

## **IEC Election Satisfaction Survey 2014**



*Report Prepared for*

### **The Electoral Commission (IEC)**

National Office  
Election House

Riverside Office Park

1303 Heuwel Avenue

Centurion

Tel: (012) 622 5700

Fax: (012) 622 5784

*by*

### **Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC)**

**Democracy, Governance & Service Delivery (DGSD) research programme**

**June 2014**

# Contents

Acronyms and abbreviations.....	v
Acknowledgements .....	vi
Executive Summary .....	viii
<b>1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1. National and provincial government.....	1
1.2. General standards for elections .....	2
1.3. The role of the Electoral Commission.....	3
1.4. A brief history of government elections in South Africa .....	4
1.5. Monitoring and evaluating elections .....	5
1.6. Survey objectives.....	6
1.6.1. Primary objective.....	6
1.6.2. Secondary objectives .....	6
<b>2. Research Methodology.....</b>	<b>7</b>
2.1. The Research Universe .....	7
2.2. Sampling .....	7
2.3. Data collection instruments .....	8
2.4. Mode of data collection .....	9
2.5. Fieldworker conduct and protocol .....	10
2.6. Quality control .....	11
2.7. Translations of research instruments.....	11
2.8. Fieldwork Training .....	11
2.9. Quality control mechanisms .....	12
2.10. Data management .....	12
2.11. Description of the sample of voters and observers .....	12
2.12. Distribution of voter interviews throughout Election Day .....	13
<b>3. Voter Interview Results .....</b>	<b>15</b>
3.1. General Voting Experience .....	15
3.1.1. Time taken to reach voting station.....	15
3.1.2. Queuing to vote.....	19
3.1.3. Accessibility of voting stations to persons with disabilities and the elderly .....	23
3.1.4. Satisfaction with voting station signage and instructions .....	25
3.1.5. Perceived ease of voting procedures inside voting stations .....	27
3.2. Consideration of voting procedure for people with special needs.....	30
3.3. Timing of decision on political party of choice.....	35
3.4. Perceived secrecy of the vote.....	37
3.5. Political coercion and intimidation.....	39
3.6. Political party tolerance.....	47
3.7. Views on electoral freeness and fairness.....	50
3.7.1. Freeness of the election .....	50
3.7.2. Fairness of the election .....	52
3.8. IEC Performance and Conduct .....	54
3.8.1. General quality of service of IEC officials .....	54
3.8.2. Views on specific aspects of the conduct of IEC officials .....	56
3.10 Voter Education.....	59
3.10.1 Effectiveness of the IEC's voter education campaign .....	60
3.10.2 Usefulness of information sources .....	62
<b>4. Election Observer Interview Results.....</b>	<b>78</b>
4.1. Profile of Election Observers .....	79
4.2. Characteristics of voting stations .....	81
4.2.1. Perceived accessibility of voting stations .....	81
4.2.2. Voting station signage.....	81
4.2.3. Accessibility of voting stations to voters with special needs .....	82
4.2.4. Type of voting station structure .....	83
4.2.5. Voting station facilities .....	83
4.2.6. Voting station security .....	84
4.3. Consideration of voting procedure for persons with special needs .....	85

<b>4.4. Disturbances at voting stations.....</b>	<b>87</b>
4.4.1. Disturbances outside and inside voting stations .....	87
4.4.2. Display of party posters inside voting stations .....	88
4.4.3. Political party activities inside voting stations.....	88
4.4.4. Political party agents inside voting stations.....	89
<b>4.5. Observing of electoral processes .....</b>	<b>90</b>
<b>4.6. Views on electoral freeness and fairness.....</b>	<b>91</b>
<b>4.7. IEC Performance .....</b>	<b>92</b>
4.7.1. General satisfaction with IEC electoral management .....	92
4.7.2. Views on specific aspects of the conduct of IEC officials.....	93
<b>4.8. Satisfaction with aspects of the voting station experience.....</b>	<b>94</b>
<b>4.9. Voter complaints and dissatisfaction about voting stations.....</b>	<b>94</b>
<b>4.10. Media Presence .....</b>	<b>95</b>
<b>5. Conclusions and recommendations .....</b>	<b>96</b>
<b>6. References .....</b>	<b>104</b>
<b>Appendix 1: IEC Election Satisfaction Survey 2014 Voter Questionnaire .....</b>	<b>105</b>
<b>Appendix 2: IEC Election Satisfaction Survey 2014 Observer Questionnaire.....</b>	<b>108</b>

## List of Tables

Table 1: Frequency of sampled voting stations, voters and election observers by province.....	8
Table 2: Mode of data collection per province .....	9
Table 3 Descriptive statistics of demographic variables for voters (valid percentage) .....	13
Table 4: Time taken to get to voting station (row percent and mean score).....	17
Table 5: Length of time in queue before voting (row percent and mean score) .....	21
Table 6: Satisfaction with the signage and instructions at the voting stations (row percentage and mean) .....	27
Table 7: Perceived ease of voting procedure (row percent and mean score) .....	29
Table 8: Considering the needs of people with special needs (mean score, 0-100 scale) .....	33
Table 9: Satisfaction with secrecy of the vote (row percent and mean score) .....	38
Table 10: Person(s) responsible for political coercion for those reporting such an experience, by socio-demographic attributes of voters (percentage of all voters) .....	43
Table 11: Perceived political party tolerance (row percent and mean score).....	49
Table 12: Perceived freeness of the 2014 Election (row percent and mean score) .....	51
Table 13: Perceived fairness of the 2011 Municipal Election (row percent and mean score) .....	53
Table 14: Satisfaction with aspects of the performance of IEC officials at voting stations (row percent and mean score) .....	56
Table 15: Satisfaction with aspects of the performance of IEC officials at voting stations by voter characteristics (mean scores) .....	58
Table 16: Frequency of sampled voting stations and election observers by province .....	80
Table 17: Descriptive statistics of demographic variables for election observers .....	80
Table 18: Extent to which voting procedures considered persons with special needs (row percentages) .....	86
Table 19: Observer satisfaction with different components of the voting station experience (row %) .	94

## List of Figures

Figure 1: Distribution of voter interviews (percent) .....	14
Figure 2: Time taken to get to voting station, 2009, 2011 and 2014 (percent) .....	15
Figure 3: Changes in the time taken to get to voting station by subgroup, 2009, 2011 and 2014 (minutes) .....	18
Figure 4: Length of time spent queuing before voting, 2009, 2011 and 2014 (percent).....	19
Figure 5: Changes in the length of time spent queuing before voting, by subgroup, 2009, 2011 and 2014 (minutes) .....	22
Figure 6: Accessibility of voting stations to people with special needs, 2011 and 2014 (scaled mean scores).....	24
Figure 7: Satisfaction with voting station signage and instructions, 2011 and 2014 (percent) .....	25
Figure 8: Perceived ease of voting procedures inside voting stations, 2009, 2011 and 2014 (%) .....	28
Figure 9: Consideration of voting procedures for the elderly, women, and women with babies, 2011 and 2014 (%).....	30
Figure 10: Consideration of voting procedures for people with disabilities, the blind and the partially-sighted, 2011 and 2014 (%) .....	31
Figure 11: Special Needs Index across selected subgroups between 2011 municipal elections and 2014 national elections (mean scores) .....	34
Figure 12: Timing of decision on political party of choice (percentage) .....	35
Figure 13: Timing of decision on political party of choice, by voter characteristics (mean score, 0-100 scale).....	36
Figure 14: Satisfaction with the secrecy of the vote, 2009, 2011 and 2014 (%).....	37
Figure 15: Experience of political coercion, 2009 and 2014 (per cent) .....	40
Figure 16: Experience of political coercion by socio-demographic attributes of voters (percent reporting coercion) .....	41
Figure 17: Source of experienced of political coercion (percentage of voters who experienced coercion).....	42

Figure 18: Person(s) responsible for political coercion for those reporting such an experience, by socio-demographic attributes of voters (percentage of all voters) .....	45
Figure 19: Impact of coercion on electoral choice (percentage of voters who experienced coercion) .	46
Figure 20: Percentage reporting that coercion resulted in a change of decision over which political party to vote for, by socio-demographic attributes of voters (percentage of all voters) .....	47
Figure 21: Perceived political party tolerance, 2009, 2011 and 2014 (%) .....	48
Figure 22: Perceived freeness of the 2014 Election, 2009, 2011 and 2014 (%) .....	50
Figure 23: Perceived fairness of the 2014 Election, 2009, 2011 and 2014 (%) .....	52
Figure 24: Satisfaction with the quality of service provided by IEC officials to voters (mean score, 0-100 scale).....	55
Figure 25: Staff Quality Index across voter characteristics, 2009 and 2014 (mean score, 0-100 scale) .....	59
Figure 26: Satisfaction with the IEC voter education campaign, 2009, 2011 and 2014 (per cent).....	60
Figure 27: Satisfaction with the IEC voter education campaign, by voter characteristics (mean score, 0-100 scale) .....	61
Figure 28: Reach of information sources in providing voter education (percent) .....	62
Figure 29: Perceived usefulness of information sources in providing voter education (percent) .....	63
Figure 30: Perceived usefulness of conventional media in providing voter education, by voter characteristics (percent).....	64
Figure 31: Perceived Conventional Media Index, by voter characteristics in 2009 and 2014 .....	67
Figure 32: Perceived usefulness of political parties and civil society organisations in providing voter education, by voter characteristics (per cent) .....	68
Figure 33: Perceived Political Parties and Civil Society Organisation Index, by voter characteristics in 2009 and 2014 .....	69
Figure 34: Perceived usefulness of the IEC related internet sites and online campaign in providing voter education, by voter characteristics (percent) .....	71
Figure 35: Perceived IEC Information Communication Technology Index, by voter characteristics in 2009 and 2014 .....	72
Figure 36: Perceived usefulness of the workshops, pamphlets and voter awareness booklets in providing voter education, by voter characteristics (percent) .....	74
Figure 37: Perceived Traditional IEC Campaign Index, by voter characteristics in 2009 and 2014.....	77
Figure 38: Perceived accessibility of voting stations .....	81
Figure 39: Voting station signage (per cent) .....	82
Figure 40: Accessibility of voting stations to persons with special needs.....	83
Figure 41: Structure type of voting station .....	83
Figure 42: Facilities and infrastructure at voting stations (percent) .....	84
Figure 43: Security personnel on duty at the voting station at the time of visit.....	85
Figure 44: Disturbances observed outside and inside of the voting station (%).....	87
Figure 45: Number of political party posters inside voting stations (%) .....	88
Figure 46: Number of observed political party activities inside the voting station (%).....	89
Figure 47: Number of political party agents inside voting stations.....	90
Figure 48: Political party agents allowed to observe electoral processes .....	91
Figure 49: Observer evaluations of the freeness and fairness of election procedures (per cent) .....	92
Figure 50: Observer satisfaction with IEC election management (%) .....	93
Figure 51: Observations on conduct of IEC officials.....	93
Figure 52: Voter complaints and dissatisfaction on voting day (%) .....	95

# Acronyms and abbreviations

ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
DGSD	Democracy Governance and Service Delivery
EA	Enumerator Areas
EC	Eastern Cape
ESS	Election Satisfaction Survey
FS	Free State
GP	Gauteng Province
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
ID	Identity Document
IEC	Electoral Commission of South Africa
IEC VPS	IEC Voter Participation Survey
IEC VSI	IEC Voter Satisfaction Index
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
LP	Limpopo
LSM	Living Standard Measurement
MP	Mpumalanga
NC	Northern Cape
NW	North West
PDA	Personal Digital Assistant
PSU	Primary Sampling Unit
SAARF	South African Advertising Research Foundation
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SAL	Small Area Layer
StatsSA	Statistics South Africa
TOR	Terms of Reference
VAP	Voting Age Population
VEI	Voting Experience Index
VII	Voting Irregularities Index
WC	Western Cape

# Acknowledgements

We would like to express our appreciation to the following individuals who contributed to the successful completion of this study on election satisfaction in South Africa in relation to the 2014 national and provincial elections:

- The 14,177 South African voters and 79 Election Observers who generously gave of their time to participate in the survey and share their views and experiences.
- The IEC's managing team, especially Shameme Manjoo and Dr. Nomsa Masuku, for their support, guidance, advice and input throughout the study. The comments received from various members of the Electoral Commission's executive leadership at different stages of the research process are also gratefully acknowledged. The assistance of Barbara van der Walt, James Aphane and Itumeleng Baloyi is also appreciated.
- The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) team, consisting of Benjamin Roberts, Jarè Struwig, Steven Gordon, Derek Davids and Jenna-Lee Marco, for conceptualising the study design, as well as analysing the quantitative data, and drafting the report.
- The HSRC's provincial supervisors, sub-supervisors and data collectors who traversed the country - often under difficult circumstances - to ensure that high quality information was collected from all those who were interviewed.
- The HSRC's data capturing unit, especially Annemarie Booyens and Joel Makhuela, for working tirelessly from Election night onwards to ensure that the data were ready for analysis and write-up in time for the election results announcement by the IEC on 10<sup>th</sup> May 2014.
- The team at AfricaScope, consisting of Craig Schwabe, Bob Currin, Khumbudzo Rambuda, Michael O'Donovan and Teboho Tlholo, for giving oversight to the collection and capturing of mobile data in the select provinces where hand-held devices were utilised. By extension, Mobenzi Researcher needs to be thanked as the platform for capturing the mobile data from the hand-held devices.
- Thanks are also due to Mercy Ngungu who ensured that the data used for analysis was of high quality, as well as Professor Dawid Stoker for weighting the data. Also to Anneke Jordaan who assisted with data cleaning queries.

- The role played by the HSRC project administrator, Busisiwe Mamba, who was an invaluable resource to the study. She managed all the field logistics, from training to contracts, car rentals and payments. Without her support this project would not have been possible. We would also like to extend our gratitude to Koshen Govender, Hermien Bolton and Hlengiwe Shandu for their administrative advice and support.



# Executive Summary

## INTRODUCTION

The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) was commissioned by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) to conduct a survey on the 2014 National and Provincial Elections. The 2014 elections, held on the 7th of May 2014, were the fifth national and provincial elections to be held in South Africa since 1994. The intention of the 2014 Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) was to determine opinions and perceptions of both voters and election observers regarding the freeness and fairness of the electoral process. A further aim of the study was to assess the operational efficiency of the IEC in managing the 2014 local government elections.

The study was conducted among two groups of respondents, namely (i) South Africans who voted in the 2014 Elections and (ii) local and international elections observers. The target population for the voter component of the study was individuals aged 18 years and older who were South African citizens, and who were eligible to vote in the 2014 national and provincial elections. The study also conducted interviews among local and international election observers visiting the selected voting stations on Election Day.

## METHODOLOGY

A complex sample design was used in drawing the sample of voting stations. The design included stratification and a multi-stage sampling procedure. The database of voting stations obtained from the IEC was merged with that of Population Census Enumeration Areas (EAs). The sampling of the voting station was done proportionally to the dominant race type, geo-type and the number of voting stations in a given province. This was to ensure that a nationally representative sample of voting stations was selected and the results of the survey could be properly weighted to the population of legible voters in the country. At the actual voting stations, fieldworkers used random sampling to select voters to ensure a fair representation in terms of gender, race, age, and disability status.

A sample of 300 voting stations countrywide was selected. The distribution of these voting stations and the resultant number of interviews at and in the vicinity of the voting stations was proportional to the IEC's distribution of registered voters. At each voting station, 50 voters were interviewed during the course of the day. These were divided into four time slots to ensure a fair spread of interviews over different times of the day, when different dynamics might have been in operation.

## A. VOTER SATISFACTION RESULTS

### GENERAL VOTING EXPERIENCE

With regard to the **time taken to reach voting stations**, more than two-thirds of voters (69%) took 15 minutes or less, 20% took between 16-30 minutes, 7% between 31-60 minutes, and 4% took longer than an hour. Relative to the 2009 and 2011 election, there has been a small but noteworthy improvement in the time taken to reach one's voting station, with the share of voters taking less than a quarter-hour increasing from 64% in 2009 to 66% in 2011 and finally to 69% in 2014. On average, voters in KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape reported the longest times to get to their voting stations (20 minutes and 17 minutes respectively), whilst it took voters in the Western Cape only 11 minutes and voters in the Northern Cape only 13 minutes to get to their voting stations. Voters in rural areas and informal urban settlements also took longer on average (17 minutes) to reach their voting stations than voters in formal urban areas (13 minutes). The reported time taken to reach voting stations was also higher than average in the case of voters with disabilities (18 minutes).

In terms of **queuing time**, voters waited on average 25 minutes before casting their vote, which is considerably lower than the 34 minutes recorded in the 2009 elections and similar to the results from the 2011 election (23 minutes). In 2014, two-thirds (66%) of voters queued for less than quarter of an hour, compared to 52% in 2009 and 64% in 2011. Voters in Gauteng and Free State queued for the longest time period (39 and 25 minutes respectively). In Gauteng, 27% of voters indicated that they waited for an hour or longer to cast their vote. Voters in Limpopo and Mpumalanga queued for the shortest time period (13 and 16 minutes respectively). Queuing times also exceeded the national average among voters in informal urban settlements (41 minutes) and among those who voting in the initial hours after voting stations officially opened (07.00 – 10.30am).

Overall, 86% of the voters found the **voting stations** were very or somewhat **accessible to persons with disabilities and the elderly**, while 9% did not. These results are virtually indistinguishable from what voters reported in the 2011 municipal election. The highest mean accessibility ratings were found among voters in the Western Cape and the Free State. On the other hand, voters in the Limpopo and Mpumalanga had the lowest proportions of voters saying that the voting stations were accessible to persons with disabilities or the elderly. People in formal urban areas were also more inclined to state that the voting stations were accessible to persons with disabilities and the elderly than those in informal urban settlements and rural areas. Coloured voters were significantly more likely to believe that the voting stations were accessible to special needs groups than black African, Indian or white voters. No significant differences were observed on the basis of age, gender or disability status.

An overwhelming majority (96%) were satisfied with the **signage and instructions at voting stations** (66% very satisfied; 30% fairly satisfied). The picture is relatively similar to that found in the 2011 Election Satisfaction Survey, with 97% expressing contentment and less than five per cent voiced neutrality or discontent. Total satisfaction with signage and information was relatively circumscribed, ranging between 93% in KwaZulu-Natal to 99% in Mpumalanga. Nonetheless, voters in Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo and the Eastern Cape on average reported moderately lower satisfaction scores relative to voters in the other five provinces. Negligible differences in satisfaction scores were present on the basis of type of geographic location, age group, gender, and disability status. There were some class-based differences in evaluations of signage and information, with Black African and white voters less satisfied than coloured and Indian voters, and tertiary educated voters less contented than voters with lower educational attainment. Modest differences in satisfaction were evident based on time of voting. Those voting in the initial hours after the opening of voting stations (07.00-10.30am) were somewhat less satisfied with signage and information than those who presented to vote in the afternoon sessions (after 14.30pm).

A vast majority (97%) found the **voting procedures inside the voting station** easy to understand (70% very satisfied; 27% fairly satisfied). The same question was posed to voters in the 2009 and 2011 elections. We find a broadly similar pattern of results across the three elections, though the share indicating that the voting procedures were “very easy” is slightly lower in 2014 relative to the two preceding elections. Satisfaction with the ease of the voting procedures was lowest in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal, with the highest ratings evident in the Free State, Northern Cape and Western Cape. Voters in formal urban areas were marginally more inclined to evaluate the voting process as easy compared to those in informal urban settlements and rural areas. Only nominal differences could be discerned based on the age, gender, disability status, and educational attainment of voters. Coloured and Indian voters were slightly more positive in their views on the ease of voting procedures relative to white and black African voters. There was not a sizable time of voting effect, though those who cast their vote after 17.30pm offered moderately higher ease of voting scores than those voting earlier in the day.

#### **CONSIDERATION OF VOTING PROCEDURE FOR PEOPLE WITH SPECIAL NEEDS**

Voters were asked to consider the extent to which they felt that voting procedures at the voting station effectively took into account the needs of the elderly, persons with disabilities, the partially-sighted, the blind, women and women with babies. Most South African voters felt that the IEC planners and staff had addressed the special needs of vulnerable groups. One of the groups that IEC felt was particularly vulnerable was elderly persons. Almost three-quarters (73%) of the voting population felt that the voting procedures considered the needs of the elderly to a great extent. Around two-thirds (68% and 64%) of the South African voting population were confident that the special needs of

women and women with babies. More than two-thirds (66%) of the voting population felt that the needs of persons with disabilities were considered to a great extent. The voter population is more divided on the special needs of the partially-sighted and the blind. More than half (55% and 51%) this population believed that the needs of the partially-sighted and the blind were taken care of to a great extent.

In terms of geographic location, fewer voters in rural areas thought that the needs of the vulnerable groups were addressed when compared to other areas, particularly urban formal areas. Although this level of variation is relatively low, rural dwellers were especially concerned about the needs of the elderly and the partially-sighted and the blind. If the attitudes towards special needs groups among voters in the 2014 national elections are compared across selected subgroups between 2011 municipal elections and 2014 national elections, it is apparent there is strong degree of comparability between the two elections. The opinions of those voting in the 2011 municipal elections were highly similar to those voting in the 2014 national election. There are marginal discrepancies noted, however, with voters in Mpumalanga, the Free State were more satisfied in 2014 than 2011 with the consideration given by the IEC to voters with special needs.

#### **TIMING OF DECISION ON POLITICAL PARTY OF CHOICE**

Voters were asked to indicate when they finally decided whom to vote for in the elections. The vast majority (78%) of voters in the 2014 national and provincial elections made their decision more than a month ago (see Figure 1), indicating that they were predisposed towards a certain political party before intensive electioneering began in the month before the national election. A similar finding is observed for the 2011 municipal elections demonstrating the robustness of this finding. This suggests that most South African are loyal to one political party and arrive at the voting station already having made a firm decision on who to vote for. When compared to other areas, it was found that voters living in rural areas were more certain about who to vote for. Younger people left the decision on who to vote for much later than the older age groups. Black African voters seem to have made up their minds much earlier unlike what was observed for the 2011 municipal elections when these voters were less certain.

#### **PERCEIVED SECRECY OF VOTE**

A majority (97%) of voters expressed satisfaction with the secrecy of their vote (73% very satisfied; 24% fairly satisfied), with only one per cent voicing any form of discontent. Compared to the 2009 and 2011 elections, there does appear to have been a modest decline in the share indicating that they were “very satisfied”, which fell from 81% in 2009 to 73% in 2014. While still broadly positive, this is an indicator that needs to be carefully monitored. The results suggest that in future elections electoral management efforts will need to continue to ensure that measures to preserve the secrecy of the vote are effectively

implemented at voting stations and during counting processes, and that voters are provided with basic information about the steps taken to ensure ballot secrecy.

The lowest proportion of voters very satisfied with the secrecy of their votes was found in KwaZulu-Natal (69%) and Eastern Cape (70%) and Mpumalanga (71%). The highest proportions of voters very satisfied with the secrecy of their votes were found in the Free State (85%) and North West province (80%). Equally high proportions of satisfaction were found among the various race groups, age groups and for men and women. A smaller percentage of voters in the rural areas and informal urban settlements (both 71%) stated that they were very satisfied that their vote was secret in comparison with voters in formal urban areas (76%). No significant differences in voter attitudes towards the secrecy of their ballot on the basis of age or gender, while there was only a weak association between views on ballot secrecy and educational attainment. Coloured voters were generally slightly more confident in the secrecy of their vote than other population groups, while disabled voters were more contented than able-bodied voters. It is interesting to note that voters that cast their ballot in the initial after the voting station opened (07.00 – 10.30am) presented a significantly higher mean satisfaction score than those voting later in the day. This may speak to some concerns about readiness at certain voting stations in the initial period after opening.

### **POLITICAL COERCION**

It is highly important to investigate evidence of coercion and intimidation. In order to ascertain how prevalent intimidation was in the recent 2014 South African national and provincial elections, fieldworkers in the ESS survey asked voters if they had experienced coercion. In response, 94% of the voting public reported that no one tried to force them to vote for a certain political party. The remaining 6% declared that they had experienced coercion relating to their party of choice (5% prior to arriving at their voting station and 1% while waiting in a queue to vote). In KwaZulu-Natal the share that experienced during national elections increased from 3% in 2009 to 11% in 2014. The incidence of reported coercion also emerged as relatively higher for voters in informal urban settlements in 2014 when compared to 2009 (rising from 6% in 2009 to 8% in 2014). Among young voters (age cohort 18-24 years), reported coercion (8%) was relatively higher than that observed among older voters (45-59 year-olds and those aged 60 years and older, 3% and 4% respectively). Voters with disabilities were more likely to report coercion than voters without disabilities (8% versus 5%).

Focusing explicitly on those that did mention some form of coercion, the most commonly mentioned sources of this coercion were political parties (47%) and family members or friends (26%), and to a lesser extent other voters (17%) and election officials (3%). Political party pressure considerably exceeded that by family or close acquaintances in all provinces except the Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga. Over a twentieth (5.3%) of voters in KwaZulu-

Natal experienced coercion from a political party and almost a twentieth (3.5%) from family and friends. Voters who answered that they had experienced intimidation or coercion on their electoral choice were asked if this pressure altered their choice. Of those mentioning that they personally experienced some form of coercion, almost a quarter (24%) reported that this encounter actually changed their voting decision. This represents a moderate increase when results from the 2009 national elections when about a fifth (21%) reported changing their electoral decision based on experiencing intimidation or pressure. The provinces where political coercion had the most effect on electoral choice were KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng and Mpumalanga.

### **POLITICAL PARTY TOLERANCE**

Political tolerance between contesting political parties and their supporters represents a fundamental component of electoral and indeed liberal democracy and is instrumental in ensuring free and fair elections. More than half (56%) of voters believed that political parties were very tolerant of one another during the 2014 election campaigns. A further 24 per cent reported that parties were somewhat tolerant of each other, while 15 per cent observed that there was not a prevailing culture of tolerance. These results are highly consistent with the views expressed by voters in the 2009 and 2011 election surveys.

Voters in the Free State and KwaZulu-Natal were most likely to believe that political parties were tolerant of one another during campaigning (mean scores of 86 and 81 respectively), which was significantly higher than the rating offered by voters in all other provinces. Conversely, those in Limpopo and the Western Cape were significantly less likely than voters in almost all other provinces to perceive parties as having demonstrated political tolerance during the campaigning for the elections (mean scores of 64 and 81 respectively). Voters in rural areas tended to provide more positive evaluations of party tolerance (mean=74) than their counterparts in both formal urban areas and informal urban settlements (mean =69 and 61 respectively). Black African and coloured voters were more favourable in their perceptions of party tolerance than all Indian and white voters, female voters offered marginally higher tolerance ratings than male voters, while voters with disabilities were more approving than voters without disabilities. Voters aged 18-24 years and 25-34 years offered more critical evaluations than those aged 35-44 years, 45-59 years and those aged 60 years and older. These are notable findings, since concerns about the behaviour exhibited by political parties in an electoral context might have the undesirable effect of fostering political disillusionment. Young voters are critical for future electoral turnout, and the IEC Voter Participation Survey 2013/14 has shown that political disillusionment is a salient factor underlying electoral abstention.

## ELECTORAL FREENESS AND FAIRNESS

An overwhelming majority of voters in the 2014 national and provincial elections (94%) felt that the election procedures were free, with a further three per cent saying they were free with only minor problems. A mere two per cent suggested that the elections were not free, with an equivalent share voicing uncertainty in their response. A high degree in consistency is evident when comparing the 2014 results using this measure to those reported in both 2009 and 2011 election surveys. The percentage stating that the election procedures were *unconditionally* free ranged from a low of 90% among voters in KwaZulu-Natal and persons with disabilities to a high of 97% in the case of Limpopo and Mpumalanga voters. Even though the results tend to be concentrated, with most voters evaluating the election procedures as free, there are some differences at these upper margins. Of particular note, voters in KwaZulu-Natal presented lower mean freeness scores than voters in all other provinces excepting voters in Eastern and Northern Cape. In addition, those in the Eastern and Northern Cape had lower scores than voters in Mpumalanga and Limpopo. Voters in formal urban areas were more resolute in their opinion about the freeness of election procedures than voters in either informal urban settlements or rural areas. Disabled voters also offered slightly lower assessments than able-bodied voters. There were either weak or no significant differences in the mean freeness score by the sex, population group, and time of voting.

Apart from the freeness question, the survey included an item pertaining to the perceived fairness of electoral procedures. Again we find a near universal consensus among voters, with 94 per cent declaring that the election procedures were free, with a further three per cent saying they were fair apart from minor problems. Only two per cent reported that the elections were not fair, while an equivalent share were undecided. Examining trends in perceived fairness across the 2009, 2011 and 2014 elections, we find that the results are almost identical in the pattern of responses. This reaffirms that voters categorically believe that the elections were fair as well as free, which is further evidence of successful electoral management by the IEC.

At a disaggregate level, the percentage reporting that the election was unequivocally fair ranged in a narrow band between 90 and 96 per cent across all the different socio-demographic variables that were examined. Either weak or no significant differences were apparent in the mean fairness score based on educational attainment, age, sex, and time of voting. There were, however, significant differences based on province, with voters in KwaZulu-Natal on average slightly less convinced of the fairness of the election relative to voters in the North West, Western Cape, Mpumalanga, Limpopo and Gauteng. In addition, rural voters had marginally lower fairness scores than those in formal urban areas and informal settlements. White voters had a lower average fairness score than other voters, while disabled voters reported lower scores relative to able-bodied voters. In these

instances where significant scores were detected, it is important to bear in mind that they are differences between fairness ratings at an exceptionally high level.

### IEC PERFORMANCE

In order to obtain a general understanding of how voters evaluated the performance and conduct of the IEC officials on May 7th 2014, respondents were asked how they were with the quality of service that the IEC officials provided to voters. An estimated 96% of voters voiced general satisfaction with the quality of services rendered by IEC officials, with 69% of voters very satisfied and 28% somewhat satisfied. Voters in Gauteng and the Eastern Cape were marginally less satisfied with the performance of the IEC officials than voters in other provinces. Voters residing on rural areas reported significantly lower satisfaction than those in formal urban areas and rural areas.

Apart from their broad evaluation of the service provided by IEC officials, voters were additionally requested to rate ten aspects of IEC officials' conduct of at their voting station. The public overwhelmingly evaluated such officials as friendly (99%), cooperative (98%), patient (98%), helpful (99%), considerate (97%), honest (96%), knowledgeable about elections (96%), interested in their jobs (95%), impartial (91%) and professional (96%). Only a tiny minority were highly dissatisfied with these qualities in IEC officials during the 2014 national and provincial elections.

It is necessary to look at how mean scores differed in each of the performance domains based on the basic attributes of the surveyed voters in order to understand if one subgroup who was particularly dissatisfied with the performance of IEC officials. Differences between subgroups all ten dimensions were not stark. Although there were strong similarities in subgroup scores across the ten dimensions, evaluations of IEC officials were consistently the lowest among voters in KwaZulu-Natal. Other provincial voters with relatively dissatisfied across the ten domains included those in Gauteng and Limpopo. Voters in Limpopo, KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga and Gauteng were comparatively much less satisfaction with the services of IEC officials in 2014 when compared to 2009. Those voters in the 25-34 age cohorts and those aged 60 and older as well as black voters, female voters and those with a matric education was also more dissatisfied in 2014 in comparison to 2014.

### VOTER EDUCATION

The promotion of voter education is one of the duties and functions of the Electoral Commission, as stipulated in Section 5 of the Electoral Commission Act, 1996. Given the salience of this responsibility to the Electoral Commission, a set of questions was incorporated into the survey questionnaire in order to benchmark public attitudes to the voter education campaigns and programmes that were carried out by the institution, as well as the reported utility of a range of information sources in imparting voter education.



Voters participating in the survey were initially asked about the IEC's voter education efforts in relation to the 2014 national and provincial elections. Approximately two-thirds (65%) of voters thought that the IEC's voter education was very effective, with a further quarter indicating that it was somewhat effective, and less than twentieth (3%) stating that it was ineffective. Similar attitudes were expressed in 2009. There are relatively little variations in opinion on this issue by subgroups. However certain disparities were noted between racial groups. Racial minorities, particularly white and Indian South Africans reported moderately lower mean scores on this voter education effectiveness scale than the majority. The voters in the Free State and the Western Cape gave the IEC its highest evaluation in terms of voter education. These variations in opinion do not seem to be the result of differences between urban and rural voters, who were found not be differing significantly on the voter education effectiveness scale. This is distinct with what was found during the 2011 municipal elections.

In order to adequately understand the effectiveness of the IEC's voter education campaign, it is important to comprehend the access by South Africa to following different sources of information: (i) Newspapers, (ii) Political parties, (iii) Civil society organizations, (iv) IEC website, (v) X for Democracy website, (vi) Formal and informal workshops, (vii) Pamphlets, (viii) IEC communication campaign, (ix) TV, (x) Radio, (xi) Posters/billboards, and (xii) Voter-awareness booklets. Certain sources of information were found to have relatively low levels of public access. In particular, more than two-fifths (46% and 44% respectively) of South Africans lacked access to the IEC's online education campaign portals. Most South Africans had access to conventional sources of media such as radio and TV.

Multimedia civic and democracy education via radio and television (97% and 96% respectively) were considered by the voting public as very useful as information sources about voting. Posters and billboards (94%), newspapers (91%) as well as political parties (90%) also received broadly positive evaluations. Moderately lower levels of usefulness were reported in relation to voter awareness booklets (87%), civil society organisations (80%), the IEC communication campaign (82%), and workshops (77%). Sources based on information technology such as the 'X for democracy' website (70%) and the IEC website (71%) were found to be useful by the lowest proportion of voters. Public evaluations of the usefulness of the conventional media were marginally higher for most subgroups for the 2009 elections than in the 2014 elections. This suggests that the proficiency of the IEC to utilise conventional media to diffuse information on voting procedures has somewhat declined in the last five years.

The IEC produced for the 2014 national and provincial elections an illustrated booklet that was translated and distributed in 35 different versions. Voter awareness booklets were valued foremost by voters in the Western Cape, the North West and the Northern Cape. Ratings among urban informal dwellers ranked higher than all other geographic locations,

particularly those in rural areas. Pamphlets were perceived as most useful by voters in the Gauteng and the Western Cape. More educated voters (those with a completed Matric or some secondary schooling) rated pamphlets moderately higher than less educated voters (those with no schooling or a primary education). Differences between educational attainment groups on the evaluation of pamphlets were similar to what was found for awareness booklets. The final information source that voters were asked to comment on was formal and informal workshops. Voters aged 60 years and older were less enthused about the usefulness of workshops than younger voters. A similar pattern was observed during the 2011 municipal elections. Workshops received the highest assessment from voters residing in urban settlements relative to rural locations.

## **OVERALL ASSESSMENT**

Based on an assessment of voter interviews collected on Election Day, the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) found that the voting public is overwhelmingly confident that the 2014 National and Provincial Elections were both free and fair, and provide an exceptionally favourable evaluation of the management performance of the Electoral Commission (IEC) and the conduct of officials at voting stations. The lingering challenge facing the country in future elections remains the mounting political disillusionment among the voting age public and the electoral disengagement that this is inducing.

## **B. ELECTION OBSERVER RESULTS**

### **PROFILE OF ELECTION OBSERVERS**

A total of 79 Election Observers were interviewed on Election Day. More than two-fifths (41%) of interviewed observers visited urban formal areas and about a fifth (22%) urban informal areas, a far lower share (37%) visited rural areas. Gauteng (N=24) with and KwaZulu-Natal (N=17) had the highest proportions of the election observers. On the other hand Northern Cape with (N=1) and Free State with (N=1) had the lowest. The aggregated results from the election observer surveys are presented below.

### **CHARACTERISTICS OF VOTING STATIONS**

According to election observers, most voting stations were situated within a permanent structure such within schools (56%), halls (21%) and churches (12%). A smaller proportion of voting stations were located in non-permanent structures such as tents. The observer survey found that observers indicated that most of the voting stations (84%) had seats to rest or sit. Observers also reported that the voting stations had working toilets nearby (82%

or N=54) although a far lower share had access to drinking water for people (63%). More than half of the observers (54%) felt that the voting stations had facilities for the disabled.

Most observers (78%) were 'very satisfied' with the safety and security of the voting station. Somewhat smaller proportions of the observers were very satisfied with the availability of voting material and equipment (58%) and the neatness and cleanliness of the voting station (66%). In terms of accessibility of the voting station for people with special needs the survey found that observers felt that the voting station is fairly accessible to all almost designated groups. Only a minority of the observers interviewed (29% and 38% respectively) thought that the voting station was fairly accessible for the blind or partially sighted.

### **CONSIDERATION OF VOTING PROCEDURES FOR PEOPLE WITH SPECIAL NEEDS**

A majority (63%) of observers interviewed thought that the needs of elderly people had been taken into account at the voting station to a great extent. A lower share (54%) felt that needs of persons with disabilities had been taken into account to a great extent. Observers were also asked if voting stations considered the needs of the partially sighted, blind, women and women with babies. Less than half of the observers felt that the voting station considered the needs of the blind or the partially sighted to a great extent (47% and 48 % respectively). In contrast, more than half of all observers also indicated that the voting station considered the needs of women and women.

### **DISTURBANCES AT VOTING STATIONS**

Overall, observers reported no disturbances occurring outside their voting station (79%) or inside the voting station (89%). Most of the observers (78%) also stated that there were no political party posters displayed inside the voting station. Of those who reported any disturbances outside the voting station, the most common complaint related to political campaign outside the voting stations. Some observers claimed that political party supporters were trying to pressure voters to alter their electoral choice.

### **OBSERVING ELECTORAL PROCESSES**

Observers generally agreed (76%) that in most cases party agents were allowed to observe the electoral processes within the boundary of the voting station all of the time. Political party agents, who had permission from the IEC, were allowed inside voting stations. More than half (51%) of the sampled observers reported seeing between 2 and 5 political party agents inside the voting station to observe the electoral processes.

### **ELECTORAL FREENESS AND FAIRNESS**

Observers were asked if they thought election procedures at the specific voting station were free and fair. A large proportion of observers (86%) reported that the elections were free. In

addition the majority of the election observers perceived election procedures to be fair (83%). Of those who responded “yes, with minor complications” or “not at all” and gave reasons for doing so, the reasons given included political parties campaigning to waiting voters. Other observers reported broken scanners, the length of the queues, and inappropriate arrangements made for voter secrecy.

### **IEC PERFORMANCE**

In order to gauge their evaluation of the officials employed by the Electoral Commission at the voting station, the HSRC research team instructed fieldworkers to ask observers whether they are satisfied with the way the election was organized by the Commission. The majority of the observers indicated that they were satisfied (93%). The high level of satisfaction observed can perhaps be attributed to the high level of quality observers ascribed to the performance of IEC officials. At least 80 % of observers rated officials as being very friendly (89%), cooperative (89%), patient (85%), helpful (90%), knowledgeable about election processes (81%) and interested in their jobs (81%).

### **SATISFACTION WITH ASPECTS OF THE VOTING STATION EXPERIENCE**

Electoral observers present at the voting stations on Election Day were concerned with the quality of the voting procedures. Fieldworkers asked observers about their level of satisfaction with these procedures. The majority of observers were very satisfied with the 1) safety and security of the voting station (78%), secrecy of the votes (74%), safe handling of ballots and ballot boxes (73%) and the quality of service that the IEC officials provided to the voters (72%). On the other hand, smaller proportions were very satisfied with the availability of voting material and equipment (58%) and the neatness and cleanness of the voting station (66%).

### **VOTER COMPLAINTS AND DISSATISFACTION**

This question inquires about complaints made or dissatisfactions expressed by voters on voting day, observed by election observers. It is important to note that few complaints about poor service by IEC officials (81%) were observed. In addition complaints about incorrect or problematic forms and ballot papers were rarely observed (87%). The largest share of complaints made and dissatisfaction observed by observers pertained to long queues (30%). Finally it was apparent that a small number of complaints about discrimination were observed (87%).

### **OVERALL ASSESSMENT**

Based on the assessment of election observer interviews, the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) found that there was overwhelming confirmation by observers that the 2014 National and Provincial Elections were both free and fair, and that the Electoral Commission

(IEC) performed exceedingly well in the implementation and management of the fifth National and Provincial Elections in the country.

# **1. Introduction**

The recent 2014 national and provincial elections were a watershed moment in South African electoral history, marking twenty years of majoritarian parliamentary democracy in the country. The 2014 national government Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) was commissioned by the South Africa's Independent Electoral Commission (IEC). The aim of the survey was to determine whether the recent national and provincial elections could be considered free and fair. An additional objective of the study was to better discern the performance of this important civic institution. In order to achieve these two objectives the surveys covered a series of different topics related to the experiences of voters and Election Observers, as well as evaluations of the conduct of IEC officials and conditions at the voting stations.

The initial findings from the ESS were delivered to the Electoral Commission leadership shortly after Election Day. In the determination by the Commission on whether South Africa's fifth national and provincial elections could be considered free and fair, these results were given due consideration. This report expands on those early findings, exploring in greater depth and detail a broad spectrum of different issues of interest to the IEC. These include satisfaction with voting stations and facilities, perceptions of the freeness and fairness of elections, as well as public evaluations of IEC officials. In order to contextualise the surveys from which these findings are drawn, this introductory section will briefly explore the role of national and provincial government and the mandate of the Electoral Commission. In addition this section will also outline the importance of monitoring and evaluating the electoral process, and the history of previous national elections in South Africa.

## **1.1. National and provincial government**

During national and provincial elections, South Africans elect their parliament –the legislative branch of the national government. Following the Westminster system, the leader of the political party (or as it may happen to be, coalition of parties) that wins a majority of seats in the Parliament is named as the National President who has executive authority. Voters choose not only national representatives but provincial representatives as well as –provincial governments form the second layer of governance in South Africa and their structure and powers are defined by Chapter Six in National Constitution. Each provincial government has its own legislative branch which sets South Africa apart from many other countries in the Commonwealth of Nations. The duties of the national and provincial legislative are to (i) provide democratic and accountable government; (ii) promote social and economic development; (iii) promote a safe and healthy environment; and (iv) promote the national interest in international relations. Given the duties and powers

afforded to the national and provincial legislative, the importance of national and provincial elections to the functioning of the South African government cannot be understated.

One of the cornerstones of the democratic state is the regular selection of representatives through a system of periodic elections. Elections, therefore, give representatives the authority to govern and administer the state on behalf of citizens and are the main source of legitimacy for the government. Indeed since the late 1980s, and the famed 'third wave' of democratisation, competitive elections in sub-Saharan Africa have been endowed with certain significance that confers legitimacy (Bratton & Walle 1997; Edozie 2008). Elections are the most organised method of peaceful democratic transition and, as Mozaffar (2002, p.86) states "a salient indicator of democratic consolidation, and the principal institutionalised means for large numbers of people to participate peacefully in forming and changing democratic governments afterwards". The continuous success of national elections is therefore essential to the consolidation of democratic ideals and the preservation of democratic values.

A number of scholars investigating electoral governance in emerging democracies have argued for the importance of fair and free elections on the African continent (see for example Bratton & Walle 1997; Bratton & Mattes 2001; Mozaffar 2002). The importance that free and fair elections have for the legitimacy and functioning of the democratic state translates into a deep desire on the part of both local and foreign organisations to appropriately evaluate and monitor the electoral process. Given the role that public opinion plays in securing legitimacy of the people for the government (Chu et al. 2008), it is paramount to investigate the opinions of voting South Africans to discern the success and legitimacy of the 2014 national and provincial elections. Although public perceptions about the recent elections will undoubtedly have an impact on government legitimacy, the purpose of this report is not to evaluate public satisfaction with the responsiveness and effectiveness of government or her officials and departments. Rather this report will focus solely on the electoral process and voters' experiences of that process.

## **1.2. General standards for elections**

In order to be recognised as legitimate, elections in South Africa must be considered "free and fair" –indeed freeness and fairness have become the code words for legitimacy among the international community (Edozie 2008). Although there are no shared definitions on what "free and fair" elections are, international, regional and continental institutions have begun to recognise certain criteria for declaring elections "free and fair" (Boda 2005). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights establish two central conditions for democratic elections: (i) universal and equal suffrage and (ii) a secret ballot. This emerging criteria hinge on the validity of equal suffrage, both the right to vote as well as the power of the vote (also see Bjornlund 2004;

Goodwin-Gill 2006). The criteria includes: relative absence of coercion and intimidation on electoral choice, the secrecy of the voting, the low levels of illicit destruction or tampering with ballot boxes. In order for these criteria to be met, voting stations must be open and accessible to all eligible voters, the behaviour of part representatives in and around these stations must be restrained and the reliability of the counting process must be assured.

The evolving international electoral literature indicates that, in order to ensure freeness and fairness, elections must be independently and impartially managed (Boda 2005; Goodwin-Gill 2006). The independence of the electoral commission of any national election is central to whether political actors as well as citizens recognise the legitimacy of the electoral outcome (also see Mozaffar 2002). In South Africa the body tasked with managing the elections, and thereby responsible for ensuring the transparency and impartiality of the process, is the Independent Electoral Commission (Johnson & Schlemmer 1996). The Commission was established in 1994 to administer the country's first democratic elections but it was only in 1998 that it was launched as a permanent and independent statutory body in accordance with Chapter Nine of the South African Constitution (Piombo & Nijzink 2005). The history of the Commission will be discussed in greater detail later in this introductory section.

### **1.3. The role of the Electoral Commission**

As already indicated, the responsibility to conduct and oversee the electoral process at all levels of government has been conferred on IEC by the South Africa Constitution. The mandate of the Commission is maintain the following rights as laid out by South African Bill of Rights, which are as follows:

- South Africa shall be a multi-party democracy in which all citizens shall enjoy basic political rights on an equal basis.
- Elections shall be conducted in accordance with an electoral law which shall make no distinction on the grounds of race, colour, language, gender or creed.
- Elections shall be regular, free and fair and based on universal franchise and a common voters' roll.
- All men and women entitled to vote shall be entitled to stand for and occupy any position or office in any organ of government or administration.

Taking into consideration the legal framework under which the Commission must perform its duties and functions, the Commission formulated its vision for 2018; "to be a pre-eminent leader in electoral democracy". The Commission is accountable to the National Assembly and must on an annual basis report on its activities and performance of its functions. The Commission's Strategic Plan includes strategic goals, measurable objectives, performance indicators and targets of the Commission's Programme. The Strategic Plan of the Commission is a key planning document to help the Commission establish procedures to



facilitate effective performance monitoring, evaluation and corrective action. When designing the report, the research team was cognisant of the Strategic Plan and the data presented speaks to this important planning document.

Given the mandate of the IEC and the Commission's own Strategic Plan, the electoral system (and the outcome of elections) in South Africa will be considered free and fair if (i) elections are held periodically (that is continuously and within a reasonable period of time), (ii) voting and votes were secret, (iii) all eligible voters are able to cast their ballots and (iv) the process as a whole remained transparent. The extent to which the IEC has achieved its directive during past elections may be ascertained from previous electoral monitoring, as well as research on voter experiences through surveys such as the ESS and the EOS. The Human Science Council (HSRC), for instance, conducted an Election Satisfaction Survey for the 2009 national and provincial elections as well as a similar survey for the 2011 local government elections. The results of these surveys will be compared to those of the most recent ESS in order to gauge any shifts in public opinion as it pertains to the mandate of the IEC.

#### **1.4. A brief history of government elections in South Africa**

In order to understand the context of the 2014 national and provincial elections, it is useful to review the history of such elections in contemporary South Africa. After prolonged negotiations, the first majoritarian parliamentary elections were held in 1994. In the mid-1990s the country's newly created Electoral Commission faced an unpredictable political climate characterised by conflict (at times violent) between rival groups (Johnson & Schlemmer 1996; Piombo & Nijzink 2005). The Commission also had challenges related to resourcing and staffing. The successful management of the 1994 elections by the Commission demonstrated a skilful adaption by this body to the expansion of political rights to the country's majority (also see Edozie 2008 who places the South African democratisation in the wider history of democratising Africa). Since then the IEC has administered a number of different government elections including four local government elections (1995/6, 2000, 2006, and 2011) and four national and provincial elections (1998, 2004, 2009 and 2014). The resources available to the IEC have developed and the capacity of this independent body has grown.

In the 1994 national elections a majority of the electorate voted for the African National Congress (ANC). Since this electoral victory the ANC has garnered enough votes in each subsequent successful national election to form a government. Despite this consistency in electoral outcome, the political landscape in South Africa has undergone a degree of change since the establishment of the IEC as a permanent body. New political organisations have emerged and participated relatively peacefully in national elections. A total of 185 political parties registered to vote in the 2014 elections and 135 parties contested the elections at the national level. In particular two new political parties –the Economic Freedom Front and

Agang South Africa –attracted a degree of media attention during the recent elections. The peaceful participation of these new political parties is an indication of the maturity and continuing success of parliamentary democracy in the country.

The recent 2014 national and provincial elections were characterised by efforts by the IEC to increase the pool of voters. Throughout the country there were more than a thousand community education sessions across the country as well as numerous posters, and radio and television advertisements. The youth were especially targeted and South African celebrities from the entertainment industry were featured in media campaigns designed to encourage this age cohort to vote. Campaigns on electronic social networking platforms were also launched. In order to further encourage participation, the IEC increased the number of voting stations from 20 859 (at the time of the 2011 local government elections) to 22 263. The larger number of voting stations were especially beneficial for those voters in the rural areas who in the past often had to travel long distances to participate. In the 2014 national and provincial elections, voter turnout nationally was slightly less than three-quarters (73%) of all eligible voters with 18,402,497 valid ballots cast.

### **1.5. Monitoring and evaluating elections**

In order to ensure electoral freeness and fairness in a democratic country, monitoring and evaluating mechanisms have evolved. It is important to note that these mechanisms do not perform dichotomous tests (i.e. establishing whether an election is free or unfree). Rather such mechanisms judge elections more realistically, as Boda (2005) argues, along a continuum of freeness and fairness and within context. The presence of independent observers as well as the usage of voter satisfaction surveys (which, if these surveys include a component on electoral choice, are sometimes known as exit polls) has become important forms of monitoring in both emerging and established democracies. According to Bjornlund (2004) these monitoring devices establish the legitimacy of the outcome, identify incidences of fraud and malpractice and provide appropriate feedback on the maintenance and improvement of election procedures and facilities. These two mechanisms will now be considered in more detail.

International organisations dispatched observers to oversee and monitor the 1994 South African national and provincial elections. Although international interest in South African elections has waned somewhat since the 1994 elections, foreign observers were still present in sufficient numbers during the country's recent 2014 national and provincial elections. These foreign observers were joined many of their counterparts from domestic organisations. These observers monitored the 2014 elections for the occurrence of irregularities or intimidation as well as the proper conduct of officials. The IEC supports the presence of these observers and allowed them appropriate access to voting stations. Such observation is not unique to South Africa and it is common international practice for

elections to be monitored by observers (Bjornlund 2004). The presence of observer can even, in of itself, constrain electoral officials and party representatives from electoral malpractice or corruption.

One of the most monitoring tools available to evaluation the freeness and fairness of national and provincial elections are voter satisfaction surveys. These quantitative instruments can be employed to investigate the experiences of voters and observers on Election Day. Given that the experience of voting is fresh in the mind of voters on this day, such surveys can provide an efficacious overview of the operational competency of the independent body charged with the management of the election. In particular such surveys can readily address how different subgroups –especially groups, like the elderly or the disabled, with special needs –experience the voting process. Such instruments can be highly effective in obtaining information on the incidence of intimidation on electoral choice as well as the conduct of IEC officials and political party representatives. Finally surveys of this type can tap into public perceptions of whether the elections were free and fair –an important gauge of public legitimacy for the electoral outcome.

## **1.6. Survey objectives**

### **1.6.1. Primary objective**

The primary overall objective of this study was to inform and guide the Commission in its plans, policies and practices in order to assist the Commission to implement its mandate optimally.

### **1.6.2. Secondary objectives**

The specific objective of the Election Satisfaction Survey 2014 was to determine opinions and perceptions of both voters and election observers regarding the freeness and fairness of the electoral process. A further aim of the study was to assess the operational efficiency of the IEC in managing the 2014 national and provincial elections.

## **2. Research Methodology**

### **2.1. The Research Universe**

The study was conducted among two groups of respondents, namely (i) South Africans who voted in the 2014 National and Provincial Elections and (ii) local and international election observers. The target population for the voter component of the study was individuals aged 18 years and older who were South African citizens and eligible to vote. The target population for the election observers were local and international election observers visiting the selected voting stations on Election Day.

### **2.2. Sampling**

A complex sample design was used to draw a sample of 300 voting stations from the universe of voting station (22311). The design included stratification and a multi-stage sampling procedure. The database of voting stations obtained from the IEC was merged with the Small Area Layer (SAL) database from StatsSA in order to determine the dominant population group per voting station. The sampling of the voting station was done proportionally to the dominant race type and the number of voting stations in a given province. This ensured a nationally representative sample of voting stations from where the results of the survey could be properly weighted to registered voters. At the actual voting stations, interviewers used a random sampling technique to select voters to ensure a fair representation in terms of gender, race, age, disability and any other relevant population characteristic.

Three hundred voting stations were selected countrywide and the distribution of these voting stations was proportional to the IEC's distribution of voting stations and registered voters per voting station. Only in the cases of Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal, the two provinces where almost half of South African registered voters were based, was the numbers of voting stations sampled below proportion. Conversely, the number of voting stations in the Northern Cape was over-sampled in order to generate sufficient interviews in that province to facilitate meaningful analysis. Table 1 provides the distribution of voting stations per province and the number of voters interviewed.

A 100% realisation rate was achieved, in other words all 300 selected voting stations were visited on Election Day. The number of voters interviewed was 14,177 from the expected 15,000 which represented 95% response rate. In terms of election observers, a total of 79 interviews were conducted.

At each voting station, the interviewer was instructed to interview 50 voters during the course of the day. Interviews were divided into four time slots: 07:00 - 10:30; 10:31 – 14:00;

14:01 – 17:30 and the remainder between 17:31 and closing time (21:00). This was done to ensure a spread of interviews throughout Election Day, since it was imagined that different dynamics might be at play depending on the time of day.

As was the case with previous election satisfaction surveys, few voting stations were actually visited by election observers. During training interviewers were therefore instructed to interview all observers that might visit their assigned voting station. Despite this, only 79 observers were interviewed.

**Table 1: Frequency of sampled voting stations, voters and election observers by province**

Province	Voting stations		Voter interviews			Election Observer Interviews (N)
	Sampled	Realised	Sampled	Realised	% Realised	Realised
Eastern Cape	47	47	2 350	2 023	86.1	10
Free State	26	26	1 300	1 246	95.8	1
Gauteng	39	39	1 950	1 831	93.9	24
KwaZulu-Natal	49	49	2 450	2 372	96.8	17
Mpumalanga	24	24	1 200	1 177	98.1	3
Northern Cape	20	20	1 000	865	86.5	1
Limpopo	36	36	1 800	1 791	99.5	11
North West	28	28	1 400	1 346	96.1	2
Western Cape	31	31	1 550	1 526	98.5	10
Total	300	300	15 000	14 177	94.5	79

### 2.3. Data collection instruments

Guided by the IEC, two questionnaires were developed – namely, a voter questionnaire and an election observer questionnaire (See Appendices). Except for minor changes, both questionnaires closely resembled the 2009 and 2011 Election Satisfaction Survey questionnaires. This was intentional since one of the objectives of this study was to compare results with previous election satisfaction surveys.

The voter questionnaire contained information that dealt with the following issues:

- Biographical data relating to the respondent;
- Time spent getting to the voting station and queuing to vote;
- Considerations of the voting stations and procedures for people with special needs;
- Clarity of the process to be followed inside the voting station;
- Ease of voting procedures inside the voting station;
- Knowledge of ward committee members;
- Perceived secrecy of the vote;
- Political coercion;
- Political party tolerance;
- Perception of whether poll was free and fair;

- IEC performance and conduct;
- Voter education.

The observer questionnaire dealt with the following issues:

- Profile of the election observers;
- Type of voting station structure;
- Facilities at the voting station;
- Voting station signage;
- Perceived ease of locating voting stations;
- Voting station security;
- Considerations of the voting stations and procedures for people with special needs;
- Disturbances in and outside the voting station;
- Display of party posters inside voting stations;
- Political party activities and agents inside the voting station;
- Perception of whether poll was free and fair;
- IEC performance;
- Media presence.

#### 2.4. Mode of data collection

All previous Election Satisfaction Surveys conducted by the HSRC on behalf of the IEC utilised a single data collection mode, namely paper based questionnaires. However, since the IEC requested that the final results should be available on Saturday 10 May 2014 (3 days after the election when the election results are announced) a mixed mode approach of data collection was adopted in order to speed up the data collection process. The mixed data collection mode involved using both paper based questionnaires and Personal Digital Assistants (PDAs). Two hundred and thirty of the 300 voting stations were selected for paper based interviewing and seventy voting stations were selected for interviewing using PDAs. The overarching criterion for the use of PDAs was the remoteness of location. Voting stations that were located in remote areas were selected for interviews using PDAs. PDAs were eventually used in five provinces, namely KwaZulu-Natal, North West, Free State, Eastern Cape and Western Cape.

**Table 2: Mode of data collection per province**

Province	Number of voting stations utilising paper based questionnaires	Number of voting stations utilising PDAs	Total
Eastern Cape	17	30	47
Free State	24	2	26
Gauteng	39	0	39
KwaZulu-Natal	27	22	49
Mpumalanga	24	0	24
Northern Cape	20	0	20
Limpopo	36	0	36
North West	20	8	28
Western Cape	23	8	31
Total	230	70	300

The PDAs that were used were 70 Samsung Galaxy Fame PDA's, which is an Android based mobile handset. These PDA's had RICA registered SIM cards, SDE cards and had Mobenzi Researcher software installed. For each of the SIM cards, 20Mb data bundles were available that was sufficient for the capture and transfer of completed questionnaires to the central database. The service provider who provided the PDAs tested all PDAs beforehand to ensure that the SIMs worked correctly.

The PDA's also had Rescue software installed which allowed interface with the PDA remotely via the GSM cellular network to fix any problems being experienced by the PDA or software. The team also monitored data bundles. The software Hide It Pro was installed on the PDA's. This prevented the interviewers from accessing any functions, application or widgets on the phone other than the navigational GPS function, the Mobenzi Researcher and Rescue software. Chargers were also given to the interviewers. The PDA's were able to work for a 12 hour period but intermittent charging was required. In some instances the interviewers ask preceding officers to charge the phones at the voting stations during breaks and in other cases the PDAs were charged in the cars of the supervisors. In order to make provision for any unexpected eventuality, each interviewer who was conducting interviews with a PDA also received a set of hard copies of the questionnaire. In the event of any technical glitch or difficulty, interviewers were instructed to complete the hard copies.



## **2.5. Fieldworker conduct and protocol**

Prior to the project, the IEC notified all provincial presiding officers of this project. Upon arrival at the voting station, interviewers introduced themselves to the presiding officer and informed them of the survey, the objectives and the survey protocols that were to be followed. A letter, explaining the election satisfaction survey, was also presented to the presiding officer. The presiding officer was requested to assist the interviewer with selecting an appropriate place to sit to conduct the interviews –preferably close to where voters emerge from the voting station after casting their votes while ensuring privacy of responses. If for any reason, the presiding officer or any other official refused to allow the interviewers to conduct the survey, the interviewers were instructed to conduct the interviews outside the voting station. The presiding officer was then asked to contact the IEC (the phone number was on the information letter) and iron out any miscommunication or misunderstandings.

## 2.6. Quality control

Each of the 300 selected voting stations was visited by a fieldworker on Election Day. They were instructed to be at the voting station at 07:00. Sub-supervisors were appointed to assist fieldworkers to get the voting stations on time. They were also employed to check the completeness and correctness of the questionnaires. Nine supervisors, one per province, were also appointed to oversee operations in the provinces. HSRC researchers visited selected voting stations randomly during the Election Day to verify that surveys were taking place in the prescribed manner.

## 2.7. Translations of research instruments

Even though one of the selection criteria for interviewers was that they had to be multilingual, it was important for the research instrument to be translated into different languages. The research instrument was thus translated into the nine official languages (South Sotho, Northern Sotho, Tsonga, Venda, Zulu, Afrikaans, Ndebele, Tswana, Xhosa, Afrikaans, and Swazi). This was done to ensure that the meaning of questions was retained and consistent across all languages. Fieldworkers were encouraged to carry at least one copy of each translated version. As far as possible, interviews were conducted in the interviewees' language of choice.

## 2.8. Fieldwork Training

All interviewers, sub-supervisors and supervisors attended a one day training session prior to Election Day. Training sessions were held in Gauteng, Cape Town, Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth, Umtata, Bloemfontein and Kimberley. During training everyone received a training manual as well as hard copies of the questionnaires.

Training covered a wide range of issues, including the purpose of the project, sampling and interviewing techniques, the content of the questionnaires, guidelines and suggestions on how to handle questions that were particularly difficult, sensitive or unclear, and ethical issues such as informed consent and confidentiality. Training manuals for both modes of data collection were provided. Interviewers were also issued with name tags, bibs and permission letters which they had to submit to the presiding officers on Election Day.





## 2.9. Quality control mechanisms

To ensure that the information collected was of the highest quality, the HSRC embarked on intensive training sessions with all supervisors and the fieldworkers before they were dispatched to the various voting stations. Researchers also visited the selected areas and worked with the fieldworkers for a period of time to ensure that they adhered to ethical research practices and randomly selected the respondent. The researchers also checked the procedures followed in administering the research instruments.

## 2.10. Data management

A second phase of quality control was done when the completed paper based questionnaires were submitted to the data capturers. Programmers from the HSRC supervised the capturing of the data and ensured the quality of the data. They also developed programmes for data cleaning and editing in order to minimise errors. For example, the programmers ensured that all skip question instructions were followed and also tested for logical errors. A similar data cleaning exercise was undertaken for the data captured via PDAs. Once both datasets (paper based and PDA) were cleaned, they were merged to form one dataset. This dataset was send to the statistician who weighted the data to the target population (South Africans 18 years and older). This enabled the HSRC to provide projections from the sample to the total population at the identified level of reporting. A similar data cleaning exercise was undertaken for the observer data. The observer dataset was however not weighted. These datasets were then analysed and inferences drawn from the results which are contained in this report.



## 2.11. Description of the sample of voters and observers

In order to contextualise findings, the profile of voters and observers are described in the table below. Weighted as well as unweighted numbers are portrayed.

**Table 3 Descriptive statistics of demographic variables for voters (valid percentage)**

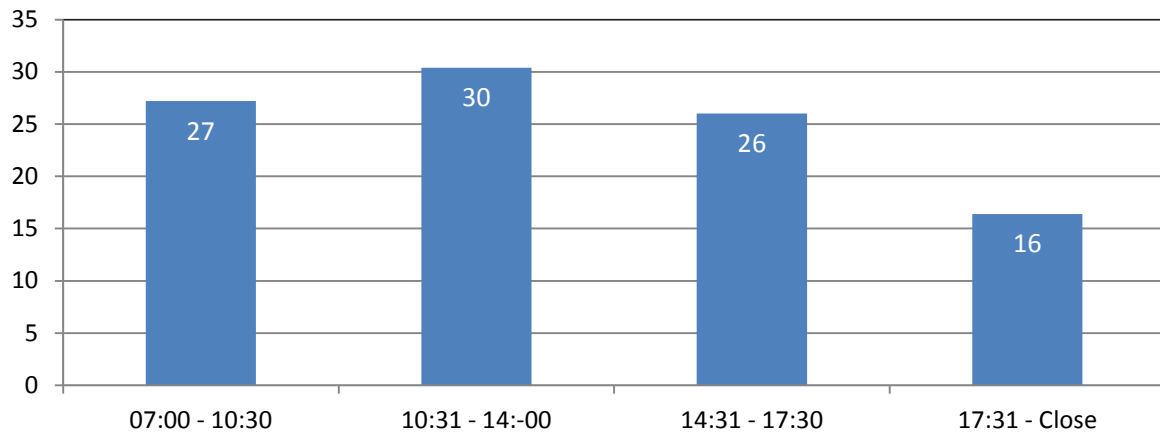
	N	%	Weighted N	Weighted %
South Africa	14 177	100.0	34 425 970	100.0
<b>Province</b>				
Eastern Cape	2 023	14.3	3 958 888	11.5
Free State	1 246	8.8	1 814 949	5.3
Gauteng	1 831	12.9	9 012 397	26.2
KwaZulu-Natal	2 372	16.7	6 684 008	19.4
Mpumalanga	1 177	8.3	2 536 408	7.4
Northern Cape	865	6.1	739 467	2.1
Limpopo	1 791	12.6	3 316 361	9.6
North West	1 346	9.5	2 283 508	6.6
Western Cape	1 526	10.8	4 079 985	11.9
<b>Geographic location</b>				
Urban formal	5 400	39.3	14 091 120	42.8
Urban informal	2 054	15.0	7 051 369	21.4
Rural formal	3 902	28.4	7 426 289	22.6
Rural traditional authority area	2 378	17.3	4 357 061	13.2
<b>Age group</b>				
18-24 years	2 013	14.2	7 130 701	20.8
25-29 years	1 777	12.6	4 841 506	14.1
30-34 years	1 621	11.5	4 242 843	12.4
35-39 years	1 500	10.6	3 745 808	10.9
40-44 years	1 444	10.2	3 433 700	10.0
45-49 years	1 220	8.6	2 714 427	7.9
50-59 years	2 004	14.2	4 101 664	11.9
60-64 years	1 038	7.3	1 659 188	4.8
65-74 years	1 010	7.1	1 615 089	4.7
75 + years	520	3.7	869 602	2.5
<b>Population group</b>				
Black	10 460	73.8	26 757 184	77.7
Coloured	1 797	12.7	3 154 316	9.2
Indian	515	3.6	911 873	2.6
White	1 384	9.8	3 544 575	10.3
<b>Sex</b>				
Male	6 326	44.8	16 280 508	48.0
Female	7 801	55.2	17 667 113	52.0
<b>Disability status</b>				
Persons with disabilities	1 354	9.8	2 989 965	9.1
Persons without disabilities	12 425	90.0	29 902 039	90.8
<b>Education level</b>				
No schooling	1 502	10.7	2 482 983	7.3
Primary	2 226	15.8	4 279 864	12.6
Grade 8-11	3 882	27.6	9 042 443	26.5
Matric / Grade 12	4 067	28.9	11 168 717	32.8
Post-matric	2 388	17.0	7 118 858	20.9

## 2.12. Distribution of voter interviews throughout Election Day

The proportions of voters interviewed were fairly evenly spread across the first three time slots (7:00 -10:30; 10:31-14:00; 14:31-17:30), but slightly fewer people were interviewed during the last time slot (17:31 - close). This might have been due to fewer people voting in

the last time slot. Despite this, the spread of interviews were sufficient to reflect the different dynamics that might have been operational at various stages. The distribution of voter interviews by time slots is presented below.

**Figure 1: Distribution of voter interviews (percent)**



### 3. Voter Interview Results

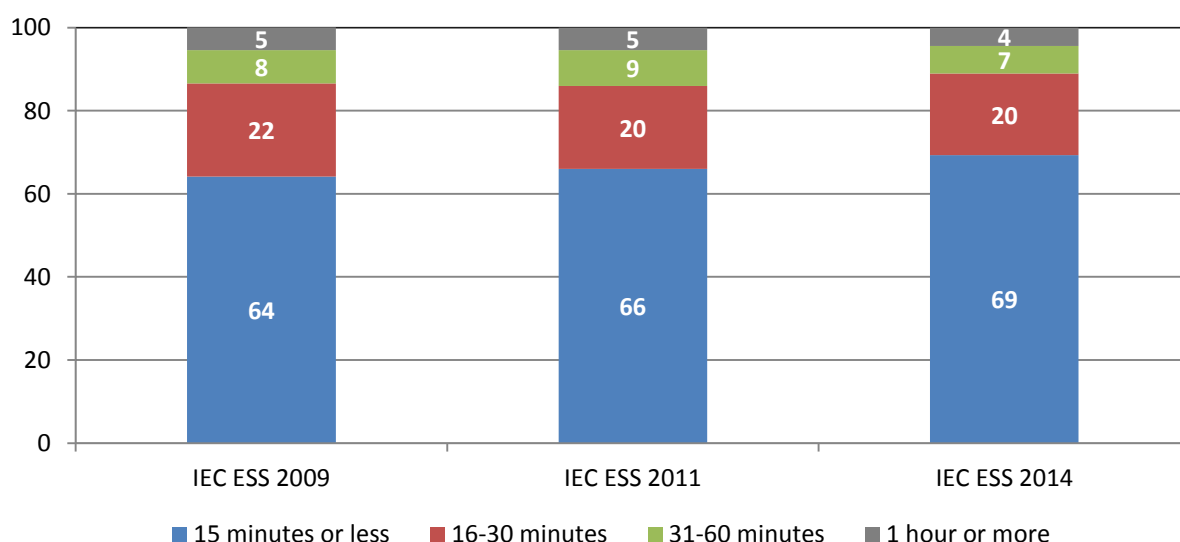
#### 3.1. General Voting Experience

Voters were initially asked a range of questions designed to provide a general sense of key components of the electoral experience on Election Day 2014. These focused on five main aspects, namely (i) the amount of time required to reach the voting station they cast the ballot at, (ii) the time spent queuing to vote outside the voting station, (iii) the perceived accessibility of the voting station to persons with disabilities or the elderly, (iv) views on IEC signage and instructions at the voting stations, and lastly (v) the perceived ease of voting procedures once they were inside the voting station. This section will explore these issues in depth by examining national results, socio-demographic differences that may underlie these, as well as trends relative to the 2009 and 2011 elections.

##### 3.1.1. Time taken to reach voting station

Voters were asked how long it took them to get to their voting stations. More than two thirds (69%) of those that voted in the 2014 national and provincial elections were able to reach their voting stations in 15 minutes or less, with 20% taking between 16-30 minutes, 7% taking between 31-60 minutes and 4% taking longer than an hour. Compared to the 2009 national and provincial elections and 2011 municipal election, there has been a small but noteworthy reduction in the time taken to reach one's voting station (Figure 2). The percentage saying it took them less than 15 minutes increased from 64% in 2009 to 69% in 2014.

Figure 2: Time taken to get to voting station, 2009, 2011 and 2014 (percent)



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2011) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2011; HSRC (2009) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2009.

In order to compare the time it took voters to get to the voting station by subgroups, mean scores were created. The mean scores were calculated by taking the midpoint of each category, thus converting it into an average time in minutes. The category “up to 15 minutes” was converted to 7.5 minutes, category “16-30 minutes” was converted to 22.5 minutes, “31-60 minutes” was converted into 52.5 minutes and “over an hour” was converted to 61 minutes. Based on these calculations, the average time taken by voters to reach their voting station was 15 minutes in 2014, which is an improvement on the 17 minute average evident in the 2009 and 2011 elections.

The row percentages and mean scores based on the time to reach the voting station measure are presented for various socio-demographic attributes of voters in Table 4 below. Provincially, voters in the Western Cape were most inclined to report that took less to 15 minutes to get to the voting station (81% fell into this category), while those in KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape had the lowest shares in this category (55% and 64% respectively). In terms of the average time taken to get to the voting station, this ranged from 11 minutes in the Western Cape to 20 minutes in KwaZulu-Natal. Significance testing in the form of Oneway ANOVA post-hoc Scheffe tests was performed on the data. The results reveal that the average time to reach one’s voting station was significantly higher in KwaZulu-Natal relative to all other provinces, while the mean time taken by Eastern Cape voters was significantly higher than all other provinces except for KwaZulu-Natal. Finally, the time taken in the Free State, Limpopo and Gauteng was longer in general than in the Western Cape. In respect of geographic type, we find that voters in informal urban settlements and rural areas report a significantly longer time to get to their voting stations than those based in formal urban areas. More specifically, those in formal urban settings took on average 13 minutes to reach their voting stations compared to 17 minutes for those in informal settlements or rural environs.

Close to three-quarters (73%) of young voters (18-24 years old) reported that they took less than 15 minutes to get to their voting station, with an average of 14 minutes. This is significantly lower than those aged 60 years and older, those aged 45-59 years and those aged 25-34 years. In terms of population group differences, black African voters were more inclined to report that it took longer to reach their voting stations than other population groups, while white voters also reported a longer average time to get to their voting stations compared to Indian and coloured voters. Nonetheless, the message is a generally positive one, with the mean time taken ranging between 11 minutes in the case of Indian and coloured voters to 16 minutes for black African voters. More than three-quarters of white voters and over 80 per cent of coloured and Indian voters took less than 15 minutes to reach their voting station. Although this figure is lower in the case of black voters (67%), suggesting there is some scope for additional improvement in accessibility of voting stations, this in no way detracts from a generally encouraging situation.

**Table 4: Time taken to get to voting station (row percent and mean score)**

	Up to 15 minutes	16-30 minutes	31-60 minutes	Over one hour	Total	Mean score (minutes)
South Africa	69	20	7	4	100	15
<b>Province</b>						
Western Cape	81	15	3	1	100	11
Eastern Cape	64	21	9	6	100	17
Northern Cape	77	15	5	3	100	13
Free State	69	20	7	3	100	15
KwaZulu-Natal	55	26	11	8	100	20
North West	74	19	4	3	100	13
Gauteng	74	17	4	5	100	14
Mpumalanga	74	18	5	2	100	13
Limpopo	69	19	7	4	100	15
<b>Geographic location</b>						
Urban formal	79	15	3	3	100	13
Informal urban settlement	62	23	8	6	100	17
Rural	63	23	9	5	100	17
<b>Age</b>						
18-24 years	73	18	5	4	100	14
25-34 years	68	21	6	5	100	16
35-44 years	70	20	6	4	100	15
45-59 years	67	19	9	4	100	16
60+ years	68	20	7	5	100	16
<b>Race</b>						
Black	67	21	8	5	100	16
Coloured	81	14	3	1	100	11
Indian	84	13	4	0	100	11
White	76	15	4	6	100	14
<b>Sex</b>						
Male	68	20	7	5	100	16
Female	70	19	6	4	100	15
<b>Disability status</b>						
Persons w/ disabilities	63	22	9	7	100	18
Persons w/o disabilities	70	19	6	4	100	15
<b>Education level</b>						
No school	58	22	12	7	100	19
Primary	59	26	9	6	100	18
Grades 8-11	68	21	7	4	100	16
Matric or equivalent	72	18	5	4	100	14
Tertiary	76	16	5	3	100	13

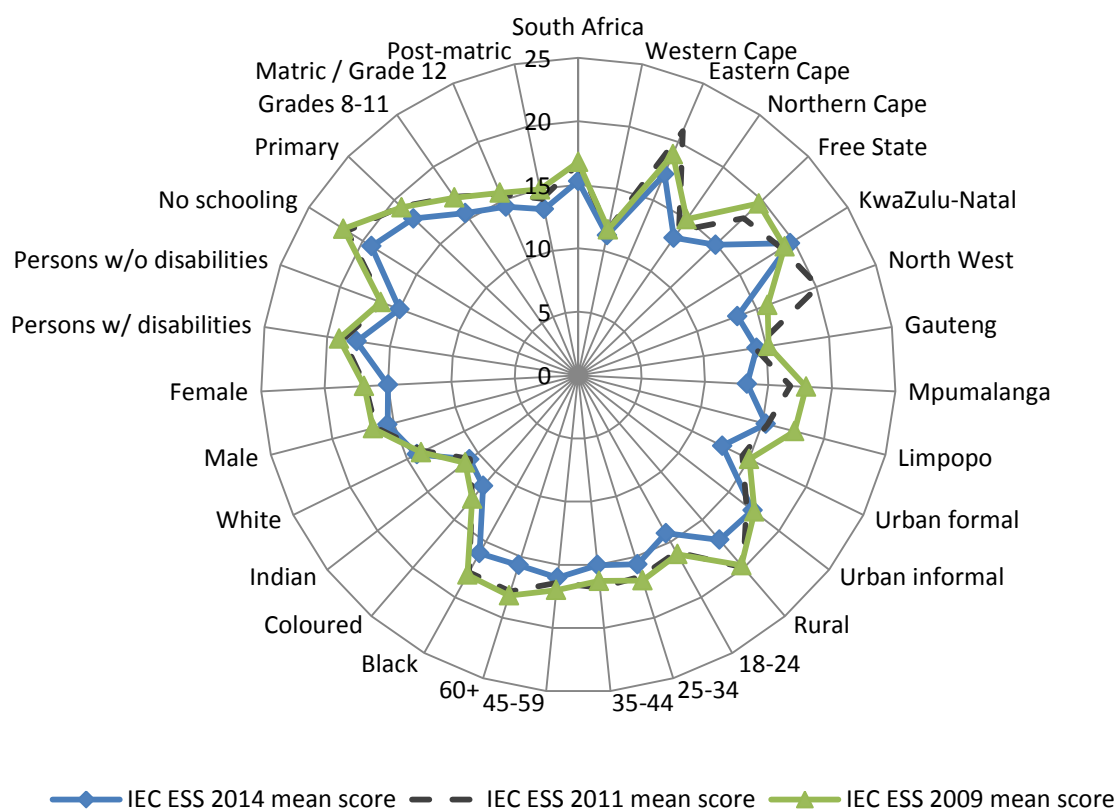
Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

Only marginal differences were found between male and female voters with regard to the time it took them to get to the voting stations. Persons with disabilities took on average a few minutes longer than able-bodied voters to reach their voting stations (15 minutes versus 18 minutes). In spite of this statistically significant difference, a considerable share of persons with disabilities (63%) was able to reach the voting station within 15 minutes. Interestingly, persons with disabilities actually took less time to get to the voting station than able-bodied people. A high proportion of persons with disabilities (67%) were also able to reach the voting station within 15 minutes. Finally, there is a distinct educational gradient underlying the reported times. Those with no formal schooling or a primary level education were significantly more likely to have longer travel times to their voting stations than those with higher educational attainment. On average, voters with no schooling took 19 minutes to arrive at their voting station in contrast to the 13 minutes it took those with a tertiary

level education. This is likely to reflect the spatial patterning of poverty and inequality in the country and the associated ease of accessing voting stations.

In Figure 3, the mean reported travelling time to arrive at voting stations on Election Day is presented across a range of voter attributes using the 2009, 2011 and 2014 rounds of surveying. This effectively allows for a closer examination of patterns of consistency and change over the last three successive elections in the country.

**Figure 3: Changes in the time taken to get to voting station by subgroup, 2009, 2011 and 2014 (minutes)**



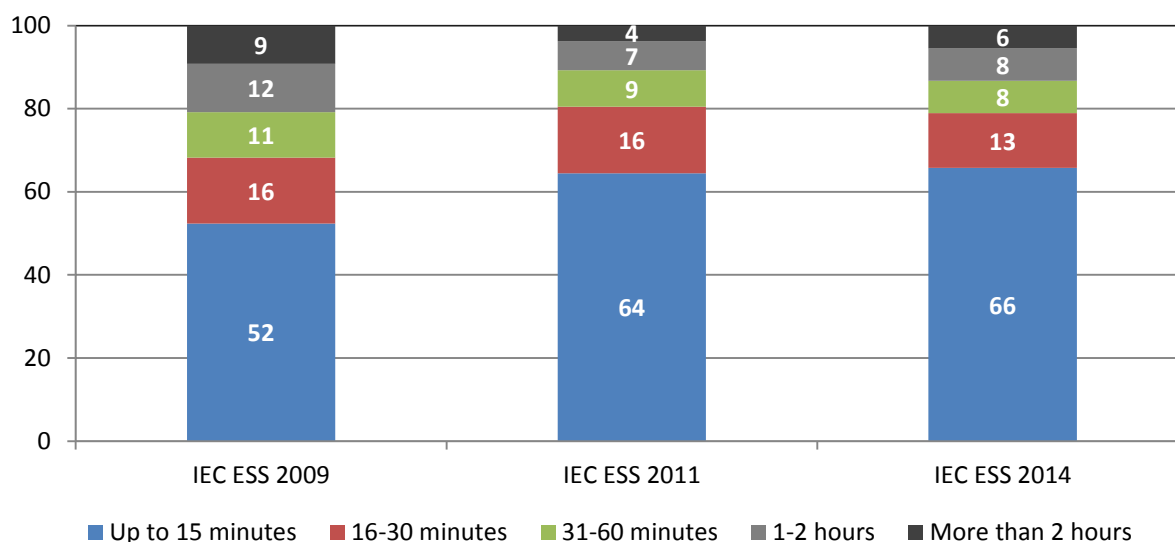
Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2011) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2011; HSRC (2009) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2009.

The results convey a remarkable degree of consistency across the three rounds of election survey. In most instances, the change between 2009 and 2014 is on average one to two minutes. The most notable exceptions are in the case of voters in the Free State and Mpumalanga, for whom there was a five minute reduction in travelling time over the interval. There was also a three minute improvement in travelling time among voters in the North West, rural areas, as well as those aged 60 years and above and voters with no formal schooling.

### 3.1.2. Queuing to vote

Apart from travelling time to the voting stations, voters were also asked to indicate the length of time they spent queuing prior to voting. Five categorised options were presented to voters, namely “up to 15 minutes”, “16-30 minutes”, “31-60 minutes”, “1 - 2 hours” and “more than 2 hours”. Approximately two thirds (66%) of voters in the 2014 national and provincial elections queued for less than a quarter of an hour, with 13% queuing between 16-30 minutes, 8% taking between 31-60 minutes, 8% waiting for between one and two hours, and 6% waiting in excess of two hours. Again it is possible to compare results to those from the 2009 and 2011 IEC Election Satisfaction Surveys (Figure 6). Between the 2009 and 2011 elections there was a demonstrable improvement in queuing time, with the percentage saying that they waited less than 15 minutes increasing from 52% to 64%. The pattern of results in 2014 remains relatively similar to the 2011 survey, with 66% of voters indicating that they had to wait less than a quarter of an hour. These gains between 2009 and 2014 are an encouraging sign from an electoral management perspective, since reducing queuing time is often cited by the electorate as an area where they feel improvements are warranted and would further encourage electoral participation (cf. IEC Voter Participation Survey 2013/14).

Figure 4: Length of time spent queuing before voting, 2009, 2011 and 2014 (percent)



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2011) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2011; HSRC (2009) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2009.

Again the categorical queuing time variable was converted so that mean queuing times could be examined. This transformation was done by using the midpoint of each category. Therefore “Up to 15 minutes” was recoded to 7.5 minutes; “16-30 minutes” to 22.5 minutes; “31-60 minutes” to 52.5 minutes, “1-2 hours” to 90 minutes; and “more than 2



hours” as 121 minutes. The corresponding change in mean voter queuing time fell from 34 minutes to 23 minutes in 2011 and remained at a similar 25 minutes in 2014.

In Table 5, socio-demographic differences in voter queuing time based on the 2014 survey are presented. At a provincial level, the highest share of voters reporting that they queued for under 15 minutes before casting their vote was reported in Limpopo (86%), and on average Limpopo voters queued for 13 minutes. By contrast, only 47% of Gauteng-based voters indicated that they queued for less than 15 minutes, with a mean queuing time of 39 minutes – three times as high as in Limpopo. The average Gauteng queuing time was significantly higher than in all other provinces, which is a situation the IEC will need to examine and consider ahead of the 2016 municipal elections and 2019 national and provincial elections. The average queuing time of 25 minutes in the Free State is also notable and significantly higher than in Limpopo, Mpumalanga, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal.

In terms of geographic type, more than eight in ten voters (83%) in rural areas took less than 16 minutes to queue before voting, with an average of 12 minutes. In urban areas, people generally had to queue longer before voting, most especially voters in informal urban settlements. On average, people in formal urban areas queued for 27 minutes before voting, while in informal urban settlements this rises to 41 minutes. The latter is due to the fact that 15% of voters in informal settlements reported that they stood in a queue for longer than two hours, with another 12% waiting for between one and two hours.

In accordance with the provisions of the IEC for special needs groups at voting stations, the 2014 ESS shows that those aged 60 years and older report significantly lower queuing times than younger age cohorts. This clearly suggests that the arrangements for elderly voters to move the head of queues are being effectively implemented. Another interesting result is that those aged 18-24 years also reported moderately lower queuing times than all other cohorts (excepting those 60 years and above). Ensuring that the electoral experiences of young voters are positive ones that are not characterised by long waiting times is likely to be instrumental in encouraging electoral engagement in future elections. There was not a significant difference in the mean time spent by male and female voters in queuing to vote, with both waiting on average for 25 minutes. However, voters with disabilities did spend less time queuing on average than able-bodied voters (20 versus 25 minutes).

In terms of other class based differences, black African and white voters tended to report longer queuing times (26 and 28 minutes respectively) than coloured or Indian voters (18 and 20 minutes respectively). The average among black voters is buoyed by the longer than average waiting times in informal settlements. In the case of coloured or Indian voters, approximately three-quarters stood for 15 minutes or less before voting. There is again a distinct educational gradient underlying queuing time, ranging from a low of 18 minutes among those with no formal schooling to a high of 29 minutes among those with a tertiary

qualification. This is likely to reflect, at least to some degree, the rural/urban difference in the length of time spent queuing before voting.

**Table 5: Length of time in queue before voting (row percent and mean score)**

	15 minutes or less	16-30 minutes	31-60 minutes	1-2 hours	More than 2 hours	Total	Mean score (minutes)
South Africa	66	13	8	8	6	100	25
<b>Province</b>							
Western Cape	67	17	7	4	5	100	22
Eastern Cape	80	8	2	4	6	100	19
Northern Cape	79	10	3	6	2	100	17
Free State	64	12	12	5	6	100	25
KwaZulu-Natal	69	14	9	5	3	100	21
North West	72	15	4	4	6	100	21
Gauteng	47	14	12	17	10	100	39
Mpumalanga	75	15	5	3	1	100	16
Limpopo	86	8	3	2	1	100	13
<b>Geographic location</b>							
Urban formal	61	15	9	11	4	100	27
Informal urban settlement	47	14	12	12	15	100	41
Rural areas	83	11	3	2	1	100	12
<b>Age</b>							
18-24 years	68	12	8	6	5	100	23
25-34 years	64	13	8	7	7	100	27
35-44 years	65	13	8	8	7	100	26
45-59 years	64	13	8	10	6	100	27
60+	71	15	6	7	2	100	19
<b>Race</b>							
Black	65	13	8	7	6	100	26
Coloured	74	13	5	5	2	100	18
Indian	73	10	9	3	5	100	20
White	61	11	11	14	3	100	28
<b>Sex</b>							
Male	66	13	8	8	5	100	25
Female	67	13	7	8	5	100	25
<b>Disability status</b>							
Persons without disabilities	70	15	6	6	3	100	20
Persons with disabilities	66	13	8	8	6	100	25
<b>Education level</b>							
No school	75	12	7	5	2	100	18
Primary	70	13	6	6	6	100	23
Grades 8-11	68	14	6	6	7	100	24
Matric or equivalent	65	13	9	8	6	100	26
Tertiary	59	13	12	11	5	100	29
<b>Time of voting</b>							
07:00 – 10:30	60	15	8	9	8	100	29
10:31 – 14:00	64	14	9	9	5	100	25
14:01 – 17:30	68	13	8	6	4	100	23
17:31 - close	76	10	6	5	4	100	19

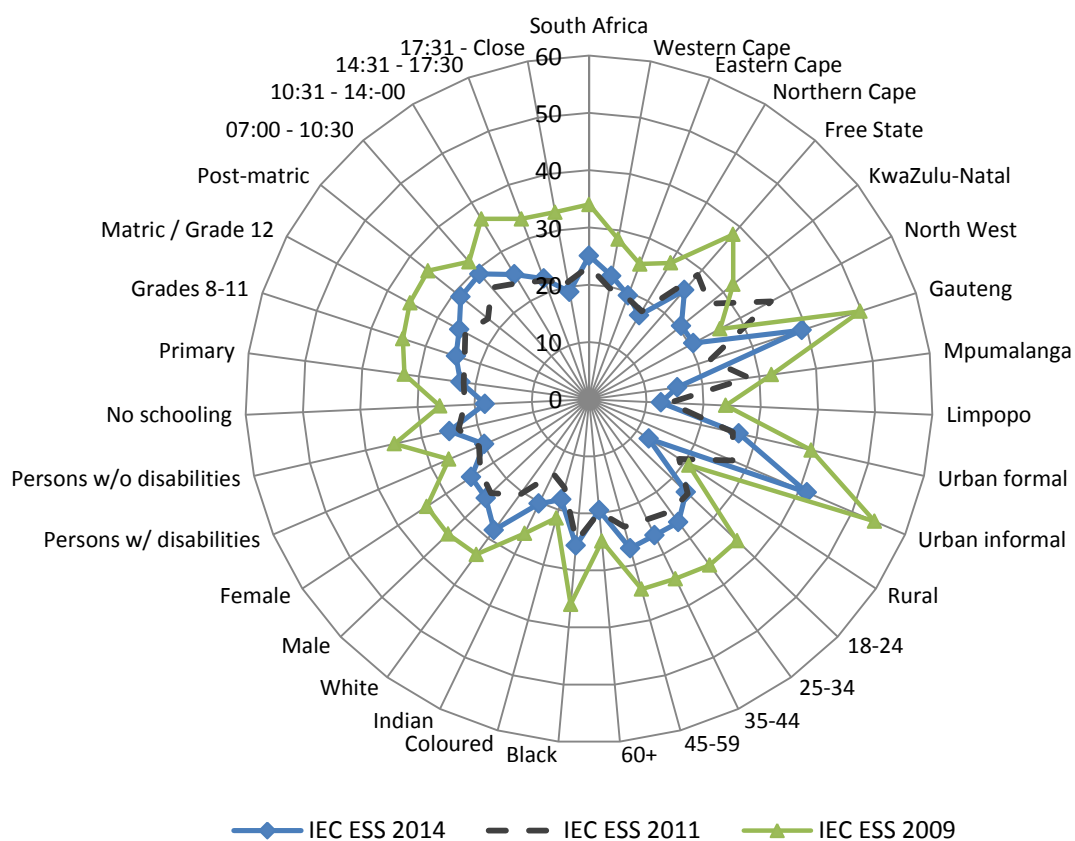
Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

As one might expect, the time that voters cast their ballot also influenced the average length of time they spent queuing. Those who went to vote in the period shortly after their voting station opened (between 07.00 and 10.30am) were likely to spend 29 minutes queuing to vote. As the day progressed, queuing times fell steadily, to the extent that the average queuing time was 19 minutes after 17.30pm.

In order to again provide a more nuanced depiction of changes in reported queuing time at voting stations,

Figure 5 presents mean scores based on a range of voter characteristics for each of the last three elections in 2009, 2011 and 2014. Compared to travelling time to voting stations, the average time voters reported that they spent in queues before voting has changed appreciably between 2009 and 2014, with discernible improvements for voters across the socio-economic divide. In most instances, the largest gains were made between the 2009 and 2011 elections, with the 2011 to 2014 period typified by stability or further gains in reducing queuing times.

**Figure 5: Changes in the length of time spent queuing before voting, by subgroup, 2009, 2011 and 2014 (minutes)**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2011) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2011; HSRC (2009) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2009.

The greatest improvements are evident in Mpumalanga and the Free State, in formal urban areas and informal settlements, among those voting in the final hours of Election Day (after 17.30pm), and among young voters aged 18-24 years. At the other extreme, the smallest observed advances in queuing time were found among those voting in the early hours of Election Day (07.00-10.30am), among coloured, white and Indian voters, in North West province and the Eastern Cape, and among voters aged 60 years and older. In the latter

case, this may be due to the fact that the elderly are prioritised in voting procedures and are able to move to the head of queues at voting stations. As such they already had the lowest reported queuing times of any age group in 2009 and 2011. In some instances, there has been a fluctuating tendency despite overall gains, with patterns in the 2009-2011 period reversing to some degree in the 2011-2014 interval. This is particularly distinct in the cases of Gauteng and North West, in informal urban settlements, and among white and Indian voters.

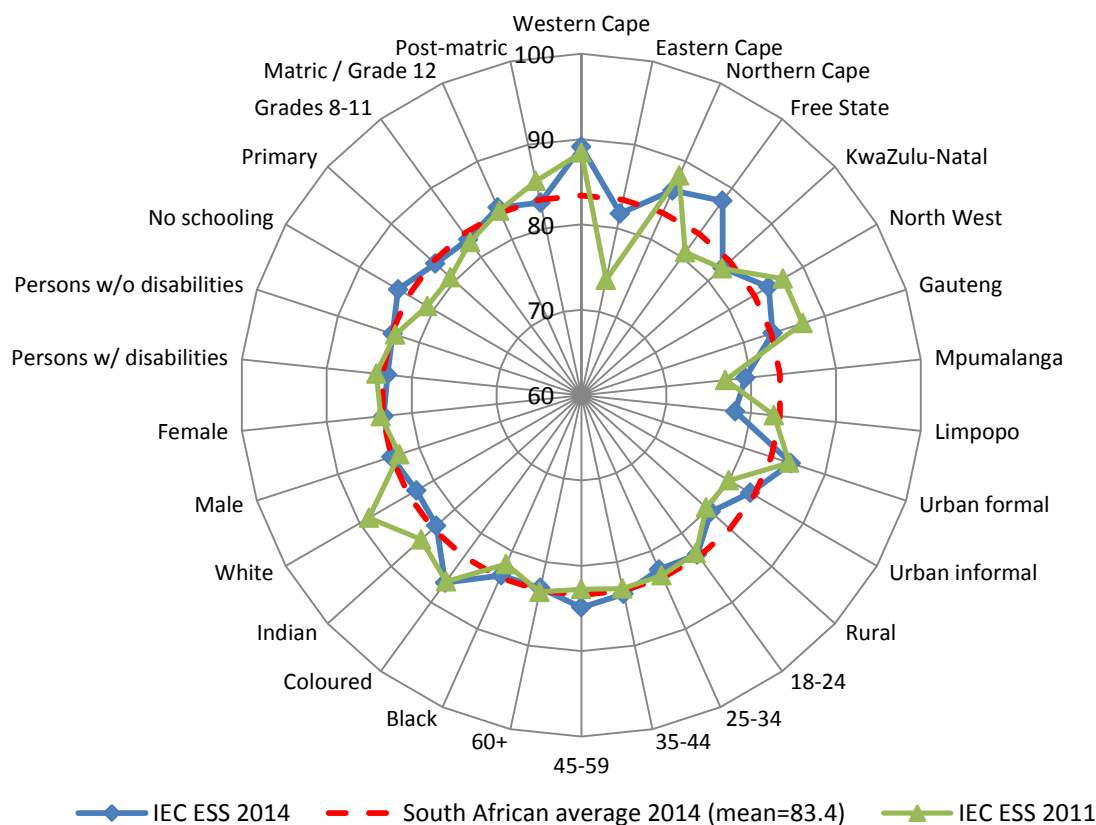
### **3.1.3. Accessibility of voting stations to persons with disabilities and the elderly**

Voters were asked how accessible they felt voting stations were to persons with disabilities or the elderly, with responses captured on a five-point scale ranging from “very accessible” (coded as 1) to “not at all accessible” (coded as 5). More than half (59%) said that the voting stations were very accessible to persons with disabilities and the elderly, and a further 27% said that the voting stations were accessible. In five per cent of cases, voters felt the voting stations were not very accessible, while four per cent rated them as not accessible at all to voters with special needs. The rest (5%) were undecided or uncertain about the issue. These results are virtually indistinguishable from those reported in the 2011 Election Satisfaction Survey. Direct comparison with the results from the 2009 survey cannot be undertaken as the question was coded differently.

In order to establish whether perceptions of accessibility of voting stations to persons with disabilities and the elderly varied by subgroup, mean accessibility scores were compared. For interpretive ease, the response options for the scale were reversed so that larger scores signified a more positive view on disabled access, and then transformed into a 0-100 scale, with 0 representing “not at all accessible” and 100 “very accessible”. The national mean accessibility score in the 2014 survey was 83.4, compared to 83.1 at the time of the 2011 municipal election.

As evident from Figure 6, the highest mean scores in terms of the accessibility of voting stations to persons with disabilities or the elderly were reported in the Western Cape (89.1) and Free State (88.1). Conversely, the lowest mean scores were evident in Limpopo and Mpumalanga (78.1 and 79.3 respectively). Statistical tests reveal that the ratings offered by voters in Limpopo were significantly below all other provinces excepting Mpumalanga. Similarly, the average views of Mpumalanga based voters on accessibility to special needs groups were significantly more circumspect than voters in all other provinces apart from Limpopo, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal. Comparing the 2011 and 2014 survey results, the largest improvements in mean accessibility scores were evident among voters in the Eastern Cape and the Free State, whereas notable reversals were apparent in the cases of Limpopo and Gauteng.

**Figure 6: Accessibility of voting stations to people with special needs, 2011 and 2014 (scaled mean scores)**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2011) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2011.

While generally positive evaluations of the level of accessibility of voting stations to persons with disabilities or the elderly were offered across different geographic locations, the results suggest that voters in formal urban areas were more inclined to believe this than voters in informal urban settlements (85.8 versus 82.9). In turn, both these groups of voters were more likely to report higher accessibility scores on average than rural voters (80.4). The accessibility scores increased modestly for all geographic types, though more notably in the case of voters in informal settlements.

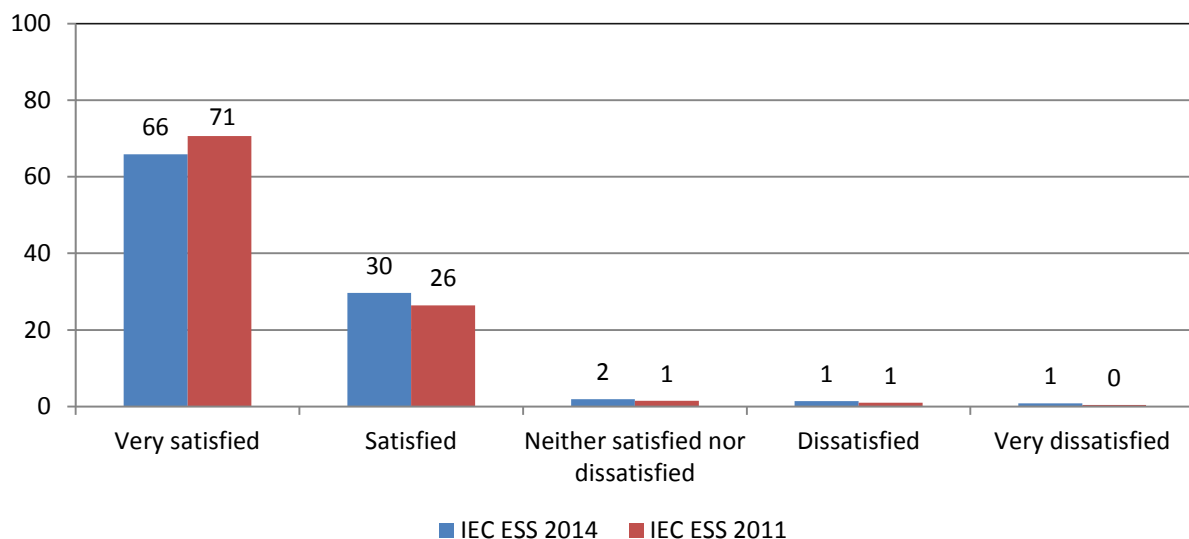
No discernible differences in viewpoint were evident on the basis of age or gender. With respect to population group differences, coloured voters were significantly more likely to believe that the voting stations were accessible to special needs groups than black African, Indian or white voters. In terms of changes in evaluation since the 2011 survey, the most notable difference is the lower accessibility rating provided by white voters, though again it is important to note that the overall assessment remains a broadly positive one. No significant differences were present in respect of disability status or educational attainment. This stands in contrast with the 2011 results, according to which disabled voters offered

lower accessibility scores, and there existed a modest positive association between education and views on voting station accessibility to special needs groups. The absence of statistically significant differences on the basis on age or disability status is noteworthy since it demonstrates that special needs groups tend to voice confidence in the efforts of the IEC in ensuring that voting stations suitably accommodate their needs.

### 3.1.4. Satisfaction with voting station signage and instructions

At each voting station the IEC is expected to ensure that there is appropriate signage and instructions indicating where voters are supposed to go to cast their ballot and what the process entails on Election Day. This is an important element in easing the voting process. In order to determine satisfaction with the signage and instructions at voting stations, voters were asked to indicate on a five point scale, ranging from “very satisfied” to “very dissatisfied”, how they felt about the instructions and signage. This question was included in both the 2011 and 2014 Election Satisfaction Surveys, but not in the 2009 survey. As can be seen from Figure 7 below, around two-thirds (66%) of voters in the 2014 national and provincial elections were very satisfied with the signage and instructions, with an additional 30 per cent reporting that they were somewhat satisfied. A mere two per cent were neutral and an equivalent share voiced dissatisfaction regarding signage and instructions at their voting station.

**Figure 7: Satisfaction with voting station signage and instructions, 2011 and 2014 (percent)**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2011) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2011.

Comparing these findings with those from the 2011 survey, the picture is relatively similar, with less than five per cent voicing neutrality or discontent, and a marginally higher share

expressing strong levels of contentment. These results suggest that voters are pleased with the manner in which the IEC is handling signage and instructions, with only a marginal share raising concerns in this regard. In future elections, in order to ensure that there is not further slippage in levels of approval, the IEC will need to strive to ensure that there is consistently high visibility of signage that indicates the location of the voting station and where voters need to go to cast their vote once inside the perimeter of the voting station.

While the national distribution of results is highly skewed towards the positive end of the satisfaction scale, it is nonetheless important to examine whether subtle variations exist in this aspect of the electoral experience. To this end, Table 6 provides cross-tabulations on the satisfaction scale based on the socio-demographic characteristics of voters. In addition, mean satisfaction scores are provided, using a reversed scale that was transformed into a 0-100 score, so that higher scores representing greater satisfaction ratings. In generating the mean scores, “don’t know” responses were treated as missing data.

At a provincial level, voters in Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo and the Eastern Cape tended on average to report moderately lower satisfaction scores relative to voters in the other five provinces. As already mentioned, the observed differences tend to be at the upper margins of the five-point scale, with the share of voters that were “very satisfied” with electoral signage and information in Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo and the Eastern Cape was around ten per cent or more lower than is the case among voters in the remaining provinces. However, if one combines the “very satisfied” and “satisfied” categories, we find that provincial variation in total satisfaction with signage and information is relatively circumscribed, ranging between 93 per cent in KwaZulu-Natal and 99 per cent in Mpumalanga. As for geographic type, those in formal urban areas were slightly more positive in their evaluations of signage and information than those in informal settlements or rural areas.

Negligible differences in satisfaction scores were present on the basis of age group, gender and disability status. There were more discernible differences when examining the results by class related measures. Black African and white voters tended to be less satisfied than coloured and Indian voters, while voters with a tertiary level education were less contented than voters with lower educational attainment. Modest differences in satisfaction were evident based on time of voting, with those voting in the initial hours of the opening of voting stations (07.00-10.30am) were somewhat less satisfied with signage and information than those who presented to vote in the afternoon sessions (after 14.30pm).

**Table 6: Satisfaction with the signage and instructions at the voting stations (row percentage and mean)**

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither nor	Dis-satisfied	Very dissatisfied	Don't know	Mean score
South Africa	66	30	2	1	1	0	90
<b>Province</b>							
Western Cape	77	21	1	0	0	0	94
Eastern Cape	62	34	2	1	0	0	89
Northern Cape	73	23	2	1	0	0	92
Free State	80	17	2	1	0	0	94
KwaZulu-Natal	64	30	3	2	1	1	89
North West	72	25	1	1	0	0	92
Gauteng	59	35	2	2	1	0	87
Mpumalanga	71	28	1	0	0	0	92
Limpopo	59	39	1	1	0	0	89
<b>Geographic location</b>							
Urban formal	69	27	2	2	1	0	90
Informal urban settlement	65	28	2	1	2	1	89
Rural, trad. authority areas	62	35	2	1	0	0	89
<b>Age</b>							
18-24 years	64	31	2	2	1	1	89
25-34 years	64	31	2	2	1	1	89
35-44 years	67	28	2	2	1	0	90
45-59 years	67	29	1	1	1	0	90
60+	69	28	2	0	1	0	91
<b>Race</b>							
Black	65	31	2	1	1	0	90
Coloured	76	22	2	1	0	0	93
Indian	67	31	2	1	0	0	91
White	64	29	4	2	1	0	88
<b>Sex</b>							
Male	65	31	2	1	1	0	90
Female	67	29	2	1	1	0	90
<b>Disability status</b>							
Persons without disabilities	66	30	2	1	0	0	90
Persons with disabilities	66	30	2	1	1	0	90
<b>Education level</b>							
No school	66	32	1	1	0	0	91
Primary	65	32	2	1	0	1	90
Grades 8-11	67	29	1	2	1	0	90
Matric or equivalent	67	29	2	1	1	0	90
Tertiary	63	30	3	3	1	0	88
<b>Time of voting</b>							
07:00 - 10:30	66	29	2	2	1	0	89
10:31 - 14:-00	64	32	2	1	0	0	89
14:31 - 17:30	66	31	1	1	0	0	90
17:31 - Close	69	27	2	1	0	0	91

Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

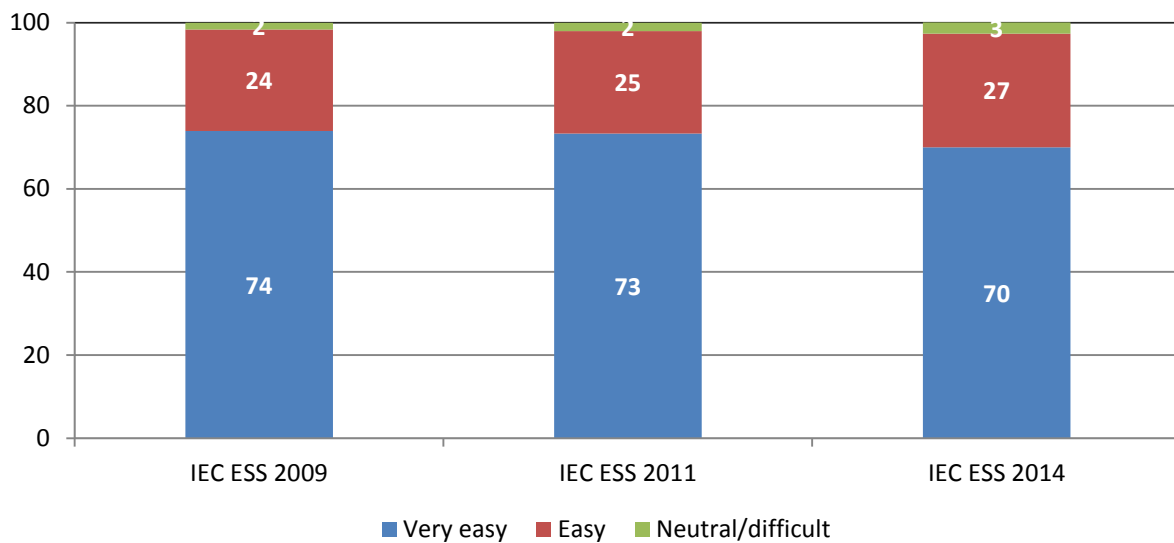
### 3.1.5. Perceived ease of voting procedures inside voting stations

One of the important aspects of the electoral management of the IEC is making sure that the actual procedures that voters need to follow in order to cast their ballot once entering the voting station is both straightforward and efficient. Voters were therefore asked to assess the level of ease or difficulty of voting procedures on Election Day 2014, with



response options coded using a five-point scale ranging from “very easy” to “very difficult”. It is apparent from Figure 8 that close to three-quarters of voters (70%) thought that the voting procedures inside the voting station was “very easy”, with a further quarter (27%) characterising the process as “easy”. Less than one per cent of voters stated that the procedures inside the voting station were either “difficult” or “very difficult”, while two per cent were neutral. The same question was posed to voters in both the 2009 and 2011 elections. In common with other aspects of the general voting experience, we find a broadly similar pattern of results across the three elections, though the share indicating that the voting procedures were “very easy” is slightly lower in 2014 relative to the two preceding elections.

**Figure 8: Perceived ease of voting procedures inside voting stations, 2009, 2011 and 2014 (%)**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2011) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2011; HSRC (2009) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2009.

The question about the perceived ease of voting procedures inside the voting station was disaggregated by key demographic variables and the results are portrayed in the table below. For the analysis a mean score was calculated. The response options were recoded to represent an easy to difficult score ranging from 1 = “very difficult”; 2 = “difficult”; 3 = “neither/nor”; 4 = “easy” and 5 = “very easy”. “Don’t know” options were coded as missing data. The score was then converted to a 0-100 scale. Therefore, the higher the mean score, the easier the procedures were perceived to be.

When the ease of the voting process was disaggregated by key demographic variables, it was evident that voters from the Free State (57%) and Eastern Cape (61%) had the lowest proportions of voters that found the voting procedure “very easy”. KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng (both 78%) had the highest proportion of voters that found the process “very easy”.

**Table 7: Perceived ease of voting procedure (row percent and mean score)**

	Very easy	Easy	Neither nor	Difficult	Very difficult	Total	Mean score (0-100)
South Africa	70	27	2	1	0	100	92
<b>Province</b>							
Western Cape	78	21	1	0	0	100	94
Eastern Cape	71	28	1	1	0	100	92
Northern Cape	80	17	2	1	0	100	94
Free State	85	14	1	0	0	100	96
KwaZulu-Natal	67	28	4	0	0	100	91
North West	69	29	1	1	0	100	91
Gauteng	63	33	2	1	0	100	89
Mpumalanga	74	25	0	0	0	100	93
Limpopo	65	33	0	1	0	100	91
<b>Geographic location</b>							
Urban formal	71	26	2	1	0	100	92
Informal urban settlement	69	27	3	0	0	100	91
Rural	68	31	1	1	0	100	91
<b>Age</b>							
18-24 years	68	29	2	1	0	100	91
25-34 years	69	28	2	1	0	100	92
35-44 years	72	26	1	0	0	100	92
45-59 years	71	27	2	0	0	100	92
60+	71	27	2	0	0	100	92
<b>Race</b>							
Black	69	28	2	1	0	100	91
Coloured	77	21	1	0	0	100	94
Indian	75	23	2	0	0	100	93
White	69	27	3	1	0	100	91
<b>Sex</b>							
Male	70	28	1	1	0	100	92
Female	69	28	2	1	0	100	92
<b>Disability status</b>							
Persons without disabilities	68	29	3	1	0	100	91
Persons with disabilities	70	28	1	1	0	100	92
<b>Education level</b>							
No school	67	29	3	1	0	100	91
Primary	69	29	2	1	0	100	91
Grades 8-11	71	27	1	1	0	100	92
Matric or equivalent	71	26	1	1	0	100	92
Tertiary	68	29	3	1	0	100	91

Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

In terms of geography, residents in urban formal areas had the highest proportion of voters that found the voting process very easy (75%). When disaggregated by age, it was evident that the proportions of voters who found the voting process very easy declined as age increased, with 76% of voters in the 16-24 years age category finding it “very easy” and only 70% of the voters in the 60+ age category finding it “very easy”.

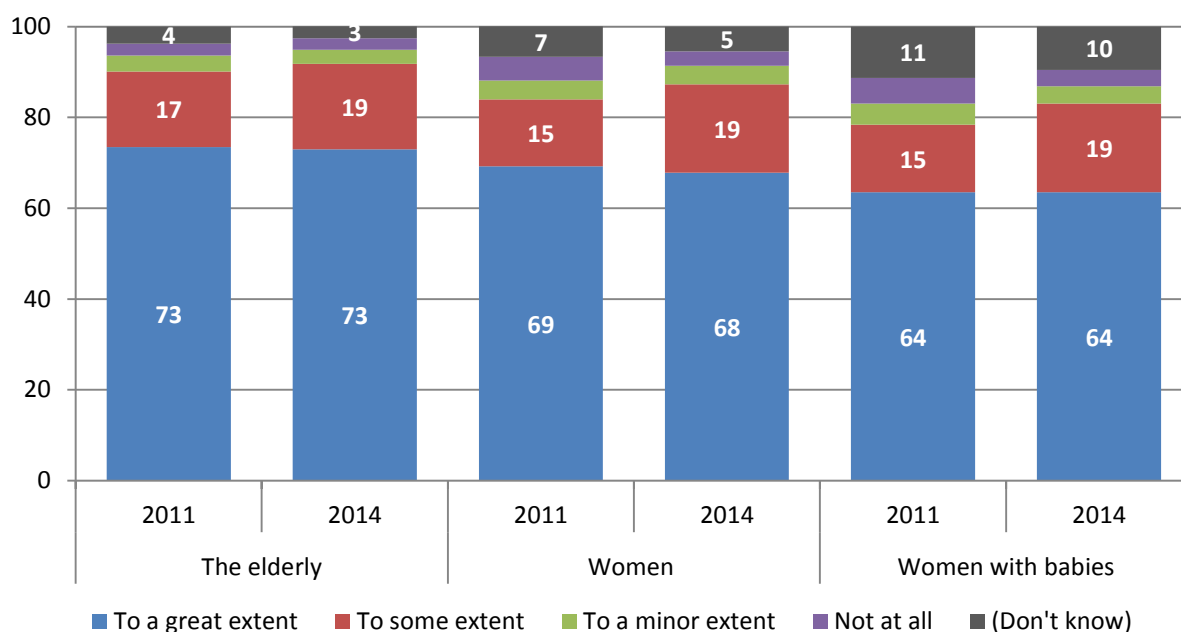
Asians had the highest proportion of voters who found the process very easy (77%), followed by whites (74%), blacks (73%) and coloureds (72%). No significant differences were found between males and females. Persons with disabilities (74%) were marginally more inclined to think that the process was very easy, compared to persons without disabilities

(71%). As could be expected, the perceptions about the ease of the voting process increased as education level increased, with only 65% of people with no schooling thinking that the process was “very easy” compared to 75% of voters with a tertiary qualification.

### 3.2. Consideration of voting procedure for people with special needs

Voters were asked to consider the extent to which they felt that voting procedures at the voting station effectively took into account the needs of the elderly, persons with disabilities, the partially-sighted, the blind, women and women with babies. Most South African voters felt that the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) planners and staff had addressed the special needs of vulnerable groups. One of the groups that IEC felt was particularly vulnerable was elderly persons (see Figure 9). Almost three-quarters (73%) of the voting population felt that the voting procedures considered the needs of the elderly to a great extent. Nearly a fifth (19%) thought that voting procedures considered the needs of the elderly to some extent, with less than a tenth (6%) stating that it considered the needs to a minor extent or not at all. Almost a twentieth (4%) of voters did not know if the IEC took into consideration the special needs of the elderly.

**Figure 9: Consideration of voting procedures for the elderly, women, and women with babies, 2011 and 2014 (%)**

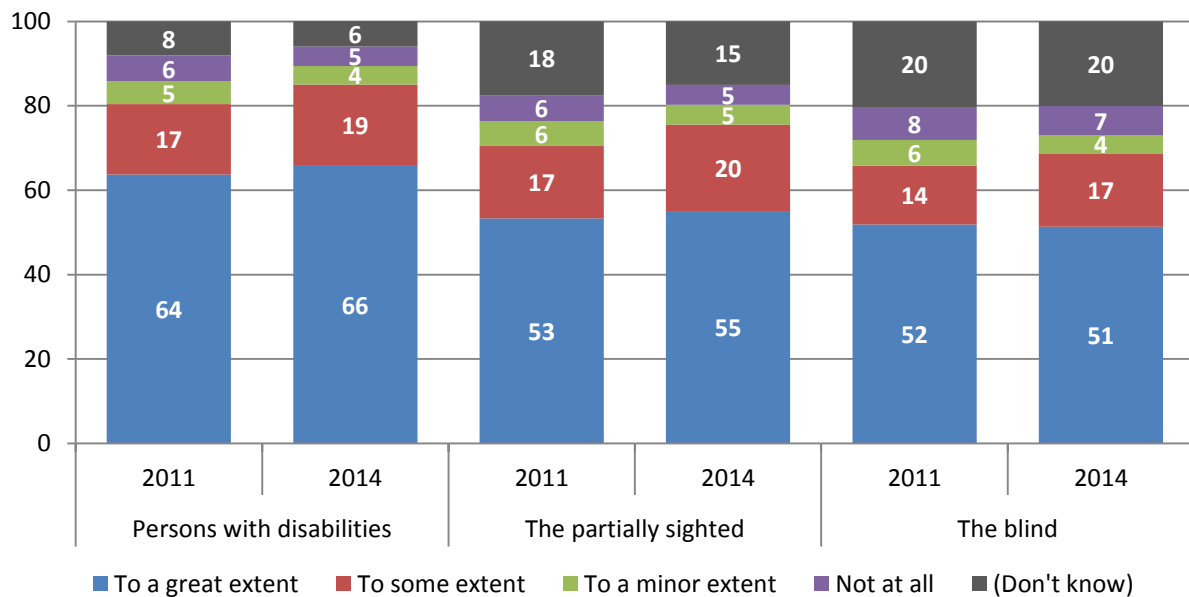


Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2011) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2011.

As part of its electoral management mandate, the IEC are tasked with ensuring that voting procedures give due consideration to women and women with babies. Around two-thirds (68% and 64%) of the South African voting population were confident that the special needs

of these groups were being addressed. However a large minority of this population –almost a fifth (19%) –thought that the needs of women and women with babies were only being addressed to some extent. A much smaller minority – nearly a tenth (9% and 8%) – believed that the needs of women and women with babies were being taken into consideration. It is apparent that the overwhelming majority of South African voters are content with the consideration given to women and women with babies by the IEC.

**Figure 10: Consideration of voting procedures for people with disabilities, the blind and the partially-sighted, 2011 and 2014 (%)**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2011) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2011.

On other special needs categories, voter consensus is less skewed in a positive direction. More than two-thirds (66%) of the voting population felt that the needs of persons with disabilities were considered to a great extent (see Figure 9). A significant share of the public (23%) felt that voting procedures only took into consideration to some extent or to a minor extent. This should be concerning to the IEC. However, on the other, only a twentieth of voters believed that the special needs of person with disabilities were not addressed at all. A small minority (6%) were unable to answer this question, giving a ‘did not know’ response. These reported opinions are similar in nature to the opinions expressed by voters in the 2011 municipal elections.

The voter population is more divided on the special needs of the partially-sighted and the blind. More than half (55% and 51%) this population believed that the needs of the partially-sighted and the blind were taken care of to a great extent. A considerable minority (20% and 17%) felt that the IEC officials had only taken the special needs of the partially-sighted and the blind to some extent. Approximately a tenth (10% and 11%) alleged that the special

needs of these groups were only taken into account to some minor extent or not at all. It should also be noted that a substantial share of the voting population were uncertain whether the needs of these groups were being taken into account and gave a 'did not know' response.

In order to establish a comparative scale for those questions included in Figure 9 and Figure 10, a mean score was developed which calculated the extent to which people felt that the needs of the various special needs groups were considered. The response options were recoded to represent scores ranging from 1 = "not at all"; 2 = "to a minor extent"; 3 = "to some extent"; 4 = "to a great extent". "Don't know" options were coded as missing data. The score was then converted to a 0-100 scale. A high score therefore indicated that the needs of the groups were being considered, and the creation of these scores (as well as an overall combined score, which is labelled the Special Needs Index) allows subgroup analysis to be effectively conducted in relation to this issue.

As can be observed from the Table 8, there were not observed to be significant divergences between different subgroups in South Africa. In terms of geographic location, fewer voters in rural areas thought that the needs of the vulnerable groups were addressed when compared to other areas, particularly urban formal areas. Although this level of variation is relatively low, rural dwellers were especially concerned about the needs of the elderly and the partially-sighted and the blind. A similar finding was observed when voters were asked about consideration of voting procedures by the IEC for people with special needs. This geographic variation may help explain variations between provinces in the country. The mean scores of the Special Needs Index for Eastern Cape residences were, for instance, the lowest out of all nine provinces. Local conditions may also explain variations. The Northern Cape, Mpumalanga and the Western Cape were found to have moderately higher levels of satisfaction with respect to the consideration given to such special needs groups.

Low levels of variations in opinion on the consideration of voting procedures for people with special needs were observed between genders. Interestingly women were not found to be more concerned about the special needs of women and women with babies when compared with men. In terms of the needs of the disabled, variation between voters without disabilities and voters with disabilities were (relative to other subgroups in Table 8) marginal. Interestingly persons with disabilities were not statistically different in their opinion on considerations of the disabled, the blind and the partially sighted when compared to those without disabilities. This stands in contrast to what was observed during the 2011 municipal elections when voters with disabilities (M=83) were more inclined than able-bodied persons (M=86) to believe that the electoral procedures had not considered the needs of the disabled.

**Table 8: Considering the needs of people with special needs (mean score, 0-100 scale)**

	Elderly	Persons with disabilities	Blind/partially sighted	Women/Women with babies	Special Needs Index
South Africa	89	85	81	86	85
<b>Province</b>					
Western Cape	91	86	83	86	87
Eastern Cape	85	79	74	87	81
Northern Cape	87	86	85	89	87
Free State	91	87	84	87	86
KwaZulu-Natal	87	84	79	82	82
North West	87	86	82	88	86
Gauteng	89	86	82	85	85
Mpumalanga	92	87	85	88	88
Limpopo	89	86	83	89	86
<b>Geographic location</b>					
Urban formal	90	85	82	85	85
Informal urban	89	89	82	86	86
Rural	86	82	79	85	83
<b>Age</b>					
16-24 years	88	84	80	86	84
25-34 years	88	84	80	86	84
35-44 years	89	86	82	86	85
45-59 years	89	87	83	87	86
60+	90	85	83	87	86
<b>Race</b>					
Black	89	86	82	87	86
Coloured	88	83	82	85	84
Indian	87	84	76	80	81
White	86	82	76	82	81
<b>Sex</b>					
Male	89	84	80	86	84
Female	89	86	82	86	85
<b>Disability status</b>					
Persons without disabilities	89	85	81	86	85
Persons with disabilities	89	85	81	86	85
<b>Education level</b>					
No school	91	86	83	89	87
Primary	88	83	80	86	84
Grades 8-11	89	85	81	87	86
Matric or equivalent	89	86	82	86	85
Tertiary	88	85	81	84	84

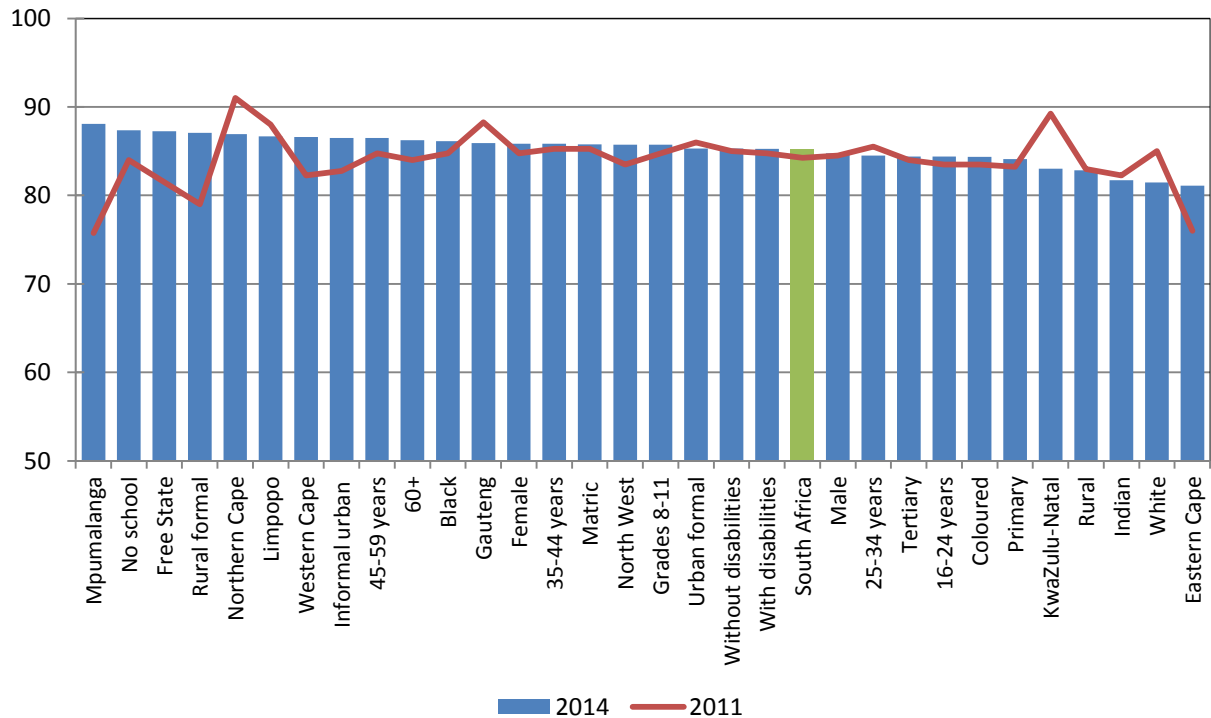
Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014

Notes 1: A high value indicates a high level of agreed that the special needs of vulnerable groups were being taken into account. 2: Figures shaded in green indicate agreement levels above the national average while figures in red represent satisfaction levels below the national average.

Notable variations were observed, however, between educational attainment subgroups. Those without any formal education were found to be more satisfied than other educational attainment subgroups. Interestingly the better-educated (particularly those with a post-matric education) were found to be more dissatisfied. Levels of variations were observed between age groups, particularly regarding the elderly, persons with disabilities, the blind and the partially sighted. Younger South Africans were found to be moderately more concerned about the consideration of voting procedures for these groups than their older counterparts. Interestingly no statistically different variations on considerations of the

elderly were found for age groups in South Africa. Racial differences were noted, with racial minorities being more dissatisfied with the voting procedures for people with special needs. White and Indian South Africans were found to be relatively more dissatisfied than the black majority.

**Figure 11: Special Needs Index across selected subgroups between 2011 municipal elections and 2014 national elections (mean scores)**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2009) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2011.

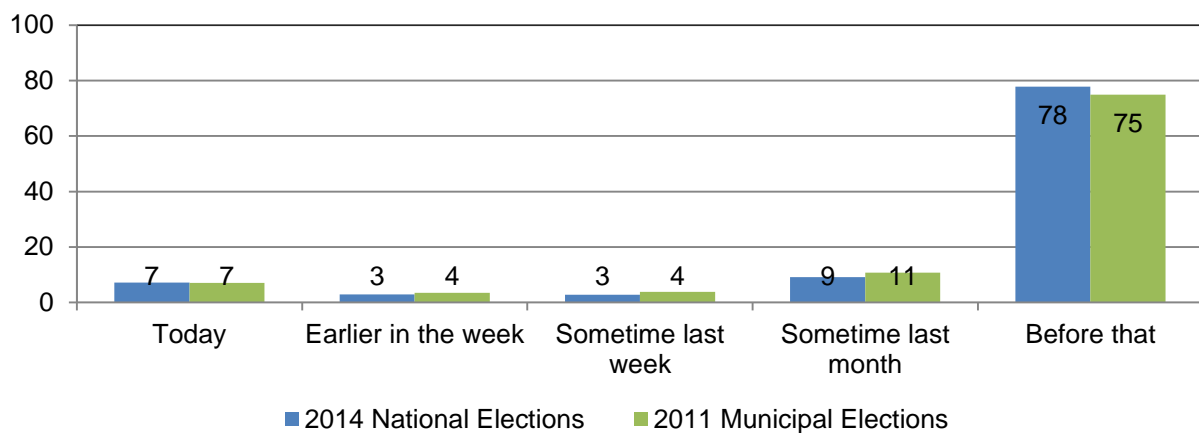
Note: The Special Needs Index was created by summing together four scales (elderly, persons with disabilities, blind/partially sighted and women/Women with babies) together. This combined score was converted into a '0-100' index with '100' representing '100' indicates a highest level of agreed that the special needs of vulnerable groups were being taken into account and '0' the lowest.

If the Special Needs Index developed for this report is compared across selected subgroups between 2011 municipal elections and 2014 national elections, it is apparent there is strong degree of comparability between the two elections. The opinions of those voting in the 2011 municipal elections were highly similar to those voting in the 2014 national election. There are marginal discrepancies noted, however, with voters in Mpumalanga, the Free State were more satisfied in 2014 than 2011 with the consideration given by the IEC to voters with special needs. On the other hand, interestingly, voters in KwaZulu-Natal, Northern Cape and (to a lesser extent) Limpopo as well as Gauteng were less satisfied with the consideration given by the IEC in 2014 when compared to 2011. On the whole however it is evident that all subgroups are generally satisfied with the consideration given by the IEC to people with special needs.

### 3.3. Timing of decision on political party of choice

Voters were asked to indicate when they finally decided whom to vote for in the elections. They were given the options of “today”, “earlier this week”, “sometime last week”, “sometime last month” or “before that”. Party loyalty seems to have featured to some extent, with three quarters of voters indicating that they had made up their mind who to vote for at least one month prior to the elections. The vast majority (78%) of voters in the 2014 national and provincial elections made their decision more than a month ago (see Figure 12), indicating that they were predisposed towards a certain political party before intensive electioneering began in the month before the national election. A similar finding is observed for the 2011 municipal elections demonstrating the robustness of this finding.

Figure 12: Timing of decision on political party of choice (percentage)



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2009) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2011.

Note: Those voters who reported who reported ‘don’t know’ are not shown.

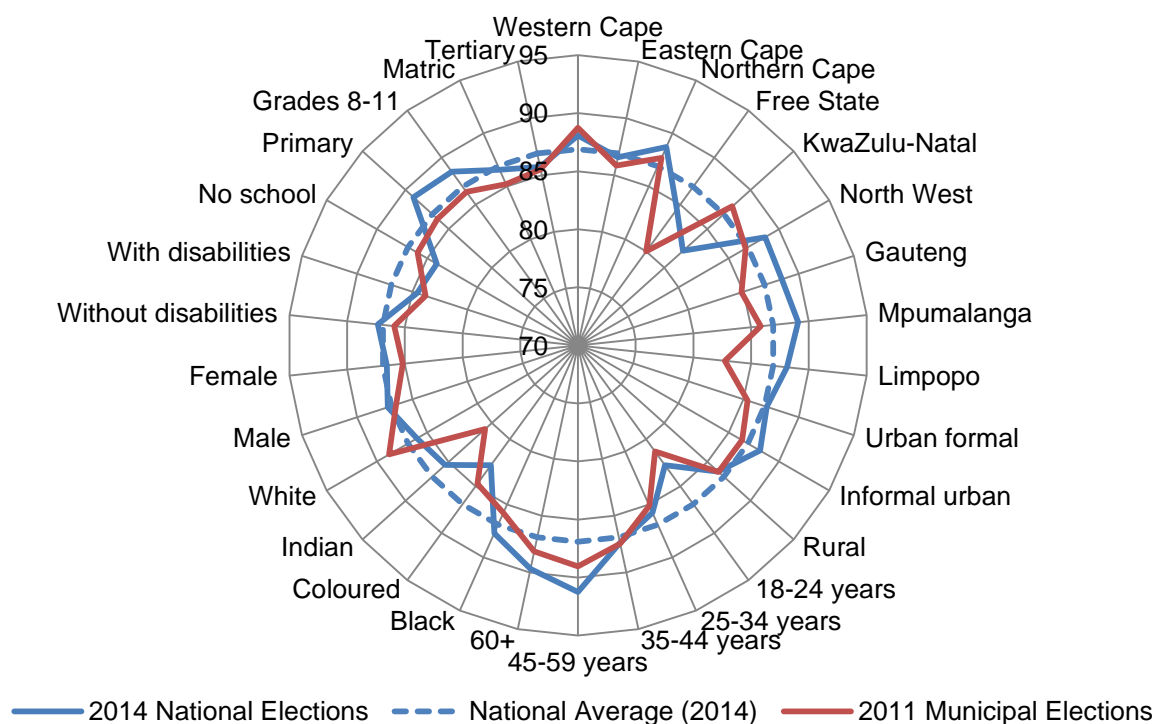
An identical question on timing of decision was not asked for the 2009 national elections, a similar question was asked. Voters were asked to indicate when they finally decided whom to vote for in the elections. They were given the options of “during registration”, “during the campaigns”, “at the voting station” or “party I have always supported”. More than three-quarters (76%) of voters in that national election indicated they had voted for the political party that they had always voted for. Much smaller minorities had made their decision during registration or during the campaigns (9% and 12% respectively) and less than a twentieth (3%) decided in the voting station who to vote for. This suggests that most South African are loyal to one political party and arrive at the voting station already having made a firm decision on who to vote for.

In order to conduct a subgroup analysis, a mean score was calculated. The response options were recoded with 0 = “Today”; 25 = “Earlier in the week”; 50 = “Sometime last week”; 75 =



“Sometime last month”; 100 = “Before that”. The score was rescaled to 0-100. A low score represented a decision based on the last minute, whilst a high score indicated that the person had made a decision at least one month prior to the elections. As can be seen (Figure 13) only minor variations in this scale were noted. The highest mean score on this scale was reported by in the Northern Cape, Mpumalanga and the North West (all M=89). Voters in the KwaZulu-Natal (M=82) and Free State (M=84) were more likely, when compared to voters in other provinces, to have not made up their minds on who to vote for before arriving at the voting station. During the 2011 municipal elections a similar pattern was evident but voters in the Free State were found to more uncertain than voters in other provinces.

**Figure 13: Timing of decision on political party of choice, by voter characteristics (mean score, 0-100 scale)**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2009) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2011.

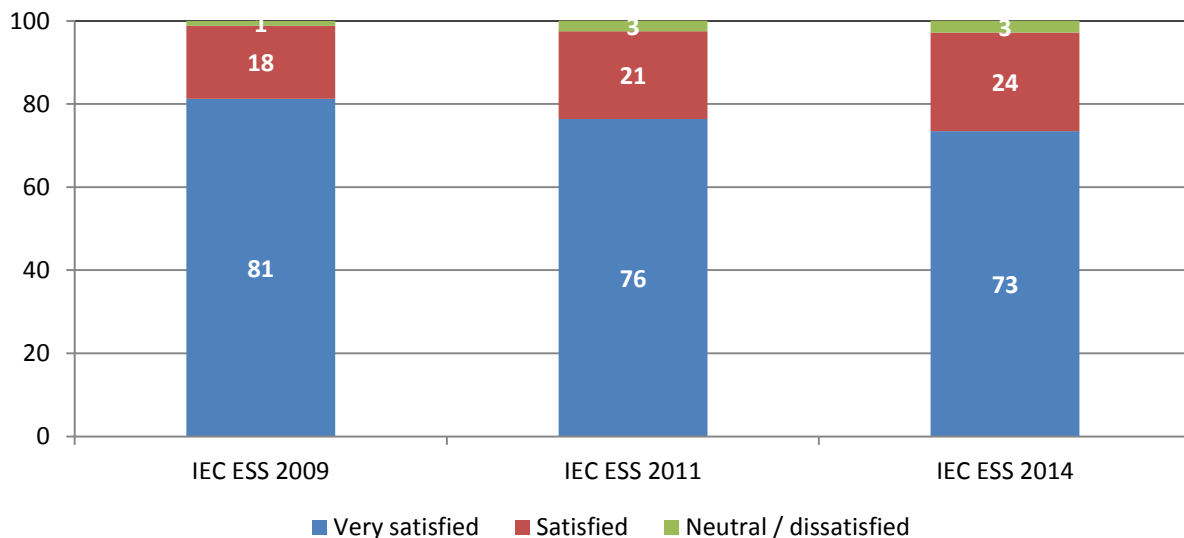
When compared to other areas, it was found that voters living in rural areas (M=86) were more certain about who to vote for. This is similar to what was observed for the 2011 municipal elections. Younger people left the decision on who to vote for much later than the older age groups, where the 18-24 age cohort (M=83) had a far low mean score on this scale when compared to the 45-59 age cohort (M=91) and those aged 60 years and older (M=90). Indian voters were much more likely than the other race groups to leave the decision about who to vote for to the last day of the 2011 municipal elections. Indian voters were comparatively more certain about their voting choices for the 2014 national elections and reported higher mean scores for that election. In contrast, Black African voters seem to have

made up their minds much earlier (M=88) unlike what was observed for the 2011 municipal elections when these voters were less certain. Statistically significant differences were not found between educational attainment groups when investigating this scale.

### 3.4. Perceived secrecy of the vote

Internationally, the secrecy of the ballot is typically considered a fundamental mechanism for safeguarding voters from concerns over coercion or intimidation in election contexts. In relation to the 2014 national and provincial election, close to three quarters (73%) of voters were very satisfied that their vote was secret, with just more under a fifth (24%) being satisfied (Figure 14). Of the remaining voters, 1% was dissatisfied or very dissatisfied, while 2% offered neutral responses. Compared to voter attitudes in the 2009 and 2011 election, there does appear to have been a modest decline in the share indicating that they were “very satisfied”, which fell from 81% in 2009 to 73% in 2014. While still broadly positive, this is an indicator that needs to be carefully monitored. The results suggest that in future election operations, electoral management efforts will need to continue to ensure that measures to preserve the secrecy of the vote are effectively implemented at voting stations and during counting processes, and that voters are provided with basic information about the steps taken to ensure ballot secrecy.

Figure 14: Satisfaction with the secrecy of the vote, 2009, 2011 and 2014 (%)



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2011) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2011; HSRC (2009) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2009.

Note: Due to the small percentages involved, the “neither satisfied nor dissatisfied”, “dissatisfied” and “very dissatisfied” response options were group together into a single category for presentation purposes.

A mean ballot secrecy score was developed by reversing the five-point satisfaction scale and then converting it to a 0-100 scale, such that higher scores represent greater perceived satisfaction with secrecy of the vote. “Don’t know” options were coded as missing data. The

score was then converted to a 0-100 scale. In Table 9, cross-tabulations and mean secrecy of vote scores are presented based on socio-demographic characteristics of voters.

**Table 9: Satisfaction with secrecy of the vote (row percent and mean score)**

	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Neither/nor	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied	Don't know	Total	Mean score (0-100)
South Africa	73	24	2	0	0	0	100	94
<b>Province</b>								
Western Cape	77	21	1	0	0	0	100	95
Eastern Cape	70	27	1	0	1	0	100	93
Northern Cape	74	22	3	0	1	1	100	94
Free State	85	13	1	0	0	1	100	97
KwaZulu-Natal	69	26	3	1	0	1	100	93
North West	80	19	0	0	0	0	100	96
Gauteng	71	26	2	1	0	0	100	93
Mpumalanga	71	26	2	0	1	0	100	93
Limpopo	73	25	1	0	1	0	100	94
<b>Geographic location</b>								
Urban formal	76	22	1	0	0	0	100	95
Urban informal	71	25	2	1	1	1	100	93
Rural	71	27	2	0	0	0	100	93
<b>Age</b>								
16-24 years	75	22	2	1	0	0	100	94
25-34 years	73	24	2	0	1	1	100	94
35-44 years	73	24	2	0	1	1	100	94
45-59 years	74	24	1	0	0	0	100	94
60+ years	72	26	1	0	0	0	100	94
<b>Race</b>								
Black	73	24	2	0	0	0	100	94
Coloured	79	19	1	0	0	0	100	95
Indian	73	22	3	0	2	0	100	93
White	71	26	1	0	0	1	100	94
<b>Sex</b>								
Male	73	24	2	1	1	0	100	94
Female	73	24	2	0	0	1	100	94
<b>Disability status</b>								
Persons with disabilities	68	28	2	0	0	1	100	93
Persons w/o disabilities	74	24	2	0	0	0	100	94
<b>Education level</b>								
No school	71	27	2	0	0	0	100	94
Primary	71	27	2	0	0	0	100	94
Grades 8-11	76	21	2	0	0	0	100	94
Matric or equivalent	74	23	1	0	1	1	100	94
Tertiary	73	24	2	1	1	0	100	93
<b>Time of voting</b>								
07:00 - 10:30	77	20	1	1	0	0	100	95
10:31 - 14:-00	71	26	2	0	1	1	100	94
14:31 - 17:30	72	26	2	0	0	0	100	94
17:31 - Close	72	25	2	0	1	0	100	94

Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

At a provincial level, the lowest proportion of voters that indicated they were very satisfied with the secrecy of their votes was found in the KwaZulu-Natal (69%), Eastern Cape (70%) and Mpumalanga (71%). The highest proportions of voters very satisfied with the secrecy of

their votes were found in the Free State (85%) and North West province (80%). Statistical testing based on the mean secrecy scores confirm that voters in Free State and the North West tended to exhibit greater average satisfaction levels than those in all other provinces excepting the Western Cape. A smaller percentage of voters in the rural areas and informal urban settlements (both 71%) stated that they were very satisfied that their vote was secret in comparison with voters in formal urban areas (76%).

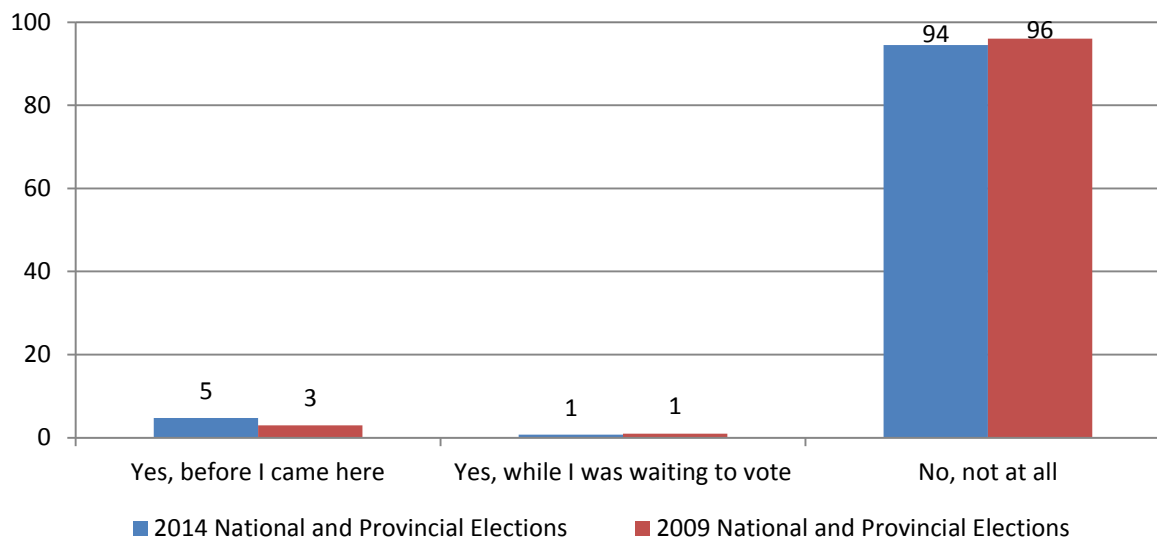
No significant differences in voter attitudes towards the secrecy of their ballot on the basis of age or gender. Coloured voters generally voiced slightly greater confidence in the secrecy of their voter than other population groups, while disabled voters were more contented than able bodied voters. There was a weak association between views on ballot secrecy and educational attainment, with those with an incomplete secondary school level education more satisfied than those with a tertiary qualification. Interestingly, voters that cast their ballot in the initial after the voting station opened (07.00 – 10.30am) presented a significantly higher mean satisfaction score than those voting later in the day.

### **3.5. Political coercion and intimidation**

Electoral commissions are always highly concerned about whether or not the elections of which they are overseeing are free of coercion and intimidation. Given the history of the national elections on African continent in the past three decades, issues of coercion on electoral choice have become particularly sensitive. Evidence of such coercion can delegitimise the election results both in the eyes of the domestic general public as well as the international community. As a result it is highly important to investigate evidence of coercion and intimidation. In order to ascertain how prevalence intimidation was in the recent 2014 South African national and provincial elections, fieldworkers in the ESS survey asked voters the following question: “Did anyone try to force you to vote for a certain political party?” Three possible response options were offered to participants, namely “yes, before I came here [to the voting station]”, “yes, while I was waiting to vote”, and lastly “no, not at all”.

Reports of coercion and intimidation were minimal (see Figure 15) with few voters reporting that an individual or group had tried to force them to vote for a certain political party. An estimated 94% of the voting public reported that no one tried to force them to vote for a certain political party. The remaining 6% declared that they had experienced coercion relating to their party of choice (5% prior to arriving at their voting station and 1% while waiting in a queue to vote). This figures can be compared with election data those from 2009 (see Figure 15), and it is apparent that in both national elections only a small minority experienced coercion and intimidation. However, it is important to note that there are a marginally greater share voters reported coercion in the 2014 national election as compared to the 2009 election.

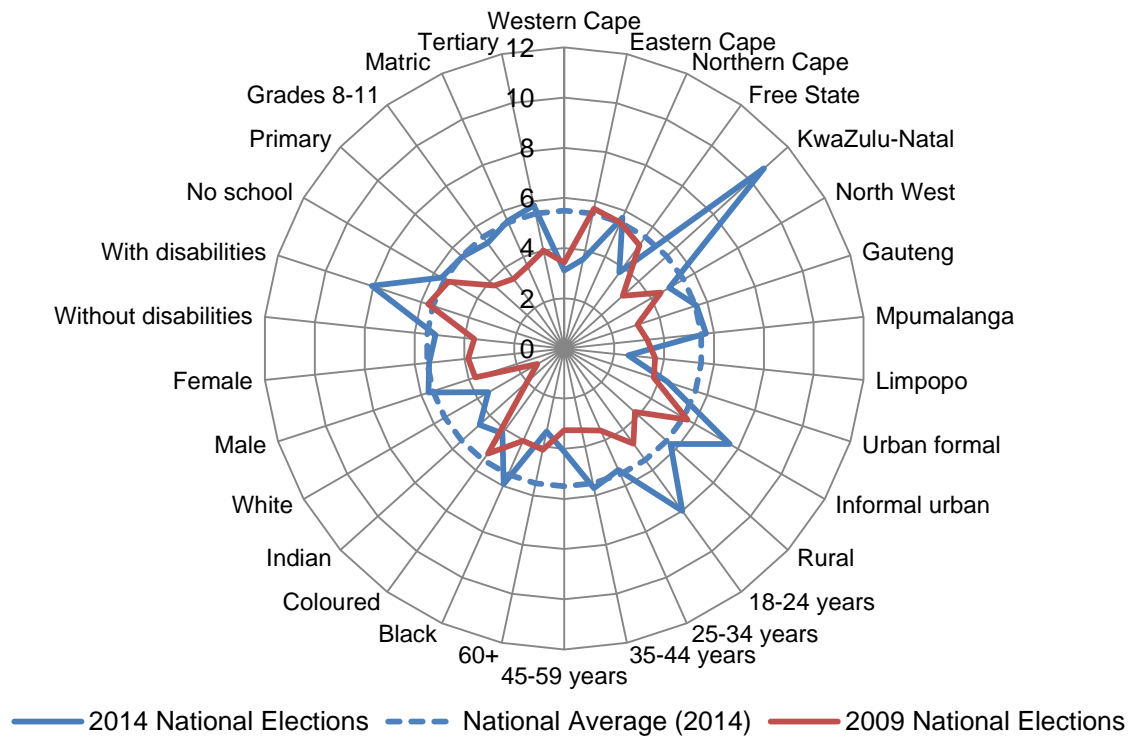
**Figure 15: Experience of political coercion, 2009 and 2014 (per cent)**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2009) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2009.

From an electoral management perspective, this is a very positive result, though it is nonetheless critical that we better understand more about the 6% of voters who reported political coercion. Experience of some form of coercion (whether at the voting station or beforehand) on electoral choice is presented by a range of socio-demographic characteristics of voters in Figure 16. This proportion is compared to data on reported political coercion from the 2009 national and provincial election. It is apparent from the figure that the percentage of voters who experienced coercion relating to their party of choice decreased in the Eastern Cape (falling from 6% to 4%). However in KwaZulu-Natal the share that experienced during national elections increased from 3% in 2009 to 11% in 2014. Inclines in reported coercion also occurred in Mpumalanga and Gauteng (both growing from 3% in 2009 to 6% in 2014). The incidence of reported coercion also emerged as relatively higher for voters in informal urban settlements in 2014 when compared to 2009 (rising from 6% in 2009 to 8% in 2014). Voters in rural areas also reported slightly higher levels of experienced coercion in 2014 (6%) in comparison with 2009 (4%).

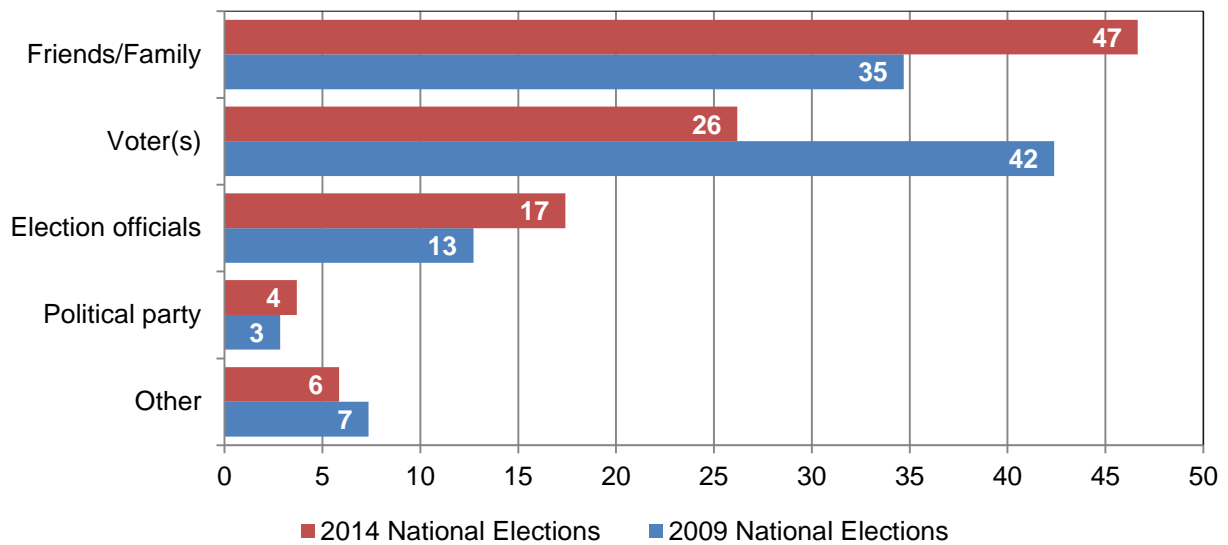
**Figure 16: Experience of political coercion by socio-demographic attributes of voters (percent reporting coercion)**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2011) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2009.

In comparison to other population groups, reported coercion was highest among Black African voters (6%) in 2014 unlike what was observed in 2009 election data when Coloured voters reported higher levels coercion (5% in 2009 as opposed to 4% in 2014). Increasingly Indian voters reported an increase (from 2% in 2009 to 5%) in experienced coercion relating to their party of choice. Among young voters (age cohort 18-24 years), reported coercion (8%) was relatively higher than that observed among older voters (45-59 year-olds and those aged 60 years and older, 3% and 4% respectively). Voters with disabilities were more likely to report coercion than voters without disabilities (8% versus 5%). There was no statistical difference in the reported experience of coercion to vote for a specific political party by educational attainment status.

**Figure 17: Source of experienced of political coercion (percentage of voters who experienced coercion)**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2011) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2009.

*Note:* Those who reported not experienced coercion relating to their party of choice are excluded.

Focusing explicitly on those that did mention some form of coercion, the most commonly mentioned sources of this coercion were political parties (47%) and family members or friends (26%), and to a lesser extent other voters (17%) and election officials (3%). In order to better understand how this has changed in comparison to the previous national elections years ago, the 2014 data was compared with that collected in 2009. What is most thought-provoking is that reported coercion from friends and family decreases from more than two-fifths (42%) of those who experienced coercion relating to their party of choice in 2009 to barely more than a quarter in 2014. Contrariwise those who sourced their experience of coercion from a political party increased from only slightly more than a third (35%) of those who experienced coercion in 2009 to almost half of this group in 2014. The share of voters who experienced coercion from other voters (as share of those who suffered coercion) also grew but by a far smaller margin (from 13% in 2009 to 17% in 2014).

**Table 10: Person(s) responsible for political coercion for those reporting such an experience, by socio-demographic attributes of voters (percentage of all voters)**

	Political party	Election officials	Voter(s)	Friends/Family
South Africa	2.3	0.2	0.8	1.5
<b>Province</b>				
Western Cape	0.9	0.2	0.5	0.8
Eastern Cape	0.8	0.1	0.8	0.9
Northern Cape	1.8	1.2	0.6	1.1
Free State	2.1	0.1	0.2	0.7
KwaZulu-Natal	5.3	0.3	1.8	3.5
North West	2.6	0.0	0.3	1.6
Gauteng	2.5	0.1	0.7	1.5
Mpumalanga	1.4	0.2	1.2	1.2
Limpopo	0.6	0.3	0.6	0.2
<b>Geographic location</b>				
Urban formal	1.8	0.1	0.6	1.3
Informal urban	3.4	0.1	1.3	2.0
Rural	2.2	0.0	0.4	1.1
<b>Age</b>				
18-24 years	3.5	0.3	1.2	2.7
25-34 years	2.5	0.2	1.0	1.1
35-44 years	2.4	0.2	1.0	1.4
45-59 years	1.6	0.1	0.4	0.9
60+	0.8	0.2	0.6	1.0
<b>Population group</b>				
Black	2.6	0.1	0.9	1.6
Coloured	1.7	0.5	0.6	0.7
Indian	1.3	0.0	1.0	1.4
White	0.6	0.2	1.3	0.7
<b>Sex</b>				
Male	2.1	0.2	1.1	1.5
Female	2.5	0.2	0.7	1.4
<b>Disability status</b>				
Without disabilities	2.2	0.2	0.8	1.3
With disabilities	2.1	0.5	1.5	3.4
<b>Education</b>				
No school	2.2	0.2	0.5	2.3
Primary	1.6	0.2	1.0	1.3
Grades 8-11	2.2	0.2	0.5	1.4
Matric	2.5	0.1	1.3	1.5
Tertiary	2.5	0.3	0.9	1.3

Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

Notes 1: A high value indicates a high share of a particular group who reported experiencing coercion relating to their party of choice from a certain source (i.e. political party; election officials; voter(s); and friends/family).  
 2. Figures shaded in green indicate agreement levels above the national average while figures in red represent a share below the national average.

It is necessary to understand differences in the specified sources responsible for the coercion based on the attributes of those reporting such irregularities. In order to achieve this, four variables were constructed. For each of the information sources, a coercion source variable was constructed. Each variable represents the share of the voting population that had experienced coercion from a particular source in 2014. As can be observed from the table, very minor shares of all subgroups have experienced coercion and intimidation from different sources. As was observed in Figure 16, voters in KwaZulu-Natal experienced more intimidation and coercion related to political party choice than voters in other provinces.



Over a twentieth (5.3%) of voters in that province experienced coercion from a political party and almost a twentieth (3.5%) from family and friends.

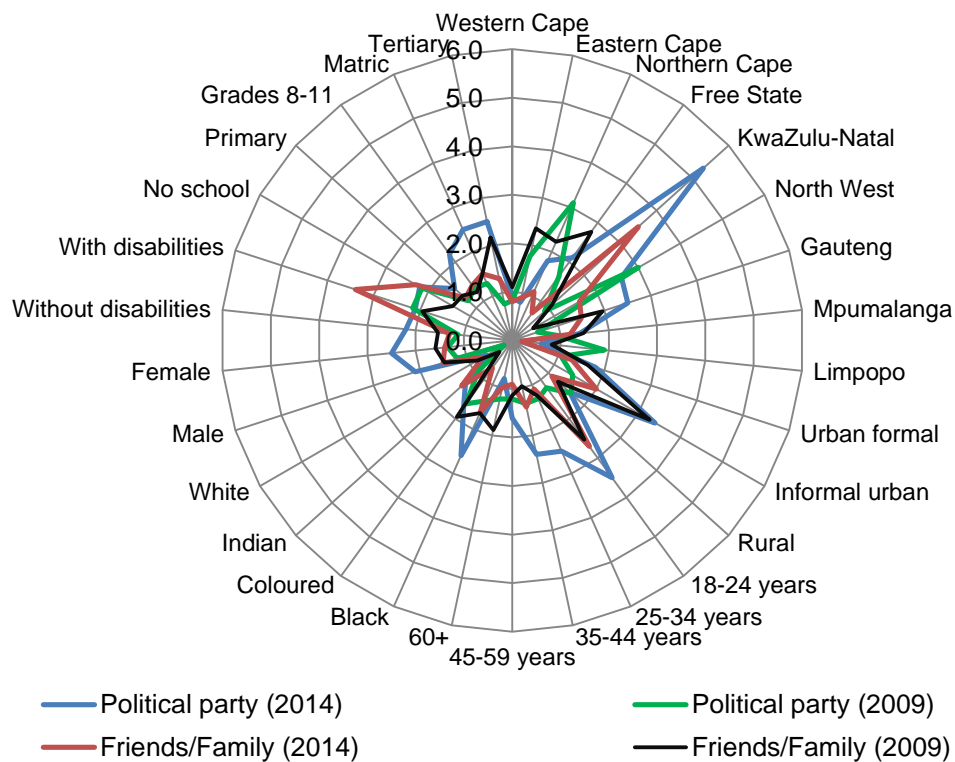
Voters in the North West (2.6%) and Gauteng (2.5%) recorded higher levels of political party related electoral intimidation than the national average on this measure. Voters in Limpopo (0.6%), the Eastern Cape (0.8%) and the Western Cape (0.9%) reported the lowest level of political party related electoral intimidation. Political party pressure considerably exceeded that by family or close acquaintances in all provinces except the Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga. Reported coercion was more likely to be reported in urban informal areas (see Figure 16). Nearly a twentieth (3.4%) of voters in informal urban settlements reported coercion related to party of choice from political parties and a fiftieth reported experiencing intimidation from their social networks. In formal urban areas and rural reports of electoral coercion from both political party and social networks was much lower. Of all population groups, Black African voters were found to experienced more pressure from political parties and social networks on electoral choice. Interestingly voters from the white and Indian population groups were more likely than Black African voters to have experienced pressure from other voters.

Young voters from the younger and middle age cohorts (18-24, 25-34 and the 35-44) were most likely to report pressure from political parties on electoral choice when compared to older age cohorts. On other hand, those from the youngest age cohorts (18-24) were likely to report higher levels of voter intimidation from social networks than other age cohorts. As for educational differences, those with no schooling or primary education were less likely to declare political parties as responsible for the pressure compared to those with Matric or tertiary education (who both had higher shares than the national average). Conversely among the lower-educated groups when compared to upper-educated groups it was family and friends attempting to exert undue influence over voting decisions. There do appear to be differences by the gender of voters in terms of the political party coercion with women reporting moderately more intimidation from family and friends than men. Persons with disabilities reported higher levels of social network and other voter pressure on their electoral choice than among without disabilities.

In order to better understand the growth in the share of voters who reported experienced coercion and intimidation between the national elections in 2009 and 2014, it is necessary to compare sources of coercion among certain voter subgroups in the two surveys (see Figure 18). There were notable downturns in the Eastern Cape and the Northern Cape in terms of reported pressure from both social networks and political parties between 2009 and 2014. It is apparent that pressure from social networks in KwaZulu-Natal was relatively high during the 2009 national elections but became comparatively greater during the 2014 elections. It would seem that reported intimidation from friends and family among persons with disabilities was relatively lower in 2009 when compared to 2014. A comparability

higher share of Black African voters reported coercion from political parties during the most recent elections than during national elections five years ago. There was also an observed increased in pressure on electoral choice from political parties among middle age cohorts (25-34 and 35-44) between 2009 and 2014.

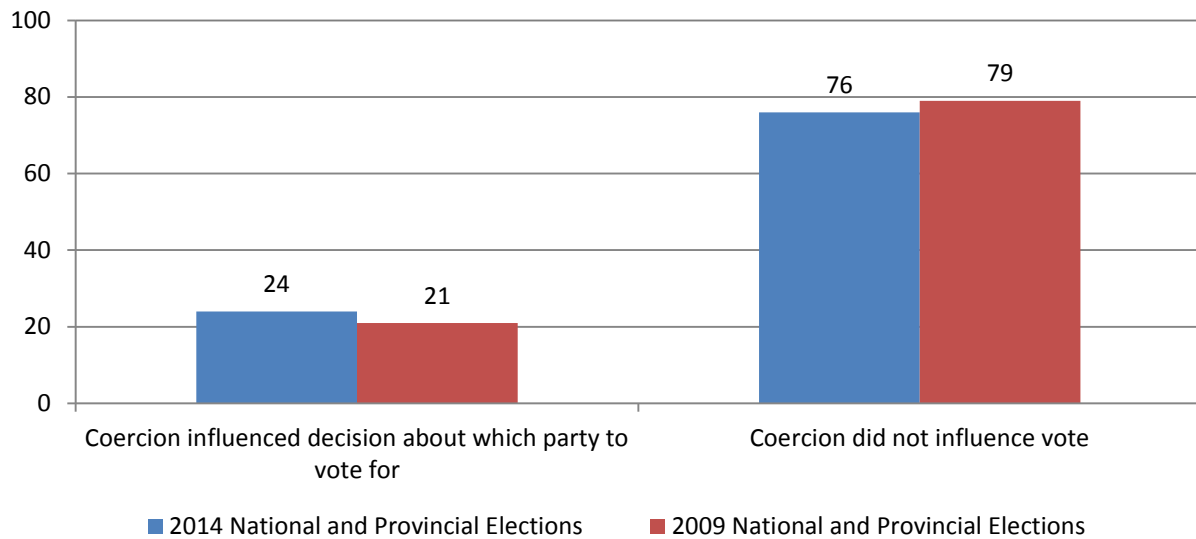
**Figure 18: Person(s) responsible for political coercion for those reporting such an experience, by socio-demographic attributes of voters (percentage of all voters)**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2009) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2009.

Voters who answered that they had experienced intimidation or coercion on their electoral choice were asked if this pressure altered their choice (Figure 19). Of those mentioning that they personally experienced some form of coercion, almost a quarter (24%) reported that this encounter actually changed their voting decision. This represents a moderate increase when results from the 2009 national elections when about a fifth (21%) reported changing their electoral decision based on experiencing intimidation or pressure. In order to better understand which groups would be most likely to change their electoral choice based on coercion, it is necessary to conduct a subgroup analysis on this question. To obtain an appreciation of how much impact had on electoral results, a variable was constructed representing the share of the voting population that had changed their electoral choice based on experienced coercion from a particular source in 2014.

**Figure 19: Impact of coercion on electoral choice (percentage of voters who experienced coercion)**



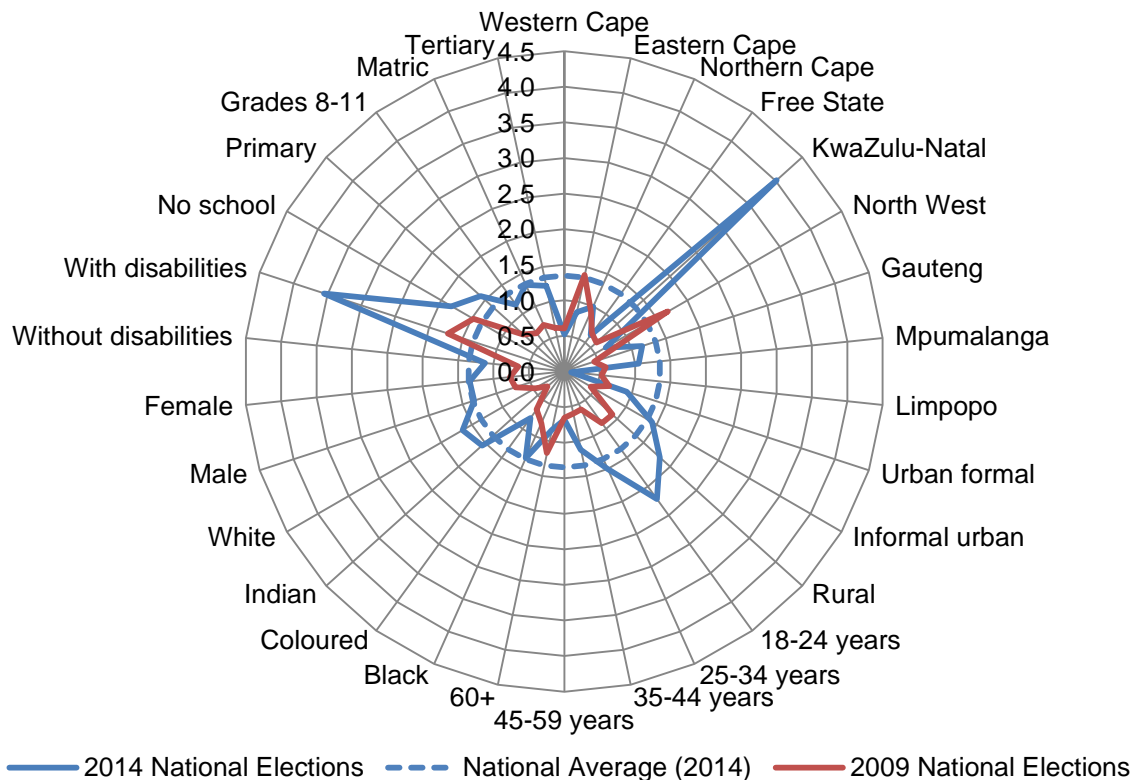
Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2009) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2009.

Note: Those who reported not experienced coercion relating to their party of choice are excluded.

It is apparent from Figure 20 that the share of the South African voting population who changed their vote based on intimidation or coercion was marginal. Therefore, as is evident from the finding presented, the results of the 2014 national and provincial elections were only marginally affected by intimidation or coercion. The provinces where political coercion had the most effect on electoral choice was in the KwaZulu-Natal (4%), Gauteng (1.7%) and Mpumalanga (1.1%). The reported coercion was also less likely to have resulted in a change of 2014 vote in formal urban areas (0.9%) than in informal urban settlements (1.4%) and rural areas (1.8%). It is also worth drawing attention to the relatively high shares that reported a change in voting decision following coercion among Black African voters (1.3%), persons with disabilities (3.5%), those with no schooling (1.8%) or only primary education (1.6%) as well as those in the 18-24 (2.2%) and 25-34 (1.5%) age cohorts.

As has already been outlined, a comparatively far higher share of voters in KwaZulu-Natal changed their vote based on coercive pressure when compared to voters from other provinces. This stands in strong contrast to what was observed during the 2009 national elections. In addition, a relatively greater share of persons with disabilities changed their electoral choice based on intimidation when compared to persons without disabilities. The share of persons with disabilities who changed their vote was greater during the 2014 national elections when compared to the 2009 election. A similar finding was noted for the youngest age cohort (18-24) which suggests that this group is more vulnerable to coercion on electoral choice when compared to elections in 2009.

**Figure 20: Percentage reporting that coercion resulted in a change of decision over which political party to vote for, by socio-demographic attributes of voters (percentage of all voters)**

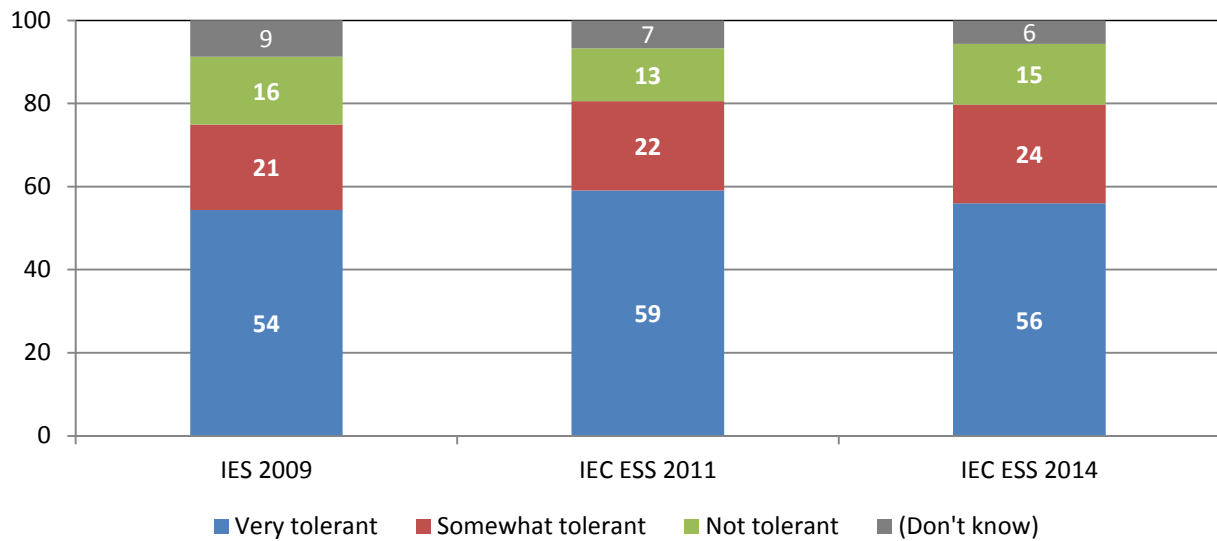


Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2009) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2009.

### 3.6. Political party tolerance

Political tolerance between contesting political parties and their supporters represents a fundamental component of electoral and indeed liberal democracy and is instrumental in ensuring free and fair elections. From a civil liberties and constitutional perspective, it is seen as crucial that political parties and their leaders demonstrate and communicate a robust commitment to tolerance of opposing political perspectives and peaceful campaigning, as well as swiftly respond to instances of political intolerance by party affiliates. To gauge the views of voters in relation to the perceived level of tolerance during the campaigning process associated with the 2014 national and provincial elections, they were asked the following question: “To what extent do you think that political parties were tolerant of one another during campaigns for these elections”. In response, more than half (56%) of voters believed that political parties were very tolerant of one another during the 2014 election campaigns (Figure 21). A further 24 per cent reported that parties were somewhat tolerant of each other, while 15 per cent observed that there was not a prevailing culture of tolerance. These results are highly consistent with the views expressed by voters in the 2009 and 2011 election surveys.

**Figure 21: Perceived political party tolerance, 2009, 2011 and 2014 (%)**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2009) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2009.

Note: The “don’t know” category represents a combination of the “uncertain” and “don’t know” responses in the original question coding scheme.

The responses to the political party tolerance question were reversed and transformed into a 0-100 score, with 0 referring to “not tolerant” and 100 “very tolerant”. “Don’t know” and “uncertain” responses were excluded from analysis. The mean tolerance score among the voting population was 72 (Table 11), which suggests that voters felt tended to feel that political parties were tolerant of each other during campaigning for these elections.

ANOVA post hoc Scheffe tests showed that voters in the Free State and KwaZulu-Natal were most likely to believe that political parties were tolerant of one another during campaigning (mean scores of 86 and 81 respectively), which was significantly higher than the rating offered by voters in all other provinces. At the other end of the scale, those in Limpopo and the Western Cape were significantly less likely than voters in almost all other provinces<sup>1</sup> to perceive parties as having demonstrated political tolerance during the campaigning for the elections (mean scores of 64 and 81 respectively). Stated otherwise, 89 per cent of respondents in the Free State and 86 per cent Kwazulu-Natal found political parties to be either tolerant or very tolerant of one another, while only 71 per cent of respondents in the Limpopo and 72 per cent in the Western Cape perceived parties as tolerant. Voters in rural areas tended to provide more positive evaluations of party tolerance (M=74) than their counterparts in both formal urban areas and informal urban settlements (M=69 and 61 respectively).

<sup>1</sup> The only exceptions where there were not statistically significant differences in mean political tolerance scores were in the case of Gauteng voters relative to their Limpopo and Western Cape counterparts. Average tolerance scores among Northern Cape voters were also not significantly different from those in Limpopo.

**Table 11: Perceived political party tolerance (row percent and mean score)**

	Very tolerant	Somewhat tolerant	Not tolerant	(Don't know)	Total	Mean score (0-100)
South Africa	56	24	15	6	100	71.9
<b>Province</b>				0		
Western Cape	51	21	22	6	100	65.0
Eastern Cape	63	19	14	4	100	75.5
Northern Cape	47	25	16	12	100	67.8
Free State	77	12	7	3	100	86.3
KwaZulu-Natal	65	21	7	7	100	80.9
North West	55	20	16	9	100	71.1
Gauteng	45	34	15	6	100	65.9
Mpumalanga	56	26	14	4	100	72.0
Limpopo	52	20	25	4	100	64.0
<b>Geographic location</b>				0		
Urban formal	52	26	16	6	100	69.1
Informal urban settlement	55	25	15	5	100	71.1
Rural	59	22	14	5	100	74.0
<b>Age</b>				0		
18-24 years	54	22	18	6	100	68.6
25-34 years	56	23	16	5	100	71.3
35-44 years	56	24	15	5	100	71.9
45-49 years	58	25	12	6	100	74.4
60+ years	58	25	11	6	100	74.6
<b>Race</b>				0		
Black African	58	22	15	5	100	72.8
Coloured	58	22	15	5	100	72.8
Indian	39	37	14	10	100	63.7
White	46	32	16	6	100	66.2
<b>Sex</b>				0		
Male	55	25	15	5	100	70.9
Female	56	23	14	6	100	72.4
<b>Disability status</b>				0		
Persons w/ disabilities	60	23	11	6	100	75.8
Persons w/o disabilities	55	24	15	6	100	71.0
<b>Education level</b>				0		
No schooling	62	22	10	7	100	78.1
Primary	60	23	10	6	100	76.5
Grade 8-11	59	22	15	4	100	73.0
Matric / Grade 12	54	24	15	6	100	70.8
Post-Matric	49	27	18	6	100	66.6

Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

Black African and coloured voters were more favourable in their perceptions of party tolerance (M=73 in both instances) than all Indian and white voters, female voters offered marginally higher tolerance ratings than male voters, while voters with disabilities were more approving than voters without disabilities. Those with a post-Matric education scored lower on the party tolerance scale (M=67) than those with lower levels of educational attainment, while voters with Matric or some secondary education also rated political parties as less tolerant of one another than voters with either no schooling or a primary school level education.

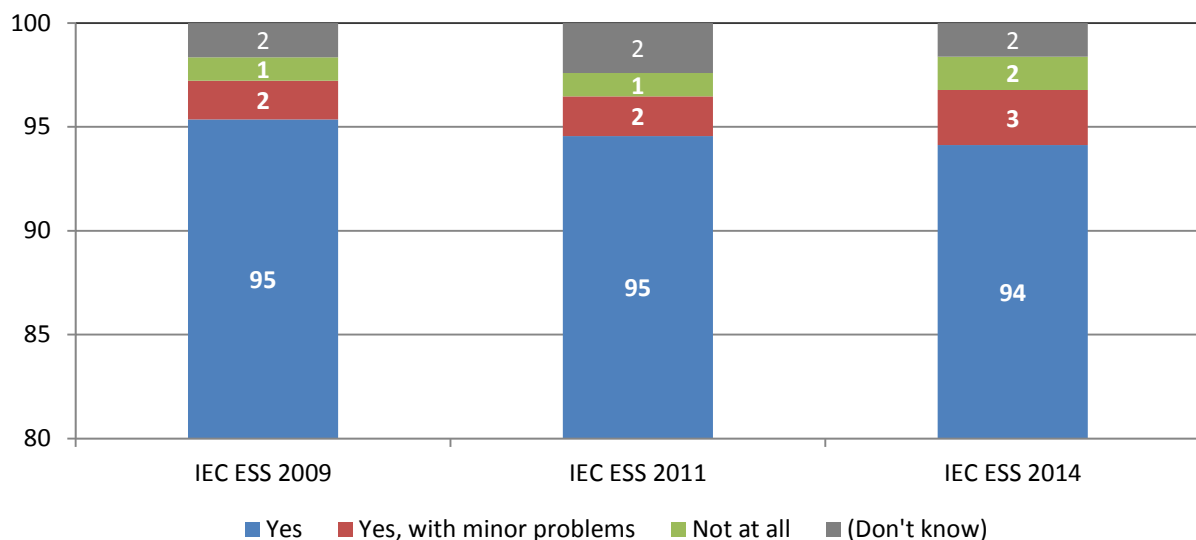
Voters aged 18-24 years offered more critical evaluations than those aged 35-44 years, 45-59 years and those aged 60 years and older. Similarly, those aged 25-34 years reported lower tolerance scores on average than those aged 45-59 years and those aged 60 years and older. These are important findings, since concerns about the behaviour exhibited by political parties in an electoral context might have the undesirable effect of fostering political disillusionment. Young voters are critical for future electoral turnout, and the IEC Voter Participation Survey 2013/14 has shown political disillusionment to be a salient factor underlying electoral abstention.

### 3.7. Views on electoral freeness and fairness

#### 3.7.1. Freeness of the election

The delivery of free and fair elections represents a central element of the IEC’s constitutional mandate, and also is at the heart of the commission’s vision and mission statement. An overwhelming majority of voters in the 2014 national and provincial elections (94%) feel that the election procedures were free, with a further three per cent saying they were free with only minor problems (Figure 22). A mere two per cent suggested that the elections were not free, with an equivalent share voicing uncertainty in their response. A high degree in consistency is evident when comparing the 2014 results using this measure to those reported in both 2009 and 2011 election surveys.

Figure 22: Perceived freeness of the 2014 Election, 2009, 2011 and 2014 (%)



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2011) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2011; HSRC (2009) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2009.

Note: For ease of presentation, the axis has been truncated, showing the top part of the distribution in response to the question on electoral freeness.

To allow for an examination in sub-group differences underlying the freeness question, the voter responses were reversed and transformed into a 0-100 score, where 0 refers to “not

free at all” and 100 to “unconditionally free”. “Don’t know” responses were excluded from analysis. Both cross-tabulations and mean freeness scores are presented in Table 12. Glancing at the results presented in the table, it is readily apparent that there is a broad-based belief among voters irrespective of their socio-demographic attributes that the 2014 national and provincial elections were free. The percentage stating that the election procedures were *unconditionally* free ranged from a low of 90 per cent among voters in KwaZulu-Natal and persons with disabilities to a high of 97 per cent in the case of Limpopo and Mpumalanga voters.

**Table 12: Perceived freeness of the 2014 Election (row percent and mean score)**

	Yes	Yes, with minor problems	Not at all	(Don't know)	Total	Mean score (0-100)
South Africa	94	3	2	2	100	97
<b>Province</b>						
Western Cape	95	2	1	2	100	98
Eastern Cape	94	2	3	1	100	96
Northern Cape	92	2	3	3	100	96
Free State	96	2	1	0	100	98
KwaZulu-Natal	90	6	3	2	100	94
North West	91	1	2	6	100	97
Gauteng	95	2	1	2	100	98
Mpumalanga	97	2	0	0	100	99
Limpopo	97	2	0	0	100	98
<b>Geographic location</b>						
Urban formal	95	2	1	2	100	98
Informal urban settlement	93	3	2	2	100	96
Rural	94	3	2	1	100	96
<b>Age</b>						
18-24 years	95	2	1	1	100	97
25-34 years	93	4	2	1	100	96
35-44 years	94	2	2	2	100	97
45-49 years	95	2	1	2	100	98
60+ years	95	2	1	2	100	98
<b>Race</b>						
Black	94	3	2	1	100	97
Coloured	95	2	1	2	100	98
Indian	94	3	1	2	100	97
White	91	4	2	3	100	96
<b>Sex</b>						
Male	95	3	2	1	100	97
Female	93	3	2	2	100	97
<b>Disability status</b>						
Persons w/ disabilities	90	5	3	2	100	95
Persons w/o disabilities	94	3	2	2	100	97
<b>Education level</b>						
No schooling	95	1	1	3	100	99
Primary	93	3	2	2	100	96
Grade 8-11	96	2	1	1	100	98
Matric / Grade 12	94	3	2	1	100	97
Post-Matric	93	4	1	2	100	97
<b>Time of voting</b>						
07:00 - 10:30	94	3	1	2	100	97
10:31 - 14:-00	93	3	2	2	100	96
14:31 - 17:30	94	3	1	2	100	97
17:31 - Close	93	3	1	2	100	97

Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

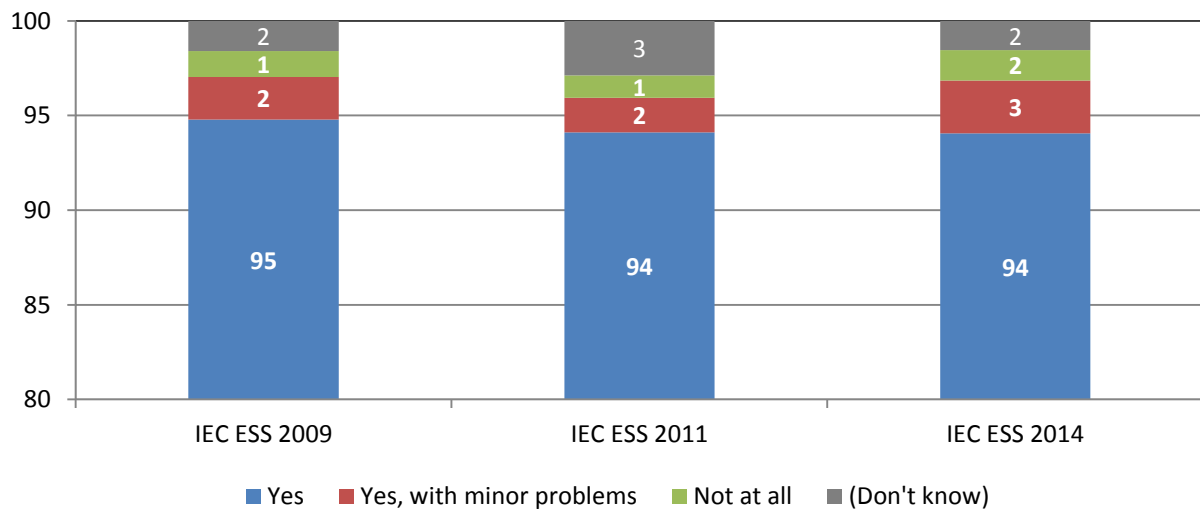


Even though the results tend to be concentrated, with most voters evaluating the election procedures as free, ANOVA post hoc Scheffe tests reveal some statistically significant differences at these upper margins. Of particular note, significant differences were evident on the basis of the geographic location and province in which voters resided. Voters in KwaZulu-Natal presented lower mean freeness scores than voters in all other provinces excepting voters in Eastern and Northern Cape. In addition, those in the Eastern and Northern Cape had lower scores than voters in Mpumalanga and Limpopo. Voters in formal urban areas were more resolute in their opinion about the freeness of election procedures than voters in either informal urban settlements or rural areas. In respect of age group differences, those aged 25-34 years provided slightly lower freeness scores than those aged 18-24 years, 45-59 years and those aged 60 years and older, while disabled voters also offered slightly lower assessments than able-bodied voters. There were no significant differences (or only extremely weak ones) in the mean freeness score by the sex, population group, and time of voting.

### 3.7.2. Fairness of the election

In addition to the freeness question, the survey included an item pertaining to the perceived fairness of electoral procedures. Again we find a near universal consensus among voters, with 94 per cent declaring that the election procedures were free, with a further three per cent saying they were fair apart from minor problems (Figure 23).

**Figure 23: Perceived fairness of the 2014 Election, 2009, 2011 and 2014 (%)**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2011) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2011; HSRC (2009) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2009.

Note: For ease of presentation, the axis has been truncated, showing the top part of the distribution in response to the question on electoral freeness.

Only two per cent reported that the elections were not fair, while an equivalent share were undecided. Examining trends in perceived fairness across the 2009, 2011 and 2014

elections, we find that the results are almost identical in the pattern of responses. This reaffirms that voters emphatically believe that the elections were fair as well as free, which is further evidence of successful electoral management by the IEC. The responses to the fairness question were again reversed and transformed into a 0-100 score, where 0 referred to “not free at all” and 100 to “unconditionally fair”. “Don’t know” responses were excluded from analysis. The mean fairness score among the voting population was 97 in the 2014 election (Table 13), compared to 97 in 2009 and 98 in 2011. This indicates that voters were almost unanimous in their belief that the elections were fair.

**Table 13: Perceived fairness of the 2011 Municipal Election (row percent and mean score)**

	Yes	Yes, with minor problems	Not at all	(Don't know)	Total	Mean score (0-100)
South Africa	94	3	2	2	100	97
<b>Province</b>						
Western Cape	95	3	0	2	100	98
Eastern Cape	95	2	3	1	100	96
Northern Cape	90	3	2	4	100	96
Free State	96	2	2	0	100	97
KwaZulu-Natal	91	5	2	2	100	95
North West	92	1	1	7	100	98
Gauteng	95	3	1	1	100	97
Mpumalanga	96	2	1	1	100	98
Limpopo	96	2	2	0	100	98
<b>Geographic location</b>						
Urban formal	94	3	1	2	100	97
Informal urban settlement	95	4	1	1	100	97
Rural	93	3	3	1	100	96
<b>Age</b>						
18-24 years	95	3	2	1	100	97
25-34 years	93	3	2	2	100	96
35-44 years	93	3	2	2	100	97
45-49 years	95	2	1	1	100	98
60+ years	94	2	1	2	100	97
<b>Race</b>						
Black	95	2	2	1	100	97
Coloured	93	3	2	2	100	97
Indian	94	4	0	2	100	98
White	90	5	2	2	100	95
<b>Sex</b>						
Male	95	3	1	1	100	97
Female	93	3	2	2	100	97
<b>Disability status</b>						
Persons w/ disabilities	90	5	2	2	100	95
Persons w/o disabilities	94	3	2	2	100	97
<b>Education level</b>						
No schooling	94	1	2	2	100	97
Primary	93	3	1	2	100	97
Grade 8-11	95	2	2	1	100	97
Matric / Grade 12	94	3	2	2	100	97
Post-Matric	94	3	2	1	100	97
<b>Time of voting</b>						
07:00 - 10:30	94	3	2	1	100	97
10:31 - 14:-00	94	3	2	1	100	97
14:31 - 17:30	94	2	1	2	100	98
17:31 - Close	93	3	2	2	100	97

Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

At a disaggregate level, the percentage reporting that the election was unequivocally fair ranged in a narrow band between 90 and 96 per cent across all the different socio-demographic variables that were examined (Table 13). ANOVA post hoc Scheffe tests revealed that there were no significant differences in the mean fairness score based on educational attainment and very weak variations on the basis of age, sex, and time of voting. There were, however, significant differences based on province, with voters in KwaZulu-Natal on average slightly less convinced of the fairness of the election relative to voters in the North West, Western Cape, Mpumalanga, Limpopo and Gauteng. In addition, rural voters had marginally lower fairness scores than those in formal urban areas and informal settlements. White voters had a lower average fairness score than black African, Indian and coloured voters, while disabled voters reported lower scores relative to able bodied voters. In these instances where significant scores were detected, it is important to bear in mind that they are differences between fairness ratings at an exceptionally high level. Across all the different subgroups that are examined in Table 13, the mean fairness score (presented in the final column of the table) ranges between a low of 95 in the case of KwaZulu-Natal to a high of 98 in the case of North West province.

### **3.8. IEC Performance and Conduct**

#### **3.8.1. General quality of service of IEC officials**

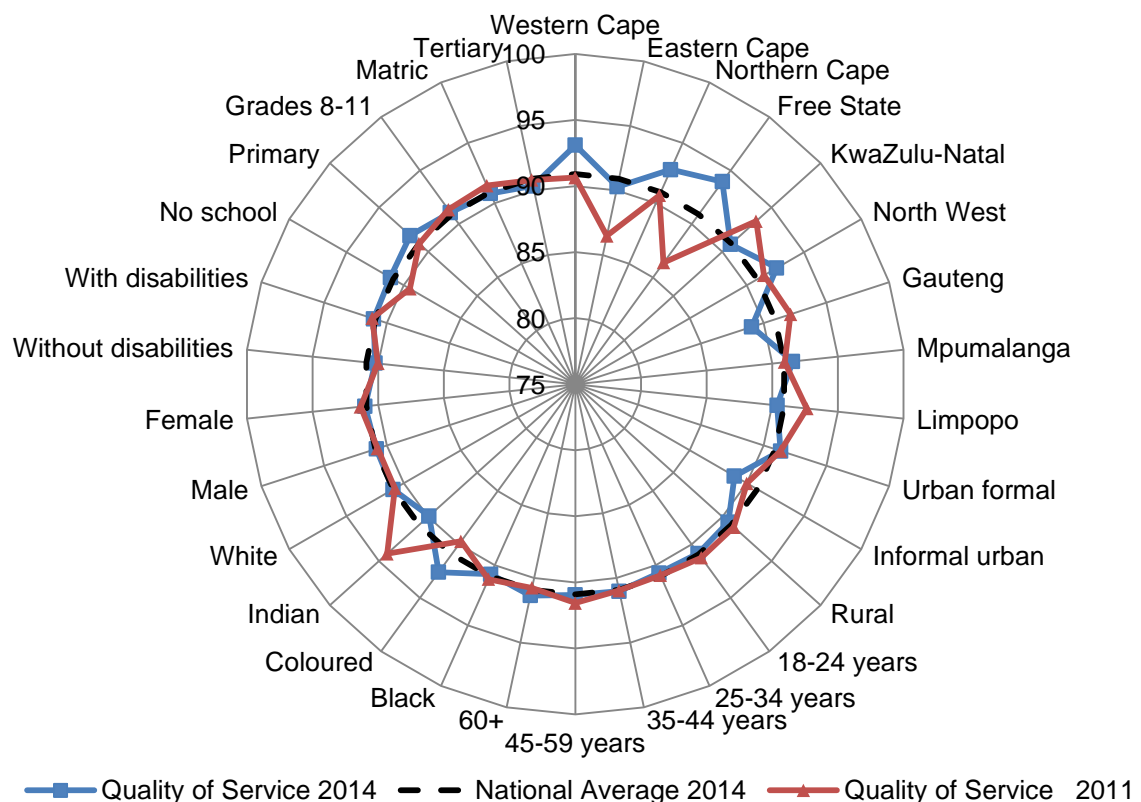
In order to obtain a general understanding of how voters evaluated the performance and conduct of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) officials on May 7th 2014, respondents were asked, “How satisfied are you with the quality of service that the IEC officials provided to voters?” Responses were captured on a five-point satisfaction scale, ranging from “very satisfied” to “very dissatisfied”. An estimated 96% of voters voiced general satisfaction with the quality of services rendered by IEC officials, with 69% of voters very satisfied and 28% somewhat satisfied. Only 2% of the voting public expressed a neutral position and 1% was dissatisfied with IEC officials. This is similar to what was observed during the 2011 municipal elections.



The responses to the question discuss above were reversed and transformed into a 0-100 score, where 0 represents complete dissatisfaction and 100 represents complete satisfaction in the service rendered by IEC officials to voters. Using this score, variance in the level of satisfaction with IEC officials was investigated based upon different socio-demographic characteristics of voters. In Figure 24, the mean scores for the satisfaction scale were compared on the basis of the province, geographic location, age, population group, disability status and educational attainment of voters in the 2014 elections.

Compared to the national average on the satisfaction scale (M=91), there is relative homogeneity in public evaluation of IEC officials and their performance during the 2014 national and provincial elections. Voters in Gauteng (M=89) and the Eastern Cape (M=90) were marginally less satisfied with the performance of the IEC officials than those voters in other provinces. In the Western Cape (M=93), the Northern Cape (M=93) and the Free State (M=94) voters were moderately more content with the quality of service provided by IEC officials than their counterparts in other provinces. Satisfaction with these officials was slightly similar to those observed during the 2011 municipal elections. The largest noted difference was found in the Free State, where satisfaction was found to have decline by eight points between the 2009 and 2014 national elections. The smallest difference was observed among voters in Mpumalanga.

**Figure 24: Satisfaction with the quality of service provided by IEC officials to voters (mean score, 0-100 scale)**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2011) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2011.



Voters residing in rural areas as well as those in formal urban areas reported a significantly lower satisfaction score (both M=91) than those in informal urban areas (M=89). Female voters were not more inclined to positively rate the performance of IEC officials than male voters. Persons without disabilities rated the service they received from IEC officials moderately lower than

among persons with some form of disability. In both the 2014 national elections and the 2011 municipal elections, there were no palpable differences in satisfaction with the overall service provided by IEC officials on the basis of age cohort. Coloured voters were more satisfied (M=93) than Indian and black voters with IEC officials (M=90 and 91 respectively), while white voters (M=91) were also less satisfied than coloured voters. Interestingly Indian voters were, on average, more satisfied than with the quality of IEC officials during the 2011 municipal elections compared to the 2014 national elections.

### 3.8.2. Views on specific aspects of the conduct of IEC officials

Apart from their broad view on the service provided by IEC officials, voters were additionally requested to rate ten aspects of IEC officials' conduct of at their voting station. Respondents were asked to state whether they felt the IEC officials at their voting station exhibited each of the traits "to a great extent", "to some extent" or "not at all". A "don't know" category was included for those unsure how to respond, though this response category was not read out to the voter participants. Overall, voters again provided a very positive assessment of IEC officials (Table 14). The public overwhelmingly evaluated such officials as friendly (99%), cooperative (98%), patient (98%), helpful (99%), considerate (97%), honest (96%), knowledgeable about elections (96%), interested in their jobs (95%), impartial (91%) and professional (96%) to either a great or at least to some extent. Only a tiny minority were highly dissatisfied with these qualities in IEC officials during the 2014 national and provincial elections.

**Table 14: Satisfaction with aspects of the performance of IEC officials at voting stations (row percent and mean score)**

	To a great extent	To some extent	Not at all	(Do not know)	Total	Mean 2014 (0-100)	Mean 2009 (0-100)
Friendly	82	16	1	0	100	91.3	95.5
Cooperative	79	19	1	1	100	90.2	94.4
Patient	81	17	1	1	100	90.7	94.6
Helpful	83	16	1	1	100	91.8	95.4
Considerate	76	21	2	2	100	89.1	92.4
Honest	78	18	1	3	100	90.0	93.6
Knowledgeable about elections	76	20	1	2	100	89.6	93.1
Interested in their jobs	76	19	2	2	100	89.0	92.5
Impartial	71	20	5	4	100	84.9	89.3
Professional	78	18	2	2	100	89.9	92.9

Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2009) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2009.

Note: Due to rounding off, row percentages may not add up to exactly 100 percent.

For each of the aspects of the conduct of IEC officials, a combined score was created by reversing the scale, dropping "don't know" responses and transforming it into a 0-100 score, with 0 representing complete dissatisfaction and 100 signifying complete satisfaction. Mean scores were subsequently produced for each of the ten domains and were compared with

those found in 2009 municipal elections. The results suggest that voters were mildly more satisfied with these qualities of IEC officials in 2009 when compared with 2014. The largest of these observed declines was on the impartial, cooperative and friendly domains. Although these differences were minor, it is essential for the IEC to address this trend and restore levels of public satisfaction on these domains.

It is necessary to look at how mean scores differed domains based on the basic attributes of the surveyed voters in order to understand if one subgroup who was particularly dissatisfied with the performance of IEC officials. In order to achieve this in the most concise fashion possible, three indices were created based on these ten domains. The first is a professionalism index based on the last five elections dimensions depicted in Table 14. The second is an index of staff demeanour which is constructed from the first five domains listed in Table 14. Finally, a combined index – an overall staff quality index – was constructed by combining the ten domains into a single index. Subgroup differences across these three indexes are portrayed in Table 15.



As can be observed in Table 15, differences between subgroups all three indexes were not stark and all subgroups scored above 80 on all indexes. Strong similarities in subgroup scores are apparent across the four indexes with certain subgroups scoring highly on all four indexes. The mean score for the ten components of the conduct of IEC officials was consistently the lowest among voters in KwaZulu-Natal. In particular voters in this province scored comparatively low on the professionalism index. Other provincial voters with relatively low scores across the ten domains included those in Gauteng and Limpopo. In the Western Cape, the Eastern Cape and the North West, voters were found to score higher on all indexes in Table 15 than other provinces.

Those in rural areas rated officials highest in terms of professionalism but did not score above those in urban areas on this domain. Indian voters were found to be the most dissatisfied with the quality of service provided by the IEC officials out of all population groups, particularly on the professionalism index. Coloured voters were found to be the most satisfied with IEC officials especially on the staff demeanour index. Tertiary-educated voters were also marginally more dissatisfied with the conduct of IEC officials than other educational attainment categories. Younger voters, those in the 18-24 and 25-34 age cohorts, tended to have relatively lower mean scores than other age cohorts especially on the staff demeanour. Those with disabilities were found to be moderately more content with the quality of service delivered by officials, a positive finding given the vulnerability of this group.

**Table 15: Satisfaction with aspects of the performance of IEC officials at voting stations by voter characteristics (mean scores)**

	Professionalism	Staff Demeanour	Staff Quality Index
South Africa	87	90	89
Western Cape	93	94	93
Eastern Cape	90	93	91
Northern Cape	89	91	90
Free State	90	93	91
KwaZulu-Natal	83	86	85
North West	94	96	95
Gauteng	84	88	86
Mpumalanga	90	91	91
Limpopo	86	87	87
Urban formal	88	91	90
Informal urban	85	89	87
Rural	87	89	88
18-24 years	87	89	88
25-34 years	86	89	87
35-44 years	88	90	89
45-59 years	89	91	90
60+	88	90	89
Black	87	89	88
Coloured	89	93	91
Indian	84	89	87
White	88	91	90
Male	88	90	89
Female	87	90	88
Without disabilities	87	90	88
With disabilities	87	88	89
No school	88	90	89
Primary	88	90	89
Grades 8-11	88	90	89
Matric or equivalent	87	90	89
Tertiary	86	89	88

Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

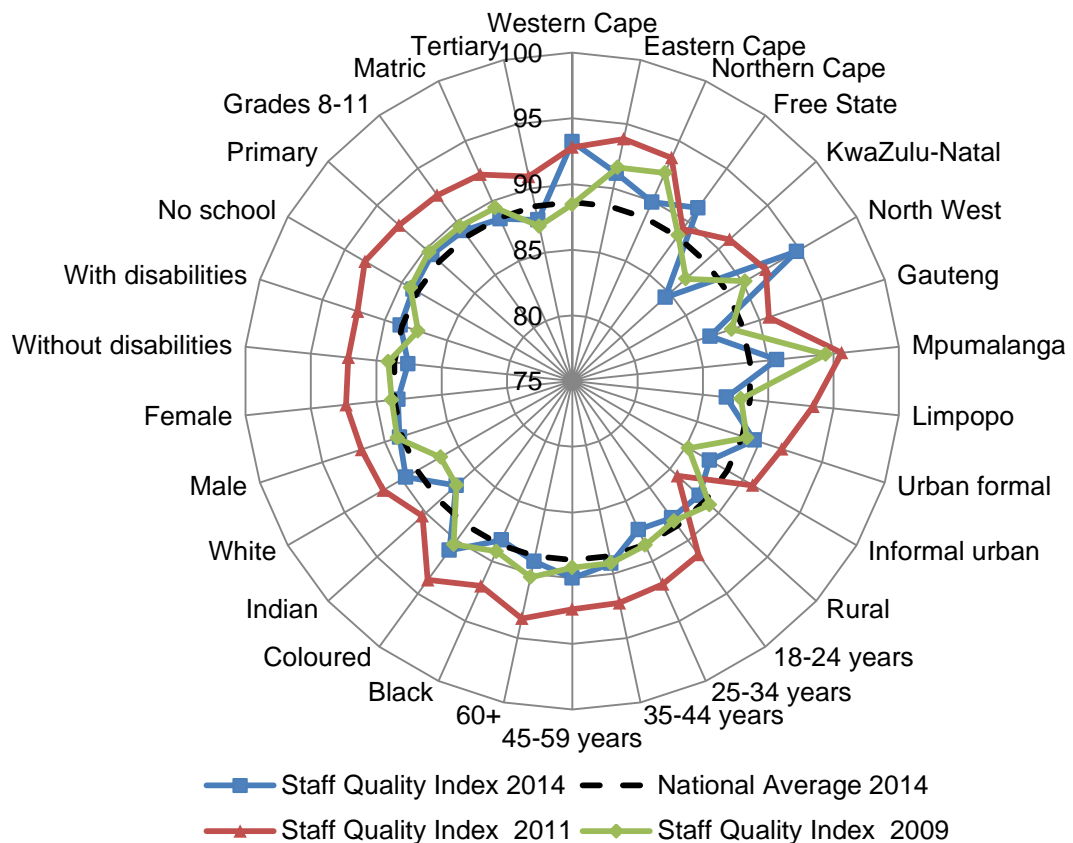
Notes 1: A high value indicates a high level of agreed that the quality of the IEC officials on this domain had been high. 2: Figures shaded in green indicate agreement levels above the national average while figures in red represent satisfaction levels below the national average.

The staff quality index that was constructed and presented in Table 15 was compared across voter characteristics using mass opinion data gathered during the 2009 national and provincial elections in Figure 25. The 2009 staff quality index figures are also compared to the similar data from the 2014 national elections in the figure. It is apparent that the index mean scores in 2009 are very similar to those in 2014. However it is evident that the 2009 mean scores are moderately higher than those recorded for the 2014 elections across most subgroups. Disparities in mean index scores are particularly evident among voters in Limpopo, KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga and Gauteng. Voters in those provinces were comparatively much less satisfaction with the services of IEC officials in 2014 when compared to 2009. Other attributes associated with relatively high



disparities between 2009 and 2014 were: those voters in the 25-34 age cohorts and those aged 60 and older as well as black voters, female voters and those with a matric education. In the North West and the Free State voters were marginally more satisfied with the conduct of these officials in 2014 when compared to 2009.

**Figure 25: Staff Quality Index across voter characteristics, 2009 and 2014 (mean score, 0-100 scale)**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2011) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2011; HSRC (2009) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2009.

### 3.10 Voter Education

The promotion of voter education is one of the duties and functions of the Electoral Commission, as stipulated in Section 5 of the Electoral Commission Act, 1996. Building on this mandate, the IEC has established the following as one of its seven strategic objectives: “To plan and implement strategies to educate, inform and coordinate programme delivery of civic and democracy education to civil society through partnerships, research and knowledge management on a continuous basis”. Given the salience of this responsibility to the Electoral Commission, a set of questions was incorporated into the survey questionnaire in order to benchmark public attitudes to the voter education campaigns and programmes

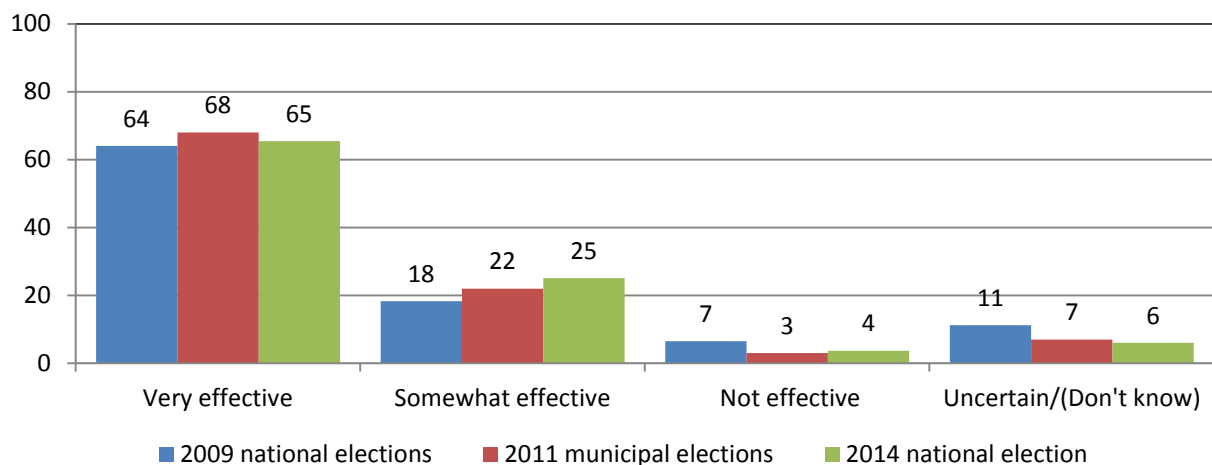


that were carried out by the institution, as well as the reported utility of a range of information sources in imparting voter education.

### 3.10.1 Effectiveness of the IEC’s voter education campaign

Voters participating in the survey were initially asked the following question about the IEC’s voter education efforts in relation to the 2014 national and provincial elections: “How effective was the IEC’s voter education campaign for these elections?” with the response options being “very effective”, “somewhat effective” and “not effective”. Approximately two-thirds (65%) of voters thought that the IEC’s voter education was very effective, with a further quarter indicating that it was somewhat effective, and less than twentieth (3%) stating that it was ineffective (see Figure 26). Similar attitudes were expressed in 2009 although a larger share of the voting population identified the 2014 elections as somewhat effective when compared to 2009. The remaining twentieth (6%) were uncertain or unsure of how to respond to the question on voter education effectiveness.

**Figure 26: Satisfaction with the IEC voter education campaign, 2009, 2011 and 2014 (per cent)**



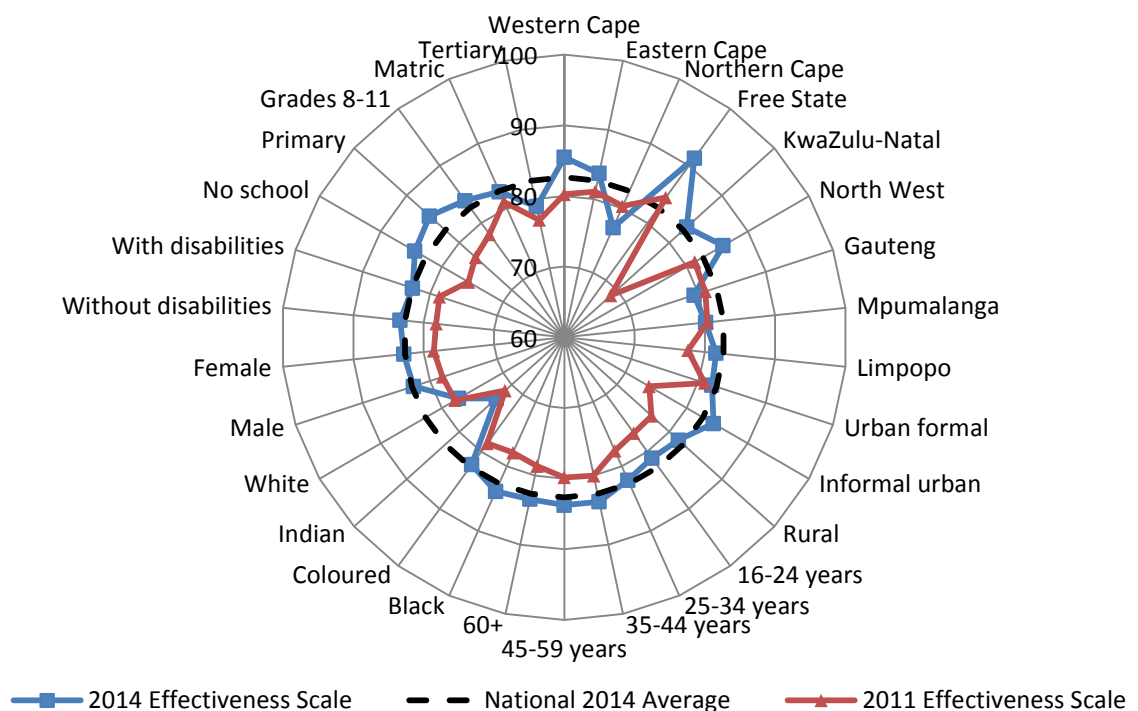
Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2011) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2011; HSRC (2009) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2009.

The responses to the voter education effectiveness scale were reversed and transformed into a 0-100 score, where 0 refers to the lowest possible effectiveness rating and 100 the highest. “Don’t know” responses were excluded from analysis. The mean effectiveness score among the voting population was 83 (see Figure 27), which again communicated how optimistic voters were about the essential value of the voter education campaign that was undertaken by the Electoral Commission in the lead-up to the 2014 national and provincial elections. As can be observed in Figure 27, there are relatively little variations in opinion on this question by subgroups. However certain disparities were noted between racial groups.

Racial minorities, particularly white and Indian South Africans reported moderately lower mean scores on this voter education effectiveness scale than the majority.

As can be seen in Figure 27 there were no significant age effects evident in relation to the ratings by voters of the perceived effectiveness of the IEC’s voter education campaign. A similar finding was observed for the 2011 municipal elections. A notable similarity between the results of the 2011 municipal election survey and the 2014 national elections survey was on racial subgroups. In 2011 population group differentials were present with black voters reporting a mean effectiveness score (M=86) that was significantly higher than Indian (M=81), white (M=79) and coloured (M=78) voters. A dissimilarity was noted on educational attainment with those with a post-Matric in 2011 and 2014 reported dissimilar scores (M= 82 in 2014 and M=79 in 2011).

**Figure 27: Satisfaction with the IEC voter education campaign, by voter characteristics (mean score, 0-100 scale)**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2011) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2011; HSRC (2009) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2009.

The voters in the Free State gave the IEC its highest evaluation (M=91) in terms of voter education. The Western Cape reported the highest provincial mean score on the voter education campaign effectiveness scale (M= 76) on such an effectiveness scale was reported by Western Cape voters during the 2011 municipal elections. The same was true of voters in the Free State (M=83 in 2011 and M=91 in 2014) and the Eastern Cape (M=81 in 2011 and M=84 in 2014). Voters in the Northern Cape reported an effectiveness score (M=77) that was significantly lower than other provinces. During the 2011 municipal elections, voters in the Northern Cape rated (M=86) the

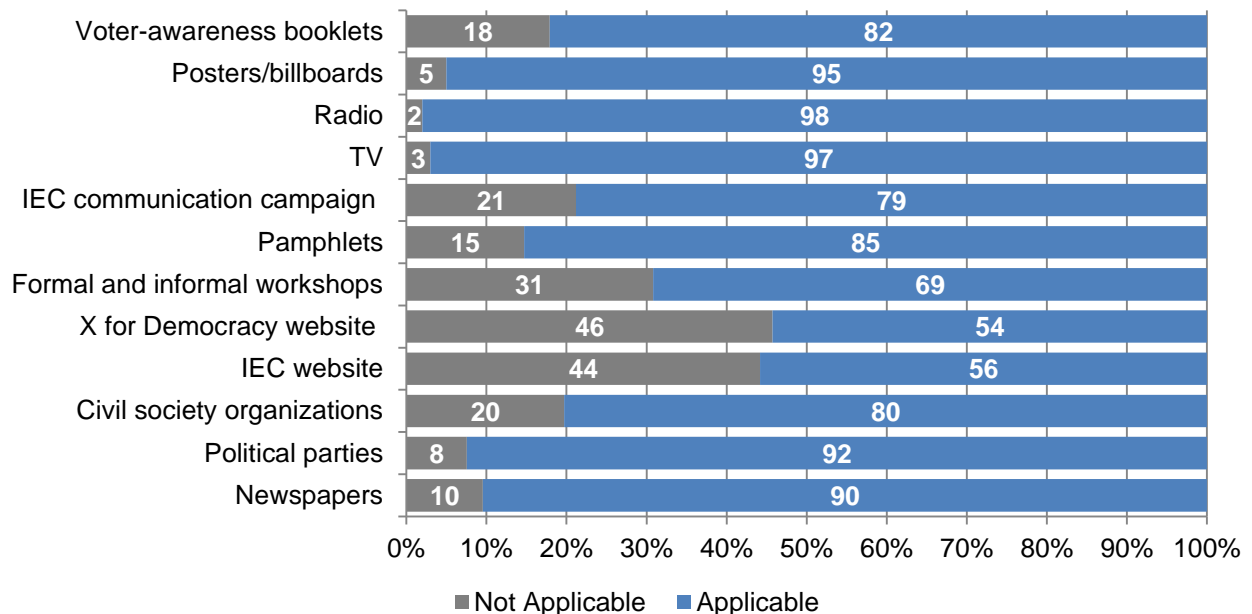
effectiveness of the education campaign higher. The same of true of other provinces such as KwaZulu-Natal (M=90 in 2011 and M=83 in 2014), Limpopo (M=88 in 2011 and M=80 in 2014) and Mpumalanga (M=86 in 2011 and M=80 in 2014). These variations in opinion do not seem to be the result of differences between urban (M=85) and rural voters (M=85), who were found not be differing significantly on the voter education effectiveness scale. Rural and urban voters during the 2011 municipal elections reported lower effectiveness scores (both M =82) than in the 2014 elections.

### 3.10.2 Usefulness of information sources



In order to adequately understand the effectiveness of the IEC's voter education campaign, it is important to comprehend the access by South Africa to different sources of information. This study considered 12 different information sources: (i) Newspapers, (ii) Political parties, (iii) Civil society organizations, (iv) IEC website, (v) X for Democracy website, (vi) Formal and informal workshops, (vii) Pamphlets, (viii) IEC communication campaign, (ix) TV, (x) Radio, (xi) Posters/billboards, and (xii) Voter-awareness booklets. Access to these different information sources are depicted in Figure 28.

**Figure 28: Reach of information sources in providing voter education (percent)**



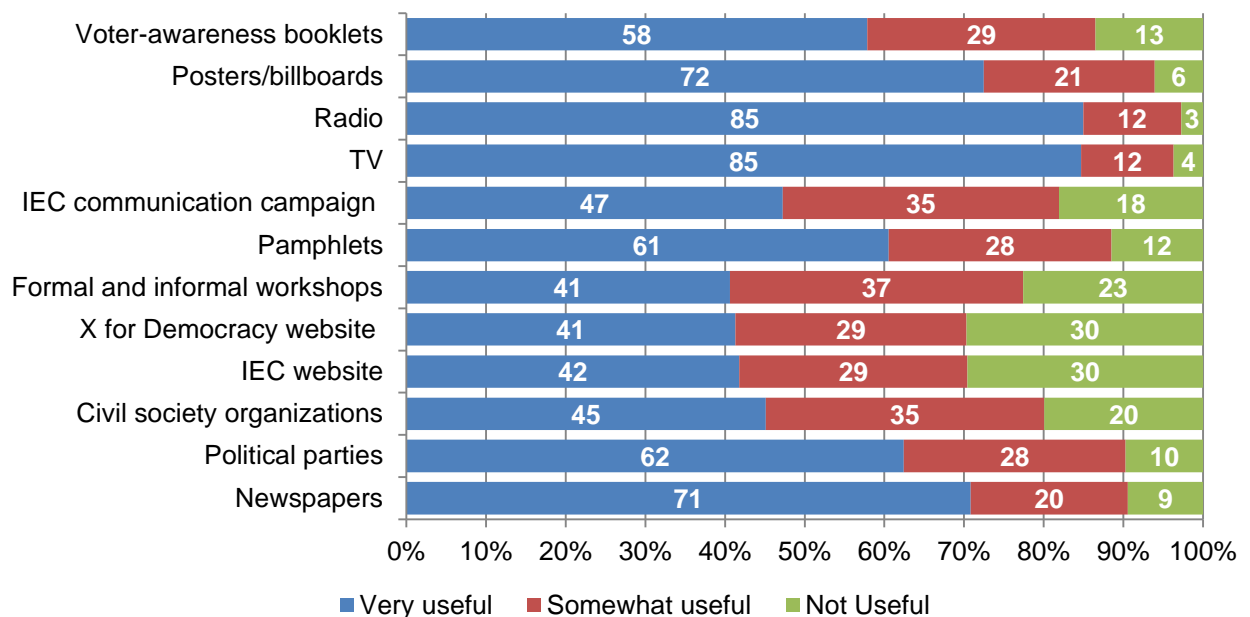
Source: Election Satisfaction Survey (2014)

It is evident that certain sources of information have relatively low levels of public access. In particular, more than two-fifths (46% and 44% respectively) of South Africans lacked access

to the IEC’s online education campaign portals. Most South Africans had access to conventional sources of media such as radio and TV. Interestingly, high access was reported for voter-awareness booklets and voter education pamphlets.

As indicated above voters were asked to indicate the extent to which they found 12 different information sources useful in providing information about voting, with response options being “very useful”, “somewhat useful” or “not useful”. National level responses are presented in Figure 29. Multimedia civic and democracy education via radio and television (97% and 96% respectively) were considered by the voting public as very useful as information sources about voting. Posters and billboards (94%), newspapers (91%) as well as political parties (90%) also received broadly positive evaluations. Only small minorities cited these sources as ‘not useful’. Interestingly only a small fraction believed that radio and television were not useful sources (3% and 4% respectively).

**Figure 29: Perceived usefulness of information sources in providing voter education (percent)**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

Moderately lower levels of usefulness were reported in relation to voter awareness booklets (87%), civil society organisations (80%), the IEC communication campaign (82%), and workshops (77%). Interestingly a larger share of voting South Africans in the 2011 municipal elections found civil society organisations, the IEC communication campaign, and workshops as less useful in the last local elections when compared with voters in the 2014 national elections. Sources based on information technology such as the ‘X for democracy’ website (70%) and the IEC website (71%) were found to be useful by the lowest proportion of voters, which is a reflection of the generally low levels of access to this media source while a majority who accessed these sources found them either very or somewhat useful.

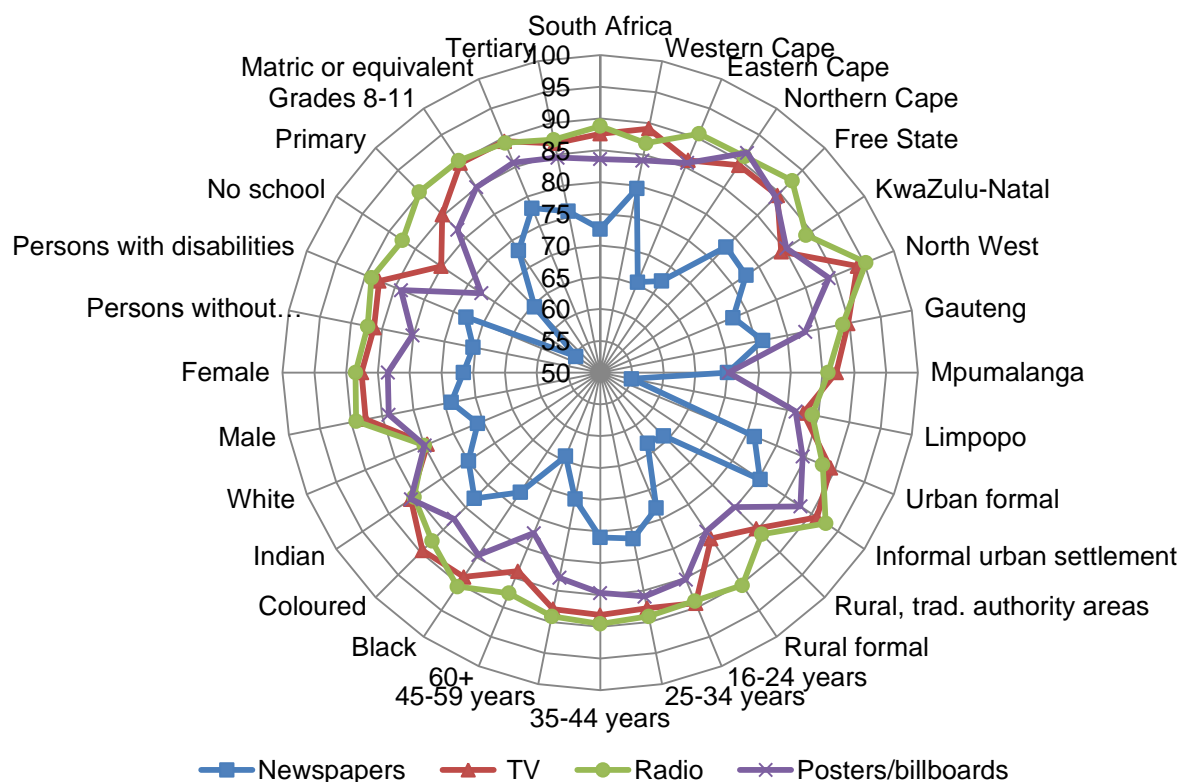
Although these sources of information were considered useful by many South Africans, conventional sources of media were rated more favourably.

In order to more adequately understand which sources of information voting South Africans found useful, it is necessary to construct appropriate indexes which will allow subgroup analysis to be effectively conducted. For each of the information sources, a usefulness scale was constructed by reversing the original scale and transforming it to a 0-100 score where 0 means that the source was deemed not useful and 100 signified that the voter rated the source as very useful as a source of voter education. 'Not applicable' responses were recoded as missing since this enabled us to focus on the perceived usefulness among different subgroups in South Africa accounting for access to specific information sources. Different categories of sources of information are discussed and analysed below.

### 3.10.2.1 Conventional media

Differences in the perceived usefulness of conventional media such as radio, television, billboards and posters, as well as newspapers, on the basis of the characteristics of voters that were interviewed on Election Day, are presented in Figure 30.

**Figure 30: Perceived usefulness of conventional media in providing voter education, by voter characteristics (percent)**



Source: Election Satisfaction Survey (2014)

With respect to **radio**, voters in the North West rated the usefulness of radio the highest (M=96), about as high as during the 2011 municipal elections (M=96), while those in Limpopo rated it the lowest (M=86). This represents a decline when compared with voters during the 2011 municipal elections. Voters in North West, Mpumalanga, Gauteng, and KwaZulu-Natal also reported lower levels of usefulness of radio when compared with the 2011 municipal elections. Voters in rural areas (M=87) on average reported lower usefulness scores than those in urban areas with those in informal urban settlements (M=91) rating the usefulness of this source the highest. No statistically different variations on radio usefulness were found for age groups in South Africa unlike in 2011 municipal elections, when voters aged 60 years and older generally viewed radio as being less useful in providing voting information compared to younger age groups. Black voters reported a higher radio usefulness score (M=92) than all other population groups, while the score among Indian and coloured voters (M=90 and 89 respectively) was also significantly above that of white voters (M=85).

**Television** was rated as most useful by voters in the North West (M=95) although this was lower than what was observed during the 2011 municipal elections. Voters in Gauteng (M =93) also rated television as useful source of information for the elections while it was rated lowest by voters in the Limpopo (M= 85). Those based on rural areas were also moderately less favourable (M=86) towards television as a means of deriving election-related information than all other urban locations. Black and coloured voters had higher usefulness scores (both M=91) than white voters (M=84) and Indian voters (M=89). Female voters not more likely to rate television useful for voting education purposes than male voters and no substantial differences were also observed on the basis of disability status and educational attainment.



**Posters and billboards** received the highest usefulness score in Northern Cape (M= 92) and the Free State and the North West (both M=89). During the 2011 municipal elections, voters in KwaZulu-Natal and North West reported higher levels of usefulness on this score than in the 2014 national elections. Voting residences in Mpumalanga also reported lower levels of usefulness in 2014 national elections than in the 2011 municipal elections. Indeed, these voters reported the usefulness score on this score when compared to other subgroups in Figure 30. Voters

located in informal urban settlements (M=88) were more approving than those in rural areas (M=80) and formal urban areas (M=84). As for age differences, those older than 60 years rated billboards and posters (M=77) as less useful information sources than all younger age groups. Those with either no schooling or only some secondary education were

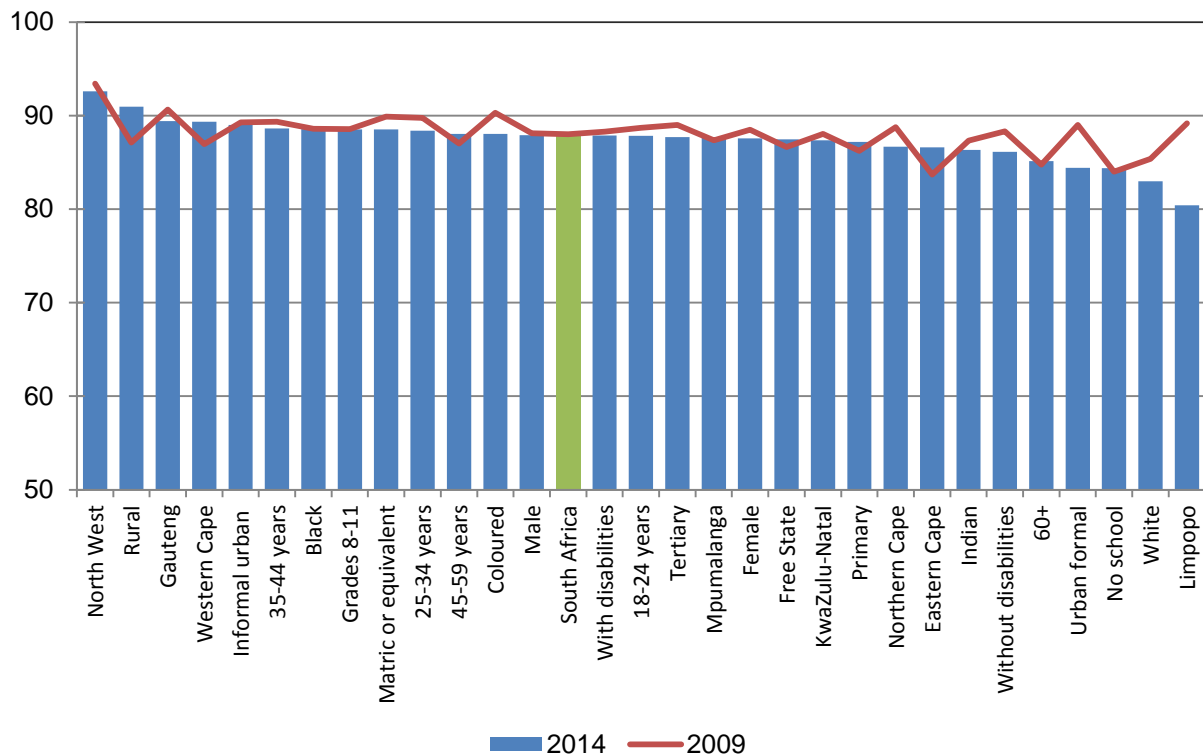
less positive about billboards and posters than those with better education. These figures are comparable to what was observed during the 2011 municipal elections.

**Newspapers** were most favourably viewed as a source of information about voting in the Western Cape (M=87), the North West (M=84) and Gauteng (M=83) especially in comparison with Limpopo (M=64), Northern Cape (M=72), and the Eastern Cape (M=76). The print media was most popular among voters resident in informal urban areas (M=86) compared to all other geographic locations, with those in rural areas who scored the lowest (M=71). This is similar to what was found when a similar indicator was considered during the 2011 municipal election. Voters older than 60 years (M=76) were somewhat less convinced of the usefulness of newspapers as sources of election information than those aged 18-24 years (M=80), 25-34 years and 35-44 years (both M=83). Black and coloured voters (M=81 and 83 respectively) were moderately more in favour of the usefulness of newspapers than white and Indian voters (both M=79). As with posters and billboards, those with some secondary education or higher tended to favour newspapers as an information source more than the lower educated, especially those with no schooling or a primary level education.



If the conventional media scores -radio, television, posters and billboards and newspapers - are combined into a single score (the Perceived Conventional Media Index) then it is possible to conduct comparative analysis between different periods. This index is compared across subgroups using public opinion data from 2009 and 2014 national and provincial elections and presented in Figure 31. As can be observed, public evaluations of the usefulness of the conventional media were marginally higher for most subgroups for the 2009 elections than in the 2014 elections. This suggests that the proficiency of the IEC to utilise conventional media to diffuse information on voting procedures (and elections more generally) has somewhat declined in the last five years. The gaps between 2009 and 2014 on the Perceived Conventional Media Index were higher for some subgroups (such as voters in Limpopo and white voters) than others. Rural voters and voters in the Eastern Cape gave moderately higher evaluations on this index in 2014 when compared to 2009.

**Figure 31: Perceived Conventional Media Index, by voter characteristics in 2009 and 2014**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2009) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2009.

Note: The Perceived Conventional Media Index was created by summing together four usefulness scales (newspapers, TV, radio and posters) together. This combined score was converted into a '0-100' index with '0' representing the lowest level of usefulness and the '100' the highest.

### 3.10.2.2 Political parties and civil society organisations

Political and non-partisan organisations also played a demonstrable role in promoting messages and information about elections and voting, and sub-national analysis of 0-100 usefulness scores for such institutions are found in Figure 32.

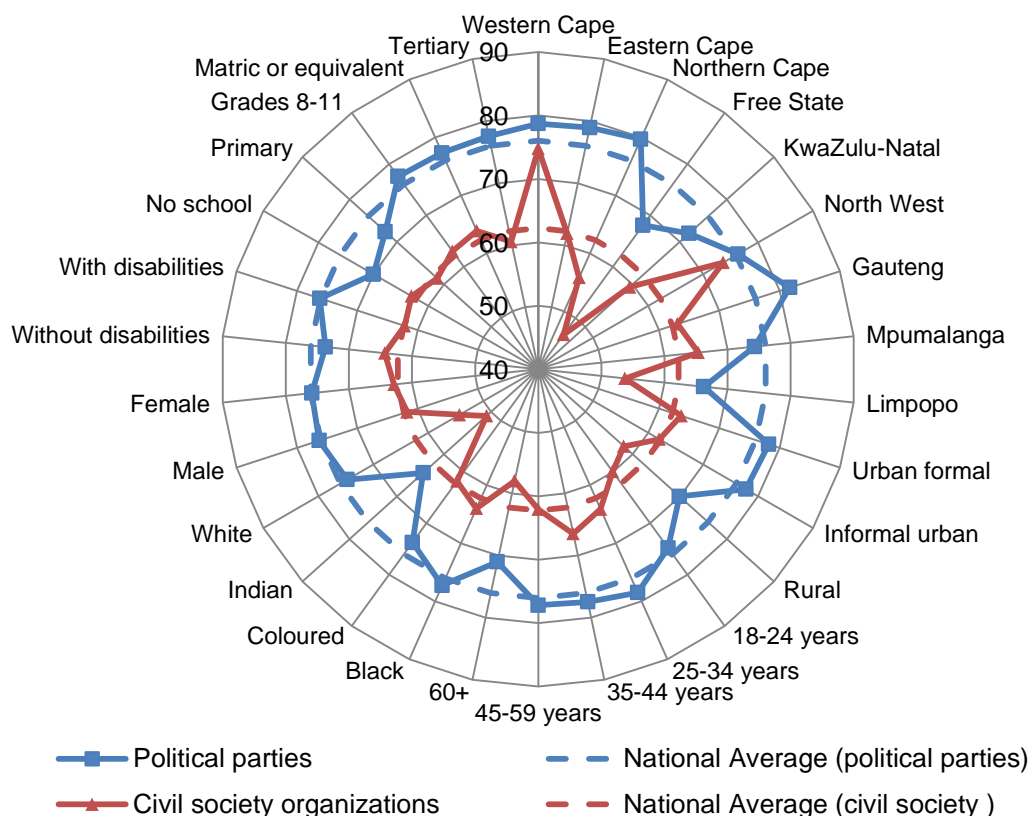
Political parties were found to be viewed as most useful in this respect by voters in the Northern Cape (M=79), the Eastern Cape (M=79) and Gauteng (M=82) to the extent that their average usefulness scores were significantly above the national average (M=76). Political parties were viewed as less useful in other province, particularly Limpopo (M=66), the Free State (M=68) and the KwaZulu-Natal (M=72). In the 2011 municipal elections voters in KwaZulu-Natal rated political parties (M=84) substantially more highly. The same was also true of voters in the Free State. Those in urban areas (M=76) were most





convinced of the effectiveness of political parties as promoters of voter education than those in rural locations (M=70). Black voters were more greatly predisposed towards believing in political parties as effective election-related information sources (M=76) than all other population groups. Indian voters (M=62), in particular, felt the parties were less effective than the black majority. A similar finding was noted during the 2011 municipal elections, although during those elections the evaluations of Indian voters on this source were higher. Voters with a better education tended to view political parties as more effective than those with lower levels of education.

**Figure 32: Perceived usefulness of political parties and civil society organisations in providing voter education, by voter characteristics (per cent)**

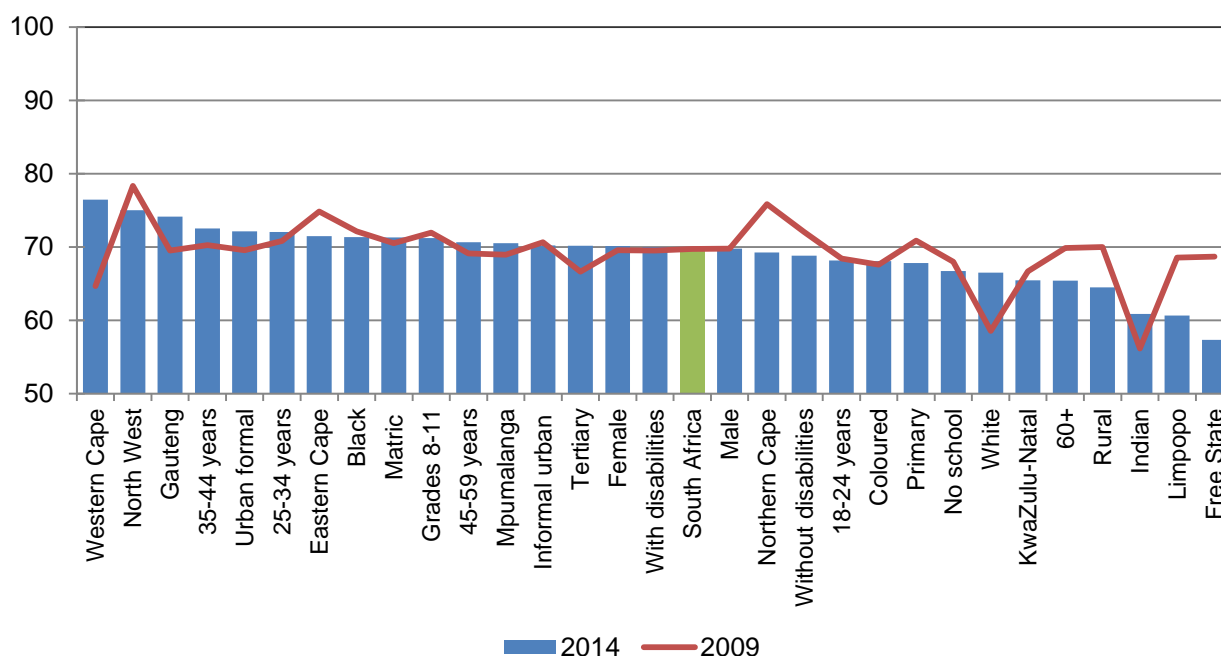


Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

Civil society organisations (CSOs) were most likely to be cited as a valuable, efficient source of electoral information by voters in the North West (M=74), which was significantly higher than all other provinces. Support for CSOs as mechanisms for educating voters was also relatively high in the Western Cape (M=75). Conversely, voters in the Free State (M=47) and Limpopo (M=54) were less likely to rate CSOs as effective compared with voters in all other provinces. If these results are compared to what was observed in 2011, it is apparently that voter evaluations have declined in these provinces. Voters in rural areas rated CSOs only marginally higher on the usefulness scale (M=62) than all other urban formal locations, while those in informal urban settlements had similar evaluations of CSOs. No evident differences were noted between men and women on the usefulness of CSOs.

Much like what was found for political parties, black and coloured voters (M=62) had higher scores than all other population groups, while Indian voters (M=51) were again more negative than white (M=54). Unlike what was observed on political parties, voters in the 18-24 age cohorts (M=60) scored marginally below middle age cohorts. Unlike what was observed in the 2011 municipal election, an educational effect was not as strongly observed. However, it was apparent that those with a post-Matric education scoring below those with lower educational levels. Voters with either no schooling or primary education were marginally more likely to believe that CSOs were effective information sources than voters who had post-Matric.

**Figure 33: Perceived Political Parties and Civil Society Organisation Index, by voter characteristics in 2009 and 2014**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2009) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2009.

Note: The Perceived Political Parties and Civil Society Organisation Index was created by summing together two usefulness scales (political parties and civil society organisations) together. This combined score was converted into a '0-100' index with '0' representing the lowest level of usefulness and the '100' the highest.

If the two scores –political parties and civic organisations –are combined into a single score (the Perceived Political Parties and Civil Society Organisation Index) then it is possible to conduct comparative analysis between different periods. This index is compared across subgroups using public opinion data from 2009 and 2014 national and provincial elections and presented in Figure 33. It clear from the figure that there are strong similarities between what was observed in 2014 and 2009, and most differences observed were somewhat marginal. There are, however, some highly evident inclines on certain subgroups. Other differences noted were that voters in the Free State and the Mpumalanga found

more useful as a source of information in 2014 than in 2009. This stands in contrast to what was observed for voters in the Western Cape and Limpopo. Interestingly white voters found organisations (like political parties and CSOs) less useful as a source of information in 2014 than in 2009.

### 3.10.2.3 IEC online voter education



The IEC public website ([www.elections.org.za](http://www.elections.org.za)) is a comprehensive channel through which the Electoral Commission communicated with voters, political parties and the media, as well as other stakeholder groups. For voters it provided critical information such as when, where and how to both register and vote, in addition to offering built-in functionality that enabled one to check on the voters' roll to determine whether one was registered and gain details on his or her voting station. Political parties and candidates could find out how to register, check their registration status, acquire details on the candidate nomination process, and readily download requisite forms. Candidate lists were also available online. Furthermore, all election results were published on the website, making it an indispensable tool for those with access to the internet and wanting to keep informed

about election-related processes.

The X for Democracy website<sup>2</sup> was a joint initiative between SABC Education and the Electoral Commission, with an explicit emphasis on providing youth with information about registration, voting, and IEC events. It also provided a platform for the youth to express their opinions. Differences in the perceived usefulness of the IEC's online voter education, on the basis of the characteristics of voters that were interviewed on Election Day, are presented in Figure 34.

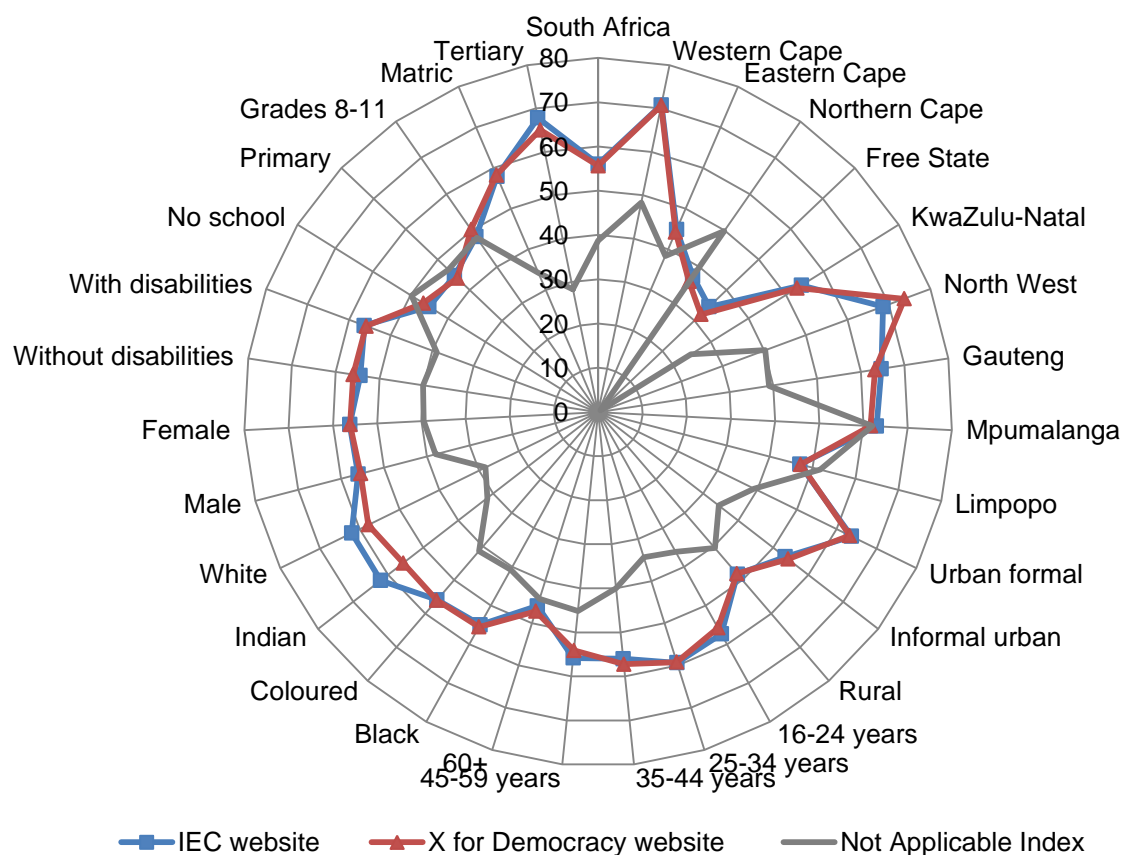


Confidence in the usefulness of the IEC website as an informational source was highest among voters in the North West (M=69) and the Western Cape (M=71), with the average score significantly above that of voters in all other provinces. This represents, compared to the 2011 municipal elections, an increase in positive evaluations for this source in these provinces. Perceived usefulness of the site was also high among the voting public in the Gauteng (M=63) and Mpumalanga (M=62). In the rural provinces, in the Northern Cape

<sup>2</sup> The website address is: <http://www.sabceducation.com/Subsites/xDemocracy/>

(M=37), the Free State (M=35) and Limpopo (M=47), usefulness scores were found to be significantly below those reported in all other provinces. Voters in formal urban areas (M=64) rated the IEC website higher than all other locations, while informal urban areas had a higher usefulness score (M=53) than rural areas (M=48). It is somewhat disappointing to note relatively no change in evaluations for rural voters on this source between the 2011 municipal elections and the recent 2014 national elections. There was no gender disparity in usefulness scores, though voters without disabilities were more favourable about the website than voters with disabilities.

**Figure 34: Perceived usefulness of the IEC related internet sites and online campaign in providing voter education, by voter characteristics (percent)**



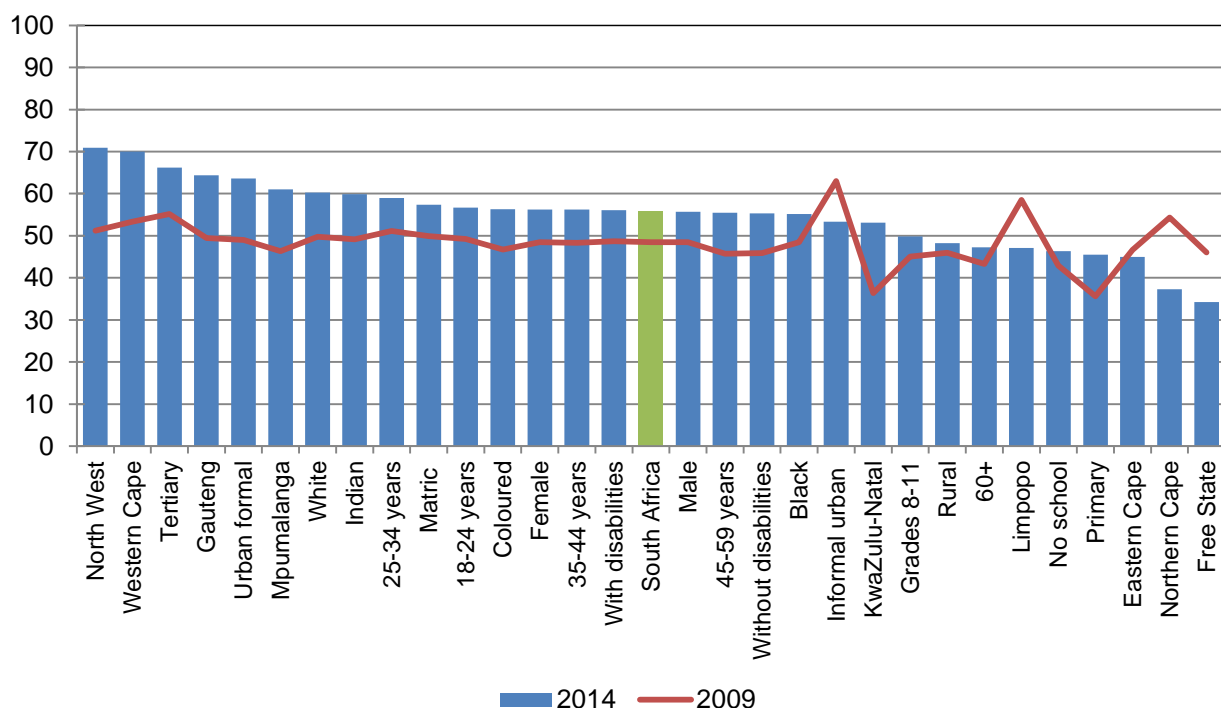
Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

There was a strong age effect in perceived usefulness of the IEC website, with 25-34 year-olds rating it the highest (M=59), followed closely by 18-24 year-olds (M=57). The ratings offered by these young voter cohorts were marginally higher than those aged 45-59 years (M=56) and far higher than those older than 60 years (M=46). By equal measure, voters aged 35-44 years and 45-59 years had higher usefulness scores than those of pensionable age (60 years and older). A strong educational gradient was evident, with voters with a post-Matric education more positive (M=68) than all other education levels. Similarly, those voters who have completed Matric (M=58) or have at least some secondary schooling

(M=48) had greater mean usefulness scores than those with no schooling (M=45) or a primary level education (M=45).

Support for the X Democracy website was greatest in the North West (M=74) and the Western Cape (M=71), while it was lowest in the Northern Cape (M=36), the Free State (M=32) and the Eastern Cape (M=44). In the case of the Eastern Cape and the Free State, this represents a decline when compared with the 2011 municipal elections. There was a notable rural/urban pattern of difference in the rating of the 'X for Democracy' website, with evaluations among voters in formal urban areas and informal urban settlements (M=63 and 54 respectively) surpassing those in rural areas (M=48). As with the IEC website, we again observed a distinct age effect, with those aged 18-24 years, 25-34 years and 35-44 years generally rating the X for Democracy website higher than those aged 45-59 years or older than 60 years. While this was likely to partially reflect generational differences in internet usage, it also suggested that a considerable share of the website's target audience (the youth) valued it as a source of election-related information. The educational gradient emerges again, with voters with a Matric (M=58) or post-Matric (M=65) education tending to voice higher approval than the less educated.

**Figure 35: Perceived IEC Information Communication Technology Index, by voter characteristics in 2009 and 2014**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2009) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2009.

Note: The IEC Information Communication Technology Index was created by summing together two usefulness scales (IEC website and X Democracy website) together. This combined score was converted into a '0-100' index with '0' representing the lowest level of usefulness and the '100' the highest.

If the online education source scores – IEC website and the X for Democracy website – are combined into a single score (the IEC Information Communication Technology Index) then it is possible to conduct comparative analysis between different periods. This index is compared across subgroups using public opinion data from 2009 and 2014 national and provincial elections and presented in Figure 35. It clear from the figure that there are strong dissimilarities between what was observed in 2014 and 2009, and most differences observed were comparatively large. For most subgroups, there has been observed incline in the evaluations of online education by the voting population. A particularly sharp difference was noted between those voters in KwaZulu-Natal in 2014 than in 2009. Voters in the Free State, Limpopo and the Northern Cape found the IEC’s online campaign more useful in 2009 than in 2014. Urban voters gave better evaluations of outline sources in 2014 when compared to 2009. The size of this increase was more substantial than the increase in favourable attitudes among rural voters.

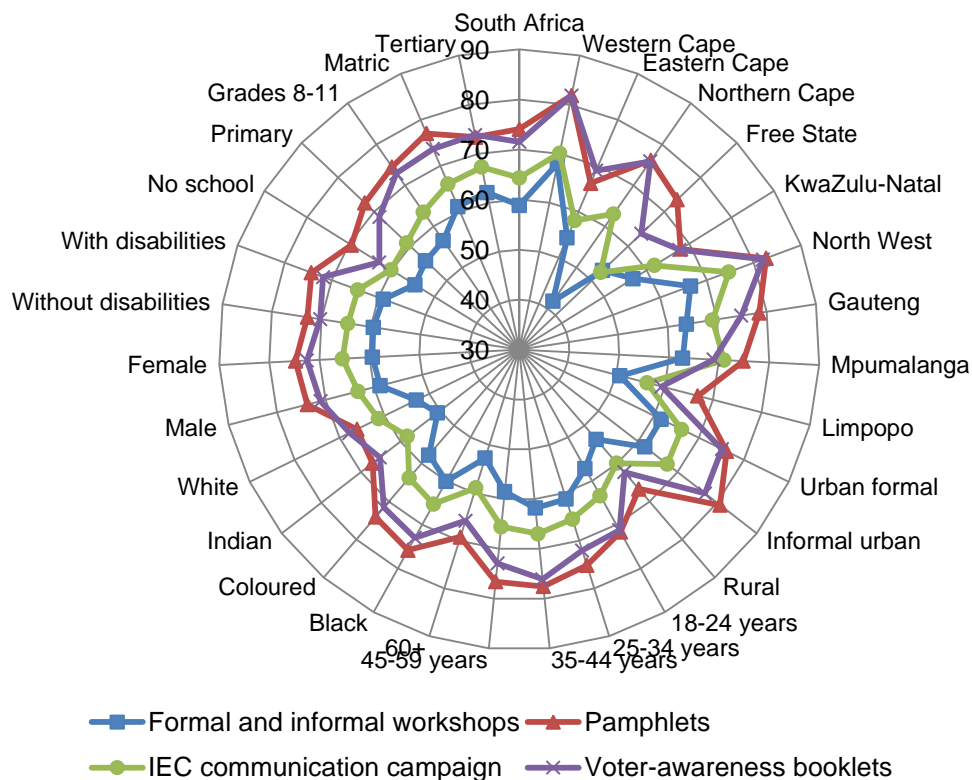
### 3.10.2.3 IEC communication campaign and voter education materials

The Electoral Commission's communication campaign aimed to promote voter turnout, minimise spoilt ballots, and facilitate an increasingly informed and empowered electorate. It included multiple media platforms, the deployment of fieldworkers to conduct community-level voter education, convening of provincial conferences and dialogue meetings. An integral part of any successful voter education endeavour is well-designed educational material that is readily accessible in all languages, as a means of ensuring that voters are suitably prepared and able to participate in election-related events.



The IEC produced for the 2014 national and provincial elections an illustrated booklet that was translated and distributed in 35 different versions. These included, in all 11 official languages: (i) a standard A5 version, (ii) a large-print A4 version for the visually-impaired, and (iii) a plain language version for those with low literacy. Furthermore, a Braille and audio version were prepared to further expand the reach of the voter education messages to persons with disabilities. Workshops and pamphlets were also employed in voter education campaigns in the 2014 national elections. Differences in the perceived usefulness of the IEC’s voter education campaigns, on the basis of the characteristics of voters that were interviewed on Election Day, are presented in Figure 36.

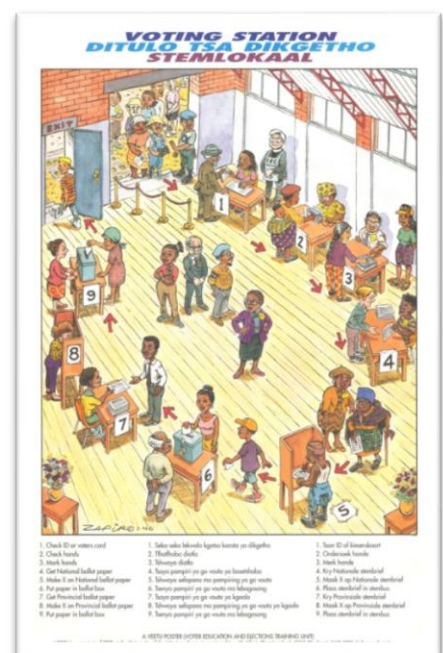
**Figure 36: Perceived usefulness of the workshops, pamphlets and voter awareness booklets in providing voter education, by voter characteristics (percent)**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

The strongest support for the IEC campaign was among voters in the Western Cape (M=70) and the North West (M=75). Evaluations on this source in these provinces were somewhat more favourable during the 2011 municipal elections. In other provinces, the scores among voters was somewhat lower, particularly in the Free State (M=52) and Limpopo (M=56) which reported the lowest evaluations. Voters in informal urban settlements had highest usefulness scores in respect of the IEC communication campaign (M=67), with the average score for this group exceeding those (if only marginally) in formal urban (M=66) and rural (M=60) areas. Black African voters (M=65) were found to be moderately more positive than other population groups, particularly Indian (M=58) and white (M=61) voters.

Those of pensionable age (60+ years) were less favourable (M=59) towards the usefulness of the IEC’s campaign than all other age groups. Future voter education efforts clearly need to attempt to pay special consideration to the needs of older voters. Black and Indian voters are more favourable in their evaluations on this source during the 2011 municipal elections. No significant gender differences existed, but voters with disabilities scored lower on the usefulness scale



than those without disabilities. Voters with a post-Matric education (M=67) evaluated the campaign as moderately more useful than the less educated, particularly those with no schooling (M=60).

As shown in Figure 36, voter awareness booklets were valued foremost by voters in the Western Cape (M=82), the North West (M=82) and the Northern Cape (M=76). Voters in these provinces gave this source less favourable ratings during the 2011 municipal elections. The booklets were assigned a significantly higher score than by voters in Limpopo (M=59) and the Free State (M= who reported mean evaluations far below the national average (M=72). Ratings among urban informal dwellers (M=75) ranked higher than all other geographic locations, particularly those in rural areas (M=62). There were only very minor differences in the usefulness evaluations for voter awareness booklets of male and female voters. Voters with disabilities had a marginally lower mean score than persons without disabilities (M=70 and 71 respectively).

Those aged 18-24 years and 25-34 years regarded booklets moderately more approvingly (M=71 and M=72 respectively) than those aged 60 and above (M=66). Those in middle age cohorts reported similar, or in the case of the 35-44 age cohort (M=76) higher evaluations of awareness booklets. Interestingly, during the 2011 municipal elections, younger age cohorts reported higher evaluations than those in the middle age cohorts. Indian and white voters



rated the booklets significantly lower (M=65 and 68 respectively) than all other population groups, especially black voters who gave a very favourable rating (M=73) to the awareness booklets. Voters with some secondary schooling or who had completed Matric (M=73 for both) were more positive in their assessment of the booklets than either those with no schooling (M=63) or (to a lesser extent) primary education (M=69).

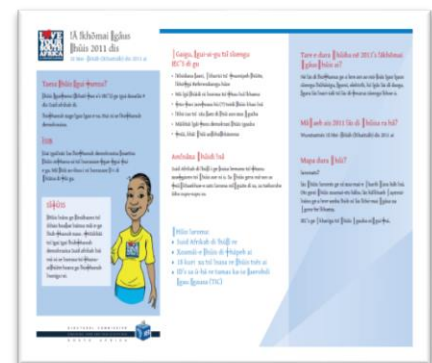
Pamphlets were perceived as most useful by voters in the Gauteng (M=79), the Western Cape (M=82) and the North West (M=83) with the lowest scores reported in the Eastern Cape (M=66) and Limpopo (M=67). Voters residing in informal urban settlements assessed pamphlets more favourably (M=81) than any other geographic location. Rural dwellers scored pamphlets significantly lower (M=67) than those in formal urban areas (M=76). Voters of pensionable age (60+ years) ranked pamphlets lower (M=69) than those aged 18-24 years, 25-34 years and 35-44 years. Black voters were more positive (M=76) in their appraisal than all other population groups, while white voters (M=66) were less inclined to view pamphlets as a useful information. A comparable distinction between age cohorts was noted during the 2011 municipal elections. A mild differences in usefulness scores emerged in terms of the sex, with male voters finding pamphlets less useful, on average, than their counterparts. Differences between educational attainment groups on the evaluation of



pamphlets were similar to what was found for awareness booklets. Voters with a completed Matric (M=77) or some secondary schooling (M=75) rated pamphlets moderately higher than either those with no schooling (m=70) or a primary education (M=73).

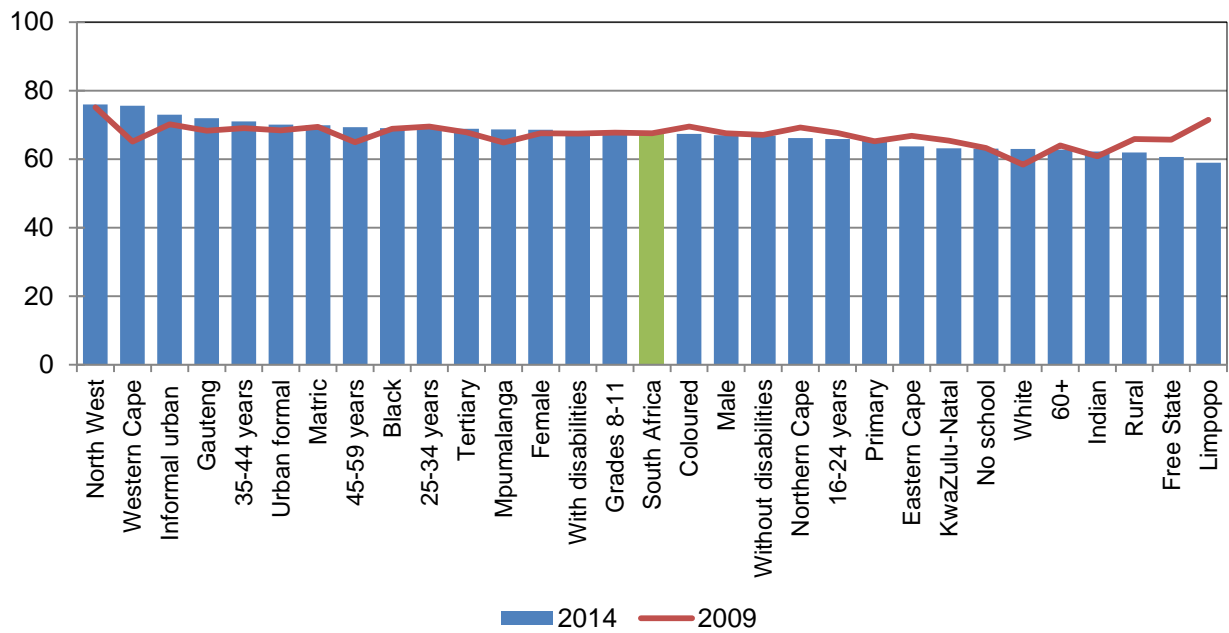
The final information source that voters were asked to comment on was formal and informal workshops. Most partial to workshops were voters in the North West (M=67) and Western Cape (M=68), with a mean usefulness score of these provinces that exceeded that reported in all other provinces. This represents a substantial improvement in evaluations on this source for Western Cape voters since the 2011 municipal elections. Voters in the Northern Cape (M=42) and Limpopo (M=51) ranked significantly below the other nine provinces. Workshops received the highest assessment from voters residing in urban settlements (M=62) relative to rural (M=54) locations. As with other information source scores discussed in this chapter, no significant gender differences existed.

Voters aged 60 years and older were less enthused (M=53) about the usefulness of workshops than those aged 18-24 years (M=57), 25-34 years (M=61) and 35-44 years (M=62). A similar pattern was observed during the 2011 municipal elections. Black voters valued workshops more (M=60) than all other population groups, while coloured voters rated them higher (M=58) than Indian (M=51) and white (M=53) voters. No differences were noted between voters with and without disabilities when rating the usefulness of this source of information. The survey also revealed that those who had completed a Matric or completed post-Matric (M=61 and 62 respectively) were more positive than those with lower levels of education.



If the traditional forms of outreach scores discussed are combined into a single score (the Traditional IEC Campaign Index) then it is possible to conduct comparative analysis between different periods. This index is compared across subgroups using public opinion data from 2009 and 2014 national and provincial elections and presented in Figure 37. It is clear from the figure that there are dissimilarities between what was observed in 2014 and 2009. For most subgroups, there has been observed moderate inclines on the index by groups between 2009 and 2014. A particularly sharp difference was noted between those voters in the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal in 2014 than in 2009. Interestingly voters in Mpumalanga and Limpopo found the IEC's traditional outreach campaign more marginally useful in 2009 than in 2014.

**Figure 37: Perceived Traditional IEC Campaign Index, by voter characteristics in 2009 and 2014**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014; HSRC (2009) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2009.

Note: The Traditional IEC Campaign Index was created by summing together four usefulness scales (formal and informal workshops, pamphlets, IEC communication campaign, and voter-awareness booklets) together. This combined score was converted into a '0-100' index with '0' representing the lowest level of usefulness and the '100' the highest.

#### 4. Election Observer Interview Results

As previously discussed, elections require transparency, neutrality, fairness and equity in order to be credible, and the IEC institutes a range of measures in order to achieve this. The use of accredited foreign and domestic observers during electoral processes represents a notable example of types of safeguards that are employed. Observer missions can assume different forms. These vary from larger missions, where observers monitor the lead-up to elections, the voting process on Election Day, and the counting and determination of results, to smaller missions where the predominant focus is on monitoring processes on Election Day exclusively (Bezuidenhout & Retief, 2014). In terms of the scope of such missions, they again range from those that deploy observers in all provinces to those that focus on voting processes in a specific community context. With respect to the electoral process on Election Day, accredited observers are mandated to monitor voting processes from the period before a voting station opens until the time it closes at 9pm, to observe the ballot counting process, as well as the determination and announcement.



The presence of impartial and non-partisan observers at voting stations is seen as essential in maintaining order and integrity at voting stations. As neutral outsiders, they provide voters with a sense of assurance and confidence that the election process is managed fairly and by a credible body (Bezuidenhout & Retief, 2014). They pay attention to the conditions of voting station facilities, bring irregularities that are witnessed and complaints that are reported to the attention of Presiding Officers or Counting Officers so that they can be promptly addressed, and report to the Electoral Commission and the broader public about positive and negative observations as a basis for improving electoral management in successive elections.

The election observer component of the 2014 Election Satisfaction Survey focused on capturing the views of local and international observers that came to observe the elections at the 300 voting stations that were included in the study sample. More specifically, it aimed to encourage observers to evaluate, amongst other things, aspects of the voting station experience, the accessibility of voting stations, the incidence of disturbances, the freeness and fairness of the electoral process and the conduct of IEC officials. Election observers

interviewed in the survey provided valuable perspectives and assessments of the 2014 elections. Recognising based on past experience that the likelihood was that relatively few election observers would visit many of the sampled voting stations, HSRC fieldworkers were advised to interview all election observers visiting their designated voting stations. For this reason, the interviewers did not interview the observers during specific time slots as was the case with voter interviews. For the voter interviews the fieldworkers conducted the interviews during four time slots to ensure a fair spread of voter interviews over different times of the day when different dynamics might be in operation. This was however not possible for the observer interviews.

Fieldworkers wore HSRC Election Bibs as well as a card marked clearly with their name and the words “Exit Poll” to clarify their function to prospective interview respondents. Each fieldworker obtained permission from the voting officials to situate themselves at a point close to where voters emerged from the voting station after casting their votes. It was at this point that interviews were conducted. HSRC Researchers visited the selected voting stations randomly during the day to verify that the two surveys (voter and election observer) were conducted in the prescribed manner.



*Picture 1: HSRC Interviewer and Voters on voting day, 7<sup>th</sup> May 2014*

#### **4.1. Profile of Election Observers**

A total of 79 observer interviews were conducted. The majority of observers (N=65) were South African; in addition there was one observer from each of the following African countries: Kenya, Malawi, Namibia, Somalia, Swaziland, Tanzania and Zambia. Seven respondents did not indicate a country of origin. Table 16 provides the distribution of voting stations and number of observers interviewed per province. The highest proportion

of election observer interviews were conducted in Gauteng (30%, N=24) and KwaZulu-Natal (22%, N=17). Conversely, the Northern Cape (1%, N=1) and Free State with (1%, N=1) had the lowest proportion of recorded observer interviews.

**Table 16: Frequency of sampled voting stations and election observers by province**

Province	Sample of Voting stations (N)		Election Observers Interviews (N)	Election Observers Interviews (%)
	Realized	Sampled		
Western Cape	31	31	10	12.7
Eastern Cape	47	47	10	12.7
Northern Cape	20	20	1	1.3
Free State	26	26	1	1.3
KwaZulu-Natal	49	49	17	21.5
North West	28	28	2	2.5
Gauteng	39	39	24	30.4
Mpumalanga	24	24	3	3.8
Limpopo	36	36	11	13.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>100%</b>

About two-fifths (41%, N=32) of the observers were interviewed at voting stations located in formal urban areas, while slightly more than a third (37 %, N=29) were interviewed rural areas and close to a fifth (22%, N=17) in informal urban settlements (see Table 17). There were more male (60% or N=45) than female (40% or N=30) observers. The largest proportion of observers had a post-matric qualification (56% or N=44) or a matric / grade 12 qualification (26% or N=20).

**Table 17: Descriptive statistics of demographic variables for election observers**

	(%)	(N)
South Africa	100	78
<b>Geographic location</b>		
Urban formal	41	32
Informal urban settlement	22	17
Rural areas	37	29
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	60	45
Female	40	30
<b>Education level</b>		
No school	1	1
Primary	9	7
Grades 8-11	8	6
Matric or equivalent	26	20
Post-matric	56	44

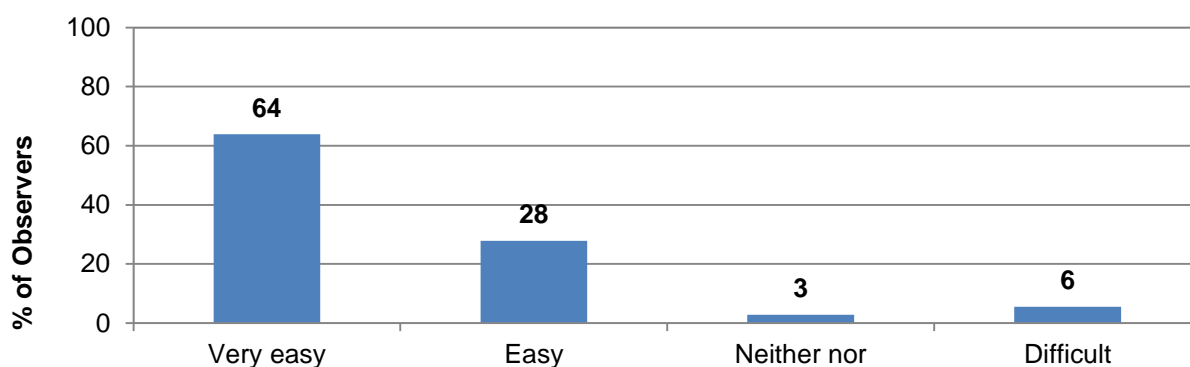
## 4.2. Characteristics of voting stations

### 4.2.1. Perceived accessibility of voting stations

In South Africa, voting districts across the country are delimited by the IEC based on population data, the voters' roll and key geographic information in order to ensure that voting stations are as readily accessible to voters as possible in elections. Relative to the 2011 municipal election, the number of voting districts that were delimited ahead of the 2014 national and provincial elections rose by 9 per cent (to 22 263) in order to accommodate growth in the number of registered voters. In keeping with this emphasis on the accessibility of voting stations to the public, the 2014 Election Satisfaction Survey included some questions in the observer questionnaire regarding their perceptions of aspects of voting station accessibility.

Observers were first requested to assess how easy or difficult they felt it was to find or locate the voting station. Responses were captured on a five-point scale ranging from "very easy" to "very difficult". As can be seen in Figure 38, the election observers that were interviewed on Election Day were generally positive in their evaluations. Close to two-thirds (64%, N=46) of the observers said the voting stations were very easy to find or locate, with a further 28 per cent (N=20) indicating that they were easy to find. A small share (3%) offered neutral ratings, while six per cent (N=4) indicated that it was difficult. None of the observers characterised the voting stations as very difficult to locate.

Figure 38: Perceived accessibility of voting stations



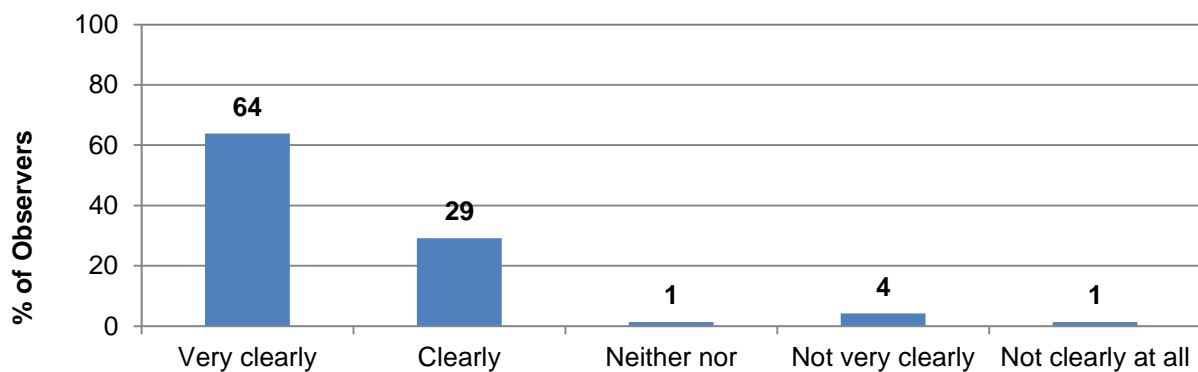
Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

### 4.2.2. Voting station signage

An integral aspect of accessibility related to how the adequacy of signage at voting stations. Observers were therefore asked about the degree to which they felt that voting stations were clearly marked or not, with responses again captured on a five-point scale ranging

from “very clearly” to “not clearly at all”. From Figure 39, it is apparent that similar evaluations to overall voting station accessibility were offered in respect of signage. An overwhelming majority (93% or N=67) of observers felt that the voting station they were visiting was either clearly or very clearly marked, of which 64% indicating that the voting stations were very clearly marked as such. Only one per cent was neutral in their opinion, while four per cent rated the voting station as not very clearly marked and six per cent rated the signage as “not very” or “not at all” clear.

**Figure 39: Voting station signage (per cent)**

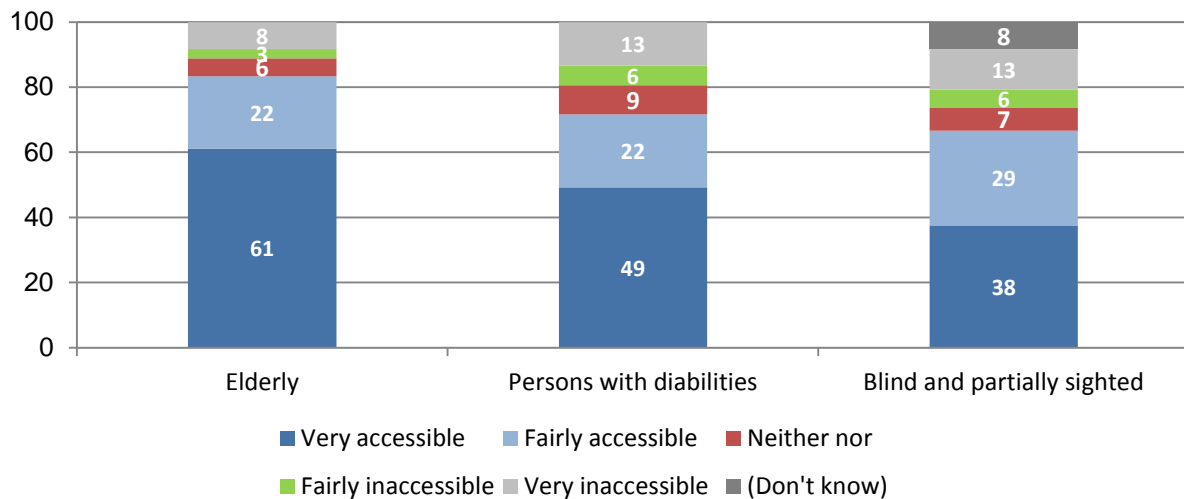


Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

#### **4.2.3. Accessibility of voting stations to voters with special needs**

The Electoral Commission also strives to ensure that voting stations are accessible for designated special needs groups, such as the elderly, persons with disabilities, and the blind and partially-sighted. In response to this priority, observers were asked whether the voting station was accessible to people with special needs (see Figure 40). The results show that the majority of the observers (83%) felt that the voting station that they were visiting was fairly accessible or very accessible for the elderly (61% very accessible; 22% fairly accessible). Slightly lower ratings were reported in relation to accessibility for persons with disabilities (very accessible – 49%, N=33; fairly accessible – 22%, N=15). Two-thirds of observers (67%) indicated that the voting station they visited was very or fairly accessible to the blind or partially sighted (38% very accessible; 29% fairly accessible). The share of observers reporting that the voting stations were fairly or very inaccessible for special needs groups ranged from 11 per cent in the case of the elderly to close to a fifth for persons with disabilities and the blind and partially-sighted (19% and 18% respectively). Respondents were the least certain about accessibility for the blind and partially-sighted, with 8 per cent selecting the “don’t know” option. These results seem to suggest that there is some additional scope for further improvements in relation to ensuring that voting stations offer ease of access to voters with disabilities.

**Figure 40: Accessibility of voting stations to persons with special needs**



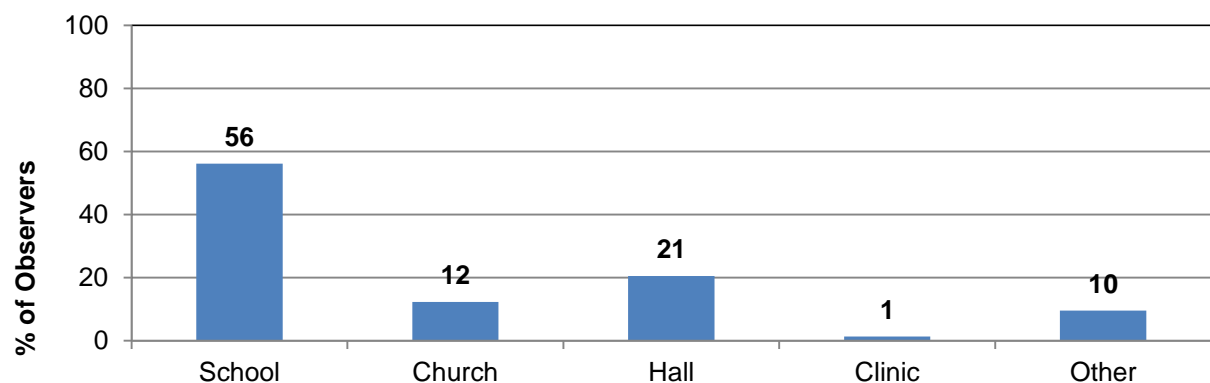
Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

Note: The base number of observers for each of the three variables presented in the graph is 72, 67 and 72 respectively.

#### 4.2.4. Type of voting station structure

The observers were also asked to indicate the type of building or structure of the voting station. Figure 41 shows the most of the observations were made at voting stations that were located within schools (56% or N=41), followed by halls (21% or N=15) and churches (12% or N=9).

**Figure 41: Structure type of voting station**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

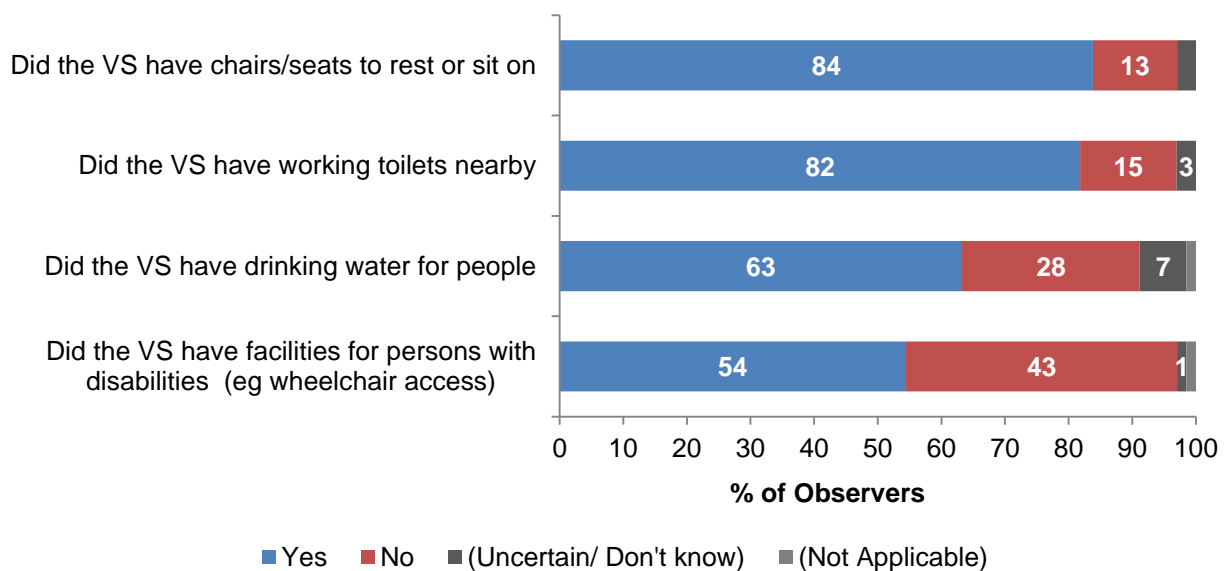
#### 4.2.5. Voting station facilities

The Electoral Commission leases the venues used as voting stations during elections, and the focus is on selecting locations and structures that are relatively stable and consistent. As



such, approximately two-thirds of voting stations are based at schools, with community halls, places of worship, medical establishments, old age homes, sports clubs, hostels, libraries, and so on, playing subsidiary roles (IEC 2014). The IEC takes into account the facilities available at different locations when considering venues for voting stations, and often seeks opportunities to enhance the facilities through strategic partnerships. Recognising this as a notable consideration for electoral preparations and Election Day experience, the observer questionnaire included questions relating to the availability of core facilities or resources at the voting stations. Specifically, observers were asked to indicate whether the voting stations they visited had: (i) seats or chairs to rest or sit on; (ii) working toilets in close proximity; (iii) available drinking water for voters and electoral staff; (iv) facilities for persons with disabilities, such as wheelchair access (see Figure 42).

**Figure 42: Facilities and infrastructure at voting stations (percent)**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

The results indicate that the majority (84% or N=57) of the voting stations where observers were interviewed had seats to rest or sit on compared to less than a fifth (13.2% or N=9) that did not. An equally large proportion of election observers reported that the voting stations had working toilets nearby (82% or N=54). A lower share of observers (63% or N=43) reported that the voting stations they visited had drinking water for people, and an even smaller proportion reported that the voting stations had facilities for persons with disabilities (54% or N=37).

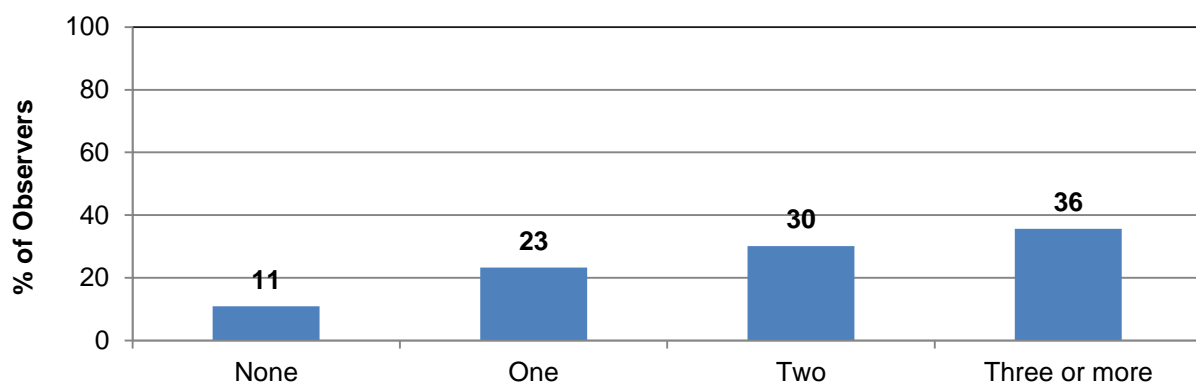
#### 4.2.6. Voting station security

The South African Police Service (SAPS), along with the South African National Defence Force (SANDF), provided security support to the Electoral Commission. These support

measures ranged from intervening where there might be disruptions, assisting in the case of emergency situations such as flooding, and deploying officers to each voting station on Election Day. The presence of security personnel at each voting station is important in ensuring that elections are free, fair and peaceful and that voters remain safe and are not intimidated.

Adequate security at the voting station is essential to ensure that the Election Day remains relatively free of disturbances that may disrupt voting procedures or have an overtly negative impact on voters or officials. Electoral observers were asked to report the number of security officers they had seen on duty at the voting station at which they were interviewed. Almost all (89%) reported that the voting stations they were observing met the mandatory requirements for security provision (Figure 43), with 11 per cent noting that no security officers appeared to be on duty. Of those who confirmed the presence of security, almost two-fifths (36% or N=26) of the observers reported that there were three or more security officers at the voting station, nearly a third (30% or N=22) reported that there were two security officers on duty, while more than a fifth (23% or N=17) indicated that there was only one officer at the voting station at the time of their visit.

**Figure 43: Security personnel on duty at the voting station at the time of visit**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

### **4.3. Consideration of voting procedure for persons with special needs**

As discussed earlier in the report, the Electoral Commission is committed to the elimination of barriers to electoral participation of persons with disabilities and those with special needs. Institutionally, a Disability Task Team has been established within the IEC to advise on all matters pertaining to voters with disabilities, and liaise regularly with organisations such as the South African National Council for the Blind (SANCB) and the Deaf Federation of South Africa (DeafSA). Apart from issues of physical access to those with special needs, the Commission also has invested in improving aspects of the voting process for such voters. In particular, election related materials are prepared in Braille, large font as well as sign

language, while the Universal Ballot Template (UBT) has been designed as a voting aid for use by persons with disabilities and special needs, including among others blind and partially-sighted voters, the elderly, and those with poor levels of literacy (IEC, 2014). The UBT is an important development to ensure that persons with disabilities and special needs can independently and secretly cast their vote. Specialised training of electoral staff in the use of the UBT was also conducted by the Commission.

Given these efforts, it is important to gauge the views of election observers about how well the voting procedures at the stations in practice considered voters with special needs. As with the voter questionnaire, observers were asked about six specific type of voter: (i) the elderly, (ii) persons with disabilities, (iii) the partially sighted, (iv) the blind, (v) women, and (vi) women with babies. The same four-point scale was employed, with the response options being “to a great extent”, “to some extent”, “to a minor extent” and “not at all”.

**Table 18: Extent to which voting procedures considered persons with special needs (row percentages)**

	To a great extent	To some extent	To a minor extent	Not at all	(Don't know)	Total	Total: a great / some extent
The elderly	63	24	9	4	0	100	87
Persons with disabilities	54	26	10	9	1	100	80
The partially sighted	48	25	10	10	7	100	73
The blind	47	20	7	17	9	100	67
Women	52	31	9	3	6	100	83
Women with babies	52	25	11	6	6	100	78

Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

As can be seen in Table 18, more than three-fifths (63% or N=45) of the observers generally believed that the needs of **the elderly** were addressed in the voting procedures to a great extent, with 24 per cent expressing satisfaction that this happened to some extent, 9 per cent to a minor extent and only 4 per cent not at all. The survey also determined that more than half (54% or N=38) of the observers felt that the voting procedure considered the needs of **persons with disabilities** to a considerable degree, while less than a tenth (9% or N=6) indicated not at all. Moderately lower evaluations were offered in relation to accommodating the needs of **visually impaired and blind** voters in the voting procedures. Slightly less than half of the observers felt that the voting station considered the needs of the blind or the visually impaired to a great extent (47% and 48 % respectively). Still, the overall results for these two groups remained broadly positive, with a tenth reporting that the needs of visually impaired persons were not at all taken into account and 17 per cent in the case of blind voters. A small majority (52%) of observers indicated that the voting station considered the needs of **women and women with babies** to a great extent, while at least another quarter reported that the needs of these groups of voters were accounted for to some degree.

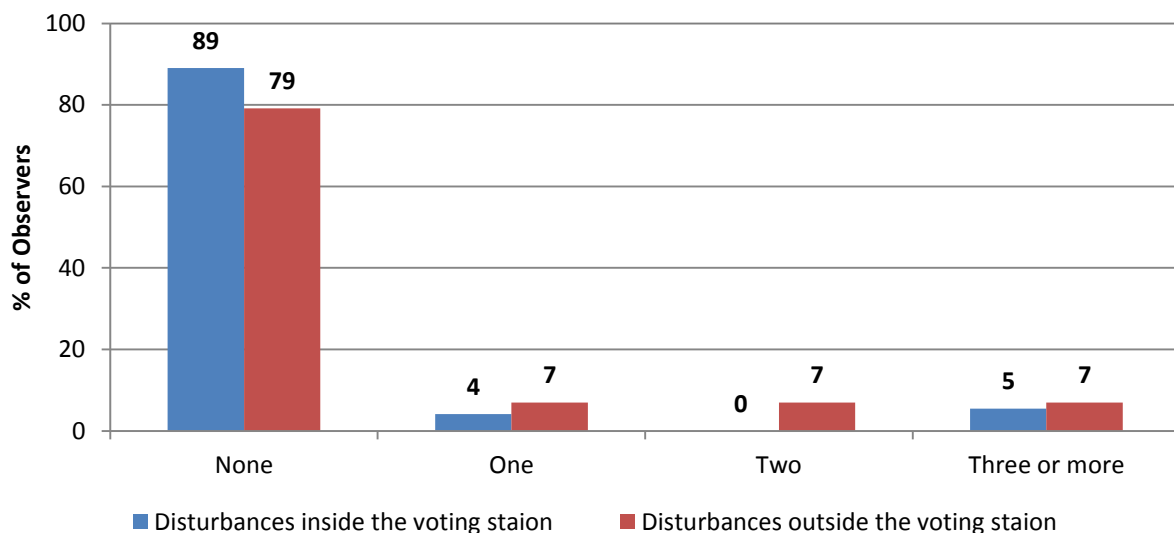
#### 4.4. Disturbances at voting stations

Observers were asked to report whether they had witnessed any disturbances occurring either outside or inside the voting station, and to describe what they had witnessed. Disturbances outside the voting station referred to any kind of violent or disruptive activities that might intimidate voters, block access to the voting station, etc. Although some party agents were appointed as electoral observers and were allowed inside the voting stations, political party activities of any kind were also not allowed inside the voting stations. Disturbances inside the voting station therefore also included party activities such as canvassing and the display or distribution of party posters, placards and pamphlets.

##### 4.4.1. Disturbances outside and inside voting stations

Overall, a sizable majority of observers (79% or N=57) confirmed that they did not observe any disturbances *outside* of the voting station (see Figure 44). Another 7 per cent reported that a single disturbance had occurred, 7 per cent recorded two disturbances, while 7 per cent claimed that three or more disturbances had been witnessed outside the voting station. A large proportion of the observers (89% or N=65) also indicated that they did not observe any disturbances *inside* the voting station. A further 4 per cent of respondents claimed that they had witnessed one disturbance inside the voting station, while 5 per cent reported that three or more disturbances had occurred.

Figure 44: Disturbances observed outside and inside of the voting station (%)



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

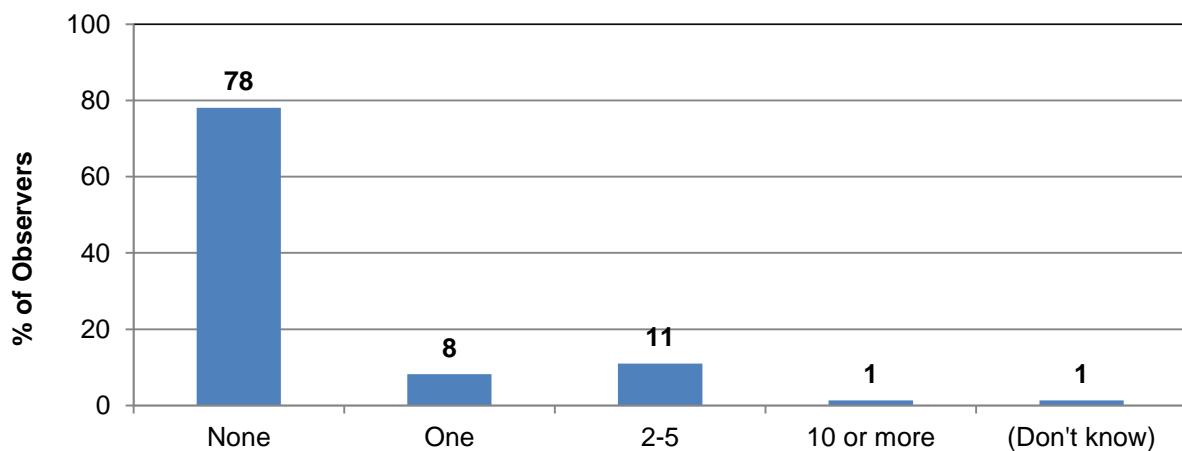
The number of observers who reported disturbances was therefore a relative minority, though it is worth examining the nature of disturbances in the instances where they were observed. Of the disturbances referred to that occurred *outside* the voting station, the most

common complaint related to political campaigning. Some observers claimed that political party supporters were trying to pressure voters to alter their electoral choice. Other complaints related to long queues and the aggressiveness of waiting voters. Those who reported disturbances *inside* the voting station also reported the aggressiveness or misbehaviour of voters and the political party campaigning.

#### 4.4.2. Display of party posters inside voting stations

In order to maintain neutrality of the election process, political party posters are not allowed to be displayed inside the voting area. Only IEC official posters are allowed to be displayed. Observers were therefore specifically asked whether they had seen any party-related posters displayed inside the voting station. An overwhelming majority of observers (78% or N=57) observed no political party posters displayed inside voting stations (see Figure 45). Of the 21 per cent who did see party posters displayed inside the voting station, 8 per cent (N=6) saw only one poster displayed, slightly more than a tenth (11% or N=8) found 2-5 posters displayed, while one observer at a voting station in KwaZulu-Natal reported detecting ten or more political party posters displayed inside voting stations.

Figure 45: Number of political party posters inside voting stations (%)



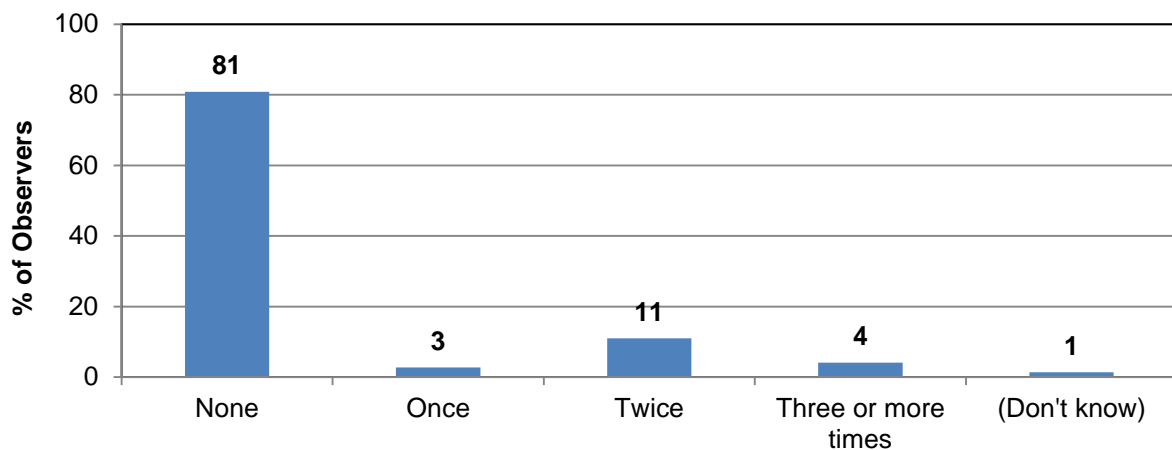
Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

#### 4.4.3. Political party activities inside voting stations

Political party activity inside the voting station can constitute a form of intimidation or coercion on electoral choice and is prohibited by legislation within South Africa. Election observers are training to identify and swiftly respond to such irregularities at voting stations. Observers were asked about the frequency of political party activities that they had witnessed inside the voting station they visited.

Results indicate that election processes were well managed inside the voting stations, and political party activities inside the voting station were uncommon (Figure 46). A large proportion of observers (81% or N=59) stated that no political party activities took place inside voting stations. In those instances where observers noted that political activities had taken place inside the voting station, only 3 per cent said it was an isolated incident, while relatively small shares of observers observed political party activities taking place inside the voting station “twice” or “three or more times” (11 % [N=8] and 4.1 % [N=3], respectively).

**Figure 46: Number of observed political party activities inside the voting station (%)**



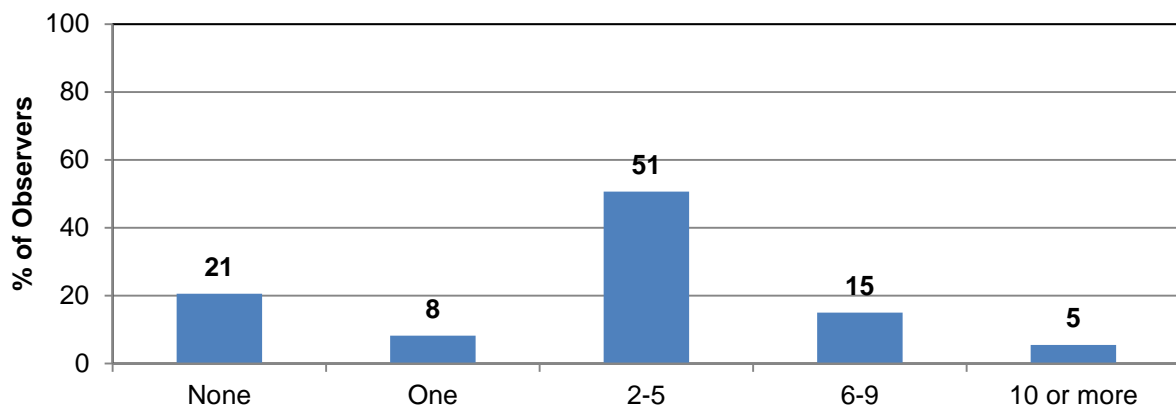
Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

The occurrence of political party activities observed in the voting station therefore was fairly circumscribed, but it is important to explore what these reported activities were. Most prominent were political parties campaigning to voters who were in the queue to vote. One observer reported that political party supporters were handing out pamphlets to waiting voters, while another indicated that supporters were singing party songs.

#### **4.4.4. Political party agents inside voting stations**

Each registered party that contested the 2014 national and provincial elections had the right to appoint two party agents at each voting station in order to observe the voting and counting processes as well as make complaints to the Presiding Officer or a counting officer if cases where they have concerns. Since 2008, election regulations also permit party agents to monitor the verification of names on the voters’ roll, the inking of voters’ hands, as well as the issuing of ballot forms. A rotational approach is advocated, whereby Presiding Officers ensure observer agents from different registered parties are able to monitor the different aforementioned aspects of the electoral process. These observers were also allowed to check the ballot boxes before and after voting and to be present during the counting of votes.

**Figure 47: Number of political party agents inside voting stations**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

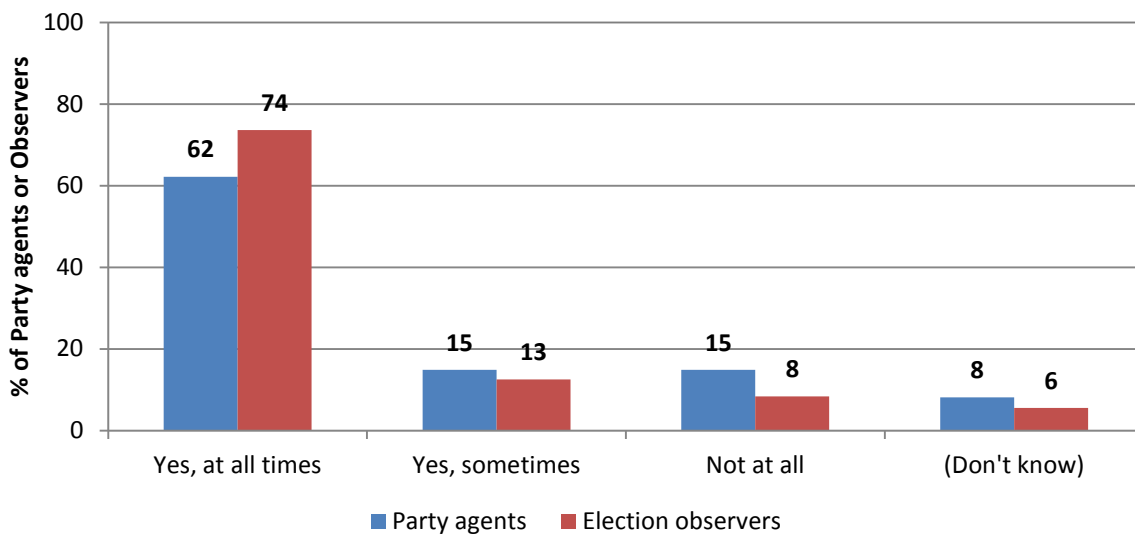
Of the observers that were interviewed, 79 per cent reported that one or more political party agents were present inside the voting station, with the remaining 21 per cent stating that no party agents were evident (Figure 47). Where party agents were inside the voting station, approximately half (51% or N=37) reported seeing between two and five political party agents inside the voting station and an additional 15 per cent observed between six and nine party members. Small shares of observers reported seeing either only one agent inside the voting station (8%, N=6) or 10 or more party agents (5% or N=4). It is important to emphasise the fact that in most instances these party agents would have been acting as officially appointed observers on behalf of registered political parties and, as such, their presence should not be construed as indicative of disturbances or irregularities at voting stations.

#### **4.5. Observing of electoral processes**

Close to two-thirds (62 % or N=46) of interviewed observers reported that party agents were allowed to observe all the relevant electoral processes at all times within the boundaries of the voting stations (see Figure 48). A further 15 per cent (N=11) of the observers reported stating that party agents were allowed to do so only some of the time, with an equivalent share answering that party agents were ‘not at all’ allowed to observe election processes. Finally, close to a tenth of observers (8%, N=6) were unsure about whether party agents had been allowed to observe all aspects of the voting process.

A similar question was asked in relation to election observers, with the results suggesting that observers enjoyed slightly more freedom in observing all the different aspects of voting procedures. Three-quarters (74%, N=53) of respondents declared that election observers were allowed to observe the electoral processes all of the time. Much smaller proportions claimed that observers were only allowed to do so some of the time (13%) or not at all (8%), with the remaining 6 per cent stating that they were unsure how to respond.

**Figure 48: Political party agents allowed to observe electoral processes**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

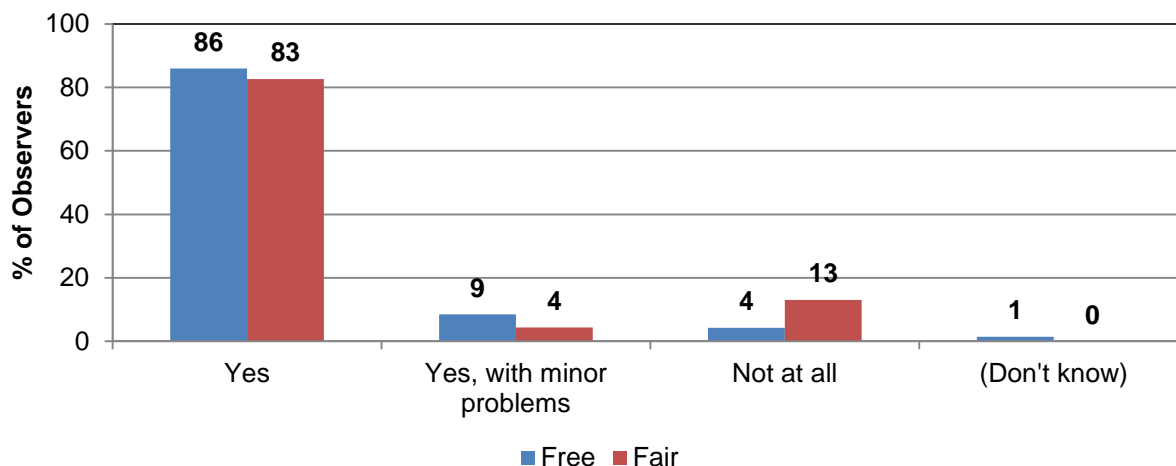
#### **4.6. Views on electoral freeness and fairness**

The intention of this section was to determine whether observers at the various voting stations assessed the election procedures as being free and fair. The concept of ‘freeness’ in the electoral context refers to issues such as: the absence of voter intimidation, ensuring that voters are not threatened or harassed, protecting the secrecy of the ballot, and promoting voter tolerance. Observers were asked to assess the extent to which they thought election procedures at the specific voting station were free (see Figure 49). A sizable proportion of observers (86% or N=61) reported that the elections were unequivocally free. A further tenth of observers (9% or N=6) indicated that the election process was free except for minor problems, while a mere four per cent rated the election as not free at all.

Reasons for stating that the procedures were free included: the lack of intimidation or violence; respect for voters; the absence of discrimination, racism and favouritism; the secrecy of votes; as well as the transparency of the electoral process. A number of observers also mentioned the good quality service provided by electoral officers. Of those who responded “yes, with minor complications” or “not at all”, the reasons for these responses included political parties campaigning to voters that were waiting to vote. Other observers reported broken scanners, the length of queues, and inadequate arrangements to ensure voter secrecy.



**Figure 49: Observer evaluations of the freeness and fairness of election procedures (per cent)**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

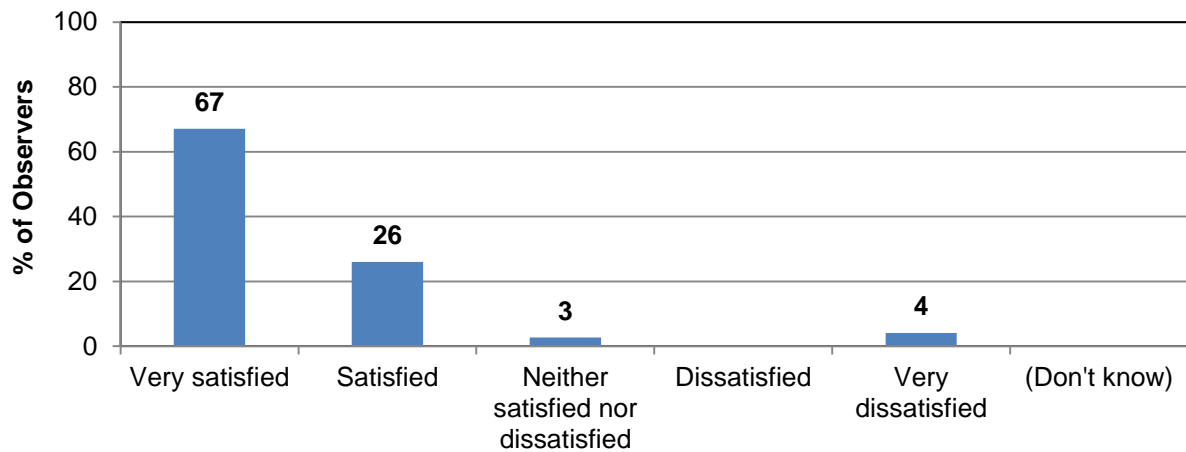
The concept of ‘fairness’ in an election refers to IEC officials being impartial and independent, the absence of interference with the ballot papers or ballot boxes, and all political parties accepting the election results. As evident in Figure 49, the majority of election observers perceived election procedures to be fair (83% or N=57). A much smaller proportion of observers (4% or N=3) thought the election procedures were fair with minor problems, and slightly more than a tenth (13% or N=9) reported that the election procedures were not at all fair. Of those who responded “yes, with minor complications” or “not at all”, the reasons provided were similar to those offered in relation to the previously discussed freeness question. In a couple of instances, observers noted that the elderly were not adequately attended to at some voting stations.

## 4.7. IEC Performance

### 4.7.1. General satisfaction with IEC electoral management

One of the central tasks of the observers at the voting stations was to evaluate the performance of the election officials, examining whether these officials behaved in an appropriate and ethical manner. In order to gauge their evaluation of the officials employed by the Electoral Commission at the voting station, observers were asked to register their level of satisfaction with the way the election was organized by the Commission. Generally the observers rated the electoral management efforts of the IEC very highly. As can be seen in Figure 50, the majority of the observers indicated that they were very satisfied (67% or N=49), with another quarter stating that they were somewhat satisfied (26% or N=19). Less than five per cent registered and form for dissatisfaction (4 % or N=3).

**Figure 50: Observer satisfaction with IEC election management (%)**

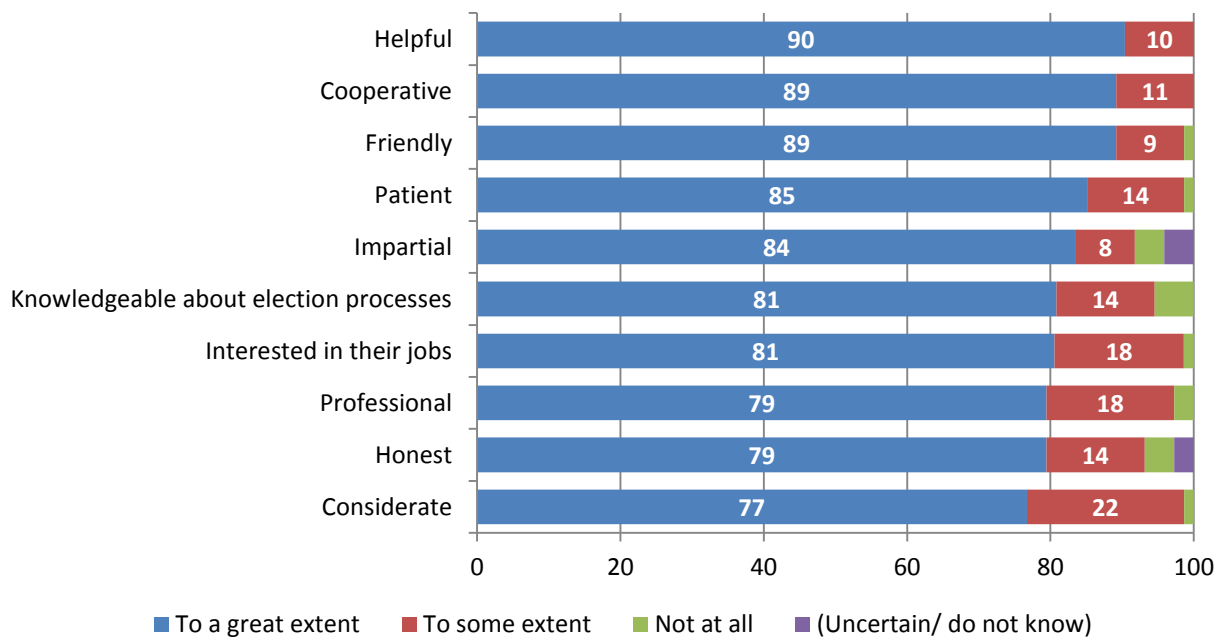


Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

#### 4.7.2. Views on specific aspects of the conduct of IEC officials

In addition to the general assessment provided above, observers were asked to rate ten specific aspects of the conduct of IEC officials at the particular voting station that they were visiting. These aspects involve both attitudinal and behavioural measures, such as friendliness and professionalism. Response options were “to a great extent”, “to some extent” or “not at all”. Overall, there was a very positive assessment of officials, thus corroborating the earlier evaluations of electoral staff offered by voters (Figure 51).

**Figure 51: Observations on conduct of IEC officials**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

Observers rated officials as being extremely helpful (90% or N=66), co-operative (89% or N=66), friendly (89% or N=66), patient (85 % or N=63), impartial (84%, N=61), knowledgeable about election processes (81 % or N=59), and interested in their jobs (81 or N=58). The observers that were interviewed provided slightly lower scores in relation to electoral staff being considerate, honest and professional, though in all cases the percentage indicating that election staff demonstrated these traits to a great extent exceeded 75 per cent.

#### 4.8. Satisfaction with aspects of the voting station experience

Election observers were also asked to express their level of satisfaction with nine facets of the general voting station experience and election procedures. The results are presented in Table 19 and it is clear that the majority of observers were very satisfied with the with the safety and security of the voting station (78% or N=58), secrecy of the votes (74% or N=55), safe handling of ballots and ballot boxes (73% or N=54) and the quality of service that the IEC officials provided to the voters (72% or N=53). On the other hand, smaller proportions were very satisfied with the availability of voting material and equipment (58% or N=43) and the neatness and cleanness of the voting station (66% or N=49). Despite these differences, if one combines the satisfied and very satisfied categories together, total satisfaction across the nine attributes ranges between 91 and 97 per cent, which is an overwhelmingly positive appraisal of the voting stations and procedures.

**Table 19: Observer satisfaction with different components of the voting station experience (row %)**

	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Total
The time it has taken a person to cast his or her vote	66	26	7	1	0	100
The quality of service that the IEC officials provided to the voters	72	20	7	1	0	100
The neatness and cleanness of the voting station	66	28	0	1	4	100
The availability of voting material and equipment	58	35	4	1	1	100
Safety and security at the voting station	78	18	4	0	0	100
Secrecy of the votes	74	20	3	1	1	100
Space available for voting and ensuring vote is secret	69	22	3	5	1	100
Supply of ballots	69	28	3	0	0	100
Safe handling of ballots and ballot boxes	73	22	3	1	1	100

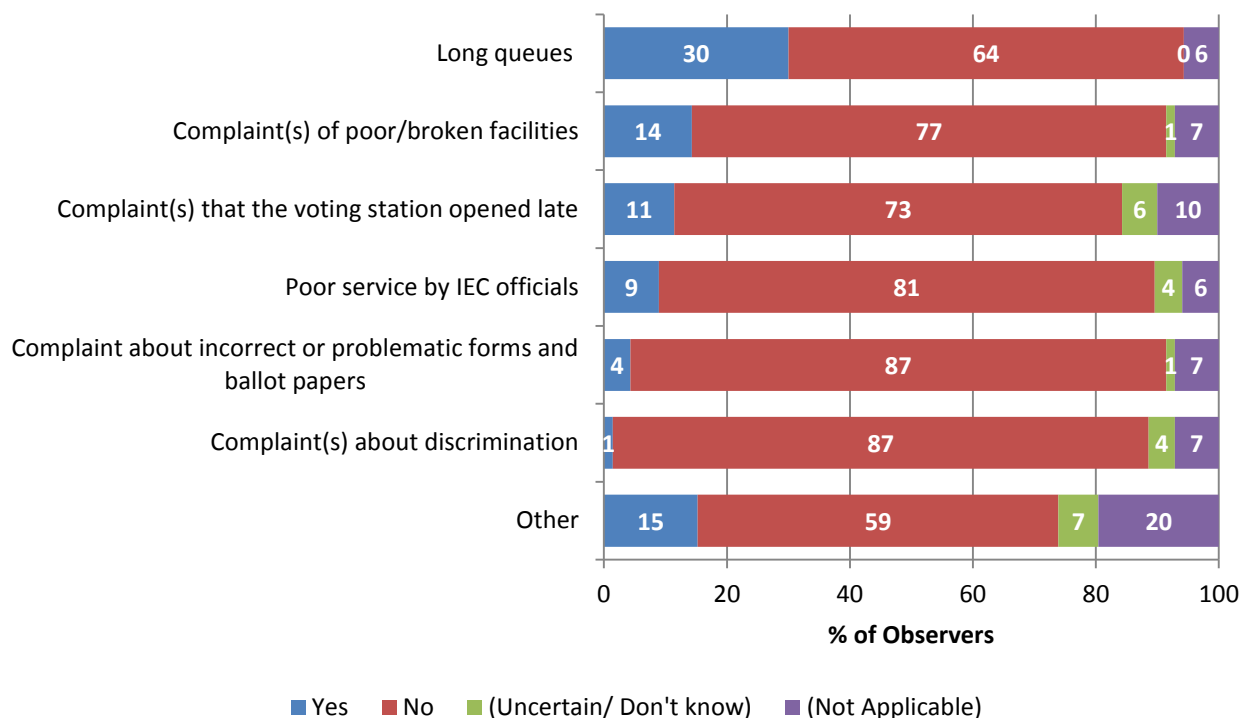
Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

#### 4.9. Voter complaints and dissatisfaction about voting stations

With respect to complaints that were lodged or dissatisfaction that was expressed by voters on voting day, observers were provided with a list of six possible precoded issues that may

have been raised at their particular voting station. As Figure 52 demonstrates, the largest proportion of observers stated that there were no complaints or dissatisfaction expressed by voters across all six categories. Discrimination was the least common cause of complaint with 87 per cent of observers noting that there had been no complaints of this nature, one per cent reporting that there had been such complaints and 12 per cent providing uncertain or not applicable responses. Similarly, most observers reported that no complaints had been lodged by voters concerning incorrect or problematic forms or ballot papers (87%, or N=61) or poor service by IEC officials (81% or N=54). The largest share of complaints or dissatisfaction among voters according to the observers pertained to long queues (30% or N=21) and to a lesser degree poor or broken facilities (14%).

**Figure 52: Voter complaints and dissatisfaction on voting day (%)**



Source: HSRC (2014) IEC Election Satisfaction Survey (ESS) 2014.

#### 4.10. Media Presence

The presence of media personnel, including radio and television reporters, at the sampled voting stations was more in evidence than what was observed during the 2011 municipal elections. Given the historic nature of the 2014 national and provincial elections, perhaps this is not surprising. Although no media presence was confirmed in almost three-fifths (62% or N=184) of observers, more than quarter (26% or N=22) reported some kind of media presence.

## 5. Conclusions and recommendations

### Credibility and transparency

- 5.1.1** Although democracy in South Africa appears robust and electoral turnout continues to remain high, protecting and maintaining democracy in the country requires constant monitoring and evaluation. One of the ways of monitoring democracy is Election Satisfaction Surveys, which test the **freeness and fairness** of elections. Free and fair elections are not only fundamental to any democracy but also represents the core component of any Electoral Commission's constitutional mandate and consolidates rigorous systems of electoral regulations and administration and are therefore testament to the electoral management performance of the IEC. Results from this report reveal that the voting public was overwhelmingly confident that the 2014 National and Provincial Elections were both free and fair (97% respectively) with problems being reported in only a minority of cases. This viewpoint is broad-based, with no statistically significant differences evident on the basis of the age, population group, sex, disability status or educational level of voters. It is however worth mentioning that perceptions of freeness and fairness were moderately lower among voters in KwaZulu-Natal, as well as among those voters with a disability. Election observers were equally convinced that the elections were free and fair (95% and 87% respectively).
- 5.1.2** A fundamental component in determining whether elections are free and fair is the absence or presence of **coercion and intimidation**. Nationally, only 6% declared that they had experienced coercion to vote for a specific political party - 5% prior to arriving at their voting station and 1% while waiting in a queue to vote. This is again an exceedingly positive result from an electoral management perspective. Reported coercion was highest among voters in KwaZulu-Natal, people in informal urban settlements, people with disabilities or youngsters (between the ages of 18-24 years). Of those having experienced coercion, family members or friends were the most commonly mentioned perpetrators (47%), followed to a much lesser extent by other voters (26%) and election officials (17%). Furthermore, this reported coercion changed the voting decision in approximately a quarter of cases (24%), with this outcome more prevalent among people residing in KwaZulu-Natal, persons with disabilities, and 18-24 year-olds.
- 5.1.3** The 2014 election is no exception in terms of coercion essentially occurring before the actual Election Day. The IEC should therefore continue to play a critical role in regularly communicating to political parties and the general public messages of tolerance in line with those enshrined in the Electoral Code of Conduct, most especially the right of citizens to freely express their political beliefs and opinions.

Strategic use should be made of Party Liaison Committees (PLCs) at national, provincial and municipal levels to discuss reported incidences of coercion and promote tolerance ahead of future elections. Liaising with such structures could be especially appropriate in places where political party pressure was the predominant source of coercion, such as in KwaZulu-Natal, North West, Gauteng and in informal settlements. Although narrowly based, coercion by election officials could to some extent be tackled through the content of the training of election staff. Particular attention should be devoted to staff scheduled to work in voting districts where coercion by election officials exceeded the national average, such as in KwaZulu-Natal or Limpopo. Special care should also be taken to train officials to be impartial with regards to people with disabilities and refrain from any attempts of coercion.

**5.1.4** Election observers were asked a series of questions about the **occurrence of voting irregularities**, including disturbances outside and inside the voting stations, in addition to political party activities and the display of political party posters inside voting stations. Results show very few occurrences of disturbances either inside or outside voting stations, but efforts should be made to reduce the display of party posters inside voting stations since 20% of observers reported having seen one or more posters displayed.

**5.1.5** The conditions required for free, fair and credible elections include **tolerance by candidates and registered political parties during the process of conducting election campaigns**. Eight in every ten voters (80%) felt parties were 'very' or 'somewhat' tolerant of one another during campaigning for the 2014 National and Provincial Elections though lower than average scores were reported in Limpopo and the Western Cape. This finding again raises possibilities for the use of Party Liaison Committees as a forum for discussing and addressing concerns about conduct in specific geographic locations, which could be supplemented by general voter education and communication activities directed at voters and party supporters.

## **Logistics and Infrastructure**

**5.1.6** The IEC established 22,264 voting stations countrywide for the 2014 National and Provincial Elections, with an emphasis on continuously improving access and reducing queuing times. With regard to **access to voting stations**, voters reported that it took them on average 15 minutes to reach their voting station, with less than a third indicating that it took them longer than 15 minutes. While this is a generally encouraging finding from an infrastructural perspective, there is scope for further improvement to be made in KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape, and in rural as well as informal areas, which is where voters took the longest to arrive at voting stations.

The IEC should in its planning for future elections consider additional voting stations in these areas in particular.

- 5.1.7** As for **queuing times at voting stations**, voters reported that they waited on average 25 minutes before casting their vote. Again this does not seem an inordinate amount of time to wait, but two factors need to be taken into account. Firstly, according to the election observers that were interviewed, the most common complaint lodged related to long queues. Secondly, when looking beyond the national average to socio-demographic differences, we find that in some instances, voters had to queue for considerably longer than 25 minutes. Of particular concern is the finding that 27% of informal urban residents had to queue for longer than an hour (with an average waiting time of 41 minutes). Similarly, more than a quarter (27%) of voters in Gauteng queued for an hour or longer, with this province possessing the longest mean queuing time (31 minutes). The IEC should therefore consider these areas in future elections and find ways of accommodating the number of people so as to reduce the queuing time in these areas. These findings suggest that identifying and implementing strategies for reducing the time voters have to spend in queues remain a salient issue for the IEC.
- 5.1.8** Voters were positive about the **accessibility of voting stations to persons with disabilities and the elderly**, with 86% declaring the voting stations as ‘very’ or ‘somewhat’ accessible. Importantly, there were no significant age group differences and voters with disabilities did also not significantly differ from voters without disabilities, which reaffirms the favourable assessment. It is nonetheless important to note that lower than average scores were observed in the Limpopo and Mpumalanga as well as for rural locations. Ensuring ease of access to voting stations for people with special needs in areas such as these should be prioritised.
- 5.1.9** Election observers were asked to rate their level of **satisfaction with different facilities at voting stations**. While there was a broad consensus that voting stations offered seats or chairs to rest on as well as working toilets, less favourable rating was provided in relation to drinking water. A fairly high proportion of election observers were also unsure of whether there were facilities for persons with disabilities or believed that there were no such facilities, which may be an aspect for potential improvement by IEC in its infrastructural planning. High levels of uncertainty with regard to facilities for persons with disabilities may point to difficulties in identifying the facilities (such as a wheelchair ramp or bathrooms) rather than an actual lack thereof. Increased signage that enhances the visibility of such facilities may thus positively impact the voting station experience.

**5.1.10** Overwhelmingly high levels of satisfaction were expressed by observers with the **general voting station experience** and voting procedures. There was however some concerns regarding the availability of voting material and equipment and the IEC should continue to develop and better strategies to ensure that voting stations receive sufficient voting material and equipment timeously.

**5.1.11** Apart from ballot papers and security materials, an important aspect of election-related logistics planning is the ensuring that IEC **instructions and signage** are transported, delivered and visibly displayed at voting stations. On aggregate, 96% of voters were very or somewhat satisfied with the instructions and signs at voting stations. While satisfaction with signage was marginally lower in Gauteng, Eastern Cape and Limpopo, this does not diminish the overwhelmingly positive rating secured with respect to this aspect of the electoral logistics. The IEC should therefore continue to consolidate its efforts to ensure that visible and clear signage and instructions are available at voting stations in these provinces. Election observers were also contented with voting station signage, with 93% indicating that the voting station they visited was clearly or very clearly marked.

**5.1.12** The South African Police Services, together with the South African National Defence Force, State Security Agency and other security-related institutions play an indispensable role in ensuring peaceful and free electoral environments at voting stations. Of the election observers interviewed, 89% stated that **security personnel** were on duty at the time of visiting the voting stations, with two or more security staff being present at more than two thirds of the stations. This is an encouraging result that undoubtedly contributes towards the public view that the 2014 National and Provincial Elections were free and fair.

## **Electoral Processes**

**5.1.13** In terms of electoral processes, there was near universal agreement (97%) that the **voting procedures inside the voting station** – which include having your name checked on the voters' roll, having your ID stamped and thumb inked, being issued ballot papers, going to the voting booth and placing the ballot in the ballot box - were 'very' or 'somewhat' easy to understand. This message varies little across groups of voters with different socio-economic characteristics and indication that the process of voting remains easy for people of different socio-economic characteristics.

**5.1.14** Making **provision for voters with special needs in voting procedures** forms a prominent part of IEC electoral operations in accordance with the organisation's core values. For instance, IEC election officials were trained to allow disabled,



pregnant, sick or elderly voters to move to the front of the queue at voting stations. Assisted voting was also permitted for voters with disabilities, which enabled them to select someone over 18 years (other than a political party agent) to aid them in the voting process. The 2014 National and Provincial elections also afforded registered voters who were unable to travel to their voting station due to physical infirmity, disability or pregnancy to apply for a home visit. These procedures, coupled with the use of the Braille ballot templates, signify the on-going priority attached to the participation of voters with special needs.

**5.1.15** A considerable majority of voters recognised these efforts and acknowledged that voting procedures on Election Day considered to ‘a great’ or ‘some’ extent the needs of the elderly (92%), women (87%), persons with disabilities (85%), women with babies (83%), the partially-sighted (75%) and the blind (68%). The lower levels of agreement reported in the cases of the blind and partially sighted is attributable to a relatively high level of voter uncertainty which signifies that initiatives to address the special needs of the blind and partially sighted should remain a notable focus for the IEC in preparation for forthcoming elections.

**5.1.16** The analysis also suggests that special effort is required to better accommodate the needs of the elderly, persons with disabilities, the partially sighted and the blind in KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape, as well as for those living on rural commercial farms. Voters in these geographic locations were least satisfied with the way the needs of these people were considered by the IEC. Finally, the results also indicate that concerted efforts to better address the needs of persons with disabilities and the blind or partially sighted may especially be required in the Eastern Cape.

**5.1.17** Ensuring the **secrecy of the vote** is an integral component of the electoral process and ultimately the credibility of elections, in accordance with the Electoral Commission’s guiding principle that “Your vote is your secret”. As such, votes are cast in voting booths where voters are alone to make their mark on ballot papers that are subsequently placed in sealed ballot boxes. With nearly all voters (97%) contented with the secrecy of their vote – 73% ‘very satisfied’ and 24% ‘somewhat satisfied’ – it seems a fair assertion that a convincing job has been done in respect of this aspect of the electoral process. However, despite this, smaller proportions of voters with a disability were convinced their vote was secret. Lower levels of satisfaction were also found among voters residing in KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape, Gauteng, Mpumalanga, in urban informal or rural areas. Whites and voters with no or primary schooling were also slightly less satisfied that their vote was secret. The implications are that steps need to be taken to ensure that voting station irregularities that may impede the perceived secrecy of voting are minimised. Achieving this is likely to mean reinforcing relevant messages and protocols during

the training of officials. It may also require additional emphasis in voter education messages on the measures taken by the IEC to ensure the secrecy of the vote, especially in the highlighted provinces and among those with low educational attainment and literacy levels.

### **Staff recruitment and training**

**5.1.18** The Electoral Commission appoints over 200,000 officials (presiding officers, deputy presiding officers and voting officers) from various sectors of society to manage election activities at voting stations and ensure the efficient operation of voting and counting procedures. Recognising the importance of properly skilled, competent and impartial electoral staff to the overall success of election activities at voting station level as well as nationally, considerable effort is placed by the IEC on recruitment and training procedures. Therefore, voter evaluations of the performance of IEC officials on Election Day are, to a considerable degree, a reflection on the rigour of the recruitment process, the quality of the training approach and materials as well as the trainers themselves.

**5.1.19** On aggregate, 96% of voters were ‘very’ or ‘somewhat’ satisfied with the quality of **service rendered by IEC officials** on Election Day, which is a tremendous compliment to the systems established by the IEC as well as the dedication and commitment of electoral staff. The assessment of IEC officials by voters was lower than average but still overwhelmingly positive in Gauteng, Eastern Cape, among people living in urban informal areas rural and among Indian/Asian voters. Asked to rate ten specific aspects of the conduct of IEC officials at their voting station, voters again provided an exceedingly positive assessment of officials, regarding them foremost as friendly, helpful, patient and co-operative. Conversely, IEC officials were rated the lowest in terms of their impartiality, considerateness and interest in their jobs. Even though these figures remain high, future training programmes for IEC officials should place additional emphasis on these lower ranking attributes as a means of further improving perceptions of IEC performance. Across all the different voter attributes, the mean score for the ten components of the conduct of IEC officials was consistently the lowest in KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng, Limpopo and among residents of urban informal areas, so special consideration needs to be afforded to recruitment and training protocols in these provinces and areas.

### **Civic Education and Communications**

**5.1.20** The promotion of voter education is one of the duties and functions of the Electoral Commission, as stipulated in the Electoral Commission Act of 1996, and is critical to ensuring that voters are aware of their civic rights and responsibilities and have sufficient knowledge and understanding of electoral processes in order to be able to

make informed choices during elections. To ensure this objective is progressively realised, it is accompanied by communication campaigns that aim to encourage South African citizens to register and participate in elections.

**5.1.21** With regard to the **perceived effectiveness of the IEC's voter education efforts** in relation to the elections, approximately two-thirds (65%) of voters believed that the IEC's voter education was 'very effective', 25% indicated it was 'somewhat effective', with nominal shares declaring it ineffective or professing uncertainty. Lower effectiveness scores were noted for two racial minority groups namely whites and Indian as well as voters residing in Northern Cape and Gauteng. No differences emerged on the basis of sex, age and disability status. Interestingly, people with no or primary schooling found the voter education campaigns most satisfactory, which is encouraging since these campaigns benefitting voters with lower socio-economic traits. A differentiated and targeted set of civic and democracy education interventions is however required in order to improve the reach and perceived value of the IEC's labours in this aspect of its operations.

**5.1.22** In respect of evaluations of the **usefulness of different information sources in providing information about voting**, civic and democracy education via radio and television were considered by the voting public as the most useful information sources about voting, while posters and billboards, newspapers, political parties, pamphlets and voter awareness booklets also received broadly positive ratings. Moderately lower levels of usefulness were reported in relation to the IEC communication campaign, civil society organisations and workshops. Sources based on information technology such as the 'X for democracy' website and the IEC website were found to be useful by the lowest proportion of voters.

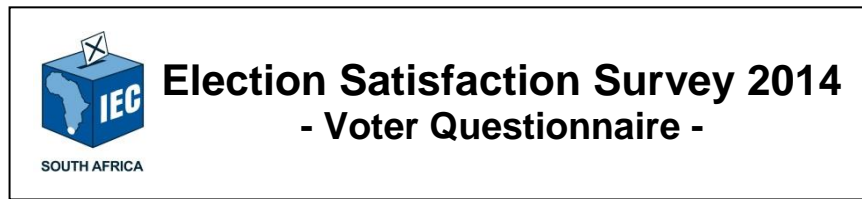
**5.1.23** Despite broad consistency across socio-demographic groups in terms of the relative ranking of radio and television as the most useful and internet-based sources the least useful, a complex pattern of results nonetheless emerges when the perceived usefulness of different information sources is examined in greater detail. Robust preferences and ratings are apparent on the basis of age, gender, educational differences, and geographic location. Certain groups of voters also seem to generally offer more favourable assessments across all 12 information sources examined. This is the case for black voters, who tend to offer significantly higher assessments compared with other population groups, while those in the North West, Gauteng and in informal urban settlements also report generally higher usefulness scores than those in other geographic locations. Contrary, whites, people from rural areas, and residents from Limpopo tend to generally report less useful scores. From a voter education and communications perspective, this is likely to be a reassuring finding in part, as the current approach embraces diversity and differential access to forms of

communication, with multiple communications channels being actively utilised. Yet, it also means that continual monitoring of preferences and educational requirements is needed to ensure that voter education and communication campaigns remain suitably adaptable and tailored to the changing composition and characteristics of the voting age public.

## 6. References

- Bjornlund, E. (2004). *Beyond Free and Fair: Monitoring Elections and Building Democracy*. Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.
- Boda, M. D. (2005). *Declaration on Criteria for Free and Fair Elections*. Geneva: Inter-Parliamentary Union.
- Bratton, M., & Mattes, R. B. (2001). Africans' Surprising Universalism. *Journal of Democracy*, 12(1), 107–121.
- Bratton, M., & Walle, N. van de. (1997). *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chu, Y., Bratton, M., Lagos Cruz-Coke, M., Shastri, S., & Tessler, M. a. (2008). Public Opinion and Democratic Legitimacy. *Journal of Democracy*, 19(2), 74–87.
- Edozie, R. K. (2008). *Reconstructing the Third Wave of Democracy: Comparative African Democratic Politics*. Washington DC: University Press of America.
- Goodwin-Gill, G. S. (2006). *Free and Fair Elections*. Geneva: Inter-Parliamentary Union.
- Johnson, R. W., & Schlemmer, L. (1996). *Launching Democracy in South Africa: The First Open Election, April 1994*. London: Yale University Press.
- Mozaffar, S. (2002). Patterns of electoral governance in Africa's emerging democracies. *International Political Science Review*, 23(1), 85–101.
- Piombo, J., & Nijzink, L. (2005). *Electoral Politics in South Africa: Assessing the First Democratic Decade*. Cape Town: Palgrave Macmillan.

# Appendix 1: IEC Election Satisfaction Survey 2014 Voter Questionnaire



Good (morning/afternoon/evening), I'm \_\_\_\_\_ and we are conducting a survey for the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). This study deals with issues related to people's participation in the 2014 national and provincial government elections. To obtain reliable scientific information we request that you answer the questions that follow as honestly as possible. Your opinion is important in this research study. In order to answer all the questions we will require 10 minutes of your time. The voting station as well as you have been selected randomly for the purpose of this survey. The fact that you have been chosen is thus quite coincidental. The information you give to us is required for research purposes only, and will be kept confidential by the HSRC. All information provided will not be used against you in any way whatsoever. You will not be identified by name or address in any of the reports we plan to write. The data will be stored in electronic form after being captured from the questionnaires. Finally, your participation in the study is voluntary. If you decide to terminate the interview at any point, you are free to do so.

<p><b>INTERVIEW DETAILS</b></p> <p><b>Voting Station</b> <input type="text"/></p> <p><b>Type of area:</b>          1 <input type="checkbox"/> Urban formal      2 <input type="checkbox"/> Urban informal          3 <input type="checkbox"/> Rural formal      4 <input type="checkbox"/> Traditional / tribal area</p> <p><b>Province:</b>          1 <input type="checkbox"/> Western Cape      6 <input type="checkbox"/> North West          2 <input type="checkbox"/> Eastern Cape      7 <input type="checkbox"/> Gauteng          3 <input type="checkbox"/> Northern Cape      8 <input type="checkbox"/> Mpumalanga          4 <input type="checkbox"/> Free State      9 <input type="checkbox"/> Limpopo          5 <input type="checkbox"/> KwaZulu-Natal</p> <p><b>Interview time</b>          1 <input type="checkbox"/> 07:00 – 10:30      2 <input type="checkbox"/> 10:31 – 14:-00          3 <input type="checkbox"/> 14:31 – 17:30      4 <input type="checkbox"/> 17:31 – Close</p> <p><b>Name of interviewer:</b> <input type="text"/></p> <p><b>Number of interviewer:</b> <input type="text"/></p> <p><b>Interview outcome:</b>          1 <input type="checkbox"/> Completed questionnaire          2 <input type="checkbox"/> Partially completed questionnaire          3 <input type="checkbox"/> Respondent ineligible to vote          4 <input type="checkbox"/> Respondent is physically/mentally not able to be interviewed          5 <input type="checkbox"/> Interview refused by selected respondent          6 <input type="checkbox"/> Interview refused by other person</p>	<p><b>RESPONDENT'S BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS</b></p> <p><b>Sex of respondent: (Do not ask-infer)</b>          1 <input type="checkbox"/> Male      2 <input type="checkbox"/> Female</p> <p><b>Race of respondent: (Do not ask-infer)</b>          1 <input type="checkbox"/> Black          2 <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured          3 <input type="checkbox"/> Indian          4 <input type="checkbox"/> White          5 <input type="checkbox"/> Other</p> <p><b>To which age group do you belong?:</b>          01 <input type="checkbox"/> 18-24 years      06 <input type="checkbox"/> 45-49 years          02 <input type="checkbox"/> 25-29 years      07 <input type="checkbox"/> 50-59 years          03 <input type="checkbox"/> 30-34 years      08 <input type="checkbox"/> 60-64 years          04 <input type="checkbox"/> 35-39 years      09 <input type="checkbox"/> 65-74 years          05 <input type="checkbox"/> 40-44 years      10 <input type="checkbox"/> 75+ years</p> <p><b>Do you have any disability?</b>          1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes      2 <input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p><b>What is the highest level of education that you completed?</b>          1 <input type="checkbox"/> No schooling          2 <input type="checkbox"/> Primary          3 <input type="checkbox"/> Grade 8-11          4 <input type="checkbox"/> Matric / Grade 12          5 <input type="checkbox"/> Post-matric</p>
--	---

**1. How long did it take you to get to this voting station?**

- 1  Up to 15 mins
- 2  16-30 mins
- 3  31-60 mins
- 4  Over 1 hour

**2. How long did you queue before voting?**

- 1  Up to 15 mins
- 2  16-30 mins
- 3  31-60 mins
- 4  1-2 hours
- 5  More than 2 hours

**3. How easily accessible was the voting station to persons with disabilities/elderly? (e.g. Ramp)**

- 1  Very accessible
- 2  Accessible
- 3  Neither accessible nor inaccessible
- 4  Not very accessible
- 5  Not at all accessible
- 8  (Don't know)

**4. How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the instructions and signs about where to go and what to do?**

- 1  Very satisfied
- 2  Satisfied
- 3  Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
- 4  Dissatisfied
- 5  Very dissatisfied
- 8  (Don't know)

**5. Was the voting procedure inside the voting station easy or difficult to understand?**

- 1  Very easy
- 2  Easy
- 3  Neither easy nor difficult
- 4  Difficult
- 5  Very difficult
- 8  (Don't know)

**6. To what extent did the voting procedure at this voting station consider the needs of :**

**a. The elderly**

- 1  To a great extent
- 2  To some extent
- 3  To a minor extent
- 4  Not at all
- 8  (Don't know)

**b. Persons with disabilities**

- 1  To a great extent
- 2  To some extent
- 3  To a minor extent
- 4  Not at all
- 8  (Don't know)

**c. The partially sighted**

- 1  To a great extent
- 2  To some extent
- 3  To a minor extent
- 4  Not at all
- 8  (Don't know)

**d. The blind**

- 1  To a great extent
- 2  To some extent
- 3  To a minor extent
- 4  Not at all
- 8  (Don't know)

**e. Women**

- 1  To a great extent
- 2  To some extent
- 3  To a minor extent
- 4  Not at all
- 8  (Don't know)

**f. Women with babies**

- 1  To a great extent
- 2  To some extent
- 3  To a minor extent
- 4  Not at all
- 8  (Don't know)

**7. When did you finally decide whom to vote for in this national and provincial government election?**

- 1  Today
- 2  Earlier in the week
- 3  Sometime last week
- 4  Sometime last month
- 5  Before that

**8. Are you satisfied that your vote in this voting station was secret?**

- 1  Very satisfied
- 2  Satisfied
- 3  Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
- 4  Dissatisfied
- 5  Very dissatisfied
- 8  (Don't know)

**9a. Did anyone try to force you to vote for a certain political party?**

- 1  Yes, before I came here
- 2  Yes, while I was waiting to vote
- 3  No, not at all → **SKIP TO Q10**

**9b. If yes, who tried to force you?**

- 1  Political party
- 2  Election officials
- 3  A voter(s)
- 4  Friends / family
- 5  Other (specify)

**9c. Did you change your decision on which party to vote for as a result of this force?**

- 1  Yes
- 2  No

**10a. Do you think that the election procedures were free?**

- 1  Yes
- 2  Yes, with minor problems
- 3  Not at all
- 8  (Don't know)

**10b. Please explain your answer:**

**11a. Do you think that the election procedures were fair?**

- 1  Yes
- 2  Yes, with minor problems
- 3  Not at all
- 8  (Don't know)

**11b. Please explain your answer:**

**12. Are you satisfied with the quality of service that the IEC officials provided to voters?**

- 1  Very satisfied
- 2  Satisfied
- 3  Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
- 4  Dissatisfied
- 5  Very dissatisfied
- 8  (Don't know)

**13. To what extent do you think the IEC officials at this voting station were...?:**

		To a great extent	To some extent	Not at all	(Don't know)
a.	Friendly	1	2	3	8
b.	Cooperative	1	2	3	8
c.	Patient	1	2	3	8
d.	Helpful	1	2	3	8
e.	Considerate	1	2	3	8
f.	Honest	1	2	3	8
g.	Knowledgeable about elections	1	2	3	8
h.	Interested in their jobs	1	2	3	8
i.	Impartial	1	2	3	8
j.	Professional	1	2	3	8

**14. Do you think that political parties were tolerant of one another during campaigns for these elections?**

- 1  Very tolerant
- 2  Somewhat tolerant
- 3  Not tolerant
- 4  Uncertain
- 8  (Don't know)

**15a. How effective was the IEC's voter education campaign for these elections?**

- 1  Very effective
- 2  Somewhat effective
- 3  Not effective
- 4  Uncertain
- 8  (Don't know)

**15b. If not effective, how do you think the IEC can improve its voter education campaign?**

**16. How useful did you find the following in providing you with information and voter education?**

	Very useful	Somewhat useful	Not Useful	(Not Applicable)
a. Newspapers	1	2	3	9
b. Political parties	1	2	3	9
c. Civil society organizations (e.g. churches, residents' associations etc.)	1	2	3	9
d. IEC website	1	2	3	9
e. X for Democracy website (IEC/SABC education website)	1	2	3	9
f. Formal and informal workshops	1	2	3	9
g. Pamphlets	1	2	3	9
h. IEC communication campaign (e.g. IEC staff, fieldworkers)	1	2	3	9
i. TV	1	2	3	9
j. Radio	1	2	3	9
k. Posters/billboards	1	2	3	9
l. Voter-awareness booklets	1	2	3	9

**17. Do you know any ward committee members in your neighbourhood?**

- 1  Yes
- 2  No
- 3  (Do not know)
- 4  Never heard of a ward committee

**Thank you for your co-operation**



# Appendix 2: IEC Election Satisfaction Survey 2014 Observer Questionnaire



## Election Satisfaction Survey 2014 - Observer Questionnaire -



Good (morning/afternoon/evening), I'm \_\_\_\_\_ and we are conducting a survey for the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). This study deals with issues related to people's participation in the 2014 national and provincial government elections. To obtain reliable scientific information we request that you answer the questions that follow as honestly as possible. Your opinion is important in this research study. In order to answer all the questions we will require 10 minutes of your time. The voting station as well as you have been selected randomly for the purpose of this survey. The fact that you have been chosen is thus quite coincidental. The information you give to us is required for research purposes only, and will be kept confidential by the HSRC. All information provided will not be used against you in any way whatsoever. You will not be identified by name or address in any of the reports we plan to write. The data will be stored in electronic form after being captured from the questionnaires. Finally, your participation in the study is voluntary. If you decide to terminate the interview at any point, you are free to do so.

<p><b>INTERVIEW DETAILS</b></p> <p><b>Voting Station</b> <input type="text"/></p> <p><b>Name of interviewer:</b> <input type="text"/></p> <p><b>Number of interviewer:</b> <input type="text"/></p> <p><b>Type of area:</b></p> <p>1 <input type="checkbox"/> Urban formal      2 <input type="checkbox"/> Urban informal          3 <input type="checkbox"/> Rural formal      4 <input type="checkbox"/> Traditional / tribal area</p> <p><b>Province:</b></p> <p>1 <input type="checkbox"/> Western Cape      6 <input type="checkbox"/> North West          2 <input type="checkbox"/> Eastern Cape      7 <input type="checkbox"/> Gauteng          3 <input type="checkbox"/> Northern Cape      8 <input type="checkbox"/> Mpumalanga          4 <input type="checkbox"/> Free State      9 <input type="checkbox"/> Limpopo          5 <input type="checkbox"/> KwaZulu-Natal</p> <p><b>Time of interview?</b></p> <p>Time <input type="text"/> H <input type="text"/> H <input type="text"/> M <input type="text"/> M</p> <p><b>At what time did the voting station open for voters? (Fieldworker observation)</b></p> <p>Time <input type="text"/> H <input type="text"/> H <input type="text"/> M <input type="text"/> M      (Don't know) <input type="text"/></p> <p><b>At what time did the voting station close for voters? (Fieldworker observation)</b></p> <p>Time <input type="text"/> H <input type="text"/> H <input type="text"/> M <input type="text"/> M      (Don't know) <input type="text"/></p> <p><b>Did radio/ television or other media reporters visit the voting station?</b></p> <p>1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes      2 <input type="checkbox"/> No      8 <input type="checkbox"/> (Don't know)</p>	<p><b>ELECTION OBSERVER'S DETAILS</b></p> <p><b>Which body or institution are you representing?</b></p> <p><input type="text"/></p> <p><b>Have you ever participated in any election observation in South Africa before?</b></p> <p>1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes      2 <input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p><b>If yes, which year(s)?</b> (National)      (Municipal)</p> <p>1 <input type="checkbox"/> 1994      2 <input type="checkbox"/> 1996          3 <input type="checkbox"/> 1999      4 <input type="checkbox"/> 2000          5 <input type="checkbox"/> 2004      6 <input type="checkbox"/> 2006          7 <input type="checkbox"/> 2009      7 <input type="checkbox"/> 2011</p> <p><b>Country of origin:</b> <input type="text"/></p> <p><b>Sex of observer:</b></p> <p>1 <input type="checkbox"/> Male      2 <input type="checkbox"/> Female</p> <p><b>What is the highest level of education that you completed?</b></p> <p>1 <input type="checkbox"/> No schooling          2 <input type="checkbox"/> Primary          3 <input type="checkbox"/> Grade 8-11          4 <input type="checkbox"/> Matric / Grade 12          5 <input type="checkbox"/> Post-matric</p>
--	--

**1. How easy or difficult was the voting station to find or locate?**

- 1  Very easy  
2  Easy  
3  Neither nor  
4  Difficult  
5  Very difficult  
8  (Don't know)

**2. How clearly was the voting station marked as a voting station?**

- 1  Very clearly  
2  Clearly  
3  Neither nor  
4  Not very clearly  
5  Not clearly at all  
8  (Don't know)

**3. In what type of building or structure is the voting station situated?**

- |                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> School | 5 <input type="checkbox"/> Clinic               |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Church | 6 <input type="checkbox"/> A building on a farm |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> Hall   | 7 <input type="checkbox"/> Tent                 |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> Mobile | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Other                |

**4. How accessible is the voting station for ... (e.g. ramp)?**

**a. The elderly**

- 1  Very accessible  
2  Fairly accessible  
3  Neither nor  
4  Fairly inaccessible  
5  Very inaccessible  
8  (Don't know)

**b. Persons with disabilities**

- 1  Very accessible  
2  Fairly accessible  
3  Neither nor  
4  Fairly inaccessible  
5  Very inaccessible  
8  (Don't know)

**c. Blind and partially sighted**

- 1  Very accessible  
2  Fairly accessible  
3  Neither nor  
4  Fairly inaccessible  
5  Very inaccessible  
8  (Don't know)

**5. To what extent did the voting procedure at this voting station consider the needs of:**

**a. The elderly**

- 1  To a great extent  
2  To some extent  
3  To a minor extent  
4  Not at all  
8  (Don't know)

**b. Persons with disabilities**

- 1  To a great extent  
2  To some extent  
3  To a minor extent  
4  Not at all  
8  (Don't know)

**c. The partially sighted**

- 1  To a great extent  
2  To some extent  
3  To a minor extent  
4  Not at all  
8  (Don't know)

**d. The blind**

- 1  To a great extent  
2  To some extent  
3  To a minor extent  
4  Not at all  
8  (Don't know)

**e. Women**

- 1  To a great extent  
2  To some extent  
3  To a minor extent  
4  Not at all  
8  (Don't know)

**f. Women with babies**

- 1  To a great extent  
2  To some extent  
3  To a minor extent  
4  Not at all  
8  (Don't know)

**6. Were there any security personnel on duty at the voting station at the time of your visit?**

- 1  None  
2  One  
3  Two  
4  Three or more  
8  (Don't know)

**7(a) How many disturbances did you observe outside this voting station today?**

- 1  None  
2  One  
3  Two  
4  Three or more  
8  (Don't know)

**7(b) If yes, briefly describe the nature of the disturbance(s):**

**8. How many disturbances did you observe inside this voting station today?**

- 1  None  
2  One  
3  Two  
4  Three or more  
8  (Don't know)

**8(b) If yes, briefly describe the nature of the disturbance(s):**

**9. How many political party posters were displayed INSIDE the voting area?**

- 1  None  
2  One  
3  2-5  
4  6-9  
5  10 or more  
8  (Don't know)

**10. How many political party agents did you see inside the voting station?**

- 1  None  
2  One  
3  2-5  
4  6-9  
5  10 or more  
8  (Don't know)

**11. Were party agents allowed to observe all the relevant electoral processes within the boundary of the voting station?**

- 1  Yes, at all times
- 2  Yes, sometimes
- 3  Not at all
- 8  (Don't know)

**12. Were the observers allowed to observe all the relevant electoral processes within the boundary of the voting station?**

- 1  Yes, at all times
- 2  Yes, sometimes
- 3  Not at all
- 8  (Don't know)

**13 (a) How many times did you see political party activities inside the voting station today?**

- 1  None
- 2  Once
- 3  Twice
- 4  Three or more times
- 8  (Don't know)

**13 (b) If yes, describe briefly the nature of these activities:**

**14 (a) Do you think that the election procedures were free?**

- 1  Yes
- 2  Yes, with minor problems
- 3  Not at all
- 8  (Don't know)

**14 (b) Explain your answer:**

**15 (a) Do you think that the election procedures were fair?**

- 1  Yes
- 2  Yes, with minor problems
- 3  Not at all
- 8  (Don't know)

**15 (b) Explain your answer:**

**16. Are you satisfied with the way these elections were organised by the IEC?**

- 1  Very satisfied
- 2  Satisfied
- 3  Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
- 4  Dissatisfied
- 5  Very dissatisfied
- 8  (Don't know)

**17. To what extent do you think the IEC officials at this voting station were...?:**

		To a great extent	To some extent	Not at all	(Uncertain / do not know)
a.	Friendly	1	2	3	4
b.	Cooperative	1	2	3	4
c.	Patient	1	2	3	4
d.	Helpful	1	2	3	4
e.	Considerate	1	2	3	4
f.	Honest	1	2	3	4
g.	Knowledgeable about election processes	1	2	3	4
h.	Interested in their jobs	1	2	3	4
i.	Impartial	1	2	3	4
j.	Professional	1	2	3	4

**18. Overall, how satisfied were you with each of the following:**

	Very Satisfied	Satis- fied	Neither / nor	Dis- satisfied	Very dis- satisfied
a. The time it has taken a person to cast his or her vote.	1	2	3	4	5
b. The quality of service that the IEC officials provided to the voters.	1	2	3	4	5
c. The neatness and cleanness of the voting station	1	2	3	4	5
d. The availability of voting material and equipment	1	2	3	4	5
e. Safety and security at the voting station	1	2	3	4	5
f. Secrecy of the votes	1	2	3	4	5
g. Space available for voting and ensuring vote is secret	1	2	3	4	5
h. Supply of ballots	1	2	3	4	5
i. Safe handling of ballots and ballot boxes	1	2	3	4	5

**19. Please indicate whether any voter or group of voters lodged a complaint or expressed dissatisfaction about the following at the voting station?**

	Yes	No	(Uncertain/ Don't know)	(Not Applicable)
a. Poor service by IEC officials	1	2	3	4
b. Long queues	1	2	3	4
c. Complaint(s) that the voting station opened late	1	2	3	4
d. Complaint(s) about discrimination	1	2	3	4
e. Complaint about incorrect or problematic forms and ballot papers	1	2	3	4
f. Complaint (s) of poor/broken facilities	1	2	3	4
g. Other (specify)	1	2	3	4

**20. Did this voting station have the following?**

	Yes	No	(Uncertain/ Don't know)	(Not Applicable)
a. Seats / chairs to rest or sit on	1	2	3	4
b. Working toilets nearby	1	2	3	4
c. Drinking water for people	1	2	3	4
d. Facilities for persons with disabilities(e.g. wheelchair access)	1	2	3	4

**Thank you for your co-operation**

