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## SAFEGUARDING ELECTORAL DEMOCRACY IN THE AGE OF GROWING MISTRUST

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# **SECTION ONE**STRATEGIC CONTEXT

#### **GLOBAL CONTEXT**

#### **GEOPOLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS**



#### THE RISK OF WORLD WAR

- The world is facing the prospect of World War III.
- NATO has maintained a bellicose stance towards Russia. Despite
  agreements made in 1991, NATO has incorporated previously Warsaw Pact
  countries into the alliance.
- In 2014 the pro-Russian Ukrainian government was overthrown with the monetary assistance of the US who assisted the extreme right-wing ultranationalists Svobda Party and the neo-Nazi Azov Battalion militia to name but two. This triggered civil war within Ukraine.
- In 2018, the US expressly stated the National Defence Strategy of reorienting the military priorities towards both Russia and China.
- Over the past years, NATO has deployed troops and military equipment to Russia's borders, culminating in massive naval exercises last year in the Black Sea. These exercises were in preparation for war, with Ukraine being the main theatre.

- Russia, which views Ukraine joining NATO as an existential threat –
  launched a catastrophic invasion of the Ukraine, which has set in motion a
  series of events that can spiral out of control.
  - Russia has placed its second largest nuclear arsenal in the world on alert. There is a real danger that the conflict can devolve into a global catastrophic conflagration.
- The US and its allies have imposed a devastating sanctions regime against
  Russia. This includes cutting off access to the SWIFT international financial
  messaging system and halting the foreign exchange operations of the
  Russian Central Banks.
- Russia and Ukraine account for approximately one third of global grain exports. In addition, Russia supplies a significant portion of natural gas and oil to the EU. The open hostilities means significant global food and fuel price inflation.
- China is also in the crosshairs, with the "one China policy", negotiated in the 1970s being repudiated. China maintains that Taiwan is part of China.
  - In August the US Security of State visited Taiwan, escorted by naval battle groups.

#### **GLOBAL CONTEXT**

#### THE POLITICAL ECONOMY



#### STATE OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

- The COVID-19 virus has continued to evolve, and there is a real threat that the virus can mutate into a more dangerous form.
  - However, many countries have relaxed public health measures and declared the citizens must learn to "live with the virus".
  - The number of infections are expected to increase once again as winter approaches in the northern hemisphere, providing the COVID-19 virus ample human material to continue to evolve.
  - The full impact of post-COVID ailments, commonly referred to as "long COVID", are not yet fully understood. However, the long-term burden of disease is likely to impact adversely on the healthcare industries.
- Over and above the healthcare consequences, previous waves of COVID-19
  have seriously disrupted global supply chains. These disruptions have had a
  significant and adverse impact on global inflation.

#### FINANCIAL MARKET INSTABILITY

- The United States GDP is just under \$23-trillion, and the European Union GDP is about \$14.5-trillion. In comparison, South Africa's GDP is \$420billion. The actions of the Federal Reserve Bank (Fed) and the European Central Bank (ECB) profoundly affect the South African economy.
- In March 2020, at the beginning stages of the COVID-19 pandemic, the
  global financial markets went into free-fall. This led to the Fed having to
  bail out the financial markets, increasing its balance sheet from about
  \$4-trillion to about \$9-trillion. In addition, the Fed instituted a monthly
  quantitative easing programme.
- Since the onset of the crisis, the Fed has maintained an interest rate of 0.25%. The financial markets not only recovered, but spurred on by ultracheap money, has gone into a massive speculative binge.
- The US Stock Market Index shows the unprecedented rise of the stock market from a low point in March 2020 of 18,590 to a high point of nearly 37,000 in January 2022. The divorce of financial markets from the real economy however cannot be maintained indefinitely and cracks are appearing.

#### **GLOBAL CONTEXT**

#### THE POLITICAL ECONOMY



#### **INFLATIONARY PRESSURE**

- The Fed, having pumped unprecedented sums of capital into the financial markets, has compounded inflationary pressure. The US inflation rate, currently at 8.5%, is the highest in 40 years.
  - Across the US there have been numerous strikes with workers pushing for wage increases in line with inflation. In the absence of inflationary adjusted wage increases, real income for significant sections of the US population has fallen.
- In response to the massive surge in inflation, the Fed has indicated that it
  intends to significantly push up interest rates in 2022. The US interest rate
  is now 2.5% and continues to rise, sending the US economy into recession.
  US GDP growth is -0.6% devastating millions of households.
- At present it is unclear whether the financial markets will be able to absorb the interest rate increase. This interest rate hike may lead to a significant and adverse effect on financial markets.
- Globally, for the first time in nearly forty-years the spectre of stagflation (high interest rates and low economic growth) looms large.

#### **GLOBAL INEQUALITY**

- At the World Economic Forum State of the World conference in January 2022, Oxfam released a report analysing the state of global inequality.
- As discussed, the growth of the stock markets has triggered the largest wealth transfer in human history, from the bottom to the top. Oxfam notes that "A new billionaire has been created every 26 hours since the beginning of the pandemic in early 2020."
- Oxfam warns of consequences which include "a violent economy in which billionaire wealth booms, in which millions of people are killed, and billions of people are impoverished due to inequality..."
- South Africa is already one of the most unequal societies in the world.
   According to the latest <u>figures</u> from the <u>World Inequality Database</u>, income inequality in South Africa has deepened with the top 1% of South African earners taking home almost 20% of all income in the country, while the top 10% take home 65%. The remaining 90% of South African earners get only 35% of total income.

#### **SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT**

#### THE ECONOMY



#### **ECONOMIC FALLOUT FROM COVID-19**

- The COVID-19 economic crisis exacerbated already latent weakness.
- In 2019, South Africans believed that the most critical problems facing the country were unemployment, crime and poverty/destitution.\*
- Like so many countries around the world, COVID-19 did not only usher in death and illness, but also a massive economic contraction.
- StatsSA estimates that presently there are 15.5-million employed South
  Africans. This level of employment was last seen in 2015. South Africa's
  attempt at dealing with employment has been set back seven years. The
  recent increase in the number of employed people however has been
  spurred by nominal decrease in wages despite inflation increasing to 8.5%.
- To offset extreme poverty and endemic hunger, the government instituted the Special COVID-19 Social Relief of Distress Grant of R350.
- Just prior to the July 2021 unrest, State suspended the grant. What followed
  was the looting of businesses (although there were two other major factors
  also at play).

- Social grants are a form of insurance against mass social unrest, driven by extreme poverty and destitution.
- Nonetheless, the austerity budget is driving state to cut it's the overall number and value of social grants, inviting further social pressure.

#### **GROWTH OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY**

- President Ramaphosa has pushed for businesses to invest in South Africa in order to accelerate economic growth.
- One of the main impediments to growth is the Eskom crisis. During beginning of President Ramaphosa's first term in office, he explicitly referred to Eskom as a sewer of corruption.
- Even if there was massive investment within the South African economy and factories were to be built, Eskom is unlikely to be able to provide sufficient electricity to power the economic growth.
- In order to address this problem, steps have been taken to liberalise the energy sector. However this form of intervention takes time.
- Electricity prices are set to increase, where the poorest pay the most.

### **SECTION TWO**

THE GSM5 SEGMENTATION MODEL
THE IMPACT OF COVID-19 ON SOUTH AFRICANS

#### **GSM5 SEGMENTATION - SOUTH AFRICA IS HETEROGENEOUS**





#### WHO ARE THEY?

Poor, mainly African people, who are community-focused and religious. They rely on mobile for communication. Mainly very young and old.

#### **INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT?**

Remittances and social grants. 17% Full-time and part-time employment, 41% unemployment.

#### WHERE ARE THEY?

KZN, LMP, EC, MPL, NW.

#### **LANGUAGES?**

Zulu (26%), Xhosa (21%), Setswana (12%).

#### **EDUCATION?**

69% High School, 16% Primary School, 8% uneducated (highest).



#### WHO ARE THEY?

Mainly African people who have migrated to urban areas in search of work, or whose parents did so. The connection with rural areas is strong, with many calling them "home".

#### **INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT?**

Mainly semi-skilled or informal work. 24% Full-time and part-time employment, 45% unemployment.

#### WHERE ARE THEY?

GT, KZN, WC, FS, EC.

#### **LANGUAGES?**

Zulu (28%), Xhosa (20%), Sesotho (13%), Setswana / Afrikaans (9%).

#### **EDUCATION?**

80% High School, 10% Junior School levels.



#### **WHO ARE THEY?**

Middle-class families either by birth or who have moved up from S2. Able to access credit due to employment, but vulnerable to rising costs.

#### **INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT?**

Skilled work, entry or middlemanagement level. 32% Full-time work, 22% unemployed.

#### WHERE ARE THEY?

GT, KZN, WC, FS, EC.

#### **LANGUAGES?**

Zulu (26%), English (22%) Afrikaans (12%), Xhosa (10%).

#### **EDUCATION?**

70% High School, 17% Vocational Tertiary, 8% University Tertiary



#### WHO ARE THEY?

Affluent people living in urban areas outside cities, or who are employers in rural areas, or S5 retirees who have left the cities.

#### **INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT?**

Middle/senior managers, entrepreneurs, or pensioners. 42% Full-time and part-time employment, 23% unemployment.

#### WHERE ARE THEY?

WC, GT, MPL and NW.

#### **LANGUAGES?**

Afrikaans (22%), Zulu (23%) English (15%).

#### **EDUCATION?**

72% High School, 11% Vocational Tertiary, 11% University Tertiary.



#### WHO ARE THEY?

Affluent city-dwellers who were born into this segment, or moved up from S3. We have high education levels, disposable income, and media/data usage.

#### INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT?

Senior or executive management, business owners. 45% Full-time employment, 15% unemployed.

#### WHERE ARE THEY?

GT, WC, KZN.

#### **LANGUAGES?**

English (49%), Afrikaans (27%), Zulu (12%), Xhosa (5%).

#### **EDUCATION?**

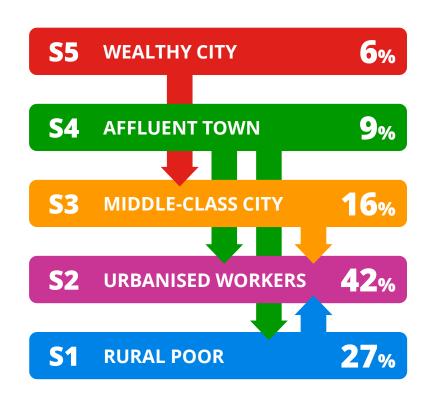
43% High School, 28% Vocational Tertiary, 24% University Tertiary.

#### **GLOBAL SEGMENTATION MODEL (GSM5) DYNAMICS**

#### DOWNWARD SOCIAL MOBILITY



- The GSM5 model allows us to understand the lived circumstances of South Africans. Our GSM5 is the South African government's official segmentation model.
- The GSM5 segments are constituted across two principal dimensions: household affluence and geographic location.
- The segments are dynamic; the measure of segment size is an expression of either upward social mobility, downward social mobility, or stability.
- The COVID-19 period is has led to significant downward social mobility. In brief:
  - If a Wealthy City (S5) household's financial situation deteriorates significantly, they join the Middle-Class City (S3) segment.
  - If a *Middle-Class City* (S3) household falls, they join the *Urbanized Workers* (S2) segment.
  - If a member of the *Affluent Town* (S4) falls, they will either form part of the *Urbanized Workers* (S2) or the *Rural Poor* (S1) segments.
  - When the Rural Poor (S1) migrates to either the townships outside of towns, or to the city they join the Urbanized Workers (S2) segment, and vice-versa.

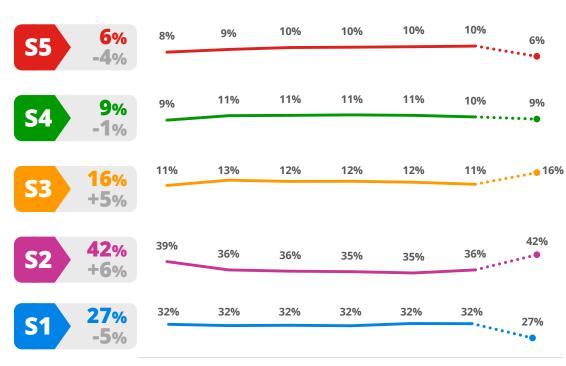


#### **DOWNWARD SOCIAL MOBILITY**

#### SEGMENT MOVEMENT OVER TIME



- Data from the Mobile Tracker Study of 43,200 interviews (from Q2 2016 until Q2 2018), shows a period of segment stability and a modicum of upward social mobility.
- However, this trend was reversed in the August– December 2021 period, when the FinScope survey was conducted.
- The Wealthy City segment contracted by the largest amount recorded over the past decade of tracking, from 10% down to 6%.
- 2. Many of these households fell into the *Middle-Class*City (S3) segment, increasing the size of this segment by 5 percentage points, from 11% to 16%.
- 3. The *Urbanized Workers* (S2) segment saw the largest growth, from 36% to 42% mainly as a consequence of the migration of the *Rural Poor* (S1) from rural areas to townships around the cities or big towns.



Q2-Q1 2017 Q3-Q2 2017 Q4-Q3 2017 Q1-Q4 2017 Q2-Q1 2018 Q3-Q2 2018 Aug-Dec 2021



# **S1: RURAL POOR**



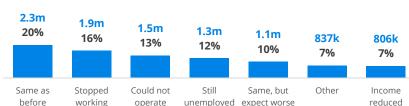
#### **S1: RURAL POOR**

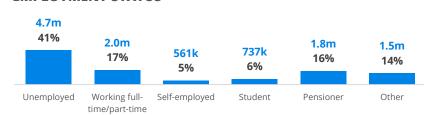
#### **KEY STATISTICS**

- Approximately 27% of the population or 11.4-million people fall into the *Rural Poor* (S1) segment.
- This segment is mainly located in Limpopo (28%), KwaZulu-Natal (25%) and Eastern Cape (21%).
- Over the past three years, a significant portion of this segment have from the rural area to the city/large towns in search of a better life.
- The segment has the lowest levels of education and the highest proportion of unemployed, and is thus the most dependent upon social grants for survival.
- About 84% of the Rural Poor is banked, with just over 36% of banked S1 customers having a SASSA account.
- The COVID-19 economic fallout has affected the Rural Poor (S1) segment adversely: 16% stopped working, 13% could not operate and 12% are still unemployed.
- Smartphone penetration within this segment has grown over time, although the rate of growth has slowed significantly. In mid-2018, penetration was at 41%; now it is at 48%.

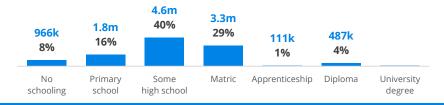
**RURAL POOR SEGMENT SIZE 27%** NUMBER OF PEOPLE 11,396,000 **BANKED PEOPLE BANKED UNBANKED** 84% 16% **SMARTPHONE PENETRATION GENDER SPLIT FEMALE** MALE 60% 40%

# IMPACT OF COVID-19 2.3m 20% 1.9m 1.5 16% 130 Same as Stopped Could oper working oper





#### **HIGHEST EDUCATION LEVEL ACHIEVED**





## **S2: URBANISED WORKERS**



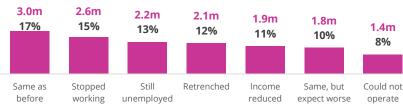
#### **S2: URBANISED WORKERS**

#### **KEY STATISTICS**

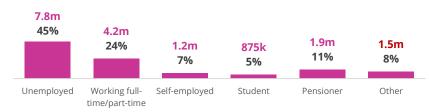
- The Urbanized Workers (S2) segment can be referred to as the "bottom of the pyramid".
- It is the largest segment, consisting of 42% of the South African adult population or 17.5-million people.
- The *Urbanized Workers* (S2) segment can be found primarily in townships around cities and large towns in Gauteng (34%), KZN (16%), and Western Cape (14%). Smaller cohorts can be found in Eastern Cape and Free State.
- The life situation of the S2 segment has always been precarious. The brunt of the impact of COVID-19 was felt by S2, with now just under one-in-four working full-time or part-time.
- Approximately 42% of S2 have only achieved some high school education. In 2021, the UCT NIDS-CRAM study estimated that approximately 750,000 children dropped out of school since the onset of COVID-19, mainly from the S2 and S1 segments.
- About three-quarters of S2 are banked, with 30% of this segment receiving SASSA grants.

**URBANISED WORKERS SEGMENT SIZE** 42% NUMBER OF PEOPLE 17,484,000 **BANKED PEOPLE BANKED UNBANKED 76%** 24% SMARTPHONE PENETRATION **GENDER SPLIT FEMALE** MALE 52% 48%

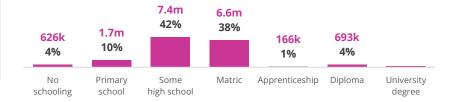




#### **EMPLOYMENT STATUS**



#### HIGHEST EDUCATION LEVEL ACHIEVED





## **S3: MIDDLE-CLASS CITY**



#### **S3: MIDDLE-CLASS CITY**

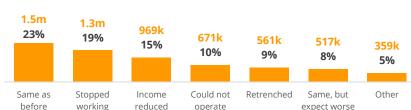
#### **KEY STATISTICS**

- The Middle-Class City (S3) is the lower-middle class living principally in Gauteng (60%), Western Cape (21%), and KwaZulu-Natal (14%).
- The population profile of the Middle-Class City (S3) is more diverse than that of S1 and S2, with 63% being African and 16% White.
- S3 has significantly higher levels of education, with 46% having matric but more importantly 25% holding either a diploma or university degree.
- There is a correlation between higher level of education and employment, with about two-thirds (64%) holding a post-matric being either employed or self-employed. However, around 19% (or 330,000) people with a post-matric qualification are unemployed.
- This segment has grown significantly as a result of COVID-19 and downward social mobility.
- From focus group discussions in early 2022, S3 respondents who worked in the tourism, hospitality, leisure and affiliated industries, described the adverse impact that COVID-19 has had on their households.

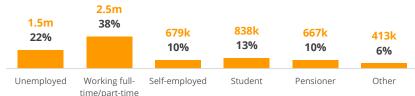








#### **EMPLOYMENT STATUS**



#### HIGHEST EDUCATION LEVEL ACHIEVED





## **S4: AFFLUENT TOWN**



#### **S4: AFFLUENT TOWN**

#### **KEY STATISTICS**

- The Affluent Town (S4) segment are largely located in big towns (87%) and rural areas (13%) in mainly Mpumalanga (26%), Kwa-Zulu Natal (17%), and Western Cape (13%).
- There is a disproportionately higher representation of Whites (23%) who fall within the segment, although the dominant population group is African (62%). This is expressed in the diversity of languages spoken, with 22% speaking Afrikaans as their home language and 16% speaking English.
- There is social polarisation within this segment between the upper-income strata (LSM 9-10) and lower-income strata (LSM 7-8).
- Over the past 4 years, there has been a migration from the rural areas towards the towns. The lowerincome strata of S4, however, is significantly better off than the Rural Poor (S1) and Urbanized Workers (S2) segments.
- As with the other segments, COVID-19 has had a significant impact on this segment, with 18% having stopped working, 17% experienced a reduced income, and 8% could not operate their businesses.

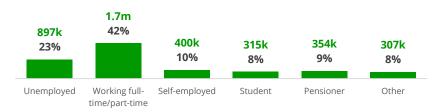
**SEGMENT SIZE** 9% NUMBER OF PEOPLE 3,943,000 BANKED PEOPLE **BANKED UNBANKED** 84% 16% SMARTPHONE PENETRATION 81% **GENDER SPLIT FEMALE** MALE 44% **56%** 

# **AFFLUENT** TOWN

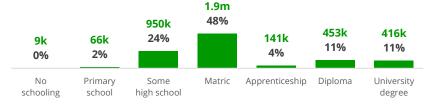
944k 691k 688k 24% 371k 18% 17% 263k 255k 236k 7% 6% 6% Could not Same, but Still Retrenched Same as Stopped Income expect worse unemployed before working reduced operate

#### **EMPLOYMENT STATUS**

**IMPACT OF COVID-19** 



#### HIGHEST EDUCATION LEVEL ACHIEVED





## **S5: WEALTHY CITY**



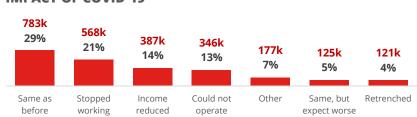
#### **S5: WEALTHY CITY**

#### **KEY STATISTICS**

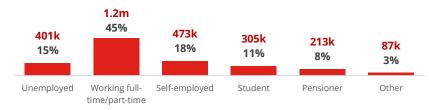
- The size of the Wealthy City (S5) segment has shrunk since Q2 2018, from 10% of the population down to 6%. Many of these South Africans have fallen into the Middle-Class City (S3) segment.
- The Wealthy City (S5) segment represents the top 6% of South Africans living in the metros of South Africa
- The segment has the highest level of education, with just over half (52%) holding either a diploma or university degree.
- The S5 segment has the highest incidence of smartphone penetration with 94% of this segment using data.
- The segment has the highest proportion of banked customers. Furthermore, the range of financial products held by the S5 segment is generally more extensive, diversified and complex than the other segments.
- Just over three-quarters (76%) of this segment speak either English (49%) or Afrikaans (27%).
- Just under half (44%) of this segment is White and about a third (34%) are African.

**WEALTHY** CITY **SEGMENT SIZE** 6% NUMBER OF PEOPLE 2,704,000 BANKED PEOPLE **BANKED UNBANKED** 88% 12% SMARTPHONE PENETRATION **GENDER SPLIT FEMALE** MALE 35% 65%

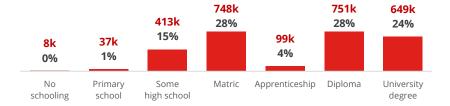




#### **EMPLOYMENT STATUS**



#### HIGHEST EDUCATION LEVEL ACHIEVED

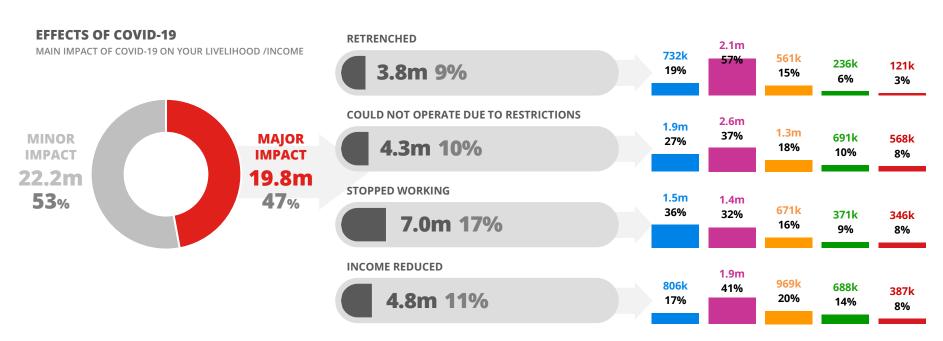


#### **IMPACT OF COVID-19 ON SOUTH AFRICANS**

#### **IMPACT OF COVID-19**



• Severe consequences of COVID-19 include four income categories: 1) those who were retrenched; 2) those who could not operate due to restrictions; 3) those who stopped working; and 4) those whose income has been reduced. In total, 19.8-million (47%) of South Africans were subjected to this. Collectively this has impacted, not only on South Africa's economic performance, but also the social conditions and financial health of a significant portion South Africans.



## **SECTION THREE**

SOUTH AFRICAN STATE OF DEMOCRACY

#### MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS FACING SOUTH AFRICA

Q3 2019



According to South Africans, the most pressing issues requiring proactive attention are unemployment, crime, corruption, poverty and destitution, and basic service delivery.

Unemployment has been consistently viewed as the biggest problem facing the country, as expressed by 29.5-million (78%) of South Africans. The gap between unemployment and the rest of the issues has also remained consistently large.

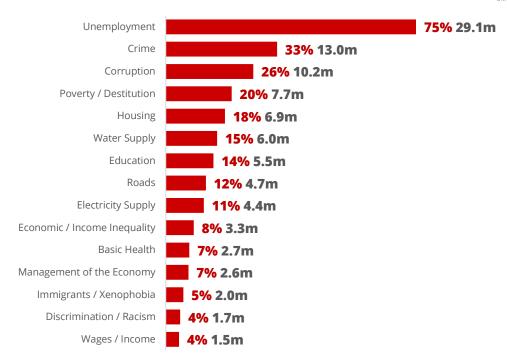
Among the other aspects, *Crime* (39%) has also been consistently mentioned, as has *Poverty / Destitution* (20%).

Crucially, *Corruption* (23%) has steadily increased in prevalence over time, reflecting the growing awareness of state capture and corrupt activities.

#### MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS

IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT ARE THE THREE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS FACING SOUTH AFRICA?





#### SATISFACTION WITH DEMOCRACY

SATISFACTION WITH DEMOCRACY (JULY 2019)



Stands

Just over half (52%) of South African adults aged 18 years and older were either very satisfied (23%) or fairly satisfied (29%) with the way that democracy works in South Africa.

On the other hand, just over one-in-five (23%) of South African adults were not very satisfied with the way democracy works in this country, and a similar proportion (22%) were not at all satisfied.

#### SATISFACTION WITH DEMOCRACY

OVERALL, HOW SATISFIED ARE YOU WITH THE WAY DEMOCRACY WORKS IN SOUTH AFRICA?

#### **VERY SATISFIED**



#### FAIRLY SATISFIED



#### **NOT VERY SATISFIED**



#### **NOT AT ALL SATISFIED**



#### DON'T KNOW / NO RESPONSE



#### SATISFACTION WITH OUR DEMOCRACY

DEGREE OF DEMOCRACY (JULY 2019)



Surveys

12.7m 34%

South Africans tended to be largely positive about the degree of democracy experienced in the country, although the results have become less positive over time (i.e. more South Africans believe that our democracy has problems).

In July 2019, 10.5-million South African adults (28%) said that South Africa was a full democracy, while roughly 12.7-million adults (34%) said that it was a democracy with minor problems.

On the other hand, 10.0-million South Africans (27%) believed that the country was a democracy with major problems.

Finally, roughly 3.2-million South Africans (9%) believed that South Africa was not a democracy at all.

## A FULL DEMOCRACY 10.5m 28% A DEMOCRACY, WITH MINOR PROBLEMS A DEMOCRACY, WITH MAJOR PROBLEMS 10.0m 27% NOT A DEMOCRACY 3.2m 9% DON'T KNOW / NO RESPONSE

IN YOUR OPINION, HOW MUCH OF A DEMOCRACY IS SOUTH AFRICA TODAY?

**DEMOCRATIC LEGITIMACY** 

1.4m 4%

#### INTEGRITY OF THE ELECTIONS

INTEGRITY OF 2019 NATIONAL ELECTIONS (JULY 2019)



Elections were held on 8 May 2019, on a national and provincial level.

Just under half (49%) of South Africans adults aged 18+ believed that the elections were completely free and fair, while over one-infive (23%) believed that the election were free and fair but had minor problems.

On the other hand, approximately 5.5-million South African adults (15%) said that the elections were free and fair but had major problems.

At the extremely negative end of the spectrum, roughly 2.7-million South Africans adults (7%) felt that the elections were not free and fair at all.

#### **INTEGRITY OF THE 2019 NATIONAL ELECTIONS**

ON THE WHOLE, HOW WOULD YOU RATE THE FREENESS AND FAIRNESS OF THE LAST NATIONAL ELECTION, HELD IN MAY 2019?

#### COMPLETELY FREE AND FAIR

18.6m 49%

FREE AND FAIR, WITH MINOR PROBLEMS



FREE AND FAIR, WITH MAJOR PROBLEMS



NOT FREE AND FAIR



DON'T KNOW / NO RESPONSE



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#### SATISFACTION WITH DEMOCRACY

TRUST IN POLITICIANS AND POLITICAL PARTIES (JULY 2019)



In an attempt to unpack the reasons for the low voter turnout, we presented respondents with a selection of statements, which were based on verbatim responses collected in previous quarters of the SACS study.

We then asked respondents whether they agreed or disagreed.

#### These results support the low voter turnout:

71% of adults agreed that they did not trust political parties to keep their election promises.

Almost eight-in-ten South Africans (77%) agreed that politicians were corrupt and could not be trusted.

Over eight-in-ten adults (82%) agreed that political parties wanted their vote and would then do what they wanted anyway.

Finally, and perhaps crucially, over eight-in-ten (83%) South Africans agreed that political parties kept fighting each other instead of resolving the country's issues.

83%

"POLITICAL PARTIES KEEP FIGHTING WITH EACH OTHER AND NOT SOLVING SOUTH AFRICA'S PROBLEMS"

**82**%

"POLITICAL PARTIES JUST WANT MY VOTE, AND AFTERWARDS DO WHATEVER THEY WANT"

**77**%

"MOST POLITICIANS ARE CORRUPT AND CANNOT BE TRUSTED"

**71**%

"I DO NOT TRUST POLITICAL PARTIES TO KEEP THEIR ELECTION PROMISES"

#### **SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT**

#### THE POLITICAL SITUATION



#### POLITICAL ALIENATION AND THE STATE OF DEMOCRACY

- Voter-turnout, as measure of democratic participation, dropped significantly in both the 2019 National and Provincial elections and the November 2021 Municipal elections.
  - In 2019, 17.6-million South Africans went to the polls (compared to 18.6-million people in 2014), despite the population growing by nearly 4-million people.
  - In the 2014 Municipal elections, 15.2-million people turned out at the polls, while only 11.9-million turned out in 2021.
- These voter turnout statistics serve as a measure of political alienation.
- In previous periods, the ANC could appeal to the progress made in addressing the issues associated with Apartheid. This is no longer possible. There is an entire generation of "born free" South Africans who have known no life other than that under the ANC.
  - When asked about reasons for not voting, just over 80% \* explained that politicians just want their vote and do whatever they want afterwards.

#### THE INTERNECINE STRUGGLE IN THE RULING PARTY

- The ANC is a heterogonous party with two major factions engaged in a life-and-death struggle.
- On the one hand, there is President Ramaphosa's faction who has directly
  intervened to adjust the trajectory of the South African economy. On the
  other hand, there is the Radical Economic Transformation (RET) faction
  who has largely been implicated in the wholesale looting of the State.
  These factions are at war.
- It has been estimated that the quantum of money lost to State Capture is about R1.5-trillion. In perspective, this is nearly 120% of SARS' full tax revenue collection for 2019. This has brought SA to it's knees, discrediting the ANC in the eyes of most South Africans.
  - The Zondo Commission into State Capture report has been released and acknowledged by the ANC. Action is necessary to maintain a modicum of democratic legitimacy as it pertains to the rule of law.
  - It is just as important that some of the stolen money is recovered.
     However, there was no mention of recovering monies during the February 2022 Budget Speech.

## **SECTION FOUR**

**BACKGROUND AND SAMPLE** 

#### **BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY**

#### **FINSCOPE 2021**



#### THE SURVEY

- The FinScope Consumer Survey has been conducted in 20+ countries in Africa and 7 countries in Asia.
- In South Africa, it has been conducted on an annual basis since 2003. The survey tracks the context and financial behaviour of South Africans aged 16 years and older.
- The Finscope 2021 survey was conducted between August and December 2022.
- Face-to-face interviews were conducted on computer tablets with a nationally-representative sample of 5,664 South African adults, which includes a booster sample of 600 foreign nationals living in South Africa.
- Interviews were conducted in English, Zulu, Xhosa, Afrikaans, Sotho,
   Sepedi and Setswana.

#### **THE SAMPLE**

- The sample was designed as a complex, multi-stage, stratified probability sample, based on the Census EA sample frame.
- The sample was stratified by province, municipality, main place, EA code geographic area type, population group and foreigner/non-foreigner areas to improve the representativeness of the sample and to ensure the best possible precision per stratum.
- EAs were considered as the primary sampling units (PSUs), households as secondary sampling units (SSUs), and adults as ultimate sampling units (USUs). The number of households per EA served as the measure of size.
- The sample has a 95% confidence with a ±1.5% margin of error, and was weighted and benchmarked to the latest population statistics by province, population group, gender, age, and geographic area type.



5,664

**UNWEIGHTED SAMPLE** 



**42-MILLION** 

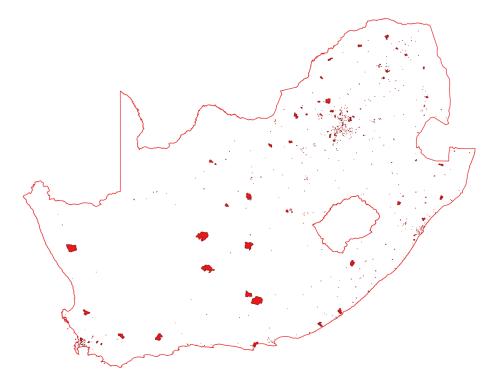
WEIGHTED SAMPLE

#### **BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY**

#### WHERE WERE THE INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED?

- Over the course of the Finscope 2021 survey, 945
   Enumeration Areas (Stats SA) were sampled in
   order to ensure that all South Africans from the
   cities and towns to the villages and remotest
   regions of South Africa had the opportunity to
   have their voices heard.
- Alongside is a map of the Enumeration Areas where just over 5,664 interviews have been conducted.
- The sample coverage, combined with scientific sampling and rigorous quality controls, means that the Finscope 2021 data is representative of all South Africans, and can be relied upon for crucial and strategic decisions.





## THANK YOU.

