

#### South African Voter Registration Case Study Mosotho Moepya

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# Historical Background

- Until 1994, Blacks were not allowed to vote in elections of the national legislature.
- Country governed on the basis of separate developments, known as '*apartheid*' and characterised by the role of race, gender, religion and other undesirable factors.
- Separate forms of identity for citizens, some entitling holders to more privileges than others, intentionally.
- Great desire to be equal forced government to go into negotiations (CODESA), following many years of civil strife.
- Elections eventually held in 1994, on the basis of different forms of identity



#### **Arrangements for 1994**

- Elections held on the basis of a negotiated settlement and an Interim Constitution;
- No voter registration, no voters roll compiled;
- Separate and diverse forms of identity used;
- Secure mechanisms implemented to avoid double voting (UV ink validated via UV light);
- Voters could vote anywhere in the country; and
- Technically, non-South African could vote, as they had identity documents which many South Africans held under apartheid although they were not entitled to the vote.



# **Post 1994**

- A new constitution drafted by a Constituent Assembly (not CODESA) and based on a rejection of the unrestrained power of the apartheid state;
- The new Constitution gave effect to state power that was to be directed by the rule of law, and constrained by law;
- Adoption of the new Constitution by the then President, Mr. Nelson Mandela, on 10 December 1996, brought to an end, a bitter struggle to establish democracy in South Africa.



# **Post 1994 (cont.)**

- The new Constitution emphasised the fundamental elements of constitutionalism contained in the text, namely:
  - human dignity,
  - the achievement of equality,
  - the recognition and advancement of human rights and freedoms,
  - the supremacy of the Constitution and the rule of law



# Legislation Applicable to Voter Registration

- The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996
- Electoral Commission Act (Act 51 of 1996)
- Municipal Electoral Act (Act 27 of 2000)
- Electoral Act (Act 73 of 1998)
- Regulations



# **Constitution of the RSA, 1996**

- Founding Provisions
  - Sec 1(d) universal adult suffrage, a national common voters roll, regular elections,.....
  - Sec 3(1)(a) all citizens are equally entitled to the rights, privileges and benefits of citizenship
- Bill of Rights (political rights)
  - Sec 19(3) every adult citizen has the right to vote in elections for any legislative body established in terms of the Constitution....



# Electoral Commission Act, 1996 (Act 51 of 1996)

#### • Powers, duties and functions of the Commission

- Sec 5(1)(e) the functions of the Commission include to compile and maintain voters' rolls by means of a system of registering eligible voters by utilising data available from government sources and information furnished by voters;
- Sec 23(1) the Commission may make regulations regarding-
  - (b) the compiling and maintaining of voters' rolls;
  - (e) any matter required or permitted to be prescribed in order to achieve the objects of this Act.



#### Electoral Act, 1998 (Act 73 of 1998)

- Sec 5: Registration of voters
  - the chief electoral officer must compile and maintain a national common voters' roll
- Sec 6: Persons who may apply for registration as voter as per
  - (1) any South African citizen in possession of an identity document may apply for registration as a voter;
  - (1A) a person of 16 years or older may apply for registration but, if the application is successful, the applicant's name may only be placed on the voters' roll once the applicant reaches the age of 18 years



#### Electoral Act, 1998 (Cont.)

- Sec 7: Application for registration as a voter
- (1) a person applying must do so in the prescribed manner;
- Sec 8: Registration
- (1) if satisfied that a person's application for registration complies with the Act, and that the person is a South African citizen and is at least 18 years of age, the chief electoral officer must register that person as a voter by making the requisite entries in the voters roll



# Electoral Act, 1998 (Cont.)

- Sec 8: Registration
- (2) the chief electoral officer may not register a person as a voter, if that person –
- (a) has applied for registration fraudulently or otherwise than in a prescribed manner;
- (c) has been declared by the High Court to be of unsound mind or mentally disordered;
- A person's name must



#### We all have different roles!

- Municipal Demarcation Board determine municipal and provincial boundaries with a reporting line to the Dept of Provincial and Local Govt.;
- Dept of Home Affairs is the custodian of the Population Register and maintains it;
- Statistics South Africa do just that manage statistics, including census and fall under the Dept of Finance; and
- We (IEC) determine ward boundaries, register voters and compile a voters roll. We report to Parliament.



# **Specifications for VR Equipment**

- Equipment to be compact, portable and easy to use across the country;
- Avoid manual capturing of registration data as much as possible and eliminate possibilities of fraud;
- Enforce transparency and have audit trails for all transactions effected in the voter registration process (engender confidence among stakeholders);
- Facilitate the achievement of tight electoral timeframes;
- Be technically supported in South Africa; and
- Have a long-term application.

# **Early Challenges**

- Establishment of the Electoral Commission within, with less than 24 months of an election;
- Need to register voters on a common national voters roll;
- Common form of identity 'still not so common';
- First elections after transition to democracy regarded as essential to the completion of the transition itself; and
- Pressure to 'get it right the first time'!



#### **The First Common National Voters Roll**

- For many South Africans the compilation of the first national common voters roll in 1999 was an emotional issue;
- It symbolised the attainment of that which had previously been denied and lay at the heart of the struggle for freedom;
- It symbolised equality and the key to the future; and
- Its publication warranted the first copy being presented to the Head of State, receiving wide publicity and much jubilation, similar to the 1994 election itself.



# **Key Challenges Then**

- The transition to a common form of identity was underway far from being complete!;
- The cost of the common identity document was at issue (mainly on account of affordability but for other reasons too);
- Fears of the potential for 'the vote being stolen' were not hard to fabricate confidence was necessary;
- The technology acquired for voter registration was new and arrived just-in-time!; and
- In a majority of instances, registration staff had to learn to use the 'tools of the trade' almost on the job.





# **Registration Was Simple!**

- Registration officials needed to switch-on, scan their own identity document (ID), scan the voting district map, scan the applicant's ID and the label was printed;
- The fear about long queues was unjustified;
- The uploading and transmission of data was automated, once the bar-code scanner was 'uploaded' onto a workstation;
- The network appeared to have 'full understanding' and 'acted in solidarity';
- Nine registration days later, more than 18 million people had been registered!!!!!



#### **Seven Years Later?**

Year	Elections	Reg. Voters	Incr. (%)
1999	Nat. & Prov	18 172 751	-
2000	Municipal	18 476 516	1.7
2004	Nat. & Prov.	20 674 926	11.9
2006	Municipal	21 054 957	1.8

- Access to registration venues increased by 30%;
- 15,86% increase in registered voters attained;
- Registration technology now used for other purposes as well in the electoral cycle!!!!!



#### What's in the Numbers?

Year	Election	Vote	Increase		
		Female Male		Female	Male
1999	Nat & Prov	9 895 369	8 277 382	First Roll	
2000	Municipal	10 081 984	8 394 532	1,9%	1,4%
2004	Nat & Prov	11 334 028	9 340 898	12,4%	11,3%
2006	Municipal	11 574 118	9 480 839	2,1%	1,5%



#### **Gender Breakdown**

Year	Females	Males
1999	54,45%	45,55%
2000	54,56%	45,44%
2004	54,82%	45,18%
2006	54,97%	45,03%



# **Breakdown by Age Groups**

Age band	1999	9	2000		2004		2006	
18-29 (Youth)	5 834 918	32.1%	5 361 326	29%	5 877 131	28.4%	5 492 072	26.1%
30-69 (Adults)	11 301 807	62.2%	11 944 591	64.6%	13 516 508	65.4%	14 195 236	67.4%
70+ (Aged)	1 036 026	5.7%	1 170 599	6.4%	1 281 287	6.2%	1 367 649	6.5%
Total	18 172 751		18 476 516		20 674 926		21 054 957	

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#### 1999-2006: Breakdown by Age



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SOUTH AFRICA

#### This is what the data tells us!

- There is an increased number of registered voters with every election for almost every age except for youth;
- Growth in the number of registrations has not been uniform over the spectrum of age bands and has, in fact dropped significantly in the 20-24 year age band leading to a 6% decline in youth registration (18-29 years);
- There is a relative decline in the number of young voters (below ±25 years) with every ensuing election;
- There is also a gender base to the non-participation of youth to register as voters there generally being a larger decline in the participation of males; and
- There is an evident 'aging' of the voters roll.



#### **Gender Analysis: New Registrations**



Total new registration applications after the 1999 elections

	2000	2004	2006
Female	347,628	1,818,845	677,537
Male	305,762	1,530,991	552,903
Total	653,390	3,349,836	1,230,440



#### **Please Note!**

- A total number of 5 233 666 persons successfully applied for registration as voters for the first time after the 1999 elections and before the closure of the voters roll for the 2006 municipal elections; and
- New registrations constitute an increase of 28.8% of all applications in comparison with the 1999 total or an average annual growth of about 4%.



#### **VR: Analysis by Year of Registration**

Breakdown of Voters Roll on 31/12/2006 - First year of registration

#### 2,679,713 1,267,224 3,232,769 594,309 15,577,588 11999 Election 2000 Election 2006 Election Deceased (31/12/2006) Other (31/12/2006)

#### Note:

1. 1999, 2000, 2004, 2006 indicates the year of first registation for verified voters.

2. Other includes categories such as Still Under Age, Non SA Citizens and Deleted from Population Register.

Category	Total	%
1999 Election	15,577,588	66.36%
2000 Election	594,309	2.53%
2004 Election	3,232,769	13.77%
2006 Election*	1,267,224	5.40%
Deceased (31/12/2006)	2,679,713	11.42%
Other (31/12/2006)	121,805	0.52%
Total	23,473,408	100.00%

\* This figure represents the 2006 election as well as the period until 31/12/2006.



#### **Stability of Voters on the VR**



Voters Roll 2006 - Year of most recent registration activity

1. 1998-1999, 2001-2002, 2003-2004, 2005-2006 indicates the year of most recent registation activity for verified voters.

Registration Year	Registered	%
1998-1999	9,951,070	47.26%
2000	1,138,775	5.41%
2001-2004	7,405,838	35.17%
2005-2006	2,559,274	12.16%
Total	21054957	100.00%



#### Year of Registration vs. Stability: Analysis

- 15.5 million of the 18.1 million voters registered in 1999 are still on the voters roll;
- 9.9 million of them still live in the same voting district;
- Continuous registration campaigns, including campaigns for by-elections, do not result in a sufficient number of new registrations;
- Outside of general registration periods, it is possible to have a negative net growth on the VR; and
- We get value for money opening registration stations for VR inspections, new registrations and reregistrations when there is an election in sight!



# **Registration Gaps (1)**



Dataset	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80+	Total
Census 2001	2,024,767	9,276,244	7,275,840	5,691,235	3,725,400	2,270,560	1,419,396	795,815	32,479,257
On VR 2006-12-31	231,087	4,785,582	5,402,810	4,285,373	2,896,195	1,689,847	972,226	408,770	20,671,890



# **Registration Gaps (2)**



Dataset	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80+	Total
Population Register 18+	1,389,340	8,261,850	7,198,021	5,725,447	4,128,489	2,462,618	1,302,717	911,555	31,380,037
On VR 2006-12-31	231,087	4,785,582	5,402,810	4,285,373	2,896,195	1,689,847	972,226	408,770	20,671,890

#### **Gap Analysis: Multi-source Comp. (1)**

Authority	Potential Electorate	Registered voters	%
Stats SA Census 2001 estimate	31 431 347 (March 2006)	21 054 957	67%
Census 2001 (as adjusted for deaths)	29 728 367 (December 2006)	20 671 890	69,5%
Population Register	31 380 037 (April 2007)	20 577 802	65,5%
HSRC survey	25 534 734 (November 2005)	20 711 251	81%
IEC estimate	25 311 023 (March 2006)	21 054 957	83%

#### **Gap Analysis: Multi-source Comp. (2)**



Dataset	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80+	Total
Population Register 18+	1,389,340	8,261,850	7,198,021	5,725,447	4,128,489	2,462,618	1,302,717	911,555	31,380,037
Census 2001	2,024,767	9,276,244	7,275,840	5,691,235	3,725,400	2,270,560	1,419,396	795,815	32,479,257
Census 2001 Adjusted	2,020,150	8,976,028	6,671,178	5,215,778	3,347,369	1,908,428	1,071,662	517,773	29,728,367
On VR 2006-12-31	231,087	4,785,582	5,402,810	4,285,373	2,896,195	1,689,847	972,226	408,770	20,671,890

# Putting all these into context...(1)

- The census data was based on an actual count as well as modelling that was reportedly, to an extent, influenced by data in the population register (number of IDs in circulation);
- The influence of modelling is best understood from the results of three targeted registrations campaigns where the IEC visited households in voting districts with registration figures of less than 50% as measured against census data;
- The missing voters were simply not found (many of these areas were either sparsely populated or completely uninhabited and included game parks and nature reserves);
- The size of the total population apart, there is thus at least to some extent a problem with the *geographical distribution of population* in terms of census data.



# Putting all these into context...(2)

- Using 1994 voter turn-out figures for comparative purposes (there was no VR then), it appears as if voter participation in the 1999 elections was lower;
- The drop in the number of voters in 1999 was to be expected given the introduction of citizenship requirements and the necessity to have a green bar-coded identity document to be able to register and vote.
- Whatever the conclusion on the size of the potential electorate, it is clear that the growth in the voters roll exceeds the population growth and the gap is closing.



# In the final analysis...

- Registration and voting in South Africa are not compulsory;
- Registered voters can de-register this choice is provided for, in law;
- Present voter registration methods are quick, secure and transparent. Potential voters and parties like them!
- HSRC survey suggests that:
  - 82% of persons interested in registering, are registered;
  - a further 13% are not averse to registering as voters; and
  - the last 5% are averse to registering as a voter!





# End of Presentation

