

Election countdown – Update II

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South Africa

Our second update in the countdown to 8th May. The first one which contained a more foundational views of where the campaigns are at is still available [here](#).

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Baseline

Our current baseline ranges with our risk bias within the range, any recent change indicated and 2014/2016 results:

TOPICS

Politics

National

- ANC 55-60 (mid, unchanged) // 62.1 / 53.9
- DA 19-22 (mid, unchanged) // 22.2 / 26.9
- EFF 9-12 (mid, unchanged) // 6.3 / 8.2
- Turnout 69-74 (mid, new) // 73.5 / 57.9

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Gauteng

- ANC 47-52 (upper, unchanged) // 53.6 / 45.6
- DA 29-33 (mid, unchanged) // 30.8 / 37.2
- EFF 13-16 (mid, unchanged) // 10.3 / 11.5

WC

- DA 50-55 (upper, new) // 59.4 / 63.1
- ANC 32-36 (mid, new) // 32.9 / 26.0

We lowered the turnout assumption very marginally after looking at registration data and numbers of 2014 voters as a share of current registrations taking demographics into account. Such a shift at the margin should benefit the ANC over the DA but in our model is not sufficient to shift the headline numbers.

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Recent events

We take each party in turn:

- **ANC:** The party seems increasingly to be two separate ones squeezed into one box.
 - The party has launched a crowd funding initiative online and via mobile given its cash shortages. Our understanding is that given the usual sources have dried up (state capture proceeds investment trusts, BOSASA, Chancellor House etc) and with high net worth donors putting significant strings on funding (and aligning it mainly to Ramaphosa's own campaign – so the party is having to turn to its members.

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- The party was subsumed with infighting over its list process in the past week. This was at its nadir at the emergency NEC meeting held on Monday to discuss the lists. Our understanding of the meeting is that the two factions basically faced off against each other to a stalemate with no side backing down over names, and as many accusations about impropriety being thrown at the Ramaphosa faction as the other way. The meeting in the end agreed a 'compromise' (in reality to side step) and refer specific cases that had been raised to the ANC's Integrity Commission. This body has no real teeth and both the party and the IEC have briefed media that the list submitted is not changeable and no name will be forced to withdraw themselves though people are "requested" to do the right thing. We do not believe any name will stand aside and so the issue will continue to grumble along.
- The lists issue has taken over the media with a (rather late) realisation that the Ramaphosa faction had no real control over the process and that the Zuma faction was in control via Ace Magashule who has secured himself in the SG's office and on the levers of power. This particularly represents a failure of the Ramaphosa camp's strategy of having Zizi Kodwa in control of the Presidency function in Luthuli house as a way of controlling the Zuma faction in the organisation. Kodwa of course got 'taken out' by sexual assault allegations recently and was suspended but is now back at work and has been seen at Luthuli House regularly.
- The IEC has received objections to 30 ANC list members including David Mabuza, Gwede Mantashe, Bathabile Dlamini, Malusi Gigaba, Mosebenzi Zwane and Nomvula Mokonyane. The IEC's decisions will be published on Monday but we expect no person to be forced to withdraw.
- Overall, we judge the lists, when we have taken a fine-tooth comb to them, to be roughly balanced between the factions – in this sense representing the split in the party. But that represents a win of the Zuma faction to keep the list stuffed with their people and a loss of the Ramaphosa faction not to be able to gain a clear majority on it. More concerning is the lack of noticeable administrative talent or policy wonks on the list to enter parliament showing the serious capacity and succession problem the ANC has in government and parliamentary caucus leadership over the medium run.
- The week was also filled with the fallout over the publication of "Gangster State" about Ace Magashule last week – which we commented on in our Sunday email last weekend. The issue during the week has been the splits in the party. First a statement "hands off our SG" then a retracement of this, then a retracement of the retracement. At root the problem is that Magashule controls the communications department in the ANC whilst there are two spokesmen – Pule Mabe

aligned to the Zuma faction (and Magashule) and Dakota Legoete (aligned to the Ramaphosa faction). This leads to these confusions and the appearance (especially when the two stand next to each other and are seen to contradict each other) of two separate parties.

- The major gaff of the week from the party however came thanks to Deputy Secretary General Jessie Duarte. In an extraordinary broadside against ENCA and its reporter – whom she lambasted as being a CIA operative, working for white capital, not having struggle credentials and so not fit to question her and the ANC... and more, once again questions were raised about the ANC's respect for the free media. There is now an extraordinary backlash against Duarte from all sides given so many people have been on the receiving end of her temper (...) and does show how the party can do itself harm when backed into a corner like this.
- **DA:** The party has failed remarkably to garner any significant news coverage in the past week.
 - Their list process has not degenerated despite internal tensions and the IEC objections process was not used for internal point scoring which shows a degree of lockdown in the party we think given it is on the backfoot.
 - GOOD are stepping up their negative campaign against the DA with an increasing flurry of corruption allegations been levelled against the party where it is in power. Much of this is related to real estate permissioning etc as opposed to tender cuts per se (a la ANC patrimonialism) but still, with the ANC sounding a similar message in Tshwane and Johannesburg this narrative line can take hold and has not been effectively shut down by the DA when it has been raised in the past in Joburg either relating to the party directly or what is alleged to have happened with the EFF. All this shows GOODs street fighting style which De Lille is known for.
 - The party's attempts to get parliament recalled to debate loadshedding failed. Whilst this campaign angle appeared to have some success in the past two weeks the lack of loadshedding and the fact the system is tight but higher stage loadshedding is unlikely in the coming two weeks leaves it with somewhat of a hole on this front.
- **EFF:** We believe the money issues we highlighted last week are becoming more acute. Whilst one would assume the party had a budget and commitment from funders it appears that no new money is particularly flowing in from donors. As such we watch for stories of unpaid suppliers etc possibly coming out in the coming weeks and will mean that the party focuses increasingly tightly on its core demographic urban base. Having printed a gargantuan volume of t-shirts and other campaign paraphernalia we think the public sense of momentum can at least be kept up on social media

and in the public eye for now. Overall, we believe that the party has now largely fully saturated its target base and so the remaining task really is ensuring turnout.

- **SRWP:** The Socialist Revolutionary Workers Party has formally launched now with a jamboree of delegates and international union support (and funding we believe). The degree of ground structure appears to be strong but concentrated, in line with NUMSA's roots. We were slightly confused believing the party had already launched in December (it had) but a relaunch was clearly necessary given the lack of coverage it has garnered in the past few weeks. The party has failed to make any impact in polling done so far, but given NUMSA's membership alone should be able to garner 1 or 2 seats.

Events to watch for

As party machines move around the country there are very few specifics in the week ahead. Parties continue to run on event rather than policy driven campaign strategies showing this is largely about knocking out the numbers.

There are expected to be by-elections next Wednesday.

The only formal event next week is that the IEC has a deadline on Monday to make its decisions known about public objections to candidates on election lists (remember this is a PR list system). Appeals can then be lodged up until Thursday with the electoral court. The IEC has received objections as outlined in the second above, including several cabinet Ministers. It will be a test of the independence of the IEC in how these are handled though given the terms for exclusion are narrow (you need to have an undeclared conviction for instance), we doubt any major names will be felled via this route.

We are watching the continued fall out from the list process regarding the ANC's own internal factionalism. The Integrity Commission of the ANC will continue its work in the coming week – this will include calling referred members to testify.

Helen Zille is reportedly being wheeled out nationally and especially in Gauteng to add some additional momentum to the DA's campaign and ensure turnout is closer to 2014 levels especially. Such a strategy is not without risk however given the former DA leaders propensity for controversial utterances. A largely 'policy free' campaign from the rest of the DA however has prevented any serious internal spats or foot shooting, yet.

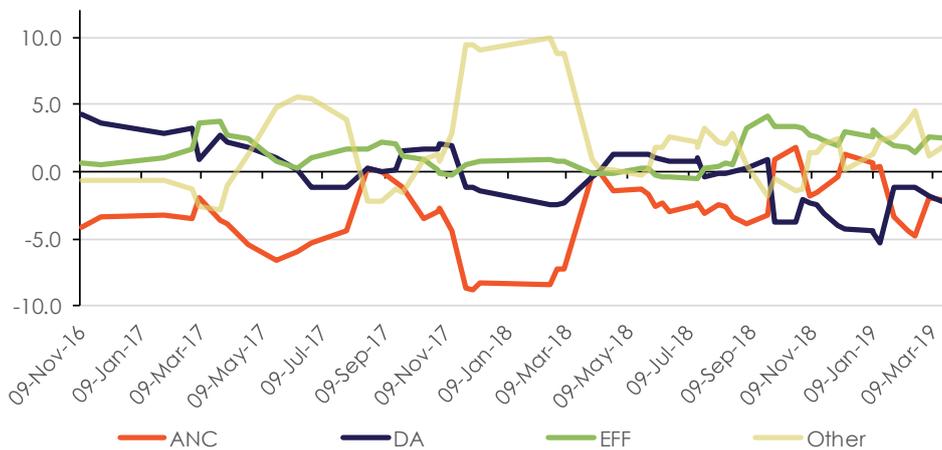
We believe next polls will only be Sunday 5th May from both IRR and IPSOS. No media outlet appears to be doing any polling. We believe both main parties will be putting final polls into the field in the coming week.

By-election update

There were no by-elections in the last week. One more set of by-elections is expected on 10th April, next week.

The monitor below is therefore unchanged.

By-election swing vs 2016, rolling 90 day (ex-Christmas) period



Source: IEC, Intellidex

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