would only be made should the need arise.

Political Party Finance

The financing of political parties occurs at the IEC national office. Distribution of funding is informed by representation in Parliament. More funding goes to political parties that have greater representation than the others, thus creating a problem especially for those newly established political organisations. Financial constraints obviously affect campaigning, although some independent fundraising was done outside government.

Table 4: Gender issues

	Female	Male
Wards	633	1581
P/R	788	1266
Independents	9	45
Disqualified (Wards)	24	31
Disqualified (P/R)	25	22
Total	**49**	**53**

LIMPOPO

Kholo Mashabela
University of Limpopo

On the eve of the third democratic local government elections in South Africa, the Independent Electoral Commission in Limpopo maintained it was more than ready to deliver a successful election in Limpopo. "It's all

systems go", said Thivhilaeli Nedohe, communications manager of the IEC in Limpopo.

Voting Districts and Stations

Although he could not give the exact number of polling booths delivered for the election, he said that there were 2178 voting districts or

stations in the province which had all been put in a state of readiness for the elections, with 6 225 429 ballot papers having been printed.

The number of ballots is three times the number of registered voters in the province and should be able to account for ward and PR balloting.

Communications at all voting districts were said to be at a premium, with cell phones, two-way radios and in some cases landlines, forming the battery of communication resources at hand to facilitate contact between the voting districts and the main operations centre in the province.

Limpopo has 23 municipalities, 475 wards, 2178 voting districts and 2 075 143 registered voters. Voters should experience hiccups in approximately 439 of the voting stations as they are without permanent water resources and 250 have unsatisfactory toilet facilities. Another 380

stations are without electricity, emphasising the pressure for daylight voting. The IEC, political parties and the voters should pray for fine weather as 473 voting districts have no outside shelter, 218 have no access roads and 226 have bad quality roads. In a mostly rural province, this translates into 86 0f these stations being in the Thulamela, 38 in the Giyani and 23 in the Aganang municipalities.

An interesting statistic produced by the IEC is that none of the voting stations is well equipped. 280 voting stations are of an inadequate

size while 220 do not have sufficient parking.

There are two categories of voting stations in the province: permanent and temporary. The permanent ones are housed in schools, churches, community halls, South African Police Service (SAPS) and Department of Water Affairs Offices. Temporary voting stations will be housed in tents and mobile units, mostly in the hard to access areas.

Candidates

Information is contained in Table 6, below.

Table 5: No of Candidates

Ward	Female	Male	Independent	Female	Male
2583	877 (33.95%)	1706 (66.05%)	84	15 (17.85%)	69 (61.82 %)
P/R	1024 (38.18%)	1658 (61.82%)			

Table 6: Registered voters in Limpopo

Age Group	Total	Female	Male
18-19	58 000	30 390	27 645
20-29	591 935	328 457	263 478
30-39	480 418	268 610	191 808
40-49	358 921	221 278	137 643
50-59	58 612	141 025	93 279
60-69	168 877	110 265	58 612
70-79	120 545	88 076	32 469
80-80	49 606	43 876	32 469
Total	**2072641**	**1251977**	**820 664**

The highest number of registered voters in 2006 is the youth, 58 000 of whom are in the 18-19 year age group, 30 390 female and 27 645 male. The next age group is 20 –29 and consists of 591 935 voters, 328 457 of whom are female and 263

478 male. The 30-39 age group consist of 480 418 voters 268 610 of whom are female while 191 808 are male.

This means more than a million registered voters are in the youth category. This,

according to the IEC, augurs well for the future of democracy in the province.

Registered Voters

The highest concentration of voters is in seven municipalities namely

Thulamela (250755), Makhado (217641) Polokwane (217472), Bushbuckridge (198852), Greater Tzaneen (165259), Makhuduthamaga (11 628), Greater Giyani (103 711).

Voting inclinations in these areas will most certainly determine which party emerges with the strongest voice, especially in the district council municipalities. Parties who have concentrated their

efforts in these areas are likely to emerge as stronger political players after the elections.

Significantly the highest concentration of voting districts are in the same areas.

Thulamela has 255, Makhado 211, Bushbuckridge 194, Polokwane 166, Makhuduthamaga 145, Greater Tzaneen 143,

Greater Letaba 103, Greater Giyani 102.

This should also positively affect the economic situation in these areas as it means 21 256 staff have been employed, on permanent and temporary basis. These statistics are based on an initial survey done by the IEC at the close of registration and has a variance of less than 3 000 with the final statistics.

Table 7: Voters and Voting Districts

Municipality	Registered Voters	No of Voting Districts
Thulamela	250 755	255
Makhado	217 641	211
Polokwane	217 472	166
Bushbuckridge	198 852	194
Greater Tzaneen	165 259	143
Makhuduthamaga	111 628	145
Greater Giyani	103 711	102

Voter Registration

There has been a significant decrease in voter registration since the last local government elections held in 2000. At the time there were 3 380 754 voters registered compared to 2 075 143 in 2006, an alarming drop of 1 305 611. Nedohe attributed this to migration patterns of voters to other provinces and natural attrition and said

voter apathy should not necessarily be read into this. With the voter registration situation as it is, there has in fact been an increase in voter registration in several municipalities. In Bushbuckridge, 169 659

voters were registered in 2000 while in 2006, 198 852 are registered, an increase of 29 193. Greater Giyani improved from 83228 to 103 711 now, an increase of 20

483, Greater Tzaneen from 143 877 to 165 259, an increase of 21 382. While considering that voter turnout in the 2000 elections totaled 42.46%. It remains to be seen, however, whether there will be any statistical improvement in the 2006 elections.

As far as voter education is concerned, Nedohe indicated that voter education campaigns had been undertaken. Nine civil

society organisations had been contracted to run voter education. Voter education included ward-based sessions and stakeholder meetings.

Stakeholder meetings have been organised and run in conjunction with the SABC radio stations in the province. While the total expected attendance at these meetings totaled 5933, the said stations cover the whole province and a total listenership in excess of 3.5 million, far more than the registered voters.

The success of this voter education programme cannot be measured before the

elections have taken place, according to the IEC, but there can also never be enough voter education. At voter education sessions, the facilitators have been overwhelmed by the number of questions.

Voter registration began in 2004 and ended on 6 January 2006. The IEC is worried however, because of those people who leave their registration to the very last moment. According to the IEC official, up to a fortnight before the elections, they have been receiving enquiries whether or not registration was still possible. Such potential voters were advised to register as soon as possible for the next election. The IEC could not say however, how many new registrations the current election registration process had produced.

State Resources

The IEC has made use of government resources to effectively run the election. Besides the use of government agencies such as the police and army for logistical and security purposes, the IEC has or will make use of schools, community halls, DWAF and SAPS offices, and municipal owned buildings such as the operations centre.

Civil Society

Civil society has made some effort for these current elections. The South African Council of Churches (SACC) in Limpopo has undertaken four voter education campaigns in places such as Giyani, Jane Furse and Burgersfort, according to provincial coordinator, Reverend Mautji Pataki. The SACC would have liked to put in more effort, but was constrained by a lack of funds. They were also somewhat distracted by a fundraising campaign for a victim of ritual would-be murder.

In the last general election, the SACC organised a peace festival at which gospel singers performed and members of the public were charged a nominal fee. Such festivals will always be necessary, funds permitting because they foster a spirit of mutual acceptance and political tolerance amongst members and supporters of different political parties, Pataki added. The most important issue raised in the current election has been service delivery, in the view of the SACC. The body was looking forward to a wonderful election, concluded Pataki.

Another member of civil society, the National Confederation of Trade Unions (Nactu), speaking through its provincial coordinator, Mr. Mannyoro Lekota, said that the federation had sensitised its members to the current local government elections. They had encouraged their members to participate fully in the election, without prescribing which party for which they should vote. As a result, Nactu has not forwarded or endorsed any candidates or parties. He added that voter education programmes had been integrated into the federation's programmes.

Lekota however lamented that the IEC became visible only at the eleventh hour of elections. He expressed a desire that the IEC should engage more with civil society organisations, even when an election is still in the future.

Political Parties

There are nine political parties taking part in the elections in Limpopo. These are as follows:
- The African National Congress (ANC),
- African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP),
- Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO),
- Democratic Alliance (DA),
- Pan Africanist Congress (PAC),
- Freedom Front (VF$^+$),
- United Democratic Movement (UDM),
- African Democratic Party (ADP),
- United Independent Front (UIF).

Of these, only five were able to respond to EISA's

enquiries on their election campaigns. These are the ACDP, ADP, PAC, UDM and AZAPO. A synopsis of their statements:

ACDP

Reverend Modiba Sedibane, a provincial leader of the ACDP, said his party was contesting the elections in all five regions, although not in all municipalities. He said the gender ratio of candidates was roughly 25% female and 75% male.

Issues raised:
- Poor economic planning in all municipalities
- Corruption in municipalities
- Under- utilisation of budgets
- Non-consultation of communities by councillors.

Problems
- Voter illiteracy: in most cases voters believed that voting for other than the ruling party would result in them losing their social grants;
- Personalisation of political power: some of their opponents from the ruling party took the ACDP's campaigns as a personal attack and threat to their livelihoods.

Successes
- Their main success, they said, had been the eagerness of voters to cast their votes after the ACDP had impressed

upon them the value of their votes.

UDM

Issues raised
The UDM, speaking through provincial leaders H.B. Miles and Jerrida Raletjana, raised the following issues in their campaigning:
- Bad condition of roads;
- Housing;
- Inadequate schools and clinics;
- Corruption;
- Floor crossing;
- Water and electricity supply in the rural areas;
- Squatter camps;
- Inept councillors and municipalities.

Problems
- Their main problem was that their posters had been taken down. They had however, not reported the matter to the IEC
- Floor crossings affected their financial viability in the province

Successes
- Open acceptance of UDM delegations by *magoshi* and *indunas*;
- Growth of UDM branches despite floor crossings.

PAC

Issues raised
The PAC, speaking through provincial chairperson Tekedi Mohlwana, said it had raised these issues in their campaigning:

- Doing away with corruption in the adjudication of tenders;
- Consultation with the grassroots;
- Gender and youth affirmation;
- Provision of basic services;
- Unemployment concessions.

Problems
- Party posters had been vandalised in Zebediela. The matter had not been reported to the IEC as party investigations as to the identity of the perpetrators were still under way.
- Clash of venues with the ruling party at Ga-Seleka.

Successes
- Their successes had included higher volume placement of women and youth on the candidate lists.

ADP

Issues raised
Speaking through provincial organizer, Jimmy Maponya, the party said it had raised these issues:

- Housing;
- Water provision;
- Electricity supply;
- Unemployment;
- Corrupt councillors;
- Unskilled councillors.

Problems
- Their biggest problem, according to Maponya,

had been the taking down of their posters by elements unknown. At Mankweng alone, forty had been taken down. The matter was not reported to the IEC as perpetrators had not been identified.

- Another problem they experienced was the drowning out of their meeting at Ga-Mothapo by elements of the ruling party, who were using high-powered sound systems, Maponya added. The matter was not reported to the IEC, although it had been reported to the police.

Successes
- One of their main successes had been producing a CD for their campaign;
- They had also successfully used community and SABC radio stations to put their message across.

AZAPO

Issues raised
Speaking through provincial campaign manager, Don Nkadimeng, the party said that it had raised the following issues:
- Abolition of provincial governments in favour of municipalities;
- Unemployment: policies such as privatisation led to unemployment;
- Lack of skills in the municipalities run by the ruling party;

- Poor planning of financial and human resources, leading to non-delivery of services.

Problems
- According to Nkadimeng, these included the arrest of candidates on charges of public violence after the audience had pushed out would-be disrupters at a stakeholders meeting. All members of the public who had been in the hall and not taking part in disruptions also charged.

Successes
- Azapo believes one of its successes has been the inroads made into Greater Sekhukhune and Greater Groblersdal areas.
- They had also taken part in discussions on national, regional and community radios and their message was well-received by the public.
- The party believes one of its main successes was its campaign for the abolition of provincial governments. Started in the last general elections, the issue had been carried on into the current local government elections. The matter has taken centre stage in the national political debate, according to the party, and civil society organisations and other political parties such as the ACDP and the ANC have already started

policy discussions on the issue.

Launch of Operations Centre

The last main event of the pre-election phase was the launch of the provincial operations centre by the IEC on the evening of Monday, 27 February 2006. Housed in a municipal building, it is much smaller than the Jack Botes Hall, where the IEC based its operations centre in the previous four democratic elections.

The Reverend Zwo Nevhutalu, Provincial Electoral Officer of Limpopo, urged parties and the media to be satisfied with the smaller venue. Although the venue was smaller, the event itself was big, as it was happening throughout the province, he added. Nevhutalu said the event was strenuous but exciting and appealed to the media to provide good election coverage.

The biggest challenge though, was whether the registered voters would turn out. In the last local government elections only 423.46% of registered voters bothered to vote. "If the people who had not voted had constituted a 'No Vote Party' they would be in control of all the municipalities in Limpopo", he quipped. A special challenge was made to political parties and the

media to make sure voters turned out in large numbers.

The PEO also decried that enough had not been done to educate the masses on the structures comprising local government. He also charged that 'democracy illiteracy' was at about 70% in the province.

As a parting shot, Nevhutalu challenged parties and the media to make sure all ballots were counted – by making sure there were no spoilt ballots.

*Acknowledgement: all tables used in this report are adaptations of IEC tables that appear on http://www.elections.org.za.

Most information was collected from primary sources.

GAUTENG

Sydney Letsholo and Themba Nkwinika
EISA

History of Local Government Elections in Gauteng

Local government is the sphere of government closest to the people[1]. That is in part why local government elections are so important to a democracy. Local government elections in South Africa are conducted on the basis of a hybrid electoral system – namely a combination of the party list Proportion Representation (PR) and the First-Past-The-Post (FPTP) based ward election contested by party-endorsed ward candidates and independent ward candidates[2]. The country has three categories of municipalities namely Category A: Municipalities – Metropolitan Councils,

Category B: Municipalities – Local Councils and Category C: Municipalities – District Councils.

Metropolitan councils (category A) are characterised by a large urban population with massive business and industrial activities. Gauteng province has the most number of metropolitan councils in the country, with three of the country's six metropolitan areas. These are Johannesburg, Tshwane and Ekurhuleni. Metropolitan councils have full executive and legislative powers and fulfil their mandate by exercising all the powers and functions for that geographical area that constitutes the metropolitan area, and therefore does not fall within or share powers or functions with a district council[3]. On the other hand, there is a filial relationship between local councils and district councils. The former falls under the jurisdiction of the latter. Based on the number of registered voters, a local council (category B)

will not have any wards if it has less than seven councillors. A district council (category C) is made up of representatives from local municipalities in their district and party representatives that have been voted for in local government elections[4].

According to Article 153 (1) of the Constitution the main objectives of local government are:
- To provide democratic and accountable government for local communities;
- To ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner;
- To promote social and economic development;
- To promote a safe and healthy environment; and
- To encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the manner of local government.

Through the Constitution, local government aims to

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[1] http://www.etu.org.za "Understanding Local Government".
[2] Handbook on Legislation and Regulations for South Africa's Local Government Elections: 2006

[3] Ibid

[4] Ibid

operate as a bridge between the people at the grass root level and the central government. Executive mayors and councillors are the main stakeholders whose chief mandate is to promote the objectives of local government.

Since 1995, local government elections in the province have been transparent and have also shown the integrity and professionalism of the country's electoral management body. Table 1 follows, and reflects on the history of local government elections in the province.

Table 1: Comparative Analysis: Local Government Elections Results in Gauteng – 1995/96 & 2000

1995/96 Local Govt Elections Results			2000 Local Govt Elections Reuslts		
Party	Seats Per Party	%	Party	Seats Per Party	%
ANC	580	55.6	ANC	570	58.7
NP	285	27.3	DA	299	30.7
FF	48	4.60	IFP	21	2.2
DP	45	4.31	PAC	14	1.5
CP	3	0.29	ACDP	8	0.9
PAC	1	0.10	UDM	8	0.7
ACDP	1	0.10	FF	-	-
IFP	9	0.86			
Ind.	22	2.11			

Source : http://www.eisa.org.za/WEP/sou2006results1.htm; http://www.elections.org.za

For the 1995/96 local government elections, Gauteng amassed a total percentage of 74.79 registered voters and 48.56% of the number of votes cast.

Table 1 clearly depicts the electoral gap that exists between the ruling party (ANC) and its closest competitor (NP) in the 1995/96 elections. In the subsequent elections of 2000, the ANC continued to dominate.

However, this time around the new main opposition came in the form of the Democratic Alliance (DA). Voter turnout for these elections in the province stood at 48.56%.

It remains to be seen whether or not the ruling party will continue with its electoral dominance, especially taking into cognisance the violent protests in areas like the municipality of Merafong. It also remains to be seen whether the voter turnout in the province will be higher or lower than the one registered in 2000.

Preparedness of the IEC

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) is the main body responsible for the management and administration of elections in South Africa. The IEC's integrity and professionalism in election management has increased from one election to the next. There is no doubt that the IEC has now come of age and has proved beyond any shadow of the doubt that it has the requisite expertise, experience and technical back-up to run elections. One of the roles that the IEC plays is to ensure that elections are held under the environment conducive for best electoral practices. Hence it was that on 25 January 2006 that the IEC organised a national ceremony for the signing of Code of Conduct for political parties in Tswane. Of all the parties concerned, only the Christian Democratic Party refused to sign the provincial Code of Conduct. The chief purpose of this Code is to promote the spirit of tolerance and create an environment of free political campaigning and open public debate. Among other things, the Code of Conduct provides that:

- Every party and every candidate must liaise with other parties contesting an election

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and endeavour to ensure that they do not call a public meeting, march, rally demonstration, or any other public political event at the same time and place as that called by another party contesting the election.

- On voting day, no person may engage in any political activity other than casting a vote in the area within the boundary of a voting station (Local Government Municipal Electoral Act, 2000).

On the whole, the IEC in Gauteng seemed prepared to hold the elections on 1 March. On 24 February, the Johannesburg News Agency quoted the Provincial Electoral Officer in Gauteng, Simon Mamabolo as follows: "Gauteng is 'more than ready' for the municipal elections taking place on Wednesday, 1 March, with preparations having begun immediately after the 2004 national elections. Campaigns by parties contesting the elections so far have been free and inter-party fighting has been non-existent in Gauteng. There have only been a few incidents of people tearing down party posters."

Preparedness of Civil Society Organisations

Civil society's contribution since the first democratic elections in 1994 has mainly been in the form of voter education and election monitoring. Voter education in the Gauteng province was undertaken jointly by civil society organisations and the IEC. Civil society organisations (CSOs) such as the Joint Enrichment Project facilitated voter/active citizenship education sessions for community and youth structures, albeit on a smaller scale. SACSOC on the other hand assembled, trained and deployed a team of election observers throughout Gauteng. Moreover, NGOs in Gauteng participated in different media programmes as commentators and analysts during discussions on local government elections. EISA, together with ABC-Ulwazi facilitated capacity building sessions for Community Radio Stations aimed at increasing their capacity to cover and promote the local government elections.

Conflict Management Institutions

In Gauteng, election related conflicts were sparked by two main factors i.e. delimitation and service delivery. Delimitation sparked conflicts in Khutsong where a spate of violent protests resulted in malicious damage to public property and posed a serious threat to possibilities of free and fair elections in that area. The South African Police Services played a critical role in maintaining law and order in Khutsong and ensuring that protests were not characterised by violence.

Whilst the conflict management panels were not able to resolve the impasse, they demonstrated commitment to creating a conducive environment for free and fair elections. *The Citizen* dated 23 February 2006 cited the Chairperson of the Independent Electoral Commission, Dr. Brigalia Bam, expressing her commitment to resolving the situation in Khutsong. She remarked that "this country has never gone into elections without challenges. The situation is not peculiar to South Africa. Men and women of goodwill were hard at work to ensure the challenges were overcome and that elections would continue."

Delimitation Process

The Municipal Demarcation Act of 1998 provides for the establishment of the Municipal Demarcation Board that is responsible for determining municipal boundaries for the whole country.

When determining municipal boundaries, the Municipal Demarcation Board considers the following:
- Population density
- Ease of transport and communication
- Geographical features
- Existing patterns of human settlement

- Financial viability and administrative capacity of the electoral area
- Financial and administrative consequences of boundary determination
- Existing boundaries
- Community of interest

In preparation for the 2000 local government elections, Gauteng was divided into three metropolitan municipalities i.e. the City Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni and Tswane, nine local municipalities and three district municipalities with Merafong local municipality being a cross boundary municipality between Gauteng and North West provinces. During the course of 2005, Parliament resolved to abolish cross boundary municipalities; this implied that the Municipal Demarcation Board had to adhere to this decision when delimiting municipal boundaries ahead of the local government elections. In preparation for the 2006, the Demarcation Board reviewed the existing boundaries in Gauteng in order to make the necessary adjustments.

On the whole, the delimitation process did not have much impact on municipalities in Gauteng except for the resolution to place Merafong municipality in the North West province which was met with protest and anger from municipal residents who felt that they were not sufficiently consulted when the decision was taken.

In-depth, analytical coverage of the potential conflicts that arise in setting local and provincial boundaries was provided in a feature in *Die Beeld*: "Mense, grense & wense" ("People, borders and wishes", 25 October 2006, p. 19).

Civic and Voter Education

In Gauteng, it was not only the IEC that carried out the civic and voter education initiative. To a limited extent, CSOs and political parties have been involved. Both electronic and print media, especially television/radio and newspapers, added enormous value to the local government elections through advertisements and interviews with IEC officials, government officials, political analysts, local government authorities and ordinary citizens.

Voter Registration

Voter registration took place on 31 August and 3 September 2005. The main target for the IEC was first time voters - as their names did not appear on the voters' roll.

Table 2 on the page below provides a clear breakdown on voter registration statistics based on gender and age groups.

As is the case with previous voter registration statistics in the province, Table 2 confirms the preponderance of female registration for the local government elections.

Table 2: Registration Statistics in Gauteng (as on 16 January 2006)

AGE GROUP	REGISTERED MALES	REGISTERED FEMALES
18-20	196, 314	220, 316
20-29	2, 395, 486	2, 679, 956
30-39	2, 529, 326	2, 873, 576
40-49	1, 945, 471	2, 327, 738
50-59	1, 282, 832	1, 550, 397
60-69	686, 643	999, 253
70-79	321, 634	638, 958
80-89	123, 133	283, 924
TOTAL	**9, 480, 839**	**11, 574, 118**

Source: http://www.elections.org.za

Nominations and Party Lists

The nominations and party list process is driven primarily by political parties wishing to contest the elections. These parties have to adhere to the IEC regulations and timeframes with regard to party registration and submission of party lists. According to the IEC election timetable, those political parties and persons wishing to contest the elections in Gauteng had to declare their intents by 19 January 2006 including registration fees and other pertinent documentation.

Parties were also afforded an opportunity to rectify any queries on their submissions with the IEC by 24 January 2006. In Gauteng, all political parties and persons intending to contest the local government elections in the province met the IEC regulations and deadlines.

The party list processes in Gauteng triggered controversy within political parties and subjected intra-party democracy to a test. In the ANC for instance, primary elections ignited internal political tension. Branch nominations had to be reviewed by upper echelons of the party and the final list submitted to the IEC left some party members dissatisfied. The DA party list process on the other hand was marred by allegations of racism.

Media

Gauteng enjoys the benefit of a being home to a diverse media institutions, print and electronic, public, private and community broadcasters.

The media's contribution in the pre-election phase in Gauteng assumed three main forms i.e. popularising the elections, voter education and providing political parties with electioneering platforms. Media institutions tracked and covered elections related developments diligently during the pre-election phase. On the whole, media institutions in Gauteng adhered to ICASA regulations except for isolated incidents where the SABC was accused for favouring the ruling party in its coverage of the elections.Since the announcement of the election date by President Mbeki towards the end of 2005, the South African media largely dedicated itself to providing extensive coverage of the local government elections. While some media committed to regular and coherent election focus through special election sections or programmes, others included election-related stories in their general political reporting. For example, in addition to including election coverage in the news bulletins and current affairs programmes, the SABC also introduced a daily half-hour programme devoted solely to the local government elections. This programme, Elections 2006, was broadcast on SABC 2 at 18:00.

Some of the print media, including *Die Beeld*, the *Sunday Times*, and the *City Press*, had regular pages dedicated to election issues, in addition to other election stories contained in the main news pages. The *Citizen* tended to group any election-related stories together, while *The Star* clearly acknowledged all stories that are in some way related to the elections. The *Sowetan* also showed commitment to covering the elections by running a series on service delivery and the local government election process. *The Daily Sun*, the national paper with the highest readership, committed itself to a series of election reports in the run-up to the elections. This daily newspaper has deliberately stated that its election coverage is to concentrate on efforts to improve the quality of life for all South Africans. Such focus should be particularly evident in discussions surrounding service delivery.

The recent increase in coverage would seem to be the consequence of the immediacy of a number of issues likely to form central components of parties' election agendas. The past few months have witnessed a number of events that have

tended to place more topical interest than ever before on local government elections. Pre-election coverage of the local government sector highlighted what the media represented as the recent spate of protests against perceived poor service delivery and the incorporation of some municipalities into neighbouring provinces.

Coverage was provided to service delivery protests in Merafong, Cape Town and in Tshwane. Coverage of events in Khutsong are indicative of the manner in which the media covered demarcation protests. Demonstrations surrounding the incorporation of this municipality into the Northwest province from Gauteng were forthcoming across the media spectrum. An example typical of such coverage includes "Khutsong erupts" (*The Star*, 14 December 2005, p. 1).

A previous Media Monitoring Project (MMP) research report pointed to the media's tendency to focus on dramatic events. At the same time, the media tended to neglect more in-depth and coherent discussions of pertinent issues. The dramatic, event-based nature of much of the recent protest activity would seem to have provided the media with ready-made news stories. The event-based nature of coverage was apparent in *Die Beeld*, "Khutsong se

kinders oorweeg booikot" ("Khutsong's children consider boycott", 3 February 2005, p. 4), and the *Sowetan*, "Pupils march in Khutsong" (3 February 2005, p. 5). *The Citizen* included the announcement by the premier of the Northwest Province of her intention to hold an "Indaba to tackle service delivery" in municipalities in the province (1 February 2006, p. 3).

However, it would appear as if the media has gone further than merely reporting on such protests. In current circumstances, it would seem as if at least some of the media utilised the opportunities provided by the protests to question the reasons behind such behaviour. Examples of such in-depth coverage appeared in the *City Press*, the *Daily Sun*, *Die Beeld, The Star, The Citizen*, and on SABC and e-tv news and current affairs programmes. The City Press described the "litany of rot in Mangaung Council" (*City Press*, 12 February 2006, p. 5), while *The Star* included a feature on the positive role that protests play in the democratic South Africa by holding government accountable for the lack of delivery on previous election promises (6 February 2006, p. 10).

The "failure" of local authorities to meet the basic needs of their communities

was also the focus of an opinion piece written by the leader of the DA, Tony Leon. The article, published in *The Citizen*, presented the major focal points of the DA's election manifesto ("DA blueprint to stop corruption", 1 February 2006, p. 12). According to Leon, the DA solution to perceived poor service delivery is to introduce free basic services and help those people who are too poor to pay. The performance of municipal institutions in meeting the needs of communities as well as promises of improved service delivery from political parties continues to be covered across the broadcast and print media in highly critical discourse. On broadcast media, both e-tv and SABC 3 covered the efforts of political parties to win over voters in Cape Town (24 January 2006, 19:00 and 5 February 2006, 19:00).

While many of these items cover service delivery in more general terms, some stories have focused on individual municipalities. In this regard, the Daily Sun expressed "concern over voting" in Khutsong (Daily Sun, 15/02/2006, p. 36) and the Beeld repeated the contention of the leader of the official opposition, Tony Leon, that local government in South Africa has shown that when "Corruption blows in, service blows out" ("Korrupsie waai in, diens

waai uit", *Beeld,* 27/01/2005, p. 5). The Sowetan focused on the poverty-stricken residents of Kliptown and their desire to vote in order to improve their lives in "Election fervour" (*Sowetan*, 10 February 2006, p. 9), while *The Citizen* detailed the fact that "the people of Mandelaville are still waiting" (4 February 2006, p. 4). This article presented the plight of residents of this informal settlement in Roodepoort and the delay of municipal officials in meeting their permanent housing needs.

The coverage also tended to highlight local government service delivery failures, although some coverage has been noted on a few "exceptions" to the norm of service mismanagement, incapacity and failure. For example, the SABC current affairs programme, *Fokus,* focused on the performance of three municipalities that have succeeded in effectively and efficiently providing the necessary services to its citizens (SABC 2, 12 February 2006, 18:30).

Human rights considerations also informed the coverage of the court case surrounding the evictions of 300 residents from three buildings in the Johannesburg CBD, which was covered in the *Sunday Independent* ("Judge, counsel in the bowels of Jozi", 12 February 2006, presented the arguments of

the Johannesburg Metropolitan Council for the evictions as well as the counter arguments in favour of guaranteeing the basic socio-economic rights of the evictees. The article clearly operated within a human rights parameter, as it highlighted the struggles of the evictees to secure their rights.

Service Delivery Protests

South Africa witnessed a plethora of protests on issues of service delivery in different parts of the country especially towards the end of 2004 and during the course of 2005. According to the South African Institute of Race Relations report, 6000 service delivery protests erupted across the country during this year. These protests were mainly about two issues. Firstly, the poor quality of service rendered or non-provision of services at all. Secondly, the lack of performance and accountability by elected representatives. Protests gained momentum during the buildup to the local government elections.

In Gauteng province, protests were observed mainly in Tswhane, Johannesburg Metropolitan and Merafong local municipalities. Residents in Soshanguve, North of Pretoria embarked on protests against the quality of services being rendered to them by Tshwane

metropolitan. The other ongoing protests in Gauteng were mounted by the Anti-Privatisation Forum and Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee in the City of Johannesburg where residents insists on free electricity. These two organizations led campaigns in the City of Johannesburg during the buildup to the elections and have in fact fielded candidates for election during the local government elections.

The protests in Khutsong began in earnest in November 2005 when residents learnt of the Demarcation Board's intention to move their municipality (Merafong) from Gauteng province to North West province. Their bone of contention was mainly that a move to North West province means that they will have to travel long distances for services as the seat of North West provincial government is in Mafikeng. The second argument revolved around the economic conditions in the North West province, where they argue that given the fact that North West is comparatively poorer than Gauteng, their area will receive poor quality service or there might be no service delivery at all.

Use of State Resources and Political Party Funding

The availability of funding remains a challenge for

political parties that contested the local government elections in Gauteng. The smaller political parties were the hardest hit by this plight while the ruling party could in most instances exploit its incumbency and utilise public resources to augment its own. According to the IEC, a total number of 39 political parties were contesting the elections in Gauteng province. However, some parties will contest in selected municipal areas but the ANC and DA will contest in all municipalities throughout the province.

Political Violence and Intimidation

There were no incidents of major political violence and intimidation ahead of the local government elections in Gauteng, save the situation in Khutsong. The people in the area are up in arms over what they believe is government's failure to consult with them over the matter. This has ultimately led to the victimisation of local ANC councillors. There have been recent media reports that the houses belonging to ANC councillors have been torched. In fact, the area has been declared a "no go" area for the ANC.

Other than the Merafong municipality, the province was expected to have a peaceful election day. As is always the norm, the province's security forces would be on stand-by to assist in the electoral processes where need be. Indeed, gone are the days when various hostels in the province were "hotspots". It is now history that residents of Soweto and hostel tenants used to be sworn enemies. Harmony and acceptance has won over fear and mistrust.

Role of Security Forces

Security forces play a significant role in the promotion of free and fair elections. When the province goes to the polls on 1 March 2006, security forces will have their work cut-out, more specifically in areas such as the Merafong municipality. This is the area where, as previously described, the people of Khutsong are up in arms over government plan to incorporate the area into the North-West province. The country's Defence Minister, Patrick Lekota has promised additional security forces in the area should the situation remain volatile. As tension escalates in Khutsong, the residents have lodged a court application for the postponement of the elections in the area. However, the defence minister and the IEC remain optimistic that elections in the area would take place as scheduled.

Gender Issues

The role of women in governance remains a challenge in South Africa. The local government elections have indicated a steady increase in the number of women being elected into municipal councils from 19% in the 1995 local elections to 28% during the 2000 local elections. According to the IEC 2001 Report, Gauteng had a total of 446 ward councillors and only 86 (19.3%) and a total of 479 PR councillors with 206 (43%) female and 273 being male.

The party lists of the various political parties suggest that there might be an increase in the total number of women councillors across Gauteng who will be elected through PR and Ward Representation.

Conclusion

Given the above account, it is expected that local government elections in the province will go ahead as scheduled. As noted however, the standoff in Merafong poses great a challenge to the IEC and all the political parties that are contesting in the municipality. The much improved level of political tolerance needs to be commended. As noted above, the role played by the security forces in the elections will undoubtedly be less complicated than expected in other provinces such as Kwazulu-Natal. On the other hand, the IEC is

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expected to handle the elections with both integrity and professionalism. The

real challenge, however, is the necessity of more female

representation at the local government level.

EASTERN CAPE

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History of Provincial Local Government Elections

In line with new democratic developments in post-apartheid South Africa, the Eastern Cape held its first democratic local government elections in 1996. The ANC signalled its dominance of provincial politics, winning 80.90 percent, with the then Democratic Party (DP) becoming the second major political party at 10.75 percent. In 2000, the ANC continued its dominance registering 92 .3 percent. The DA was dislodged from its position by the newly formed UDM, which polled 10.6 percent to the DA's 10.2. Its political mainstay was in the former Transkei area around Umtata.[5] The ANC also controlled the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Council (NMMC), one of the six newly created national metropolitan areas, with 76 seats, followed by the DA with 31 and UDM with 2. Other political parties, which have made a showing in local contests since 1996 with differing success have been parties such as the ACDP, PAC and IFP.

IEC Preparedness

In total the IEC designated 4 368 polling stations (23 percent of the national average) spread over the 636 wards. This meant an additional 1300 stations translating into a 30 percent increase from 2000[6]. The IEC identified one of the disadvantages in this regard as the quality of facilities at these stations with 45 percent lacking electricity, 34 percent water and 17 percent sanitation facilities.[7]

In terms of preparing for voter registration, the IEC held a series of special election drives; a three-day "target registration" exercise that focused on 36 of the 39 municipal areas of the province in July 2005.[8] This was followed by a one-day registration drive in September and two-day weekend registration periods in December. This was in addition to the open registration, undertaken on a regular basis at all IEC offices in the province.

Regarding voter education, the IEC focused on sessions

in rural areas, especially for farm workers, for example convening a two-day conference at the Gariep Dam area in February 2005.[9]

The other preparatory work in which the IEC engaged was the holding of plenary workshops and conferences. One was held in for 250 delegates in East London in November 2004 with represented stakeholders from municipalities, provincial government and the South Africa Local Government Association (SALGA). The major task of the conference was to set up a task team that would liaise with the IEC and Department of Home Affairs.[10] Emphasis was also placed on communication strategies and in this connection a media workshop for 50 representatives of political parties was held at the Sunshine Coast in mid 2005.[11] The IEC also established municipal electoral units staffed by its personnel but under the

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[5] Tom Lodge, 2002, *Politics in South Africa: From Mandela to Mbek*i, p.111.

[6] Lauren Cohen, '4000 Eastern Cape voting stations ready for crowds', *The Weekend Post*, 25 February 2006, p.2.
[7] Ibid
[8] Deon Van Der Merwe, 'IEC gears up for local government elections', *Daily Dispatch*, 9 July 2005, p.1.

[9] Mayibongwe Maqhina, ' Spotlight on rural vote', *Daily Dispatch'*, 28 February 2005, p.1.
[10] Mayibonwge Maqhina and Lulamile Feni, 'IEC indaba discusses plans for local poll'*, Daily Dispatch* 16 November 2006, p.2.
[11] Dean Van Der Merwe, ' IEC gears up for local government elections', *Daily Dispatch*, 9 July 200, p.1.

administrative control of municipalities.

The IEC's main operational centre was located at the East London City Hall. It served as a central point for media briefings for political parties and as a base for parties to monitor the elections. It was equipped with a call centre and housed the various media organisations that covered the election.[12]

Voter Registration

The Eastern Cape is the third province with the highest number of registered voters close to 3 million (2, 892, 702)[13], following Gauteng, Kwazulu-Natal. A breakdown of the figures indicates that, similar to national trends, there are more female voters (1, 680, 749) than male voters (1, 211, 983). The province only came second to Mpumalanga (60 percent) in registering the highest proportion of female to male voters (58 percent). In terms of age group registration, the province again reflected national trends with the highest number of registered voters being in the category (20-39) followed by the middle-aged group (40-59). These were followed by the adult category (60 plus) and

the lowest category was young voters (18-19).

Party Registration

Twenty-one political parties (20 percent of the total number of national contestants) registered to contest the poll variously at ward level and fielded proportional representation candidates. As was expected, these included established parties such as the ANC, DA, ACDP, ID, PAC, and UDM that had wide representation in the majority of wards. The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) was the exception as it gave a low priority to the Eastern Cape registering an interest in fielding candidates in the Mzimkulu Municipality and the NMMC. These were followed by parties such as Azapo, the FF Plus and relatively new parties such as the National Democratic Convention (Nadeco) and the United Independent Front (UIF).

The third tier of parties that contested the election were locally based organisations, such as Kouga 2000, Kouga Civil Alliance, the Adelaide Residents Association, Bedford Residents Association, Alliance for Community Transformation, Liberal Party (LP) and Congress Movement of the Coloured People of South Africa.

Candidate Nomination and Party Lists

The nomination of party candidates to party lists and other related issues were dominated by events in the ruling party in the province the ANC, with very negligible disputes emanating from other parties.

Basically, the major focus of contestation was around the demotion and elimination of branch level nominees by either the provincial or national structures. The disputes were underlined by divisions within the party that centred around power bases within the ANC and its alliance partners the SACP and Cosatu.

The problem was so serious that in some areas violence flared when residents realised that some of their candidates had been replaced, for example in Cambridge.[14] It emerged that at the provincial list conference held in December 2005, senior leaders of the party had been left of the list.[15]

Following protracted negotiations, a compromise

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[12] Daily Dispatch', EL City Hall nerve centre on March 1', 20 February 2006, p.20
[13] All election figures from the Independent Electoral Commission's web site, http://www.elections.org.za

[14] Mayibongwe Maqhina, 'Cambridge poll protest rampage', *Daily Dispatch* 23, February 2006, p.1.
[15] Mayibongwe Maqhina, 'To ANC officials left off party lists', *Daily Dispatch*, 6 December 2005, p.1.

was reached to rectify the problem.[16]

However, the final list presented to the national headquarters of the party was also rejected, this time largely on the basis of inclusion of some candidates who apparently did not meet the criteria to stand for elections and the provincial party was ordered to come up with a list that would be broadly acceptable. [17]

In contrast, not much controversy was experienced by other political parties in this regard. The DA for example, asserted this was because its provincial list was so widely representative a process that it had been achieved through, '…a democratic selection process at grassroots level where merit, performance and dedicated commitment to local government are the determining criteria."[18]

Delimitation Processes and Disputes

Controversies that were related to the delimitation of wards were informed by the government's policy to do abolish cross border municipalities. The areas affected in this region were Umzimkulu and Matatiele municipalities, which raised serious discontent.

In Matatiele residents engaged in sporadic protests actions which were, however, peaceful after the decision was made towards the end of 2005.[19] Realising that the decision was a reality, they sought relief from the Constitutional Court to stop the election, which failed, although the court reserved judgment on the constitutionality of the incorporation of the area to the Eastern Cape until the end of March.[20]

Pre-Election Violence and Intimidation

The Eastern Cape has not experienced serious electoral political violence and intimidation compared for instance, to a province such as KwaZulu-Natal, although there have been sporadic incidents of tensions between political parties in the past, especially between the ANC and UDM.[21]

Still there were isolated incidents of tensions between political parties although these did not result in actual violence. Most of the incidents were usually sparked by disputes over the placing of campaign materials, such as posters. For example, the DA complained that its members were threatened with violence whilst placing posters in Motherwell in Port Elizabeth by an ANC councillor and his supporters in early February 2005 [22] Similar incidents were also reported in Grahamstown, where the DA once again alleged the theft of its poster by the ANC and lodged a criminal case with the local police and filed a complaint with the local IEC office.[23]

Other disturbing claims were variously made by opposition parties about the ANC's alleged pressuring of voters to support the party or else suffer the consequences in terms of losing social benefits after the election. The ID in Dimbaza for example, made such a claim where it alleged that the ruling party had threatened voters that it would affect their pension grants after the election if they did not vote for the party – an accusation vehemently denied by the ANC.[24]

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[16] Mayinbongwe Maqhina, 'Conference sees prominent election candidates re-instated on list', *Daily Dispatch*, 12 December 2005, p.1.
[17] Bongani Siqoko, ' ANC tell provincial list committee to sort our mess', *Daily Dispatch*, 12 January 2006, p.12.
[18] Patrick Cull, ' DA ' proud' of highly representative lists', *The Herald*, 19 January 2006, p.9.

[19] Makhanya Komisa, ' Matatiele cross-boundary issue could cut votes – IEC', *The Herald* 30 November 2005, p.1.
[20]http://www.sabcnews.com/politics/elections/p, 2172, 122626.html
[21] Lodge, *Politics in South Africa*, p.111.

[22] Nomahlubi Sonjica, ' DA says ANC made threats in M' well', *The Herald*, 7 February 2006, p.35.
[23] Mizamazi Gcukumana, ' DA poster stolen from lamp posts', *Grocotts Mail,* 24 February 2006
[24] Denver Donian, ' ANC slams ID over " threats claims'*, Daily Dispatch* 6 February 2006, p.4.

Party Campaigns

When approached to assess their chances, invariably all parties expressed high optimism of their prospects in the election.[25] The ANC was again forecast as the likely winner, to be followed by the DA, while the third strongest candidate was slated to emerge between a close contest between the UDM and PAC.[26]

And as in all local government elections, the parties predictably focused on issues that animated voters at this level of government. They focused on issues such the provision of quality services, eliminating corruption, job creation and promising efficient government in general.

What marked the campaigns was their similarity, evident in their messages with divergence only in emphasis and approach to issues. The ANC focused on promising the electorate greater service delivery whilst the oppositions, led by the DA, attacked it for perceived non-delivery. A significant feature of the election was the appearance of national party leaders at elections drives to enforce their messages. These included

Thabo Mbeki, Tony Leon, Patricia de Lille and Motsoko Pheko.

The areas that were marked by heated campaigning were those that had been affected by issues of service delivery such as the NMMC and Buffalo City (BC) in East London and Matatiele over incorporation issues. Of significant interest was the emergence of a new political party, the African Independent Congress (AIC) led by the former ANC mayor of Matatiele, Cedric Camham. He had resigned from the party due to disagreement around the border demarcation issue accusing the ANC of not consulting the residents.[27]

The other area of intense contestation was the King Sabata Dalindyebo Municipality (KSD), which incorporates Umtata the former capital of the Transkei homeland.[28] The area had been won by the UDM but subsequently re-captured by the ANC during the floor crossing period in 2003. To illustrate the strategic importance of this area to political parties, Mbeki made it one of his priority areas in his visit to the province.[29]

Other new parties that were contesting the elections for the first time in this province included an offshoot of the UDM, the United Independent Front (UIF), and the ID.

The campaign issue, which dominated the general discussion around service delivery, was the inferior status of women in society and the need to uplift them. The ANC, in pursuance of its gender parity policy of 50 – 50 men and women candidates was in the forefront of this campaign, significantly with a female candidate being touted to lead the NMMC.[30]

However, the DA was very skeptical of this stance and, although acknowledging that the position of women needed to be addressed, it was concerned that women would not be chosen on the basis of ability but just to fill quotas.[31]

Pre-Election Service Delivery Protests

The Eastern Cape, as in other provinces such as the Free State, Gauteng and Mpumalanga, was affected by incidents of pre-election protests that were centred on

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[25] Myibongiwe Maqhina, " Pre-Election Confidence" *Daily Dispatch*, 1 March 2006, p.1.
[26] Susan Booysen, " East Cape voters use both ballot and brick', *The Weekend Post*, 25 February 2006, p.9.

[27] Sabelo Ndlangisa, ' Last minute attempts to defer voting in Matatiele', *Daily Dispatch*, 1 March 2006, p.3.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Christell Terrblance, ' Mbeki woos villagers in Eastern Cape heartland', *Sunday Independent*, 26 February 2006, p.5.

[30] Lauren Cohen, ' Will one of the leaders be our next mayor', *Weekend Post*, 18 February 2006, p.6.
[31] Mthubanzi Mniki, ' DA says women must be capable, not just be there as quota fillers', *The Herald,* 26 January 2006.

complaints around the lack of service delivery.

These protests started around mid 2005 and were focused mainly in Port Elizabeth and East London on the coast and further inland area such as Butterworth and King Williams Town. The NMMC protests were so serious that the provincial government had to intervene with the Premier, Nosimo Balindela, visiting the areas for two days in May 2005 in an effort to resolve the problem.[32]

In a follow-up campaign to address these issues, the provincial Housing and Local Government Department had to convene a meeting for all municipalities to re-allocate the 518 billion rand budget for housing and to source additional funding from the provincial treasury.[33]

However, the protests spread to Buffalo City with resultant violence occurring when the N2 highway was blockaded in King Williams Town with 32 people arrested and the tear-gassing of people in the Ntabankulu area for the same reason.[34] Other serious incidents of violence were recorded in areas such as Walmer where eight people were arrested for blockading roads over the same issue of housing protest.[35]

By the end of 2005 however, the protests had subsided and few incidents were reported regarding actual protests connected to the voting process in 2006. One of the primary reasons, attributed to the lull in the protests has been indicated by surveys. It has become clear hat that although there is dissatisfaction felt by Eastern Cape voters who are prepared to register their discontent by protesting, they have also shown strong enthusiasm for participating in electoral processes.[36]

In addition, it appears that they are mainly disenchanted about the councillors themselves and not the ANC. The party's policy of changing over half of its councillors may have satisfied this demand.

Security Services

From a security point of view, the province was allocated 8000 thousand officers to provide security at polling stations on voting day. On average, this roughly translates into two security personnel at each polling station. In the Makana area all leave benefits for police personnel due around the election period were suspended[37]. This provides an example of the serious stance adopted by the security forces towards the elections.

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[32] Jimmy Matyu, ' Premier flies in to tackling housing protests', *The Herald*, 19 May 2005, p.1.
[33] Mayibongwe Maqhina, ' R518 bn may ease housing protests', *Daily Dispatch*, 2 June 2005, p.5.
[34] *Daily Dispatch*, ' N2 closed as protest reach BC', 01 June 2005, p.5.

[35] Jimmy Matyu, ' Rioters held as housing protests flare up again', *The Herald*, 26 July 2005, p.1.
[36] Susan Booysen, ' Eastern Cape voters use both ballot and brick', *Weekend Post* 25 February 2006, p.9

[37] Ngwanya, Mazwi, "Police Cancel Leave to ensure free and fair elections,' *Grocotts Mail* 24 February 2006

WESTERN CAPE

John Williams
UWC

Preparedness of the Election Management Body (EMB)

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) can be described as fairly well prepared for the local government elections in Cape Town and environs. In terms of the Local Government: Municipal Electoral Act, 27 of 2000, parties and ward candidates must comply with certain requirements when submitting party lists and forms for contesting the elections. Party lists and independent ward candidate nominations must be submitted to the office of the Municipal Electoral Officer (MEO) in each municipality in the country, on a date to be stated in the election timetable. Each party contesting an election must:

- Submit notice of intention to contest the election (the prescribed form will be supplied by the IEC)
- Submit a party list
- Pay a deposit in the amount prescribed by the Commission (only bank guaranteed cheques will be accepted)
- Submit an acceptance of nomination form signed by each candidate on the list
- Submit a certified copy of the first page of the identity book of each candidate on the list (the page with his/her photograph and personal details).

Each independent ward candidate contesting an election must:

- Submit a nomination form signed by a person nominating the candidate (the prescribed form will be supplied by the IEC)
- Submit on the prescribed form a list of the signatures of at least 50 voters whose names appear on the segment of the Voters' Roll for any voting district in the ward in question (this will serve as proof of support for the candidature of the nominee)
- Sign and submit the prescribed acceptance of nomination form
- Provide a certified copy of the first page of one's ID book (the page with one's photograph and personal details)
- Pay a deposit in the amount prescribed by the Commission (only bank guaranteed cheques will be accepted).

The Electoral Commission, in terms of sections 14(1)(b) and 17(2)(d) of the Local Government: Municipal Electoral Act, 27 of 2000 has the right to determine the deposits for contesting each election, for example:

- R3 000 – Metro Council (submit party list and ward candidates)
- R2 000 – Local Council with wards (submit party list and ward candidates)
- R1 000 – Local Council without wards (submit a party list)
- R1 000 – District Council (submit a party list)
- R 500 – Independent Ward Candidates

Unless the deposit is to be forfeited in terms of section 78(2)(c) of the Act, section 83(1) of the Act obliges the Commission to refund election deposits to parties or candidates if:

- A party wins at least one seat in the municipal council the election of which that contested
- The ward candidate received at least 10% of the total number of votes cast in the ward election

Refunds will be paid out either by the IEC head office or at the local level, according to the wishes of the party or candidate.

Preparedness of Civil Society Organisations

Whilst NGOs, organised labour and religious institutions often, directly or indirectly support specific political parties, they seldom organise and mobilise under their own political banner for a specific election. With a view to expediting greater civil society participation in local governance, the new democratic government since 1994 has introduced a

number of steps to encourage participatory democracy, for example through integrated development planning. Steps to improve service delivery in line with the *Batho Pele* principles, (which include consultation; service standard; access; courtesy; information; openness and transparency; redress; value for money; encouraging innovation and customer impact**)** have had uneven success. In the government's view, most of the institutions are operating effectively although the process of stabilising the intergovernmental system is still not complete. Community monitoring and evaluation of government's performance has also been strengthened by the publication of the government's programme of action on their website, as well as the public reporting of progress through media briefings and regular postings of progress updates on the site, as cited in: Governance: Batho Pele programme given teeth. *ANC Today* Vol 4, No. 34 27 August 2004. Government, however, has identified two areas of weaknesses. These include poor senior management involvement in the monitoring of the implementation of the principles driving *Batho Pele* and a lack of public involvement in the enforcement of these principles.[38]

In terms of local government performance, the SALGRC (2000) poll found that 73% of respondents were unhappy about aspects of local government service delivery. Eighty percent of these were black. Less than half respondents (33%) knew who their local councillors were and only 16% had personally met their councillors (SALGRC 2003: 13). The poll found that there was a general lack of communication by municipal councils with communities. People are not interacting and participating optimally because wards systems not being fully functional, there is also a lack of understanding among communities about how they can best participate. A consequence is that delivery of services is slow and not directly responding to the needs of communities. Many municipalities have not as yet passed by-laws facilitating community participation in the integrated development planning (IDP) and other processes. This means civil society organisations must yet establish themselves as an integral part of local government and the preparation for local government elections.

Existence of Conflict Management Institutions

The existence and effectiveness of conflict

management institutions in Cape Town can be illustrated by two local government electioneering features covered by journalists of the Independent Newspapers. They both show that tensions and often conflict are inherent to electioneering platforms. In the first instance Dianne Hawker (February 14, 2006) writes: *"Character assassination" and "intimidation" are the buzzwords doing the rounds in political corridors after pre-election conflict erupted in Khayelitsha at the weekend. The ANC and a number of independent candidates have blamed one another for starting the trouble which included ANC ward councillor Thabile Ludid"s home being stoned on Sunday.*

A second story featured on 25 February 2006 concerns the decision by the Constitutional Court to allow the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) to contest the local elections in Cape Town.

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) was bound by the letter of the law to refuse the ACDP permission to contest the election in the Cape metro on the strength of their failure to comply with the rules. And now that the Constitutional Court has ruled in favour of the party there will be some who argue that the exercise has been a waste of time and

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[38] See 'Towards a ten year review' (page 13) Indicate governments

awareness and sensitivity to problems?

money – especially since ballot forms now have to be reprinted. ACDP candidates reacted as if they had won the elections, with mayoral candidate Pauline Cupido saying: "We know how to fight a battle. All thanks be to God for his intervention in this court battle." Cupido said she and her fellow candidates had never slacked in their electioneering campaign and had never "lost faith" that they would be able to participate. "We want to say to the voters vote for a party that knows how to win a battle. We will fight their case the same way that we fought for the ACDP."

In the meanwhile, Wendy Jasson Da Costa and Myolisi Gophe report that the ACDP appears to be jubilant about the resolution of the conflict with the IEC as three million election ballot sheets for the Cape Town metropole must be reprinted to include the ACDP after the Constitutional Court ruled that it could take part in the elections after all.

A Constitutional Court document read: *"The applicant had lodged its notice of intention to oppose, its party list and candidate nomination forms for all 105 wards. It did not lodge a separate deposit in respect of Cape Town municipality. However it was common cause the IEC was holding unallocated funds of R10 000 that had been deposited in respect of municipalities it* *had subsequently decided not to contest."* The court concluded that: *"The surplus held constituted compliance with the obligation to pay a deposit within the meaning of the Municipal Electoral Act."*

Delimitation Process

Establishing the body responsible for delimitation is entrenched in the Constitution. The delimitation process is a technical exercise that can be used to achieve political goals. The delimitation process must ensure that each constituency contains approximately the same number of eligible voters; thus it takes into considerations into account:

- Population density
- Ease of transport and communication
- Geographical features
- Existing patterns of human settlement
- Financial viability and administrative capacity of electoral area
- Financial and administrative consequences of boundary determination
- Existing boundaries
- Community interests.

Protests over Service Delivery

According the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, subsection 152. (1), the objectives of local government are as follows:

- To provide democratic and accountable government for local communities;
- To ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner;
- To promote social and economic development;
- To promote a safe and healthy environment; and
- To encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government.

(2) A municipality must strive, within its financial and administrative capacity, to achieve the objects set out in subsection (1).

Unfortunately, since 204 of the 284 of the municipalities are apparently dysfunctional, they are not able to achieve the above-mentioned objectives. Accordingly, in many communities ordinary people are unhappy about the lack of service delivery. Consequently, in 2005, an average of 16 protests occurred in South Africa each day according to the Minister of Safety and Security, Charles Nqakula, who conceded this in Parliament in October 2005.

Indeed, mass protests have been taking place in the poverty-stricken neighbourhoods of Cape Town, Durban and Free State, South Africa, as well as in the country's

administrative capital, Pretoria.

From early May 2005 onwards, the protests spread around the Cape Town area. Shantytown residents held protests in the Eastern Cape and Western Cape and in Mpumalanga during the week ending May 27, and since then actions became more widely spread. The main demands of those involved are for decent housing with sanitation, and an end to power cuts and water shutoffs.

In the Cape Town neighbourhoods of Langa, Gugulethu, Khayelitsha and Happy Valley, protesters invaded unused land, made barricades, burnt tyres and marched through the streets. In Khayelitsha, the protesters poured the contents of their night-soil buckets on a busy highway to express their anger at the lack of proper sanitation. In Happy Valley, 700 people protested on the streets on 25 May 2005 to demand the city council provide better housingOn the same day, in Blackheath near Cape Town, approximately 1,000 protesters set up barricades in one of the main streets.

Police used rubber bullets, tear gas and stun grenades to disperse demonstrators in Happy Valley, Blackheath, Gugulethu and in several other areas. Over 30 were arrested between 23 and 27 May 2005. A spokesman for

the residents of Happy Valley said that seven people had been seriously injured by the rubber bullets fired by police. The Johannesburg-based *Sunday Times* commented on 29 May 2005 that the unrest was "reminiscent of the 1980s," that is, at the time of the apartheid regime. The unrest then spread to other areas such as Secunda in Mpumalanga, Nelson Mandela Metro in the Eastern Cape, Ocean View in Western Cape, Cato Manor in Durban and Harrismith and Vrede in Free State. In Free State, demonstrators pelted the local government officials with stones, and in Pretoria demonstrators took to the streets of Lotus Gardens and Mamelodi to vent their anger at the lack of services.

Some of the protests were reported to be the result of growing anger amongst "backyarders," residents who live in shacks in the backyards of their family or friends, while others were against the squalid conditions in the shantytowns. At her squatter camp near Cape Town, Mzwandile Qolintaba told the Reuters news agency, "I feel a lot of pain, we don't have electricity, we don't have toilets ... our children are sick because we don't have any water. I am angry."

Rumours had spread that the Western Cape's plan for a new housing scheme would

be mainly for shack dwellers recently arrived from the Eastern Cape, at the expense of local residents. After a fire in January devastated the Joe Slovo informal settlement in Langa, between 12,000 and 20,000 were left homeless. This further delayed the resettlement of people who had been on the waiting list for years.

A *Sunday Times* article on 29 May 2005, entitled "The story so far," explains that the protests have been building up for the last year. On 5 July 2004, around 3,000 protestors marched on the streets of Diepsloot, a town to the northwest of Johannesburg, demanding that councillors be sacked for the substandard services provided. Less than two months later, 17-year-old student Teboho Mkhonza was shot dead by police, who opened fire on demonstrators outside Harrismith in the Free State.

Demonstrations have taken place every month thereafter. On 15 March 2005, some 4,500 took part in a protest in Secunda, Mpumalanga. Crowds vented their anger on municipal offices and set up burning barricades. This reveals that protest against poor service delivery is not merely a phenomenon in the Western Cape, but increasingly, a feature of the whole of South Africa.

In the meanwhile, Brendan Boyle of the *Sunday Times*

(26 February) argues that the deeply disaffected coloured population in Cape Town would largely decide which political party would win in the Unicity of Cape Town. In his view, results of an eleventh-hour Markinor Survey commissioned by the *Sunday Times* shows that the African National Congress was less than one percentage point ahead of the Democratic Alliance among those who have decided and are willing to say how they would vote on 1 March. A massive 30% did not know or would not say.

Coloureds make up half of Cape Town's population with whites and Africans eac comprising roughly a quarter. African respondents to the Survey mainly knew and were willing reveal for whom they would vote: overwhelmingly for the ANC, with 4.5% saying they would support the DA and 3.8% for the Independent Democrats (ID). Nearly half of the whites said they would support the DA and 6% opted for the ID. White support for the ANC was not able to be measured.

Among coloured voters, the race was still wide open when the Survey was conducted on 15 February. One in 10 said they would vote ANC, one in three said they would vote DA and 14.5% opted for Patricia de Lille's ID. That left almost half of the coloured voters undecided – a group equal to

the whole African or white electorate. Responses to a variety of questions about the experience of the past five years showed Coloured people were also the most dissatisfied group. Half said they would not vote for the same party they supported in 2000, with the attrition almost equal among those who voted for the ANC and for the DA, which then included the now defunct New National Party.

Six out of 10 Coloured voters said they had little or no confidence in the current council or in ANC mayor, Nomaindia Mfeketo. This was slightly higher than the dissatisfaction among whites, but 40% of black voters also said they did not trust the council or the mayor.

Institute for a Democratic South Africa analyst Jonathan Faull, who closely monitored the Cape Town election, said the poll result put Cape Town's future firmly in the hands of the undecided.

Civic and Voter Education

As is stated later in this *Election Update*, electioneering is a costly exercise. Despite this, with the view of enabling voters to understand election issues and procedures, most countries undertake civic and voter education with the assistance of Non-Governmental Organisations

(NGOs) and other organised civil society institutions. Most civic and voter education programmes are inadequate, in terms both of content and frequency, and tend to be over-reliant on donor funding. Rural voters, especially those residing in remote areas; women and the youth do not always have access to voter education programmes. Illiteracy is also an obstacle to voter education.

Voter Registration

The purpose of voter registration is to identify those persons who are eligible to cast a ballot on election day. The current practice is that the EMB is responsible for compiling a national voters' roll and undertaking voter registration. The transparency and legitimacy of the voter registration process is often disputed, resulting in a lack of acceptance of the election results. Conflicts associated with the voter registration process include the legislative prescription for voting, the time allocated for the process and for inspection of the voters' roll and the accuracy of the voters' roll.

Political Campaign

Political campaigns in Cape Town and environs were fairly vigorous in the few weeks preceding the March elections. Some of the

themes and issues covered by some of the political parties are reflected in the campaign posters as follows:

- The ANC has a plan to make local government work better for you;
- Take your City Back – the DA
- More voice for your vote – ID
- No to capitalist Councils – Workers International

The period between the conclusion of candidate nomination and election day is used by political parties to mount heightened political campaigns. Sometimes insufficient time is allocated for this purpose. During the campaign period, competing parties and candidates tend to ignore the Code of Conduct and resort to unlawful practices such as the designation of 'no-go' areas, preventing rivals from entering those zones.

Nominations and Party Lists

The final party and candidate lists for the 2006 Municipal Elections were certified by the Electoral Commission (IEC) as was required by the Election Timetable on 30 January 2006. This was a culmination of many months of challenging work for political parties and independent candidates who submitted their party lists and nominations to the IEC by 19 January, as stated by the Chairperson of the IEC, Dr Brigalia Bam.

Besides the ANC, DA and the Independent Democrats, those registered for the poll are as follows:

- African Christian Democratic Party,
- African Muslim Party,
- Azapo,
- Breedevallei Onafhanklik,
- Knysna Community Forum,
- First Community Party,
- Federation of Democrats,
- George Independent Forum,
- IFP,
- Laingsburg Gemeenskapsparty,
- Moderate Independent Party,
- Mitchell's Plain Independent Party,
- Oudtshoorn Civic Association,
- PAC,
- Peoples Democratic Movement,
- Progressive Independent Movement,
- Pro Ratepayers Party,
- United Democratic Movement,
- United Democratic Party,
- United Independent Front,
- Universal Party, United Party of SA,
- Freedom Front Plus,
- Western Cape Community Alliance of Free Democrats
- Peace and Justice Congress.

Media

The South African Constitution guarantees freedom of the press as a fundamental right. The principles for covering an election ideally should be:

- All contesting parties and candidates should have equal access to the public media.
- Media regulations should be issued by an independent media authority responsible for monitoring and regulating the media on a continuous basis.
- Media coverage of the elections should be subject to a code of conduct designed to promote fair reporting.

It would appear that generally, the media, both electronic and print, have provided a reasonably balanced overview of the election issues as pursued by the contesting parties in South Africa in general and Cape Town in particular. Indeed, according to Joe Thloloe (24 Feb 2006), an online journalist, if anybody still had doubts about the *Cape Argus*' commitment to deepening democracy in Cape Town and the rest of the country, those doubts should have been evaporated by the newspaper's stories and editorials as it has even conducted its own opinion survey.

The poll was conducted for the Argus by an independent company, Research Surveys, and it indicated that about 200 000 undecided voters, 10% of the sample, may hold

the key to electing the party that will run Cape Town after the elections.

Particularly worrying, however, was that 21% of Cape Town's 2 million residents over the age of 18 said they were not going to vote. A total of 69% said they intended voting.

The newspaper also ran features on another poll of 200 youths from Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban, Cape Town, Bloemfontein, East London and Port Elizabeth by the same company. It showed apathy among young people between 18 and 24.

Up to 70% felt there were "not good reasons" to vote in the elections next Wednesday. The *Argus* does not believe its responsibilities stop at reporting these unpalatable stories; as a good citizen it also holds strong opinions on them. An editorial stated: "*By this time next week, many South Africans would have voted in our local government elections. Sadly, far too many others would simply not have bothered to make their mark to determine who will look after their interests for the next five years.*
The Argus Poll, conducted on our behalf by Research Surveys, found that 21% of registered voters would not vote. Another 10% were still deciding whether to vote. Add to this the 25% of those

polled who will be unable to vote as they are not registered as voters and one wonders what has happened to the pre-1994 appetite for democracy. "Granted, that democracy also gave citizens the right to choose not to vote. However, in a city that faces many challenges - including housing, drug abuse and crime - it is a shame that so many people have opted out and given up their hard-won right to help shape its future."

Use of State Resources

Often, not all political parties and candidates have access to public resources – this means a governing party could have an unfair advantage in this area, using public resources to which they have exclusive access for campaign purposes or to further their political ends. Hence the need to consider the following principles in this regard:

- The use of public assets and funds for party political purposes should be regulated in order to level the playing field for political competition.
- The use of public resources for political campaigns and political party activities should generally be avoided but, if permitted, access thereto must be equitable and be paid for, and conditions for such access and payment must be clearly provided for in the law.

- Political parties and candidates should account to the EMB for the use of such resources.

Political Violence and Intimidation

There can only be a free, fair, credible and legitimate electoral process in a climate that is free from political violence and intimidation. Thus the need to enforce the following principles in this regard:

- All electoral stakeholders should commit themselves to a culture of peace and tolerance at all times.
- All electoral stakeholders should put into place programmes that cultivate and promote a culture of peace and tolerance before, during and after election day.
- An enforceable Code of Conduct regulating the behaviour of political parties and their supporters should be adopted through a consultative process involving the EMB, political parties and other electoral stakeholders.

Role of Security Forces

The role that should be played by the state security forces – army, police and intelligence is crucial during an election. It is generally the police who keep the peace on a daily basis, including on election day. They play a critical role in

protecting the integrity of the electoral process.

On 1 March 2006 there will be 60 000 police officers deployed and the South African National Defence Force will be on standby to ensure that elections occur freely and voluntarily.

However, the presence of security forces around polling stations may intimidate and instil fear in voters, thus the need to uphold the following principles in this regard:

- Security forces should maintain a neutral role in the provision of election security.
- Security forces should be regulated by a Code of Conduct contained in the electoral law, and their behaviour should not intimidate voters.
- The EMB should meet regularly with the security forces to discuss issues relating to polling day security, national security during the election period, and any other logistical assistance that may be required

Political Party Finance

Often countries provide public funding to political parties for election purposes. This is necessary in order to level the playing field and to strengthen the democratic process. However, in some countries, public funding is not provided, and political parties do not always disclose the sources of foreign funding. In some cases this has led to suspicion and tensions, particularly between ruling and opposition parties. Hence the need to observe the following principles:

- Public funding should be extended to all parties (and independent candidates) contesting elections who can demonstrate a track record of support in the most recently held elections, based, for example, on their share of the popular vote.
- The EMB should be responsible for regulating the use of these public funds and beneficiaries of the funds must provide verifiable accounts to the EMB.
- Consideration should be given to the establishment of rules governing the disclosure of all sources of funding of political parties.

Both public (by the State) and private funding (from other sources) is allowed.

With respect to State funding, the Public Funding of Represented Political Parties Act, 103 of 1997, governs the eligibility of parties and the allocations they receive from the Represented Political Parties' Fund. Any political party may also obtain funds from its members and from other sources, such as business (both local and foreign) and civil society groupings.

Financial contributions given to parties are known as **direct funding**, while contributions in kind (e.g. voluntary work or free office space, advertising, equipment or printing facilities) are known as **indirect funding**.

A political party is entitled to an allocation from the Represented Political Parties' Fund for any financial year that it is represented in the National Assembly or in any provincial legislature or both in the National Assembly and in any provincial legislature A party must account for the money allocated to it under these classifications: personnel expenditure, accommodation, travel expenses, arrangement of meetings and rallies, administration, and promotions and publications.

A political party may not:

- Pay any direct or indirect remuneration or other benefit of any kind to any elected representative of the party or to any public servant at any level of government finance or contribute directly or indirectly to any matter, cause, event or occasion if it contravenes any code of ethics binding on members of parliament or any provincial legislature.

- Use the money directly or indirectly to start any business or acquire or maintain a right or financial interest in any business.
- Use the money directly or indirectly to acquire or maintain a right or financial interest in any immovable property, unless if solely for ordinary party-political purposes.
- Use the money for anything else that is incompatible with a political party's functioning in a modern democracy.

In accordance with the Public Funding of Represented Parties Act, money is allocated annually from the public purse - the Represented Political Parties' Fund - to parties represented in Parliament. However, this was only a splash in the monetary pool required at election time.

Judith February of the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa) said about R70m had been made available by the government, meaning that political party campaigns were largely privately funded. However, private funding was not being regulated and "this means we have no idea where the money comes from," she said. February said it should be necessary to make parties contesting local government elections disclose the origin of their funding as most tenders were issued at this level of government. "In this way any corruption or perception of corruption can be eliminated. A lack of transparency is problematic as there is no way of knowing which companies or individuals have donated."

The *Cape Argus* approached four political parties – the Democratic Alliance (DA), the African National Congress (ANC), the African Muslim Party (AMP) and the Independent Democrats (ID) – to find out how much they were spending on their Western Cape election campaigns and where the money had come from. DA MP, Ryan Coetzee was reluctant to release figures, saying the party "has a policy not to reveal that information".

He said the party had printed "plus-minus 500 000 posters", but did not disclose the cost. Steven Otter of the ID said the party had allocated "a little under R900 000" to advertising in the Western Cape, with its main media focus being posters and radio advertisements.

Both parties said they were using advertising agencies, but would only say that their campaigns were being funded by government and donations. Dr Wafie Hassiem of the AMP said they were unable to respond as they were "still in the midst of their campaign". A list of questions about local government election costs was sent to the ANC on 16 February 2006. However, repeated attempts to get a response proved fruitless.

Gender issues

Gender equality is guaranteed in the South African constitution. Thus the ANC-led government is suggesting a 50% proportional representation of women in every sphere of the South African society, including political life of the Nation.

The ANC's extended national working committee found that the 50-50 representation of men and women in their party lists was a major headache. ANC secretary-general, Kgalema Motlanthe said this was caused by the fact that some branches were weaker and did not have strong women candidates to field against rival party candidates. The ANC also had to ensure that the lists provided were a fair representation of party members in terms of geographic spread in each of the country's more than 200 district municipalities.

A number of people, however, are watching to see if the ANC will manage to strike the 50-50 balance among its representatives in these local government elections. The 50-50 representation has been one of the party's major election

cards, as opposition parties target weaknesses such as municipal corruption and lack of basic service delivery as key campaign tools. Motlanthe said he was convinced that, based on the lists of more than 7 000 candidates he had processed, the ANC would have equal gender representation in municipalities.

The ANC's constitution still requires that at least one third of its public representatives should be women. Motlanthe said, however, that the party decided that it should embrace the principles of the African Union to have equal representation of men and women in the key public service positions. *"Our constitution still dictates that it should be one third of women. However, given the AU resolution, we felt that we should give it a go now before the constitution is amended during the (ANC conference set for) next year."*

It is understood that a number of ANC members, especially serving councillors, were unhappy about the 50-50 requirement as it meant most of them would lose their jobs. Motlanthe downplayed this however, and said it had not been part of the objections that the national working committee had dealt with from disgruntled members. He said the party had sent letters to various ANC

provincial executives, giving them authority to register certain candidates deemed suitable to contest the elections and "the only outstanding thing we are still working on is ensuring that all the details required by the IEC are in order".

The ANC appeared to be concerned about the squabbles among its members at many branches that could affect its performance in the elections. Motlanthe said: "The reason why we paid so much attention to the appeals and objections is precisely because there's no magic solution to differences other than discussions". The ANC has apparently upheld some of the objections by some of its members in various branches who were unhappy about particular candidates. In some cases, Motlanthe said, the national leadership discovered that list meetings were not conducted in accordance with prescribed guidelines. "In some, we also found that it had been simple misunderstandings and clashes based on all sorts of untested allegations," he said.

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KWAZULU-NATAL

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Historical Background

In the 2000 local government elections in KwaZulu-Natal, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) won twice as many seats as the African National Congress (ANC) on local and district councils. Its support was however, largely rural and the ANC secured dominance in the Durban metropolitan (eThekweni) where it won nearly half the council seats. This notwithstanding, the overall election result was victory for the IFP with 873 seats and 47.8% of the vote to the ANC's 516 seats and 33% of the vote.

Table 1: KwaZulu-Natal Election Results, 2000

	Total Seats	ACDP	ANC	DA
Durban Metropolitan Council	200	2	95	53
Local Councils	1280	6	383	141
District Councils	302	0	38	17
Total Seats	1782	8 (0.7%)	516 (33%)	201 (13.4%)

The IFP's success in KwaZulu-Natal in the 2000 local government elections mirrored its victory in the province in the 1999 provincial elections where it won 34 seats and 41.90% of the votes to the ANC's 32 seats and 39.38% of the vote.[39] The 1999 elections however, also illustrated the IFP's loss of support in KwaZulu-Natal. In the 1994 provincial election the IFP secured 41 seats and 50.32% of the votes to the ANC's 26 seats and 32.33% of the vote. By the 2004 provincial election, however, the IFP effectively lost the province to the ANC securing only 30 seats and 36.82% of the vote to the ANC's 38 seats and 46.98% of the vote.[40] The IFP's gains in the 2000 local elections were also diminished during the 2004 floor crossing where the IFP lost 4 councils to the ANC. The Ubuhlebezwe municipality changed dominant party status from the IFP to the ANC while the Kwa Sani municipality changed from an IFP/ANC administration to an ANC administration, the Endumeni municipality from IFP/ANC/DA to ANC and the Ugu municipality changed from being IFP administrated to being administrated jointly by the IFP and the ANC.[41]

Political Campaigns & Service Delivery

The IFP's decline in KwaZulu-Natal, in terms of electoral support, is largely attributable to its failure to breakaway from its Zulu nationalist image, its inability to extricate itself from the violence occurring in the province and its loss of support within traditional rural strongholds.[42]

According to an internal party discussion document[43] the IFP has lost 50% of its voter base since 1994 – this includes 40% of its Zulu base. It has also only been able to capture 2% of the urban vote.[44] The IFP's loss of popularity was compounded when its former chairman Ziba Jiyane publicly claimed that the IFP was being run as an "internal dictatorship" and that the party was undemocratic and illegally constituted.[45] Jiyane subsequently went on to form his own party the National Democratic Convention (NADECO). NADECO immediately attracted 46 defectors from the IFP, including IFP Ingwe municipality mayor and 3

[39] *Election Synopsis*, CPS, vol1, no4, 2004
[40] Ibid

[41] *Mail & Guardian*, 26 January 2006
[42] Mottiar, S, "The Turnover of Power in KwaZulu-Natal: A

Growing Commitment to and Engagement with the Democratic Process", *Journal of African Elections*, Vol 3, No 2, 2004
[43] "The IFP: Crisis of Identity and of Public Support" Gavin Woods
[44] *Mail & Guardian*, 5 August 2005
[45] *Mail & Guardian,* 12 August 2005

councillors from Ubuhlebezwe municipality. The IFP dismissed the defections on the basis that the mayor and councillors in question had been unable to garner enough support from IFP structures to become candidates elect in the 2006 elections and had therefore followed the path of 'career politicians'.[46] This notwithstanding, it is estimated that NADECO's membership currently exceeds 40,000 members and that the party is targeting IFP councils weakened by infighting and maladministration in the 2006 elections.[47]

While NADECO's drawing card seems to be its facilitating younger, more progressive members, it still has to contend with the IFP's consolidation of support from the older generation within rural areas. NADECO representatives have pointed out that their party has the youngest member of the provincial legislature and that they encourage "youth and not the oldies".[48] This probably follows from IFP suspensions of members of its Youth Brigade in October 2004. Two IFP Youth Brigade members, Lucky Mthethwa and Sibusiso Msweli were suspended for "causing havoc" when they demanded that the new chairman of the Youth Brigade be democratically elected instead of appointed by IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.[49] It follows that IFP youth will probably be more attracted to NADECO than to the IFP. The IFP however, still seems able to count on the support of older voters in rural areas. Interviews among residents in IFP rural stronghold Ndwedwe revealed that although there was no dislike of NADECO, it was pointed out that most NADECO members were, in fact, former IFP members. Ndwedwe still remained in favour of the IFP. An old man who was interviewed claimed that he would always remain an IFP supporter because "I don't want to be killed by my ancestors."[50]

The IFP launched an intensive door to door campaign in Durban in an effort to raise its urban share of the vote. Among its promises to urban dwellers it pledged to curb urban decay, eradicate squatter camps, reduce traffic congestion, build more sports and recreational facilities and expand cemetery sites.[51] The IFP also concentrated on consolidating its support among KwaZulu-Natal traditional leaders (*amakhosi*) and traditional headmen (*izinduna*) as a means for continued dominance in the provinces rural areas. Buthelezi visited several towns and villages north of the Tugela River (IFP stronghold) from Umhlatzu through KwaMthethwa to Hlabisa donned in traditional dress where he urged traditional leaders to put aside their problems with current elected councillors and urge IFP voters to the polls. He said, "If we insulate ourselves from these political matters we will be committing suicide."[52] Buthelezi's remarks are in the light of clashes which have occurred between traditional leaders and politicians in areas of the province where traditional leaders contended that their authority was being undermined while politicians argued that their authority was given legitimacy by the democratic process. KwaZulu-Natal has, in fact, recently legislated for mechanisms to improve the working relationship between traditional leadership and political councillors – the KwaZulu-Natal Traditional Leadership and Governance Act.[53]

The IFP election manifesto focuses on poverty, job creation, HIV/AIDS, crime, corruption and service delivery. The manifesto advocates a comprehensive strategy that shifts the drive

[46] *Mail & Guardian*, 22 January 2006 and 25 January 2006
[47] *Mail & Guardian*, 24 February 2006
[48] DDP Political Forum, Local Government Elections, Durban, January 15 2006

[49] *The Mercury*, 4 October 2004
[50] *Sunday Tribune*, 26 February 2006
[51] *Daily News*, 20 February 2006

[52] *Sunday Times*, 26 February 2006
[53] *The Mercury*, 6 January 2006

for economic development from the government and the public sector onto the individual and the private sector initiative. It also opposes inflexible labour laws that make it difficult to dismiss redundant employees and discourage employers from hiring a new workforce. The manifesto advocates for informal sector style entrepreneurial policies in order to increase employment. The IFP proclaims that it will bring HIV prevention and treatment under local government jurisdiction by focusing on clinics, care centres, schools and recreational centres. With regard to crime and corruption, the IFP manifesto claims that government is not serious enough in its stance. It contends that powerful people or groups can break the law with impunity and that this affects the universal application of the rule of law in South Africa.

The ANC campaign in KwaZulu-Natal has included the deployment of senior leaders in the province. President Mbeki conducted door to door campaigns in Danhauser, Newcastle, Ladysmith, Dundee and Utrecht comprising former mining towns under IFP control as well as rural communities such as KwaMdakane. Kgalema Motlanthe led the campaign in Richmond while Mosiuoa

Lekota went to Ndwedwe and Vryheid.

Mbeki charismatically attracted young and old alike, walking through their communities, listening to their problems and promising change and better services if the ANC was elected to lead their municipalities.[54] The ANC also focused its attention on the Indian vote, visiting the biggest Indian townships of Chatsworth and Phoenix reminding voters that the ANC had been responsible for turning the negative economic growth into growth of more than 5% a year.[55]

The ANC election manifesto highlights the party's achievements since it was elected to power. These include the building of roads and houses, greater accessibility to water and electricity as well as the provision of free basic services, and an increase in sport and recreational facilities.

The manifesto also focuses on issues of service delivery and lays out immediate goals for local government. It claims that economic growth and job creation will be translated into concrete steps at municipal level. This will be accomplished through municipal Integrated

Development Plans (IDPs) which will include programmes to open up work opportunities through the expanded Public Works Programme, bring in more investment and provide better education, health, water, sanitation and other services.

Central to both ANC and IFP campaigning are issues of service delivery at local level. This is likely driven by a series of public outcries over service delivery which occurred in KwaZulu-Natal over the last year. In May 2005, a wave of community protests took place in Cato Manor. Community residents took to the streets burning paper and tyres protesting their lack of basic services and housing.[56]

In September 2005, 5,000 people marched from the Kennedy Road informal settlement to the eThekweni offices demanding services. The march comprised homeless people, informal settlers and municipal flat dwellers from across Durban. The march was one of three undertaken by disgruntled citizens who also demanded the resignation of eThekweni ward 25 ANC councillor, Yacoob Baig who they claim promised them housing and basic services. Ward 25 has several informal settlements where people have lived in shacks for up to twenty years. According to political

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[54] *The Mercury,* 20 February 2006 and *Sunday Tribune*, 19 February 2006

[55] *The Mercury*, 22 February 2006

[56] *The Mercury*, May 27 2005

analyst Richard Pithouse, the march was part of one of the biggest post apartheid community mobilisations.[57]

In October 2005, 700 residents of the Quarry Road informal settlement marched to the offices of eThekweni ward 23 ANC councillor, Jayraj Bachu. The marchers were protesting at their lack of housing, water and sanitation services.[58] The crisis of service delivery in South Africa has prompted political parties across the board to make it a focal point in campaigning for the 2006 local government elections.

According to the Constitution, the prime mandate of local government is to provide services and encourage community participation.[59] This mandate is further enforced by the Local Government Municipal Systems Act which states that municipalities are responsible for providing services that are equitable, accessible and financially sustainable.[60] The Act also directs that "a municipality must develop a culture of municipal governance that complements formal representative government with a system of participatory governance."[61] It therefore entrenches encouraging and creating conditions for the local community to participate in the affairs of the municipality. The Act lays out various mechanisms, processes and procedures for community participation. These include political structures such as ward councillors and ward committees, the consideration of petitions lodged by communities, notification and public comment procedures, public meetings and hearings by the municipal council, consultative sessions with local community organisations and report back to local communities.[62]

The ANC and IFP manifestos both seem to recognise that the crisis around service delivery at local levels is to some extent linked with a breakdown or lack of consolidation of legislative mechanisms designed to ensure optimal service delivery and participation. Consequently both manifestos deal with service delivery and participation at local levels in a fairly rigorous manner. The ANC through its 'Project Consolidate' promises to identify municipalities that require 'intense hands on support'. It will then ensure more resources and personnel to increase skills and capacity to political councillors and officials. The ANC also promises to strengthen popular forums such as ward committees and IDP consultations in order to facilitate public participation.[63] Likewise, the IFP promises to provide ward councillor training and to work closely with communities in terms of consultation and communication in order to ensure that community views influence municipal decisions. The IFP also advocates for service delivery models that involve decentralised management and a role for the private sector.[64]

The Democratic Alliance (DA) is also heavily canvassing around issues of service delivery. Its manifesto lays out a detailed plan of how the DA will, in every municipality it governs, conduct an audit of existing services, consult with communities as to their needs and challenges and then explore alternatives for the most effective provision of services. The DA will also ensure that its politicians and officials are accessible and responsive and that its

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[57] *The Mercury*, September 15 2005
[58] *The Mercury,* October 5 2005
[59] Constitution of South Africa, Act 108, 1996, sec 152 (1)
[60] Local Government Municipal Systems Act, no 32, 2000, sec 73(2)

[61] ibid, sec 16 (1)
[62] ibid, sec 17 (1) (2)

[63] African National Congress 2006 Election Manifesto and Mamledia Johnson, DDP Political Forum, Local Government Elections, Durban, January 15 2006
[64] Inkatha Freedom Party 2006 Local Government Election Manifesto and Dr Buthelesi, DDP Political Forum, Local Government Elections, Durban, 15 January 2006

municipalities are fully capacitated and its personnel skilled. The DA favours maintaining a set of Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) against which service delivery can be measured and presumably made transparent as well as accountable. The DA also promises to set up an indigent policy and lays out plans to deal with creating jobs, preventing crime and rooting out corruption.[65]

The DA campaign in KwaZulu-Natal has focused on urban and Indian constituencies. In the 2000 local government elections the DA made significant in roads in Indian areas in Durban and Pietermaritzburg winning most of the wards in Phoenix and Chatsworth and ousting key ANC councillors in Northdale.[66] Driving a campaign for the 2006 elections, party leader Tony Leon visited Chatsworth where he proclaimed that the DA is "pro-everyone". This was in response to allegations of racism where a council member in Richmond was accused of referring to Indians as 'coolies' and a Minority Front (MF) advert used racial stereotypes of blacks

in an effort to encourage Indians to vote for the MF.[67] The DA won 53 seats in the Durban metropolitan and 141 seats in local councils in the 2000 elections. It lost 15 of its seats in the Durban metropolitan however, after the 2004 floor crossing period.[68] It is therefore hoping to reclaim its urban support on the basis of alleviating the crisis of service delivery in the province.

The MF, who won 12 seats in the Durban metropolitan and 3 seats in local councils in the 2000 elections, campaigned in Durban central and in its original stronghold among constituencies in Chatsworth and Phoenix espousing fair administrative justice, equality and respect for multi-party democracy. The MF had been placed in a significant position in the last elections as it held the balance of power in some municipalities where the majority parties failed to gain 50% of the vote.[69]

According to political analyst Sandile Memela, the Durban metropolitan is KwaZulu-Natal's most sought after prize for the 2006 election. The reason for this is twofold. Firstly the metropolitan has a budget of over R12 million and secondly almost half of the

provincial voters are resident there, many of whom are originally from rural areas and, as such, may influence political thought in the outskirts of the province.[70] The ANC is currently dominant in the Durban metropolitan. It won 95 of the 200 council seats in the 2000 election and consolidated its hold with 112 seats after the 2004 floor crossing. It is however, facing pressure over service delivery issues with 29 of KwaZulu-Natal's 61 municipalities having been identified as unable to meet the most basic of their service delivery mandates.[71] The ANC has also faced criticism from its supporters in the province over the handling of the former Deputy President Jacob Zuma affair. The IFP, on the other hand, is focused on retaining its rural support base and winning back the municipalities it lost to the ANC in the 2004 floor crossing in order to prove that the councillors who defected to the ANC "did not have a genuine electoral mandate".[72]

Party Funding

The Public Funding of Represented Political Parties Act directs that only represented political parties may receive government funding. Furthermore, this funding is weighted in

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[65] Democratic Alliance Local Government Election Manifesto 2006 and Roger Burrows, DDP Political Forum, Local Government Elections, Durban, 15 January 2006
[66] Goodenough, C, "KwaZulu-Natal Election Results", *Local Government Elections Update*, no 7, 19 December 2000, EISA

[67] *The Mercury*, 20 February 2006 and *Daily News*, 20 February 2006
[68] *Sunday Times*, 19 February 2006
[69] *The Mercury*, 24 January 2006

[70] *The Mercury*, 26 January 2006
[71] *The Mercury*, 6 January 2006
[72] *The Mercury*, 15 February 2006

favour of elected representation by each political party i.e. it is proportional to each party's share of the vote. For this reason many of the smaller opposition parties have had to rely on private funding. After the failure of IDASA's court application to compel political parties to reveal the sources of their private funding, most political parties have chosen not to disclose this information. The ANC argued that it does not disclose any information with respect to its internal financial arrangements to any outside parties. The IFP claimed to be "strongly in favour of public disclosure" but added that it did not see any merit in doing so unilaterally in the light of the fact that none of the other parties would follow suit. The DA contended that it would only be willing to reveal the details of its private funding should the law require it to do so. The MF was more than willing to disclose information regarding its sources of funding. It claimed its only funding came from government and candidates participating in the elections who contributed to certain costs.[73]

Indeed political campaigning seemed to be affected by levels of funding. While the ANC blazed a trail of posters and door to door canvassing the IFP campaign has been described as "low key, low tech and low, low budget – tell tale signs of the IFP's low bank balance…and the fact that it no longer has much in the way of government resources at its disposal."[74] Public funding of political parties is made four times a year and is twofold. The first allocation is made proportionally according to the number of party representatives in provincial and national legislatures while the second allocation is shared equitably at provincial level regardless of party size. The IFP has therefore taken a cut from the first allocation after losing KwaZulu-Natal in the 2004 elections. It has however also taken a cut from the second allocation because whereas the provincial allocation for the province was once shared among six parties resulting in the amount of R229 836 per party, with the advent of NADECO it now has to be shared among seven parties. This results in the amount of R197 002 per party.[75]

Media Coverage of Elections

The DA has officially challenged the SABC over its coverage of the run-up to the 2006 elections. The DA argued that elections are only useful if the voting public is given the opportunity to compare various political party options. Furthermore, it is the duty of the public broadcaster to ensure that the public is properly informed about each party's campaign. The DA claimed that the prospect of free and fair elections is substantially marred by the SABC's approach to political coverage. The SABC, allocating proportionally, provided one and a half hours of live coverage of the ANC's election launch and refused to grant the same kind of coverage time for opposition parties.[76] The ANC also seems to have had more exposure in the print media with large campaign advertisements headed "Vote ANC" appearing in KwaZulu-Natal newspapers as well as full page adverts documenting the ANC's achievements. An example of this is an advertisement featured in the KwaZulu-Natal *Sunday Tribune* (26 February 2006, page 28) outlining a partnership formed between the KwaZulu-Natal province and the Divine Life Society of South Africa. The partnership has yielded the setting up of some 250 projects around educational, health and social upliftment from the provision of skills training to the building of schools. The full page advertisement is entitled "Accelerating Development Together: Private and Public Sector Forge Partnership". The MF on the other hand,

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[73] *Mail & Guardian*, 17 February 2006

[74] *Sunday Times*, 26 February 2006
[75] *The Mercury*, 19 September 2005

[76] *Mail & Guardian*, 26 January 2006

has had some unexpected election coverage. The Durban metropolitan exco called for an investigation into an MF campaign advert which advocates racial segregation. The South African Human Rights Commission found that the advert was indeed racist and ordered MF party leader, Amichand Rajbansi to apologise and devise mechanisms to oversee future party publications.[77]

Party Lists and Nominations

Of interest within the party list submissions, is the fact that the ANC has retained candidates on its election list after they had been found guilty of fraud. Both Ruth Ntshungalana-Bhengu and Pamela Mnandi are candidates for KwaZulu-Natal municipalities despite having pleaded guilty to charges of defrauding Parliament. Ntshungalana-Bhengu is first on the ANC candidate list for the Ugu Municipality while Mnandi is seventeenth on the list for the Umgungundlovu District Municipality.[78] Likewise, the IFP has put forward for election the same councillors from the Abaqulusi council in Vryheid which had to be dissolved in November 2005. Local Government MEC, Mike Mabuyakhulu was forced to dissolve the KwaZulu-Natal council over the councillors' absenteeism,

their failure to exercise legislative and executive powers and the irregular election of the council's speaker (Basil Dlodlo), deputy mayor (George Nxele) and mayor (Elsie Moolman). Dlodlo, Nxele and Moolman are all candidates for their former positions.[79]

Gender Representation

Gender representation within the ANC party lists has, according to ANC representatives, reached parity. The IFP on other hand is still struggling to catch up and the DA claims to have female representation of 30-40%.[80] The drawing up of ANC party lists for KwaZulu-Natal has however been described as a "bitter struggle" with the pursuit of gender balance being labelled by critics within the party as "over zealous". Potential political candidates within the party complained of lists being "doctored" and leadership "undermining the democratic process" by imposing their own preferences. Aggrieved ANC members actually went so far as to form crisis committees and set up public protests. ANC representatives claimed that they were merely facing challenges inherent within the process of drawing up party lists. ANC nominations

take place at branch level so candidates for the Durban metropolitan, for example, would come from all the ANC wards in the metropolitan. Balancing gender representation on the PR list is simpler than on the ward list. Complaints abounded that in cases where female representation was low, the leadership would send lists back to the wards urging them to work towards representivity. This was seen as undermining the democratic process as there was pressure to remove a chosen grassroots male candidate in favour of a female one.[81]

According to official figures, there are 1106 female ward councillor candidates in KwaZulu-Natal to the 3720 male ward candidates and 1685 female PR councillor candidates to the 2395 male PR candidates. There are also only 8 female independent candidates to the 103 male independent candidates.[82] This indicates that male candidates are still dominant in respect of ward elections and that females in the province are still unwilling or unpopular as political figures. Furthermore, the PR figures suggest that although it is a valuable tool to achieve gender parity, it is not functioning at its optimum in the province.

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[77] *The Mercury*, 17 February 2006
[78] *Daily News,* 20 February 2006

[79] *The Witness*, 23 February 2006
[80] DDP Political Forum, Local Government Elections, Durban, 15 January 2006

[81] *The Mercury,* 13 January 2006
[82] www.elections.org.za

Table 2: Political Candidate Breakdown

Ward	Female	1106
	Male	3720
PR	Female	1685
	Male	2395
Independents	Female	8
	Male	103

KwaZulu-Natal has a potential of 4.1 million voters; 3,980,221 of whom have registered to vote in the 2006 elections. Of these 2,276,855 are women and 1,703,366 are men.[83] This is an increase in the voter registration statistics since the local government elections in 2000 where 3,501,113 voters registered 1,991,566 of which were women and 1,501,547 were men.[84]

Table 3: Registered Voters for Local Government Elections, KwaZulu-Natal

Date	2000	2006
Female	1,991, 566	2,276,855
Male	1,501,547	1,703,366
Total	**3,501,113**	**3,980,221**

IEC Preparedness

According to Mawethu Mosery, KwaZulu-Natal is well prepared for the election. Ward delimitation has decreased by 1% since the 2000 elections so where there were 780 wards there are now 771. Voting districts have increased by 16% from 3514 to 4064 and 4108 voting stations have been set up. Mosery claims that all voting stations will be equipped with voters' rolls and have party agents

present. He adds that voting stations will be equipped to deal with queues and that they are aiming to ensure that no voter will spend more than an hour in a queue – optimally the voting process should only take a few minutes. The provincial IEC has also assembled a team of 87 fieldworkers who are visiting various communities to inform them about voting arrangements and encouraging participation in the elections. Further to this, stretches of roads have been improved and many local schools provided with water, electricity and portable toilets in order to make voting stations accessible and viable. Contingent plans for rainy weather have also been devised in the form of fifty 4X4s, the army and police have been prevailed upon to provide additional vehicles suitable for all terrains. The provincial IEC has also trained some 40,000 people to run the elections; 5,000 of these trainees will be presiding officers at voting stations. Voting stations will be open from 7am to 7pm on 1 March. The Durban metropolitan will have two ballot papers while the rest of the province will have three. Ballot papers for ward elections will be white, for political parties (PR) yellow, for District Councils (PR) green and for District Management Areas, pink. Ballot papers at each voting station will also be marked with their own unique secret stamp so that ballot papers

from one voting station cannot be used at another. Counting at all voting stations will commence as soon as voting is over and it is estimated that vote counting will be finished by 2am on 2 March, the results will then be made available at municipal offices. Complaints will be taken for 48 hours after the election. The provincial IEC has already had to disqualify some 500 candidates for failing to adequately comply with the requirements for registration. KwaZulu-Natal has 61 local municipalities and 4 district municipalities. Twenty political parties have registered to contest the elections in the province and there are 9,909 candidates up for election, 111 of whom are independent candidates and 35% of whom are women.[85]

Confident as Mosery is about preparations for the elections, he concedes that he is worried as to what extent political tolerance in the province will hold. To this end a Code of Conduct for political parties has been drawn up. The Code aims to further the cause of free and fair elections by pledging political tolerance. It

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[83] Independent Electoral Commission – www.elections.org.za/statistics
[84] ibid

[85] Statement by Mathew Mosery, IEC, KwaZulu-Natal, February 15 2006, Democracy Development Forum, 2006 Local Government Elections, Elangeni Hotel, Durban and "Voter Guide: 2006 KZN Local Government Elections", *Sunday Tribune*, 19 February 2006 and information provided by Karen Ogle KwaZulu-Natal IEC

commits political parties to respecting electoral laws. It also directs that political parties inform the SAPS of their election activities and rallies so that security and overseeing can be provided. The Code of Conduct has been signed by all political parties contesting the election in the province.

Intimidation and Political Violence

Despite this however, there have been numerous reports of intimidation and violence. KwaZulu-Natal is a province that has consistently been plagued by political violence. Ten years into democracy in the run-up to the 2004 national and provincial elections, the province had to deploy security forces in violence prone 'hot spots' in order to eliminate the notion of 'no go' areas in terms of campaigning and voting. This was in response to various outbreaks of politically related violence where ANC as well as IFP members were murdered or injured in Umkhomazi, Umkomaas and Umlazi.[86] In the run-up to the 2006 elections, two ANC ward candidates Nsizwazethu Thusi, from Umshwati and Musa Masondo from Nongoma have been attacked and killed.[87] An IFP candidate for ward 6 in Richmond, Mayboy Sithole was shot several times by an unknown gunman and was sent to hospital in a serious condition.[88] The IFP lodged a complaint with the SAPS claiming to have uncovered a plan aimed at assassinating its candidates.[89] Five IFP supporters in Empangeni have also been killed[90] and Cynthia Nkosi, a NADECO election candidate from Umtshezi was attacked and her house set on fire.[91]

The province has responded to the violent incidents by preparing to deploy some 14,000 SAPS forces who will focus on 17 'flash points' or high risk areas. A toll free number has been set up and communities are being encouraged to call for help or to report any impending violence that may impede their ability to vote.[92]

The SAPS in the province has also seized more than 4270 illegal firearms in the run up to elections and it is hoped that this will reduce election intimidation and violence.[93]

Voter and Civic Education

Notwithstanding the provincial IEC deploying fieldworkers to encourage voting and setting up a toll free number to inhibit political intimidation, there has also been a fairly rigorous civic and voter education campaign launched by various civil society organisations. In August 2005 the KwaZulu-Natal Democracy and Election Forum (KZNDEF) launched one of the largest cooperative efforts in the province towards voter education. The KZNDEF comprises the following civil society organisations; the KwaZulu-Natal CBO Network, the Community Resource Centre, Mnyamane & Mnyamane, the Thukela Mzinyathi Christian Council, COMBOCO (a network of CBO's), the KwaZulu-Natal Christian Council, the Diaknoia Council of Churches, the Community Law and Rural Development Centre, the MV Youth Organisation and the Democracy Development Programme (DDP). The KZNDEF conducted an extensive voter education programme involving booklets, pamphlets and posters as well as workshops where participants either interacted in the proceedings or were encouraged to role play. The KZNDEF also launched a radio campaign providing information and encouragement around civic issues and participation in the elections. The radio schedule was fairly impressive with hourly sessions four times a week on seven different radio stations.[94]

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[86] Mottiar, S, "Focus on Political Violence in KwaZulu-Natal', **Election Update South Africa,** no 4 2004, EISA

[87] *The Mercury*, 21 February 2006

[88] *The Witness*, 23 February 2006

[89] *Daily News*, 14 February 2006

[90] *The Mercury*, 22 February 2006

[91] *The Mercury*, 23 February 2006

[92] *The Mercury*, 24 February 2006

[93] *Sunday Tribune*, 26 February 2006

[94] DDP, Voter Education, www.ddp.org.za/ddpprogrammes

NORTH-WEST PROVINCE

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Background

The geographical focus of this report is North-West Province. It is one of the smaller, more sparsely populated provinces in South Africa with links to all of the Southern Africa. It borders on Botswana to the north and is fringed by the Kalahari in the west and the Witwatersrand area in the east.

The province has a total population of approximately 3.791984 million people, residing in a coverage of some 116180.25817 square kilometers. Of these 65 % live in rural areas. The province is divided into five regions, *viz*: Central, Bophirima, Southern, Rustenburg and Eastern regions. The major economic activities are mining, manufacturing and agriculture. The province is mainly Setswana-speaking.

Contemporary History of Local Government

The 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa [Section 40] organises government at three spheres which are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated. What section 40 implies is that local government is now an autonomous, coordinate sphere/level of government. In terms of the principles of cooperative governance and intergovernmental relations, the other two spheres, namely national and provincial, must respect the constitutional status, powers and functions of local authorities. However, under section 139(1) of the Constitution, the relevant provincial government may *supervise* a municipality when the latter *cannot* or *does not* fulfil a statutory duty. The supervision involves the taking of appropriate steps, to ensure fulfillment of that obligation, including:

- Issuing a directive to the municipal council, describing the extent of the failure to fulfil its obligations and taking any steps required to meet its obligations;
- Assuming responsibility for the relevant obligation in that municipality to the extent necessary to maintain essential national standards or meet established minimum standards for the rendering of a service; and to prevent a Municipal Council from taking unreasonable action that is prejudicial to the interest of another municipality and to the province as a whole; and to maintain economic unity.

However, the provincial supervision of local government is qualified. The Constitution requires that if a provincial executive intervenes in a municipality:

- The intervention *must end* unless it is approved by the Cabinet member responsible for local government affairs within 14 days of intervention;
- Notice of the intervention must be tabled in the provincial legislature and in the NCOP within 14 days of their respective sittings after the intervention began; and
- The Council (NCOP) must review the intervention regularly and make any appropriate recommendations to the provincial executive.

The Local Government Demarcation Act, 1998 (Act 27of 1998) facilitated the consolidation of transitional municipalities, by reducing over 800 local authorities around the country to a total of 284 demarcated municipalities. This signalled the dawn of a new era of transition towards democratic and developmental local government in South Africa. In particular, the Local Government: Municipal Systems Act 2000 gives effect to the country's vision of "developmental local government" as envisaged in

the Local Government White Paper, 1998.

The White Paper saw local governments as instruments of planning, coordination, and mobilisation, responsible for local economic development and as primary planning bodies responsible for the preparation of integrated development plans.

The Act also extends the definition of municipality to include residents and communities within the municipal area, working in partnership with the municipality's political and administrative structures.

This relationship is fundamental to sound and effective governance, and the long-term sustainability of local government, which underpin the notion of developmental local government. These are provided for in section 152(1) of the Constitution. Local government has been mandated to address local economic development and poverty alleviation issues by the Constitution and the local government legislation. The critical role of local government is clearly spelt out in section 152 (1) of the Constitution which defines the objectives as follows:

- To provide democratic and accountable government for local communities
- To ensure the provision of services to

communities in a sustainable manner
- To promote social and economic development
- To promote a safe and healthy environment
- To encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government.

The 1996 Constitution further outlines the developmental role of local government as follows:
- To structure and manage its administrative, budgeting and planning processes to give priority to the basic needs of the community;
- To promote the social and economic development of the community; and
- To participate in national and provincial development programmes (S153).

Local government has, therefore, been given a pivotal and distinctive mandate in the promotion of social development and democracy at the local level. This recognition of the developmental role of local government in the Constitution, has given them a new dynamic as instruments of sustainable service delivery and poverty eradication. The Constitution asserts that the final form of local government should be "developmental". The emphasis is on a people-

centred approach to local government.

As stated above, the Constitution defines the objects of local government *inter alia*, to ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner and to structure and manage it's administrative, budgeting and planning process in such a manner as to give priority to the basic needs of the community.

Apart from the volatile situation in Khutsong, Carltonville which appears to be political in nature as a result of the decision to incorporate the community into North-West province, there has been no violent protests so far on service delivery. However, politicians campaigning for votes, including amongst others, President Mbeki, have faced a barrage of complaints over poor service delivery, especially RDP houses, sanitation (the disgraceful bucket system); lack of access to portable water, social security grants and identification documents from the department of home Affairs. This has been evident on Mbeki's walkabouts, the latest took place on Monday, 27 February 2006 in Rustenburg.

Preparedness of the IEC

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) is one of the six independent,

permanent statutory bodies created by section 181 of the Constitution (popularly known as Chapter 9 Institutions) to promote and safeguard constitutional democracy in the Republic of South Africa.

The Independent Electoral Commission, although publicly funded and accountable to Parliament, is independent of both the legislature and the executive branches of government. Its immediate task is the impartial management of free and fair elections at all levels of government.

Under section 190 of the Constitution, the Independent Electoral Commission must:

- Manage elections at national, provincial and municipal legislature bodies
- Ensure that those elections being held are free and fair
- Declare the results of those elections within a prescribed period (seven days)
- Strengthen Constitutional democracy and promote democratic electoral processes.
- Promote conditions conducive to free and fair elections
- Promote knowledge of sound and democratic electoral processes
- Compile and maintain voters' rolls by means of a system of registration of eligible voters by

utilising data available from government sources and information furnished by voters

- Compile and maintain a register of parties
- Establish and maintain liaison and cooperation with parties; and
- Undertake and promote research into electoral matters.

Under the Electoral Commission Act, 1996, the IEC is responsible for the management of elections at national, provincial and local spheres and referenda.

In the case of the 2006 local government elections, the Provincial Electoral Officers, in liaison with the National body, have been responsible for all the preparatory, organisational and logistical arrangements to ensure that these elections are free and fair.

In the North-West Province, after interacting with the Provincial Electoral Officer and a broad, representative sample of representatives of political parties taking part in the elections, it is evident that the IEC is ready for the elections and that all major logistics have been put into place. However, it remains to report that there are several government related challenges, including the Khutsong situation in the Merafong Municipality where there has been animated protests against the inclusion of Merafong

Municipality in the North West Province. Some parts of the municipality have been declared as "no go" areas but the IEC has assured stakeholders that elections will go ahead in that troubled municipality. The inhabitants were informed that contingency measures were put in place, including security measures, to ensure that elections will take place as scheduled.

It is significant to note that at the time of writing, 28 February 2006, a full bench of the Pretoria High Court turned down an application to postpone voting, pending an application to the Constitutional Court. The Judge President, Ngoepe J.P., opined, *inter alia*, that it was clear the applicants had never formally approached the IEC so it could assess the situation and exercise its duty.

There was also no indication before the court that the security forces would not be able to handle the situation on 1 March to ensure that those who wanted to vote could so do without fear of being intimidated (*The Citizen*, 28 February 2006:1-2). We shall revisit this issue at a later stage.

Another challenge in the North West, which could be attributed to an Act of God, has been the problem of flooding in the Taung area as a result of heavy rains. The PEO assured stakeholders

that the SAPS and SANDF will airlift voting materials to all the affected areas. No potential voter will be disenfranchised because of washed away bridges and inaccessible areas.

Another issue worthy of mention was the occupation of the Vryburg IEC Offices by some ANC members led by Dr Ruth Mompati and Ms Thandi Modise, the Speaker of the North West Legislature. This occupation resulted in the intimidation of IEC staff and the illegal changing of nominated ANC candidates after the nomination deadline at 5pm on 19 January 2006.

Pursuant to a complaint by the DA, the incident was investigated by the Chief Electoral Officer, Advocate Pansy Tlakula, resulting in the disqualification and removal of two ANC Ward Candidates, one ANC List Candidate and the Naledi PR List and Four ANC Candidates on the Bophirima PR List, a total of seven ANC candidates (*Mail*, 24 February 2006:21; Personal communication with PEO, Thursday, 23 February 2006). At the time of writing, an application to the Mafikeng High Court by the ANC had been thrown out as the applicants had approached the wrong court instead of the Electoral Court. It would therefore appear that the IEC in the North-West Province is ready for the elections in the

21 municipalities, including Merafong.

Civil Society Organisations Preparedness

In the North-West there has been a paucity of civil society organisations actively taking part in the electoral process. SANCO has been conspicuous by its lack of active participation in voter education. Consequently, the IEC was forced to contract the North-West Para-Legal Association to undertake voter education in the province until 28 February 2006.

The Electoral Court

The Electoral Court for the Republic of South Africa has the status of the High Court. The Electoral Court consists of the following members:
- A chairperson, who is judge of the Supreme Court of Appeal;
- Two other judges of the High Court; and
- Two other members who are South African citizens.

The duties, functions and powers of the Electoral Court are:
- To review any decision of the Commission relating to an electoral matter and any such review shall be conducted on an urgent basis and be disposed of as expeditiously as possible.

- To make rules in terms of which electoral disputes and complaints about infringements of the Electoral Code of Conduct as defined in section I of the Electoral Act, 1993 (Act No. 202 of 1993), and appeals against decisions thereon may be brought before courts of law.
- To determine which courts of law shall have jurisdiction to hear particular disputes and complaints about infringements, and appeals against decisions arising from such hearings.
- To hear and determine any matter that relates to the interpretation of any law referred to it by the Commission.
- May investigate any allegation of misconduct, incapacity or incompetence of a member of the Commission and make any recommendation to a committee of the National Assembly referred to in section 7(3) (a) (ii).

Under Section 78 of the Act, the Electoral Court has jurisdiction in respect of all electoral disputes and complaints about infringements of the Code.

In the North West Province, arrangements have been put into place to deal with conflicts outside the normal court structures. A Conflict

Management Panel has been established, consisting of independent, skilled and well-trained mediators and arbitrators, as follows:

Panelist	Profession	Region
N. Chuene	Magistrate	Bonajala
M. Makgale	Attorney	Bonjala
S. Mookelesi	Attorney	Bonjala
J. Phenyeke	Pastor	Bophirma
S. Silent	Attorney	Southern

In addition there are regular meetings of the Party Liaison Committees (PLCs)to which all participating political parties belong. Similar liaison meetings take place at local level where participating political parties are encouraged to observe the Code of Conduct (PEO, 23 February, 2006).

Protests over Delivery of Services

The question of poor service-delivery and its related question of non-performing councillors and municipal managers appear to be nation-wide and not confined to the North-West Province. Under Project Consolidate, the provincial government has intervened in a number of failing municipalities such as Mafikeng, Mamusa and Lekwa-Teemane. Under section 139(1) of the Constitution in order, *inter alia*, to maintain essential national standards or meet established minimum standards for rendering of services, the Premier, in her State of the Province Address, presented to the North-West legislature announced that 17 struggling municipalities in the North-West will be helped by placing them under Project Consolidate, a national initiative ending in December 2006. It is designed to strengthen the local government system (*North-West on Sunday* February, 2006:9).

Civic and Voter Education

A total of 5327 voter education workshops have been conducted reaching out a total of 312,285 people. Consequently, as noted above due to a lack of enthusiasm of civic groups, the IEC was forced to engage the services of an NGO – the North-West Para-Legal Association to undertake voter education in the province until 8 February 2006. The field workers were directly responsible to the Provincial Electoral Office.

The Office also engaged the services of Farmers Unions, Traditional Authorities, Women and Church groups to assist with voter education, increase voter turnout and reduce ballot paper wastage.

Brief History of Local Government Elections

South Africa's third national democratic elections held on 14 April 2004 cemented a decade of transition from a racially-based undemocratic, unrepresentative and unaccountable system of governance. The 2006 local government elections, the third since the political transition of 1994, may be regarded as critical significant to the institutionalisation of democratic local governance in South Africa.

Delimitation Process

For demarcation purposes, local government in the province is divided into four District Municipalities, viz: Bonajala Platinum District Municipality, Central District Municipality, Bophirima District Municipality and Southern District Municipality.

Bonajala Platinum District Municipality (DC 37)

This is situated in the northeastern corner of North Western Province. Its major towns include: Rustenburg, Brits and Sun City. It has a total of 5 local municipalities namely:-
- Moretele
- Madibeng;
- Rustenburg
- Kgetleng River
- Moses Kotane.

It has a geographical area of 18,331.7895 square kilometres.

The Central District Muncipality (DC 38)

This is centrally located in North Western Province. Its major towns include: Mafikeng- mabatho, Zeerust, and Lichtenberg. It has 5 local municipalities:
- Ramotshere Moiloa

- Ratlou
- Mafikeng
- Ditsobotla.

It has a geographical area of 27854.2503 square kilometres.

Bophirima District Municipality (DC 39)

This municipality shares its northern border with Botswana. Its major towns include: Vryburg and Schweizer-Reneke.It has 6 local municipalities:

- Kagisano
- Naledi
- Mamusa
- Greater Taung
- Molopo
- Lekwa-Teemane.

It has a geographical area of 47478.219 square kilometres.

The Southern District Municipality (DC 40)

This is situated in the south-east border of the province. Its major towns include: Klerksdorp, Potchefstrom, Ventersdorp, Walmaranstad, and Orkney. It has 4 local municipalities:

- Ventersdorp
- Potchefstroom
- City of Klersdorp
- Maquassi Hills.

It has a geographical area of 14644.7993 square kilometres.

The Kgalagadi Cross Border Boundary District Municipality was transferred to the Northern Cape Province in 2005. Thus for the purposes of local government, the province is divided into: 25 municipalities: 4 District Councils (DCs) and 21 Local Authorities (LCs). f all these municipalities, only Rustenburg is classified as a metropolitan council.

The 21 local authorities represent 365 wards including Merafong, with a total of 1,554,864 voters registered in 1,488 voting districts (PEO, 27 February, 2006).

In December 2005, the Government of the Republic of South Africa scrapped the country's 16 cross-border municipalities.

In the North-West only two areas were affected by this demarcation process: the Kgalagadi Cross Border Boundary District Municipality which was transferred to the Northern Cape Province; and Merafong Municipal area under which Khutsong falls was transferred from Gauteng to North-West Province. Only in the latter did the demarcation dispute become a pre-election issue with the community violently protesting against re-demarcation of the municipality which they deemed as tantamount to 'forced removal' from the Gauteng Province.

The Khutsong community has filed an application to the Pretoria High Court challenging the constitutionality of incorporating Khutsong into North-West from Gauteng.

Voter Registration

The Provincial IEC Office carried out two voter registration drives. On 1 September 2005, voting stations were opened to allow new entrants on the voters' roll and those who had moved to different localities, to register. In addition, registered voters were able to confirm or verify their registration. The second took place on 19-20 September 2005. All in all, a total of 1, 554,864 voters have been registered for the 2006 local government elections. This is a commendable achievement in a sparsely populated province (of approximate population of 3.5 million).

Political Campaign

At a ceremony held at the SABC Broadcast Centre, Mmabatho in February 2006, almost all political parties pledged to honour the Code of Conduct and not to resort to unlawful acts such as establishing "no go" areas, or preventing rival parties from entering those locations. There have been no incidents of unlawful behaviour reported, except for a complaint by the ANC which alleged that some ex-ANC members who were standing as independents were abusing ANC structures for their political ends.

The majority of political parties have been engaged in vigorous campaigns to woo the voters. The following methods have been utilised:

- Door-to-door and street canvassing
- Long processions of motorcades with party placards and loud hailers
- Posters on lamp posts, street signs Eskom substations and transformers
- Mass political rallies
- Media campaigns: placing adverts in local, national, and regional newspapers as well as local and national radio broadcasts.

All the political parties had a common campaign theme committing themselves to make local government work better for the communities and improving peoples' livelihoods.

They had varying emphasis on how they are going to improve and speed up service delivery, eliminate the rampant corruption, make councillors accountable and responsive to their communities, as well as re-invigorate municipality management for effective service delivery (*Mail& Guardian*, January 13-19, 2006:3).

All the parties seem to agree that sufficient time was allotted for campaign purposes.

Nominations and Party Lists

The registration of political parties was carried out in terms of section 15(6) of the Electoral Commission Act of 1996, regulated in terms of the Regulations for the Registration of Political Parties of April 1998.The final party and candidate lists for the 2006 Municipal Elections were certified by the IEC on 30 January 2006, for parties and independent candidates who had submitted their nominations by 19 January, as prescribed by the Elections Timetable. In North West Province, a total of 15 parties and independents registered as follows:

- African Christian Democratic Party
- African Christian Alliance–Afriker Christen Alliansie
- African National Congress
- Azanian People's Organization
- Democratic Alliance/Demokratiese Alliance
- Die Maquassi Hills/Rante Gemeenskapsvereniging
- Independent Democrats
- Inkatha Freedom Party
- Pan Africanist Congress of Azania
- People's Progressive Party
- United Christian Democratic Party
- United Democratic Movement
- United Independent Front
- Vryheidsfront Plus
- Independent Candidates.
- There are 85 independent candidates.

Media

The Constitution in Chapter 2 enshrines a justifiable Bill of Rights guaranteeing basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. Section 16, Freedom of Expression guarantees that every one has the right to freedom of expression, which includes freedom of the press and other media and freedom to receive or impart information or ideas

The 1996 Constitution thus guarantees the freedom of the press as a fundamental right. Although some opposition parties harbour suspicions that the ANC government functionaries might transform the SABC into a saccharine public relations vehicle for the incumbent politicians, the ANC does not dominate public media. Consequently, the media, in general provided fair coverage of party campaigns.

Use of State Resources

It is generally accepted that in the Southern African region, ruling political parties have unfair access to public resources which could be utilised for campaign purposes to further their political ends. In South Africa, there does not seem

to be any overwhelming evidence to suggest excessive abuse of state resources for political ends. However, there have been complaints from opposition political parties, especially the DA that the ANC has been abusing its incumbency for purposes of the electoral campaign. First, the opposition alleges that ANC government officials were using state resources – especially vehicles during campaign tours. Secondly, it is further alleged that some ANC controlled municipalities were using council funds to pay for advertisements in the media which were clearly intended to benefit the ANC, as a political party.

Political Violence and Intimidation

Since the government passed the controversial cross-border municipality Legislation in December 2006, Khutsong, near Carletoneville, has been engulfed by violent protests. The demarcation of municipality borders became a violent pre-election issue as the community of Khutsong protesting against their forced move from Gauteng to North-West Province. Khutsong, which ironically means" a place of peace," has witnessed protestors burn down administrative offices, community centre, public libraries and about 16 households belonging to

councillors, as well as running street battles with police. The damage has been estimated at R 20 million. (*The Mail*, 20 January 2006:3).

Consequently, most local ANC councillors felt threatened and fled the township. This has prevented them from campaigning in the area. Subsequently, the area has become a no-go area with the result that Defence Minister Mosiuoa Lekota and North-West Premier Edina Molewa, were barred from the area and had to be escorted out of the area, after they were confronted by a hostile crowd while trying to address the community (*The Star*, 27 February 2006:1).

However, interaction with the provincial Electoral Officer and other stakeholders suggests that apart from the "no go areas" in the Merafong Municipality and the political in-fighting among the ANC and some extent with the so-called independent candidates, the North-West province has been relatively quiet.

The elections should be able to proceed as scheduled in a peaceful manner, free of violence and intimidation. However, in the event of violence erupting in Merafong, the IEC have put contingency measures in place to stabilise the situation.

Role of Security Forces

In a constitutional democracy, the traditional role of the security forces, the army, police and intelligence, is to protect the security of the ballot and the electorate and generally to maintain law and order during the electoral process. In other words, the security forces have a responsible for safety and security and ensure that the physical protection measures are in place for personnel, facilities, equipment, material and information systems. Consequently, security forces have been deployed at all polling stations to ensure the integrity of the electoral process. In this respect, senior police officers have been specifically trained and have been deployed as follows:

Mooiriver	74
Molopo	48
Groot Marico	77

The security forces have also been entrusted with the conveyance of security material, such as ballot papers and stamps to polling stations. Security forces, therefore, have a critical role in protecting the integrity of the electoral process. (PEO, 27 February 2006).

Political Party Finance

Public funding to political parties for electoral purposes is supposed to level the

political playing field and thereby strengthen the democratic process. In South Africa, political party finance – both public (by the State) and private funding (from other sources) – is allowed. While private funding is unregulated, public funding is regulated by the following legislation:

- Public Funding of Represented Political Parties Act, 103 of 1997;
- Public Funding of Represented Political Parties Regulations, 1998.

With specific respect to State funding, the Public Funding of Represented Political Parties Act, 103 of 1997, governs the eligibility of parties and the allocations they receive from the Represented Political Parties' Fund.

A political party is entitled to an allocation from the Represented Political Parties' Fund for any financial year that it is represented in the National Assembly; or in any provincial legislature; or both in the National Assembly and in any provincial legislature.

The IEC plays a critical role in party finance. In terms of section 4(1) of the Act, the Chief Electoral Officer, acting in his/her official capacity, is responsible for the management and administration of the Fund, and is its accounting officer and CEO. This in practice

means that the Fund is administered through the IEC, which keeps parties informed of the relevant rules and regulations. The responsibilities of each political party receiving an allocation from the Fund include keeping a separate account with a bank in the Republic, into which money allocated from the Fund must be deposited.

These responsibilities are set out in section 5(3) of the Act and include the following:

- Appoint an official within the party as accounting officer to take responsibility for the money received in this bank account and ensure that the party complies with the requirements of the Act.
- The accounting officer must keep separate books and records for this money in the manner prescribed.
- An income and expenditure statement, showing for what purposes the money has been applied, must be audited annually. The auditor is to express an opinion as to whether the allocation has been spent for purposes not authorised by the Act.
- The accounting officer must submit the financial statement and the auditor's report to the Commission annually.

To summarise, the IEC is responsible for regulating the

use of public funds to political parties and the parties must provide verifiable accounts to the IEC. The funding may be used for any purpose compatible with the political party's effective functioning in a democracy.

Gender

A breakdown of the list of nominated candidates by gender, in the 2006 local government elections will be made available at a later stage by the IEC. However, indications are that political parties have heeded the SALGA "50/50 – get the balance right" campaign launched in mid-2005 which campaigned vigorously for the inclusion of more women in local government. Consequently, there has been a significant increase in women candidature representation in the lists for the March 2006 elections. The ruling African National Congress (ANC) leads the pack with a clear 50 percentage equal representation of both women and men, whilst the majority of other parties have also increased the number of women in the lists. In the previous 2000 local government elections, women representation stood at a mere 29.6 per cent whilst their male counterparts constituted 70, 96 per cent municipal councils countrywide.

NORTHERN CAPE PROVINCE

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Introduction

According to Advocate Pansy Tlakula, the Chief Electoral Officer of the IEC, "the 2005/6 municipal elections are especially important for South Africa because a low registration and voter turnout will mean South Africans are increasingly coming to believe they cannot affect the future of this country. Because of the electoral system used in South Africa, every vote counts" (Tlakula 2005:1). It is against this background, that the pre-election phase in the Northern Cape will be discussed.

The Electoral Commissions Act, No. 4 stipulates that the functions of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) includes the general management of the elections, ensuring that free and fair elections take place, ensuring voter education, the demarcation of wards and co-operating with political parties (Lodge et al, 1999: 11). The IEC staff is working around the clock in preparation for the up-coming election. The purpose of this report is to assess the progress made by the IEC and all stakeholders in the Northern Cape, during the pre-election phase, for the 2006 local government elections in terms of the above mentioned factors.

Brief History of Local Government Elections

The Municipal Electoral Act, No. 27 of 2000 makes provision for elections to be held under the auspices of the IEC at local government level and that proportional representation as well as the first-past-the-post system will be used for the election of councillors in the case of ward councils.

In terms of the Municipal Demarcation Act, No. 27 of 1998, the Municipal Demarcation Board was tasked with increasing the size of South Africa's municipalities which resulted in a reduction in the number of municipalities in South Africa. Municipalities were divided into six metropolitan municipalities, 47 district and 231 local municipalities which also necessitated the redrawing of existing municipal boundaries – a task performed by the Municipal Demarcation Board.

Furthermore, new wards were also established within the boundaries of the municipalities with the IEC determining the voting district (VD) of each ward (Nzapheza 2006:5; Municipal Elections 2006:1). The 1996 Constitution of South Africa makes provision for three different categories of municipalities, viz:

- Category A: Metropolitan Municipality
- Category B: Local Municipality
- Category C: District Municipality.

The state of affairs for the Northern Cape in terms of the above-mentioned is as follows:

Metro Councils (A)	0
Local Councils (B)	26
Local Councils (B) – no wards	1
Total Wards	173
District Councils (C)	5
DMAs	1
VDs: December 2000 elections	1796
VDs: June 1999 elections	1954

(Municipal Elections 2000: 12)

After the 2000 Local Government elections in the Northern Cape, the overall Council composition is reflected in the table below.

Table 1: Council Composition

Party Name	No. of Municipalities won	Total No. of seats won	Total No. of valid votes for a party	% Support
DA	3	16	216505	29.32
ANC	23	203	47959	64.59
Other			44973	6.09
TOTAL			**738437**	**100**

(IEC Local Government Elections 2000:1)

Once again the IEC has to facilitate the local government elections to be held on 1 March 2006. The next section will deal with some of the issues the IEC will have to manage during the pre-election phase.

The Preparedness of the Electoral Management Body

Despite the 50 million ballot papers needed for the 21 million South Africans who have registered to cast their ballots in 4000 wards requiring different ballots for each area and the 180 000 people needed to manage the 18 873 voting stations, the IEC needs to ensure that voter education is conducted, candidates are registered, security and conflict management systems are in place, that parties have signed the Code of Conduct as well as the planning and implementation of all logistical arrangements (Naidu, 2006:5). Aspects such as voter education, voter registration, registration of candidates and the signing of the Code of Conduct will be briefly discussed in the next section.

Voter Education

A global and local initiative to conduct voter education and promote public participation was launched by the Department of Communication, the Department of Provincial and Local Government, the French Embassy and the Inca Capacity Building Fund.

This initiative is a community radio station project aimed at promoting positive partnerships and co-operation between local government and communities. The first training workshops were held in the Western and Northern Cape provinces with the following objectives:

- To capacitate community radio stations and its personnel covering local government elections;
- To capacitate stations to produce programmes and news items covering local government elections;
- To capacitate and encourage community radio stations to work with civil society organisations as their source of content;
- To establish a network that will deal with issues of

common interest and ensure that communities and individuals are properly informed when making political/election decisions. These networks will be between community radio stations, civil society organisations and local government (Nemisa, 2006: 1).

The IEC launched a huge voter education campaign in November 2005. This multi-dimensional communications campaign using leaflets, posters, print advertising, billboards, and electronic media was aimed at the registration process and attempted to address voter apathy. The Northern Cape Electoral Officer, Justice Bekebeke, stated that according to statistical analysis, the youth in the province have indicated a renewed will to cast their ballots on 1 March 2006 (DFA, 2006:3).

The IEC has placed a number of advertisements in the local media in both Afrikaans and English. An example of this would be the weekly newspaper the *Noordkaap*, which is freely distributed, reaching a wide area of the Northern Cape. Issues such as who may vote, where voting will take place, what is needed for voting, how to vote, when to vote, why there are three votes and the voting process are issues communicated and explained in the local media by the IEC to eligible voters (DFA, 2006: 3 and *Noordkaap,* 2006:12-13).

Voter Registration

The IEC has trained 1800 registration officials in the Northern Cape. These officials were deployed to 621 voting stations throughout the province which included some of the remotest rural areas (DFA, 2006:3). There has been a significant increase in registered voters (2 582 670) from the 2000 local

government elections. The number of voters between the ages of 18-35 has increased by 576335 in 2006 as compared to the 2000 municipal elections. (IEC, 2006:1).

Registration of Candidates

Seven men and two women candidates have been disqualified from the election race. There are 1744 candidates, that is 748 ward candidates and 996 proportional representation candidates which have qualified to contest the 2006 local government elections in the Northern Cape. The IEC issued certificates to candidates on 13 February 2006 (DFA, 2006:7).

Code of Conduct for Political Parties

The IEC hosted a pledge signing ceremony on 27 January 2006 in the Northern Cape at the Flamingo Casino in Kimberley. All the political parties registered for the elections are required to sign the Code of Conduct so as to pledge a public commitment to abide by the electoral Code of Conduct during the 2006 local government elections.

The African Christian Democratic Party, the African National Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation, the Democratic Alliance, Federation of Democrats, Independent Civic

Organisation of South Africa, Independent Democrats, Inkatha Freedom Party, Pan Africanist Congress, United Christian Democratic Party, United Democratic Movement, UIF, and Freedom Front Plus all signed the Code in the Northern Cape.

Failure to abide by the Code will result in the concerned party being brought before the electoral court, fined or their wards taken from them (Ramoroka, 2006:2).

The next section will focus on two of the issues which are of specific concern to the electorate in the Northern Cape:
- service delivery
- gender equality.

Service Delivery

The primary function of local government is to ensure service delivery. This entails whether rubbish gets collected or not; if the lights on the main road are switched on or not and whether everybody staying within the boundaries of the municipality enjoy the same services.

At the moment, South Africa is experiencing widespread discontent over poor municipal service delivery. This situation is exacerbated when residents who have to queue for water at a standpipe at the end of the street, see their councillors driving past in luxury cars.

In some municipalities in South Africa, salary bills for municipal managers and councillors outstrip the money spent on service delivery by as much as 50%. Added to this poor service delivery and inflated salaries, is the corrupt state of service delivery at the local government level (Allan 2005: 1-2).

The Northern Cape has not escaped the discontent on poor service delivery but not on the same scale as had been the case in the Free State and North West Province. As example of a lack of service delivery on the part of the Sol Plaatjie Municipality, angry residents of Codesa Shanties in Greenpoint have threatened to boycott the elections as the people that they have voted into power, "have no consideration for their basic needs and rights" (Ramoroko 2006:3). Complaints by these residents include the following:

- They still do not have toilets in their backyards and are reduced to using the bushes for toilets – often in full view of their children;
- They have no water and toilets, despite living in this area for more than nine years;
- One resident was arrested and fined R100 for relieving himself in an open space behind their yard – an area which they have been

using to relieve themselves as a result of a lack of facilities;

- There was no confidence in the previous and current ward councillors who have represented Ward 22 in the past 11 years (Ramoroko 2006:3).

Over a period of five years The Sol Plaatjie Council and the Greater Kimberly Council have made a habit of becoming involved in court matters which have cost the taxpayers more than a couple of million rands – money which could have been deployed more usefully in service delivery (Coetzee 2006:10).

The resignation of the suspended municipal manager of the Phokwane Municipality in Hartswater in January 2006, was as a result of the alleged granting of vehicle loans to the value of R2 million to municipal officials without first obtaining approval from the Council. The loans were taken from funds that had been allocated for municipal services for the poor. His suspension from 2003 to 2006, has cost the ratepayers of the Phokwane Municipality in the region of R1 million (Hoo (1) 2006:1).

Consequently, some residents have indicated that as a result of a lack of service delivery and growing frustration with perceptions of corruption, they are not going to vote in the 1 March 2006 elections. The notion exists that through boycotting the elections they are making a statement (Tlakula 2005:11) and that government will be forced to take notice of their demands.

Gender Representation

South Africa has committed itself to gender equity by signing the Gender and Development Declaration in 1997. This was initiated by SADC and pledged to obtain 30% of women representation with regards to political decision-making by 2005 and through the national campaign aimed at achieving 50-50 gender parity.

Interestingly, this has not received priority in political manifestos or campaigning strategies but seemed to play a role in striving for greater gender equity in the candidate's lists. During the 2004 general elections, 55% of voters registered to cast a vote were women. This exceeded the number of male voters by 1982876. This meant that there were 500000 more female voters in 2004 than there were in 1999. This can be calculated in terms of a shift from 1, 5 million female voters in 1999 to almost 2 million in 2004. In the Northern Cape 53,28% of all registered voters were women.

The table on the following page gives an indication of the percentage of female voters in all the provinces in South Africa (Bentley, 2004:15).

There is a slight increase in the number of registered voters in the Northern Cape for the 2006 local government elections with 283,357 registered female voters and 245,300 male voters (IEC, 2006:1).

Since 1994, the ANC has pioneered the process of gender transformation in South Africa by ensuring a quota of 30% is maintained on its candidate's lists both nationally and provincially and 50% for the local government elections. Kristina Bentley (2004:13) stated that the "current electorate will return to the polls in 2005 to elect their local government representatives. It is here that the potential for wooing female voters more specifically becomes not only possible, but extremely significant".

Table 3: The percentage of female voters in all the provinces in South Africa

Province	Females	Males	Total	Females as a % of the total
Eastern Cape	1 674227	1 211329	2 885556	58.02%
Free State	721 656	616 474	1 338130	54.00%
Gauteng	2 506340	2 445806	4 952 146	50.61%
KwaZulu-Natal	2 199 975	1 666 935	3 866 910	56.89%
Limpopo	1 228 829	802043	2 030 872	60.51%
Mpumulanga	874 566	731 042	1 605 608	54.50%
North West	757 292	695 580	1 452 872	53.12%
Northern Cape	273 060	239 411	512 471	53.28%
Western Cape	1 195 895	1 040 244	2 236 139	53.48%
National	**11 431 840**	**9 448 864**	**20 880 704**	**54.75%**

Source:(Bentley, 2004:15).

As the female electoral majority is undeniable political, parties both nationally and provincially, did not strategically align their parties to specifically lobby for the female vote. This strategy is likely to take on a very different approach in the 2006 election where the focus will be on women empowerment and direct lobbying for the female vote.

In the first local government election in 1995, 28% of the proportional representation system comprised of women and 11% female ward councillors compared to 38% proportional representation issues and 17% in ward seats which totalled 29% of women in the 2000 elections. The ANC has managed to exceed the party's target of 50% women on its proportional representation system in the upcoming election to 53% and to increase the proportion of female ward candidates to 40%. This is a great achievement as ward seats are highly contested by the party's male candidates.

Despite the ANC's efforts to promote gender equality the "…same cannot be said by the other 96 parties contesting the elections who have apparently not been swayed by the winds of change regionally or by the nudging of local legislation. The failure of polite 'encouragement' by the Municipal Structures Act to prompt action by other parties even with regard to their lists (let alone their ward priorities) will be used as a strong argument to go for stronger legislative provisions" (Morna and Tolmay, 2006:1).

President Mbeki visited Kimberley on 19 February 2006 to urge voters to cast their ballot in favour of the ANC on 1 March 2006. Gender equality formed a key part of his speeches delivered in the Northern Cape. When addressing the residents of the Northern Cape. Mbeki emphasised that the ANC will focus on providing proper housing for those forced to reside in crowded shacks and

especially for those families headed by women. Mbeki, visiting Roodepan, Galeshewe, Ritchie and Motswedimosa in the Northern Cape, promoted the ANC as the only party with a 50% gender equality policy for the forthcoming municipal elections.

The general gender distribution of candidates is not as progressive as the policy intentions of some parties with 65% male candidates and 35% female candidates registered with the IEC, which is a similar reflection of the local government elections held in 2000 (DFA, 2006:7).

To highlight the importance of gender equality, the IEC held a conference on Women and Representation in Politics from 6-8 December 2005 at the South African Reserve Bank in Pretoria. The conference is aimed at women across the political spectrum to engage in dialogue about gender equality and politics (IEC, 2006:1).

Nominations and Party Lists

Electoral statistics for the Northern Cape supplied by the IEC indicate the following:

Total candidates	1744
Total independents	12
Total ward candidates	736
Total PR list candidates	996
Number of registered parties	12

(IEC Northern Cape Office 21 February 2006)

The closing date for political parties to hand their lists of candidates to the IEC was on Thursday, 19 January 2006 with the IEC publishing the lists in the *Government Gazette* on 30 January 2006 (*Diamond Field Advertiser* 20 January 2006:4).

Fiercer competition was expected in the municipal elections in the Northern Cape on 1 March 2006 than had been the case previously as at least 500 more candidates would be contesting the election (*Diamond Field Advertiser* 23 January 2006:4).

Once parties have officially submitted their candidate lists, the momentum of political campaigning increases.

Political Campaigns

The campaigns of the various political parties had one major theme contained in their election manifestos – the fight against corruption.

Furthermore, all political parties have realised that it is now "crunch time" for the delivery of services and job creation through local economic development in conjunction with innovative solutions for identified ailing municipalities (Terreblanche 2006:6).

The **ANC's** manifesto contained the following, *viz.* fighting corruption; party candidates will have to take a pre-election oath to fight corruption; decisive action against underperforming municipalities; accelerate service delivery; eradication of the bucket system by 2007; access to clean water and decent sanitation for all communities by 2010; better quality housing built closer to economic opportunities; improved services at hospitals, clinics, schools and police stations; job creation; pooling of resources to build more and better roads, infrastructure and sanitation, schools and clinics; improving the capacity of all government structures; good clean governance; R400 billion to fight poverty and unemployment; and combating corruption in the administration of waiting lists (Hoo (2) 2006:2).

The **DA's** manifesto contains the following, *viz.* stop corruption and start delivery; intensifying the fight against crime and the creation of opportunities at local government level; provision of basic services in DA-controlled councils without charging unreasonable rates while indigents will enjoy rebates; leaner governance based on outsourcing to the private sector and on the establishment of more investment opportunities; and a 12-point plan to fight corruption (Daniels 2006:13). According to DA MP and deputy national spokesperson for the DA, Motlatjo Thetjeng, "the DA's election slogan – Stop Corruption. Start Delivery – aims to encapsulate all that has gone wrong in local government" (Thetjeng 2006:10).

The **ID**'s manifesto includes the following aspects, *viz.* to speed up the provision of houses; more than double the provision of free basic services such as free basic water and electricity; rooting out corruption; non support of municipalities who spend more than 35% of their budget on salaries; non approval of bonuses to municipal officials even if it is performance linked; bringing in line the salaries of city managers whose salaries are above the prescribed amount; holding elected councillors accountable; and reducing the housing backlog as well as instituting the old housing waiting list to ensure fairness and justice in the allocation of houses (Essop 2006:2).

The **ACDP's** manifesto states that the election

campaign will be fought along the theme of "Real Service Real Care" and is based on the following critical performance areas, *viz.* candidates will hold municipal officials accountable; cap and grade municipal salaries; implement effective financial management; undertake debt management and recovery; increase infrastructure maintenance as well as economic development; and root out corruption. According to the ACDP leader Reverend Kenneth Meshoe, "The ACDP believes that electing men and women of integrity to serve on councils will benefit South Africa. Local government is failing to deliver development and services to its people" (*Express*, 20 January 2006:4).

The **FF-Plus's** manifesto states that the election campaign will be built around the slogan "More than just an opposition" and its focus will be on the following aspects, *viz.* local government must be local and this entails independence and sustainability; there must be equality in service delivery; concerning affirmative action, experienced and capable officials must be appointed on merit; an end to the reduction in property values as a result of low cost housing; their councillors will fulfil a watchdog function as well as being accountable to their voters;

respect for the diversity of the community and the protection of the rights of Afrikaners; and a belief in moral values in conjunction with Christian values (*Northern News Digest* 10 February 2006:12).

The political campaign of the **IFP** is based on the following aspects as outlined in its manifesto, *viz.* improving service delivery; the implementation of an anti-corruption strategy with the aim being to highlight maladministration on the part of councillors; and a code of honour for councillors. In turn, the political campaign of the **UIF** will be highlighting the following aspects, *viz.* the implementation of a performance management system for councillors and municipal officials; improving project management skills; participatory government based on transparency; and inclusiveness and regular interaction between ward councillors and their constituents (Daniels 2006:13).

According to the provincial leader of the DA in the Northern Cape, Herholdt Robertson, the ANC would not be in position to honour the promises made in its manifesto: "Service delivery is going down the drain. There is simply not enough money to eradicate the bucket system. The maintenance of day to day services such as water, pipes

and roads are deteriorating rapidly" (Hoo (2) 2006:2).

In his pre-election campaign in the Northern Cape, DA leader Tony Leon stated that "when the ANC stops being corrupt, crocodiles will become vegetarians" (Hoo (3) 2006:4). Leon also stated that it was unacceptable that over 3000 residents living in Lerato Park had to live without electricity, adequate housing and basic sanitation for 20 years. In Vanwyksvlei, although foundations were laid for houses, they were never built. In Niekershoop, houses were built up to window height but remained without roofs. A massive development project in Kimberly, *viz.* Sol City has been plagued by corruption since its inception in 2004. Many houses were built without electricity, sanitation and water and furthermore, a recent storm caused several walls to fall down (Hoo (3) 2006:4)

Political Party Funding

The ANC launched the regional municipal elections in Kimberley in January 2006 with the Deputy President, Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, and various performing artists while the opposition parties kept their launches low-key (DFA, 2006:3).

The ANC has taken major exception to allegations made against the party

regarding a donation scandal in the Siyanda region. It is alleged that municipalities received requests by the ANC to donate money for a banquet in Upington in January 2006. The ANC regional Secretary, Deshi Ngxanga, denied these allegations and stated that "…the municipality in question has been requested to provide proof of whether any money has been deposited. The ANC is against corruption and thus cannot make itself guilty of such misconduct" (DFA, 2006:3).

Conclusion

On the eve of the election, the IEC is working around the clock to finalise all the logistical arrangements for the election, the political parties are launching the final phases of their campaigns and the security systems are in place to ensure that voters can exercise their democratic right to cast their votes in a peaceful environment. The Department of Home Affairs has sent out mobile satellite units, especially to rural areas such as Platfontein near Kimberley, to issue new identity documents also needed for voting on 1 March. The opposition parties are making their last appeals to voters to vote in favour of their party focusing on issues of corruption and service delivery. The ANC is making their final electoral promises and their alliance

partners, namely COSATU and the South African Communist Party are calling upon their members to vote for the majority party (ANC). Voters have been exposed to a wealth of information and it is now up to them to make an informed decision and exercise their democratic right to vote on 1 March 2006.

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