



MOVING BEYOND THE KNOWN – RISK & POWER IN A FRAGMENTING DEMOCRACY ONGAMA MTIMKA, PHD



ACTUARIAL SOCIETY
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Anyone can steer the ship, but it takes a leader to chart the course – JC Maxwell



Introduction: The New

The Shift: Moving from "Stable Cycles" to "**Dynamic Fragmentation.**"

Context: The HSRC Voter Participation Survey (March 2026) marks this as the most challenging climate in three decades.

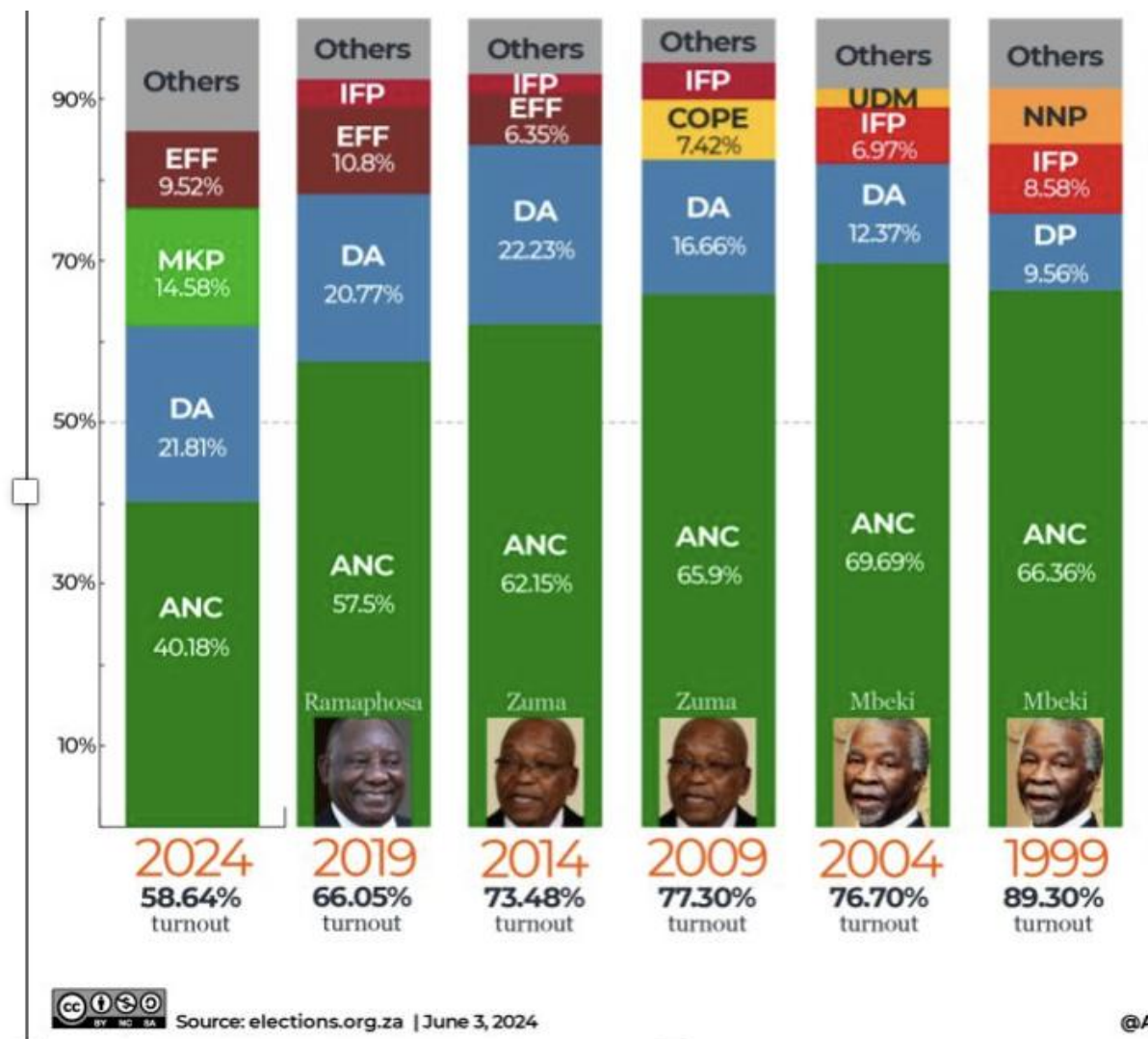
Core Realization: Political risk is no longer a peripheral concern; it is a fundamental reconfiguration of South Africa's democratic architecture.

The Driver: Traditional stability has been replaced by deep-seated voter disengagement and institutional distrust.

The Political Architecture of Fragmentation



- Smaller parties consolidating their share
- Intra-party dynamics to be watched
- Polls show deepening fragmentation





The Growth Paradox: Development vs. Under-Development



Economic Snapshot: Projected 1.2% GDP growth for 2026; headline inflation cooled to 3.0%.



The Disconnect: Despite macro-stability, "Subjective Poverty" remains high as disinflation benefits fail to reach under-developed sectors.



The Untapped Ceiling: The "unseen" economy of townships and rural areas represents the country's greatest growth potential.



Infrastructure Gap: Current policy often bypasses these areas, leaving human capital underutilized and domestic demand artificially capped.



Power Constellations: Political Elites and Illicit Gains

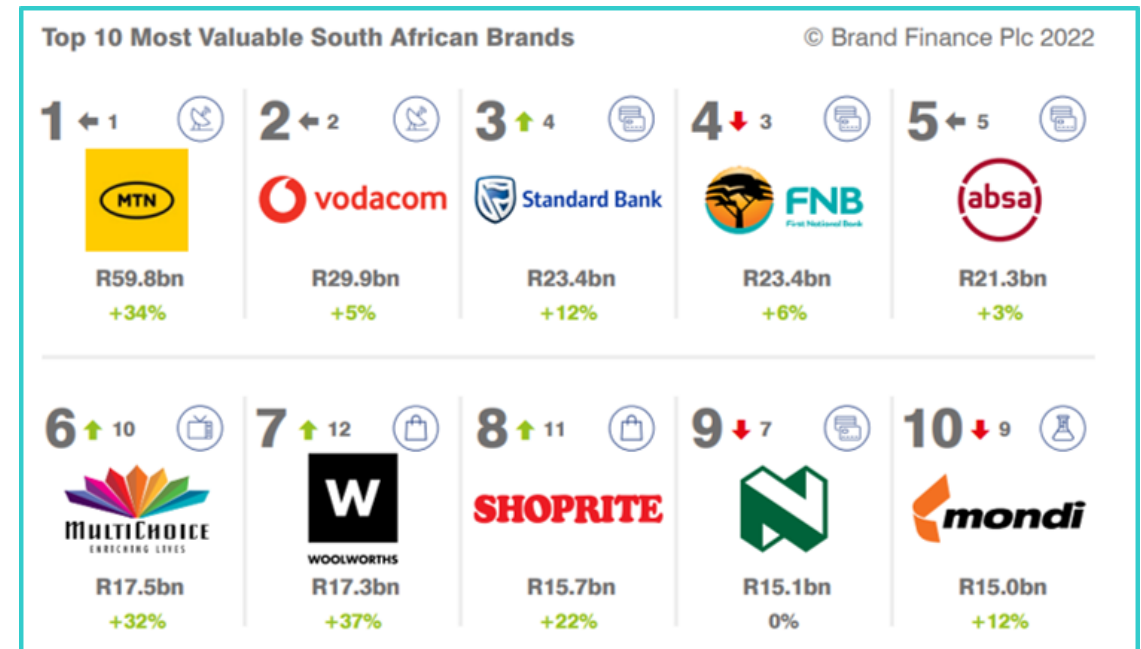
Political-underworld nexus laid bare

Erosion of Trust: Only 38% of citizens trust the bodies meant to oversee democratic processes, fueling the perception of "elite capture."



Corporate Oligopolies and Consumer Vulnerability

- **Market Concentration:** In sectors like retail and finance, a handful of firms dominate over 70% of the market share.
- **Consumer Impact:** This concentration limits purchasing power and keeps prices high despite lower inflation.
- **Social Friction:** High market concentration makes the South African consumer uniquely vulnerable to global shocks.
- **Political Risk:** Economic exclusion provides a potent tool for populist mobilization against "monopoly capital."
- **Source:** The media online



THE RISE OF URBAN BANDITS AND UNION ELITES



Coercive Actors: The "construction mafia" and urban bandits have become embedded in the local economy.



Foreign Interests and the Accountability Gap



GEOPOLITICAL DILEMMA



Geopolitical Stance:

59% of voters favor non-alignment and equal ties with both the West and BRICS.



The Tension:

Only **43%** support closer ties with Russia, highlighting a disconnect between elite diplomatic pivots and the democratic will.



New Power Players:

Environmental and civil society groups are filling the “accountability gap.”



Litigation as Governance:

These groups increasingly use the courts to achieve policy changes and municipal accountability that the fractured legislative system cannot.



Synthesis: Predicting the Unpredictable



- Volatility Over Stability: The 2026 and 2029 elections will be decided by the "pessimism and disengagement" of a frustrated electorate.
- Metric Shift: Traditional analysis of "ANC support" or "DA growth" is no longer sufficient to understand the landscape.
- The Strategic Path Forward: Mandate transparent political funding. Broaden production and distribution beyond corporate oligopolies to empower consumers.
- Aggressively invest in under-developed township and rural sectors.
- Conclusion: turn its "fragmentation" into multi-polar strength.



An invasion of armies can be resisted, not an idea whose time has come – Victor Hugo

Thank you! Any questions?

