Attitudes towards parties, elections and the IEC in South Africa

Findings from Afrobarometer Round 7 survey in South Africa

30 October 2018, Cape Town, South Africa
What is Afrobarometer?

• A pan-African, non-partisan survey research project that measures citizen attitudes on democracy and governance, the economy, civil society, and other topics.

• Started in 12 African countries in 1999, expanded to 36 countries in Round 6 (2014/2015). Round 7 were conducted between 2017/2018.

• **Goal:** To give the public a voice in policymaking by providing high-quality public opinion data to policymakers, policy advocates, civil society organizations, academics, news media, donors and investors, and ordinary Africans.

• A national partner in each country conducts the survey. In South Africa, Afrobarometer Round 7 survey was conducted by Plus94 Research and the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.
Where Afrobarometer works

Afrobarometer
LET THE PEOPLE HAVE A SAY

A rejoint 1999/2001
A rejoint 2002/2004
A rejoint 2005/2006
A rejoint 2008/2009
A rejoint 2011/2013
A rejoint 2014/2015
A rejoint 2016/2018
Methodology

- Nationally representative sample of adult citizens
  - All respondents are randomly selected.
  - Sample is distributed across regions/states/provinces and urban/rural areas in proportion to their share in the national population.
  - Every adult citizen has an equal chance of being selected.
- Face-to-face interviews in the language of the respondent’s choice.
- Standard questionnaire allows comparisons across countries and over time.
- Sample size in South Africa of 1800 adult citizens yields a margin of error of +/-2.3% at a 95% confidence level.
- Fieldwork for Round 7 in South Africa was conducted in August/September 2018.
Sample representation
Enumerator map
Findings
At a glance

- **Party support in South Africa**: The ANC has a majority vote in the Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga, Limpopo and North West, while DA has a majority in Western Cape.

- **The non-partisan voter**: Majority of non-partisans are in urban areas, youth, with a secondary or post-secondary education. A third reside in Gauteng.

- **Attitudes towards elections in South Africa**: Majority of South Africans accept current electoral systems as the best option despite loss of trust in IEC

- **Willingness to give up elections for services**: Almost two-thirds willing to give up regular elections in favour of security, jobs and houses.
Key findings

- About half of South Africans (48%) say that they would vote for the ANC if elections were held tomorrow, while 11% would vote DA, EFF each.

- While the ANC has the same %-age of “votes” compared to our previous survey in 2015, the DA saw a loss in the %-age of “votes” and EFF had an increase.

- ANC has majority vote intention in the Eastern Cape (69%), Mpumalanga (65%), Limpopo (60%) and North West (55%), while DA has majority in Western Cape (31%).

- ANC, EFF voter base largely in Gauteng, Black African, unemployed. DA voter base largely, urban, Western Cape, Coloured and White. EFF voter base majority youth.
**Voting intentions | South Africa | 2018**

Respondents were asked: If national elections were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for? (Answers were coded from response)
Voting intentions over time | South Africa | 2018

Would not vote | Refused to answer | Don't know

2008: 8% | 10% | 10%
2011: 7% | 14% | 6%
2015: 6% | 11% | 3%
2018: 1% | 16% | 11%
Trends in voting intention | South Africa | 2018

Respondents were asked: If national elections were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?

Respondents were asked: If national elections were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?

- African National Congress (ANC)
- Democratic Alliance - Democratic Party (DA-DP)
- Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)

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Voting intentions | by socio-demographics | South Africa | 2018

Respondents were asked: If national elections were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?

**Rural**
- ANC: 59%
- DA: 4%
- EFF: 11%
- Other: 5%
- Refused/Don't Know: 20%

**Urban**
- ANC: 43%
- DA: 14%
- EFF: 11%
- Other: 3%
- Refused/Don't Know: 30%

**Eastern Cape**
- ANC: 69%
- DA: 4%
- EFF: 13%
- Other: 2%
- Refused/Don't Know: 11%

**Mpumalanga**
- ANC: 65%
- DA: 6%
- EFF: 8%
- Other: 1%
- Refused/Don't Know: 19%

**Limpopo**
- ANC: 60%
- DA: 7%
- EFF: 12%
- Other: 2%
- Refused/Don't Know: 20%

**North West**
- ANC: 55%
- DA: 6%
- EFF: 14%
- Other: 3%
- Refused/Don't Know: 22%

**Gauteng**
- ANC: 47%
- DA: 11%
- EFF: 12%
- Other: 1%
- Refused/Don't Know: 29%

**Northern Cape**
- ANC: 46%
- DA: 22%
- EFF: 15%
- Other: 2%
- Refused/Don't Know: 15%

**KwaZulu-Natal**
- ANC: 41%
- DA: 5%
- EFF: 9%
- Other: 9%
- Refused/Don't Know: 34%

**Free State**
- ANC: 35%
- DA: 7%
- EFF: 20%
- Other: 6%
- Refused/Don't Know: 32%

**Western Cape**
- ANC: 23%
- DA: 31%
- EFF: 3%
- Other: 5%
- Refused/Don't Know: 39%
**Voting intention | by socio-demographic | South Africa | 2018**

**Respondents were asked:** If national elections were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ANC</th>
<th>DA</th>
<th>EFF</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Refused/Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-25</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-35</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-45</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46-55</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56-65</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 65</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black African</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**AFROBAROMETER**
**Voter bases | by location | South Africa | 2018**

**Respondents were asked:** If national elections were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?
Respondents were asked: If national elections were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?
The non-partisan voter
Key findings

- Over half of South Africans (53%) do not feel close to any political party, with just under a third of South Africans (29%) feeling close to the ANC.

- Support for DA, EFF relatively low compared to voting intention.

- Majority of non-partisans are in urban areas, youth, with a secondary or post-secondary education. A third reside in Gauteng.

- Half of South Africans who intend to vote for DA/EFF do not feel close to the party. Just over a third of ANC voters do not feel close to the party.

- A quarter of South Africans (26%) who voted in the last election do not feel close to any party.
Levels of partisanship over time | South Africa | 2018

Respondents were asked: Do you feel close to any particular political party?

100%

80%

60%

40%

20%

No, not close to any party
Yes, feels close to a party

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Respondents were asked: Do you feel close to any particular political party? [If yes] Which party is that?
Non-partisans | by socio-demographics | South Africa | 2018

Respondents were asked: Do you feel close to any particular political party? (% No)

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Voting intention by partisanship | South Africa | 2018

Respondents were asked: If national elections were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for? Do you feel close to any particular political party? [If yes:] Which party is that?

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Respondents were asked: Understanding that some people were unable to vote in the most recent national election in 2014, which of the following statements is true for you? Do you feel close to any particular political party? [If yes:] Which party is that?
Attitudes towards elections
Key findings

- Two-thirds believe that elections are free and fair, a decline since 2011 and 2015
- Trust in the IEC drops by 31% since 2011
- Majority of South Africans accept current electoral systems as the best option
- Almost two-thirds willing to give up regular elections in favour of security, jobs and houses
- Majority believe government is doing a bad job at managing the economy and delivering services
Freeness and fairness of elections | South Africa | 2018

Respondents were asked: On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last national election, held in 2014? (% who say “completely free and fair” or “free and fair with minor problems”)

- 2000: 73%
- 2006: 75%
- 2008: 72%
- 2011: 78%
- 2015: 72%
- 2018: 69%

AFROBAROMETER
Respondents were asked: How much do you trust each of the following, or haven’t you heard enough about them to say: The Independent Electoral Commission? (% who say “somewhat” or “a lot”)

Trust in IEC | South Africa | 2000-2018

- 2000: 49%
- 2002: 31%
- 2006: 57%
- 2008: 53%
- 2011: 69%
- 2015: 59%
- 2018: 38%

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Support for electoral system | South Africa | 2018

Respondents were asked: There are many ways to govern a country. Would you disapprove or approve of the following alternatives:

- Only one political party is allowed to stand for election and hold office?
- Elections and Parliament are abolished so that the president can decide everything?

(% who “disapprove” or “strongly disapprove”)
Willingness to give up elections for services  |  South Africa  |  2018

Respondents were asked: If a non-elected government or leader could impose law and order, and deliver houses, and jobs: How willing or unwilling would you be to give up regular elections and live under such a government?
Respondents were asked: If a non-elected government or leader could impose law and order, and deliver houses, and jobs: How willing or unwilling would you be to give up regular elections and live under such a government?
### How well government does its job | South Africa | 2018

Respondents were asked: How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven’t you heard enough to say?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matter</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Addressing educational needs</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providing water and sanitation services</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providing reliable electric supply</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintaining roads and bridges</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving basic health services</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managing the economy</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ensuring enough to eat</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving living standards of the poor</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fighting corruption</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reducing crime</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creating jobs</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrowing income gaps</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providing water and sanitation services</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keeping prices stable</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Who would give up elections | South Africa | 2018

Respondents were asked:
- How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven’t you heard enough to say?
- If a non-elected government or leader could impose law and order, and deliver houses, and jobs: How willing or unwilling would you be to give up regular elections and live under such a government?
Conclusion

• Important for South Africans to buy into electoral system - closely linked to perceptions of service delivery and economy

• Majority feel elections are free and fair, but low levels of trust in IEC

• Nonpartisans largest group of prospective voters - highest levels since 2000

• 3 top parties are competitive in Gauteng

• No outright majority, but high levels of support for the ANC, with tight competition between DA, EFF
Thank you Siyabonga Relebohile Dankie Ndo livhuwa

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Partisanship | Southern Africa | 2015-2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year 2015</th>
<th>Year 2017</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesotho</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional average</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>53%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>