

### **Political environment:**

South Africans are increasingly criticising the way democracy is implemented in their newly established regime and their hunger for change might echo a decline for the former liberation movement, the ANC. Political scandals, the rejection of corruption, grave economic turmoil and high inequalities coming from a darker past are the main topics that are debated by the candidates in 2016. Hence, the only thing that may have changed is the fact that the culture of impunity has become both the main issue and the main argument used by the opposition parties against the ruling party. Furthermore, strong political tensions weaken the electoral process, as indicated by the fact that at least 14 people had been killed in violence within and between political parties this year. Eleven of these were from the ANC, two from the National Freedom Party and one from the IFP.

**The upcoming elections are thus of utmost importance** because they could potentially reinforce the increasing progression of the main opposition parties (Democratic Alliance, DA; Economic Freedom Fighters, EFF) at the expense of the African National Congress (ANC). The polls will provide a barometer as to how much the ANC's reputation has been damaged as a result of multiple scandals surrounding the Presidency of Jacob Zuma but also by the incapacity to deliver services properly and a record of economic mismanagement. It will hence provide indicators of the country's mood ahead of the next general election in 2019. Apart from the threat to the ANC's dominance in urban areas, reflecting its legitimacy crisis, this election will take into account big issues: financial management of municipalities, service delivery, corruption, the drought, public transport, housing and job opportunities for the youth. 26.3 million voters registered for the elections, 80% of whom are under 30 years old. Furthermore, 200 hundreds parties are competing with more than 61000 candidates running for the 2016 elections.

The two biggest parties, **the ANC and the DA**, have announced their targeted cities. The ANC has made clear that adding Cape Town to the list of cities it currently governs is its main objective. The DA expressed its focus on Tshwane (Pretoria), Johannesburg, Tlokwe (Potchefstroom), Nelson Mandela Bay (Port Elizabeth) for takeover or to increase its presence to such an extent that it will reduce the ANC's power. The combined economies of these cities are not much less than a third of South Africa's economy. Their combined populations make up a fifth of the country's total. So it is no surprise that the ANC and the opposition parties are eyeing them and hoping to fill their mayoral seats with their own candidates after next year's local government elections.

The **Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)** will not field mayoral candidates in the forthcoming 2016 Municipal elections set to take place in August. Therefore, EFF's mayoral contenders will only be made known after the polls. The EFF's

leader, Malema, has argued that the reason was to combat any kind of cult of the personality.

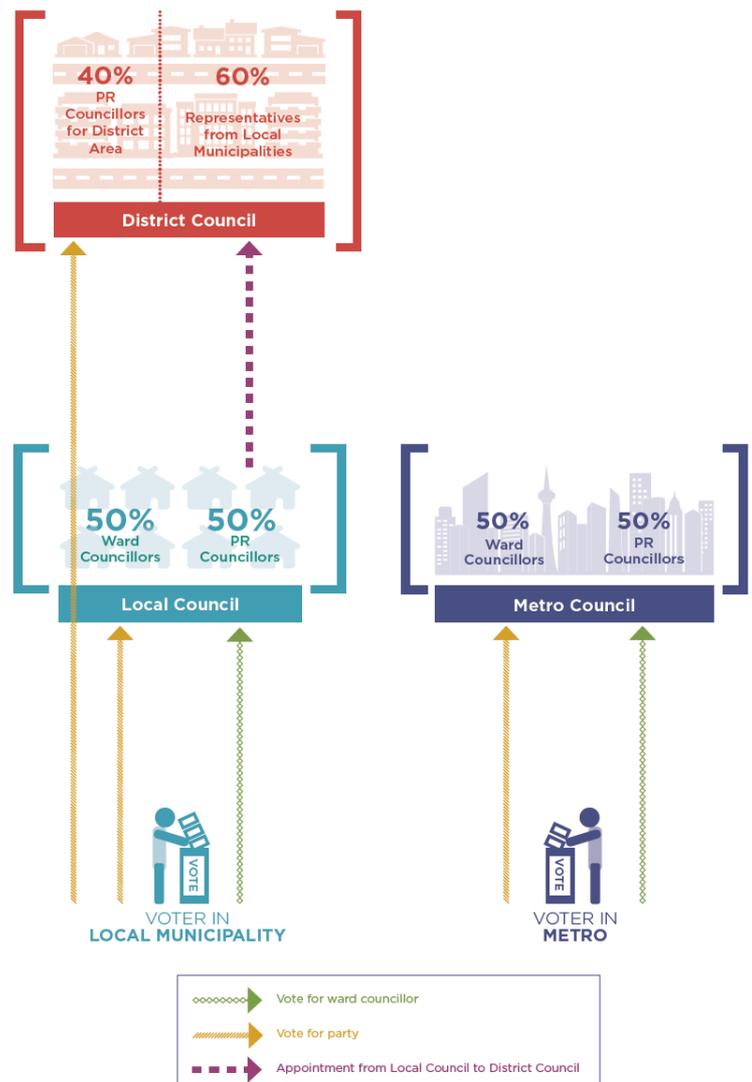
The **Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)** has not identified any mayoral candidate. The party will do so shortly after the elections.

Analysts such as [Allister Sparks<sup>1</sup>](#) or [Liesl Peyper<sup>2</sup>](#) argue that the clear majorities might fail to emerge in the 2016 elections, leading to local coalitions in certain municipalities. According to Ralph Mathekga, a political analyst, the country could head for a period of significant instability at local government level if coalition governments were to be formed in Nelson Mandela Bay, Tshwane (Pretoria) and Johannesburg. Coalition governments are not entrenched in the South African political culture and their emergence might thus pose specific challenges at the beginning, and create instability on the local scale if partners are unable to cooperate effectively. It is even worth noting that there have been a number of incidences in the past where municipalities failed to submit their integrated development plans (IDPs) due to disagreements and differences within the local government coalition. From Sparks' viewpoint, two men, in particular, are hastening the process leading to a national demise for the ANC: "Julius Malema and Zuma. Malema because his EFF have emerged as a significant third political party that is taking large numbers of votes from the ANC, thereby reducing its ability to cross the 50% line on its own and Zuma because his unpopularity is to advantage ANC's opponents".

### Voting system<sup>3</sup>

South Africa is divided into three categories of municipalities. In the general municipal elections of 2016, voters elect councillors for these three different categories of municipalities:

The number of ballot papers voters receive before entering the voting booth depends on where they reside.



<sup>1</sup> BD LIVE - **AT HOME AND ABROAD: We are now about to enter an era of coalition regime**, 2016-07-06, <http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2016/07/06/at-home-and-abroad-we-are-now-about-to-enter-an-era-of-coalition-regimes>

<sup>2</sup> Fin24 - **Coalition-run metros will hurt service delivery – analyst**, 2016-07-06, <http://www.fin24.com/Economy/coalition-run-metros-will-hurt-service-delivery-analyst-20160707>

<sup>3</sup> Dullah Omar Institute, Jaap de Visser, Nico Steytler - **Electing Councillors; A Guide to Municipal Election**, pp. 9-11, 2016.

For the **metropolitan municipalities** – 2 ballots are given to voters.

1. One vote to elect a ward councillor to the metropolitan council; and
2. One vote to elect a party to the metropolitan council from the list of parties that participate in the election for that metropolitan council.

For the **local municipalities** – 3 ballots are given to voters.

1. One vote to elect a ward councillor to the local council;
2. One vote to elect a party to the local council from the list of parties that participate in the election for that local municipality; and
3. One vote to elect a party to the district council from the list of parties that participate in the election for that district municipality.

We shall therefore present the main candidates in the biggest cities and explain what the main tenets of their programmes are and their chances to be elected:

### **Tshwane (Pretoria):**

The ANC currently governs Pretoria, the national capital of the Republic of South Africa. In the 2011 local government elections, the DA won 39.05% of the vote in Tshwane – up 9% from 2006 – and the ANC garnered 56.19% of the vote. Last year, the ANC's support in Tshwane fell to 49.31%, a significant drop of 10% compared with the 2009 elections.

The **ANC** presented **Thoko Didiza** as its new compromise candidate on 20 June, provoking unrest and violence in the capital and causing the destruction of multiple businesses and buses. Didiza is considered by certain sections of the city's inhabitants as an inappropriate person to govern their town, referring that she is from Kwa-Zulu Natal and her mother tongue is Zulu and she thus does not belong to the largest communities of the capital. The majority of the Tshwane inhabitants speak Setswana and Sotho.



Some of Tshwane's inhabitants therefore perceived her nomination as offensive and disrespectful.

According to the ANC leadership, she was chosen because of her track record as a former Cabinet minister and active party member in the Tshwane region. Outgoing Tshwane mayor Sputla Ramakgopa said ANC regional leaders had put their differences aside and would unconditionally support Didiza. He added that he would remain ANC regional chairperson in Tshwane and would stay on as a councillor after the local elections.

The **DA** believes its support base in Tshwane is bulging, allowing the official opposition to mount a challenge and dislodge the ANC-led administration running the capital city, the party's Gauteng North regional chairperson Fred Nel said.

**Solly Msimanga**, a member of the Gauteng provincial legislature, who enjoys some support in Pretoria's townships, is the mayoral candidate of the

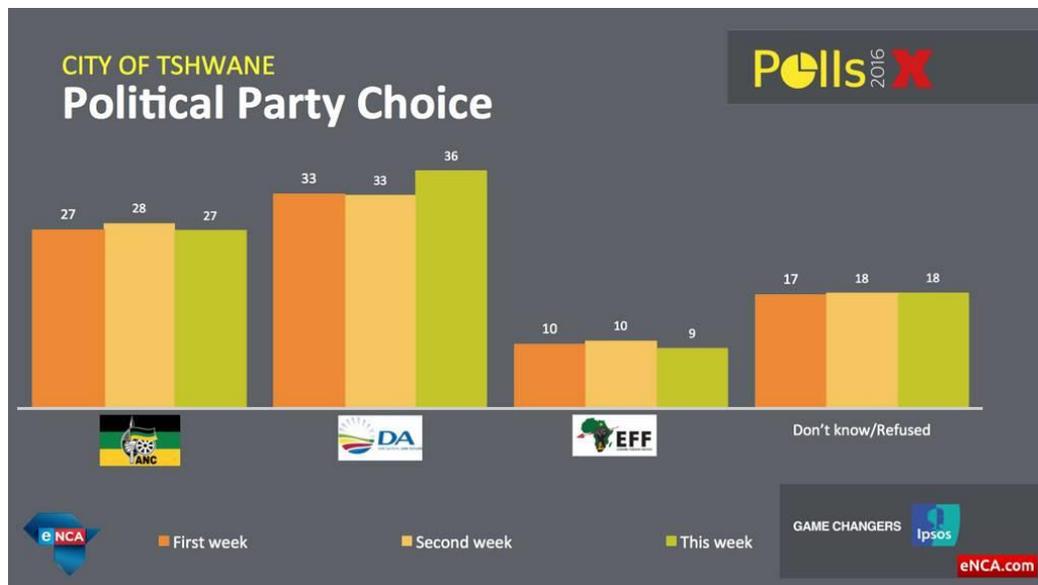


main opposition party. The DA candidate may also largely profit from the nomination of an unpopular candidate by the ruling party.

Msimanga focuses on the resolution of the water crisis, on the betterment of the living conditions of the residents and on safety. The DA promises to reinforce the metropolitan police force and to improve the training of local policemen. Msimanga also advocates for further public investments targeting public infrastructures including roads and efficient public services.

**A clear majority is unlikely to emerge**<sup>4</sup> from the 2016 elections in Tshwane; parties will probably have to govern through coalition systems and to merge some of their proposals. However it must be kept in mind that the ANC's position is severely weakened by the nomination of Didiza as mayoral candidate, which gives **better chances to the DA**<sup>5</sup> to reinforce its influence in the capital city.

### City of Tshwane<sup>6</sup>



### Johannesburg:

The ANC currently holds the mayoralty in Johannesburg, the economic metropolis of the Republic of South Africa.

The **ANC** endorsed the **incumbent Parks Tau** as the mayoral candidate for Johannesburg. He claims to have improved the lives of many inhabitants. According to the local branch of the ruling party, his major achievements include an



<sup>4</sup> News24 - **Why Tshwane is probably headed for a coalition government**, 2016-07-07, <http://www.news24.com/elections/news/why-tshwane-is-probably-headed-for-a-coalition-government-20160707>

<sup>5</sup> BizNews - **Analysis: By-election trends suggest DA to govern Joburg, Tshwane in 2016**, 2015-11-17, <http://www.biznews.com/leadership/2015/11/17/analysis-by-election-trends-suggest-da-to-govern-joburg-tshwane-in-2016/>

<sup>6</sup> Poll jointly conducted by ISPOS and ENCA in 2016.

ambitious youth development programme, a strong “economic democracy” on the global stage and a record of good governance. On public transport, the mayor boasted of trying to connect the CBD with other areas, the continued expansion of the Rea Vaya and the public transport and cycling lane loop in Sandton, so-called “corridors of freedom”, but as of yet he did not announce any significant new programmes. The Mayor also adds to his record a recently unveiled electrification project that aims to roll out energy supply to all informal settlements.

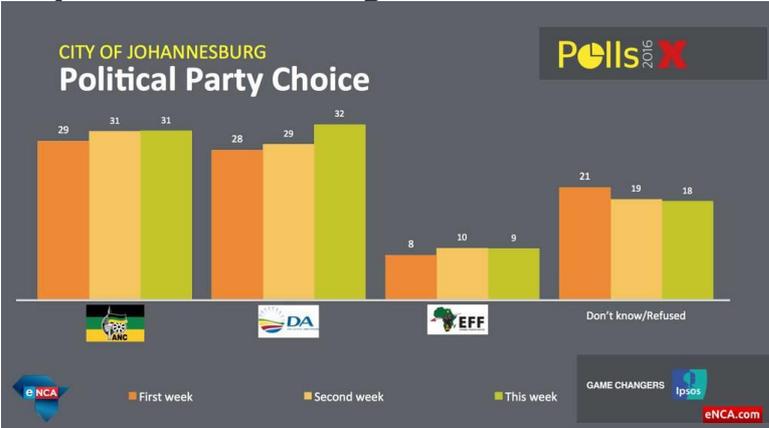
Finally, in his last State of the City address, he called for tenders to be broken up to benefit small businesses, for a transparent procurement system, for unused city land to be leased at low costs to small businesses, for a single-ticket public transport system, for the city to speed up delivering title deeds, and for potholes to be fixed within 48 hours

The **DA** selected businessman **Herman Mashaba** for Joburg’s mayoralty. The candidate is confident in winning the local election and described the last State of the City address made by Mr. Tau as detached from the reality. Amidst his main proposals is a strong focus on reversing the growing housing crisis that plagues the lives of many Joburg inhabitants. He pledged to fight against the spatial inequalities inherited from apartheid. The candidate’s rhetoric focuses on job creation, support to small black businesses, safer public spaces and better infrastructures. Conversely, Mashaba advocates for an extensive local education policy including day learning centres in all townships in order to reduce the educational gap inherited from apartheid and most often related to wealth inequalities and spatial disparities.



The ANC is likely to see its grip weakened in the next results. **Recent polls indicate that the DA is leading in Johannesburg.** However, a clear majority is improbable given that the vote will be [divided between the two major parties and the EFF](#)<sup>7</sup>.

**City of Johannesburg<sup>8</sup>**



<sup>7</sup> SABC News - **ANC possibly losing support to the DA and EFF** – 2016-03-24 <http://www.sabc.co.za/news/a/3d4bf7804c2610cfb124bb3277647e55/ANC-possibly-losing-support-to-the-DA-and-EFF-20162403>

<sup>8</sup> Poll jointly conducted by ISPOS and ENCA in 2016.

## **Nelson Mandela Bay (Port Elizabeth):**

The **ANC** maintained **Mayor Danny Jordan** as mayor for NMB. In addition to his political position as a mayor since 2015, Jordan is also president of the South African Football Association (SAFA) and well-known since the World Cup 2010.



To his record, he claims to have improved the energy network and thus reduced the deprivation of the poorest areas. Under the ANC's rule, 7000 jobs have been created by the Expanded Public Works Programme. Moreover, he also emphasises the municipality's efforts towards a reduction of the current housing crisis.

Jordan promises that he will continue his work towards a more efficient administration and to build better financial governance at the local scale.

The **DA** selected former Parliamentary Leader **Athol Trollip** as its mayoral candidate. For Nelson Mandela Bay, Trollip emphasises the importance of reinforcing the municipal law enforcement institutions, condemning the absence of a metropolitan police force. He promises to reverse the strongly entrenched spatial disparities inherited from the apartheid era in order to build a more inclusive municipality and to unify communities around a common objective of economic development and jobs. In accordance with the focus on reducing corruption by the DA, Trollip advocates for cleaner governance and efficient service delivery, considering that the ANC has not been capable of such objectives.

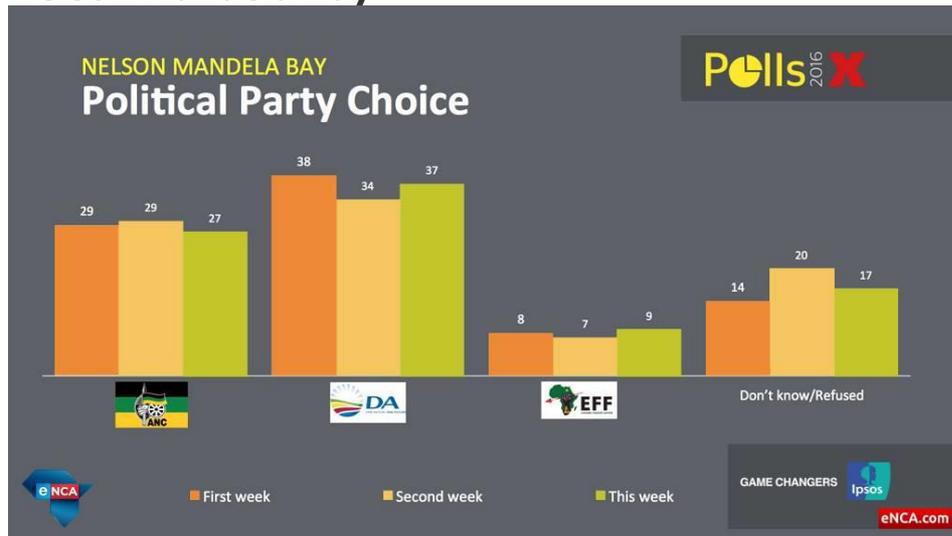


Even though incumbent Danny Jordan shows confidence, he has been under fire for poor performance during his term as mayor of NMB. With the [DA putting the ANC under pressure](#)<sup>9</sup>, the party got just under 52% of the votes in this city five years ago, and dropped under the 50% mark in the provincial ballot in 2014. **Therefore, a clear majority is unlikely to emerge from the 2016 elections in NMB**, parties will probably have to govern through coalition systems and to merge some of their proposals.

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<sup>9</sup> NEWS24 - **How the DA could win Nelson Mandela Bay** - 2016-07-04  
<http://www.news24.com/elections/news/how-the-da-could-win-nelson-mandela-bay-20160701>

## Nelson Mandela Bay<sup>10</sup>



### Cape Town:

The DA currently holds the mayoralty in Cape Town, South Africa's second economic hub after Johannesburg.

The **ANC** chose **Xolani Sotashe** to be the mayoral candidate for Cape Town. Sotashe focuses on the sanitation issue, claiming that the DA has not done enough to improve it at the municipal scale. In 2011, the ANC obtained 33% of votes. The candidate's rhetoric focuses on fighting signs of post-apartheid patterns of racism in Cape Town, for instance saying that there should be a debate on how transport logistics in the city perpetuated racial exploitation. Furthermore, Sotashe insists on the local economy, retention of skills in the province, housing delivery, and crime. Hence his three top priorities are issues of integration, human settlement and creating a conducive environment for job creation, especially for SMMEs.



The **DA** selected the incumbent **Patricia de Lille** to be the mayoral candidate for Cape Town, elected for the first time in 2011 with more than 60% of votes. The DA promised to continue its work on the public transportation network, probably the most efficient in the country. Overall, the DA claims that its governance has been cleaner and more effective in terms of service delivery than compared to cities ruled by the ANC<sup>11</sup>. De Lille focuses her campaign on economic progress and inclusive policies with 67% of the City's budget being spent on the poor. Cape Town has the most extensive cross-subsidisation of rates from wealthier to



<sup>10</sup> Poll jointly conducted by ISPOS and ENCA in 2016.

<sup>11</sup> Business Tech – **The best and worst municipalities in South Africa in 2016** – 2016-02-29  
<http://businesstech.co.za/news/government/114770/the-best-and-worst-municipalities-in-south-africa-in-2016/>

poorer residents in the country. Under de Lille the number of unemployed people has plummeted, indeed Cape Town's economy has the lowest level of unemployment in the country.

In Cape Town, the ANC is not as popular as it is (or used to be) in other major metros. Indeed, the national ruling party is still widely considered as a black party by a majority of CT's white and coloured inhabitants, which does not help the former liberation movement to gain votes within these communities. In addition to its unpopularity within certain communities the ANC might once again be defeated because the "black vote" will be divided between its candidate and that of Malema's EFF. **Hence, the DA incumbent has a good record and is popular enough in her constituency to be considered very likely to stay in power.** Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) leader Julius Malema says his party has prioritised winning in Cape Town in the upcoming local government elections.

### **eThekwini (Durban):**

**Zandile Gumede**, the **ANC's** eThekwini chairperson, will replace incumbent James Nxumalo as mayoral candidate for the metro, the ANC obtained 62% of votes in 2011 Local Election. She promised she would resolve the problems over the municipal transportation network and find durable solutions for the public transportation network. Her rhetoric also focuses on the importance of equal representation for women and the significance of maintaining a positive trend for gender equality at large. She pledges that her term will be marked by further accessibility and a stronger emphasis on inclusive development.



The **DA** in KwaZulu-Natal **named MP Haniff Hoosen** as its eThekwini municipality mayoral candidate for the 2016 election, the DA obtained 22% of votes in 2011. Hoosen has served as a councillor in the municipality for 10 years. He believes that a local government driven by people and not politics will produce improved service delivery. Hoosen pledged to do all he could to fight corruption and nepotism at the metropolitan scale. His rhetoric focuses on putting people ahead of party politics and he aims to create a common narrative to all eThekwini constituents, not only DA affiliates and members. Condemning the high levels of spending by the ANC for its councillors, Hoosen advocates for a better reutilization of these funds to make Durban a safer city.



Failures when it comes to service delivery and local intra-party divisions might result in an ANC failing to obtain 50% of the votes and that will be deprived of a potential partner given that the NFP has been disqualified for the 2016 elections by the IEC. Therefore, the DA will probably widen its supporter basis, thus reinforcing its local grip. **The IFP may recover the votes it lost to the NFP in the 2011 elections and might have the chance to be part of a coalition government.**

## **Local Election 2016 Political Parties' Manifestos:**

- African National Congress (ANC):  
<http://www.anc.org.za/sites/default/files/docs/lge-manifestou.pdf>
- Democratic Alliance (DA):  
<https://www.da.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/DA-2016-LGE-Manifesto.pdf>
- Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF):  
<http://effighters.org.za/eff-statement-of-gratitude-on-a-successful-manifesto-launch-rally/>
- Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP):  
<http://www.ifp.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/IFP-Manifesto-2016-English.pdf>

For further information, here are the past results of the Local Elections 2011:

- <http://www.news24.com/elections/results/lge#election=pr&year=2011&map=previous>

More useful links:

- <http://www.elections.org.za/content/Elections/2016-Municipal-Elections/More-about-municipalities/>
- <http://www.elections.org.za/content/Elections/2016-Municipal-Elections/FREQUENTLY-ASKED-QUESTIONS/>
- <http://www.etu.org.za/toolbox/docs/localgov/webundrstdlocgov.html>
- <https://www.eisa.org.za/eu/index.htm>
- <https://wazimap.co.za/>
- [http://www.ipsos.co.za/\\_layouts/15/start.aspx#/SitePages/Home.aspx](http://www.ipsos.co.za/_layouts/15/start.aspx#/SitePages/Home.aspx)
- <https://www.enca.com/coverage/2016-municipal-elections>
- <http://dullahomarinstitute.org.za/videos/make-your-mark-do-you-know-what-you-are-voting-for>
- <https://www.elections.org.za/content/For-voters/who-is-my-councillor-/>
- <http://www.elections.org.za/content/For-Voters/Mobile-apps/>