



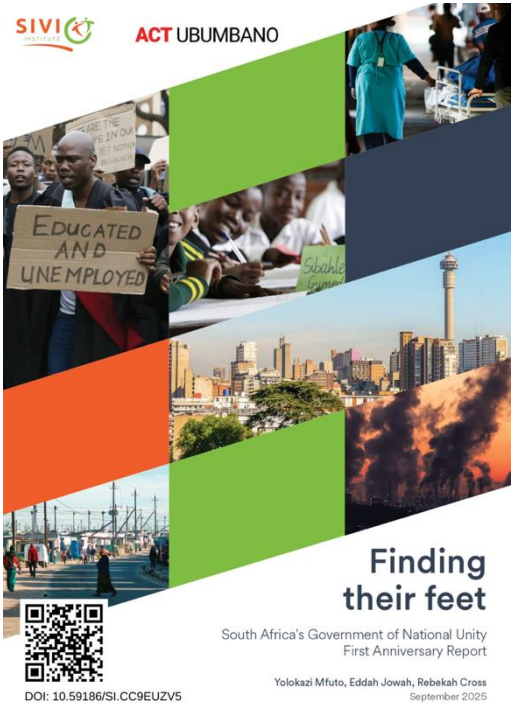
Coalition at the Midpoint

An Assessment of the Performance of the
Government of National Unity

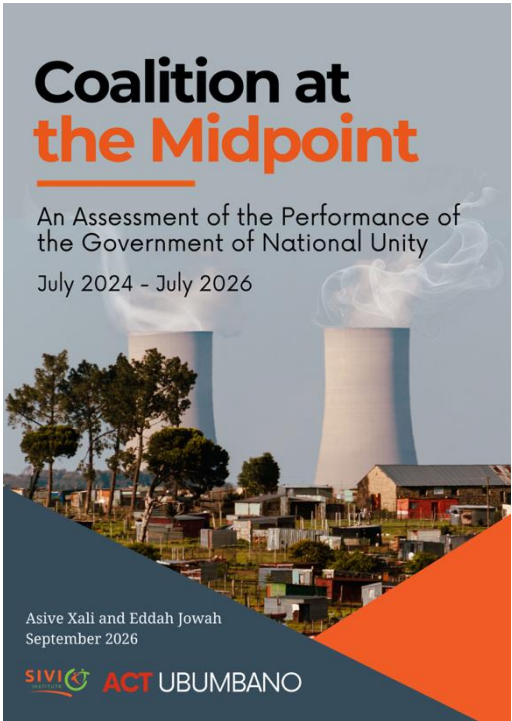
July 2024 - July 2026

Asive Xali and Eddah Jowah
August 2026

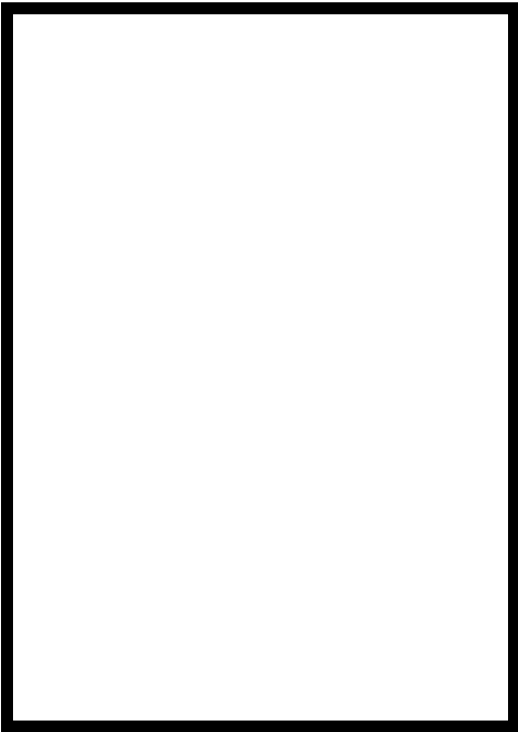
Two years in...



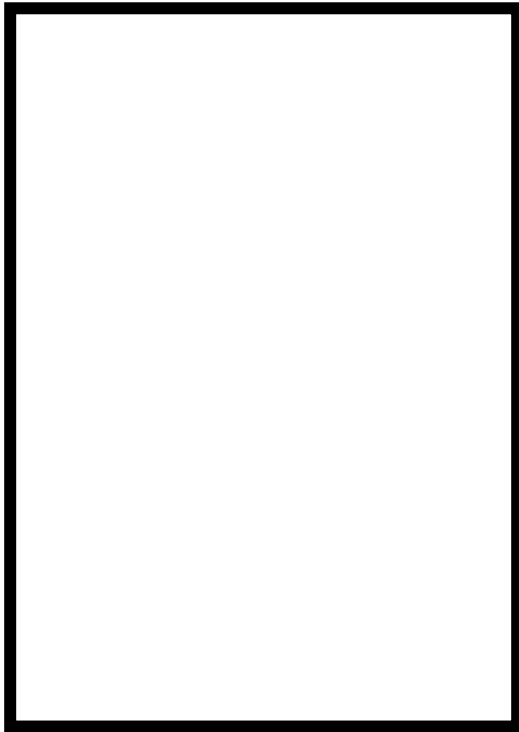
2025



2026



2027



2028

Inauguration: 19 June 2024

Next elections: 2029

ABOUT THIS REPORT

What it covers and where the data comes from

This is a second-year assessment of South Africa's GNU, covering July 2024–July 2026 against 120 promises drawn from the President's Opening of Parliament Address and the MTDP 2024–2029.

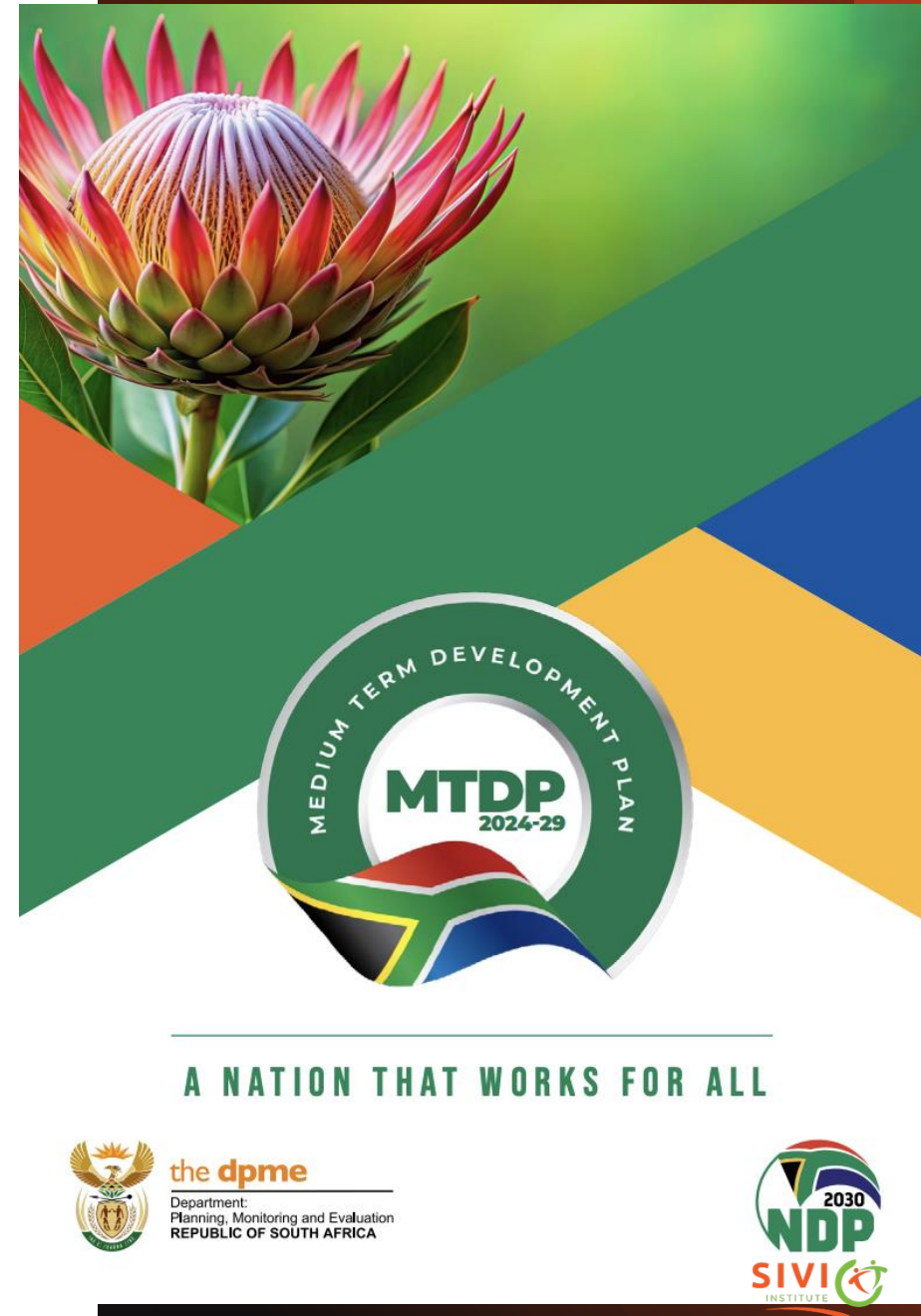
All data is drawn from the **South Africa Citizens Watch (SACW) Tracker**, part of the African Citizens Watch (ACW) platform developed by SIVIO Institute, monitoring government performance across Botswana, Malawi, South Africa and Zambia.



METHODOLOGY

Where do the promises come from?

- 120 Promises are extracted from the pledges made by the President during the maiden speech of the GNU to Parliament on the 18th of July 2024 and the Medium-Term Development Plan (2024 -2029).
- Promises are grouped into five key sectors: **Economy, Governance, Corruption, Climate Change, and Social Services.**



Government Sources

- The Presidency
- Parliamentary Monitoring Group
- South African Government
- South African Parliament Website
- Department of Home Affairs
- Department of Sports, Arts and Culture
- Government Statements

Independent News/Media Houses

- Daily Maverick
- IOL
- Mail and Guardian
- News 24
- The Citizen

METHODOLOGY

Where do the actions come from?

Actions are tracked using official publications from:

- Government Ministries, Departments, and Agencies (e.g. Ministry of Finance, Public Sector Reforms)
- Trusted media outlets (e.g. Daily Maverick, Mail and Guardian)

Only verifiable and publicly documented actions are recorded. If an action isn't published, it's excluded from the tracker.

All reported actions are triangulated and fact-checked across multiple sources before being recorded on the South Africa Citizens Watch platform.

METHODOLOGY

Where does the score come from?

Each promise is assessed using a standardised scoring framework:

- Implemented: Fully delivered (Score = 14)
- In Progress: Partial fulfilment (Score = 1–13 based on depth and quality of action)
- Broken / Not Commenced: No action or opposite action taken (Score = 0)

Scoring of government actions considers:

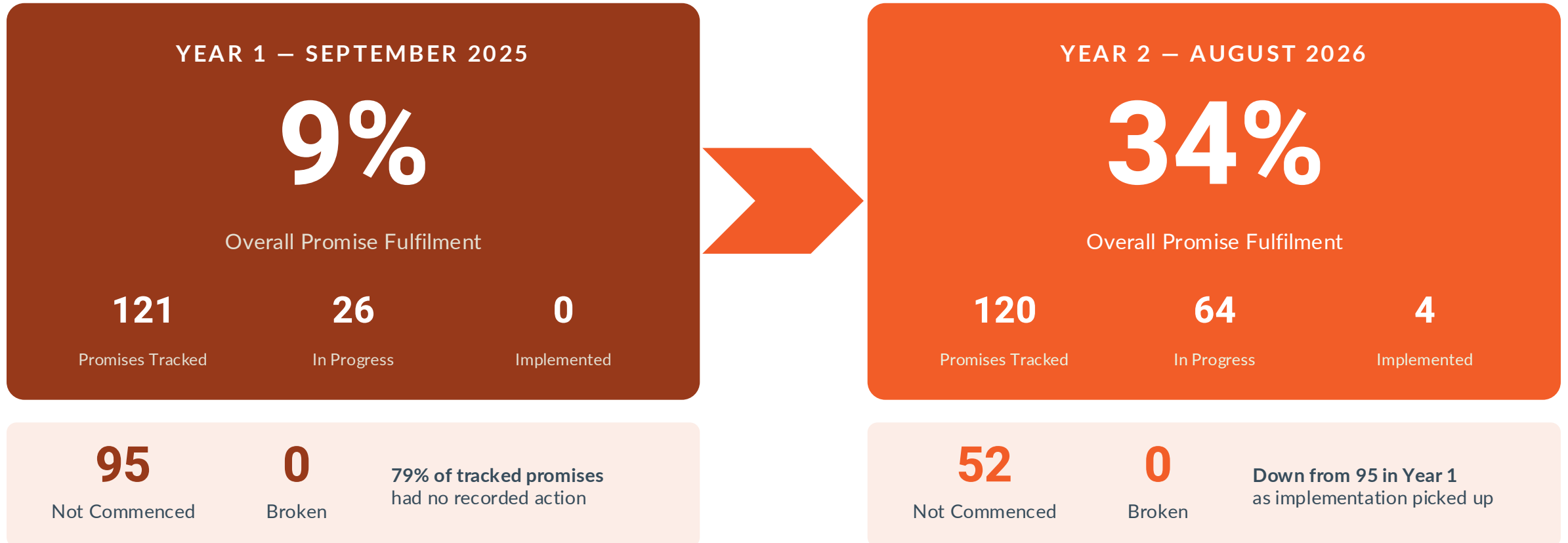
- Legal frameworks, budget allocations, institutional capacity, timelines, and cross-sector collaboration.

Sectoral scores are calculated by averaging the scores of all promises within each sector. The overall government score is derived from aggregating these sectoral averages.

ACTION		MAXIMUM SCORE 14 points possible	
New Strategy		Yes = 1	No = 0
Policy Reform (+) Incentive	2x weight	Yes = 2	No = 0
Policy Reform (-) Dis-enabler	2x weight	Yes = 2	No = 0
Does it fit in an existing Legal Framework?		Yes = 1	No = 0
Has a new law been established?		Yes = 1	No = 0
Has budget implications: New resources have been allocated		Yes = 1	No = 0
Fits within an existing ministry		Yes = 1	No = 0
Cross ministry/agency collaboration established		Yes = 1	No = 0
Time-frame-fits within current annual planning cycle	2x weight	Yes = 2	No = 0
Is it a fully implemented policy?	5x weight	Yes = 5	No = 0
Barometer Action Score		TOTAL	

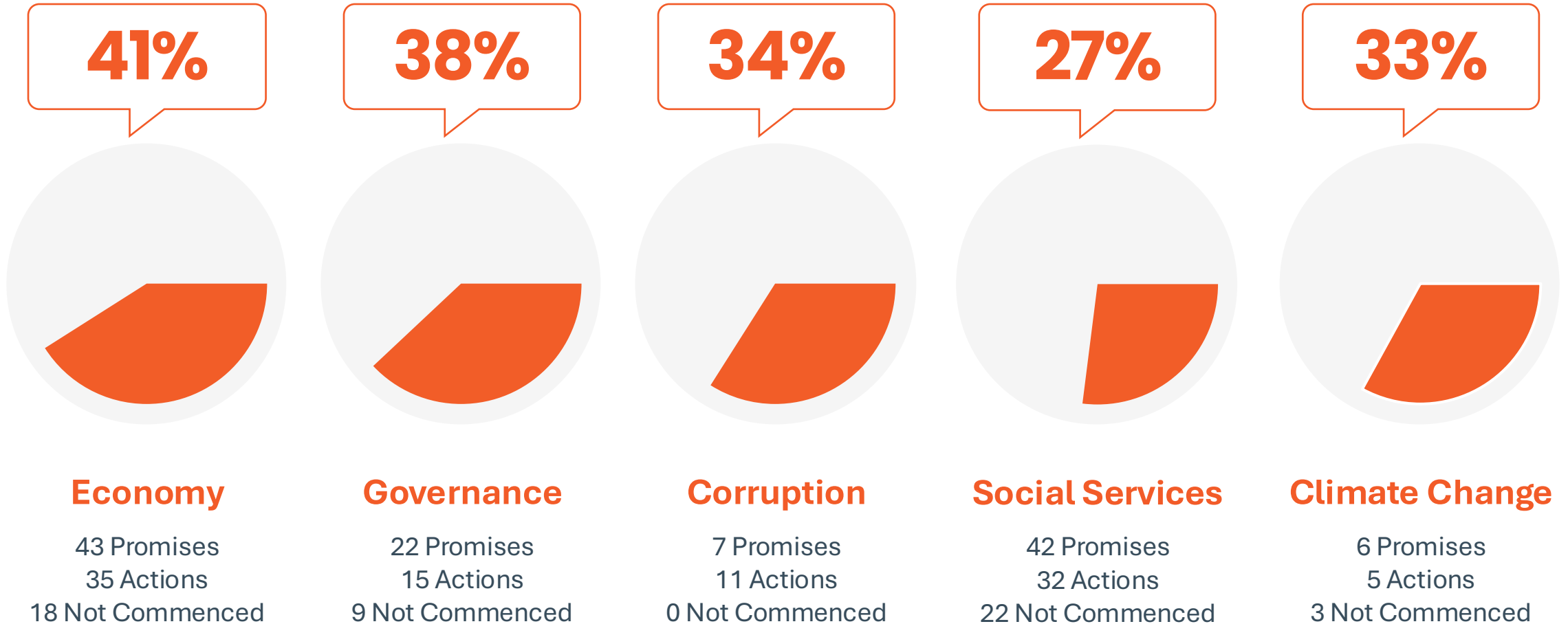
TWO YEARS OF THE GNU

Two years after its formation, South Africa's Government of National Unity has moved from crisis management toward measurable delivery. The coalition promised stability, unity, and effective governance, and the second year recorded a marked rise in implementation, though budget and delivery pressures still test its resilience. The SACW Tracker recorded 98 actions addressing the 120 promises, up from 30 actions recorded in the first year.



GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE

Sectoral Analysis

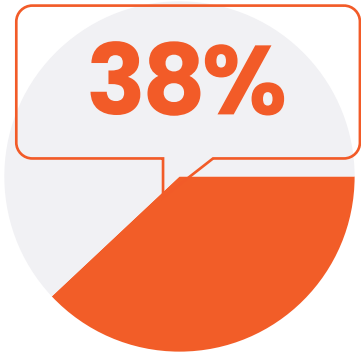


41%

Economy

35 actions across 43 promises: 23 In Progress, 2 Implemented, 18 Not Commenced. South Africa raised R11.8 billion through its first Infrastructure & Development Finance Bond and announced a R940 billion infrastructure plan. The Spaza Shop Support Fund approved R179.6 million for 2,369 township enterprises, PRASA restored 35 of 40 rail corridors, and land reform funding rose to R6.17 billion under the Expropriation Act.

	# Promises	# Actions	Promise Fulfilment Score
Industry and Economic Development	16	8	23%
Job Creation and Employment	6	6	50%
Trade and Infrastructure Investment	8	7	27%
Tourism	1	2	71%
Energy	4	2	30%
Transport	5	6	61%
Resource Mobilisation	1	1	50%
Land Reform	1	3	55%
Debt Resolution	1	0	0%

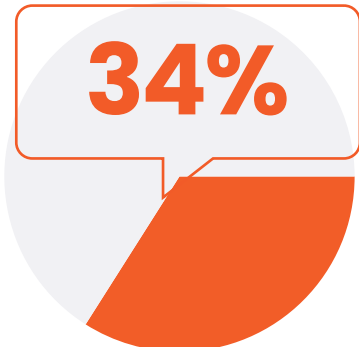


Governance

Progress in the governance sector accelerated sharply, with 13 of 22 promises now showing movement (12 In Progress, 1 Implemented) — up from 4% to 38% overall progress.

- Most activity remains concentrated in the “State Capacity Development and Monitoring” subsector.
- Women, Youth & People with Disabilities has now recorded its first action; International Relations and Foreign Affairs remains the slowest-moving subsector.
- Phase II of Operation Vulindlela, launched in May 2025, is now driving reforms to local government performance and digital transformation, alongside strengthened border security.

	# Promises	# Actions	Promise Fulfilment Score
State Capacity Development and Monitoring	19	13	35%
Women, Youth and People with Disabilities	1	1	57%
International Relations and Foreign Affairs	2	1	21%



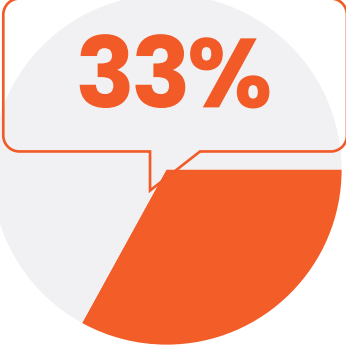
34%

Corruption

South Africa's anti-corruption efforts have accelerated, though implementation remains uneven.

- All 7 promises are now In Progress or Implemented, reflecting a 34% Promise Fulfilment score.
- Significant institutional gains have been recorded:
 - Investigating Directorate Against Corruption (IDAC) has been permanently established
 - SIU recovered over R2 billion in NSFAS funds alone
- The Auditor-General also recovered R3.47 billion via the Material Irregularities process.
- One key gap remains: the National State Enterprises Bill is still before Parliament.

Sustained enforcement will be critical to rebuilding public trust and institutional accountability.



33%

Climate Change

Climate Change recorded one of the most significant movements in terms of promise fulfilment, rising from 0% to 33% following the signing of South Africa's first comprehensive Climate Change Act. Across the sector's 6 promises, 5 actions were recorded and 3 promises (50%) remain Not Commenced.

Energy Transition

- JET Skills Desk and National JET Skills Advisory Forum launched to address green skills shortages

Climate Fund

- The dedicated Climate Change Response Fund has still not been established

Green Investment

- 150% tax deduction introduced for EV investment, though large-scale solar and wind investment remains stalled

27%

Social Services

20 of 42 promises in Social Services are now In Progress or Implemented (32 actions recorded), with Water & Sanitation leading at 70% after the National Water Resources Infrastructure Agency was established. R292.8 billion in social grants now reaches 26.5 million beneficiaries, and the Basic Education Laws Amendment Act has been signed. Housing and Development, however, has recorded zero measurable progress.

	# Promises	# Actions	Promise Fulfilment Score
Social Protection	6	4	32%
Women, Youth and People with Disabilities	11	9	24%
Food Security	3	3	22%
Health	5	2	20%
Education	7	7	45%
Housing and Development	6	0	0%
Water and Sanitation	3	7	70%
Social Services	1	0	0%

WHAT GOT IMPLEMENTED, AND WHY

Only 4 of the 120 promises (3%) were fully Implemented in the first two years. They span three sectors and share common features that show the conditions under which government delivers.

ECONOMY

Independent Transmission Projects framework

Electricity Transmission Infrastructure Regulations published in December 2025, opening grid expansion to competitive private procurement.

ECONOMY

National minimum wage increase

Gazetted in February 2026, raising the minimum wage to R30.23 per hour from 1 March 2026, in line with inflation.

GOVERNANCE

Operation Vulindlela Phase II

Launched in 2025, extending reforms to local government performance, spatial integration and digital transformation.

SOCIAL SERVICES

National Water Resources Infrastructure Agency

The NWRIA Act took effect on 7 February 2025, formally establishing the Agency to manage national water infrastructure.

WHAT THEY HAD IN COMMON

1 Clear institutional ownership

2 A supporting legal or policy framework

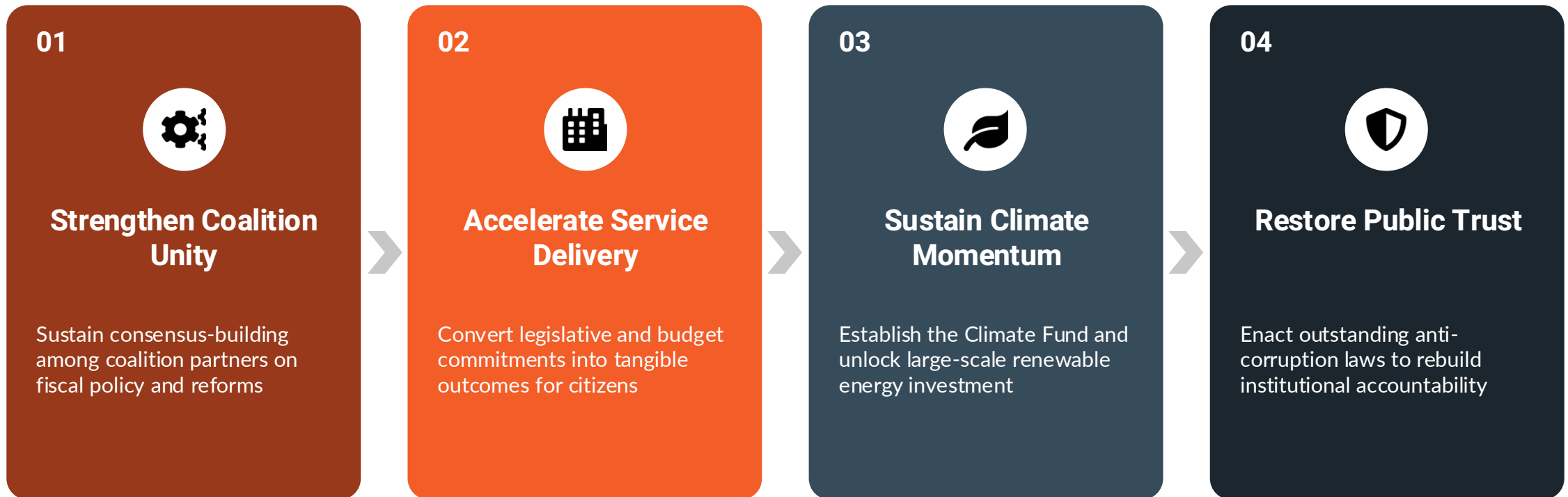
3 Dedicated budget or an existing delivery mechanism

4 Measurable outputs verifiable in official evidence

Takeaway: delivery is most likely where commitments are specific, resourced and assigned to an institution with a clear mandate. Broad commitments without plans, timelines or budgets moved slowest.

THE PATH FORWARD

After two years, the GNU has moved from limited activity to measurable delivery across every sector, raising its overall Promise Fulfilment score from 9% to 34%. The central challenge for Year 3 is not new commitments, but sustained implementation of the 52 Not Commenced promises and steady conversion of legislation and budgets into outcomes for all South Africans.



LOCAL ELECTIONS 2026

On 4 November 2026, South Africans vote in the first elections since the GNU was formed. Many GNU commitments succeed or fail in municipalities, so the Tracker's findings speak directly to what voters experience in their communities.

ELECTION DAY

4 Nov 2026

48%

of South Africans say local
councillors never listen to ordinary
citizens

Afrobarometer Round 10

01

Water: where national promises meet local delivery

Water & Sanitation is the strongest sub-sector (70%), and criminal charges were laid against 56 municipalities under the National Water Act. The shift to a utility model for water and electricity has Not Commenced.

02

Municipal reform is underway, but untested

The R54 billion Metro Trading Services Reform ties grants to performance, alongside the White Paper on Local Government review. Results depend on the councils voters elect.

03

Housing is the clearest gap

All 6 Housing and Development promises are Not Commenced (0%), a gap residents feel directly in their neighbourhoods.

04

Partners compete locally, govern nationally

GNU parties will campaign against each other while governing together. Evidence of what was delivered gives voters a common basis to judge claims of credit and blame.

LOOKING AHEAD TO 2029

With national elections due in 2029, the rest of the term will decide the record GNU parties take to voters. Converting partial progress into delivery is the task, and the data shows where that record will be won or lost.

52

promises Not Commenced

must start within the remaining term

64

promises In Progress

need to be converted into delivery

4

promises Implemented

in the first two years of the GNU

INDICATORS TO WATCH BEFORE 2029

JOBS

33.6%

unemployment (Q2 2026); 60.9% for youth aged 15–24

DEBT

74.7%

debt-to-GDP; the debt stabilisation promise has Not Commenced

HOUSING

0%

no action on any of the 6 Housing and Development promises

HEALTH

20%

NHI still lacks evidence of operational roll-out

ACCOUNTABILITY

IDAC

investigations and recoveries must become prosecutions and convictions

WHY THIS EVIDENCE MATTERS

Public trust in government is low, and citizens say they are not kept informed. Independent, evidence-based tracking separates promises from delivery and gives everyone the same facts heading into both elections.

71%

rated the GNU's performance as low

65%

disagree that the GNU shares information transparently

80%

say job creation should be the top priority

South African Voices Survey 2025 (SIVIO Institute)

01

Voters: Judge parties on their delivery record, not on new promises, at the local and national ballot.

02

Parliament and councils: Target oversight at stalled commitments such as housing, debt stabilisation and industrial policy.

03

Media and civil society: Ask sharper questions using open, triangulated evidence on every promise.

04

Government: Report setbacks as well as achievements, closing the transparency gap citizens identify.

"The true measure of success for the GNU will be whether the reforms, investments, and initiatives recorded in this report lead to tangible improvements in the lives of South Africans."

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July 2024 – July 2026



About SIVIO Institute

An independent organisation ensuring citizens are at the centre of socio-economic and policy change in Africa. Work spans **civic engagement, philanthropy & communities, and economic development & livelihoods.**

Published: September 2026 · DOI: 10.59186/SI.2R22D58F

Read the
Full Report

