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# **South Africa 2014 Election Updates**

# **EISA Election Update Eight**

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# SA Elections 2014: The Media and Provincial Cabinet Composition

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# Is there a good story to tell about the South African media coverage of the country's 2014 national and provincial elections?

#### Introduction

South Africa held its fifth democratic national and provincial elections on 7 May 2014. Elections not only represent the possibility of instituting political change in a democracy, they also provide an opportunity to examine the role the media play in either contributing to or undermining free and fair elections. In other words, elections offer the possibility to assess whether the media are fulfilling their task of being an "independent" observer as well as their function to inform and educate the electorate, giving citizens the opportunity to make informed choices at the polls. More importantly, elections present citizens and the media with the chance to engage on issues that impact the people's livelihood and development. This means that the media must navigate between the personal contentions and accusations of the different candidates and political parties to clarify the core issues of principles and policies so that the public are in a better position to make an informed vote. Or, to ask what information citizens do not know and what do they need to know in relation to the elections.

With every election, there is always a need for media to critically engage with politicians, political parties and their policies, and ask the right questions in order for the electorate to cast informed votes. To become informed voters, the electorate requires a variety of information on government and political parties, and the democratic system itself. The information comes from a variety of sources, including the media. In order to contribute to free and fair elections, media coverage must be balanced, equitable, fair and accurate. This is a significant and certainly demanding responsibility that makes it essential for the media's coverage of elections to be explored. In light of this, Media Monitoring Africa (MMA) has extensively analysed election coverage in all the national, provincial, and municipal election periods in South Africa since 1994 with the view to deepen democracy through encouraging responsible and quality media that enables an engaged and informed citizenry. This article is based on MMA's elections monitoring experiences since 1994, with specific attention given to findings from the 2014 national and provincial elections monitoring.

We ask the question: Is there a good story to tell about the South African media coverage of the country's 2014 national and provincial elections? We do not seek to provide an answer to this question. Our aim rather is to ask you the reader to make up your mind by revealing some of the findings we noted in the media coverage of these elections. In trying to help you make the call, we would like you to consider whether the coverage was balanced and fair, comprehensive and people-centred. We further raise even more questions in the hope that by the time you finish reading this article you will have made up your mind regarding the media's performance.

First, we briefly discuss the role of the media during elections and the South African media landscape. We then move on to discuss how we monitored the media's coverage of these elections. We conclude by providing some of the major findings, which we feel would help you determine whether there is a good story to tell or not.

#### The role of media during elections

The media play an essential communication function in any democracy and particularly during an election period. The media bear the significant responsibility of ensuring that the electorate are provided with the information they need to make informed decisions. Generally, the more information people receive, the better their connection to candidates and political party positions and promises. Therefore, an independent and critical media can and must present high quality dialogue on party policy issues, thereby allowing voters to make choices that are more informed. When this happens, voters are better equipped to hold governing and opposition parties accountable. This is the media's democratic as well as democratising role.

The effective fulfilment of this function begins with the generation of interest, awareness, knowledge and understanding.<sup>5</sup> It also begins with the acquisition of skills and techniques in the use of communication to support socio-cultural, political and economic development.<sup>6</sup> Over and above this, the effectiveness of the media in support of democratic governance requires that all sectors of society have access to news, information, opinions and ideas as well as the opportunity to express their own viewpoints in a language they normally use and understand.<sup>7</sup> However, the ability of the media to provide nuanced and in-depth information that allows voters to make informed decisions is not without constraints. Frère (2010) notes that some of the obstacles the media face include:

- The ownership structures and intrinsic weaknesses of media enterprises;
- The media's close contacts with the political sphere;
- Media freedom violations;
- The weaknesses of regulatory authorities;
- Difficulties in accessing information; and,
- Inflaming discourse from political candidates.<sup>8</sup>

Although Frère writes about these and other obstacles in relation to the media in post-conflict countries in Central Africa, these constraints are also faced by the media in South Africa.

<sup>3</sup>lbid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Schulz Herzenberg, C. Managing public opinion during the 2009 South African elections. In H. E. Thuynsma (Ed.), *Public opinion and interest group politics: South Africa's missing links?* Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa, 2012, p. 137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>lbid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Kwame Boafo, S. T. Supporting democracy, good governance and peace building in Africa: Some ethical challenges for the African media. In C. Ukpadi (Ed.), *Handbook on journalism ethics: African case studies*. Windhoek: The Media Institute of Southern Africa, 2001, p.23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>lbid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Frère, M-S. *The media and elections in post-conflict Central African countries*. Paper presented at the Election Processes, Liberation Movements and Democratic Change in Africa Conference, Maputo, Mozambique, 2010, p.5-10).

#### South African media landscape

In relation to the South African media landscape, Krüger (2012, p. 231) argues that it is largely dominated by a small number of companies that focus primarily on national and metropolitan audiences. Print media is largely urban and elitist. Four large media companies dominate the print media space in terms of the number of titles they own. These are: Caxton, with 130 newspaper titles (89 wholly owned and 41 co-owned); Naspers (Media24), with more than 64 titles; the Irish-owned Independent Newspapers group, with 35 titles; and Avusa (formerly known as Times Media Limited and then Johnnic Communications), with 22 titles. 10 A smaller, but influential print title is the *Mail & Guardian* newspaper largely owned by Zimbabwean publisher and entrepreneur Trevor Ncube. 11 The Mail & Guardian is the sole survivor of the alternative media sector that flourished in the 1980s. 12 In 2010, The New Age newspaper was launched. This newspaper is owned by the Gupta family group, which has close ties with the current president of the country, Jacob Zuma. <sup>13</sup> Fighting off allegations that it would be the mouthpiece of the ruling African National Congress (ANC) party, its then editor, Henry Jeffreys, wrote: "The New Age has no formal links with the ANC (or any other political party, for that matter) ... [However], we will, generally, support the government of the day, at all levels."14

With regard to broadcasting, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) is by far the biggest and arguably the most important player. The majority of the country's population rely on the broadcaster's radio and television services for news, because the services are broadcast in all 11 official languages of the country. The SABC has over 40 per cent of the country's total radio audience and 70 per cent of the television audience. However, the broadcaster has been and is still experiencing financial and managerial crises, which have affected its credibility and perhaps its ability to effectively deliver quality news. Apart from the SABC, there are two private television stations, etv and ANN7 (also owned by the Gupta family group), and about 13 private commercial radio stations, which have taken a significant share of the audience since the liberalisation of the airwaves in the mid-1990s. This is aside from the approximately 150 community radio stations and more than 130 community

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Krüger, F. Fourth estate or fifth column? The media on the 2011 campaign trail. In S. Booysen (Ed.), *Local elections in South Africa: Parties, people, politics.* Bloemfontein: Sun Press, 2012, p.232.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Media Development and Diversity Agency. *Trends of ownership and control of media in South Africa*. Johannesburg: MDDA, 2009, p.16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Mail & Guardian website <a href="http://mg.co.za/page/history">http://mg.co.za/page/history</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Krüger, F. Fourth estate or fifth column? The media on the 2011 campaign trail. In S. Booysen (Ed.), *Local elections in South Africa: Parties, people, politics*. Bloemfontein: Sun Press, 2012, p.232. <sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Sapa. The New Age begins – at last. Timeslive. Accessed from: http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2010/12/06/the-new-age-begins---at-last

The media on the 2011 campaign trail. In S. Booysen (Ed.), Local elections in South Africa: Parties, people, politics. Bloemfontein: Sun Press, 2012, p.231.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>Media Development and Diversity Agency. *Trends of ownership and control of media in South Africa*. Johannesburg: MDDA, 2009, p.9-10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>Krüger, F. Fourth estate or fifth column? The media on the 2011 campaign trail. In S. Booysen (Ed.), *Local elections in South Africa: Parties, people, politics*. Bloemfontein: Sun Press, 2012, p.231. <sup>18</sup>Ibid, p.232.

newspapers also available in the country and several subscription television services provided by Multichoice.

Duncan (2009) observes that the media landscape in South Africa has developed the character of a funnel, with more media catering for the few elite being clustered further up the funnel, while media access tapers off drastically towards the lower end of the funnel. 19 Although 940 million newspapers circulate in South Africa per year, <sup>20</sup> radio still commands vast listenership, with community stations catering for specific target audiences, and national stations targeting people across the country. However, both print and broadcast are concentrated in major metropolitan areas, namely, Gauteng, Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal.<sup>21</sup> With regard to regulation, print media self-regulates through an independent press ombudsman, while broadcast media is regulated by the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) in an election period. Outside of an election period, the broadcast media also subscribe to the self-regulatory system under the auspices of the Broadcasting Complaints and Compliance Commission of South Africa (BCCSA). Whether regulatory frameworks are effective or not is another issue. What is clear, though, is that the country's 2014 national and provincial elections took place within the context of media that is dominated by a few big media companies.

#### How we monitored the 2014 elections

In these elections, we analysed the coverage of the following 48 online and broadcast media from 7 March 2014 to 14 May 2014.<sup>22</sup> These media were purposely selected in order to be representative of the South African media landscape described earlier. The news content of these media titles was analysed using the following basic criteria:

- Political party coverage: This was determined through counting the number of political party officials that were accessed directly or indirectly by all media whose content was analysed. This was also achieved by amalgamating all the direct and indirect quotes from political party officials into word clouds. So the bigger the word in the cloud the more it was repeated by the politicians.
- **Alternative voices:** This was achieved by looking at roles of all the people who were accessed directly or indirectly by media, for example, politicians, professionals, civil society members, etc. The gender and race of all the people accessed were also noted.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>This is hardly a justifiable situation for a media system aiming for universality and diversity. See Duncan, J. (2009). The uses and abuses of political economy: The ANC's media policy. Accessed from: http://www.academia.edu/Papers/in/African National Congress

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Media Development and Diversity Agency. *Trends of ownership and control of media in South Africa*. Johannesburg: MDDA, 2009, p.16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>For a list of all the media we monitored see: <a href="http://elections2014.mediamonitoringafrica.org/">http://elections2014.mediamonitoringafrica.org/</a>

• **Issues covered:** This was determined by looking at the topics/issues that media focused on during the election period. By extension, this allowed us to see the issues that were in turn neglected.<sup>23</sup>

Using these criteria, we were able to reveal some of the major findings that will help you determine whether the South African media coverage of the 2014 national and provincial elections was balanced and fair, comprehensive and people-centred.

#### Was the coverage balanced and fair?

27 political parties contested the 2014 national elections. <sup>24</sup> Of these, only five received 84.1% of the total media coverage, namely, the ANC with 38.2%, Democratic Alliance (DA) with 25.3%, Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) with 13.4%, Congress of the People (COPE) with 4.1% and Agang SA with 3.1%. This means that the remaining 22 political parties shared the remaining 15.9% of total media coverage. Some core questions to consider: Does this show balance in terms of coverage? Does it allow the electorate got to know about other political parties and what they represented in order to make an informed choice? With such coverage, would we be able to understand the country's political landscape in its entirety and complexity?

More importantly, when we compare the amount of media coverage these five political parties received to the amount of votes they received we see interesting patterns. Although the ANC received 38.2% media coverage it received 62.1% of the votes cast. On the other hand, EFF, the new kid on the block, received 6.3% of the votes although it had 13.4% of the media coverage. The same could be said for COPE and Agang SA, which together failed to get more than 1% of the votes yet together, received 7% media coverage. These findings raise a few questions. How much coverage should media dedicate to political parties? Does it really matter how much coverage a party gets? More importantly, what do these findings mean for equitable coverage?

When it comes to actual fairness of reporting the media monitored performed extremely well.<sup>25</sup> That is to say, the overwhelming majority of media made clear efforts to ensure that they covered different political parties, that they covered them fairly when they did cover them and where parties made allegations against another the media made significant efforts to offer a response. There can be no doubt that this is a significant achievement for media in a developing democracy.

#### Was the coverage comprehensive?

In order to determine whether the coverage was comprehensive, a number of issues need to be considered. On the one hand, it is important to consider what politicians actually say, because often during electioneering politicians have a lot to say and media give them space to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>For a full description of the methodology also see: <a href="http://elections2014.mediamonitoringafrica.org/">http://elections2014.mediamonitoringafrica.org/</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>For a full list of the political parties that contested the 2014 national elections see: http://www.elections.org.za/content/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>To see how media performed in terms of fairness see: <a href="http://elections2014.mediamonitoringafrica.org/">http://elections2014.mediamonitoringafrica.org/</a>

articulate what their parties represent. As highlighted earlier, to determine what politicians actually said we amalgamated all the direct and indirect quotes from the political parties that received the most media coverage into word clouds.<sup>26</sup> In the clouds that follow the bigger the word, the more prominent it was in politicians' quotes.



Figure 1: What the ANC said



Figure 2: What the DA said

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>A word cloud is a visual representation of text that shows keywords from a text. The more the word is repeated in the text, bigger it is in the word cloud.



Figure 3: What the EFF said



Figure 4: What COPE said



Figure 5: What Agang SA said

What is clear from these word clouds is that these parties were concerned with personalities rather than the issues that affect South Africans in general. Interestingly, the DA's word cloud could be confused with that of the ANC, as there was a lot of talk about the ANC. Although jobs and corruption (read Nkandla) were raised, not much was said about the other critical issues that affect the country. Given the media hype around the EFF and what it was expected to bring to the political landscape of South Africa, one would assume the party would bring up issues relating to economic freedom such as land, mining, etc., to the fore. However, just like the ANC's and the DA's messages, issues that would help voters make an informed vote were choked by Malema politics. Agang SA also tried to raise issues around corruption and education, but that was pretty much all it could do. The word clouds present a substantial dilemma. They could be read to suggest that politicians during the election period had no real substance to offer the electorate and instead chose to focus on party branding and vacuous messaging, or they could be read to suggest that the media failed to quote them when they were talking about the real issues. In either event it seems there is little value to be gleaned from what politicians say in an election period in the media.

On the other hand, elections are not just about politicians but also about people who vote, so it's also important to look at other voices that were amplified during the electioneering period. The following is a chart that shows all the sources that were accessed by all media during the election period.

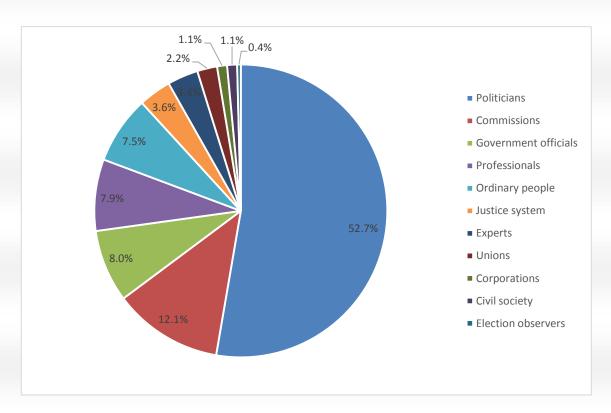


Figure 6: Sources accessed by all media

As can be seen from Figure 6, a variety of people were accessed for their views, but over half of all the people were politicians and less than 10% were "ordinary" people. The question is: Who should be accessed during the pre-election period to give the voters the most comprehensive information?

Also, women constitute 52% of South Africa's population, yet only 25% of all the people quoted directly and indirectly by the media are women. This is less than the 29% recorded in the 2011 municipal elections. So what's going on? Is the media at fault for not being more proactive about accessing more women, or should we be looking to political parties to offer more female voices? We see that women are marginalised not only in terms of voice but also as regards critical issues of immediate relevance to them.<sup>27</sup>

Given the country's past, it is not surprising that politics is still structured mainly along racial lines. As of July 2011, Statistics South Africa revealed that black people constitute 79% of the population, while white and coloured people make up 9% each and Indian (and Asian) people make up 3% of the country's population. Our findings reveal that white people are generally overrepresented by media at 18%, while coloured and Indian people are underrepresented at 4% and 1% respectively. Is the media merely portraying existing power dynamics along racial lines? Does the overrepresentation and underrepresentation of the races impact the information for voters? Moreover, assessed as a whole, should the media reflect the country's racial demographics or should it cater for its targeted audience, irrespective of race?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>See next section on whether the coverage was people-centred.

#### Was the coverage people-centred?

In order to determine whether the coverage was people-centred or not, we allocated an overall theme or topic to each story we analysed. The graph that follows shows the top ten topic breakdown across all media monitored, and the top ten accounts for 89% of all topics identified. It also shows that 40% of all coverage was about party campaigning and party politics.

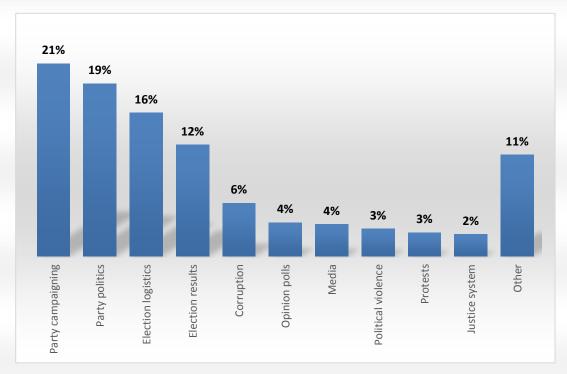


Figure 7: All topics covered by all media

That high levels of stories focused on party campaigning and party politics is hardly surprising given previous trends in media coverage. As this was an election period, however, we would expect parties themselves to focus on these issues. We would also hope that media would have adopted a citizens' agenda and afforded less coverage to these areas, as their dominance adds little to the understanding by audiences of the big election issues or parties' policies.

Corruption was unusually high, but the majority of stories were focused on Nkandla. Election logistics was also relatively high, but again this is largely attributable to the focus on the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) Chairperson, Pansy Tlakula, following the Public Protector's report implicating her in wrongdoing. Media for the first time was in the top ten, but not as a focus on media policy issues but more around the attention given to the SABC and the ICASA complaints process around the decision to ban the broadcast of political advertisements by both the DA and the EFF.

The coverage of the 2014 national and provincial elections is thus very similar to that of previous elections, where party campaigning and party politics dominated, aided by a few running stories. In the 2011 municipal elections coverage was around the toilet saga, with missed opportunities to unpack sanitation issues more broadly. This is the case with Nkandla, the IEC Chair and the SABC and political adverts. While there were some outstanding pieces of reporting on these issues, issues directly affecting citizens were neglected.

We know this because key issues such as voter education, crime, development, service delivery, land, labour, racism, affirmative action, disabilities, education, environment, gender, health, housing, human rights and poverty each received less than 1% of the media coverage. The coverage of children and HIV and Aids were virtually non-existent. Ironically, the coverage was inversely proportional to the importance of the impact of the issues. Women account for the majority of the population yet scant regard was paid to the policies affecting them, and the differential impact they have. Given the Oscar Pistorius trial and the saturated coverage afforded to that it was anticipated that gender, gender-based violence or issues around masculinity could have featured as election themes.

Children account for 37% of our population, yet again their issues were marginalised. The spectre of racism continues to inform our politics and national discourse, yet, again, aside from a handful of stories the issues, policies and potential solutions went under the radar. Issues around our environment and climate change, which impact the poor most directly, were also missed. Even "big" stories like economics, where potential models could have been tested or hotly debated, or crime and gun control, land and housing – all critical issues for the majority of South Africans – were under-reported. Again, it would appear that with some notable exceptions media allowed their agendas to be determined by politicians and political parties, and not citizens.

This again raises more questions. Which issues should take precedence over others in terms of media coverage? And whose role is it to put these issues on the agenda? How much coverage should be given to these issues, given that they are so important to South Africa? Perhaps most importantly, how do we ensure that the media cover crucial issues and move away from personalities? The answer is all the more challenging when it is (or seems) clear that audiences also want personalities over issues, or do they?

#### **Conclusion**

Given how the media performed in these elections do you think there is a good story to tell? For us, the picture is not as bright as it could or should be, but that is indicative of our democracy as well. It is also worth noting that there were numerous cases where media engaged, unpacked and analysed critical issues. The real challenge for our media is how to do more of that with fewer resources, especially when faced by the slick, well-resourced spin machines of political parties. We see these findings as a call for real and long-term investment in the skills and capacity development of our journalists and media houses. We also hope that the findings will help in highlighting areas and opportunities for further indepth coverage. We have therefore developed <a href="https://www.wazimap.co.za">www.wazimap.co.za</a> – an online tool that

combines census and election data in one place in order to help media do their work better. We also know that the challenge of churnalism is also difficult to overcome. In this regard we have developed <a href="www.newstools.co.za">www.newstools.co.za</a> where you can check articles for churnalism. The decision rests with you, the reader.

### **Western Cape**

# Dr Cherrel Africa, Head of the Political Studies Department, University of the Western Cape

#### Introduction

The province has the same premier and there is significant continuity in the provincial legislature and the provincial cabinet.

#### **Results in the Western Cape**

The Democratic Alliance (DA) increased its majority in the Western Cape, obtaining 59% of the vote in 2014 compared to 51% in 2009. The African National Congress (ANC) maintained its level of support in the Western Cape, with 33% of voters casting their ballot for the party in the 2014 provincial elections compared to 32% in 2009. The African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) saw its support base drop from 2% to 1%, while the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) managed to obtain 2% of the vote in the province. Other small parties in the Western Cape received fractional support in the 2014 election.

**Table 1: Western Cape Provincial Results (1994-2014)** 

Party Name	Total no. of votes				P	'ercentag	ge %			
	1994	1999	2004	2009	2014	1994	1999	2004	2009	2014
DP/DA	141,970	189,183	424,832	1,012,568	1,259,645	7%	12%	27%	51%	59%
ANC	705,576	668,106	709,052	620,918	697,664	33%	42%	45%	32%	33%
EFF	NA	NA	NA	NA	44,762	NA	NA	NA	NA	2%
FF/FF+	44,003	6,394	9,705	8,384	11, 587	2%	0.40%	0.62%	0.43%	0.55%
ACDP	25,731	44,323	53,934	28,995	21,693	1%	3%	3%	2%	1%
ID	NA	NA	122,867	92,116	NA	NA	NA	8%	5%	NA
UDM	NA	38,071	27,489	14,013	10 199	NA	2%	1.75%	0.71%	0.48%
COPE	NA	NA	NA	152,356	12 520	NA	NA	NA	8%	0.59%
NP/NNP	1,138,2 42	609,612	170,469	NA	NA	53%	38%	11%	NA	NA

Source: Independent Electoral Commission. Retrieved June 5, 2014 from <a href="http://www.elections.org.za">http://www.elections.org.za</a>

#### The Western Cape Provincial Legislature

The Western Cape Provincial Legislature consists of 42 members. The DA is the ruling party, holding 26 of the 42 seats – up from its previous term, where it occupied 22 seats. The party gained four more seats after absorbing the Independent Democrats (ID) and the demise of the Congress of the People (COPE) in the province. The ANC maintained the 14 seats that it obtained after the 2009 elections, while the ACDP lost one of its two seats. The EFF managed to gain enough votes to receive one seat in the Western Cape.

**Table 2: Western Cape Seat Allocation (1994-2009)** 

Party Name (abbreviation)		Tota	l no. of se	ats	
	1994	1999	2004	2009	2014
Democratic Party (DP)/ Democratic Alliance	3	5	12	22	26
African National Congress (ANC)	14	18	19	14	14
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	NA	NA	NA	NA	1
Freedom Front (FF)/ Freedom Front Plus (VF Plus)	1	0	0	0	0
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	1	1	3	2	1
Independent Democrats (ID)	NA	NA	3	3	NA
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	NA	1	1	0	0
Congress of the People (COPE)	NA	NA	NA	3	0
National Party (NP)/ New National Party (NNP)	23	17	5	NA	NA

Source: Independent Electoral Commission. Retrieved June 5, 2014 from http://www.elections.org.za

#### The Provincial Cabinet

DA leader Helen Zille remains the premier of the Western Cape, and only minor changes were made to the provincial cabinet. There are ten Members of the Executive Council (MECs) who are appointed by the premier. Two vacancies arose after Agriculture MEC Gerrit van Rensburg moved to the National Assembly and Transport and Public Works MEC, Robin Carlisle, retired. There are two newcomers to the provincial cabinet. University of the Western Cape academic Nomafrench Mbombo will take up the Cultural Affairs and Sport portfolio from Dr Ivan Meyer and former parliamentary member Debbie Schafer will replace Donald Grant in the Education portfolio. In 2009 Helen Zille faced significant criticism for not being transformative in her cabinet appointments. This has continued after her announcement of the 2014 cabinet.

**Table 3: Western Cape Provincial Cabinet** 

Helen Zille	Premier	Position retained
Debbie Schafer	Education	New appointment
Nomafrench Mbombo	Cultural Affairs and Sport	New appointment
Theuns Botha	Health	Position retained
Anton Bredell	Local Government, Environmental Affairs and	Position retained
Allton bleden	Development Planning	
Albert Fritz	Social Development	Position retained
Donald Grant	Transport and Public Works	Formerly Education
Bonginkosi	Human Settlements	Position retained
Madikizela	Tuman Settlements	

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Donnelly, L. "Zille adds 2 women to Western Cape Cabinet" *Mail and Guardian* (2014). Retrieved 26 May 2014. From <a href="http://mg.co.za/article/2014-05-21-zille-adds-two-women-to-western-cape-cabinet">http://mg.co.za/article/2014-05-21-zille-adds-two-women-to-western-cape-cabinet</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Phakathi, B. "ANC criticises Zille's provincial cabinet" Business Day Live (2014). Retrieved 27 May 2014. From <a href="http://www.bdlive.co.za/national/politics/2014/05/22/anc-criticises-zilles-provincial-cabinet">http://www.bdlive.co.za/national/politics/2014/05/22/anc-criticises-zilles-provincial-cabinet</a>

Ivan Meyer	Finance	Formerly Cultural Affairs and Sport
Dan Plato	Community Safety	Position retained
Alan Winde	Agriculture, Economic Development and Tourism	Formerly Finance

#### **Governance Challenges in the Western Cape**

In many respects the Western Cape is a thriving province. The economy of the Cape metro makes the second-largest contribution to the national GDP, and it also has the lowest unemployment rate in the country.<sup>3</sup> Cape Town and many other areas in the Western Cape are regarded as major tourist attractions.

However, the Western Cape has many inter-related complex developmental challenges. Inequality is a major problem in the province. Unemployment is widespread in many so-called black and coloured township areas. Schools in townships have formidable challenges, and the pass rates in these schools are much lower than those of schools in the suburbs. A shortage of adequate housing and services is exacerbated by seasonal flooding in the province. These problems in turn fuel various health problems, which are worsened by poor living conditions. The continuing increase in the provincial population exacerbates these problems.

Despite the introduction of the Integrated Rapid Transport system, public transport remains a major problem in poor areas, since it was first introduced in areas where most residents have their own private vehicles.<sup>5</sup> Residents in poor areas face significant challenges in getting to work, school and elsewhere. Many depend on Metrorail, which has faced significant challenges in delivering its service to those who rely on it. At times train delays have resulted in commuters being on trains for as long as three hours due to cable theft and other related problems. <sup>6</sup> The ongoing taxi violence in Cape Town also creates problems for those commuters who rely on this mode of transport.<sup>7</sup> In many instances people put their lives at risk by walking to their destinations in the early hours of the morning and late at night.

Indeed, a lack of safety is another key challenge that the Western Cape faces. National crime statistics reveals that Mitchells Plain, one of the most densely populated areas in the Western

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Economic Information and Research Unit, Economic Development Department, City of Cape Town. "Cape Town Quarterly report: State of the Cape Town Economy". (2013) Retrieved 20 June 2014. From <a href="https://www.capetown.gov.za/en/ehd/Documents">https://www.capetown.gov.za/en/ehd/Documents</a>

<sup>4</sup> Dwane, Y. "Reply to Western Cape MEC for Education, Donald Grant, on the textbook crisis in Khayelitsha Schools". (2010). Retrieved 12 June 2014. From <a href="http://www.equaleducation.org.za/article/reply-to-western-cape-mec-for-education-donald-grant-on-the-textbook-crisis-in-khayelitsha-schools">http://www.equaleducation.org.za/article/reply-to-western-cape-mec-for-education-donald-grant-on-the-textbook-crisis-in-khayelitsha-schools</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Eichhon, M. "My Citi: Why Cape Town needs a unique solution to public transport". (2013) Retrieved 10 July 2014. From <a href="https://www.groundup.org">www.groundup.org</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Jackman, R. "Metrorail issues late notes to Commuters". Independent Online. (2014) Retrieved 10 June, 2014. From <a href="http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/western-cape/metrorail-issues-late-notes-to-commuters-">http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/western-cape/metrorail-issues-late-notes-to-commuters-</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> SAPA. "7 Dead in Cape Taxi Violence". Independent Online.(2014) Retrieved 10 June 2014. From http://www.iol.co.za/news/crime-courts/7-dead-in-cape-taxi-violence

Cape, is severely affected by crime. <sup>8</sup> Crime in the province is worsened by a wide network of gangs. Elsies River, Hanover Park, Lavender Hill, and Manenberg have been identified as gang priority hotspots in the province. <sup>9</sup>In 2013, 12% of the 2,580 murders in the province were gang-related, and 44% of drug-related crimes in South Africa occurred in the Western Cape. <sup>10</sup> Apartheid-era housing infrastructure, particularly large blocks of flats, fuels many of these problems. Dealing with the matter of increased gang violence has become a much-debated political issue.

In her State of the Province address delivered on 20 June 2014, Helen Zille prioritised the implementation of the Provincial Development Plan (PDP), indicating that "the Western Cape Government supports most of the objectives of the NDP". Given the toxic and destructive relationship between the DA and the ANC in the Western Cape, the premier acknowledged the need for greater co-operation between political parties. She started her address by stating that she sincerely hopes "that constructive dialogue and debate will supersede obstructive, polarising politics" during sittings. She also stressed the importance of co-operation between the different spheres of government, but concluded that "if various national departments continue to block our efforts in this regard, we will resort to the legal remedies available to us".

The premier identified building integrated and sustainable human settlements in the province as the biggest challenge. Zille stated that it is essential to do this, as it would improve social cohesion and redress the legacies of the past. She estimated that it would cost over R70 billion (double the budget of the Western Cape Government) to provide land, services and top structures, based on a housing database of over 500 000 households in the province. In addition to outlining the delivery programme of a number of housing projects, she called for "new and improved strategies that harness households, the private sector and NGOs to place the Western Cape on a different housing trajectory, one which offers an improved living environment for everyone"... "to come up with innovative partnerships and solutions to improve people's standard of living in the province at a much faster pace". She added that "it is critical that all three spheres of government work together to come up with new pioneering models to deliver integrated human settlements. The current housing challenges we face across the country must not be politicised, either in government or on the ground".

One of the key commitments made by the premier was to make the Western Cape a leader in broadband access. She paid significant attention to job creation, with a particular focus on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Phakathi, B. and Magubone, K. "Western Cape Police lament "challenging year of crime" Business Day Live (2013). Retrieved 12 June 2014. From <a href="http://www.bdlive.co.za/national/2013/09/20/western-cape-police-lament-challenging-year-of-crime">http://www.bdlive.co.za/national/2013/09/20/western-cape-police-lament-challenging-year-of-crime</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Swingler, S. "Fighting the gangs of South Africa's Western Cape" The Guardian (2014). Retrieved 12 June 2014. From <a href="http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/29/gangs-south-africa-western-cape">http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/29/gangs-south-africa-western-cape</a>

Western Cape Government. "Report identifying the policing needs and priorities in the Western Cape" (2013). Retrieved 12 June 2014. From <a href="http://www.westerncape.gov.za/assets/departments/community-safety/pnps">http://www.westerncape.gov.za/assets/departments/community-safety/pnps</a> 2012-2013 report 29-08-2013.pdf

<sup>11</sup> Zille, H. "Western Cape State of the Province Address (II)" Retrieved 20 June 2014. From <a href="http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/">http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/</a>

young entrepreneurs, small and medium size firms (SMEs), the tourism industry, the Western Cape as a call centre destination, the aquaculture industry, the agriculture industry, the oil and gas sector and the renewable energy sector. She also indicated that skills development remains a priority for the Western Cape government and announced the development of an "e-skills platform that will serve as an integrated tool for government, higher education and the private sector to engage with one another in order to match skills development programmes to current skills shortages and for citizens to access career-related training and advice". According to Zille, the bulk of the provincial education budget will be spent on underprivileged learners. She outlined the following focus areas: improving language and mathematics outcomes; improving the quality of leadership and teaching; strengthening of School Governing Bodies; creating safe and welcoming environments for optimal learning; improving infrastructure and facilities at schools and improving access to learning support material.

Zille indicated that the provision of healthcare will be guided by the Healthcare 2030 framework and that "meeting the health needs of an ever expanding population with a limited budget requires innovative thinking and strong partnerships with the private sector". She outlined her plans for building new health facilities and upgrading existing clinics, hospitals and community day centres. She acknowledged that despite sustained progress, social challenges such as teenage pregnancies, gang violence as well as alcohol and drug abuse compromise education outcomes and threaten job creation, particularly among the youth. The speech therefore laid out various strategies for community development and how to deal with these issues.

#### **Media Coverage**

In the run-up to the election media coverage in the Western Cape framed the electoral contest between political parties as underpinned by a battle between so-called coloured and black voters. There are of course different racially structured interests and challenges, and aggressive negative campaigning has racial underpinnings. However, beyond simply reporting on these dynamics, media coverage was premised on presumptions about the "coloured electorate". Perpetually framing issues through these lenses can be counterproductive as it has the potential to add to the cycle of conflict between communities. While it is likely these divisions will continue to be highlighted as the Western Cape government grapples with its implementation programme, it is important that media outlets begin to reflect on their role in covering these issues.

Pre-election coverage was dominated by the campaigns and election logistics. Media Monitoring Africa (MMA) conducted systematic research on the news coverage of 50 media outlets (including print, online and broadcast media) between 7 March 2014 and 30 April 2014. Its data reveals that 52% of all coverage could be categorised under the themes "party campaigning" and "party politics". It also found that election coverage was not done from the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Media Monitoring Africa. "Media Coverage of the 2014 National & Provincial Elections in South Africa. Media Coverage of the 2014 National & Provincial Elections in South Africa". (2014) Retrieved 12 June 2014. From <a href="http://elections2014.mediamonitoringafrica.org/">http://elections2014.mediamonitoringafrica.org/</a>

citizen's perspective. While provincial media outlets covered the election campaign extensively, MMA does not have provincial data available. The trends noted by MMA are likely to be prevalent in provincial media. In any event, much of the campaign coverage which would be consumed in the provinces was presented on national media platforms. While covering policy implementation is more difficult, since the election period lends itself to the production of news, it is as important.

#### **Conclusion**

Now that the dust is beginning to settle after an intense election period, the hard work of governance and implementation begins. Whether the DA-led provincial government can implement changes which begin to address the complex web of socio-economic challenges facing the province remains to be seen.

#### **Dr Ina Gouws – North West University (Vaal Triangle Campus)**

The last of the provincial updates focused on the North West takes a look at media coverage of the entire electoral process and the provincial results, and offers some recommendations for any administrative and procedural reforms needed.

#### The media's role and performance

According to the Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development, the media play three critical roles during elections:

- 1. They provide information about the election to citizens (factual and fair reporting on campaigns and platforms of all political parties as well as analysis and interpretation of events and issues)
- 2. The media must function as watchdogs on behalf of citizens, keeping close tabs on the campaigns and election process
- 3. The media needs to serve as the voice of the voters. Elections are not just for politicians, but actually for ordinary people to speak up about issues that concern them.<sup>1</sup>

The media guide provided by the IEC for the 2014 elections covered a range of resources media outlets could use to essentially fulfil the abovementioned roles effectively.<sup>2</sup> The problem is that certain topics in the North West were on the campaign agenda even before the election campaigns officially got underway – i.e. the Marikana Massacre, platinum strikes, violent protests in Madibeng, Bloemhof etc. These events dominated media reporting in the North West. Actions and reaction of political parties about these events and the perceived reasons for these events took centre-stage. National reporting for all publications in North West was therefore focused on Teemane, Rustenburg and Madibeng, all areas identified as hotspots by the IEC.

<b>Voting district</b>	% population in NW	% media coverage for NW
Teemane	2%	16.1%
Rustenburg	16%	73.2%
Madibeng	14%	10.7%

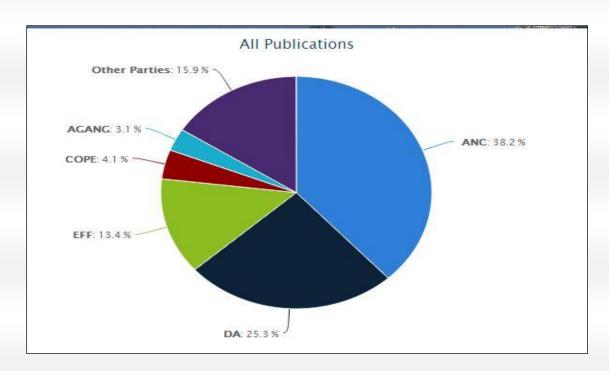
Source: Media Monitoring Africa<sup>3</sup>

According to Media Monitoring Africa, most of the national election coverage was fair and unbiased. They provided this schematic of publication coverage of political parties.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> AIBD. "Fair elections and responsible journalism". (2014). <a href="http://www.aibd.org.my/node/1083">http://www.aibd.org.my/node/1083</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> IEC. "Media Guide". (2014). www.elections.org.za/content/.../Media/IEC%20MediaGuide2014.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Media Monitoring Africa. "Election 2014 analysis" elections2014.mediamonitorsafrica.org



Evidence of continuous election coverage by North West media is scarce. From the publications mentioned in a previous update only the *Potchefstroom Herald* and *Mafikeng Mail* seemed to have some election coverage. The *Potchefstroom Herald* reported on the IEC readiness before the elections, voter education, the final results and the ANC's loss of support in the province. The *Mafikeng Mail* relied on letters from readers to provide some insights into provincial election matters. The Editor's Viewpoint section ventured to provide some views on the new North West premier and asserted that ANC North West should embrace him and try to unify the party. Online searches on websites provided for *Zeerust News* and *Overvaal Newspaper* showed no evidence of election coverage.

As far as the 'hotspots' go; a local newspaper that surprised is the *Platinum Weekly*. This local online paper reported on the elections and election results, and is reporting extensively on the platinum strikes. Madibeng has the *Kormorant* and the *Madibeng Times*. The online version of the <u>Madibeng Times</u> seems to keep readers up to date with current political issues and does not shy away from covering hard news. The publication of 12 June 2014 reported for instance on Thandi Modise handing over the report on corruption investigations to the new premier Mahumapelo. This issue was significant in the run-up to the elections, and residents are waiting for action against any officials implicated. The *Kormorant* has a very good online version. Hard news, politics and service delivery are all covered in English and Afrikaans. The "Government" section focuses on both Madibeng municipal news as well as North West provincial news. Archives show that news about service delivery protests and allegations of corruption against officials were important issues in the run-up to the elections and after.

<sup>4</sup> Platinum Weekly. <u>www.platinumweekly.co.za</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Mafikeng Mail. "Premier Supra Mahumapelo receives the report from Thandi Modise". (2014). http://madibengtimes.co.za/Issue.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Kormorant. http://www.kormorant.co.za/category/local-government/

For Teemane it seems the *Stellalander* reported on elections and local government news. The 4 June 2014 issue covered the suspension of the Lekwa Teemane mayor pending outcomes of an investigation initiated before the elections. This was an important issue and one of the reasons for the violent service delivery protests.<sup>7</sup>

#### Results and allocation of seats and composition of Provincial Cabinets

The previous election update asked for analysis of election results patterns and implications per province. The results and allocation of seats are repeated here.

#### **Provincial Election Results – NWP**

Total registered	<b>Total valid votes</b>	Spoiled ballots	Voter turnout	
voters			Provincial	
1 669 349	1 107 079	18 629	66.32%	

Party Name	Abbr.	No. of Votes	% Votes	Seats in Prov legislature
AFRICAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY	ACDP	5 728	0.53%	0
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS	ANC	733 490	67.39%	23
AFRICAN PEOPLE'S CONVENTION	APC	4 398	0.40%	0
AGANG SOUTH AFRICA	AGANG SA	4 736	0.44%	0
AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION	AZAPO	1 796	0.17%	0
CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE	COPE	8 692	0.80%	0
DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE	DA	138 521	12.73%	4
ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS	EFF	143 765	13.21%	5
INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY	IFP	1 496	0.14%	0
NATIONAL FREEDOM PARTY	NFP	1 582	0.15%	0
PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA	PAC	1 473	0.14%	0
SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL PARTY	SAPP	662	0.06%	0
UNITED CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY	UCDP	12 811	1.18%	0
UNITED DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT	UDM	9 615	0.88%	0
VRYHEIDSFRONT PLUS	VF Plus	18 746	1.72%	1
WORKERS AND SOCIALIST PARTY	WASP	939	0.09%	0

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Stellalander.

 $\frac{http://www.northwestnewspapers.co.za/stellalander/index.php/component/search/?searchword=municipal\&ordering=newest\&searchphrase=allordering=newest\&searchp$ 

It is no surprise that the ANC won the provincial elections in North West. The discontent displayed by service delivery protests as well as the memory of Marikana and subsequent labour protests did however cost the ANC votes. The party got 5.5% less votes than in 2009 and came down to 67.39% from 72.89%. The DA hoped that this discontent would be advantageous to them. It ended up in a heavily contested battle with the EFF to become the official opposition in the province, a position held by COPE since 2009. COPE failed to get enough votes in North West to occupy one seat in the legislature. The DA did gain 4.34% to bring the party up to 12.59%, but the EFF edged past with 13.20% to become the official opposition. It was a good showing for a new party and the support in places like Marikana and Rustenburg has certainly contributed. The only other party with a seat in the provincial legislature is the VF+, with 1.72% of the votes in the province. The UCDP lost its two seats in the legislature and got only 1.18% of the votes.

Four new MECs were appointed, filling vacancies left by outgoing Nono Maloyi, Raymond Elisha, Paul Sebegoe and Motlalepule Rosho. Of the six retained, only two continued in their previous portfolios: Dr Magome Masike at health and Wendy Matsemela at education and sports development. The reconfigured Rural, Environmental and Agricultural Development (Read) has been taken over by former local government MEC Manketsi Tlhape. Former Member of Parliament Wendy Nelson is the new MEC for Treasury and Enterprise Development, while a stand-alone tourism department is headed by Desbo Mohono. The social development portfolio was given to Reginah Mochware, while public works and roads went to SACP leader in the province Madoda Sambatha. Local government is now combined with human settlements, and the new MEC is Collen Maine, while community safety and transport management is under Saliva Molapisi.<sup>8</sup>

#### **Recommendations**

The IEC provides information for its provincial offices regarding contact persons and locations. What is lacking is provincially focused pages with information about provincial election matters – i.e. composition of party liaison committees, summaries of decisions taken by these committees, voter education events in the province, exact programme of such events, number of voting stations etc. Publishing outcomes of engagement with relevant stakeholders in the province such as the media, youth formations, trade unions, faith based formations and the business community as well as organisations representing people with disabilities would be helpful.

Surely after five elections the wheels of the IEC machine are supposed to be well-oiled. Ballot papers arriving late, voting stations opening late etc. are the type of situations that should no longer occur except in extreme circumstances, especially in identified hotspots. Security of ballot papers, whether counted or not, should be a priority at all times until election results are official.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Elfas Torerai. "North West Premier Mahumapelo announces new team". (2014). http://www.thenewage.co.za/126599-1007-53-North West Premier Mahumapelo announces new team

Complaints about IEC staff surfaced regularly. More transparency about the recruiting and training process might change negative perceptions. Detail about the screening process should be provided.

The IEC should always avoid being at the centre of any allegations of misconduct.

Lastly, there are a lot of local newspapers and radio stations in addition to the national broadcasters and publications. The IEC is not using local media in North West optimally and is not motivating more local media to become involved in voter education and disseminating election-related information.

## **Eastern Cape**

# Lashiola Kutya, Malachia Mathoho, Sibulele Poswayo and Stephen Shisanya – Afesis-corplan

#### Media Coverage

A free and fair election is not only about the freedom to vote and the knowledge of how to cast a vote, but also about a participatory process where voters engage in public debate and have adequate information about parties, policies, candidates and the election process itself in order to make informed choices. The media acts as a crucial conduit for this and as a watchdog over democratic elections, safeguarding the transparency of the process. Indeed, a democratic election with no media freedom, or stifled media freedom, would be a contradiction in terms.

The primary focus of this article is on the printed press, radio, television broadcasters and new media, including online journalism and social media. A prime concern of media coverage of elections is the right of voters to full and accurate information and citizen engagement in debates and dialogue on policy matters. The role of the media during the entire electoral process (pre-electoral, electoral and post-electoral) is to ensure that voters make informed choices and to provide a platform for candidates, parties and electoral bodies to canvas for votes and disseminate crucial voting information. To this end, the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) regulates party election broadcasts and political advertisements, and ensures the equitable treatment of political parties in the media space.

#### **Pre-voting**

The Association of Independent Publishers<sup>1</sup> (AIP) recognised the importance of media in educating and informing the public during the election process; thus it conducted regional workshops titled the "People, Parties and Polls: Strategic Reporting for the 2014 Elections in South Africa". The training, which was supported by the Open Society Foundation for South Africa, was aimed at equipping community journalists with skills to report on the 2014 elections. For the Eastern Cape Province the training was held on 30 to 31 January 2014. This was a way of enhancing Civic Education by focusing on reporters so that they have clarity and the essential skills on how to capture the process. Evidently, after the training the *Eastern Cape Times* reported vast election information ranging from previous elections, youth voices about elections, special votes, voter education, and political party dynamics, to mention but a few aspects.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Bozo (2014), "People, Parties and Polls: Strategic Reporting for the 2014 Elections in South Africa". http://www.aip.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Election-Training-Report-2014.pdf Accessed on 15 June 2014

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Eastern Cape Times (2014). <a href="http://www.easterntimes.co.za/election-reporter/">http://www.easterntimes.co.za/election-reporter/</a> Accessed on 15 June 2014.

Port Elizabeth-based Bay TV, via its Facebook page, also gave the public a platform to discuss the elections, and looked at various political parties especially the ANC and DA. It emphasised the issue of respecting voting privacy (by informing the public from refraining on "taking selfies" i.e. photos). The national TV broadcasts and E-TV normal programming were adjusted to give a daily update on election coverage as from 7 May 2014 till 9 May 2014. The sole purpose was to keep the public updated on the process as it occurred.<sup>3</sup>

Electoral management institutions played a crucial role pre-, during and post-elections. For instance, in the run-up to the 2014 elections, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) made an effort to ensure that eligible voters, and especially young, first-time voters, were registered to vote. This involved the use of adverts on public and community media platforms, such as the IEC's 'I Vote South Africa' (IXSA) campaign. The IEC also distributed voter education materials on various social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and Mxit. This made engaging with the IEC much easier for techno-savvy, first-time voters. The IEC also implemented a voluntary Schools Democracy Week programme in partnership with the Department of Basic Education in October last year – a first in South Africa.<sup>4</sup>

Algoa fm, a privately owned radio station based in Port Elizabeth and East London, reported on internal party news – for instance, the call by COPE to its supporters to vote for the party and to ignore the in-fighting in the party.<sup>5</sup>

#### **Voting Period**

During the voting period community media in the Eastern Cape Province published the dates and voting centres around the province.

Vukani community radio station, based in the Chris Hani District, aired some political debates during the election period where it created an opportunity for local political parties to present their manifestos and canvas for votes. Political debates were hosted in town halls in each of the eight municipalities in the Chris Hani District, and were transmitted live for listeners to interact with the debates.

Among other media organisations, News24 and some local community radio stations around the province gave regular reports on the state of various polling stations. News24 even reported on a school hall torched in Sterkspruit which was later reported as not being a voting station.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3 2014</sup> Election coverage to interrupt normal programming (May 2014). <a href="http://www.baydu.co.za/?p=1384">http://www.baydu.co.za/?p=1384</a> Accessed on 17 June 2014

<sup>4</sup> http://www.issafrica.org/iss-today/sa-elections-first-time-voters-need-more-effective-education

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cope Eastern Cape wants voters to ignore party squabbles (May 2014). http://www.algoafm.co.za/article.aspx?id=9310 Accessed 17 June 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Torched Eastern Cape hall not a voting station (May 2014).

<a href="http://www.news24.com/elections/news/torched-eastern-cape-hall-not-a-voting-station-20140505">http://www.news24.com/elections/news/torched-eastern-cape-hall-not-a-voting-station-20140505</a> Accessed on 17 June 2014

For the Eastern Cape, the Times Live reported the provincial electoral officer Thami Mraji acknowledging that the process was "credible, free, and fair in spite of the many challenges that were encountered". The press also reported on some of the challenges faced during the process, which included parties' complaints about the national ballot papers that could not be scanned as they did not have barcodes.<sup>7</sup> The media also gave regular updates on the voting stations' counting processes, and interviewed various individuals who were part of the election process in the various voting stations.

Overall, the media provided vast information to the public regarding the voting process, party politics, disseminating of results and the post-election cabinet announcements. Although the media tried its best to provide unbiased information, a degree of over-reporting on the main parties was witnessed: most reports centred on the ruling party, the ANC, and then the strong opposition parties, namely the Democratic Alliance, Economic Freedom Fighters, Congress of the People, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and AgangSA.

#### Breakdown of results and allocation of seats as well as composition of provincial cabinet

The 2014 elections in the Eastern Cape were credible. They were conducted freely and fairly in spite the many challenges that were encountered. That is according to the Independent Electoral Commission of South Africa's Eastern Cape electoral officer, Mr Thami Mraji.

The Eastern Cape had a high number of registered voters – standing at 3,240,059. Of this number, 2,213,121 cast their votes. The table below shows a breakdown of the results per party and the percentage that each party organisation obtained in the provincial elections.

Table 1: Breakdown of results for the Province of the Eastern Cape

Party Name	No. of Votes	% Votes
AFRICAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY ACDP	7,291	0.33 %
AFRICAN INDEPENDENT CONGRESS AIC	16,786	0.77 %
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ANC	1,528,345	70.09 %
AFRICAN PEOPLE'S CONVENTION APC	5,000	0.23 %
AGANG SOUTH AFRICA AGANGSA	2,372	0.11 %
AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION AZAPO	2,509	0.12 %
CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE COPE	26,129	1.20 %
DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE DA	353,316	16.20 %
ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS EFF	75,776	3.48 %
INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY IFP	1,388	0.06 %

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Results start coming in after elections. Times LIVE, Sapa, Reuters | 08 May, 2014 06:31 <a href="http://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2014/05/08/results-start-coming-in-after-elections">http://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2014/05/08/results-start-coming-in-after-elections</a> Accessed on 16 June 2014

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KINGDOM GOVERNANCE MOVEMENT KGM	3,932	0.18 %
NATIONAL FREEDOM PARTY NFP	3,472	0.16 %
PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA PAC	9,691	0.44 %
PATRIOTIC MOVEMEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA PAMSA	759	0.03 %
UNITED CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY UCDP	1,194	0.05 %
UNITED CONGRESS UNICO	1,406	0.06 %
UNITED DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT UDM	134,280	6.16 %
VRYHEIDSFRONT PLUS VF Plus	6,818	0.31 %
Total Valid Votes	2,180,464	100.00 %
Spoilt Votes	32,657	
Total Votes Cast	2,213,121	

#### **Allocation of Seats**

In South Africa, each of the nine Provincial Legislatures is required to allocate seats based on the votes each party has received. There are five political parties in the Eastern Cape Provincial Legislature. The table below shows the number of seats each of the five parties occupies in the Legislature.

Table 2: Allocation of Seats in the Eastern Cape Provincial Legislature.

NAME OF ORGANISATION	NUMBER OF SEATS
African National Congress	45
Democratic Alliance	10
United Democratic Movement	4
Economic Freedom Fighters	2
Congress of the People	1
African Independent Congress	1
TOTAL NUMBER OF SEATS	63

It is interesting to note that the Eastern Cape Provincial Legislature is led by a woman. The Speaker of the Legislature is the ex-Premier of the Eastern Cape, Ms Noxolo Keviet, and she has another woman, Ms Bulelwa Thunyiswa, as her deputy.

#### **Composition of Provincial Cabinet**

The Cabinet of the Eastern Cape is made up of 22 members, with 10 Departments, including the Department of the Premier. Previously there were 12 Departments; however, the following departments have been merged:

- Department of Finance and Economic Development **and** Environmental Affairs and Tourism;
- Transport and Safety and Liaison

The table below lists the various departments and their MECs.

Table 3: Composition of the Eastern Cape Cabinet.

DEF	PARTMENT	MEC
1	Premier	Premier Phumelo Maswale
2	Education	Mr Mandla Makhuphula
3	Roads and Public Works	Ms Thandiswa Marawu
4	Sports Recreation and Arts and Culture	Ms Pemmy Majodina
5	Rural Development and Agrarian Reform	Mr Mlibo Qhoboshiyane
6	Social Development	Ms Nancy Sihlwayi
7	Finance and Economic Development and	Mr Sakhumzi Somyo
	Environmental Affairs and Tourism	
8	Transport and Safety and Liason	Ms Weziwe Tikana
9	Local Government and Traditional Affairs	Mr Fikile Xhasa
10	Human Settlements	Ms Helen Sauls-August
11	Health	Ms Pumza Dyantyi

#### Recommendations

Eastern Cape Province is the second-largest province in the country, and a large portion of it is made up of rural communities. Some parts of the province are not easily accessible by vehicles, which posed challenges to the IEC in the running of the elections; other deep rural areas do not even have electricity, which means voting could not continue until late evening hours as required by electoral law. All of these difficulties notwithstanding, the IEC managed to run free and fair elections in the province, but some improvements are required in certain respects.

There was an occasion where Presiding Officers denied some voters who were wearing party t-shirts or party colours a chance to vote, but the IEC Provincial Office communicated with the Presiding Officers to correct the matter. In future the IEC must provide more clarity to its Presiding Officers on what procedures are to be followed by voters, as this is crucial: it might disturb the voting process and lead to chaos inside polling stations.

In the area of Mthatha, it was found that some of the results slips for the National Ballot did not have a barcode and could therefore not be scanned. Some party representatives were not happy with the process or explanation of transcribing the results into a new results slip with a barcode although the original slip was going to be kept with the new one. In the Lukhanji municipality (Queenstown area), there was a complaint from parties about ballot boxes that

were not correctly sealed with the IEC official seal.<sup>8</sup> These management and administrative glitches are challenges that give the IEC lessons to draw from in the future.

Peaceful protest is one of the democratic rights in which people are able to express their unhappiness about the governance system. Communities tend to take the election period as an opportunity to get attention for their grievances from authorities. It was reported that during the elections some parts of the voting areas in the Eastern Cape Province were greeted by community protests, which aimed to disturb the voting process; the South African Police Service (SAPS) managed to quell these protests and allowed the voting process to continue. Although the protests were suppressed by SAPS in time, this should be a lesson to IEC that communities still need more voter education to be able to differentiate between the government and the IEC. The IEC must educate communities about the body's independence from government and about allowing other people to freely exercise their voting rights. However, the IEC indicated that it has conducted 1,565 events since the registration weekend of February 2014, and 87,297 people were reached during voter education.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Eastern Cape IEC media statement, 08 May 2014, East London

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> IEC Eastern Cape Provincial Office, the Media Briefing for the State of Readiness of the province delivered by Eastern Cape Provincial Electoral Officer, Mr Tami Mraji, on 25 May 2014

## **Gauteng**

#### Waseem Holland, Independent Researcher

#### **Provincial Results and Seat Allocations**

Party Name	Party Abbr.	Votes	% Votes	Seats Allocated in Provincial legislature
African National	ANC	2,348,564	53.594%	40
Congress		2,5 10,501	20.09.170	
Democratic	DA	1,349,001	30.784%	23
Alliance		1,547,001	30.70470	
Economic	EFF			8
Freedom		451,318	10.299%	
Fighters				
Vryheidsfront	VF Plus	52,436	1.197%	1
Plus		32,430	1.17/70	
Inkatha Freedom	IFP	34,240	0.781%	1
Party		34,240	0.70170	

Source: Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) website

 $\frac{http://www.elections.org.za/content/NPEPublicReports/292/Results\%20Report/GP/GP.pdf}{http://www.elections.org.za/content/NPEPublicReports/292/Seat\%20Calculation/National.pdf}$ 

#### **Gauteng Provincial Cabinet (Executive Council)**

Mr David Makhura	Gauteng Premier
Ms Barbara Creecy	MEC for Finance
Mr Panyaza Lesufi	MEC for Education
Mr Lebogang Maile	MEC for Economic Development
Ms Nandi Mayathula-Khoza	MEC for Infrastructure Development
Mr Jacob Mamabolo	MEC for Human Settlements and Local
	Government
Ms Qedani Mahlangu	MEC for Health
Ms Faith Mazibuko	MEC for Agriculture, Environment, Rural
	Development and Social Development
Ms Molebatsi Bopape	MEC for Sports, Recreation, Arts and Culture
Mr Ismail Vadi	MEC for Transport
Ms Sizakele Emelda Nkosi-Malobane	MEC for Community Safety

"In addition to the appointment of the Members of the Executive Council, I have appointed: Mr Mxolisi Eric Xayiya, as the Special Advisor on service Delivery Interventions and Mr

Mduduzi Mbada special Advisor on Policy and Governance," said Mr Makhura, adding that changing the lives of the people of Gauteng is his main concern.<sup>1</sup>

#### Recommendations

The percentage turnout for this 2014 election was 73.48% of the total registered population. A comparison of the turnout of voters against the entire eligible voting population reveals that the turnout was much lower than in previous elections. Based on census estimation, the turnout of voters on election day from the whole voting age population was about 59.34%. The legitimacy of a democratic leadership is heavily reliant on receiving a mandate of the largest portion of the population possible. While the turnout of South African voters is close to the international average<sup>2</sup>, the low voter turnout should concern South Africans, because there have been only four other national and provincial elections conducted in South Africa. The decline of voter turnout in such a short space of time does not augur well for the legitimacy of future elections in South Africa. Perhaps there needs to be a review of the registration system for the purpose of generating a voters' roll. One of the issues cited by economically disadvantaged people relating to registering to vote is that many do not have a valid identity book, which is the main requirement for registering.<sup>3</sup> There may be a better way of ensuring that fraudulent activities do not occur in elections, and ID books being a requirement for registration may not be necessary.

Election day this year revealed that there seems to be a great disparity between voting centres in rural and urban areas, and this may mirror the infrastructural discrepancies in South Africa more broadly. Rural voting centres were not as well resourced, and officials were not as efficient as their urban equivalents. Therefore, there needs to be greater developmental efforts made towards improving rural voting centres.

The media were more or less impartial and fair in their coverage in the elections this year. However, a scan of the media in the lead-up to and on election day reveals that the coverage lacked substance and was perhaps not adequate in informing the electorate of the issues in the 2014 election. The print and broadcast media need to engage with the policy proposals made by parties more deeply and report on the arguments and debates made on the viability of policy proposals made by parties on the economy, inequality, education, corruption, foreign policy, amongst other areas.

http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/en/page71651?oid=622050&sn=Detail&pid=7165

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Statement issued by Special Advisor to the Premier Mr Mduduzi Mbada, Gauteng Provincial Government, May 24 2014, accessed from

<sup>1/2</sup> International IDEA website, voter turnout database, <a href="http://www.idea.int/vt/viewdata.cfm">http://www.idea.int/vt/viewdata.cfm</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Centre for Social Development in Africa, University of Johannesburg, "Voting Behaviour and the influence of Social Protection".

## Mpumalanga

#### Obakeng Bonokwane - Independent Researcher

#### Media Coverage

The media, both print and electronic, ran extensive coverage of the 2014 elections, in the runup to, during and after the 7 May polls. The public broadcaster, bound by the legislative framework on election coverage, also played its part, using platforms such as television programmes and radio to educate the public about elections. A plethora of programmes focusing specifically on the election were broadcast on television, hosted by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), the free-to-air channel E-TV and a number of pay-channels. These programmes hosted debates between contending political parties in different provinces across the country, providing a platform where parties, political analysts and the public could take on one another about parties' policies and respective manifestos in the context of the country's biggest challenges of poverty inequality and unemployment.

During the voter registration period the media in Mpumalanga ran public announcements to encourage eligible citizens to register their names on the voters' roll. Previous voters were taken through the procedure to check if they were indeed registered where they intended to vote in 2014, particularly important for the provincial legislature votes. Taking on an educational role, these announcements also encouraged first-time voters, the so-called 'bornfrees' to register. Newspaper publications and radio stations published and broadcast election education programmes, carefully written in plain language. They also used the IEC-generated graphic illustrations on the election process, to familiarise voters, especially first-time voters, with the voting process. Provincial newspapers such as the Lowvelder, Mpumalanga News, Barberton Times, Nelspruit Post, and the Hazyview Herald covered election-related news in the run-up to, during and after the elections, informing the public about the upcoming elections and the electoral procedures, covering the actual elections and informing the public about the swearing-in of the new provincial legislature on 21 May 2014. The regional and community radio stations also played their part in informing the public about elections. National newsprint titles also covered election-related news on Mpumalanga, notably the Sowetan, City Press, Business Day and the Mail & Guardian.

Newcomer television news channel ANN7 had different election-themed programmes, notably *Political Edge*, and also hosted different political parties debating topical subjects related to the upcoming elections, allowing studio audiences to interact with the invited panellists. Perhaps the flagship programme in ANN7 was the *SA Decides* section called "National Election Tracker", which ran updates of an election poll, showing contending parties' support, breaking it down into segments such as the age group of voters, voter socioeconomic backgrounds and projected performance of parties per province and so on. As will be discussed below, this was a more nuanced approach to the pre-election coverage in the media, as it gave the public a sense of the different ways different sections of the public

viewed their voting options. Race, class, age and education levels, for example, were shown to determine to some extent which parties' voters were likely to vote for.

A deeper analysis of this coverage, however, reveals a lack of in-depth probing of the parties' policies and manifestos, which could serve the purpose of affording parties the opportunity to sell their policies and expand on these, while also giving the voting public an opportunity to make informed choices. Media Monitoring Africa (MMA) conducted a survey of 50 news organisations, including print, online and broadcasting outlets, reviewing the media's performance during the period around the 2014 elections. The report concluded that the biggest proportion of news coverage during the period emphasised party campaigning and party politics (a combined 52% of all news coverage). The MMA report also found that three major scandals hogged the media's attention: the so-called Nkandlagate, the IEC chairwoman's lease debacle and the public broadcaster's 'bans' of opposition party campaign advertisements (the DA's 'Ayisafani' and the EFF's 'Removing the e-toll gantries physically').

Not enjoying as much coverage as would have been hoped, the report contended, were issues such as gender, the environment, labour, housing, land, and even poverty. Voter education, although covered to some extent, was largely marginalised. Service delivery (and the protests that highlighted challenges therein) was among the marginalised issues, according to the MMA's report. According to this analysis it can be said that parties trumped citizens when it came to setting the agenda for media coverage of the elections.

#### Breakdown of results and allocation of seats

	Total actual Number of votes	Percentage share%	Number of seats in Provincial Legislature
African National Congress	1,045,409	78.23%	24
(ANC)			
Democratic Alliance (DA)	138,990	10.40%	3
Economic Freedom	83,589	6.26%	2
Fighters (EFF)			
Bushbuckridge Residents	15,368	1.15%	1
Association (BRA)			

Source: IEC, available on: <a href="http://www.elections.org.za/content/Elections/National-and-provincial-elections-results/">http://www.elections.org.za/content/Elections/National-and-provincial-elections-results/</a>

#### **Composition of Provincial cabinet**

Name of the Member of<br/>the Provincial CabinetGenderPortfolioMEC Mr Andries GamedeMaleAgriculture, Rural Development and Land<br/>AffairsMEC Mr Vusi ShongweMaleCommunity Safety, Security and LiaisonMEC Ms RefilweFemaleCo-operative Governance and Traditional

<sup>1</sup> See Evans, Sarah, (2014) "Media ignores 'citizens agenda' in election coverage" 5 May 2014, Mail & Guardian.

Mtshweni		Affairs
MEC Ms Norah Mahlangu	Female	Culture, Sports and Recreation
MEC Ms. Makgabo	Female	Education
Reginah Mhaule		
MEC Mr Eric Kholwane	Male	Finance, Economic Development and
		Tourism
MEC Mr Gillian Mashego	Male	Health
MEC Ms Violet Siwela	Female	Human Settlements
MEC Ms Dumisile	Female	Public Works, Roads and Transport
Hlengethwa		
MEC Ms Nomsa Mtseni	Female	Social Development

Source: Mpumalanga Provincial Government website: http://www.mpumalanga.gov.za/new\_cabinet.htm

It is important to note that in the aftermath of public fallout concerning the virtually maleonly premiers in the provinces the ANC leads, the Mpumalanga Provincial Legislature is represented by 60% women. Also important to note is the fact that these women are in charge of important portfolios. It will be interesting to see how the new MEC for Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs handles herself in a portfolio whose main constituencies include patriarchal institutions.

#### Recommendations

By all accounts the electoral process in Mpumalanga went smoothly, attesting to the consistently improving operations of the Independent Electoral Commission. Voter education needs to be strengthened, though, particularly with regard to the implications for voters who will not be in their regular voting area come election day. Most of the incidents reported in the 2014 elections involved voters turning out in numbers larger than anticipated at certain polling stations. This led to delays and sometimes frustration for the voters and the IEC officials.

Administration at the provincial legislature level will require careful management. This is particularly important in the context of factionalism, which has often led to members serving in the provincial legislature being removed from their positions, threatening loss of institutional memory and hampering the retention of skills and experience.

#### **References:**

Evans, Sarah. (2014) "Media ignores 'citizens agenda' in election coverage" 5 May 2014, *Mail & Guardian*.

IEC, available on: <a href="http://www.elections.org.za/content/Elections/National-and-provincial-elections-results/">http://www.elections.org.za/content/Elections/National-and-provincial-elections-results/</a>

http://www.saelections.co.za/?gclid=CKjV4tO64ZkCFZCD3god1Ax3aQ

http://www.mpumalanga.gov.za/legislature/legislature.htm#105

Mpumalanga Provincial Government website: <a href="http://www.mpumalanga.gov.za/new\_cabinet.htm">http://www.mpumalanga.gov.za/new\_cabinet.htm</a>

# **Northern Cape**

#### **Obakeng Bonokwane – Independent Researcher**

#### Review of the media's performance in coverage of the elections

The media forms part of an important component of democracy. Hence the role of this component is to keep the electorate abreast of developments in their communities. The coverage of political parties in the province was equitable and fair. In the run-up to the election and to the actual day, however, the African National Congress (ANC) got the biggest slice of the coverage merely because it was and still is a majority party in the province. Besides that, opposition parties also highlighted the ruling party every time they got a chance. This process was repeated with regard to the Democratic Alliance (DA), and this was partly because the DA was seen by many commentators as the real contender to take the province.

ANN 7 and the *New Age* played an active role in agenda-setting, allocating reports in the province to cover issues which were central to the elections, and issues which dominated the May 7 elections were, among others, unemployment, corruption, maladministration, service delivery and poverty. The *Diamond Field Advertiser* (*DFA*) has been seen by the ANC as being part of the opposition. In 2012 during his political report, the ANC Provincial Chairperson John Block accused some local publications of playing the role of opposition in the province: he said that the negative reporting by the local media was a worrying tendency that placed them in the fold of the opposition.<sup>1</sup>

The public broadcaster also played a meaningful role in agenda setting, with its radio and television stations hosting leaders of political parties in the province, creating a platform for them to sell their manifesto to the people of the Northern Cape. Local newspapers and radio stations had balanced content in covering all political parties; this is according to an ANC member I spoke to on the role of the media in the electoral period. Another ANC member I spoke to said that the *DFA* was deliberately attempting to undermine the ANC in the province – this was after the *DFA* reported that the number of people who attended the ANC Siyanqoba Rally in Galeshewe stadium were less than 5,000. This member claimed that the ANC attracted more than 5,000 people to that event, and they used number of T-shirts they distributed as a tool to count how many people they had in that event. In conclusion, one can safely say that the media played its role well and fairly.

#### Breakdown of results and allocation of seats and composition of the provincial cabinet

PARTY	VALID VOTES	PERCENTAGE	SEATS
ANC	272 053	64,40%	20
DA	100 916	23,89%	7
EFF	20 951	4,96%	2
COPE	15 214	3,60%	1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Political Report 7<sup>th</sup> provincial conference (ANC)

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FFPlus	4 600	1,09%	-
ACDP	2 421	0,57%	-
UCDP	1 542	0,37%	-
APC	1 191	0,28%	-
AZPO	1 062	0,25%	-
PA	584	0,14%	-
PAC	460	0,11%	-
UDM	366	0,09%	-
ICO	499	0,12%	-
IFP	239	0,06%	-
FNLA	194	0,05%	-
NFP	139	0,03%	-
SPOIL BAL	LOTS		
6 106		1.42%	
TOTAL TUI	RN OUT		
443 714			

Source: IEC

After being appointed as premier Sylvia Lucas moved to appoint her cabinet. After much consultation with the ANC leadership, the premier appointed the following people to assist her in executing her executive duties.

MEC for Finance and Economic Affairs: John Block

MEC for Agriculture and Land Reform: Norman Shushu

MEC for Health: Mac Jack

MEC for Social Development: Mxolisi Sokatsha

MEC for Cooperative Governance and traditional Affairs: Alvin Botes

MEC for Education: Griezelda Gikella-Lecholo

MEC for Sports, Arts and Culture: Lebogang Motlhaping

MEC for Transport, Safety and Liaison: Martha Bartlett

MEC for Environmental and Nature Conservation: Tiny Chotelo

#### Conclusion

Northern Cape politics are very interesting: after the 2009 general elections it was widely expected that the ANC chairperson John Block would be appointed premier. He was overlooked and an NEC member Hazel Jenkins was appointed premier instead. And after the May 7 general elections John Block was once again expected to assume the position of premier, until the last stage of the process where he withdrew his name from the three names that were sent to the ANC National Executive Committee for consideration. His reasons were that he wanted to focus more on growing the ANC in the province. It should be noted that the Northern Cape is the only province governed by the ANC that has a woman as premier. The

premier of the province is also a PEC member of the ANC. Six provinces are led by ANC provincial chairpersons, and Gauteng is led by its provincial secretary as premier.

### **Free State**

# Dr Sethulego Matebesi – Chairperson, Department of Sociology, University of the Free State

#### Introduction

Elections are generally regarded as the hallmark of democracy, and if not constructively managed they could potentially destabilise the fabric of states and societies. This article broadly narrates the role and performance of the media during the pre-electoral, electoral and post-electoral period. The media plays a crucial role in all societies. The media becomes the conduit for communication by affording constituents all information necessary for them to make informed choices about whom to elect. Secondly, the article reflects on the breakdown of the provincial election results and composition of the Provincial Cabinet. It concludes by providing some recommendations on elections' administrative, management, and procedural reforms.

#### **Media Coverage**

South Africa faces several challenges in consolidating its democratisation processes, and these include the conducting of free and fair elections. In this regard, the country needs a diverse, free and professional media which actualises the right of freedom of expression. The latter is a critical in elections. In the Free State (FS), the media is dominated by national electronic and print media and regional and local print media. The leading regional newspapers include *Volksblad*, *The Weekly* and several community newspapers.

The media in the FS, like in any other province, focused on several aspects before, during, and after the elections. During the pre-election period, the media played an important role by informing FS citizens about the parties and leading candidates contesting the elections. Most media houses also dedicated several pages to exclusive coverage of the elections. This sensitised the electrorate and the rest of the citizenry on the proper conduct of elections. Major aspects that dominated the pre-election period were several questions about the "the independence" of the IEC, the use of state agencies and departments by the ruling party in its campaigns and the preparedness of the IEC. In addition, several South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and local radio stations hosted live shows, which provided a platform for all candidates and their parties to present their manifestos to the public.

The diverse and pluralistic media in the FS played an important role by encouraging registered voters to cast their votes during the elections. The media, particularly the *Volksblad*, played an important role by highlighting the impact of party election manifestos on voters. Local print media focused on providing technical information, about how to vote,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Tawana, Kupe. "The role of the media in elections: A critical reflection." 2014. www.elections.org.za/content/WorkArea/DownloadAsset.aspx?id=1929

where to vote, and the secrecy of the vote. The media also highlighted several hotspots where violence could potentially disrupt the elections.

The post-election media coverage in the province was dominated by the victory of the ruling African National Congress (ANC) and what the result means for the FS. Several media reports also focused on the gradual decline of the votes the ANC received, which dropped below 70%. Attention was also paid to the demise of the Congress of the People (COPE), which was replaced as the official opposition by the Democratic Alliance (DA), and the role that the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) would play in the provincial legislature.

#### Election results, allocation of seats and composition of Provincial Cabinet

The FS Legislature held its first sitting of the 5th term on 21 May 2014. During this sitting, new Members of the Provincial Legislature (MPLs) and the Premier of the Province were sworn in. Table 1 depicts the election results and composition of the Legislature. The ANC is the majority party with 22 seats, the DA is the official opposition with 5 seats, the EFF has 2 seats and Freedom Front Plus has 1 seat. MPL Magashule was re-elected the Premier of the FS Province, Sisi Mabe was elected the Speaker of the Legislature, while Sizwe Mbalo retained his position as the Deputy Speaker. MPL Motete Daniel Khoabane was elected as the Chairperson of Committees. The ANC also announced MPL Cornelis Johannes Van Rooyen as the Chief Whip of the majority party in the Legislature.<sup>2</sup>

Table 1: Results and composition of Provincial Legislature 2014 – Free State

Party name and abbreviation	Percentage share %	Number of seats in Provincial Legislature	Members of the Free State Legislature <sup>3</sup>
African National	69.85%	22	1. ES Magashule
Congress (ANC)			2. E Mabe
			3. S Mbalo
			4. MD Khoabane
			5. CJ van Rooyen
			6. T Makgoe
			7. S Ntombela
			8. LP Mahasa
			9. MS Moleleki
			10. LN Mapena
			11. SM Mlamleli
			12. TP Meeko
			13. E Rockman
			14. M Qabathe
			15. MP Buti
			16. CSK Setchoaro
			17. D Kotzee
			18. M Zwane
			19. MS Mashinini

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Free state Legislature. "Members of the Free State Legislature." 2014. http://www.fsl.gov.za/members.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ibid

			20. NS Leeto
			21. M Khompela
			22. B Malakoane
Democratic Alliance	16.23%	5	1. DE Janse van Rensburg
(DA)			2. R Jankielsohn
			3. LJ Letuka
			4. M Pittaway
			5. LM Kleynhayns
Economic Freedom	8.15%	2	1. JT Tshabalala
Fighters (EFF)			2. M Makesini
Vryheidsfront Plus	2.10%	1	1. W Wessels
(VF PLUS)			

**Source:** Independent Electoral Commission<sup>4</sup>

#### Recommendations

The independence of the electoral institutions has come under serious scrutiny lately in South Africa. Similarly, administrative, management and electoral procedures are undermined by a number of factors. If not adequately addressed, this could result in a multiplicity of controversies in virtually every aspect of the elections in future. For example, the gross transgression by an IEC official, who irregularly kept ballot papers at his home, is reflective of the recruitment procedures of the IEC. In this regard, far more stringent background checks (vetting) of polling station managers and officials should be implemented.

During the 2009 provincial elections, several complaints about the late opening of polling stations and insufficient numbers of ballot papers were reported. Similar complaints were reported during the May 2014 elections, albeit at a lower scale. These management aspects need to be addressed as a matter of urgency by the provincial IEC. Lastly, all but one of the officials at the provincial offices of the IEC were not supportive. Several email messages requesting information were sent to officials, but no responses were provided.

#### Conclusion

While the media is good at exposing election violations, it often fails to investigate and follow up on these violations. The media needs to keenly follow up any reported malpractice to protect the integrity of the electoral process. Although positive gains have been made in respect of media freedom, there is still a strong culture and tendency towards curtailment of the media, especially the public broadcaster, during elections. The media must continue to strictly adhere to ethics and professional norms, as it is the primary means through which ordinary citizens participate in the political processes, and limited access undermines their democratisation function. This retrospective analysis shows that opposition parties participate under stringent conditions. In conclusion, the FS province has been facing several challenges and it is yet to be seen how the newly elected provincial MPLs will ensure that the principles of good governance become the hallmark of their leadership.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Independent Electoral Commission. "National and Provincial Elections". *May (2014):* http://www.elections.org.za/content/NPEPublicReports/292/Results%20Report/FS/FS.pdf

#### KwaZulu-Natal

Shauna Mottiar - Post-Doctoral Fellow at the Centre for Civil Society, University of KwaZulu-Natal

#### Media

The SADC Lawyers Association (SADCLA) Elections Observer Mission to KwaZulu-Natal found that the elections enjoyed broad media coverage and that political parties were well represented by the SABC. The Mission also noted that there were various election-related programmes and political party debates where parties were provided the opportunity to reach voters. The Mission further noted that the Electoral Court was able to take action speedily, enabling the effective resolution of election-related disputes. This was in relation to broadcasting grievances logged in relation to the DA SMS and the EFF advertisement.1 The Mission findings reflect coverage by mainstream print (English) media in the province. A scan of the three main dailies, the Mercury, Witness and Daily News, on the day after the election (Thursday 8 May) revealed broad coverage of voting across the province. The Mercury, for example, reported on voting among different age groups and featured political party strongholds and voting by political party leaders. It also featured IEC processes and challenges. The Witness provided a detailed list of election facts in the style of 'frequently asked questions' and profiled ordinary voters across the province. The Daily News led with a sensational story, 'Murder at polling station', outlining an incident of electoral violence. It also reported on service delivery protests, the Abahlali baseMjondolo (shackdwellers) vote, the Kasril's campaign and voting in Wembezi and Ulundi (well-known hot-spots for electoral conflict). The Friday (9 May) Mercury and Witness carried election results as of midnight and various editorials on the ANC, IFP, NFP and EFF performances in the province. The New Age similarly led with tables of results and a headline 'ANC in KZN landslide'. Print media also focused on education and provision of information for voters. The Sunday Tribune (4 May), for example, carried a supplement entitled 'My vote is my voice', detailing the voting and counting process, which included a voting checklist instructing voters on how to check whether they were on the voters' roll, and detailed, illustrated instructions on how to mark the ballot paper.

#### **Allocation of Seats & Composition of Provincial Cabinet**

The victory of the African National Congress (ANC) in KwaZulu-Natal gives it the highest number of seats in the province – 52. The Democratic Alliance (DA) follows with ten seats and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) is not far behind with nine seats. The National Freedom Party (NFP) gained six seats, the Economic Freedom Front (EFF) two seats and the Minority Front (MF) gained one seat. The six parties awarded seats in the provincial legislature following the 2014 elections are reflected in the table below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> SADCLA Preliminary statement on the election observation mission to KwaZulu-Natal province South Africa. 8 May 2014. Available at: <a href="http://www.sadcla.org/?q=node/187">http://www.sadcla.org/?q=node/187</a> Accessed on 14 May.

**Allocation of Seats: KwaZulu-Natal 2014**<sup>2</sup>

	Provinci	al Ballot	Seat A	llocations
Party Name	No. of Votes	% Votes	Seat Allocation	% of Seats
ANC	2 474 904	64.52%	52	65.0%
DA	489 428	12.76%	10	12.5%
IFP	416 471	10.86%	9	11.3%
NFP	280 413	7.31%	6	7.5%
EFF	70 823	1.85%	2	2.5%
MF	38 960	1.02%	1	1.3%
ACDP	16 803	0.44%		
VF Plus	7 695	0.20%		
APC	7 039	0.18%		
UDM	6 632	0.17%		
COPE	5 968	0.16%		
AZAPO	5 872	0.15%		
TA	4 082	0.11%		
PAC	2 930	0.08%		
KZNTA	2 796	0.07%		
UCDP	2 186	0.06%		
KGM	1 903	0.05%		
UBUMBANO	926	0.02%		
Total Valid Votes	3 835 831		80	
Spoilt Votes	51 831			
Total Votes Cast	3 887 662			
Registered Voters	5 117 131			
Turn out	76.0%			

The provincial premiership is retained by Senzo Mchunu, despite speculation that Nomusa Dube-Ncube was in the running for the first female premier candidate in KwaZulu-Natal.<sup>3</sup> Premier Mchunu announced his new cabinet, which reflected 'continuity rather than change'. Peggy Nkonyeni, Sbongiseni Dhlomo and Willies Mchunu retain their positions as MECs for Education, Health and Transport respectively. Likewise, Nomusa Dube-Ncube, Ravi Pillay, Ntombikayise Sibhidla-Saphetha and Weziwe Thusi remain MECs for: Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs; Human Settlements and Public Works; Arts, Culture, Sports and Recreation and; Social Development. Some departments have however been rearranged – the Department of Economic Development and Tourism now includes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sourced from the IEC Website – Available at: http://politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/en/page71619?oid=614403&sn=Detail&pid=71619 Accessed on 4 June 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ndenze, B. Aboobaker, S. 2014. Zuma weighs up tricky choices. *Sunday Tribune*, 11 May, p1.

Environmental Affairs, and the Gambling Board has been moved from the Premier's Office to the treasury. Lydia Johnson was elected Speaker and Meshack Radebe Deputy Speaker. 5

Leading the DA in the legislature is current provincial leader Sizwe Mchunu, who was reelected unopposed, with MPLs George Mari, Mbali Ntuli, Francois Rodgers, Hlanganani Gumbi, Ann McDonnell, Imran Keeka, Rafeek Shah, and Rishigen Viranna. The IFP is led in KwaZulu-Natal by Mzamo Buthelezi, with veteran MPLs, including Lionel Mtshali. Blessed Gwala and Mntomhule Khawula, as well as newcomer Hassan Motala, who joined the ANC for four days in April 2011 only to return to the IFP.<sup>7</sup> The NFP faces some internal strife owing to the fact that the Zululand region has no representative in the provincial parliament. The seats are allocated to representatives from eThekwini and from uThukela.<sup>8</sup> The two EFF seats are filled by Vusi Khoza the party's leader in KwaZulu-Natal and Thembi Msane. The MF seat is filled by its leader Shameen Thakur-Rajbansi.

#### Recommendations

The SADCLA Election Observer Mission made a number of recommendations regarding elections and the electoral process in KwaZulu-Natal. Among these it noted that the IEC should provide continuous education for voters and training for electoral officials. It added that civil society must continue to promote peace-building through education and dialogue. Further, the South African Human Rights Commission ought to play a larger, more visible role in elections. The Mission also recommended that provincial government incorporate conflict management and peace building into government programming. It added that political parties should engage in sustained respect and tolerance of each other and that peace-building programmes should include traditional leaders, women's groups and youth to ensure broad-based support and ownership by stakeholders in the electoral process. 10

The Observer Mission recommendations highlight the fact that the KwaZulu-Natal election was, for the most part, well managed in terms of voting, counting and addressing electionrelated disputes / incidents of protest. Despite the fact that there has been a reduction in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Hans, B. 2014. No place in KZN Cabinet for Ina Cronje, 27 May. Available at: http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/no-place-in-kzn-cabinet-for-ina-cronje-1.1694610 Accessed on 4 June

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Mbanjwa, B. 2014. ANC opts for continuity in KZN Legislature, 21 May. Available at: http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/anc-opts-for-continuity-in-kzn-legislature-1.1691797 Accessed on 4 June

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The DA's new team in the KZN Legislature. 2014. *PoliticsWeb,* 19 June. Available at: http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/en/page71651?oid=624857&sn=Detail&pid=7165 1 Accessed on 4 June 2014. And, DA announces KZN team, 2014, 28 May, Available at: http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/da-announces-kzn-team-1.1695326 Accessed on 4 June 2014.

Mbanjwa, B. 2014. Buthelezi tops gazetted IFP list, 16 May. Available at:

http://www.iol.co.za/dailynews/news/buthelezi-tops-gazetted-ifp-list-1.1689292 Accessed on 4 June 2014.

Hans, B. 2014. Rift in NFP over NFP choices, 14 May. Available at: http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/rift-innfp-over-mp-choices-1.1687895 Accessed on 4 June 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ndou, C. 2014. KZN Premiers choice shows deep divisions, 22 May. Available at: http://citizen.co.za/182060/kzn-premier-choice-shows-deep-divisions/ Accessed on 4 June 2014. 10 Ibid.

electoral violence, however, the province is still plagued with 'political assassinations' and instances of intolerance between political parties and their supporters. The role of civil society in elections was visible and significant, as evidenced by the creation of platforms for electoral debate and the formulating of an independent observer mission.