

# DEVELOPING THE CULTURE OF GOVERNANCE AND DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1994-1999

Draft paper presented at the Third Biennial International Conference of the  
Society for South African Geographers, Namibia 5-9 July, 1999

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8 July 1999

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

The 1994 first non-racial elections in South Africa ushered in the country into joining the ranks of democratic states in the world. In the past five years, the country began meeting the following criteria for a democratic process. These are first, stakeholder participation in policy formulation and decision making, voting equality during national, provincial and local government elections, increased access to government information, creation of institutions that promote and protect democracy, and the inclusion of those who were historically disenfranchised. The aim in this paper is provide a critical assessment and appreciation of the development of the culture of and legitimacy of governance in South Africa. Focus in this paper is on public perceptions of government performance at national, provincial and local spheres of government by race, province and income. Trust in government, national, and in civil society institutions is also assessed according to race, province and income.

## 2 GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE

Although government performance can be assessed using several yardsticks, in this paper we evaluate government performance by analysis public perceptions of satisfaction or dissatisfaction of different spheres of government according to race, province and income.

### 2.1 *Perceptions of governance with the way South Africa is governed*

According to the HSRC March 1999 survey, significantly more people are satisfied than dissatisfied with the way South Africa is governed. Some 53 % of the respondents indicated that they were satisfied with the way South Africa is governed, compared to 36 % who indicated that they were dissatisfied. Although this figure is a significant improvement, compared with the December 1998 survey data, it still falls short of the 64 % satisfaction rating of October 1994. Whereas levels of satisfaction improved from 39 % in February 1998 to 53 % in March 1999, the levels of dissatisfaction with the way South Africa is governed decreased from 45 % to 36 % in the same period.

Table 1 How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way South Africa is being governed at present?

Level	February 1998 %	December 1998 %	March 1999 %
Very satisfied	7	11	16
Satisfied	32	25	37
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	14	12	9
Dissatisfied	30	32	23
Very dissatisfied	15	18	13
Don't know	3	2	2
	100	100	100

## 2.1.1 2.1.1 Perceptions of governance by race

Perceptions of the way South Africa is governed differ by race with the majority of blacks (66 %) satisfied, followed by Coloureds with 27 % satisfaction rating. Asians satisfaction rating, with the way South Africa is governed, was at third position with 12 % respondents; with a minority of whites (8%) satisfied, compared to 81 % of them indicating dissatisfaction. From the data, it is evident that race is a strong determinant of people's levels of perceptions on how the country is governed. These figures do not differ significantly from the findings of December 1998 HSRC survey. More than 81 % of whites indicated that they were dissatisfied with the way South Africa is governed, followed by Asians with 75 % dissatisfaction rates. In the case of Coloureds satisfaction rates, just about 50 % indicated that they were dissatisfied.

Table 2 How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way your South Africa is being governed at present?

Level	Black	Coloured	Asian	White	Total %
Very satisfied	20	6	3	2	16
Satisfied	46	21	9	6	38
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	8	17	11	9	9
Dissatisfied	18	27	47	47	23
Very dissatisfied	8	23	28	34	13
Don't know	1	7	1	2	2
	100	100	100	100	100

## 2.1.2 Perceptions of the way South Africa is governed by province

Perceptions of the way South Africa is governed also differ by province. Analysis of satisfactions with the way South Africa is governed suggests that it was only in the Western Cape (50%) and KwaZulu-Natal (49%) that there were proportionally more people dissatisfied than satisfied. The provinces with proportionally more satisfied than dissatisfied respondents are Mpumalanga (80%), Northern Province (76 %), the Eastern Cape (71 %), and North West (70%).

## 2.1.3 Perceptions with the way South Africa is governed by income

Asked how satisfied or dissatisfied respondents are with the way South Africa is being governed at the present, 44 % indicated that they are satisfied compared to 36 % who indicated otherwise. Analysis of data by income level, suggests that the wealthier respondents are, the more likely they are to be dissatisfied, than satisfied. There are more satisfied people than dissatisfied in two income brackets of R1 - R829, and R830-R2499. For example, 60 % of those earning less than R830 per month indicated that they are satisfied with the way South Africa is governed, compared with 26 % who implied otherwise in the same income bracket. In the income bracket of between R830 and R2500 per month, 57 % were satisfied, compared to 33 % who felt dissatisfied.

The highest income segment of the population is the most dissatisfied with the way South Africa is governed. In the income group of those earning over R8330 per month, 54 % were

dissatisfied with the way South Africa is governed, in contrast to 31 % in the same income group, who were satisfied. These findings are not surprising as government infrastructure and service delivery programmes in the past five years were largely targeted at lower income groups than the middle and upper classes of society. Higher satisfaction levels on the part of low income groups is a pointer to relative success of government's attempts at infrastructure and service delivery in the past five years.

## 2.2 Perception of provincial governance

There has been a significant improvement of South Africans' satisfaction levels on how the provinces are governed, when comparing the December 1998 data and the March 1999 survey results. Over 46 % of adult South Africans are satisfied with the way the provinces are governed, compared to 40 % respondents who were dissatisfied in March 1999. The level of satisfaction increased from 32 % in December 1998 to 46 % in March 1999. On the other hand, the level of dissatisfaction declined by 16 % from 56 % to 40 %. Several reasons may account for this increase. First, provincial government performance may have increased with the passage of time. Second, the public is gradually accepting provinces as important institutions in South Africa. Third, it is highly unlikely that there will be radical overhaul of provinces as it may mean constitutional amendments.

Table 3 How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way your province is being governed at present?

Level	December 1998 %	March 1999 %
Very satisfied	7	8
Satisfied	25	38
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	12	13
Dissatisfied	34	27
Very dissatisfied	18	13
Don't know	3	2
	100	100

### 2.2.1 Perception of provincial governance by race

Perceptions of satisfaction with the way provinces are governed also differ by race. For example, more than half of blacks rated provinces positively (56 %). Coloured and Asian respondents rated provincial governments more or less the same at 25 % and 23 % respectively. As in their perceptions of the way South Africa is governed, fewer whites (18 %) indicated that they were satisfied with the ways South Africa is governed. The March 1999 survey data suggests that significantly more blacks are satisfied with the way South Africa is governed, compared to the way they are with way the provinces are governed. However, slightly more whites (18%) are satisfied with the way the provinces are governed than the way South Africa is governed.

Evidence suggests that the levels of dissatisfaction, on the part of Coloureds, Asians and whites, with the way South Africa is being governed, are slightly higher than their perceptions on the way the provinces are being governed. Slightly more Coloureds, Asians and whites are

relatively satisfied with the way provinces are governed than they are in the way South Africa is governed.

**Table 4 How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way your province is being governed at present?**

Level	Black	Coloured	Asian	White	Total %
Very satisfied	10	4	3	1	8
Satisfied	44	21	20	18	38
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	9	30	18	18	13
Dissatisfied	24	24	42	42	27
Very dissatisfied	11	15	16	19	13
Don't know	1	7	1	4	2
	100	100	100	100	100

## 2.2.2 Perceptions of provincial governance by province

Public perceptions of satisfaction with the way the provinces are governed also differ by province. There are proportionally more people satisfied than dissatisfied in Mpumalanga (72 %), Northern Province (64 %), Eastern Cape (62 %), North West (59%), and Free State (48 %). Significantly there were more people dissatisfied with provincial governance in KwaZulu-Natal (49%), Gauteng (48 %), Northern Cape (38%), and the Western Cape (34 %). Evidence from the March 1999 data suggests that provincial dissatisfaction in Gauteng has increased in the past twelve months, surpassing even the Western Cape. Several reasons may explain the increase in levels of distrust in Gauteng. First, the premiership debacle in 1997 did not go well with the public. Allegations of corruption and scandals in Gauteng may have also contributed to public's negative perception of the Gauteng provincial government.

## 2.2.3 Perceptions provincial governance by income

The March 1999 survey suggests that the higher the income people the less they are likely to indicate their satisfaction with the way their provinces are governed. There are proportionally more people satisfied than dissatisfied among people earning less than R2500 per month. There are several reasons for differences in perception. In the past the poor did not get adequate allocation of resources than the wealthier segment of the population. With the dawn of democracy in South Africa, resources are significantly re-distributed to those who were historically disenfranchised in the past. The poor feel these benefits and it appears that this also translates into satisfaction levels.

## 2.3 Perception of local governance

The March HSRC survey reveals that equal number of people are satisfied (44 %) and dissatisfied (44 %) with the way their local areas are governed. These figures point out to an improvement in the way their local areas are governed between December 1998 and March 1999. Whereas there

has been a decline on dissatisfaction levels from 55 % to 43 %, the levels of satisfactions with the way their local area is governed increased from 31 % to 44 % in the same period.

**Table 5 How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way your local area is being governed at present?**

Level	December 1998 %	March 1999 %
Very satisfied	6	8
Satisfied	25	36
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	12	11
Dissatisfied	36	29
Very dissatisfied	19	14
Don't know	3	3
	100	100

### 2.3.1 Perception of local governance by race

Perceptions of local governance also differ by race. More blacks (49%) than Coloureds (27%), Asians (24 %), and whites (30%) are satisfied with the way their local area is governed. Important trends can be noticed from these data. Proportionally more whites than Coloureds and Asians are satisfied with the way their local areas are governed, than they are with the way South Africa is governed. However, dissatisfaction rates for Coloureds, Asians and whites far surpass those of blacks in terms of local governance.

**Table 6 How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way your local area is being governed at present?**

Level	Black	Coloured	Asian	White	Total %
Very satisfied	9	3	4	2	8
Satisfied	40	24	20	28	36
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	8	22	16	16	10
Dissatisfied	28	25	47	33	29
Very dissatisfied	13	18	11	17	14
Don't know	2	8	1	3	3
	100	100	100	100	100

### 2.3.2 Perceptions of local governance by province

Although the overall findings of the March 1999 survey suggest that more people are satisfied than dissatisfied, with the way their local areas are governed, there were proportionally more people dissatisfied than satisfied respondents in five of the nine provinces. Provinces where there were more people dissatisfied than satisfied are the Western Cape, the Northern Cape, the Free



State, KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng provinces. Satisfaction levels are high in the Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga, the Northern Province, and North West. Satisfaction levels with local government have increased dramatically in the Northern Province in March 1999 than it was in February 1998.

### 2.3.3 Perceptions of local governance by income

Income appears to determine people's perception of satisfaction with the way their local areas are governed. The HSRC March 1999 survey suggests that the higher people's incomes are the less they are satisfied with the way their local areas are governed. For example, 45 % of those earning less than R830 per month indicated their satisfaction with the way their local areas are governed, compared to 40 % in the same income bracket, who are dissatisfied. On the other hand, 48 % of those earning R830 and above per month are dissatisfied with the way their local areas are governed compared to 40 % in the same income bracket who are satisfied. As the beneficiaries of development programmes at local areas are mainly low income groups, this may explain why they are relatively more satisfied than high income groups.

### 2.4 Comparing public perceptions at national, provincial, and local spheres of government

According to the HSRC March 1999 survey, the majority of people in South Africa are satisfied than dissatisfied with the way different spheres of government are governed. However, more people are satisfied with the way South Africa is governed at the national level than at provincial and local spheres of government. These findings indicate a dramatic improvement on satisfaction levels when compared with surveys completed in February and December 1998. Analysis of data by race suggests that significantly more blacks are satisfied with the way all different spheres of government are governed than are Coloureds, Asians and whites. However, the satisfaction rates on governance for whites are slightly higher for local government than for provincial and national government.

Table 7 Table Public perceptions of performance at national, provincial, and local spheres of government?

Level	National Government	provincial government	local government
Very satisfied	16	8	8
Satisfied	37	38	36
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	9	13	11
Dissatisfied	23	27	29
Very dissatisfied	13	13	14
Don't know	2	2	3
	100	100	100

The survey also highlighted that income often determines people's perception of governance at local, provincial and national levels. The higher the income, the more likely are people to indicate their dissatisfaction with the South Africa, the province and the local area are governed.

### 3 PERCEPTIONS OF TRUST / DISTRUST ON SPHERES OF GOVERNMENT

Trust in different spheres of government can be seen as an indicator of legitimacy of government on the eyes of citizens. Moreover, trust also signifies acceptance of those institutions. This section of the chapter compares trust in national, provincial, and local government by race, province and income. Use is made of the February 1998, December 1998 and March 1999 surveys to compare whether they are significant shifts in the levels of trust. The analysis is done according to race, province and income.

#### 3.1 *Trust in national government*

When asked how much trust respondents have in the national government, a significant majority (65 %) confirmed their trust on national government. This figure indicates a significant 24 % improvement on the December 1998 survey. On the other hand, public perception of distrust on national government decreased from 39 % in December 1998 to 22 % in March 1999. There are several possible explanations for the improvement. Since the opening of Parliament in February 1999 there has been a high profile discussion about the June elections, the departure of Nelson Mandela from government, and the publication of several achievements of the first democratic government by government. These developments could have contributed to the improvement of both satisfaction and trust levels on the part of the national government.

Table 8 How much trust / distrust do you have in the National government

Level	December 1998	March 1999
Strong trust	14	27
Trust	31	38
Neither trust nor distrust	12	10
Distrust	24	16
Strong distrust	15	6
Don't know	3	3
Total	100	100

#### 3.1.1 Perception of trust in national government by race

Further analysis of the data March 1999 suggests that perceptions of trust on national government also differ by race. A significant majority of blacks (78%) indicated their trust in national government, compared to Coloureds (52%), Asians (20%), and whites (20%). Trust levels for blacks and whites indicate significant shifts when compared with the December 1998 survey. Trust levels increased from 60 % to 78 % for blacks, while that of whites increased from 6 % to 20 % between December 1998 and March 1999. The increase in trust on national government on the part of whites was by 300 %, which bodes well for race relations and nation building. However, significantly more whites than any other race group have the highest levels in distrust of the national government.

**Table 9 How much trust / distrust do you have in the national government? March 1998**

Level	Black	Coloured	Asian	White	March 1999
Strong trust	34	20	0	2	27
Trust	44	32	20	18	38
Neither trust nor distrust	8	17	23	14	10
Distrust	11	13	38	39	16
Strong distrust	2	13	13	24	6
Don't know	2	6	7	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100

### 3.1.2 Perceptions of trust in provincial government by province

Respondents in all the provinces indicated their overwhelming trust in the national government. There was only one province, which had more than 20 % of respondents in the Western Cape who indicated that they did not trust national government. These findings suggest that respondents in all the provinces have unflinching trust on the institution of national government. In four of the five provinces up to 80 % of residents there indicated their trust (in Mpumalanga, Northern Province, Eastern Cape and North West). These figures suggest dramatic improvement on levels of trust in provinces.

### 3.1.3 Perceptions of trust in national government by income

Proportionally more people earning less than R4160 per month indicate that they have trust in the national government than those earning more. For example, 53 % of those earning below R4160 per month have trust in national government compared to 34 %, in the same income bracket, who distrust government. For those who earn over R8330 per month, some 53 % distrust national government compared to 41 %, in the same income bracket, who trust national government.

There are several possible reasons for the differences in perception of trust. Higher income groups are more likely to be taxed more than lower income groups apparently feel that their contribution to the national fiscus is not adequately compensated for in the form of other benefits. Second, high income groups are more likely (though not exclusively) to be whites who apparently feel that the new South Africa has eroded some of the exclusive and excessive social benefits which they received. Third, government's focus on reconstruction and development by its very nature zero in on redress, equity and empowerment. As such, public sector resources are now channeled to meeting national priorities, rather than on meeting parochial, and minority interests.

### 3.2 Trust in provincial government

The results of March 1999 survey suggest that more people trust provincial government than those who do not. More than half (54 %) adult South African indicated their trust, compared with a mere 11 % who indicated distrust in provincial government. When comparing data from the

December 1998 data, it is evident that trust levels in provincial government are increasing whilst distrust levels are on the decline.

**Table 10 How much trust / distrust do you have in your provincial government?**

Level	December 1998	March 1999 %
Strong trust	9	13
Trust	30	41
Neither trust nor distrust	14	14
Distrust	27	22
Strong distrust	16	7
Don't know	4	4
Total	100	100

### 3.2.1 Perception of trust in provincial government by race

As with trust levels for national government, more blacks trust provincial government than whites, Asians and Coloureds. Table 11 reveals that six in ten blacks trust provincial government compared to four in ten for Coloureds, and two in ten for both Asians and blacks. As for those who indicated their distrust on government, six in ten of whites do not trust provincial government. Findings of different race groups are as follows: three in ten blacks and Coloureds distrust provincial government, and five in ten Asians distrust provincial government. One important observation is that proportionally more blacks have trust in the national government than they have on the provincial government.

**Table 11 How much trust / distrust do you have in provincial government? March 1998**

Level	Black	Coloured	Asian	White	March 1999
Strong trust	16	10	0	2	13
Trust	47	28	23	20	41
Neither trust nor distrust	10	28	25	21	14
Distrust	19	17	38	38	22
Strong distrust	5	9	9	17	7
Don't know	4	8	7	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100

### 3.2.2 Perceptions of trust in provincial government by province

Although proportionally more people trust in provincial government than those who do not, there are provincial variations. The highest trust levels are in the Northern province (78%), and Mpumalanga (72%). However, trust levels in KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape, are below the national average. In general, these trust levels suggests an important improvement on public perception of trust in provincial government.

### 3.2.3 Perceptions of trust in provincial government by income

Income levels also influence the perceptions of trust in provincial government. The wealthier segment of society tends to have distrust than trust in provincial government. What is noticeable here is that those earning less than R4160 tend to be distrust their provinces than high income groups.

### 3.3 Local governance

As with other spheres of government, trust levels on local government has improved in the recent months. By March 1999, significantly more South Africans indicated that they trust (53%) local government than those who did not (30%). Distrust levels decreased from 49 % in December 1998 to 30 % in March 1999. One possible explanation is the perception of improved local governance and increased in service and infrastructure levels at local government level.

Table 12 How much trust / distrust do you have in your local government?

Level	December 1998	March 1999
		%
Strong trust	8	14
Trust	28	39
Neither trust nor distrust	13	15
Distrust	29	20
Strong distrust	20	10
Don't know	3	4
Total	100	100

#### 3.3.1 Perceptions of local governance by race

Perceptions of trust in local government also differs by race, with 62 % of blacks indicating their trust, compared to 39 % of Coloureds, 16 % of Asians and 25 % of whites. The March 1999 survey reveals that more whites than Asians have trust in local government. The majority of Asians (68%), more than any other group, do not have trust on local government. About half the number of whites revealed that they did not trust local government. The high levels of distrust on the part of whites may have to do with the relative advantage in terms of access to resources, which white local authorities had during the apartheid period. At the moment, there is a perception that the newly instituted non-racial local government structures are no longer meeting their parochial needs, hence the high levels of distrust.

Table 13 Table How much trust / distrust do you have in your local government?

Level	Black	Coloured	Asian	White	March 1999
Strong trust	17	9	0	2	14
Trust	44	30	16	23	39
Neither trust nor distrust	11	29	22	24	15
Distrust	17	15	48	33	20
Strong distrust	8	12	10	17	10
Don't know	4	6	4	2	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100

### 3.3.2 Perceptions of trust in local government by province

Perceptions of trust in local government also differ by province. With the exceptions of two provinces (Northern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal), perceptions of trust in local government is high. The high levels of distrust in local government in the three provinces is a challenge which may need to be tackled head-on after the elections.

### 3.3.3 Perceptions of trust in local government by income

Public perceptions of trust in local government also differ by income. Proportionally more people earning less than R4160 have more trust than distrust in local government. The income group with the highest proportion of people who distrust local government is those earning between R4160 and R5829, who generally the middle classes. These findings suggest that the lower the income group the more trust they are likely to have in local government. As with both national and provincial spheres of government, high levels of trust on the part of these income groups is associated with perceptions of improved levels of service and infrastructure delivery since 1994. The majority of those in the higher income groups are largely (but not exclusively) whites who in the past received better services from local authorities. Since 1994 these transformed local authorities have a new mandate to deliver services to all irrespective of race.

## 3.4 Comparing Perceptions of Trust in different spheres of Government

**Table 14 Table Comparing trust / distrust in organs of civil society?**

Level	National government	Provincial government	Local government
Strong trust	27	13	14
Trust	38	41	39
Neither trust nor distrust	10	14	15
Distrust	16	22	20
Strong distrust	6	7	10
Dont know	3	4	4
Total	100	100	100

The majority of people trust national government than local government and provincial spheres of government. According to the March 1999 data 65 % of respondents indicated their trust on national government, followed by 53 %, with provincial government being ranked last with 54 %. These figures translate to seven in ten people who have trust in national government, in contrast to five in ten people who have trust in provincial and local government. Although all spheres of government received positive trust ratings than negative ratings, about a third of the respondents in March 1999 revealed their distrust or strong distrust with local government. However, levels of trust in provincial and local government are probable the highest since 1994.

#### **4 PERCEPTIONS OF TRUST / DISTRUST IN NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS**

The dawn of democracy in South Africa also witnessed the creation of new institutions to protect and promote democracy. More work was required to transform those institutions, which did not enjoy legitimacy. In successive national surveys, the HSRC included a question to determine levels of trust or distrust over the years. This section deals with public perceptions of trust in the courts, police, Defence Force and the Independent Electoral Commission.

##### **4.1 Trust in the Courts**

The courts play a crucial role within the criminal justice system. With the adoption of the new Constitution in 1996, South Africa is now a democratic country with the Constitution as the supreme law of the land. Public perception of trust in the courts and the role courts play in dispensing justice is important in both the consolidation of democracy and in the creation of the culture of governance.

Nearly half of respondents in March 1999 revealed they have trust in the Courts, compared to a third who indicated otherwise. The level of trust in the courts in March 1999 is the same as it was in February 1998, with a significant decrease in December 1998. The levels of distrust in the courts also remained more or less the same in the same period. The proportion of people indicating their trust is relatively high.

**Table 15 How much trust / distrust do you have in the COURTS?**

Level	February 1998	December 1998	March 1999 %
Strong trust	9	10	12
Trust	41	30	37
Neither trust nor distrust	11	12	14
Distrust	26	26	23
Strong distrust	6	18	10
Don't know	7	2	5
Total	100	100	100

#### 4.1.1 Perception of trust in the courts by race

Public perceptions of the courts also differ by race. Analysis of the March 1999 survey data by race suggests that more blacks and Coloureds have trust or strong trust in the courts than whites and Asians. The majority of whites (49%) and Asians (37%) indicated their distrust or strong distrust in the courts. Distrust levels for whites and Asians are higher than the national average of people who indicated their distrust or strong distrust in the courts.

**Table 16 How much trust / distrust do you have in the COURTS, March 1999**

Level	Black	Coloured	Asian	White	March 1999
Strong trust	14	15	0	2	12
Trust	40	32	26	29	37
Neither trust nor distrust	12	19	26	19	14
Distrust	21	19	29	34	23
Strong distrust	8	10	8	15	10
Don't know	5	6	10	2	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100

#### 4.1.2 Perceptions of trust in the courts by province

Of the nine provinces, it is only in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng that there are more people who indicated their distrust or strong distrust in the courts. The highest trust levels in the courts can be found in Northern Cape where eight in ten indicated that they trusted courts. North West follows with seven in ten trust the courts, six in ten people have trust in both the Eastern Cape and the Northern Province.



#### 4.1.3 Perceptions of trust in the courts by income

Public perceptions of trust in the courts differ by income. The March 1999 survey reveals that the lower income groups appear to have proportionally more trust in the courts than higher income groups have. This is contrary to the popular view, which currently exists in society. However, the richest in society appear to have more trust than distrust in the courts. This is the case for those earning over R8330 per month: 46 % indicated that they trusted the courts compared to 42 % who indicated their distrust, in the same income bracket.

These findings point out that the majority of the middle class to not have trust in the courts, while lower income and upper income groups have more trust in the courts. There are different reasons why lower and upper income groups have trust in the courts. For lower income groups, it may be that they have greater access to the courts through state legal-aid, and they view courts as credible arbiters of justice. On the other hand, upper income groups may have more trust in the courts for different reasons. Some of the reasons may have to do with greater access to costly lawyers and attorneys who could be able to ensure that they represent their clients convincingly than it is often happens for low income groups.

#### 4.2 Trust in the police

During the political upheavals of the 1980s, the police were seen as the extension of the repressive apartheid apparatus. Public perception of trust in the police has significantly improved over the years. Data from three HSRC surveys suggest that five in ten respondents have trust or strong trust on the police. Perceptions of trust have increased from 45 % in February 1998 to 49 % in March 1999 (although there was a decline in December 1998). Perceptions of distrust in the police appear not to have change significantly, from 39 % in February 1998 to 37 % in March 1999. Figures for December 1998 indicate a noticeable increase on distrust levels, but the March 1999 figures is not that different when compared to the February 1998 findings.

Table 17 How much trust / distrust do you have in the police?

Level	February 1998	December 1998	March 1999
Strong trust	8	9	17
Trust	37	32	32
Neither trust nor distrust	12	12	12
Distrust	30	24	21
Strong distrust	9	20	16
Don't know	4	2	2
Total	100	100	100

#### 4.2.1 Perception of trust in the police by race

Perceptions of trust in the police also differ by race, with the majority of blacks on top of the scale with 54 %. Significantly, proportionally more whites trust the police than Asians do. Nonetheless, proportionally more Asians revealed their distrust in the police than any other racial group.

However, the proportion of levels of distrust on the part of the Coloureds is the lowest when compared to those of blacks.

**Table 18 How much trust / distrust do you have in the police? March 1999**

Level	Black	Coloured	Asian	White	March 1999
Strong trust	21	12	3	3	17
Trust	33	35	20	33	32
Neither trust nor distrust	8	22	23	26	12
Distrust	21	11	38	25	21
Strong distrust	16	15	12	12	16
Don't know	2	4	4	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100

#### 4.2.2 Perceptions of trust in the police by province

At a national level, some 49 % of respondents revealed that they had trust in the police in March 1999. Provinces, which proportionally had more people who trusted the police, are in the Western Cape, Northern Province, Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga, Northern Province and North West. It was only in the Free State, KwaZulu-Natal, and Gauteng that there were more people who distrusted the police.

#### 4.2.3 Perceptions of trust in the police by income

Although five in ten indicated their trust in the police, the largest proportions of those who have more trust are located within two income groups. The majority of those earning R830 have more trust (56%) than distrust (33%) in the police. The other income group which has more people who trust (44%) the police than those who distrust (21%) them is those earning between R5830 and R8329. These findings suggest that lower income groups and components of the middle class are likely to trust the police than the upper income groups.

#### 4.3 Trust in the Defence Force

The former South African Defence Force was previously seen as a repressive apparatus of the apartheid regime. With the transformation, which started in 1994, this chapter seeks to understand levels of trust or distrust on the defence force. It appears that trust on the defence force has been increasing, from 49 % in February 1998 to 58 % in March 1999. The level of distrust declined marginally from 28 % in February 1998 to 25 % in March 1999.

Table 19 How much trust / distrust do you have in the Defence Force?

Level	February 1998	December 1998	March 1999 %
Strong trust	11	22	22
Trust	38	33	36
Neither trust nor distrust	15	14	12
Distrust	21	20	16
Strong distrust	7	15	9
Don't know	8	5	5
Total	100	100	100

#### 4.3.1 Perception of trust in the Defence Force by race

Analysis of trust in the defence force reveals that proportionally more blacks have trust in the defence force than any other racial groups. For example, over 64 % of blacks indicated that they have trust in the defence force, compared to 22 % who did not trust the defence force. The majority of blacks (64%), Coloureds (49%) and Asians (37%) indicated their trust in the defence force. Even though in the past all white males were conscripted into the army, it appears as if there is a high level of distrust on the institution of the army at the present moment.

Table 20 How much trust / distrust do you have in the Defence Force? March 1999

Level	Black	Coloured	Asian	White	March 1999
Strong trust	27	13	3	5	22
Trust	37	36	34	31	36
Neither trust nor distrust	9	23	27	18	12
Distrust	14	6	23	27	16
Strong distrust	8	11	4	16	9
Don't know	4	11	10	4	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100

#### 4.3.2 Perceptions of trust in the Defence Force by province

Trust in the defence force appears to be very high in aggregate terms and throughout the provinces. The only province where there was almost an equal number of those who trusted and those who did not trust the defence force was in the Free State. On explanation for this could be the memories of defence force's intervention into Lesotho in late 1998. Feelings of insecurity and distrust in the Free State may have been generated by South Africa's intervention in Lesotho. It is significant that levels of trust in KwaZulu-Natal are high, even higher than trust on the police in the province.

#### 4.3.3 Perceptions of trust in the Defence Force by income

Trust in the Defence Force is also largely determined by people's income. There are proportionally more people who have trust in the defence force earning less than R5830 per month than those earning more. It is in the highest income bracket that the level of distrust is very high: for example, 48 % distrust the defence force, in contrast to 34 %, who trust the defence force, in the same income group. These findings suggest that the higher the income the more likely are people to place their trust in the defence force. Conversely, the lower the income level, the more likely they are to trust the defence force. There are several possible reasons for this. First, the defence force is often used in poorer communities to maintain peace, to fight crime and assist if and when there is disaster. These areas are, in most cases, located in low income areas, especially in black townships. Second, the transformation, which is taking place within the defence force and the incorporation of liberation armies, may also have increased the legitimacy of the defence force. On the eyes of the majority

#### 4.4 Trust in the Independent Electoral Commission

The Independent Electoral Commission was established by the 1996 Constitution as a body to conduct, oversee and manage the election process. For the first time in March 1999, the HSRC included a question to determine public perceptions of trust levels in the IEC. An overwhelming majority of respondents (64 %) indicated that they have trust in the IEC. Only about 15 % of the respondents indicated that they distrust or strongly distrust the IEC. This finding bodes well for democracy and the electoral process as the higher the legitimacy of institutions, which have been mandated to carry out the elections, the more likelihood would be, acceptance of the outcome of the election results.

Table 21 How much trust / distrust do you have in the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC)?

Level	March 1999 %
Strong trust	26
Trust	38
Neither trust nor distrust	17
Distrust	10
Strong distrust	5
Don't know	4
Total	100

#### 4.4.1 Perception of Trust in the IEC by race

Analysis of results by race reveals some significant insights. The majority of blacks (74 %) and Coloureds (35 %) indicated that they have trust or strong trust in the IEC. Those with larger proportions of people who have distrust or strong distrust on the IEC are Asians (33 %) and whites (40 %).

**Table 22 How much trust / distrust do you have in the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC)? March 1999**

Level	Black	Coloured	Asian	White	March 1999
Strong trust	32	16	5	4	26
Trust	42	29	23	24	38
Neither trust nor distrust	12	31	29	30	17
Distrust	7	4	30	24	10
Strong distrust	3	9	3	16	5
Don't know	4	9	10	2	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100

#### 4.4.2 Perceptions of trust in the IEC by province

At a national level, the majority of the respondents indicated an overwhelming level of trust in the IEC. However, the majority of those who indicated that they did not trust the IEC are located in Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape. Provinces, which received the highest trust ratings are the Eastern Cape (89%), the Northern Cape (80%), the Free State (88%), and the Northern province (84%).

#### 4.4.3 Perceptions of trust in the IEC by income

Although the majority of people indicated that they have trust in the IEC, trust levels also differ by income. Income brackets with significant proportions of people who have trust in those earning less than R830 (66%), those earning between R830 and R2499 (62%), and those earning between R2500 and R4159 (62%). These findings suggest that the lower the income group the more likely are people to place more trust in the IEC. Significantly high trust levels are also to be found in both low income and middle income groups.

#### 4.5 Comparing public perceptions of trust in national institutions

According to the March 1999 survey, nearly half of respondents indicated trust in courts, 44 % in police, 58 % in South African National Defence Force and an overwhelming majority of 66 % trust in the Independent Electoral Commission. The results suggest that although some political parties have been very critical of the IEC the public has strong trust in the Commission and they believe that the IEC fair and independent.

Table 23 Table How much trust / distrust do you have in national institutions? March 1999

Level	Courts	Police	Defence Force	IEC
Strong trust	12	12	22	26
Trust	37	32	36	38
Neither trust nor distrust	14	12	12	17
Distrust	23	21	16	10
Strong distrust	10	16	9	5
Don't know	5	2	5	4
Total	100	100	100	100

A third of the respondents indicated their distrust in courts, 37 % on the police, 14 % on the defence force and less than 10 % revealed that they did not trust the IEC. Although more people trust the national institutions discussed above, it appears that the public's perception of key elements of the South African criminal justice system is somewhat negative. This implies that more is required to both restructure the criminal justice system, and where this has happened to share the information with the public. In general, evidence in this chapter, suggests that the levels of trust in national institutions indicate both acceptance of the role these institutions are playing in the consolidation of democracy in South Africa.

## 5 PERCEPTIONS OF TRUST / DISTRUST IN INSTITUTIONS OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Trust in institutions of civil society is an important indicator of the flourishing of democracy. Five institutions were selected for the purposes of the analysis. These are political parties, labour unions, business, media, and churches. Trust on these institutions was analysed by race, province and income.

### 5.1 *Trust in Political parties*

Political parties play an important role in fostering multi-party democracy. Since 1994 political parties have freely contested elections at national, provincial and national spheres of government. Actually, the 1996 Constitution makes provision for free political activity and the freedom of expression. The March 1999 survey indicates that the majority of South Africans do trust political parties. This finding differs somewhat, from previous surveys, which were carried out on February 1998 and December 1998. Put differently, the levels of trust on political parties increased from 31 % in February 1998 to 42 % in March 1999. One plausible reason to explain these changes. Political parties started in earnest electioneering vigorously around January 1999 in preparation for the elections scheduled for June 1999. This may have influenced their perception of trust.

**Table 24 How much trust / distrust do you have in political parties?**

Level	February 1998	December 1998	March 1999 %
Strong trust	6	8	14
Trust	25	21	28
Neither trust nor distrust	22	17	19
Distrust	27	33	23
Strong distrust	11	18	12
Don't know	10	4	4
Total	100	100	100

#### 5.1.1 Perception of trust in political parties by race

Public perceptions of trust in political parties also differ by race. Over half of black respondents indicated their trust in political parties. The corresponding trust levels for Coloureds are 29 %, Asians 8 % and whites 11 %. Significantly more Asians (67%) and whites (59%) have the largest majorities of people who distrust political parties.

#### 5.1.2 Perception of trust in political parties by income

Analysis of the March 1999 survey suggests that trust levels differ by income. It is the lower income groups than the middle and upper income groups who have more trust in political parties. For example, the income group of those earning less than R830 per month that there are more people who trust (42%) political parties than those who distrust (26%) them. The income group which has the highest proportion of people who distrust political parties than those who trust them is those earning more than R5830 per month: seven in ten distrust political parties compared to two in ten who trust political parties in the same income group.

These findings suggest that the higher the income the more likely are people to distrust political parties. Conversely, the lower the income the more likely are people to trust political parties. There are several possible explanations to this. First, the lower income groups are largely blacks and are more likely to be aligned politically. Second, the middle income and upper middle income groups are gradually withdrawing from politics. The majority of those in the middle and upper income groups tend to be whites who also have the highest level of distrust on political parties.

**Table 25 How much trust / distrust do you have in political parties? March 1999**

Level	Black	Coloured	Asian	White	March 1999
Strong trust	18	7	0	2	14
Trust	33	22	8	9	28
Neither trust nor distrust	16	35	22	28	19
Distrust	20	12	54	39	23
Strong distrust	10	18	13	20	12
Don't know	4	7	4	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100

### 5.1.3 Perceptions of trust in political parties by province

Distrust in political parties is noticeable in the Western Cape (36%), Northern Cape (41%), KwaZulu-Natal (43%) and Gauteng (43%). Trust in political parties appears to be very strong in the Eastern Cape (68%) and Mpumalanga (69%). It appears as if provinces with the ANC majority support tend to have particularly high numbers of people who trust in political parties.

### 5.2 Trust in labour unions

Trade unions have played an important role in protecting the interests of workers over the years. With the establishment of a new industrial atmosphere of negotiations within the Labour Relations Act, we were interested in determining the levels of trust in labour unions. Whereas trust levels on labour unions have increased from 32 % to 38 % between February 1998 and March 1998, distrust levels have almost remained the same during the same period. However, the level of distrust surpassed that of trust in December 1998. These findings suggest that trust in labour unions is not without qualification.

Table 26 How much trust / distrust do you have in the labour unions? March 1999

Level	February 1998	December 1998	March 1999 %
Strong trust	6	8	9
Trust	26	30	29
Neither trust nor distrust	17	14	15
Distrust	23	22	22
Strong distrust	11	18	11
Don't know	17	9	14
Total	100	100	100

#### 5.2.1 Perception of trust in labour unions by race

Public perceptions of trust in labour unions also differ by race. More blacks (46%) have trust in labour unions than Asians (28%) and whites (8%). In the case of Asians (25%) almost an equal number of respondents indicated their trust in labour unions, as with distrust (24%). Significantly more that 68 % of whites distrust labour unions, compared to only 8 % who have trust in labour unions. These figures are not surprising, as the majority of unionized workers and sympathisers are blacks, who are also members of strong unions such as the Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU). The white perception that unions are surrogates of political parties is one explanation for high levels of distrust among whites.



**Table 27 How much trust / distrust do you have in the labour unions? March 1999**

Level	Black	Coloured	Asian	White	March 1999
Strong trust	12	5	1	0	9
Trust	34	20	27	8	29
Neither trust nor distrust	13	28	23	17	15
Distrust	20	16	32	35	22
Strong distrust	7	9	4	33	11
Don't know	14	22	14	6	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100

#### 5.2.2 Perceptions of trust in the labour unions by province

Public perception of trust in the labour unions also differs by province. Nearly four in ten respondents indicated their trust or strong trust in labour unions in March 1999. Provinces with highest distrust levels are the Western Cape, Northern Province, KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng. Of these provinces more than half the respondents (52 %) indicated their distrust or strong distrust in Gauteng. Three in ten people are dissatisfied with labour unions in the Western Cape, Northern Cape, and KwaZulu-Natal.

#### 5.2.3 Perceptions of trust in the labour unions by income

Public perception of trust in the labour unions also differs by income level. Trust levels in labour unions are higher on people earning less than R2500 per month than the middle and upper classes in South Africa. For example, in March 1999, less than 22 % of people earning R8330 per month indicated that they have trust in the labour unions compared to an overwhelming majority of 75 %, in the same income bracket, who revealed that they distrusted labour unions. On the other hand, four in ten, who earn less than R830 per month, have trust in the labour unions, compared to three in ten in the same income bracket who indicated distrust labour unions.

These findings confirm that labour unions largely represent the interest of workers, especially those on the lower echelons of the work force, who are also blacks. Moreover, labour unions often draw their membership from the lowly paid segment of the workforce, and the majority of these are blacks.

#### 5.3 Trust in business

Trust in the private sector or business is significantly high, increasing from 46 % in February 1998 to 59 % in March 1999. The proportion of people who indicated that they distrust or strongly distrust business decreased from 18 % in February 1998 to 10 % in March 1999. These figures are quite surprising given the perception that business in the past aided the apartheid regime in its political repression and economic exploitation.

**Table 28 How much trust / distrust do you have in business?**

Level	February 1998	December 1998	March 1999 %
Strong trust	5	11	15
Trust	41	43	44
Neither trust nor distrust	22	17	19
Distrust	14	16	13
Strong distrust	5	9	4
Don't know	13	4	6
Total	100	100	100

### 5.3.1 Perception of trust in business by race

The March 1999 survey reveals that the majority of all population groups have trust in business. This is one of the few variables where the perceptions of the majority of whites were positive than negative. Consensus on this issue may also signify that perhaps business can play a significant role during the period of transformation. Sadly, there is a perception that business has not played a significant role in the past five years. As evidence one may point out to protracted negotiations around the employment equity legislation, and the reluctance of the organised business sector to introduce effective and far-reaching affirmative action programmes in the past five years.

**Table 29 How much trust / distrust do you have in business? March 1999**

Level	Black	Coloured	Asian	White	March 1999
Strong trust	18	9	0	4	15
Trust	45	27	36	47	44
Neither trust nor distrust	16	35	30	26	19
Distrust	12	12	24	18	13
Strong distrust	3	6	2	3	4
Don't know	6	10	8	2	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100

### 5.3.2 Perceptions of trust in business by province

Proportionally more people have trust in business than those who have distrust or strong distrust in all the provinces. It is only in KwaZulu-Natal (four in ten), and Northern Cape and Western Cape (four in ten) that the proportion of those who revealed that they have trust in business is lower than the national average. In the Eastern Cape and the Northern Province, nearly eight in ten indicated their trust in the business. Significantly these are the two poorest provinces with high unemployment levels in South Africa.

### 5.3.3 Perceptions of trust in business by income

Perceptions of trust in business also differ by income. About six in ten of respondents throughout South Africa indicated that they have trust in business. Only two in ten indicated their distrust in business. What emerges from the findings is that trust in business is not only restricted to high income groups alone. The majority of people in all income groups indicated their trust in business than those who revealed their distrust. However, trust levels increases with income. For example, seven in ten of those earning over R8330 per month have trust in business, compared to about one in ten who did not trust business. On the other hand, six in ten of those earning under R8330 per month indicated their trust in business, compared to one in ten in the same income bracket who did not trust business.

These findings suggests that although proportionally more people have trust in business than those who do not, the higher the income the greater the level of trust in business. Conversely, the lower the income level the higher their trust in labour unions, and significantly, the lower the trust level in business.

## 5.4 Trust in the media

The electronic and print media plays an important role in the dissemination of information, education, and entertainment. The majority of respondents (58 %) in March 1999 indicated that they trust the media more than those who indicated their distrust. The levels of trust on the media increased from 33 % in February 1998 to 58 % in March 1999. The level of distrust on the media, has declined from 31 % to 18 % in the same period.

Table 30 How much trust / distrust do you have in the media?

Level	February 1998	December 1998	March 1999 %
Strong trust	4	20	17
Trust	29	39	41
Neither trust nor distrust	24	16	19
Distrust	26	16	13
Strong distrust	5	6	5
Don't know	12	4	5
Total	100	100	100

### 5.4.1 Perception of trust in the media by race, March 1999

Perceptions of trust in the media also differ by race. Significantly, the majority of different race groups have trust or strong trust in the media. This is the second variable (after business) where majorities of all racial groups have trust than distrust in an institution. As with business, the challenge faced by the media is to inform, educate, and entertain the public in a balanced, objective and reliable matter. What is of concern is that, apart from the financial and sport sections of the media, the rest of the medium is allegedly based on half-truth, and sensational reporting which does not objectively inform the public.

Table 31 How much trust / distrust do you have in the media? March 199

Level	Black	Coloured	Asian	White	March 1999
Strong trust	21	7	3	4	17
Trust	43	34	47	38	41
Neither trust nor distrust	15	32	23	28	19
Distrust	12	8	18	23	13
Strong distrust	4	7	4	6	5
Don't know	5	11	6	1	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100

#### 5.4.2 Perceptions of trust in the media by province

Perceptions of trust in the media also differ from one province to another. Although all provinces have more people who have trust in the media, the Eastern Cape received the highest ranking with 80 % of the respondents having trust in the media.

#### 5.4.3 Perceptions of trust in the media by income

Public perception in the media slightly differs by income. The media received trust from different income groups. It is only in the income bracket of those earning over R8330 per month that there are more people dissatisfied (46 %) with the media than those who were satisfied (34 %). The highest trust levels in the media are on those who earn between R5830 and R8329. In this income bracket, more than 64 % have trust in the media, compared to 24 % who indicated their distrust on the media. These findings suggest that trust in the media is in all different income segments of society. However, there are proportionally, the wealthier (perhaps more analytical too) have distrust in the media. The challenge for the media is to present reliable information, which can assist citizens to make informed choices about the day to day governance in society.

#### 5.5 Perceptions of trust in churches

Successive HSRC surveys confirm that the majority of South Africans are religious and have trust in churches. Trust levels on church institutions have remained very high at more than 80 % between February 1998 and March 1999. It is within this context that the 'moral' anti-corruption campaigns are currently taken very seriously by both political parties and the public.

**Table 32 How much trust / distrust do you have in churches?**

Level	February 1998	December 1998	March 1999 %
Strong trust	33	39	44
Trust	48	41	42
Neither trust nor distrust	7	9	7
Distrust	5	5	4
Strong distrust	2	4	2
Don't know	5	3	2
Total	100	100	100

#### 5.5.1 Perceptions of trust in churches by race

Trust levels in churches are very high among all population groups in South Africa. However, the relative proportion of Asians is small than the rest.

**Table 33 How much trust / distrust do you have in churches? March 1999**

Level	Black	Coloured	Asian	White	March 1999
Strong trust	49	46	12	26	44
Trust	38	45	40	59	42
Neither trust nor distrust	6	6	29	7	7
Distrust	4	1	8	4	4
Strong distrust	1	2	0	2	2
Don't know	1	1	12	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100

#### 5.5.2 Perceptions of trust in churches by province

Analysis of data suggests that trust levels in churches differ from province to province. However, in all the provinces, there are more people who trust in churches than those who do not.

#### 5.5.3 Perceptions of trust in churches by income

An overwhelming majority of people indicated their trust in churches (85 %), which is the largest percentage of trust ever placed on any other institution. Analysis of trust levels in churches reveals that the lower income groups the more likely they are to place their trust in churches. However, the average national trust level for those earning more than R4160 is less than the national average.

## 5.6 Comparing perceptions of trust in institutions of civil society

**Table 34** How much trust / distrust do you have in organs of civil society? March 1999

Level	Labour Unions	Business	Media	Churches	Political parties
Strong trust	9	15	17	44	14
Trust	29	44	41	42	28
Neither trust nor distrust	15	19	19	7	19
Distrust	22	13	13	4	23
Strong distrust	11	4	5	2	12
Don't know	14	6	5	2	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Asked how much trust or distrust respondents have in organs of civil society, over 86 % indicated their trust on churches, followed by 59 % revealing their trust in business, 58 % in the media, 42 % in political parties, business, media, labour unions trailing fourth with 38 % of the respondents.

The majority of South Africans trust churches for than political parties, and labour unions.

Although a third of respondents indicated their distrust in labour unions (33 %) and political parties (35 %), slightly more people trust labour unions (38 %) and political parties (42 %). The levels of trust and distrust on institutionstwo elements of civil society are healthy for democracy and pose a key challenge for the two to continue to serve interests of their constituencies while balancing these with national priorities.

## 6 CONCLUSION

The first five years of democratic rule in South Africa witnessed an extra-ordinary effort to create institutions to promote, protect, and encourage the consolidation of democracy. At the same time the pace of service delivery was execrated, after the first years, which largely was a period to rethink, to revamp and to introduce new policies. Data in this article indicate that there is support for the democratic order, which was instituted in 1994. However, this support is not without qualification. There is an indication that the public is aware of their rights and the limits which state can exercise its power. What is heartening is that there is support for national institutions created in the new democratic order after the 1994 elections. However, the public is reluctant to unconditionally put their trust on political parties and labour unions. This is not surprising, as there is a perception that these institutions are at times partisan and sectarian.

Another important observation is an apparent withdrawal of trust of Whites from public sector institutions. The majority of whites appear to put their trust in business, media and churches, while the majority of blacks put their trust in almost all national institutions. On the positive note, there is an overwhelming support for the IEC, undoubtedly one of the most important institutions to play the role of a mid-wife during the election period.

Analysis of March 1999 survey by income also indicates important insights. First, lower income groups are more likely to have trust in political parties than upper income groups would. Second, trust in government institutions also declines with higher income groups. The only

institutions were trust is equally high for all income groups is in churches, business and in the IEC.

The transfer of power from the white minority to the government of national unity also witnessed significant changes on the perceptions of national institutions. Trust levels on the part of whites decreased dramatically, whilst trust levels of blacks began to increase dramatically.

Perhaps one of the most significant findings is that trust levels on the part of whites is high on three variables: business, media and churches. In the case of blacks, trust levels on national, provincial and local government is high, so is the case in the courts, police, defence force, IEC, labour unions, business, political parties, media and churches. For Coloureds, trust levels are high on national government, provincial government, local government, courts police, defence force and police. Trust levels for Coloureds is only high on police, IEC and Defence Force.

Evidence in this paper suggests that there has been a transformation in the perception of key trust in institutions, which support governance in South Africa since 1994. Whereas trust and satisfaction levels on government institutions was relatively low on the part of the poor and those who were historically disenfranchised, the past five years have seen trust and satisfaction levels increasing. Conversely, those who mainly benefited from the past political and economic order appear to have lower trust and satisfactions levels with these institutions. The only common ground is on trust in churches, media, business and the IEC. Perhaps these institutions should be in the forefront of both the discourse and practice of South African's transformation. However, the past five years have witnessed the creation of a new political order, which is more credible than before.