

2021



**CENTRE FOR
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
IN AFRICA**

**Does gender matter in voter preferences in
the local government elections in 2021?**

15 October 2021

RESEARCH BRIEF

Leila Patel, Yolanda Sadie, Matshidiso Sello, Megan Bryer and Jaclyn de Klerk

Copyright the authors and the Centre for Social Development in Africa, University of Johannesburg, P.O. Box 524, Auckland Park, 2006, Csdainfo@uj.ac.za, www.uj.ac.za/faculties/humanities/csda

This research is supported with funding from the Department of Science and Technology (DST) and the National Research Foundation (NRF) for the South African Research Chair in Welfare and Social Development, Centre for Social Development in Africa, University of Johannesburg. The views expressed are those of the authors and not of the

DST and the NRF. Read more about the SARCHI Chair in Welfare and Social Development at <https://www.uj.ac.za/faculties/humanities/sarchi-welsocdev>

About the authors: Leila Patel is professor of Social Development Studies and the DST/NRF Chair in Welfare and Social Development, CSDA, University of Johannesburg; Yolanda Sadie Professor Emeritus in Politics, University of Johannesburg; Matshidiso Sello is a researcher at CSDA, Megan Bryer is a researcher associated with the CSDA and Jaclyn de Klerk is with the Statistical Consultation Service, University of Johannesburg.

Suggested citation: Patel, L., Sadie, Y., Sello, M, Bryer, M. and de Klerk, J. (2021). Does gender matter in voter preferences in the local government elections in 2021? Johannesburg: Centre for Social Development in Africa, University of Johannesburg.

SARChi website <https://www.uj.ac.za/faculties/humanities/sarchi-welsocdev/Pages/Meet-Professor-Leila-Patel-South-African-Research-Chair-in-Welfare-and-Social-Development.aspx>

Date of publication: 15 October 2021

Introduction

Gender gaps in electoral participation have declined in Western industrialised countries (Abendschön & Steinmetz, 2014; Coffe & Bolzendahl, 2011), but also in developing countries such as India (Rai, 2017). There is some evidence that gender gaps in elections across 18 countries in sub-Saharan Africa mirror the changes that are occurring in Western democracies, although significant gender differences exist in less institutionalised (informal) types of participation (Coffe & Bolzendahl, 2011). These variations are attributed to differences in socio-economic status and cultural attitudes about what behaviour is acceptable for men and women. Other factors also matter, such as the political and economic context and country commitments to gender equality.

Equality in political participation is a key indicator of the health of a democracy. Gender inequality gaps in participation in elections and voting behaviour (why people vote the way they do) warrant further investigation in South Africa. More women (55%) than men (45%) are registered to vote in the forthcoming local government elections (IEC, 2021). This has consistently been the case since 2006¹.

This research brief explores whether there are likely to be gender differences in voter preferences for political parties in the upcoming local government elections on 1 November 2021. We ask the following questions: firstly, do men and women have different party political preferences when it comes to who they vote for at local government level? And secondly, which factors explain differences between men and women in their voter preferences?

The findings are based on an analysis of Wave 4 of the CSDA's research study on socio-economic rights and voter preferences². The data was collected between November and December 2020. We analysed the data by gender with a specific focus on the respondents' reasons for party choice in the local government elections.

About the study

To date, four nationally representative cross-sectional surveys have been conducted. The first survey was done in October 2017 during the Presidency of Jacob Zuma. Subsequently, three surveys were conducted between November and December in 2018, 2019, and 2020 during the Presidency of Cyril Ramaphosa³. This research brief presents the findings from Wave 4 when specific questions were asked about voter preferences and their reasons for party choice in the 2021 local government elections. Data were collected from a random, nationally representative

¹ <https://www.elections.org.za/pw/Downloads/Documents-Publications-Speeches>

²

https://www.uj.ac.za/faculties/humanities/csda/Documents/Factors%20Determining%20Voter%20Choice%20_%20Report%20_%20May%202021%20_%20Web_Final.pdf

³

<https://www.uj.ac.za/faculties/humanities/csda/Documents/Voter%20Preference%20Report%20A4%2002.10.%202018%20PDF.pdf>

sample, with face-to-face (CAPI) interviews conducted by Ipsos Public Affairs (a market research company), on behalf of the CSDA. Respondents were interviewed in their preferred home language. The sample of the 2020 survey consisted of 3 469 respondents and was drawn from metropolitan and rural areas stratified in terms of age, gender, and race. Six survey questions supplied by the CSDA were included in Ipsos's Khayabus survey, which is conducted annually between October and November. Fieldwork for Wave 4 was conducted between October and December 2020. A description of the questions is contained in the endnotes (see endnote 1). The respondents were asked about which party they would vote for if there were local elections tomorrow. The cross-sectional data was analysed at the univariate, bivariate, and multivariate levels, and a binary logistic regression analysis was conducted to identify the predictors for party choice in the local government elections.

Results

The study surveyed a total of 3 469 people. The data was weighted to represent the national sample size⁴. Of the total study population, 48% were male, while 52% were female.

Local government party choice

Respondents were asked which party they would vote for if the local government elections were held tomorrow. Of the total sample of 3 469 people, 51% said they would vote for the ANC, 11% would support the EFF, 10% the DA, and only 4% would vote for other parties. Of the same sample, only 25% would not vote, refused to answer, or did not know who to vote for in local government elections. Of this group, 11% indicated that they would not vote, 6% refused to answer and 5% said they did not know who to vote for.

Party choice at the local level was similar to their party choice in a national election. Support for the ANC decreased by one percent to 51% (from 52% at the national level); while support for the EFF increased by one percent to 11% (from 10% at the national level). However, some percentages remained the same as the national elections, with DA remaining at 10% and IFP at 1%.

Local government party choice by gender

Figure 1 below depicts the relationship between party choice and gender in the local level elections for the sample of 3 469. The noticeable difference between male and female support was among those supporting the EFF, with 3% more males than females supporting the party. Male and female support for the ANC was the same (51%).

⁴ Data was drawn from a nationally representative sample and was weighted to ensure the relative importance of each observation

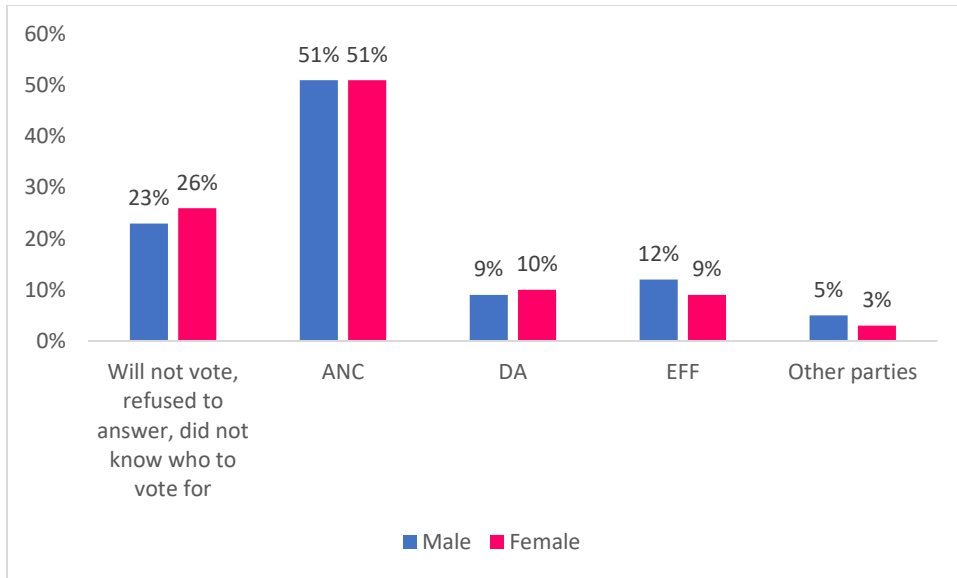


Figure 1: Local government party choice by gender

In addition, we aggregated the results into “ANC” or “Other opposition party” by male and female. These categories were drawn from the question asking the respondents to indicate the political party they would vote for if local government elections were held tomorrow. Of the study sample of 3 469 people, we excluded 385 people who said they would not vote (11%), those who refused to answer 192 (6%), and those who did not know who to vote for 176 (5%).

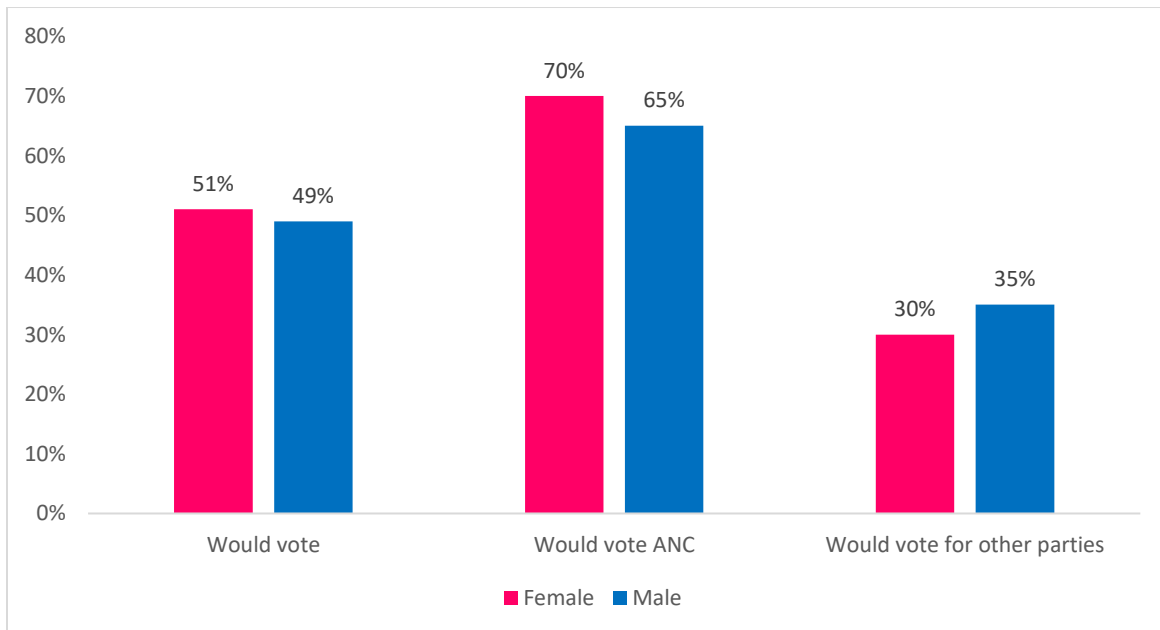


Figure 2: The decision to vote and who to vote for by gender

Among the 2 564 respondents who said they would vote, 51% were females, while 49% were males. Of the 51% females, 70% would vote for the ANC, while 30% preferred other parties.

However, amongst the 49% of males who said they would vote, 35% would vote for other parties, while 65% said they would vote for the ANC. Therefore, we can conclude that 5% more women than men would vote for the ANC.

The decision not to vote in local government elections by gender

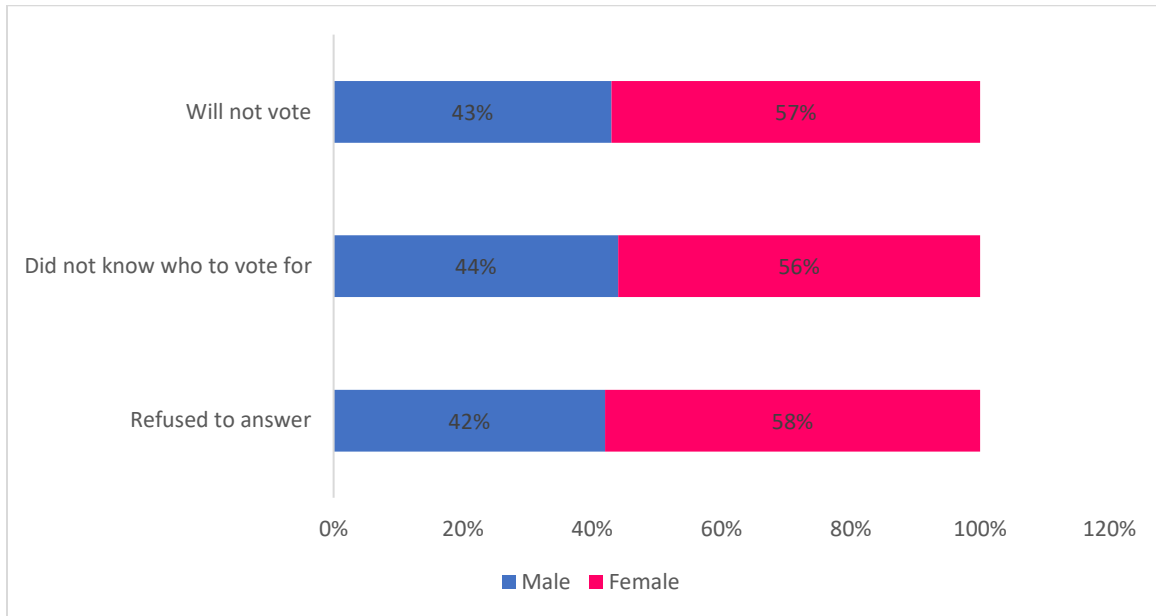


Figure 3: Decision not to vote in a local government election by gender

Of those eligible to vote, 11% (385) said they would not vote if the local government elections were held tomorrow. Of the 11% who said they would not vote, there were more females (57%) than males (43%). Of the study sample, 5% (176) said they did not know who to vote for; in this group more females (56%) than males (44%) were undecided. Of the total sample, 6% (192) of the respondents refused to answer, and among those, 58% were females as opposed to 42% males. These findings are contained in Tables 1, 2, and 3 below.

The decision not to vote

Table 1: Will not vote by age and gender

Age groups	Male	Female	Total
18-34	48%	53%	51%
35-59	48%	40%	43%
60+	4%	7%	6%

Of the 11% of people who said they would not vote, 51% were in the age group 18-34 years. Of this latter group, 48% of males would not vote compared to 53% of females.

Table 2: Refused to vote

Age groups	Male	Female	Total
18-34	45%	39%	41%
35-59	43%	51%	48%
60+	11%	10%	11%

Of those who refused to vote, the majority were in the age category 35-59 years, with more females (51%) than males (43%) refusing to vote.

Table 3: Did not know who to vote for

Age groups	Male	Female	Total
18-34	41%	46%	44%
35-59	41%	43%	42%
60+	18%	10%	14%

The majority (44%) of those who did not know who to vote for were in the 18-34 age category, of which 46% were females, and 41% were males.

Overall, more females and more younger women than males said that they would not vote, refused to vote or did not know who to vote for.

Reasons for political party choice in the local government elections by females vs males

In Wave 4, respondents were asked their reasons for selecting a particular political party if the local government elections were held tomorrow. Trust in the party was the most common reason cited (38%), followed by the view that this party will stimulate job creation in communities (33%) and that that the party will fix roads, potholes, streetlights, water leaks, burst pipes and stormwater drainage (28%). Moreover, prospective voters thought that the party they selected would prioritise the delivery of good quality and reliable services such as clean water, electricity, sewage, and refuse removal (27%). They also believed their party of choice would make land available for housing and upgrade services in informal settlements (26%). The sixth most cited reason is that the party brought freedom and democracy to the country (26%). The top reasons for local party choice showed little difference between males and females. Slightly more females (29%) than males (27%) believe that the party will fix roads and potholes, streetlights, water leaks, burst pipes, stormwater drainage and the like.

For national and local election party choice, trust in the party is important; however, for local elections, more importance is assigned to job creation and service delivery. However, it must be noted that the list of options available to respondents differed between national-level party choice and municipal-level party choice.

Table 4: Top six reasons reported for party choice in the local government elections by gender

Top 6 reasons for voting in the local government elections	Male	Female	Total
I trust this party	38%	37%	38%
This party will stimulate job creation	32%	33%	33%
The party will fix roads and potholes, streetlights, water leaks, fix bursts, pipes, and storm water drainage	27%	29%	28%
This party will prioritise the delivery of good quality and reliable services	27%	27%	27%
The party brought freedom and democracy	26%	26%	26%
This party will make land available for housing and upgrade services in informal settlements	27%	26%	26%

When we looked at the top six reasons for supporting a particular party in the local government elections, we found no differences between men and women. In our Wave 4 research brief, we also reported no gender differences in the reasons for party choice at national and provincial levels.

Other reasons for political party choice in the local government elections by gender

Table 5: Other reasons for party choice by gender

Reasons for party choice at local government elections	Males	Females	Total
The party is addressing corruption	26%	23%	25%
The party is not corrupt	18%	18%	18%
The party will deliver more efficient municipal transport	23%	25%	24%
The party will enforce municipal by-laws such as building regulations, trading, health, safety and security, noise, outdoor advertising	24%	24%	24%
The party will deliver free water and electricity	24%	23%	23%
This party will employ competent people who can do the job	23%	23%	23%
I like the leader of this party	25%	20%	23%
Don't know	4%	6%	5%
Refused	2%	3%	3%

Other reasons for the choice of a party also show no differences among males and females except in relation to the statement “I like the leader of this party”. In this instance, more men (25%) said that they preferred a party because they liked the leader than females (20%).

Likelihood of voting for a councillor of a different party in the local government elections by gender

Respondents were asked, “How likely are you to consider voting for a councillor who is not from your party if the municipal elections were held tomorrow.” They were asked to indicate their answer on a five-point scale ranging from “very likely” on the one end of the continuum to “highly unlikely” on the other end. Of the total study sample of 3 469 respondents, 20% said they were very unlikely to consider voting for a councillor of another party, with 22% being male and 19% female. In contrast, 8% were very likely to vote for a councillor of a different party with more men (9%) likely to vote for a councillor from another party compared to females (7%). Only 7% were somewhat likely to consider voting for a different councillor, of which 7% were males, and 6% were females. However, 17% of the study sample said they did not know whether to consider this and that it was too early to tell. Of this group of people, more women (18%) were uncertain than men (16%).

These results indicate an uncertainty among voters on whether to keep the same councillors or not. However, we had a follow-up question asking the respondent to indicate whether they would vote for a councillor of a different party. Only 9% males and 7% females indicated that they would vote differently, and their primary reasons were efficiency, trust in the party, the councillor is not corrupt, councillor listens and is responsive.

Table 6: Likelihood of voting for a councillor of another party by gender

Consider voting for a different councillor	Male	Female	Total
Very likely to consider	9%	7%	8%
Somewhat likely to consider	7%	6%	7%
Neither likely or unlikely to consider	8%	9%	9%
Somewhat unlikely to consider	9%	10%	9%
Very unlikely to consider	22%	19%	20%
Don't know if I will consider this	17%	17%	17%
It is too early to say	16%	18%	17%
Refused to answer	13%	14%	13%
Total		100%	100%

Other factors influencing party choice in the national and local government elections by gender

Democratic rights like voting, access to courts, freedom of speech, and expression are important

Respondents were asked which factors determined their party preference. Of the overall study sample who indicated their party choice in a local government election, 31% agreed that democratic rights like voting, access to courts, freedom of speech, and expression are important, but the differences between males and females were negligible.

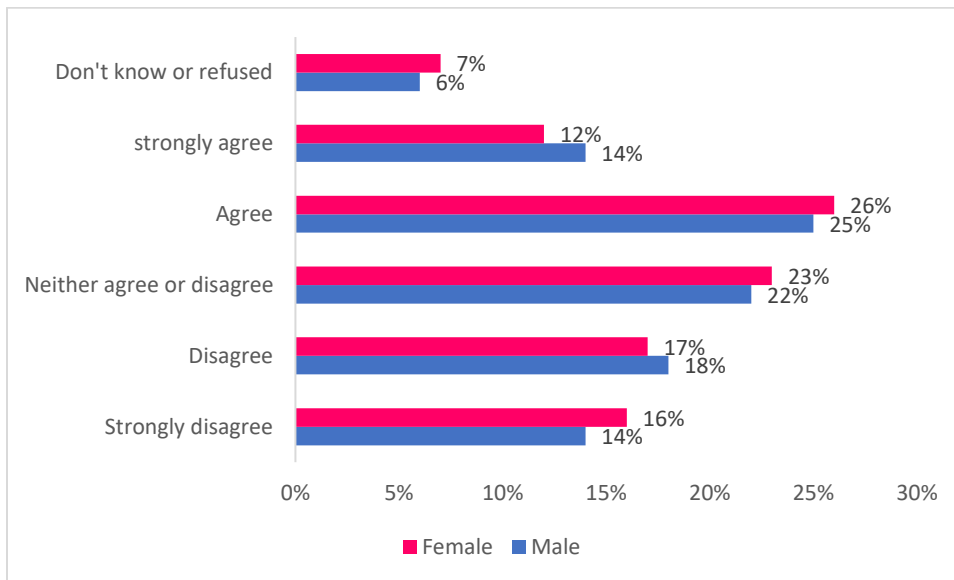


Figure 4: Democratic rights like voting, access to courts, and freedom of speech and expression are important by gender

Socio-economic wellbeing, meeting your basic needs, jobs, income, housing are important

The majority of respondents agreed (29%) and strongly agreed (23%) that socio-economic wellbeing was important to them. Of the total females, 28% agreed, and of the total males, 29% agreed; of the total number of males, 24% strongly agreed, and of the total number of females, 23% agreed.

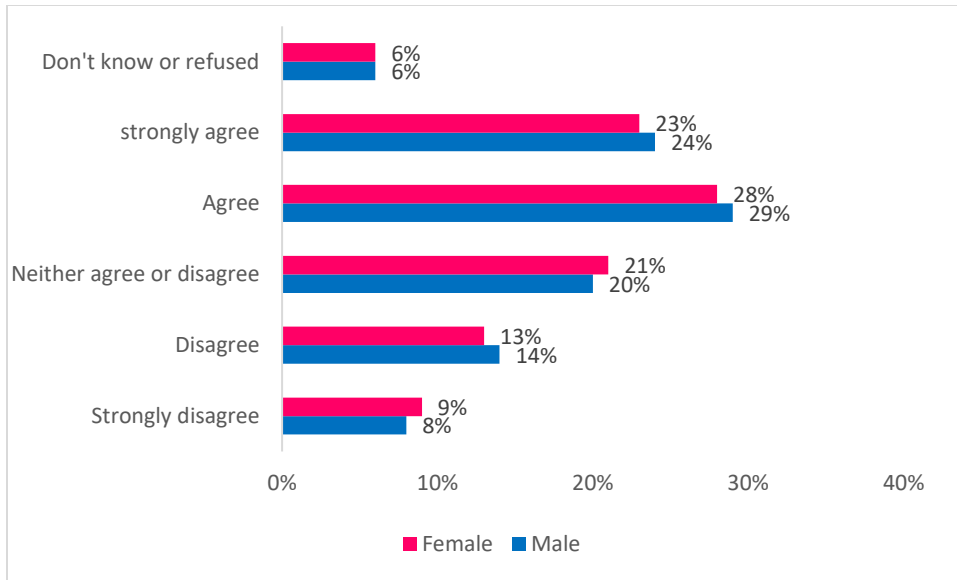


Figure 5: Socio-economic wellbeing, meeting your basic needs, jobs, income, housing are important by gender

Corruption is currently being dealt with decisively e.g. people are being arrested, charged, sentenced, monies are being recovered, and politicians and officials are held accountable

Of all the respondents surveyed, 26% agreed that corruption was dealt with decisively, and here the differences between males and females were very small. However, 18% of the sample disagreed, and here again, the gender differences were small.

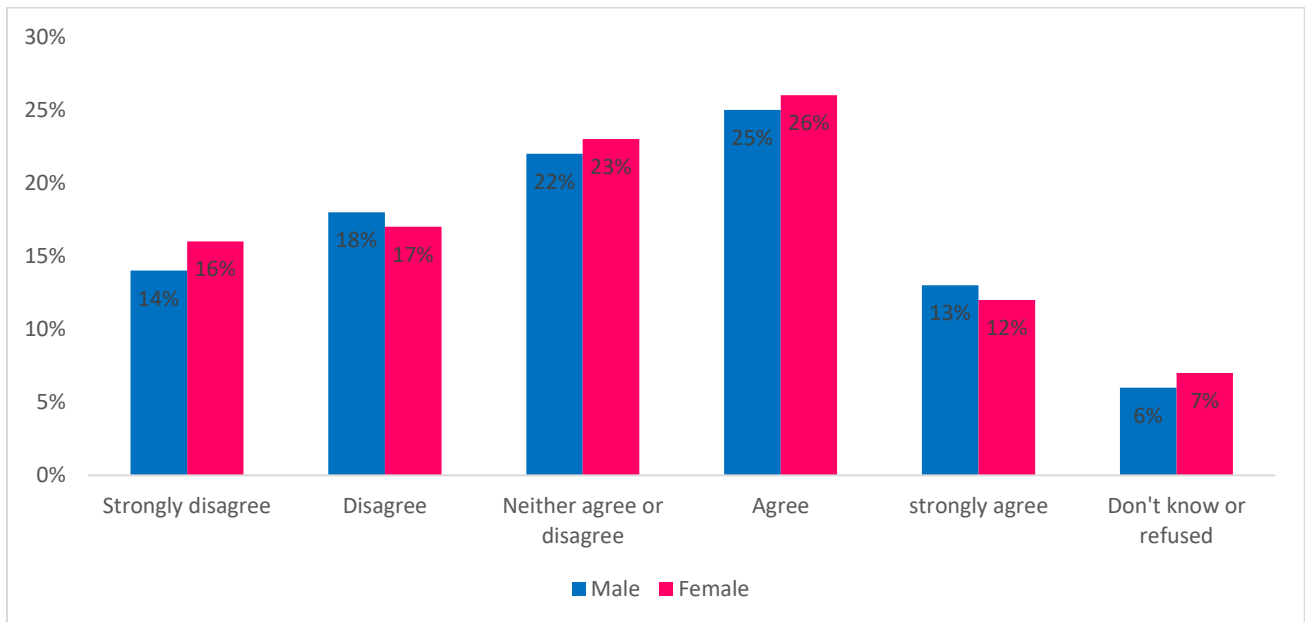


Figure 6: Corruption is currently being dealt with decisively by gender

I am afraid that if another party comes to power, social grants will stop by gender

Of the sample, 20% agreed that they were afraid social grants would stop if another party came to power, while 18% disagreed. More females (23%) thought that grants would be stopped if another party came to power than men (21%).

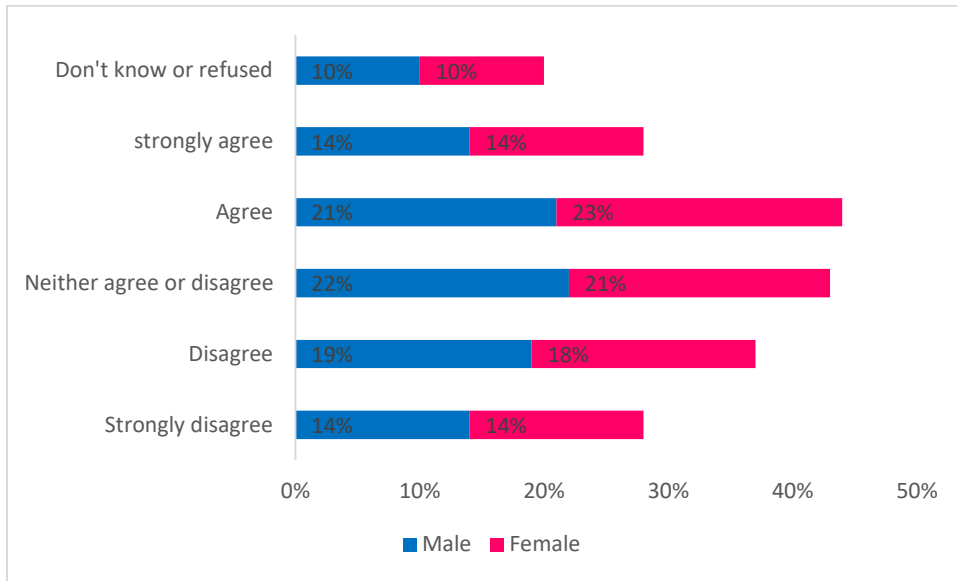


Figure 7: Afraid social grants will stop if another party comes to power by gender

The COVID-19 pandemic has had a negative impact on the income of my household

When asked about the impact of COVID-19, a third of the total sample agreed that the pandemic had a negative impact on their household's income, while 25% strongly agreed. Here again the differences were small, with 33% of females agreeing compared to males (32%).

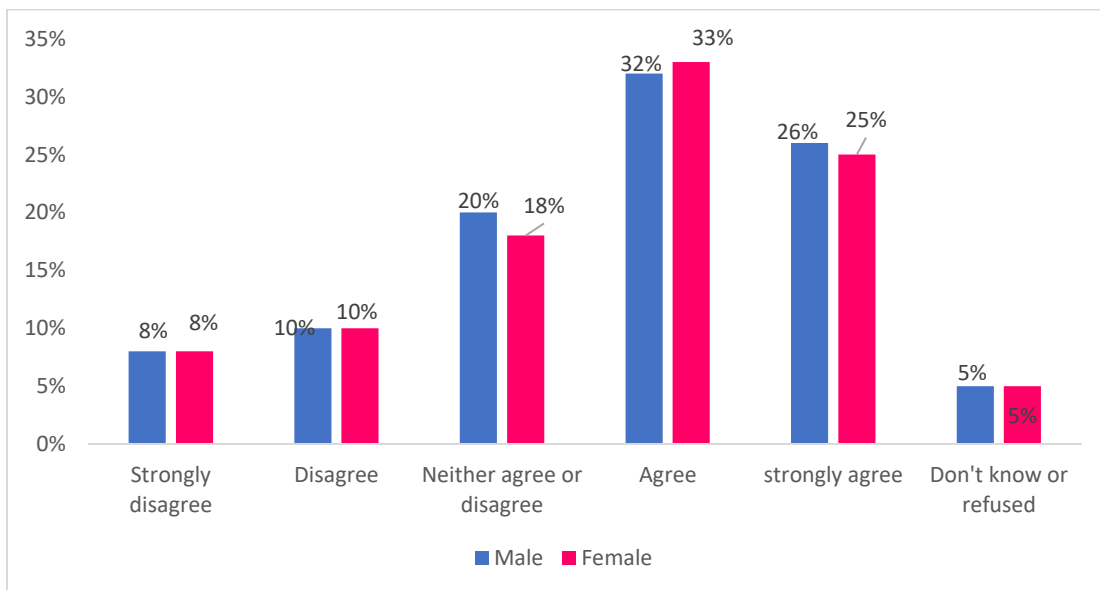


Figure 8: COVID-19 had an impact on my household's income by gender

Trust in the Presidency (President Cyril Ramaphosa)

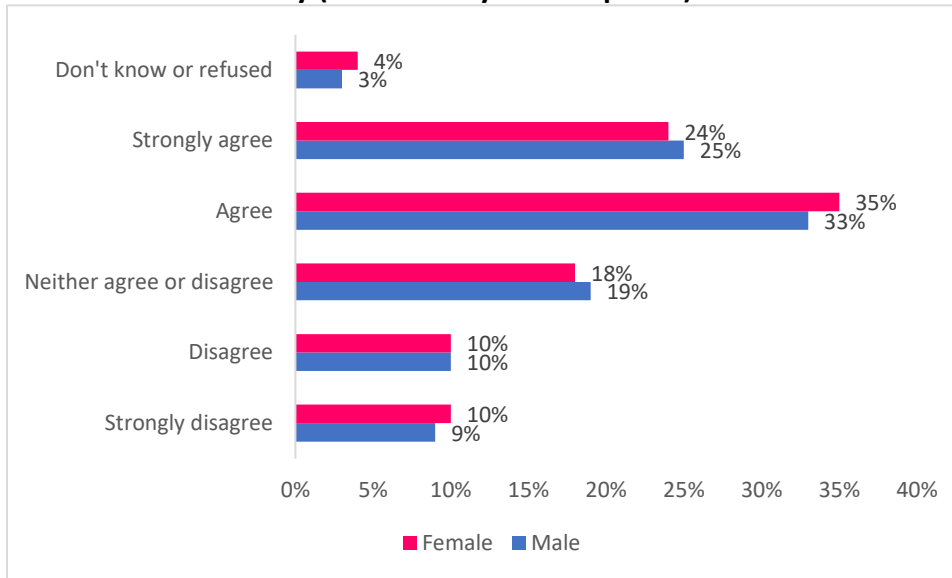


Figure 9: Trust the Presidency by gender

Of the study sample, 34% agreed that they trust the Presidency of Cyril Ramaphosa, while 25% strongly agreed. Slightly more females (35%) agreed compared to males (33%). Regarding the local elections, 23% of the respondents said they liked the leader of the party of their choice. There were no major differences between males and the females regarding trust in the President and in support for his leadership.

Findings from the logistic regression model

Results from the binary logistic regression model are shown below in Table 8. The results depict the odds ratios to predict or test the relationship between voting for the ANC or other parties. The model fitted demographic variables, predictors of voter choice, and the six top factors that influenced party choice in the local government elections. Some of the variables included are based on the sociological determinants of voting behaviour. The model fit was tested for multi-collinearity and there were no correlation issues among independent variables.

Table 7: Predictors of party choice in the local government elections

Voting for the ANC	Odds Ratio	P Value	95% Confidence interval	
Gender	1.18	0.09	0.97	1.43

Black	11.22	0.00	7.51	16.76
Indian	2.29	0.01	1.22	4.29
Coloured	1.88	0.01	1.17	3.03
Marital status	1.05	0.41	0.94	1.17
Age	1.25	0.01	1.05	1.5
Full-time employed	1.09	0.53	0.83	1.44
Not working	1.03	0.80	0.8	1.34
Education	1.01	0.66	0.95	1.08
Democratic rights	0.86	0.00	0.78	0.95
Socio-economic wellbeing	0.99	0.91	0.9	1.10
Corruption dealt with	1.05	0.26	0.97	1.13
Fear of loss of social grants	1.19	0.00	1.11	1.28
COVID-19 negative impact	0.94	0.15	0.86	1.02
Trust the Presidency	1.70	0.00	1.56	1.85
Freedom and democracy	1.91	0.00	1.51	2.42
Service delivery	0.95	0.64	0.76	1.18
Job creation	0.78	0.02	0.64	0.96
Land available for housing	0.94	0.61	0.76	1.18
Fix roads and potholes	0.88	0.24	0.71	1.09
Trust in the party	0.76	0.01	0.62	0.93
Constant	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.05

Table 7 above depicts the multivariate analysis of a respondent's party choice for the local government elections. This analysis is for 2 563 respondents who said they would vote in the local government elections. The model's findings are summarised as follows.

Firstly, women are 1.18 times more likely to vote for the ANC compared to men even though the relationship is not statistically significant ($p > 0.05$). Secondly, in terms of race, white is taken as the reference category. We find that black respondents were 11 times more likely to support the ANC compared to white people, Indians were twice as likely to vote for the ANC compared to white people, and coloured respondents had 1.88 times higher odds of voting for the ANC than white people. Thirdly, our age variable is constructed in three categories: 18-34 years, 35-60 years, and older than 60 years. The odds of a respondent voting for the ANC increased by a factor of 1.25 for each advance in the age category, all other factors being equal. The relationship is statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). In other words, someone aged 35-60 years is 1.25 times or 25% more likely to vote for the ANC than an opposition party in the local government elections than a person in the age group 18-34 years.

Fourthly, among those who valued democratic rights, support for the governing party decreased by a factor of 0.86. This means that for every one unit increase in a person valuing democratic rights, there is a 1.4 times or 14% decrease in the odds of voting for the ANC. Democratic rights were measured on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Five, those who feared

the loss of social grants if they voted for another party had 1.19 times or 19% higher odds per unit of voting for the ANC than opposition parties. The relationship was statistically significant compared to a person exhibiting 1 unit less on a scale of 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Six, out of the top six factors that influence party choice, trust in the Presidency, freedom and democracy, job creation, and trust in the party were significant. We found that for every one unit increase in trust in the Presidency, voter preference for ANC will increase by 1.70 times or 70%. The relationship was statistically significant ($p < 0.05$).

Seven, for every one unit increase in party loyalty - that is, a person who chose the party that brought freedom and democracy to the country - voting for the ANC will increase by 1.91 times or 91% as opposed to voting for other opposition parties. Those who did not believe that the ANC would stimulate job creation had lower odds of voting for the ANC (22% or 0.78 times less likely) compared to those who thought that the ANC would stimulate job creation. The relationship was statistically significant. Similarly, those who had no trust in the party were less likely to vote for the ANC (24% or 0.76 times less likely). The association is statistically significant.

Interestingly, service delivery (the party will prioritise service delivery) was not a predictor of voter choice in the local government elections, and neither was corruption (party is addressing corruption decisively). As indicated above, likewise, gender was not a predictor of voter choice. However, this does not mean that these factors are not important to voters since our model tests for each factor separately. It also weighs each factor in relation to the other variables in the model. We do see in the descriptive statistics that respondents thought the party was addressing corruption (25%), and 18% said that they chose a party because it was not corrupt, while in relation to gender, we found that 5% more women than men preferred the ANC over an opposition party.

Conclusions

We find no significant differences in men's and women's choices of political parties in the forthcoming local government elections except for a small percentage of men (3%) who expressed a preference for the EFF compared to women. However, among supporters of the ANC, 5% more women than men indicated that they would vote for the incumbent governing party. Our regression model also finds that women are 18% more likely than men to vote for the ANC than opposition parties, although this was not statistically significant.

However, in our survey more women than men indicated that they would not vote or were undecided in the local government elections. It is possible that women are late deciders and will make up their minds closer to election day and can therefore be swing voters.

The fact that more women than men indicated that they would vote for the incumbent party is of importance because in 2017, during the presidency of Jacob Zuma, women indicated

significant disillusionment with the ANC and in particular with President Zuma, and shifted their support away from the ANC to opposition parties (Sadie & Patel, 2020). Gender was a predictor of voting in our Wave 1 study in 2017 (Patel et al., 2018). However, this scenario changed in 2018 when women shifted their support back to the ANC because of their support for President Ramaphosa.

Turning to gender gaps in voting behaviour, we do not find any substantive differences between men and women as to why they chose to vote for a particular political party. This was the case for all the factors assessed, such as the top six reasons for voting in the local government elections and other issues such as corruption, service delivery, job creation, issues pertaining to socio-economic well-being, and the impact of COVID-19 on income and employment. While it may be expected that women would be more concerned about these issues as they bear the greatest burden in their households for issues of social reproduction, this was not borne out by the findings of the study. Since social grant beneficiaries are made up of more women than men, one would also have expected significant gender differences in this domain. Fewer women than men indicated that they feared their social grants would be stopped if they voted for an opposition party.

The factors that were predictors of party choice in the local government elections were similar to our model in the national and provincial elections barring one indicator, job creation. Those who did not believe that the ANC would stimulate job creation had lower odds of voting for the ANC (28% or 1.28 times less likely). In other words, they were more likely to choose an opposition party. This is a significant finding and is expected given the country's extraordinarily high unemployment rates, and here we did find that younger men and women were more likely to prefer an opposition party. All other predictors followed our previous model for national and provincial elections. The reasons informing party choice were trust in the president, trust in the party, support for the party that brought freedom and democracy, and fear of loss of a social grant if one voted for an opposition party. Those who valued their democratic rights as a reason for party choice were more likely to vote for an opposition party.

It is evident from the analysis that more women are likely to vote for the ANC in the local government elections than men. However, this needs to be weighed against the fact that a quarter of the sample indicated that they would not vote, were undecided about who to vote for and refused to disclose their party choice. More women were among this group than men.

Finally, only 8% of prospective voters indicated that they would vote for a councillor of another political party, but a fairly large number 17% said they were undecided and a further 17% said that it was too early to tell. The gender differences here, too, were small (2%). The swing vote can therefore make a difference to the election outcome in some districts and municipalities. This can be further complicated by the participation of a large number of independent candidates in the local government elections.

End notes

Note 1: Research questions

SECTION UJ – UNIVERSITY OF JOHANNESBURG

INTERVIEWER READ OUT

SHOWSCREEN

Earlier in this questionnaire you were asked to indicate which parties you would vote for in a national election and in next year's Local Government Elections. In this last section of our interview, I want you to think about those specific parties. I do not want to know which parties you chose but only to think about them.

Question UJ1.1

ASK IF RESPONDENT SELECTED POLITICAL PARTY IN QD31A OPTION 1-14

MMP UP TO 5 SELECTIONS

ROTATE STATEMENTS

READ OUT

SHOW THE RESPONDENT THE SCREEN AND POINT OUT THE POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION

Why did you choose the party you did for the **National Election**? What motivates you to vote for this party to form a national government in South Africa?

Please select your top FIVE reasons

1	It pays social <u>grants</u> , and I am afraid that another party will stop social grants	-1
2	This party brought <u>freedom and democracy</u> to South Africa	-2
3	This party promises a <u>better life/</u> A better life for all	-3
4	You <u>trust</u> this party	-4
5	You have <u>always supported</u> this party/our family has always supported this party	-5
6	Because of <u>the leader</u> of the party you voted for/I support the party leader	-6
7	It is a party for mainly <u>black</u> people	-7
8	It is a party for mainly <u>white</u> people	-8
9	It is a party for <u>everybody</u> /all South Africans	-9
11	The party will offer me money, a house, a job, food parcels or something in return for my vote	-11
12	The party is <u>not corrupt</u>	-12
13	The party is now actively committed to <u>root out corruption</u>	-13
14	This party is doing a good job in handling the <u>COVID-19 pandemic</u>	-14
15	Don't know (ANCHOR)	-15
16	Refused (ANCHOR)	-16

Question UJ1.2

ASK IF RESPONDENT SELECTED POLITICAL PARTY IN QD31B OPTION 1-14

MMP UP TO 5 SELECTIONS

ROTATE STATEMENTS

READ OUT**SHOW THE RESPONDENT THE SCREEN AND POINT OUT THE POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION**

And why did you choose the party you did on the **Local Government Election** ballot paper? Why do you intend to vote for this party in your local area?

Select the top FIVE reasons only.

1	The party <u>brought freedom and democracy</u> to the country	-1
2	The party is <u>not corrupt</u>	-2
3	The party is <u>addressing corruption</u>	-3
4	This party will prioritise the <u>delivery of good quality and reliable services</u> such as clean water, electricity, sewage, rubbish removal	-4
5	The party will deliver <u>free water, electricity and sanitation for people who cannot afford it</u>	-5
6	The party will deliver more efficient <u>municipal transport</u>	-6
7	This party will stimulate <u>job creation</u> in communities	-7
8	This party will <u>make land available</u> for housing and upgrade services in informal settlements	-8
9	The party will <u>enforce municipal by-laws</u> such as building regulations, trading, health, safety and security, noise, outdoor advertising	-9
10	The party <u>will fix roads, potholes, street lights, water leaks, fix burst pipes and storm water drainage</u>	-10
11	The party will <u>deliver more efficient municipal and emergency services</u> such as firefighting, ambulances, licensing, childcare, and fix billing problems	-11
12	This party will <u>employ competent people who can do the job</u>	-12
13	I <u>trust this party</u>	-13
14	I like the leader of this party	-14
15	Don't know (ANCHOR)	-15
16	Refused (ANCHOR)	-16

Question UJ3.1**ASK IF 17 YEARS OLD AND OLDER****OMO****READ OUT****SHOW THE RESPONDENT THE SCREEN AND POINT OUT THE POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION**

How likely are you to consider voting for a councillor who is not from your party of choice?

1	Very likely to consider	-1
2	Somewhat likely to consider	-2
3	Neither likely nor unlikely to consider	-3
4	Somewhat unlikely to consider	-4
5	Very unlikely to consider	-5
6	Don't know if I will consider this	-6
7	It is too early to say	-7
8	Refused to answer (DNRO)	-8

Question UJ3.2**ASK IF OPTION 1 (VERY LIKELY TO CONSIDER) OR OPTION 2 (SOMEWHAT LIKELY TO CONSIDER) IN QUESTION UJ3.1****RANK MAXIMUM 6 RESPONSES****READ OUT****SHOW THE RESPONDENT THE SCREEN AND POINT OUT THE POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION**

What would your reasons be for doing so? Would you please <u>rank the following 6 reasons</u> in order of importance for you?		
1	I want to choose a person who is efficient to be my councillor	-1
2	I want to choose someone who listens to residents in my community	-2
3	I want my ward councillor because he/she does more for our community than the councillor from my political party of choice.	-3
4	I want to trust my councillor	-4
5	I want a councillor who is not corrupt	-5
6	I want to vote for a councillor who communicates with me and reacts to problems in my area	-6
7	Don't know (DNRO)	-7
8	Refused to answer (DNRO)	-8

Question UJ10							
ASK ALL							
OMO PER STATEMENT							
READ OUT							
SHOW THE RESPONDENT THE SCREEN AND POINT OUT THE POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION							
On a scale from 1 to 5 where 1 is "strongly disagree" and 5 is "strongly agree", please tell me your views on the following:							
	Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't Know / Refused (DNRO)
1	Democratic rights like voting, access to courts, freedom of speech and expression are important	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-99
2	Socio-economic well-being, meeting your basic needs, jobs, income, housing etc. are important	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-99
3	Corruption is currently being dealt with decisively e.g. people are being arrested, charged, sentenced, monies are being recovered, and politicians and officials are held accountable	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-99
4	I am afraid that if another party comes to power social grants will stop	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-99
5	Our government handled the Covid-19 pandemic well	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-99
6	Pres Cyril Ramaphosa did a good job during the Covid-19 pandemic	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-99
7	The alleged corruption by government officials during the Covid-19 pandemic made me more negative about the ANC	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-99
8	The Covid-19 pandemic has a negative impact on the income of my household	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-99
9	People in my household suffer more from stress and other illnesses during the Covid-19 pandemic	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-99
10	Adults and children in my household often had to go hungry during the Covid-19 pandemic, as we did not have enough money for food	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-99

Question UJ1.2.4**ASK ALL****OMO PER STATEMENT****RANDOMISE STATEMENTS****READ OUT****SHOW THE RESPONDENT THE SCREEN AND POINT OUT THE POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION****REPEAT SCALE WHERE NECESSARY**

I am going to name a few institutions. For each one I read out to you, could you tell me how much you trust each institution, would you say that you are 1 – Not at all likely to, 2 – Not very likely to, 3 - Neither likely nor unlikely to, 4 – Very likely to, or 5 - Extremely likely to...

	Institution	Not at all likely to	Not very likely to	Neither likely nor unlikely to	Very likely to	Extremely likely to	Don't Know / Refused (DNRO)
1	Trust the Presidency (President Cyril Ramaphosa)	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-99
2	Trust the Courts	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-99
3	Trust the Department of Social Development	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-99
4	Trust Parliament	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-99
5	Trust the South African Police	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-99
6	Trust the Media	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-99
7	Trust SASSA SA Social Security Agency	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-99
8	Trust my current local councillor	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-99

References

- Abendschön, S., & Steinmetz, S. (2014). The Gender Gap in Voting Revisited: Women's Party Preferences in a European Context. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 21(2), 315–344. <https://doi.org/10.1093/SP/JXU009>
- Coffe, H., & Bolzendahl, C. (2011). Gender Gaps in Political Participation Across Sub-Saharan African Nations. *Social Indicators Research* 102:2, 102(2), 245–264. <https://doi.org/10.1007/S11205-010-9676-6>
- IEC. (2021). *Voter Registration Statistics - Electoral Commission of South Africa*. <https://www.elections.org.za/pw/StatsData/Voter-Registration-Statistics>
- Patel, L., Sadie, Y., & Byer, M. (2018). *Monitoring the Influence of Socio-Economic rights Implementation on voter preferences in the run-up to the 2019 National General Elections*. [https://www.uj.ac.za/faculties/humanities/csda/Documents/Voter Preference Report A4 02.10. 2018 PDF.pdf](https://www.uj.ac.za/faculties/humanities/csda/Documents/Voter%20Preference%20Report%20A4%2002.10.2018%20PDF.pdf)
- Rai, P. (2017). Women's Participation in Electoral Politics in India: Silent Feminisation. [Http://Dx.Doi.Org/10.1177/0262728016675529](http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0262728016675529), 37(1), 58–77. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0262728016675529>
- Sadie, Y., & Patel, L. (2020). Zuma versus Ramaphosa: Factors Influencing Party Choice of South Africans in the Run-up to the 2019 Elections. *Journal of African Elections*, 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.20940/JAE/2020/V19I1A1>

CSDA
CENTRE FOR
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
IN AFRICA



**science
& technology**
Department:
Science and Technology
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA



**National
Research
Foundation**