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## Do Coalitions Have a Future in South Africa?

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### Abstract

Coalitions are trending within the South African political discourse, especially after the 2016 local government elections. These coalitions are inspired by the increase in the number of hung municipalities after every local government election in South Africa. Most of these coalitions are constituted by minority parties to weaken the ANC majority, of course, some are constituted by the ANC to maintain and consolidate its ability to form a government. Whereas coalitions are a popular phenomenon in the present-day political environment they are still characterized by instability and frequent change of political hands arising from political differences between coalition partners. Coalitions are not an exclusively South African phenomenon and have been in existence across the world. South Africa is still weak on pre-electoral pacts and party-to-party alliances. This paper assesses the future possibility of coalitions in South Africa and provides a reflective analysis of the global political arena. The author argues that coalitions do have a future in South Africa.

**Keywords:** Coalitions, Hung councils, Parliaments, Legislature, Governments, Elections, Executive

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### 1. Introduction

Coalition Governments have been in existence in the Republic of South Africa (RSA) from the dawn of Democracy in 1994 (Booyesen, 2021; Netshitenze, 2021) to date. Of course, coalitions are much spoken about in the present political discourse due to the increased number of hung municipalities post the 2021 local government elections.

In the Western Cape alone, there were 15 hung councils recorded on November 4, 2021 (Ntsabo, 2021). Therefore coalitions had to be established to put in place government. However, coalition governments at local municipal level in RSA are continuously marred by breakdown of relationship and removal of the dominant parties. Globally, coalitions have been in existence for a longer period. From the onset we shall argue that coalitions are not exclusively put in place to establish governments but for a variety of reasons including surplus majority, national unity, reconciliation, racial integration, weakening stronger majorities, etc. To this

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end, coalitions have become dominant within the global political terminology. This paper evaluates the future possibilities for coalitions in the Republic of South Africa? To enrich the evaluation, the study provides a comparative analysis of coalitions from different countries across the world.

## 2. Methodology

A comprehensive review of past publication, analysis of reports from different publishers dating back from 1994 to 2022. This included reports, journal articles and publications focusing on coalitions. The two-lever approach to data collections and analysis focused on electronic article and journal publication related to the subject. This study used different cases on coalitions across the globe. This was necessary to allow reflections from a various perspectives and experiences on the subject (Creswell, 2013). The study employed qualitative method of data collection and conducted a combined qualitative and quantitative reflections on the existence of coalitions across the world hence there is evident usage of tables to compare and reflect on coalitions in different countries.

## 3. History of Coalitions in Selected Countries Across the World

The popular framework for constitution of governments is driven by the majority votes (simple majority). The winner constitutes a single party majority government (Leubbert, 1983) However, the world has seen from time-to-time situations where there is no single outright winner. In this instance coalition, are according to Leubbert (1983) a product of the interparty engagements.

Interparty engagements may also occur prior the elections and constitute election alliance or coalition governments in the period after the results are declared. The pre-electoral pacts are essential as the coalition partners are tied to their joint work as they approach and canvass the public for votes.

### 3.1. The South African Perspective on Coalitions

There has been more than 20 different forms of coalitions in RSA since 1994 (Booyesen, 2014). The first coalition in the post the Apartheid RSA was the surplus majority coalition government which was largely known as the Government of National Unity (GNU) (Jolobe, 2018). A surplus majority is formed with other parties in addition to the Majority Party) and it constituted Cabinet. It was a symbolic coalition to promote National Unity (Jolobe, 2018).

The longest serving coalition that contested elections in RSA is the alliance constituted by African National Congress (ANC), South African Communist Party (SACP), Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African National Civics Organisations (SANCO) which contested election in South Africa under the banner of the ANC and would not field own candidates. However, for the first time in 2017, the SACP fielded a candidate to contest elections at Mestimaholo Municipality in Free State Province. The SACP remain the only alliance partner of the ANC led Alliance which is registered as a political party since 2006.

Throughout, the period between 1994 and 2021, some of the coalitions were marred by controversies and disputes which led to their eventual collapse and further reconfiguration. As a result Jolobe (2018) identifies the tensions which arose between the National Party (NP) and the ANC resulting in the implosion of the ANC/NP coalition resulting into the NP departure from the GNU. These developments had a minor impact as the GNU was sustained with other parties.

Table 1 below is a reflection on the state of coalitions in RSA. The dominant source of coalition in RSA is the result of hung municipal election results. There is increased constitution of coalitions from the year 2006 onwards. The increase in the number of coalitions is matched by a spike in the number of collapsed coalitions at municipalities. There are fewer pre-election coalitions in RSA with the ANC lead alliance which has survived for more than 28 years. However, there is growing pressure for the SACP to contest elections and a broader call for a reconfigured alliance from all alliance partners. The coalition governments at Johannesburg and Nelson Mandela Bay (NMB) metropolitan collapsed and saw the changes in the Executive leading the municipality before the 2019 Local Government Elections.

The post 2019 coalition governments at Nelson Mandela Bay, Tshwane, Ekurhuleni, eThekweni, and Johannesburg are still not stable with changes in the Executives happening at NMB and Johannesburg

Metropolitan too. The dominant factor behind most of the collapses is the perceived disrespect of the smaller parties by the so-called bigger organisation.

On September 30, 2022, the sitting of Council of the City of Johannesburg voted out the former Executive Mayor Councillor Mpho Phalatse (DA) through the ANC led motion of no confidence (Madisa, 2022). Whilst the ANC led coalition government at Nelson Mandela Bay was also removed through a motion of no confidence led by the DA and other smaller parties (Dayimani, 2022).

The Ekurhuleni Municipality's DA led coalition is also imploding. This continuous exchange of political chairs is seen as an indicator and the extent of the paralysis of leadership within the coalition governments at the country's local municipalities. However, a reflection on coalitions across the globe will affirm that coalitions are fragile by design. Table 1 will provide a historical reflection on the coalitions in the Republic of South Africa since 1994.

Period	Allies	Design	Reason	Lifespan
1989 -2000	PF, NDM and Others	Merger into the Democratic Party	Ideological Conversion and Non-Racial opposition party in RSA	11years
1994 backwards	ANC/SACP/COSATU /SANCO	One party (ANC) leads the alliance and all contest elections	Supporters of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR)	Plus 30 years ongoing
1994 - 1996	ANC/NP/IFP	Surplus Majority	Government of National Unity	Plus 2 years
1996 - 1999	ANC/IFP	Surplus Majority	Government of National Unity	Plus 2 years
1999 - 2004	ANC/IFP	Minimum Dominant Parties	Hung Provincial Legislature (KwaZulu-Natal Province)	5 Years (Term)
2000 - 2001	DP/NNP/FA	Coalition	Ideological and Provincial Government (Western Cape Province)	1 year
2000 - 2003	DP/FA and elements from NNP	Merger	Merger into the Democratic Alliance	Plus 3 years
Period	Allies	Design	Reason	Lifespan
2001-2004	ANC/NNP	Merger into the ANC	Dissolution of the NNP (Provincial Government formed in the Western Cape)	4 Years
2003 -present	DP and others	Retention of DP	At the Collapse of the DP the DA retained its identity	29 years
2003 - present	Freedom Front/Conservative Party and AUM	Merger into Freedom Front Plus	Convergence of white minority parties and right wing ideology	29 years
2006 - 2011	DA/ACDP/FF+/AMP /UDM/UIF/UP/ID	Minority Party Coalitions	Hung Municipalities	5 years
2009 - 2018	DA/ID	Merger	Integration into the DA	9 Years
2012 -2012	DA/AgangSA	Party to party Alliance	Election Pact	Less than 12 months
2013	SOPA/AZAPO	Failed Merger	Unity	Less than 12 months

Table 1 (Cont.)				
Period	Allies	Design	Reason	Lifespan
2016-2022	DA/EFF/UDM/ACDP	Minority government	Weakening the ANC and Voting DA into government without the EFF	Plus 6 years Collapsed at Nelson Mandela Bay (Led by DA, UDM,DA, ANC and DA again)
2016 -2021	ANC/AIC/PAC	Majority government	Enable ANC to create Executive with smaller parties	5 year
2021 -2022	DP/PA/ACDP/COPE /IFP/ACTIONS	Minority government	Enable DA to constitute government at Johannesburg/Tshwane/Ekurhuleni and others	1 year Collapse in Johannesburg now led by the ANC
2019 to present	ANC/IFP	Committee coalitions	The ANC and IFP voting for the IFP member to Chair the Select Committee on Public Accounts (SCOPA)	Plus 2 years but not a completely new phenomenon

From Table 1 above, coalitions have existed for a longer period in RSA. This observation is supported by observation by Booysen (2021) and Netshitenze (2021). It is also significant to note that coalitions in RSA are still weak and largely focussed on government formation. There is very little focus on the Legislature/Parliament coalitions. However, there should be an acknowledgment of the Committee based alliances on the Chairperson of SCOPA position which saw IFP and APC being elected as Chairperson of SCOPA at the National Assembly of RSA.

According to Kadima (2014) the ANC/IFP coalitions (1994-2004) is recorded as the most successful and lasting coalition. The fundamental aim was to eliminate black on black violence. The ANC/IFP coalition was also a game changer for the peaceful resolution of hostility between the warring communities. The ANC/IFP coalition was successfully in ushering political stability in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng Provinces of RSA.

### 3.1.1 Africa

#### 3.1.1.1. Lesotho

Lesotho has been under different coalition governments between 2012 and 2022 (Deleglise, 2018; Aljazeera, 2020). This frequent changes are attributed to continuous political tension by Deleglise (2018). To this end, three elections has been held in Lesotho between 2012 and 2017 as coalition governments of the country collapsed (Deleglise, 2018).

The above assertion is also found in Weisfelder (2015) who observes that after the Lesotho, 2012 and 2015 general elections, greater fragmentation among political parties resulted into hung parliaments and constitution of coalition governments with minimal parliamentary majorities. Neither did the 2017 snap elections achieve majority victory hence another unstable coalition government was put in place.

As a result the country was due for another election on October 7, 2022. The electoral processes of Lesotho are governed by the national Constitution of the country with particular emphasis on Articles 56, 57 and 58. The country's 1993 Constitution (Matlosa, 2003).

By October 7, 2022, Lesotho shall have gone through four general elections (Weisfelder, 2015). In 2012 five political parties worked together to constitute a coalition government after hung election results were declared. Prior that 2012 election outcome Lesotho had endured dominance of a majority party for at least fourteen years (Deleglise, 2018). Table 2 below will reflect on the coalition governments in Lesotho from 2012 to 2022.

Table 2 above demonstrates the instability endured by the Basotho throughout the hung election period since 2012. The jostle for power is continuously evident with coalition partners accusing each of the failure to

Period	Allies	Design	Reason	Lifespan
2012-2014	DC/ABC/BNP/PFD/MFP	Minority Government	Leading party could not garner 50% plus seats	3 years Collapsed as LCD pulled out
2015 -2016	DC/ LCD, PFD, NIP, BCP, LPC and MFP	Majority Government	Enable DC to create Executive with smaller parties	1 year Splinter from DC
2016 -2017	DC/ABC	Minority government	Enable ABC to constitute government	1 year Dissolution of Parliament By Mosisili
2017 -2020	ABC/RCL/AD	Majority Government	The ABC, RCL and constituted a government supplementing the less than 50% seats of ABC	Plus 2 years but collapsed due to Thabane's internal party battles and Murder accomplice allegations
2020 - 2022	ABC/RCL/AD	Majority Government	Replacement of Prime Minister Thabane	Plus 2 years closer to elections in October 2022
2022 -	RFP/AD/MEC	Majority Government	Constitution of Government	New coalition

honour the pre-election pact. Of late the ABC and the BNP were marred by internal party leadership contest further destabilizing the coalition government (Deleglise, 2018). Throughout the Lesotho power struggles the voter is reduced to a spectator and only invited to participate at the election.

As a result, Weisfelder (2015) questions the ability of the current electoral process to provide Basotho with a stable and effective majority or coalition governments, and a coherent opposition? As result a call is made for reconfiguration of electoral laws to provide for a minimum threshold as an entry point to electoral office to minimise the wide-open candidate election process.

### 3.1.1.2. Mozambique

The Mozambican electoral system is according to the providing for a multiparty democracy reaffirmed through periodic elections (European Union, 2019). Mozambique's coalition discourse is uniquely characterised by the existence of extra parliamentary coalitions (coalition parties that are unable to obtain seats at the specific parliament) who coalesce plus those who are unable to contest elections (Mulhovo, 2018)

To this end, more than sixteen coalitions have been constituted to contest elections in Mozambique between 1994 and 2019 (Mulhovo, 2018). At least ten of the party coalitions were able to contest elections. However, there has been no coalition government in Mozambique between 1994 and 2019 either due to hung parliament or surplus majority nor were minority parties able to constitute minority coalition governments. Whilst it is acknowledged that there are lots of extra parliamentary and pre-election party to party pacts coalitions in Mozambique. It is evident that none of them gained a percentage enough to influence parliament or government at its establishment. Table 3 below reflects on the extra parliamentary coalitions established in Mozambique.

From Table 3 it can be concluded that Mozambique is yet to see a coalition government. However, there are many pre-election electoral pacts and extra-parliamentary coalitions. The biggest a highly successful coalition is the RENAMO-UE. However, the RENAMO coalition with the extra parliamentary parties was short-lived and eventually collapsed (Mulhovo, 2018). Frelimo and RENAMO remains the dominant political parties in Mozambique in the country's multi-party elections with Frelimo having seen four leaders at its helm since 1986 (Pitcher, 2020).

### 3.1.1.3. Kenya

The recent coalition trends in Kenya is traced back to the late eighties and the early nineties which is perceived

**Table 3: Extra Parliamentary Coalitions in Mozambique Between 1994 and 2019 (adapted from Mulhovo, 2018)**

Period	Parties	Coalition Name	Lifespan	Status
1994	PALMO/PANADE/PANAMO	Democratic Union (UD)	1994	9 seats Discontinued
1994	FAP/MONAMO-PMSD	Patriotic Alliance (AP)	1994	No Seats Discontinued
1999	PANADE/PANAMO	Democratic Alliance of Veterans for Development (ADACD)	2004	Resurfaced in 2004
1999	RENAMO/ALIMO/FUMO-PCD/MONAMO-PMSD/PCN/PPPM/PRD/PUN/UDF/UNAMO	Mozambique National Resistance-Electoral Union (RENAMO-UE)	2004	117 seats in 1999 Continued in 2004
1999	PADEMO/PRDM	Mozambican Opposition Union (UMO)	1999	Discontinued
2004	PANADE/PANAMO	Democratic Alliance of Veterans for Development (ADACD)	2004	1 <sup>st</sup> Contested in 1999
2004	RENAMO/ALIMO/FUMO-PCD/MONAMO-PMSD/PCN/PEMO/PPPM/PRD/PUN/UDF/	Mozambique National Resistance-Electoral Union (RENAMO-UE)	2009	90 Seats Realigned from the 1999 Composition with PEMO Added and UNAMO removed
Period	Parties	Coalition Name	Lifespan	Status
2004	UNAMO/PARTONAMO	United Front for Change and Good Governance (MBG)	2004	Discontinued
2004	FL/PAC	Broad Opposition Front (FAO)	2004	Discontinued
2004	PANADE/PANAMO	Democratic Alliance of Veterans for Development (ADACD)		Resurfaced in 2004
2004	PSM/PAREDE/UM	Union of Salvation of Mozambique (USAMO)	2004	Did not contest in 2009
2009	PANADE/PANAMO	Democratic Alliance of Veterans for Development (ADACD)	2009	Did not contested in 2014
2009	PEMO/PUN	Electoral Union Coalition (UE)	2014	Realignment of PEMO and PUN PANAMO removed
2014	PEMO/PUN	Electoral Union Coalition (UE)	2014	Continued from 2009
2014	PDNM/PRD/PACODE/CDU/P LDM/PSM/PEMO/PCN/PAREDE/UNAMO/PATRANAMO/P DD-AD	Party for Peace, democracy and development/ democratic alliance		New realignment of former parties
Period	Parties	Coalition Name	Lifespan	Status
2009-2019	Democratic Movement of Mozambique	Breakaway from RENAMO	2019	Contested elections in 2019
1977-2019	RENAMO	Stand Alone from RENAMO UE	1994	Continues outside the RENAMO UE Coalition
1997	Coalition of Green Parties	Greens Party Mozambique	2019	Contested elections in 2019

**Note:** NB: There was limited data available on the 2019 Coalitions participating in the Mozambican elections.

as an outcry for multiparty politics after the prolonged leadership of Daniel Arap Moi (His Excellency) and the Kenya African National Union (KANU) (Ouur, 2014). Coalitions in Kenya has assisted to bridge the ethnic divide and hold together people previously torn apart by ethnic divisions (Kadima, 2014).

In 2008 Kenya agreed on Government of National Unity) with Raila Odinga as Prime Minister without executive powers and Mwai Kibaki (RIP) as President of the country (Kadima, 2014). The pact between the Party of National Unity (Kibaki) and the Orange Democratic Movement (Odinga) created a GNU which was aimed at building national unity in the aftermath of the post 2017 elections deadly conflicts. The Odinga-Kibaki GNU lasted until 2013.

A unique observation is made by Kadima (2014) that coalitions in Kenya led to smaller parties getting weaker where they were co-opted into government. At the 2022 general elections pre-election coalitions were also recorded in Kenya namely; UDA-Kenya Kwanza (William Ruto) and Azimio laUmoja One Kenya Coalition (led by Raila Odinga).

Table 4 above is a brief reflection of the coalitions in Kenya. From the above it can be confirmed that pre-election coalition pacts have been dominant in Kenya post the 2008-2013 GNU. The National Super Alliance was reconfigured into a new party led by Odinga and still did not win the general elections in 2022. An observation is made by Kadima (2014) that those appointed as leaders of coalition became the strongest beneficiaries from the coalitions whilst smaller parties are obstructed into oblivion.

#### 3.1.1.4. Zimbabwe

The period after the Zimbabwean 2008 general elections was characterised by narrow margin win of elections by MDC and a violence tainted and controversial election run-off (Biti, 2014). Zimbabwe's popular coalition government was established in 2009. This saw opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai (RIP) of the MDC appointed as Prime Minister while Dr. Robert Mugabe (RIP) of ZANU remained President of Zimbabwe.

From the onset, the Zimbabwean GNU was confronted by an intense fiscal crisis. As a result it was resolved that foreign currencies including the RSA rand were to be used along the insignificant Zimbabwean dollar (Biti, 2014). On the same nerve Zimbabwe was under pressure to put in place cost reduction measures as part of its economic recovery framework. Biti (2014) further reports that the coalition achieved success in reducing the Zimbabwean inflation and increasing the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). However, the ZANU-MDC coalition ended in 2013 after ZANU obtained parliamentary majority.

The Zimbabwean coalition discourse was weak, and it has been mired by controversies arising from mistrusts, disagreements, splits, egos, and other issues (Mungwari and Vhuluza, 2017). In sum opposition parties except MDC have not been able to dislodge the dominant ZANU thus affirming that coalitions have a

Period	Parties	Coalition Name	Lifespan	Status
2017-2022	ODM/Wiper/Ford-Kenya/ANC/CCM/PPK/CCU/NRC/MP	National Super Alliance	2022	Discontinued. Succeeded by Azimio La Umoja
2016-2022	Jubilee Party of Kenya	Jubilee Alliance Party, Alliance Party, United Republican Party Grand National Union, New FORD-Kenya FORD People, United Democratic Forum etc.	2022	Realigned in 2022 as Ford-Kenya joined the UDA Kenya Kwanza
2022	UDA, Amani National Congress, FORD-Kenya, The Service Party, etc.	United Democratic Alliance-Kenya Kwanza	2022	Won elections in Kenya 2022
2022 - present	Jubilee, Orange Democratic Movement, KANU, NARC, MP and CCU	Azimio laUmoja One Kenya Coalition	2022	Contested 2022 Elections. Resulted out of the Reform of the National Super Alliance

dismal failure in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, (Mungwari and Vhuluza, 2017:177) resolve that no lone standing opposition party in Zimbabwe can outsmart ZANU in the elections. The emphasis is thus on smaller formations coalescing to form a stronger coalition that may take on ZANU.

### 3.1.2. Asia

#### 3.1.2.1. India

India has experienced at least eleven coalitions since 1977 (Kumar, 2016) led by different coalition partners. The driving force behind the country's coalitions is the urge to constitute government and access to the state. Kumar (2016) concludes that India's coalitions set is seeming not going to dissipate anytime soon but becoming more perennial. The stretch of time between 1977 and 2022 is an indication of permanency of coalitions in India. According to Sridharan (2003) five parliamentary elections were held between 1989 and 1999 and there was no simple majority obtained by a specific party.

Yellapa (2022) dates Indian coalitions to 1946 when three political parties constituted government led by Nehru. The Congress dominated Indian elections between the 1950s until 1977 (Kumar, 2016). The underlying principle within the coalitions in India is the multiparty democracy. To this end different political parties led by different leaders entered coalitions. Like all other coalitions the Indian coalitions do collapse. Yellapa (2022) affirms that coalitions are a global phenomenon. Table 5 below present the state of coalitions in India dating back to 1946.

Table 5 indicates the state of coalitions in India. From above it is evident that India has been under coalition governments between 1977 and 2019. It was only in 2014 when BJP achieved simple majority at the polls and did not require coalition partners to form government. The BJP reconstituted the National Democratic Alliance when it could not attain simple majority again 2019. It can thus be concluded that coalitions are a common feature of the Indian government.

#### 3.1.2.2. China

Whilst China has been governed by single party since the 1940 Reports that eight other minority parties have been in existence in China including the Zhi gong Party. The recent coalition is between the Communist Party of China and Zhi Gong Party in 2007 which saw the leader of Zhi Gong party co-opted into government as the Minister of Science and technology (Lawrence and Martin, 2013). The emphasis put here is that coalition efforts have also been recorded in what is perceived as a one-party state like China.

The participation of non-subscribers to the Communist Party of China is according to the State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China (2021) also entrenched through designation of roles at the Chinese People's Congress, government and judicial organs. Their inclusion ensures that minorities can contribute to key decision-making activities like inspection of law enforcement and review of the reports of China's central government. In addition the minority and non-affiliated parties are recognized for oversight role over the ruling. Communist party to keep it on track and in compliance with laws of China.

Apart from Zhi Gong Party, the eight minority parties in China are also constituted by Revolutionary Democratic Committee of the Chines Kuomintang, China Democratic League, China National Democratic Construction Association, China Association for Promoting Democracy, Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party, Jiu San Society, and the Taiwan Democratic Self Government League (Congressional Research Service, 2021). Two assertions arise from the above reflection namely; (i) China has had its fair share of a coalition (ii) There are smaller parties promoting democracy apart from the Communist Party in China.

#### 3.1.2.3. Iraq

Iraqi has held four elections in the aftermath of the 2003 removal of Saddam Hussein from power (Al-shadeedi and van Veen, 2020). The coalition efforts to unite the Iraqi's Kurds and the Shi in the post war era of governance. However, the Iraqi leaders are still grappling with democratic concepts themselves. The challenge in the Iraqi's coalition discourse is also compounded the declining voter turnout in Iraqi. The coalition government in Iraq is weak and highly divided. Table 6 below is an overview Iraq's main political parties and coalitions in 2019.



**Table 5: State of Coalitions in India (Developed from Kumar, 2018)**

Period	Parties	Coalition Name	Lifespan	Status
1946	The Congress, Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha and the Republican Party	N/A	1952	Power was retained by the Congress
1977	Led by Desai	N/A	1979	Lasted for two years before collapse
1979	Led by C. Sigh supported by CPI(M) and CPI	N/A		
1989	Led by V.P Sigh supported by BJP/CPI/CPI(M)/RSP/Forward Block	National Front Government	1990	Vote of No Confidence
1990	Led by Shekhar supported by AIADMK/BSP/Muslim League/J&K/Kerala Congress etc.	N/A	1991	Shekhar resigned and dissolved parliament
Period	Parties	Coalition Name	Lifespan	Status
1991	Led by Gowda supported by Congress/CPI/Samajwadi/Davida Munetra Kazhagam/Communist Party of India etc.	United Front Government	1997	Support revoked by Congress
1997	Led by Gujral supported by INC, DMK,Left parties etc.	N/A	1998	INC withdrew support Lost Majority and resignation of the leader
1998	BJP/AIADMK/BJD/Akali DaiShiv Sena/PMK/TRC etc.		1999	Collapsed as requirement of AIADMK were not met
1999	Led by Vajpayee supported by BJP/AIADMK/Telgu Desam/NC/TrinimoolShiv Sena/Shiromani akali Dal etc.	National Democratic Alliance	2004	Most stability and accommodative
Period	Parties	Coalition Name	Lifespan	Status
2004	Ed by Sigh supported by NCP Lok Dal/Jammu & Kashmir/Indian Union Muslim League etc.	United Progressive Alliance	2008	Withdrawal of support by the Left front
2009	2 <sup>nd</sup> Term of Sigh supported by UPA/Bajujan Samaj Party/Rashytra Janta Dal/Janta Dal Secular etc.	N/A	2014	Finished term
2014	BJP	N/A	2019	BJP outright victory no coalition
2019	BJP/Shiv Sena/Nationalist Democratic Progressive party/National People's Party/Apna Dal/Republican Party of India/Tamil Mannila/United People's Party/Asoma Gana Parishad etc.	National Democratic Alliance	present	Won elections in 2019

Iraqi coalitions are classified according to the religious and ethnic lines including the SHI'A (an Islamic group constituted by the group identified as the Shiite), the Sunni (consisting of the Sunnites), the KURD (an ethnic group from the Kurdistan region largely constituted by the Sunnis) and the Arabs. It can thus be concluded that coalitions exist for different reasons in Iraq.

Coalition	Orientation	Block	Status
Fatah (PMF led coalition)	Shia Islam	Al-Bina	Contested 2018 elections Aligned with Iran
Al-Wataniyah	Sunni Islam	Reform and Construction	Declined support
Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP and PUK)	Ethnic	Kurdish National Council	Close ties with America and Turkey
Alliance Towards Reform	Shia and Communist	Reform and Construction	Promoting the Nationalist agenda
Arabic Project	Arab	Al-Bina	Stronger relationship with KDP

*Source: Al-shadeedi and van Veen (2020)*

### 3.1.3 Europe

#### 3.1.3.1. France

The latest coalition government in France under President Macron is not new in the French political discourse. For instance, Criddle (1974) and Cameron (1977) acknowledges that the 1974 elections were characterised due to the collapse of the Gaullist conservation coalition which had ruled France from 1959 to 1969. Criddle (1977) also affirms that this power shift and alteration of coalition has been built up for some time and reached the maturity at the 1974 elections. More significantly the 1974 elections were characterised by a very narrow election gap where Gaullist obtained 50.8% against the 49.2% obtained by the socialists.

Thereafter pre-election alliances continued to dominate French politics but there were outright winners. This was visible during the 1981 elections where the PS-PCF coalition was able to elect its presidential candidate. The 1986 election was according to Bernard (2022) governed by the RPR and the UDF until fresh elections were held in 1988. Thereafter new leaders were at the helm of the French government (1988-2003) characterised by failed vote of no confidence and instability. According to Taylor (2022), the year 2022 French coalition under President Macron was the third power sharing arrangement since 1986. The 2022 situation is however unique as there was no dominant force amongst the political players with Macron's coalition unable to obtain the decisive vote to create government without other coalition partner. The current French governance is once again fragile just like the post 1986 era.

#### 3.1.3.2. Germany

Germany has been under different coalition government for at least seven decades. The dominant political players have been the Christian democratic parties Christian Democratic Union and Christian Social Union) of Germany (Schmidt, 2014). It is evident that political allegiance in Germany is influenced by religion as two major role players are premised on the Christian philosophy. The unified Germany is according to Schmidt (2014) divided according to class (secular/socialist/centrist/industrial) religion (most Christian) and the environmental justice groups (the Greens etc.)

#### 3.1.3.3. United Kingdom

According to Lees (2011), Nice and Paun (2019) coalitions are not usual in the context of the political history of the United Kingdom (UK). This observation by Lees (2011) finds resonance in the speech by Disraeli in 1852 who identifies England which is a key element of the UK as a country that does not like coalitions. In addition Lees (2011) identifies three coalitions that ruled the UK in the 20<sup>th</sup> century between 1915 and 1945 namely; Asquith and Lloyd George; McDonald, Baldwin and Chamberlain; war

ministry and the Churchill coalition. As a result there was no coalition government in the UK between 1945 and 2010 (Curtice and Ormston, 2015). The 2015 coalition led by former Prime Minister Cameron (Conservative) and Mr. Clegg (Liberal Democrats) was thus one in a while within the UK political discourse.

### 3.1.3.4. Poland

The key factor with the Polish politics is the sustained trust deficit between the voters and political parties and lower confidence all three democratic institutions (political parties, parliament, government) in Poland (Markowski and Kwiatkowska, 2018). An illusion is arising from a growing belief that the 1989 so called breakthrough and promise for a democratic state only favoured a privileged few.

The country adopted its Constitution in 1997 after the first democratic election were held in 1993. The essence of the 1993 legislative elections was to constitute a democratic parliament that would adopt a Constitution of Poland. Elections has thus been held in Poland 2015 and in 2019. The state of coalitions continues to be volatile in Poland as PiS led coalition collapsed in 2021. Table 7 below provides a brief reflection on the Polish coalitions.

Table 7 above clearly demonstrates the progression of the Poland coalitions from 1989 to 2019. It can be concluded that party to party coalitions have been dominant in the Polish Politics. It is also difficult for political parties to attain absolute majority. It is also quite difficult for each coalition to win at least two terms.

<b>Term</b>	<b>Coalitions</b>	<b>Political Partners</b>	<b>Status</b>
1989	Trade Union Solidarity coalition with minority parties	Electoral Action Solidarity and smaller parties	A new dispensation and a shift from Communist Regime
1993	Left wing Parties (Democratic Left Alliance)	SLD/PSL/UD/	Was able to draft and Pass the Constitution in 1997 after 4 years
1997	Electoral Action Solidarity (AWS) Led Coalitions including Freedom Union (UW) against the Democratic left Alliance and the Polish Peasants Party	AWS/UW	Constituted government Won a Referendum on the Constitution
2001	Centre Left Alliances	Democratic Left Alliance/Labour Union/Polish Peasant Party defeated the Civic Platform (PO) and the Law and Justice (PiS)	The end of the Solidarity Electoral Action (AWS) and Freedom Union (UW) coalition
<b>Term</b>	<b>Coalitions</b>	<b>Political Partners</b>	<b>Status</b>
2005	Right wing coalition	Law and Justice Party(PiS)/Liberal Conservative Civic Platform (PO)/Polish Peasant/Independents Party/Self Defence	Defeated the Democratic Left Alliance. Elected President and Constituted Government
2007	Civic Platform led Coalition	Civic Platform Party/PSL against PI	Civic Platform Party won the election
2011	Civic Platform led Coalition	Civic Platform/PSL	Civic Platform Coalition obtained a second term
2015	Right wing Alliance	PIS/PO/Kukiz	Defeated the Civic Platform Coalition
2019	Right wing Alliance	PiS/KO	PiS led coalition won elections

Source: [www.wikipedia.org](http://www.wikipedia.org)

#### 4. Why are Coalitions Formed?

For this paper, the following are identified as the key take home from coalitions whether in the executive or parliamentary committees:

- National Unity
- Strengthening of Multi-Party Democracy
- Minimize dominance of a single or particular group
- Inclusive decision making
- Decentralized power
- Diversity of thought, ideology, race and gender is achieved
- Healing the divisive past resulted by wars and other forms of conflict
- Enhanced scrutiny or oversight

#### 5. Challenges Affecting Coalitions

Coalitions are affected by the following challenges:

- Limited trust between coalition partners
- They are continuously fragile due to lack of trust amongst partners
- Power mongers within partners
- Intolerance between partners within the coalition
- Extreme ideological differences (ANC-NNP)
- Continues public disputes between partners (Poland experiences)
- Contested Policy Decisions
- Smaller parties find it difficult to survive in some coalitions
- Poor Regulatory Framework

#### 6. Key Observations

Whilst this study might have covered the subject of coalitions to a larger aspect, there are many questions that need answers about coalitions. There is a need to further investigate the following:

- The factors contributing to the collapse of coalitions in RSA?
- To what extent does coalitions influence service delivery in RSA?
- To whom are Coalitions favourable amongst the partners?
- Are coalitions enhancing democracy and good governance in RSA?
- The relationship between coalitions and ethics

#### 7. Do Coalition Governments have a Future in South Africa?

Coalitions remain a possibility in South Africa political landscape. However, the South African coalition terminology is still biased to the formation of government or the Executive. It is largely occurring at local government, and it is a product of hung municipalities. There are minimal efforts to constitute extra parliamentary pacts and pre election pacts. The ANC/SACP/COSATU/SANCO is the longest existing extra parliamentary pact led by one party contesting election.

The ANC/COSATU/SACP relations are getting more fragile due to the growing call from COSATU for the SACP to contest elections as part of the reconfiguration of their alliance. The indicators from the 2021 Local Government election provides a fertile ground for coalitions at local government in RSA. Plus Minus 29 of 111

councils needed Coalitions on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of November 2021 by 12h 30 with plus 61% votes counted (SAnews, 2021). Coupled with the above view is a proposed shift from a Mayoral Committee System to a Council Executive System by Booysen (SAnews, 2021). In such arrangement seats to the executive become proportional. The key question is whether council executives are not going to collapse municipalities further? There is still a probability that collective Executive Council may still collapse for the similar reasons or more which result in the collapse of Mayoral Executives in the current discourse. The important aspect is the management of the relationship.

There is a need for South African political parties to enter into election coalitions (Lose or Win Pacts) (Booyesen, 2021) rather than the post-election result horse trading. Therefore coalitions in RSA should be premised on open (Non-secretive agreements) which are deceitful to the voter. It is also important that coalitions preserve the will of the people and uphold the mandate conferred by the Constitution on public involvement. To this far, coalitions do have a future in the Republic of South Africa.

## 8. Features of a Successful Coalition

The success of a coalition is dependent feature, this paper isolates 7 key features for a successful coalition as follows:

- Minimize political interference to administrative processes
- Institutionalised good governance
- Depoliticise administration (An end to firing of officials when new leadership is elected except for political support staff)
- Protection of Administrators from abusive relationship by political leadership (Olver, 2021)
- Equality of partners and no looking down at smaller parties
- Adherence to legislation and coalition agreements
- Adoption of cross cutting institutional policies etc.

## 9. Conclusion

According to Netshitenze (2021) Coalitions have become inevitable especially in areas where absolute majority are not achieved coalitions and they have become important instruments of governance. Therefore, coalitions do have a future in the Republic of South Africa. This is argued with clear observation and conscious of the challenges that have affected coalitions globally.

There is greater expectation that South Africa at national will for the first time be governed through a coalition in the year 2024 as the ANC majority continues to shrink. Like anywhere else in the World coalitions are continuously fragile due to rust deficit, failed coalition agreements etc. Coalitions in South Africa must be strengthened to electoral laws, regulations, and binding coalition pacts. By design coalition always comes with fragility and threat of collapse.

There is a need to further evaluate the following:

- (i) The factors contributing to the collapse of coalitions in RSA and the world?
- (ii) To what extent does coalitions influence service delivery in RSA?
- (iii) To whom are Coalitions favourable amongst the partners?
- (iv) Are coalitions enhancing democracy and good governance in RSA?
- (v) The relationship between ethics and coalitions?
- (vi) The relationship between coalitions and public participation?

Of course, coalitions do have a future in South Africa. However, a lot of work needs to be done prior the signing of coalition agreements to minimise instability. South African political parties should explore the pre-

election alliance pact and shift from the post-election host trading. However, the fragility of coalitions cannot be completely eliminated but they should be managed. Political parties should consult extensively before entering into coalition agreements to protect the voters' interest.

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