

FreeFACTS

No 06/2024 | June 2024 | Issue 74 Find us online at www.irr.org.za

South Africa's political earthquake

The May general election was one of South Africa's most historic elections. It was the first time since the end of apartheid that the ANC failed to win more than 50% of the vote nationally, forcing it into a coalition government.

In Gauteng it also lost its provincial majority for the first time since 1994. It was also brought below 50% in KwaZulu-Natal, the first time this had happened since 2004. In the Northern Cape it also failed to win more than 50%, the only time that it had failed to do in the past was in the 1994 election.

While much can still happen this election is what could be described as a "realigning election" – one where old certainties are overturned and loyalties change. In terms of the significance of this election it would not be an exaggeration to say this poll was as important and changed South Africa and its politics as significantly as the 1948 or 1994 elections.

This edition of *Free*FACTS provides information on the May election, and shows how the ANC has lost its dominance nationally and in a number of provinces. Trends around municipal by-elections since 2021 are also shown, indicating that ANC support has been sliding for some time.

However, at the same time it is still important to remember that the ANC is still be some way the biggest single party in the country, even though it lost its national majority. It still won more than 50% of the vote in five of the nine provinces, with very big majorities in the Eastern Cape and Limpopo, which remain ANC strongholds.

But there is a cause for concern which cannot be ignored and this is the decline in the number of people who are turning up to vote in South African elections.

This edition of *Free*FACTS also shows how voter turnout has been on a broadly declining trend since 1994. This could have implications for the sustainability of South African democracy.

But in the meantime, the historical significance of the May poll cannot be overstated.

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— Marius Roodt

| | Proportional representation and seats held by party, 2009-2019 | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|--|------------|-------|------------|-------|------------|--------|------------|--|
| Party | —2 | 2009— | —2 | 2014— | —2 | 2019— | —2024— | | |
| | Seats | Proportion | Seats | Proportion | Seats | Proportion | Seats | Proportion | |
| ANC | 264 | 65.90% | 249 | 62.15% | 230 | 57.50% | 159 | 40.18% | |
| NP/NNP ^a | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | | | |
| DA/DP ^b | 67 | 16.66% | 89 | 22.23% | 84 | 20.77% | 87 | 21.81% | |
| EFF | _ | _ | 25 | 6.35% | 44 | 10.80% | 39 | 9.52% | |
| IFP | 18 | 4.55% | 10 | 2.40% | 14 | 3.38% | 17 | 3.85% | |
| NFP | _ | _ | 6 | 1.57% | 2 | 0.35% | | | |
| UDM | 4 | 0.85% | 4 | 1.00% | 2 | 0.45% | 3 | 0.49% | |
| COPE | 30 | 7.42% | 3 | 0.67% | 2 | 0.27% | | | |
| ACDP | 3 | 0.81% | 3 | 0.57% | 4 | 0.84% | 3 | 0.60% | |
| IDc | 4 | 0.92% | _ | _ | _ | _ | | | |
| FF+ | 4 | 0.83% | 4 | 0.90% | 10 | 2.38% | 6 | 1.36% | |
| PAC | 1 | 0.27% | 1 | 0.21% | 1 | 0.19% | 1 | 0.23% | |
| ATM | _ | _ | _ | _ | 2 | 0.44% | 2 | 0.40% | |
| GOOD | _ | _ | _ | _ | 2 | 0.40% | 1 | 0.18% | |
| UCDP ^d | 2 | 0.37% | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | |
| FA ^e | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | |
| MF | 1 | 0.25% | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | |
| AEBf | | | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | |
| Azapo ^g | 1 | 0.22% | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | |
| APC ^h | 1 | 0.20% | 1 | 0.17% | _ | _ | _ | _ | |
| AICi | _ | _ | 3 | 0.53% | _ | _ | _ | _ | |
| Agang SA | _ | _ | 2 | 0.28% | _ | _ | _ | _ | |
| Al Jama-a ^h | _ | _ | _ | _ | 1 | 0.18% | 2 | 0.24% | |
| ActionSA | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | 6 | 1.20% | |
| Rise Mzans ⁱ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | 2 | 0.42% | |
| BOSA ^j | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | 2 | 0.41% | |
| NCC ^k | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | 2 | 0.23% | |
| UAT ¹ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | 1 | 0.22% | |
| MKP ^m | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | 58 | 14.58% | |
| PAn | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | 9 | 2.06% | |
| Total° | 400 | 100.00% | 400 | 100.00% | 400 | 100.00% | 400 | 100.00% | |

 $\begin{tabular}{ll} \textbf{Source:} & \mbox{IEC, www.elections.org.za} \\ \textbf{a} & \mbox{National Party/New National Party.} \end{tabular}$

 $\emph{\textbf{b}}$ In June 2000, the Democratic Party (DP) became the Democratic Alliance (DA).

c Independent Democrats.
 d United Christian Democratic Party.
 e Federal Alliance.
 f Afrikaner Eenheidsbeweging.
 g Azanian People's Organisation.

h African People's Convention.
 i African Independent Congress.
 j Build One South Africa
 k National Coloured Congress
 J United Africans Transformation
 m uMkhonto weSizwe Party
 n Patriotic Alliance

 σ Proportions may not add up vertically, owing to rounding and the exclusion of 'Other'.

| Seats held in provincial legislatures after the 2024 provincial elections | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|----|----|-----|
| Party | EC | FS | GAU | KZN | LIM | MPU | NW | NC | WC | SA |
| ACDP | _ | _ | 1 | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | 1 | 2 |
| ANC | 45 | 16 | 28 | 14 | 48 | 27 | 21 | 15 | 8 | 222 |
| Al Jama-ah | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | 1 | 1 |
| ATM | 1 | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | 1 |
| GOOD | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | 1 | 1 |
| DA | 11 | 7 | 22 | 11 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 24 | 97 |
| EFF | 8 | 4 | 11 | 2 | 9 | 7 | 8 | 4 | 2 | 55 |
| FF+ | 1 | 1 | 2 | _ | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 9 |
| IFP | _ | _ | 1 | 15 | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | 16 |
| NFP ^b | _ | _ | _ | 1 | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | 1 |
| UDM | 3 | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | 3 |
| PA | 2 | _ | 2 | _ | _ | _ | _ | 3 | 3 | 10 |
| MKP | 1 | 1 | 8 | 37 | 1 | 9 | 1 | _ | _ | 58 |
| ACT | _ | 1 | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | 1 |
| ActionSA | _ | _ | 3 | _ | _ | 1 | 1 | _ | _ | 5 |
| Rise Mzansi | _ | _ | 1 | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | 1 |
| BOSA | _ | _ | 1 | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | 1 |
| UAT | _ | _ | _ | _ | 1 | _ | _ | _ | _ | 1 |
| NCC | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 72 | 30 | 80 | 80 | 64 | 51 | 37 | 30 | 42 | 486 |

Source: IEC, www.elections.org.za

a Each of the nine provincial legislatures has between 30 and 80 seats, depending on the number of people who live in the province.
 b National Freedom Party

| Delegates to the National Council of Provinces after the 2024 provincial elections | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-----|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|----------|-----|-------|
| Province | ANC | DA | EFF | IFP | FF+ | MKP | PA | ActionSA | UDM | Total |
| Eastern Cape | 6 | 2 | 1 | _ | _ | _ | — | _ | 1 | 10 |
| Free State | 5 | 2 | 1 | _ | 1 | 1 | — | _ | _ | 10 |
| Gauteng | 4 | 3 | 1 | _ | _ | 1 | _ | 1 | _ | 10 |
| KwaZulu-Natal | 2 | 1 | _ | 2 | _ | 5 | — | _ | _ | 10 |
| Limpopo | 8 | 1 | 1 | _ | _ | _ | — | _ | _ | 10 |
| Mpumalanga | 5 | 1 | 2 | _ | _ | 2 | — | _ | _ | 10 |
| North West | 6 | 2 | 2 | _ | _ | _ | — | _ | _ | 10 |
| Northern Cape | 5 | 2 | 1 | _ | 1 | _ | 1 | _ | _ | 10 |
| Western Cape | 2 | 6 | 1 | _ | _ | _ | 1 | _ | _ | 10 |
| South Africa | 43 | 20 | 10 | 2 | 2 | 9 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 90 |

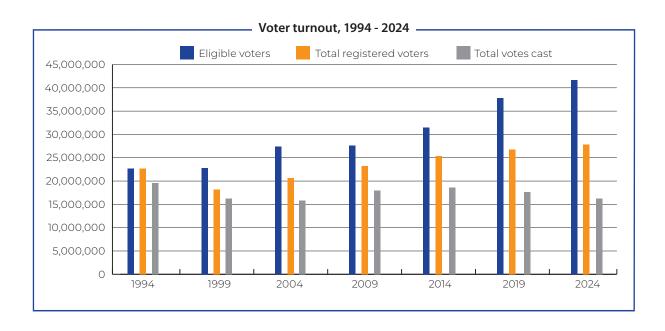
Source: Parliament of South Africa, www.parliament.gov.za

a There are 54 permanent delegates — six (6) from each province—in the National Council of Provinces (NCOP). There are also 36 special delegates — four (4) from each province—in the NCOP. All delegates are headed by a provincial premier or a member of the provincial legislature designated by the premier. Selection is based on proportional representation from party lists in the respective provinces.

| Voter turnout, 1994 - 2024 | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| Year | Eligible voters | Total registered voters | Total votes cast | Votes as a proportion of total eligible voters | Proportion of eligible voyters who did not vote | Proportion of registered voters who voted | | | |
| 1994ª | 22,709,152 | 22,709,152 | 19,533,498 | 86.0% | 14.0% | 86.0% | | | |
| 1999 | 22,798,845 | 18,177,751 | 16,228,462 | 71.2% | 28.8% | 89.3% | | | |
| 2004 | 27,436,898 | 20,674,923 | 15,868,558 | 57.8% | 42.2% | 76.8% | | | |
| 2009 | 27,574,414 | 23,181,997 | 17,919,966 | 65.0% | 35.0% | 77.3% | | | |
| 2014 | 31,434,035 | 25,388,082 | 18,654,771 | 59.3% | 40.7% | 73.5% | | | |
| 2019 | 37,834,277 | 26,736,725 | 17,672,851 | 46.7% | 53.5% | 73.5% | | | |
| 2024 | 41,631,020 | 27,782,081 | 16,291,516 | 39.1% | 60.9% | 58.6% | | | |
| Change: 1994 - 2004 | 83.3% | 22.3% | -16.6% | -54.5% | 335.5% | -31.8% | | | |

Source: The Presidency, Development Indicators, 2012; IEC; Stats SA

a In 1994 there was no voter registration and permanent residents without South African citizenship were allowed to vote. This was not the case in subsequent elections.



| Municipal | by-elections si | nce the 2021 loc | al government | elections* |
|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|------------|
| | Hold | Gain | Loss | Net |
| ANC | 110 | 9 | 39 | -30 |
| IFP | 16 | 23 | 2 | 21 |
| NFP | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| AUM ^a | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Independent | 0 | 2 | 4 | -2 |
| DA | 45 | 9 | 7 | 2 |
| EFF | 1 | 10 | 1 | 9 |
| PA | 0 | 7 | 3 | 4 |
| KGP ^b | 0 | 0 | 1 | -1 |
| Al Jama-ah | 0 | 0 | 1 | -1 |
| FF+ | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| TSSA ^c | 1 | 0 | 1 | -1 |
| CFRAd | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| GOOD | 0 | 0 | 3 | -3 |
| MK | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| ABC ^e | 0 | 0 | 1 | -1 |

Source: Hold means a seat was held by a party and successfully defended in a by-election. Gain means a party gained a seat in a by-election from another party while loss means the party failed to defend a seat. Net is the number of seats lost from the number of seats gained, so the ANC has gained 9 seats, lost 39, giving it a net loss of 30 seats, while the IFP has a net gain of 21 seats.

*Up to and including by-elections held on 17 July 2024

a African United Movement

b Karoo Gemeenskap Party

c Team Sugar South Africa

d Cederberg First Residents' Association

e Abantu Batho Congress