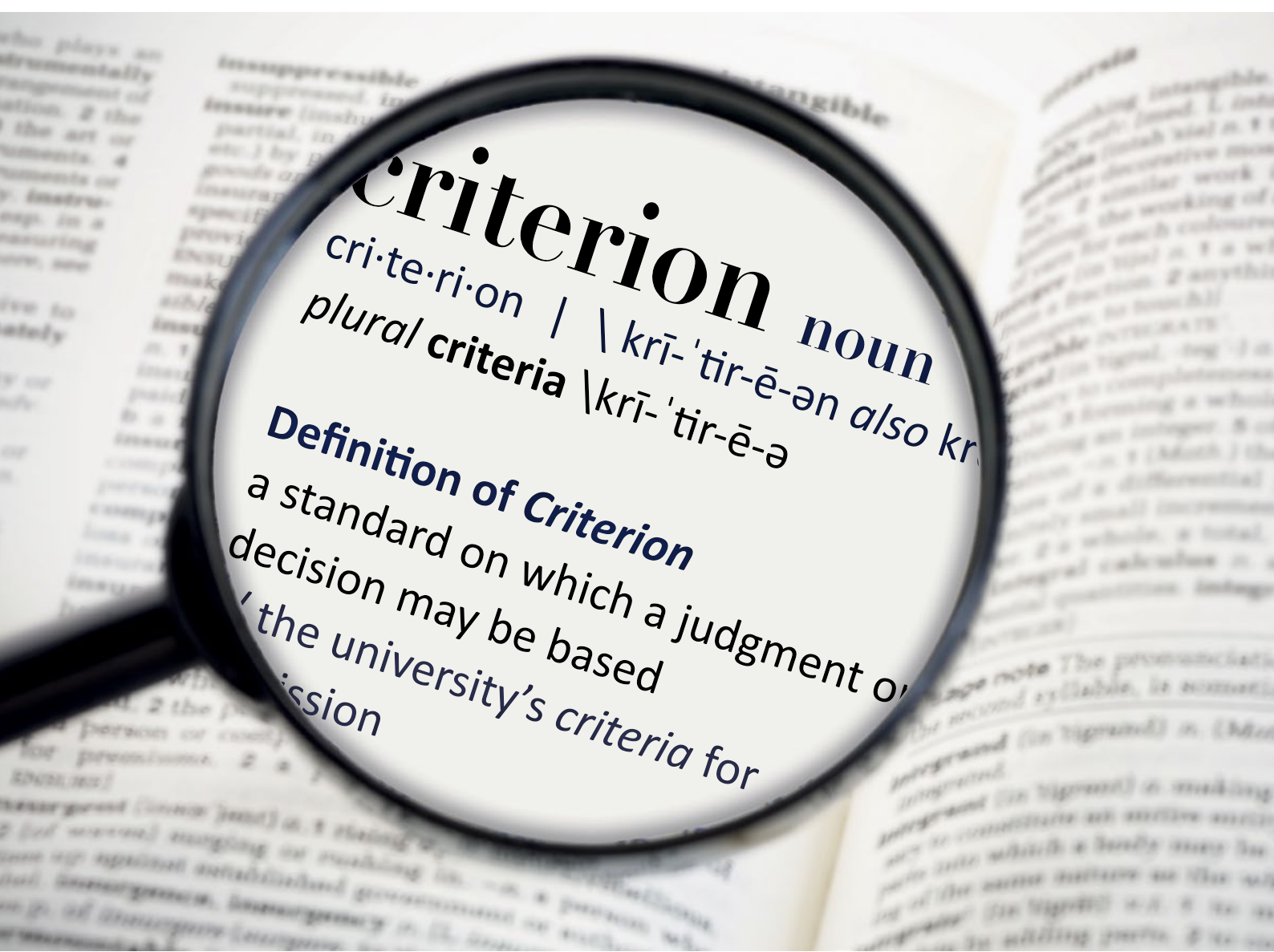


# THE CRITERION REPORT

The Criterion Report is a quarterly market research survey conducted by the Institute of Race Relations into voter preferences, attitudes and the South African political landscape.



**THE CRITERION REPORT  
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*The Criterion Report is home to the findings and insights drawn from market research conducted by the South African Institute of Race Relations (IRR) into voter preferences, attitudes and the nature of the South African political landscape.*

**IRR April 2019 Election Poll: Part A**

**In line with the IRR's objective to become an authority on political market research, the Institute has undertaken its fourth full survey of the electoral landscape, to supplement surveys carried out in September 2018, December 2018 and February 2019.**

Our April Election Poll will be presented to the public in two parts.

Part A is presented today, in this edition of The Criterion Report. It comprises a sample of 2,375 registered voters and was in the field from 18 April through 25 April 2019. Below is a summary of national voting intention, as well as provincial voting intention in Gauteng and the Western Cape, along with a range of turnout scenarios for that sample. Finally, there is a breakdown of party support by race.

Because the last few weeks of any election are fluid, as undecided voters make their final choice and the bigger parties typically "squeeze" their opponents, we have decided to continue polling up until Sunday 5 May. The findings from this second and supplementary tranche – an additional sample of approximately 2,000 registered voters – will be presented to the public on Monday 6 May. This will constitute Part B of our April poll.

## KEY FINDINGS

The banner headline findings of the IRR's 2019 April Election Poll: Part A, are:

- 1. NATIONAL BALLOT: ANC majority in the balance, EFF continues to grow, DA stable** [Tables 1.1.1 and 1.4]
  - The ANC currently stands on 49.5% nationally, down 5.2 percentage points from February (54.7%). On a 71.9% turnout scenario, support for the party increases to 51%. On a 69.3% turnout scenario, it increases to 50%.
  - The DA currently stands on 21.3% nationally, down 0.5 percentage points from February (21.8%). On a 71.9% turnout scenario, support for the party increases to 24%. On a 69.3% turnout scenario, it also increases to 24%.
  - The EFF currently stands on 14.9% nationally, up 2.7 percentage points from February (12.2%). On a 71.9% turnout scenario, support for the party decreases to 14%. On a 69.3% turnout scenario, it also decreases to 14%.
- 2. GAUTENG PROVINCIAL BALLOT: ANC well below a majority, Significant DA growth on low turnout** [Tables 2.1 and 2.2]
  - The ANC currently stands on 42.8% on the provincial ballot, up 1.2 percentage points from February (41.6%). On a 70.4% turnout scenario, support for the party decreases to 39%. On a 67.7% turnout scenario, it also decreases to 39%.
  - The DA currently stands on 31.9% on the provincial ballot, down 0.5 percentage points from February (32.4%). On a 70.4% turnout scenario, support for the party increases to 39%. On a 67.7% turnout scenario, it increases to 40%.
  - The EFF currently stands on 13.0% on the provincial ballot, down 5.2 percentage points from February (18.2%). On a 70.4% turnout scenario, support for the party decreases to 12%. On a 67.7% turnout scenario, it also decreases to 12%.
- 3. WESTERN CAPE PROVINCIAL BALLOT: DA majority under threat, ANC declines, ACDP/EFF growth** [Tables 3.1 and 3.2]
  - The DA currently stands on 44.6% on the provincial ballot, down 5.5 percentage points from February (50.1%). On a 71.9% turnout scenario, support for the party increases to 50%. On a 69.1% turnout scenario, it increases to 51%.
  - The ANC currently stands on 27.8% on the provincial ballot, down 6.1 percentage points from February (33.9%). On a 71.9% turnout scenario, support for the party increases to 29%. On a 69.1% turnout scenario, it increases to 28%.
  - The ACDP currently stands on 7.0% on the provincial ballot, up 3.5 percentage points from February (3.5%). On a 71.9% turnout scenario, support for the party stays at 7%. On a 69.1% turnout scenario, it also stays at 7%.
  - The EFF currently stands on 6.8% on the provincial ballot, up 5.8 percentage points from February (1.0%). On a 71.9% turnout scenario, support for the party decreases to 5%. On a 69.1% turnout scenario, it also decreases to 5%.

Each of the relevant tables for these findings are contained in this report, together with the IRR's analysis of those findings, at the end of the report.

**It is important to appreciate this poll came out of the field with 14 days of the election period still to go. The last weeks of an election campaign are a critical period during which, historically, the bigger parties – particularly the ANC and DA - tend to consolidate their vote upwards, and the vote share of smaller parties declines, as their voters are pressured. This is still likely to happen. A second IRR April poll, to be published on May 6, will aim to determine the degree to which this trend plays itself out, over the final weeks. This poll is not a prediction.**

From Saturday 29 April, through Saturday 4 May, we will run a daily tracking poll. It will track political support over the course of the last week of the 2019 election campaign, nationally, as well as in Gauteng and the Western Cape. It will be designed to demonstrate how support moved on a daily basis, leading up to the election, as well as the consolidated averages for that period.

## TECHNICAL DETAIL

The IRR's Election Polls are all conducted by Victory Research.

### Methodology:

The poll was conducted between 18 April and 25 April 2019. The sample was fully demographically representative and comprised only registered voters. A total of 2,375 respondents were questioned. The national margin of error is 2.8%. Supplementing this were two fully demographically representative sub-samples for Gauteng (sample size: 504 registered voters) and the Western Cape (sample size: 502 registered voters). The margin of error for the Gauteng sub-sample was 6.0%, and for the Western Cape sub-sample, 6.0%. The confidence level is 95%. The poll was conducted telephonically, using a single frame, random digit-dialling sampling design. Briefly: The sampling frame consists of every potential cell phone number in existence in South Africa, from which a probability sample is drawn. This approach ensures that every number stands an equal chance of being included in the study, which is the most basic condition that must be met for survey results to be generalizable to the population from which a sample is drawn. Those who were "undecided" in response to the voting intention question (around 8%) were assigned a preference based on their response to party favourability questions. A fuller explanation of the methodology is available on request.

### Turnout:

As part of the poll, we generated a number of potential turnout scenarios. Any poll, in and of itself, represents a 100% turnout scenario, as every respondent's opinion is recorded. But, on Election Day, inevitably not every voter goes to the polls. In 2014, there was a 73.5% turnout. In 2019, turnout is likely to be lower, a trend which is typical of maturing democracies and of electoral environments with high levels of discontent (which drives up voter apathy). We have thus generated four additional turnout scenarios for our numbers: 80.4%, 75.6%, 71.9% and 69.3%. Four turnout scenarios were also generated for Gauteng (78.0%, 72.6%, 70.4% and 67.7%) and Western Cape (82.9%, 77.3%, 71.9% and 69.2%) respectively. These were done by assigning a probability of voting to each respondent based on their responses to several questions designed to measure their likelihood of voting, and excluding those least likely to vote. As respondents will answer those questions differently in each poll, the turnout scenarios are not identical for each poll.

### Interpretation:

**This poll is not a prediction.** It is a snapshot in time, in this case of the electoral market between 18 April and 25 April 2019. Likewise, the numbers presented in the poll are not absolutely definitive. A 2.8% national margin of error means, for example, the DA – which comes out with 21.3% – could be on 18.5% or 24.1%. A confidence level of 95% means we are confident 95% of the time the findings will never vary more than 2.8 percentage points up or down from reality. When reporting on the poll, it is important to bear these parameters in mind. Finally, the most valuable aspect of any poll is its ability to identify trends and patterns, particularly over time. One should thus avoid ascribing absolute authority to any given single, isolated finding. Finally, the last few weeks of an election do see movement among the electorate, as undecided voters make their final choice and bigger parties "squeeze" their opponents. This poll came out of the field with 14 days of the election period still to go, a time during which further change is likely.

### National and Provincial Ballot Questions:

As in our February 2019 Election Poll, we asked voters to choose which party they support both nationally and provincially. This allowed us to gauge national voting sentiment and to distinguish it, in Gauteng and the Western Cape, from provincial voting sentiment. As the provincial ballot will determine provincial power on 8 May for both those provinces, this analysis presents Voting Intention for both ballots separately, and the provincial ballot is the best indicator of party support of the two, in those two respective provinces.

### Current Affairs Background:

The last IRR poll was conducted between 12 and 26 February 2019. In the eight weeks since then, all parties have rolled out their election campaigns proper. The ANC, in particular, has been beset by ongoing problems. These include a series of damning revelations about the party's secretary general, the continued detailing of various corrupt practices before the Zondo Commission of Inquiry, and a series of national service protests (of which the "shutdown" of Alexandra Township in Gauteng concerned the ANC and DA directly). In turn, the prospect of further load shedding still remains very real. Compounding this is a lacklustre ANC campaign. None of these factors, in and of themselves, are likely to have impacted definitively on the support for any one party – precedent suggests it takes much time for a single scandal or event to fully manifest in a change in voting behaviour – but collectively they are likely to have had some impact.

## 1. National Ballot: Voting Intention and Turnout Scenarios

**Purpose of Questions:** *Voting Intention indicates where support stands for each party at national level, at a given moment in time. Turnout scenarios indicate what happens when those voters who are least likely to vote on Election Day are removed from the pool. As the turnout level drops, you can see which parties gain or lose support; thus, how committed or enthusiastic each party's support base is.*

**TABLE 1.1.1: National Ballot: Voting Intention**

**Cross Tabulations:** [All Voters/Undecided Voters Allocated]

**Sample Size:** 2,375 Registered Voters

**Margin of Error:** 2.8%

IRR April 2019 Election Poll Q: If a national election was taking place today, which party would you vote for on the national ballot?						
Political Party	September 2018	December 2018	February 2019	April 2019	+/-	2014 Election
	Sample: 978	Sample: 1,017	Sample: 1,611	Sample: 2,375		
	MOE: 3.1%	MOE: 3.9%	MOE: 3.3%	MOE: 2.8%		
African National Congress (ANC)	52%	56%	54.7%	49.5%	-5.2	62.1%
Democratic Alliance (DA)	23%	18%	21.8%	21.3%	-0.5	22.2%
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	13%	11%	12.2%	14.9%	+2.7	6.3%
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	3%	3%	2.7%	3.0%	-	2.4%
Freedom Front Plus (FF+)	1%	1%	1.7%	1.8%	-	0.9%
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	2%	2%	0.7%	1.6%	-	0.5%
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	0%	0%	0.8%	0.8%	-	1.0%
Congress of the People (COPE)	0%	0%	0.4%	0.3%	-	0.6%
National Freedom Party (NFP)	0%	0%	0.6%	0.3%	-	1.6%
Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)	0%	0%	0.6%	0.3%	-	0.2%
Good Movement (GM)	-	-	0.6%	0.2%	-	-
African Transformation Movement (ATM)	-	-	0.0%	0.2%	-	-
African People's Convention (APC)	-	-	-	0.1%	-	-
African Independent Congress (AIC)	0%	0%	0.0%	0.1%	-	0.5%
Agang South Africa (ASA)	0%	0%	0.1%	-	-	0.3%
Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO)	0%	0%	0.0%	-	-	0.1%
Minority Front (MF)	0%	0%	0.0%	-	-	0.1%
Other	2%	3%	0.8%	0.6%	-	-
Undecided	0%	0%	0.3%	0.9%	-	-
Won't vote	2%	0%	1.6%	2.4%	-	-
Refused	0%	1%	0.6%	1.6%	-	-

**TABLE 1.1.2: National Ballot: Voting Intention**

**Cross Tabulations:** [All Voters/Undecided Voters Allocated]

**Sample Size:** 978, 1,017, 1,611 and 2,375 Registered Voters

**Margin of Error:** 3.1%, 3.9%, 3.3% and 2.8%

IRR April 2019 Election Poll Q: If a national election was taking place today, which party would you vote for on the national ballot?											
Date	Party	0-10%	10-20%	20-30%	30-40%	40-50%	50-60%	60-70%	70-80%	80-90%	90-100%
September 2018	ANC	52%									
	DA	23%									
	EFF	13%									
December 2018	ANC	56%									
	DA	18%									
	EFF	11%									
February 2019	ANC	54.7%									
	DA	21.8%									
	EFF	12.2%									
April 2019	ANC	49.5%									
	DA	21.3%									
	EFF	14.9%									

### Key Findings:

- These figures represent each party's baseline support, once "undecided" and "refused" voters have been allocated; that is, when the view of every respondent has been recorded. However, on Election Day, not everyone votes, and so these numbers are best read in conjunction with turnout modelling that follows this table.
- The ANC's baseline support currently stands on 49.5% nationally, down 5.2 percentage points from February (54.7%). That represents a 12.6 percentage point decline from 2014, when ANC support stood at 62.1% nationally.
- The DA's baseline support currently stands on 21.3% nationally, down 0.5 percentage points from February (21.8%). That represents a 0.9 percentage point decline from 2014, when DA support stood at 22.2% nationally.
- The EFF's baseline support currently stands on 14.9% nationally, up 2.7 percentage points from February (12.2%). That represents a 8.6 percentage point increase from 2014, when EFF support stood at 6.3% nationally.

**TABLE 1.2: National Ballot: Voting Intention**  
**Cross Tabulations:** [All Voters/Undecided Voters Not Allocated]  
**Sample Size:** 2,375 Registered Voters  
**Margin of Error:** 2.8%

IRR April 2019 Election Poll Q: If a national election was taking place today, which party would you vote for on the national ballot?						
Political Party	September 2018	December 2018	February 2019	April 2019	+/-	2014 Election
	Sample: 978	Sample: 1,017	Sample: 1,611	Sample: 2,375		
	MOE: 3.1%	MOE: 3.9%	MOE: 3.3%	MOE: 2.8%		
African National Congress (ANC)	47%	51%	49.4%	42.6%	-6.8	62.1%
Democratic Alliance (DA)	20%	17%	19.2%	21.1%	+1.9	22.2%
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	10%	11%	11.1%	13.2%	+2.1	6.3%
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	3%	3%	2.4%	2.6%	-	2.4%
Freedom Front Plus (FF+)	1%	1%	1.6%	1.5%	-	0.9%
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	2%	2%	0.6%	1.1%	-	1.6%
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	0%	0%	0.8%	0.5%	-	1.0%
Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)	0%	0%	0.6%	0.3%	-	0.5%
Congress of the People (COPE)	0%	0%	0.4%	0.3%	-	0.6%
African Transformation Movement (ATM)	-	-	0.0%	0.2%	-	-
Good Movement (GM)	-	-	0.6%	0.2%	-	0.2%
National Freedom Party (NFP)	0%	0%	0.5%	0.2%	-	-
African People's Convention (APC)	-	-	-	0.1%	-	-
African Independent Congress (AIC)	0%	0%	0.0%	0.0%	-	0.5%
Agang South Africa (ASA)	0%	0%	0.1%	-	-	0.3%
Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO)	0%	0%	0.0%	-	-	0.1%
Minority Front (MF)	0%	0%	0.0%	-	-	0.1%
Other	0%	1%	0.5%	0.5%	-	-
Undecided	4%	10%	6.8%	8.0%	-	-
Won't vote	2%	5%	1.6%	2.4%	-	-
Refused	10%	0%	4.0%	5.0%	-	-

**Key Findings:**

- This table exists primarily to demonstrate the number of “undecided” and “refused” voters in the original sample, before the majority were assigned a political party based on their response to a number of other questions in the IRR survey designed to gauge party affiliation.
- 8.0% of respondents said they were “undecided”, 5% “Refused” to state which party they would support and 2.4% stated that they “won’t vote”.

**TABLE 1.3: National Ballot: Turnout History**

**Cross Tabulations:** [Election Year/All Registered Voters/Turnout Percentage/As of 26 April 2019]

Election Year	Registered Voters	Increase/Decrease	Valid Votes	Increase/Decrease	Turnout Percentage
1999	18,172,751		16,228,462		89.30%
2004	20,674,926	+2,502,175	15,863,558	-364,904	76.73%
2009	23,181,997	+2,507,071	17,919,966	+2,056,408	77.30%
2014	25,388,082	+2,206,085	18,654,771	+734,805	73.48%
2019	26,736,643	+1,348,561	-	-	-

**Key Findings:**

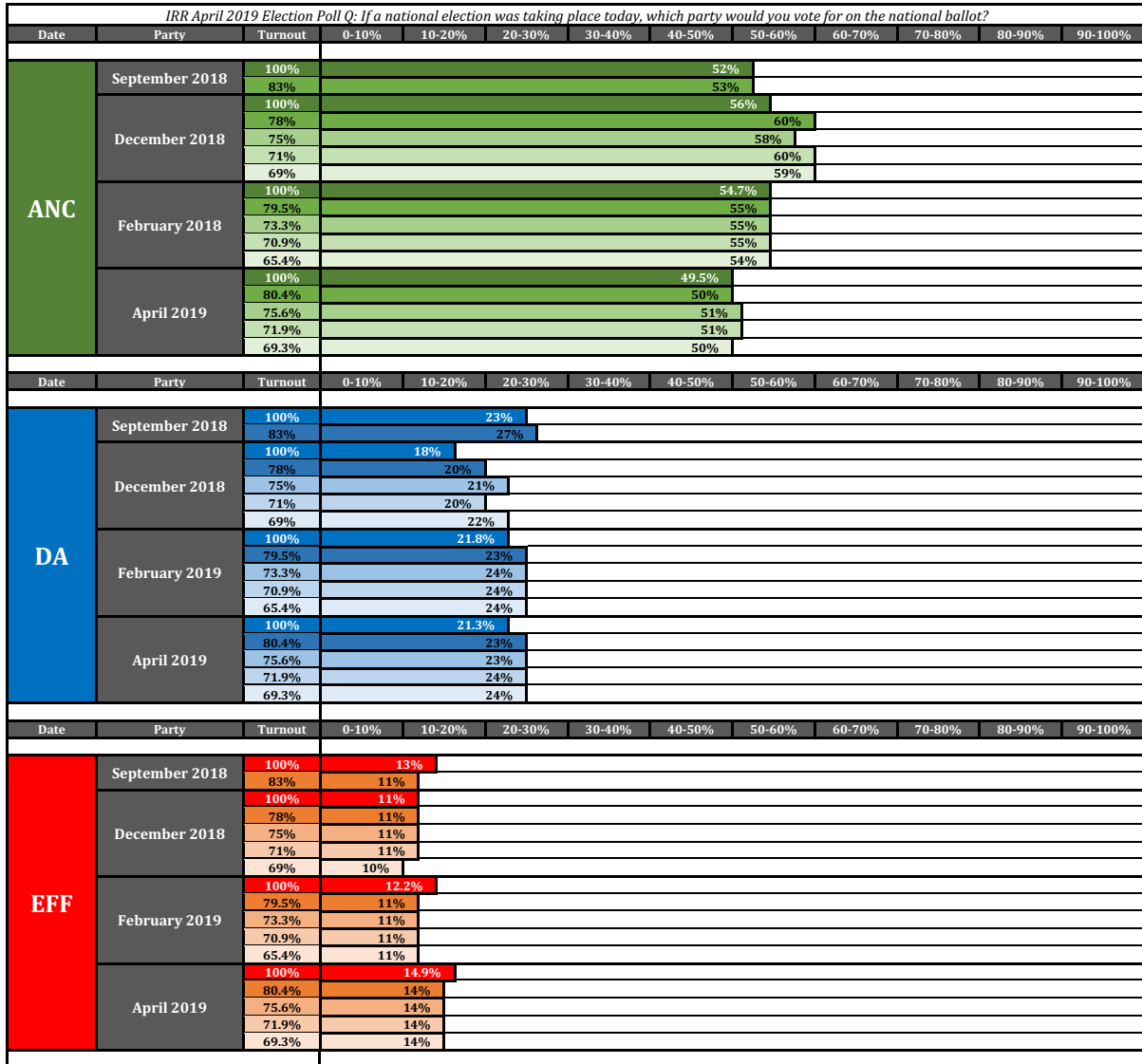
- The best predictor of turnout is history. According to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), national turnout dropped from 77.3% in 2009 to 73.5% in 2014. There is much evidence to suggest that pattern of decline will continue, and likely define the 2019 election.
- One indicator is the number of new registrations, which have, as of 26 April 2019, dropped in comparison to previous elections. To date, there have been some 1.35m new registrations since 2014. That is markedly less than the 2.2m new voters registered between 2009 and 2014, and the 2.5m new voters registered between 2004 and 2009.
- There are some mitigating factors. First, there has only been one official registration weekend this year. Second, the IEC has been struggling to comply with a Constitutional Court order that it verify the physical address of every registered voter. Nevertheless, a lower number of new registrations is also symptomatic of greater voter apathy and, as things stand, there is a strong case to be made that the final turnout percentage for 2019 will be lower than it was in 2014 (73.5%).

**TABLE 1.4: National Ballot: Turnout Scenarios: September 2018 – April 2019**

**Cross Tabulations:** [All Voters/Undecided Voters Allocated]

**Sample Size:** 978, 1,017, 1,611 and 2,375 Registered Voters

**Margin of Error:** 3.1%, 3.9%, 3.3% and 2.8%



**Key Findings:**

- These turnout scenarios were generated by assigning a probability of voting to each respondent based on their responses to four questions designed to measure their likelihood of voting, and excluding those least likely to vote. For each question, a particular number of respondents indicated they were unlikely to vote. Those respondents were removed from the sample in each case, generating each of the scenarios above – 80.4%, 75.6%, 71.9%, 69.3%. As respondents will answer those questions differently in each poll, the turnout scenarios are not identical from poll to poll.
- In 2014, turnout on the national ballot was 73.48%.
- In April, as turnout drops, the ANC vote remains relatively unchanged, increasing marginally from 49.5% at 100% to 51% on a 71.9% turnout scenario, before dropping to 50% at a 69.3% turnout scenario.
- In April, as turnout drops, the DA vote increases marginally but systematically from 21.3% at 100% to 23% at a 75.6% turnout scenario and to 24% at a 69.3% turnout scenario.
- In April, as turnout drops, EFF support decreases marginally but holds steady, from 14.9% at 100% to 14% at every lower turnout scenario.

**TABLE 1.5: National Ballot: Turnout Scenarios: December 2018**

Cross Tabulations: [All Voters/Undecided Voters Allocated]

Sample Size: 1,017 Registered Voters

Margin of Error: 3.9%

IRR December 2018 Election Poll Q: If a national election was taking place today, which party would you vote for on the national ballot?					
Political Party	National Turnout Scenarios: December 2018				
	100%	78%	75%	71%	69%
African National Congress (ANC)	56%	60%	58%	60%	59%
Democratic Alliance (DA)	18%	20%	21%	20%	22%
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	11%	11%	11%	11%	10%
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%
Freedom Front Plus (FF+)	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%

**TABLE 1.6: National Ballot: Turnout Scenarios: February 2019**

Cross Tabulations: [All Voters/Undecided Voters Allocated]

Sample Size: 1,611 Registered Voters

Margin of Error: 3.3%

IRR February 2019 Election Poll Q: If a national election was taking place today, which party would you vote for on the national ballot?					
Political Party	National Turnout Scenarios: February 2019				
	100.0%	79.5%	73.3%	70.9%	65.4%
African National Congress (ANC)	54.7%	55%	55%	55%	54%
Democratic Alliance (DA)	21.8%	23%	24%	24%	24%
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	12.2%	11%	11%	11%	11%
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	2.7%	3%	3%	3%	3%
Freedom Front Plus (FF+)	1.7%	2%	2%	2%	2%
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	0.8%	1%	1%	1%	1%
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	0.7%	1%	1%	1%	1%

**TABLE 1.7: National Ballot: Turnout Scenarios: April 2019**

Cross Tabulations: [All Voters/Undecided Voters Allocated]

Sample Size: 2,375 Registered Voters

Margin of Error: 2.8%

IRR April 2019 Election Poll Q: If a national election was taking place today, which party would you vote for on the national ballot?					
Political Party	National Turnout Scenarios: April 2019				
	100.0%	80.4%	75.6%	71.9%	69.3%
African National Congress (ANC)	49.5%	50%	51%	51%	50%
Democratic Alliance (DA)	21.3%	23%	23%	24%	24%
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	14.9%	14%	14%	14%	14%
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	3.0%	3%	3%	3%	3%
Freedom Front Plus (FF+)	1.8%	2%	2%	2%	2%
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	1.6%	2%	2%	2%	1%
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	0.8%	1%	1%	1%	1%

## 2. Provincial Ballot: Gauteng Voting Intention and Turnout Scenarios

**Purpose of Questions:** *Voting Intention* indicates where support stands for each party at provincial level, at a given moment in time. *Gauteng respondents* were asked who they would vote for on the provincial ballot (as opposed to the national ballot – Table 2.4). *Turnout scenarios* indicate what happens when those voters who are least likely to vote on Election Day are removed from the pool. As the turnout level drops, you can see which parties gain or lose support; thus, how committed or enthusiastic each party's support base is.

**TABLE 2.1: Provincial Ballot: Gauteng Voting Intention**

**Cross Tabulations:** [All Gauteng Voters/Provincial Ballot/Undecided Voters Allocated]

**Sample Size:** 504 Registered Voters

**Margin of Error:** 6.0%

IRR April 2019 Election Poll Q: If a provincial election was taking place today, which party would you vote for on the provincial ballot?						
Political Party	September 2018	December 2018	February 2019	April 2019	+/-	2014 Election
	Sample: -	Sample: -	Sample: 502	Sample: 504		
	MOE: -	MOE: -	MOE: 3.8%	MOE: 6.0%		
African National Congress (ANC)	-	-	41.6%	42.8%	+1.2	53.6%
Democratic Alliance (DA)	-	-	32.4%	31.9%	-0.5	30.8%
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	-	-	18.2%	13.0%	-5.2	10.3%
Freedom Front Plus (FF+)	-	-	1.3%	2.9%	+1.6	1.2%
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	-	-	-	1.6%	-	0.6%
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	-	-	-	1.7%	-	0.8%

**TABLE 2.2: Provincial Ballot: Gauteng Turnout Scenarios: February 2019 – April 2019**

**Cross Tabulations:** [All Voters/Undecided Voters Allocated]

**Sample Size:** 502 and 504 Registered Voters

**Margin of Error:** 3.8% and 6.0%

IRR April 2019 Election Poll Q: If a provincial election was taking place today, which party would you vote for on the provincial ballot?												
Date	Party	Turnout	0-10%	10-20%	20-30%	30-40%	40-50%	50-60%	60-70%	70-80%	80-90%	90-100%
ANC	February 2018	100%	41.6%									
		77.5%	45%									
		70.7%	47%									
		69.5%	47%									
		61.1%	44%									
	April 2018	100%	42.8%									
		78.0%	41%									
		72.6%	41%									
		70.4%	39%									
		67.7%	39%									
DA	February 2018	100%	32.4%									
		77.5%	35%									
		70.7%	37%									
		69.5%	36%									
		61.1%	38%									
	April 2019	100%	31.9%									
		78.0%	36%									
		72.6%	39%									
		70.4%	39%									
		67.7%	40%									
EFF	February 2019	100%	18.2%									
		77.5%	14%									
		70.7%	11%									
		69.5%	11%									
		61.1%	13%									
	April 2019	100%	13.0%									
		78.0%	12%									
		72.6%	11%									
		70.4%	12%									
		67.7%	12%									

**Key Findings:**

- In 2014, turnout in Gauteng on the provincial ballot was 72.97%.
- We generated four turnout scenarios for the Gauteng provincial ballot, in April: 78.0%, 72.6%, 70.4% and 67.7%.
- The ANC currently stands on 42.8% on the provincial ballot, up 1.2 percentage points from February (41.6%). That represents a 10.8 percentage point decline from 2014, when support for the ANC stood at 53.6%.
- On a 70.4% turnout scenario, support for the ANC decreases to 39%. On a 67.7% turnout scenario, it also decreases to 39%.
- The DA currently stands on 31.9% on the provincial ballot, down 0.5 percentage points from February (32.4%). That represents a 1.1 percentage point increase from 2014, when support for the DA stood at 30.8%.
- On a 70.4% turnout scenario, support for the DA increases to 39%. On a 67.7% turnout scenario, it increases to 40%.
- The EFF currently stands on 13.0% on the provincial ballot, down 5.2 percentage points from February (18.2%). That represents a 2.7 percentage point increase from 2014, when support for the EFF stood at 10.3%.
- On a 70.4% turnout scenario, support for the party decreases to 12%. On a 67.7% turnout scenario, it also decreases to 12%.



**TABLE 2.3: Provincial Ballot: Gauteng Turnout Scenarios: February 2019**  
**Cross Tabulations:** [All Gauteng Voters/Provincial Ballot/Undecided Voters Allocated]  
**Sample Size:** 502 Registered Voters  
**Margin of Error:** 3.8%

IRR February 2019 Election Poll Q: If a provincial election was taking place today, which party would you vote for on the provincial ballot?					
Political Party	Gauteng Turnout Scenarios: February 2019				
	100.0%	77.5%	70.7%	69.5%	61.1%
African National Congress (ANC)	41.6%	45%	47%	47%	44%
Democratic Alliance (DA)	32.4%	35%	37%	36%	38%
<b>Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)</b>	<b>18.2%</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>13%</b>
Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)	1.8%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Freedom Front Plus (FF+)	1.3%	2%	2%	2%	2%

**TABLE 2.4: Provincial Ballot: Gauteng Turnout Scenarios: April 2019**  
**Cross Tabulations:** [All Gauteng Voters/Provincial Ballot/Undecided Voters Allocated]  
**Sample Size:** 504 Registered Voters  
**Margin of Error:** 6.0%

IRR April 2019 Election Poll Q: If a provincial election was taking place today, which party would you vote for on the provincial ballot?					
Political Party	Gauteng Turnout Scenarios: April 2019				
	100.0%	78.0%	72.6%	70.4%	67.7%
African National Congress (ANC)	42.8%	41%	41%	39%	39%
Democratic Alliance (DA)	31.9%	36%	39%	39%	40%
<b>Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)</b>	<b>13.0%</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>12%</b>
Freedom Front Plus (FF+)	2.9%	4%	4%	4%	4%
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	1.6%	2%	2%	2%	1%
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	1.7%	0%	0%	0%	0%

**TABLE 2.5: National Ballot: Gauteng Voting Intention**  
**Cross Tabulations:** [All Gauteng Voters/National Ballot/Undecided Voters Allocated]  
**Sample Size:** 504 Registered Voters  
**Margin of Error:** 6.0%

IRR April 2019 Election Poll Q: If a national election was taking place today, which party would you vote for on the national ballot?						
Political Party	September 2018	December 2018	February 2019	April 2019	+/-	2014 Election
	MOE: 6.2%	MOE: 6.4%	MOE: 3.8%	MOE: 6.0%		
African National Congress (ANC)	46%	48%	46.7%	48.9%	+2.2	54.9%
Democratic Alliance (DA)	28%	25%	26.5%	27.0%	+0.5	28.5%
<b>Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>17.9%</b>	<b>12.6%</b>	<b>-5.3</b>	<b>10.3%</b>

### 3. Provincial Ballot: Western Cape Voting Intention and Turnout Scenarios

**Purpose of Questions:** *Voting Intention* indicates where support stands for each party at provincial level, at a given moment in time. *Western Cape respondents* were asked who they would vote for on the provincial ballot (as opposed to the national ballot – Table 3.4). *Turnout scenarios* indicate what happens when those voters who are least likely to vote on Election Day are removed from the pool. As the turnout level drops, you can see which parties gain or lose support; thus, how committed or enthusiastic each party's support base is.

**TABLE 3.1: Provincial Ballot: Western Cape Voting Intention**  
**Cross Tabulations:** [All Western Cape Voters/Provincial Ballot/Undecided Voters Allocated]  
**Sample Size:** 502 Registered Voters  
**Margin of Error:** 6.0%

IRR April 2019 Election Poll Q: If a provincial election was taking place today, which party would you vote for on the provincial ballot?						
Political Party	September 2018	December 2018	February 2019	April 2019	+/-	2014 Election
	Sample: -	Sample: -	Sample: 405	Sample: 502		
	MOE: -	MOE: -	MOE: 5.9%	MOE: 6.0%		
Democratic Alliance (DA)	-	-	50.1%	44.6%	-5.5	59.4%
African National Congress (ANC)	-	-	33.9%	27.8%	-6.1	32.9%
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	-	-	3.5%	7.0%	+3.5	1.0%
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	-	-	1.0%	6.8%	+5.8	2.1%
Good Movement (GM)	-	-	2.5%	2.8%	+0.3	-
Freedom Front Plus (FF+)	-	-	2.8%	1.8%	-1.0	0.6%
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	-	-	2.0%	1.4%	-0.6	0.5%

**TABLE 3.2: Provincial Ballot: Gauteng Turnout Scenarios: February 2019 – April 2019**  
**Cross Tabulations:** [All Voters/Undecided Voters Allocated]  
**Sample Size:** 405 and 502 Registered Voters  
**Margin of Error:** 5.9% and 6.0%

IRR April 2019 Election Poll Q: If a provincial election was taking place today, which party would you vote for on the provincial ballot?												
Date	Party	Turnout	0-10%	10-20%	20-30%	30-40%	40-50%	50-60%	60-70%	70-80%	80-90%	90-100%
DA	February 2018	100%	50.1%									
		83.0%	55%									
		80.3%	55%									
		76.0%	53%									
		74.7%	54%									
	April 2019	100%	46.6%									
		82.9%	46%									
		77.3%	48%									
		71.9%	50%									
		69.2%	51%									
ANC	February 2018	100%	33.9%									
		83.0%	29%									
		80.3%	29%									
		76.0%	30%									
		74.7%	30%									
	April 2018	100%	27.8%									
		82.9%	29%									
		77.3%	30%									
		71.9%	29%									
		69.2%	28%									
ACDP	February 2019	100%	3.5%									
		83.0%	4%									
		80.3%	4%									
		76.0%	4%									
		74.7%	4%									
	April 2019	100%	7.0%									
		82.9%	8%									
		77.3%	8%									
		71.9%	7%									
		69.2%	7%									
EFF	February 2019	100%	1%									
		83.0%	1%									
		80.3%	1%									
		76.0%	1%									
		74.7%	1%									
	April 2019	100%	6.8%									
		82.9%	6%									
		77.3%	4%									
		71.9%	5%									
		69.2%	5%									

**Key Findings:**

- In 2014, turnout in the Western Cape on the provincial ballot was 72.76%.
- We generated four turnout scenarios for the Western Cape provincial ballot, in April: 82.9%, 77.3%, 71.9% and 69.2%.
- The DA currently stands on 44.6% on the provincial ballot, down 5.5 percentage points from February (50.1%). That represents a 14.8 percentage point decline from 2014, when support for the party stood at 59.4%.
- On a 71.9% turnout scenario, support for the DA increases to 50%. On a 69.1% turnout scenario, it increases to 51%.
- The ANC currently stands on 27.8% on the provincial ballot, down 6.1 percentage points from February (33.9%). That represents a 5.1 percentage point decline from 2014, when support for the party stood at 32.9%.
- On a 71.9% turnout scenario, support for the party increases to 29%. On a 69.1% turnout scenario, it increases to 28%.
- The ACDP currently stands on 7.0% on the provincial ballot, up 3.5 percentage points from February (3.5%). On a 71.9% turnout scenario, support for the party stays at 7%. On a 69.1% turnout scenario, it also stays at 7%. In 2014, the ACDP secured 1.0% on the provincial ballot.
- The EFF currently stands on 6.8% on the provincial ballot, up 5.8 percentage points from February (1.0%). On a 71.9% turnout scenario, support for the party decreases to 5%. On a 69.1% turnout scenario, it also decreases to 5%. In 2014, the EFF secured 2.1% on the provincial ballot.

**TABLE 3.3: Provincial Ballot: Western Cape Turnout Scenarios: February 2019**

**Cross Tabulations:** [All Western Cape Voters/Provincial Ballot/Undecided Voters Allocated]

**Sample Size:** 405 Registered Voters

**Margin of Error:** 5.9%

IRR February 2019 Election Poll Q: If a provincial election was taking place today, which party would you vote for on the provincial ballot?					
Political Party	Western Cape Turnout Scenarios: February 2019				
	100.0%	83.0%	80.3%	76.0%	74.7%
Democratic Alliance (DA)	50.1%	55%	55%	53%	54%
African National Congress (ANC)	33.9%	29%	29%	30%	30%
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	3.5%	4%	4%	4%	4%
Freedom Front Plus (FF+)	2.8%	3%	3%	3%	4%
Good Movement (GM)	2.5%	2%	2%	2%	2%
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	2.0%	2%	2%	3%	3%
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	1.0%	1%	1%	1%	1%

**TABLE 3.4: Provincial Ballot: Western Cape Turnout Scenarios: April 2019**

**Cross Tabulations:** [All Western Cape Voters/Provincial Ballot/Undecided Voters Allocated]

**Sample Size:** 502 Registered Voters

**Margin of Error:** 6.0%

IRR April 2019 Election Poll Q: If a provincial election was taking place today, which party would you vote for on the provincial ballot?					
Political Party	Western Cape Turnout Scenarios: April 2019				
	100.0%	82.9%	77.3%	71.9%	69.2%
Democratic Alliance (DA)	44.6%	46%	48%	50%	51%
African National Congress (ANC)	27.8%	29%	30%	29%	28%
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	7.0%	8%	8%	7%	7%
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	6.8%	6%	4%	5%	5%
Good Movement (GM)	2.8%	3%	3%	3%	3%
Freedom Front Plus (FF+)	1.8%	1%	1%	1%	1%
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	1.4%	0%	0%	0%	0%

**TABLE 3.5: National Ballot: Western Cape Voting Intention**

**Cross Tabulations:** [All Western Cape Voters/National Ballot/Undecided Voters Allocated]

**Sample Size:** 502 Registered Voters

**Margin of Error:** 6.0%

IRR April 2019 Election Poll Q: If a national election was taking place today, which party would you vote for on the national ballot?						
Political Party	September 2018	December 2018	February 2019	April 2019	+/-	2014 Election
	MOE: -	MOE: -	MOE: 5.9%	MOE: 6.0%		
Democratic Alliance (DA)	-	-	45.6%	42.7%	-2.9	57.3%
African National Congress (ANC)	-	-	35.7%	24.2%	-11.5	34.0%
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	-	-	6.0%	8.9%	+2.9	2.3%

#### 4. National and Provincial Ballots: Ballot Splitting

**Purpose of Questions:** To enable you to gauge the degree to which support for ANC, DA and EFF differs between the national and provincial ballot, and trust in the ANC, DA and EFF as a potential national or provincial government in turn.

**TABLE 4.1: National and Provincial Ballot: Ballot Splitting**

**Cross Tabulations:** [All Western Cape Voters/All Gauteng Voters/National and Provincial Ballot/Undecided Voters Allocated]

**Sample Size:** 405 and 502 Registered Voters [Gauteng] and 405 and 502 Registered Voters [Western Cape]

**Margin of Error:** 3.8% and 6.0% [Gauteng] and 5.9% and 6.0% [Western Cape]

IRR April 2019 Election Poll Q: If an election was taking place today, which party would you vote for on the national and provincial ballot?												
Party	Gauteng						Western Cape					
	February			April			February			April		
	National	Provincial	+/-	National	Provincial	+/-	National	Provincial	+/-	National	Provincial	+/-
ANC	46.7%	41.6%	+5.1	48.9%	42.8%	+6.1	35.7%	33.9%	+1.8	24.2%	27.8%	-3.6
DA	26.5%	32.4%	-5.9	27.0%	31.9%	-4.9	45.6%	50.1%	-4.5	42.7%	44.6%	-1.9
EFF	17.9%	18.2%	-0.3	12.6%	13.0%	+1.6	6.0%	1.0%	+5.0	8.9%	6.8%	+2.1

**Key Findings:**

- This table is designed to illustrate how ANC, DA and EFF voters split their support between the national and provincial ballot, in Gauteng and the Western Cape. A positive net score illustrates more support weighted towards the national ballot; a negative net score illustrates more support weighted towards the provincial ballot.
- Gauteng: The ANC does better on the national ballot than the provincial ballot in both February (+5.1) and April (+6.1), suggesting voters trust it more as a national government than provincial government.
- Gauteng: The DA does better on the provincial ballot than the national ballot in both February (-5.9) and April (-4.9), suggesting voters trust it more as a provincial than national government.
- Gauteng: There is an insignificant difference between the EFF's support on the national and provincial ballots in February (-0.3) and April (+1.6).
- Western Cape: Among ANC voters, there has been a significant switch from a greater preference for the national ballot in February (+1.8) to a greater preference for the provincial ballot in April (-3.6), suggesting a loss of trust in the ANC as a national government.
- Western Cape: The DA does better on the provincial ballot than the national ballot in both February (-4.5) and April (-1.9), however, the gap has closed over that period, suggesting less trust in the DA as a provincial government.
- Western Cape: The EFF does better on the national ballot than the provincial ballot in both February (+5.0) and April (+2.1), however, the gap has closed, suggesting greater trust in the EFF as a provincial government.

## 5. National and Provincial Ballots: Voting Intention by Race

**Purpose of Questions:** To enable you to gauge how the different racial demographic groups split when it comes to (a) national voting intention and (b) when breaking down individual party support by race.

**TABLE 5.1: National Ballot: Voting Intention by Race**  
**Cross Tabulations:** [All Voters/By Race/Undecided Voters Allocated]  
**Sample Size:** 978, 1,017, 1,611 and 2,375 Registered Voters  
**Margin of Error:** 3.1%, 3.9%, 3.3% and 2.8%

IRR April 2019 Election Poll Q: If a national election was taking place today, which party would you vote for on the national ballot?					
Political Party	Survey Date	Black Voters	White Voters	Coloured Voters	Indian Voters
	September 2018	63%	3%	24%	34%
	December 2018	69%	4%	13%	36%
	February 2019	68%	5%	13%	10%
<b>African National Congress (ANC)</b>	<b>April 2019</b>	<b>61.6%</b>	<b>4.3%</b>	<b>10.9%</b>	<b>12.6%</b>
	September 2018	10%	79%	67%	47%
	December 2018	6%	71%	55%	39%
	February 2019	8%	71%	67%	72%
<b>Democratic Alliance (DA)</b>	<b>April 2019</b>	<b>7.4%</b>	<b>68.6%</b>	<b>68.5%</b>	<b>60.4%</b>
	September 2018	16%	1%	1%	0%
	December 2018	14%	1%	0%	0%
	February 2019	16%	0%	2%	1%
<b>Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)</b>	<b>April 2019</b>	<b>18.7%</b>	<b>0.8%</b>	<b>4.7%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>

**Key Findings:**

- 61.8% of all black voters indicated they would vote ANC, compared to 18.7% for the EFF and 7.4% for the DA.
- 68.6% of all white voters indicated they would vote DA, compared to 4.3% for the ANC and 0.8% for the EFF.
- 68.5% of all Coloured voters indicated they would vote DA, compared to 10.9% for the ANC and 4.7% for the EFF.
- 60.4% of Indian voters indicated they would vote DA, compared to 12.6% for the ANC and 0% for the EFF.

**TABLE 5.2: National Ballot: Party Support by Race**  
**Cross Tabulations:** [All Voters/Undecided Voters Allocated/By Race]  
**Sample Size:** 978, 1,017, 1,611 and 2,375 Registered Voters  
**Margin of Error:** 3.1%, 3.9%, 3.3% and 2.8%

IRR April 2019 Election Poll Q: If a national election was taking place today, which party would you vote for on the national ballot?						
Political Party	Survey Date	National %	Black Voters	White Voters	Coloured Voters	Indian Voters
	September 2018	52%	94%	2%	4%	1%
	December 2018	56%	95%	1%	2%	2%
	February 2019	54.7%	96.2%	1.1%	2.2%	0.5%
<b>African National Congress (ANC)</b>	<b>April 2019</b>	<b>49.5%</b>	<b>96%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>1%</b>
	September 2018	23%	31%	37%	25%	5%
	December 2018	18%	33%	40%	23%	4%
	February 2019	21.8%	27.3%	36.0%	28.0%	8.6%
<b>Democratic Alliance (DA)</b>	<b>April 2019</b>	<b>21.3%</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>8%</b>
	September 2018	13%	98%	1%	1%	0%
	December 2018	11%	99%	1%	0%	0%
	February 2019	12.2%	98.1%	0.4%	1.3%	0.1%
<b>Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)</b>	<b>April 2019</b>	<b>14.9%</b>	<b>97%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>0%</b>

**Key Findings:**

- As of April, a breakdown of the ANC's support base (49.5%) by race shows that it comprises: 96% black voters, 1% white voters, 2% Coloured voters and 1% Indian voters.
- As of April, a breakdown of the DA's support base (21.3%) by race shows that it comprises: 27% black voters, 37% white voters, 28% Coloured voters and 8% Indian voters.
- As of April, a breakdown of the EFF's support base (14.9%) by race shows that it comprises: 97% black voters, 1% white voters, 3% Coloured voters and 0% Indian voters.

**TABLE 5.3: Provincial Ballot: Gauteng Voting Intention by Race**  
**Cross Tabulations:** [All Gauteng Voters/Provincial Ballot/By Race]  
**Sample Size:** 502 and 504 Registered Voters  
**Margin of Error:** 3.8% and 6.0%

IRR April 2019 Election Poll Q: If a provincial election was taking place today, which party would you vote for on the provincial ballot?						
Political Party	Survey Date	Provincial %	Black Voters	White Voters	Coloured Voters	Indian Voters
	February 2019	41.6%	53%	8%	11%	10%
African National Congress (ANC)	April 2019	42.8%	56%	2%	5%	23%
	February 2019	32.4%	17%	77%	79%	67%
Democratic Alliance (DA)	April 2019	31.9%	18%	73%	80%	66%
	February 2019	18.2%	24%	2%	1%	0%
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	April 2019	13.0%	17%	1%	4%	0%

**Key Findings:**

- 56% of black Gauteng voters indicated they would support the ANC on the provincial ballot, compared to 18% for the DA and 17% for the EFF.
- 73% of white Gauteng voters indicated they would support the DA on the provincial ballot, compared to 2% for the ANC and 1% for the EFF.
- 80% of Coloured Gauteng voters indicated they would support the DA on the provincial ballot, compared to 5% for the ANC and 4% for the EFF.
- 66% of Indian Gauteng voters indicated they would support the DA on the provincial ballot, compared to 23% for the ANC and 0% for the EFF.

**TABLE 5.4: Provincial Ballot: Western Cape Voting Intention by Race**  
**Cross Tabulations:** [All Western Cape Voters/Provincial Ballot/By Race]  
**Sample Size:** 405 and 502 Registered Voters  
**Margin of Error:** 5.9% and 6.0%

IRR April 2019 Election Poll Q: If a provincial election was taking place today, which party would you vote for on the provincial ballot?						
Political Party	Survey Date	Provincial %	Black Voters	White Voters	Coloured Voters	Indian Voters
	February 2019	50.1%	13%	76%	63%	0%
Democratic Alliance (DA)	April 2019	44.6%	6%	78%	57%	26%
	February 2019	33.9%	79%	7%	13%	100%
African National Congress (ANC)	April 2019	27.8%	60%	7%	15%	52%
	February 2019	1.0%	2%	1%	1%	0%
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	April 2019	6.8%	18%	0%	2%	0%

**Key Findings:**

- 60% of black Western Cape voters indicated they would support the ANC on the provincial ballot, compared to 18% for the EFF and 6% for the DA.
- 78% of white Western Cape voters indicated they would support the DA on the provincial ballot, compared to 7% for the ANC and 0% for the EFF.
- 57% of Coloured Western Cape voters indicated they would support the DA on the provincial ballot, compared to 15% for the ANC and 2% for the EFF.
- 52% of Indian Western Cape voters indicated they would support the ANC on the provincial ballot, compared to 26% for the DA and 0% for the EFF.

See ANALYSIS on final page.

## ANALYSIS

Historically, the final weeks of any national election campaign are defined by the ability of bigger parties – particularly the ANC and the DA – to “squeeze” smaller parties and consolidate their vote share upwards; likewise, as undecided voters make their choice and closing rallies make their impact, they tend to break in favour of the bigger parties. This poll came out the field with 14 days still to go in the election, and understanding these numbers in their proper context requires an acknowledgement that the final two weeks will likely see them shift – in the case of bigger parties, upwards; in the case of smaller parties, downwards.

- **National Support:** In April, support for the ANC declined significantly from February, down 5.2 percentage points to 49.5% from two months ago, when the ANC was polling at 54.7%. That decline is mirrored in the respective turnout scenarios. In February, on a 70.9% turnout scenario, the ANC came out at 55%. In April, on a 69.3% turnout scenario, the ANC comes out at 50%. The ANC’s national losses came primarily from the EFF during this period, and brought the ANC’s national majority into the balance.
- To retain it, the party will have to arrest and counter the sustained inroads the EFF is making into its baseline support level - best illustrated by the following table, which compares ANC and EFF baseline support (i.e. on 100% turnout) in the last three IRR polls:

Party	December	February	April	Net Gain/Loss
ANC Baseline Support	56%	54.7%	49.5%	- 6.5 pts
EFF Baseline Support	11%	12.2%	14.9%	+ 3.9 pts

- Leading up to December, on the back of Cyril Ramaphosa’s election, the ANC had managed to consolidate much of the support it had lost under Jacob Zuma. That renewal was built on two pillars, exemplified by Ramaphosa: Good governance and a tough stance on corruption. But a combination of factors – primarily load shedding and revelations before the Zondo Commission of Inquiry – directly undermined that offer. Over April, these were compounded by a weak election campaign, which appears bereft of both inspiration and impact, the ANC was thus unable to hold onto those alienated voters it had won back up to December, and they returned to the EFF in April.
- As a result of this, the ANC also lost the differential advantage it enjoyed over smaller parties in December. On the IRR’s modelling, the ANC’s vote has stopped increasing significantly on lower turnout, as it did in December, when it touched 60%. The following table illustrates that point:

Party	December	February	April	Net Gain/Loss
	69% Turnout	70.9% Turnout	69.3% Turnout	
ANC on Lower Turnout	59%	55%	50%	- 9 pts
ANC Baseline Support	[56%]	[54.7%]	[49.5%]	
EFF on Lower Turnout	10%	11%	14%	+ 5 pts
EFF Baseline Support	[11%]	[12.2%]	[14.9%]	

- The ANC can still win back some of this lost support, these voters are fluid; it will need a powerful closing fortnight on the campaign trail.
- In April, The EFF lost some support in Gauteng from February (although still up from 2014). Thus, logic dictates it grew significantly in other places. The IRR puts it on 8.9% in the Western Cape in April and, in December, on 10.3% in KwaZulu-Natal (both on the national ballot). Both these numbers represent significant growth from 2014 (2.3% and 1.8% in those two provinces respectively).
- Support for the DA remains stable. Its baseline support level stands at 21.3% – though down 0.5 percentage points from February, that drop is within the margin of error (2.8%). On lower turnout, support for the party increases to 24%, as it did in February. On lower turnout, the DA’s vote share has remained more or less static since December, as the following table illustrates:

Party	December	February	April	Net Gain/Loss
	69% Turnout	70.9% Turnout	69.3% Turnout	
DA on Lower Turnout	22%	24%	24%	+ 2 pts
DA Baseline Support	[18%]	[21.8%]	[21.3%]	

- As of April, the DA has demonstrated some small growth among black voters. It currently has the support of 7.4% of all black voters, up from the 6% it secured in 2014 (the ANC is on 61.6% of all black voters and the EFF, 18.7%).
- **Gauteng Support:** In April, the ANC’s decline on the provincial ballot appears to have “bottomed out” at the 41% it secured in February, and has begun to grow marginally. In April, on the provincial ballot, the IRR puts the ANC on 42.8%, up 1.2 percentage points from February (41.6%) but still significantly below the majority it held in 2014 (53.6%). Significantly, the ANC’s small growth in Gauteng as come primarily at the expense of the EFF. This might be a significant change in direction for the ANC, in the province, although it has come very late in the day and it has a lot of ground to make up.
- However, lower turnout appears to favour the DA. In April, on a 67.7% turnout, ANC support dropped to 39%. In fact, on that turnout scenario, for the first time, support for the DA surpasses the ANC in the province, and climbs to 40%.
- Although the DA’s baseline support has dropped marginally in Gauteng on the provincial ballot, down 0.5 percentage points from 32.4% in February to 31.9% in April, on lower turnout it improves significantly, up to 40% on a 67.7% turnout scenario.
- Support for the EFF has declined significantly in Gauteng from February, down 5.2 percentage points, from 18.2% to 13.0%. That still represents an increase from where it stood in 2014 (10.3%), but the decline will be of concern to the party. It is likely the consequence of intense and targeted campaigning by the ANC in Gauteng, hence the ANC’s small growth in the province. The EFF in Gauteng demonstrates the fragility of its vote share, above 10%; that fragility likely also applies to its national vote share, above 10%.
- The possibility of no party securing an outright majority in Gauteng on the provincial ballot remains very real, and a coalition scenario, post-election, is most likely as of April.
- **Western Cape Support:** In April, the DA’s baseline support level has dropped significantly, down 5.5 percentage points from 50.1% in February to 44.6% in April on the provincial ballot. But that decline is exceeded by the decline in ANC support in the province, down 6.1 percentage points from 33.9% in February to 27.8% in April on the provincial ballot. The DA does recover support on a lower turnout scenario. In April, on a 69.2% turnout scenario, support for the party climbs to 51% (while the ANC’s remains relatively unchanged at 29%). As with the ANC nationally, these alienated voters are fluid, and the DA can win them back with a powerful closing campaign.
- The loss of support for both the DA and the ANC in the Western Cape can be ascribed to growth of smaller parties. The ACDP has doubled its support from February (up 3.5 percentage points from 3.5% to 7.0%) and the EFF has grown significantly, up 5.8 percentage points from 1% in February to 6.8%. The Good Movement is stable at 2.8% (up 0.3% percentage points from February, when it was 2.5%).
- All of these smaller parties, more or less, fall within the margin of error for our Western Cape sample (6.0%) and so these numbers should be treated with caution; nevertheless, there does appear to have been significant movement among them.
- In turn, support for these smaller parties holds up relatively well on a lower turnout scenario. On a 69.2% turnout scenario, the ACDP comes out with 7%, the EFF with 5% and the Good Movement with 3%, suggesting their baseline support is relatively solid in the face of pressure from the bigger parties.
- There is a chance of a coalition scenario in Western Cape, post-election, as of April.