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IDASA Local Election Study, 1995

Public Opinion Service: IDASA

CODEBOOK

SADA 0047

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STUDY DESCRIPTION

SADA 0047

TITLE: IDASA Local Election Study, 1995

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United States Agency for International Development

ABSTRACT:

The 1995 Community elections were widely seen to be the closing chapter in South Africa's transition to democracy. These elections would provide citizens with a direct and equal voice in government at the most basic level. They were also seen as the vehicle, which would restore to local government the legitimacy necessary to begin the process of reconstruction and development, as well as the authority to bring about law and order in areas where it had broken down.

Until these elections, local government in towns and metropolitan areas had been fragmented, based on racially determined, apartheid "group areas". There were virtually no formal structures of local government in rural areas. Whites (except those in rural areas) elected fully democratic councils to govern themselves. Since 1983, Coloured and Indian citizens were able to vote for local councils with limited powers under the Tricameral parliamentary structures. Africans living in Black townships inside "white" South Africa were legally able to vote for councillors to the "Black Local Authorities". Local government in the "Black Local Authorities" and the local Tricameral structures in Coloured and Indian communities were constantly challenged. Rent and service boycotts, election stay-aways and physical intimidation of councillors left these governments barren of leaders, bankrupt and illegitimate. For Africans in the "national states" or "self-governing territories", local government was even in greater disarray, with some urban areas having nominal local councils, and most rural areas being governed by a mixture of traditional leaders, regional service councils or development corporations.

The Idasa survey would provide first systematic evidence about individual attitudes toward the local government system. The examination of the legitimacy of local government focused on four key areas: whether people felt local councils were in touch with public opinion; whether they felt able to influence local government; whether they trusted local councils to govern well; and whether they thought local councils were able to address the key problems effectively.

GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: South Africa

IMPORTANT VARIABLES :

This study focused on issues such as voting intentions, knowledge of voting procedures and party identification. It also examined attitudes towards democracy, evaluations of government performance, views of local councils and economic evaluations.

DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES: age, occupation, highest level of qualification, monthly household income, language, type of living area, population group and gender.

UNIVERSE :

All adult South Africans who were eligible to vote in the 1995 Local Election.

SAMPLING:

This study consisted of a sample which nationally representative. The sample was drawn using a multi-stage, clustered random probability sample disproportionately stratified by province, population group and community size (metro, city, large town, small town, village and rural).

FIELDWORK :

Fieldwork was conducted between September and November 1995. Interviews were conducted countrywide by Market and Opinion Surveys (Pty) Ltd.

METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION :

Semi-structured personal interviews were used as method of data collection.

UNITS OF OBSERVATION: Persons were used as units of analysis.

WEIGHTING:

Due to disproportionate sample, it was necessary to weight the data up to the universe, i.e. the South African voting public. The sample was weighted according to province, age, gender, type of area, language, income and education and projected onto the universe. The results were then weighted to reflect an electorate estimated at 24.3 million voters. A weight variable has been included in the dataset.

EXTENT OF DATA COLLECTION

- ❖ 1 data file in SPSS and machine-readable documentation and questionnaire.
- ❖ Number of cases : 2 674
- ❖ Number of records : 2 674
- ❖ Number of records per case : 1
- ❖ Logical record length : 80+
- ❖ Number of variables : 196
- ❖ Number of Kilobytes : 601 KB

PUBLICATIONS:

- ❖ The Election Book: Judgement and Choice in South Africa's 1994 Election. IDASA: Cape Town, 1995.
- ❖ "The Public's View of Parliament", POS Reports 1 (February 1996).
- ❖ "The Location of Parliament", POS Reports 2 (February 1996).
- ❖ "Parliamentary Ethics and Corruption: Playing with the Public Trust", POS Reports 3 (February 1996).

IDASA Community Elections and Local Survey Questionnaire October 1995

Number of interview:.....

INTERVIEWER: how many people in this household are eighteen years or older and are entitled to vote in the forthcoming elections? Please name each of these persons, from old to young.

Name.....Age	Name.....Age	Name.....Age
1.....	1.....	1.....
2.....	2.....	2.....
3.....	3.....	3.....

INTERVIEWER: Circle the number of this interview, and the number of persons who qualify for the interview. Select the person to be interviewed by reading across the grid. **Only for non-panel members.**

Interview number	Number of persons who qualify for the interview														
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1	1	1	1	3	2	4	1	3	5	3	6	5	12	10	1
2	1	2	3	4	3	1	2	2	3	4	8	3	7	2	5
3	1	1	2	1	4	2	7	6	9	3	5	11	2	1	3
4	1	2	3	2	1	3	5	8	6	2	4	2	4	8	11
5	1	1	1	4	5	6	3	5	7	5	9	8	1	3	2
6	1	2	2	2	3	5	6	7	8	7	1	4	9	14	8
7	1	2	1	1	4	1	4	1	4	6	3	6	5	7	13
8	1	1	2	3	2	5	1	4	2	1	7	10	6	5	4
9	1	1	3	2	5	6	2	2	1	9	10	1	10	4	6
19	1	2	2	4	1	3	3	6	9	10	11	12	3	9	15
11	1	1	1	3	1	4	5	3	1	6	2	9	13	11	14
12	1	2	3	1	3	2	7	5	6	5	7	7	8	6	10
13	1	1	2	1	5	3	6	4	3	4	6	2	11	13	12
14	1	2	3	2	4	1	4	7	8	2	5	6	11	12	9
15	1	2	1	4	2	4	3	8	7	7	11	1	3	5	7
16	1	1	3	3	1	6	5	1	5	9	10	3	2	11	13
17	1	1	2	3	4	2	6	4	2	3	2	12	5	2	10
18	1	2	1	4	2	6	4	1	4	8	9	10	7	9	3
19	1	2	2	1	3	5	2	8	9	10	4	9	8	13	1
20	1	1	3	2	5	4	1	3	8	1	3	8	6	6	9

	Respondent selected		[2]Details of substitute	
Name		Substituted Yes 1 No 2		
Address (compulsory for back-check purposes only)				
Reason for substitution [3]	Refused 1	No qualifying person 4		
	Empty premises 2	Deaf/speak only a foreign language 5		
	Not home for survey period 3	Two unsuccessful visits 6		
	Other reason:.....			
Telephone	Home:			
	Work:			
Panel respondent	Yes 1	No 2	[4]	
Interviewer:	Name:			
	Number: [5]			
	Home language	Afrikaans 1	North Sotho 5	[6]
		English 2	South Sotho 6	
		Xhosa 3	Venda 7	
		Zulu 4	Swazi 8	
		Other.....9		
	Race of interviewer	White 1	Coloured 3	[7]
Black 2		Asian 4		
I hereby certify that this interview was conducted in accordance with the M&O interviewing guide and briefing instructions.				
Signed:		Date:	[8]	
Checked by		Date:		
Back checked:	Yes 1	No 2	[9]	
Population group of respondent	White 1	Coloured 3	WAVE: A B C [10]	
	Black 2	Asian 4	[11]	

- (a) Province of residence
(b) Province in which interview took place

Province	.	Interviewed
Western Cape	1 [12]	1 [13]
Eastern Cape	2	2
Northern Cape	3	3
OFS	4	4
KwaZulu-Natal	5	5
North-West	6	6
Gauteng	7	7
Northern Tvl	8	8
Eastern Tvl	9	9

Good day. My name isand I am working for Market and opinion Surveys, an independent research company. We are currently conducting a survey amongst all South Africans. The survey deals with the local government elections, the new government and democracy. Your answers will be treated strictly confidentially – your name will not be made known to anybody.

We would like to begin by finding out how often people think and talk about politics.

1. When you get together with your friends or family, would you say you discuss **political matters** frequently, occasionally or never?

Frequently	1	[14]
Occasionally	2	
Never	3	
Don't know (Do not read)	4	

2. Some people don't pay much attention to **political campaigns**. How about you? Would you say that you are very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in following the local government election campaign this year?

Very much interested	1	[15]
Somewhat interested	2	
Not much interested	3	
Don't know (Do not read)	4	

3. Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in **government and public affairs** most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

Most of the time	1	[16]
Some of the time	2	
Only now and then	3	
Hardly at all	4	
Don't know (Do not read)	5	

4. How often do you get **news of politics** from the following sources: every day, a few times a week, a few times a month, less than once a month, or never.

	Every day	A few times a week	A few times a month	Less than once a month	Never	Don't know (Do not read)
TV	1	2	3	4	5	6 [17]
Radio	1	2	3	4	5	6 [18]
Newspapers	1	2	3	4	5	6 [19]

5. How often do other people **ask your opinions about political matters** ? Would you say very often, only sometimes, hardly ever or never?

Very often	1	[20]
Only sometimes	2	
Hardly ever	3	
Never	4	
Don't know (Do not read)	5	

6. Would you please tell me, whether over the past 12 months, the following things have got worse, stayed the same or got better.

[If better]: Interviewer ask: Is that somewhat better or much better?

[If worse]: Interviewer ask: Is that somewhat worse or much worse?

	GOT BETTER		STAYED THE SAME	GOT WORSE		DON'T KNOW (Do not read)
	Much better	Somewhat better		Somewhat worse	Much worse	
State of economy in the country	1	2	3	4	5	6 [21]
Economic conditions in your local community	1	2	3	4	5	6 [22]
Overall conditions in SA	1	2	3	4	5	6 [23]

7. We would like to know whether you approve or disapprove of the way each of the following has performed its job over the past year

[If approve]: Interviewer ask: Do you strongly approve or not so strongly?

[If disapprove]: Interviewer ask: Do you strongly disapprove or not so strongly?

	APPROVE		DISAPPROVE		DON'T KNOW (Do not read)
	Strongly	Not strongly	Not strongly	Strongly	
President Nelson Mandela	1	2	3	4	5 [24]
Government of national unity	1	2	3	4	5 [25]
The national parliament	1	2	3	4	5 [26]
The government of this province	1	2	3	4	5 [27]

8. What about the next **12 months** ? Do you expect things in South Africa to get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

	GOT BETTER		STAYED THE SAME	GOT WORSE		DON'T KNOW (Do not read)
	Much better	Somewhat better		Somewhat worse	Much worse	
Do you expect things in South Africa to <u>get better</u> , <u>get worse</u> , or <u>stay about the same</u> ?	1	2	3	4	5	6 [28]

Now let us turn to discuss South Africa's new democracy.

9. Here are two options: [Peter] says that democracy is most importantly a system of political rules to elect representatives to government. [Sam] says that democracy is most importantly a way to improve ones life economically. Would you say you agree with [Peter] that democracy is most importantly a system of political rules, or would you agree with [Sam] that democracy is most importantly a way to help improve your life economically?

AGREE that it is rules to elect representatives [Peter]		IN-BETWEEN (Do not read)	AGREE that it is a way to improve one's life economically [Sam]		DON'T KNOW (Do not read)
Strongly	Somewhat		Somewhat	Strongly	
1	2	3	4	5	6 [29]

10. **(SHOW CARD A)** People associate democracy with diverse meanings such as those on this card. In order for a society to be called democratic, are each of these essential, important, not very important, or not at all important to have?

Does a democracy need?	Essential	Important	Not very important	Not at all important	Don't know (Do not read)
At least two strong political parties competing with each other	1	2	3	4	5 [30]
Regular elections	1	2	3	4	5 [31]
Complete freedom for everyone to criticize government	1	2	3	4	5 [32]
Equal access to houses, jobs and a decent income	1	2	3	4	5 [33]
The majority rules	1	2	3	4	5 [34]
Small gap between rich and poor	1	2	3	4	5 [35]
Minority rights	1	2	3	4	5 [36]

Now let's move on to discuss developments in this country as a whole.

11. On the whole, are you satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in South Africa?

Satisfied	Fairly satisfied	Not very satisfied	Not at all satisfied	Don't know (Do not read)
1	2	3	4	5 [37]

12 (a) Do you usually think of yourself as close to any particular political party?

Go to (b)	Yes	1
	No	2
Go to (e)	Don't know	3 [38]

(b) **IF YES:** Which party is that? (**accept additional parties if volunteered**)
[39].....[40].....[41]

© (**If more than one party mentioned**) Which party do you feel closest to?
[42]

(d) Do you feel **very close** to this party, **somewhat close**, or **not very close**?

Very close	1	
Somewhat close	2	
Not very close	3	
Don't know	4	[43]

(e) (**If none or don't know to Question 12 (a)**) Do you feel yourself a little closer to one of the political parties

Go to (f)	Yes	1
Go to Q 13	No	2
	Don't know	3 [44]

(f) (**If yes**) Which party is that?

.....[45]

13. There are many ways in which people can have contact with their representatives in parliament. They can receive something in the mail, meet them personally, hear them speak at a meeting/rally or talk to a member of their staff. During the past twelve months, have you had any contact with a member of parliament in any of these ways?

Yes	1	
No; no contact at all	2	
Don't know (Do not read)	3	[46]

14. [**SHOW CARD B**] Some people say that no matter how they vote, it won't make things any better in the future. Others say that the way they vote could make things better in the future. Please indicate what you think by using the scale on the card, (where ONE means that no matter how people vote, it won't make things any better in the future, and FIVE means that the way people vote could make things better in the future.)

It won't make things any better	In-between			Could make things better	Don't know (Do not read)
1	2	3	4	5	6 [47]

15. [SHOW CARD C] Some people say it's important who is in power because it can make a difference to what happens. Others say it doesn't really matter who is in power, because in the end things go on much the same. **Please indicate what you think by using the scale on the card**, (where ONE means that it's important who is in power because it can make a difference, and FIVE means that it doesn't really matter who is in power, because in the end things go on much the same.)

It won't make things any better	In-between			It doesn't really matter who is in power.	Don't know (Do not read)
1	2	3	4	5	6 [48]

16. Sometimes democracy does not work. When this happens, some people say we need a strong leader that does not have to bother with elections. Others say that even when things don't work, democracy is always best. What do you think?

Need strong leader	1	Democracy always best	2	Don't know	3 [49]
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17. Do you usually know definitely how will you vote before this election campaign starts, do you sometimes have doubts as to how to vote, or do you usually have doubts about what party or candidate to support?

Definitely know	1	
Sometime have doubts	2	
Usually have doubts	3	
Never voted before	4	
Don't know (Do not read)	5	[50]

18. What are the most important problems facing this country that the government should address? Any others? [Interviewer: accept up to three] Of those you've mentioned, what would you say is the single most important problem the country faces? And the second? And the third? [Interviewer: see list]

	Code	1st	2nd	3rd
Problem 1.....[51]		1	2	3 [54]
Problem 2.....[52]		1	2	3 [55]
Problem 3.....[53]		1	2	3 [56]

19. Let's look at the problem you have listed as most important. How good a job is the government presently doing in dealing with this problem, a good job, only fair, or a poor job?

	GOOD		ONLY FAIR	POOR		Don't know (Do not read)
	Very good	Good		Poor	Very poor	
How good a job is the government presently doing?	1	2	3	4	5	6 [57]

22 (a) If a national election was held tomorrow, for which party would you vote for national government? **[One code only] [DO NOT READ OPTIONS]**

(b) If a provincial election was held tomorrow, for which, for which party would you vote for provincial government? **[One code only] [DO NOT READ OPTIONS]**

	(a) National level	(b) Provincial level
African National Congress (ANC)	1 [62]	1 [63]
National Party (NP)	2	2
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	3	3
Freedom Front (FF)	4	4
Democratic Party (DP)	5	5
Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)	6	6
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	7	7
Other (specify).....	8	8
Do not remember (Do not read)	9	9
Confidential (Do not read)	10	10

Now let's talk about the upcoming local government elections.

23. Some people say that voting for local councils is just a waste of time and money, and that the government should just appoint people to run local affairs. However, other people say that it is important that our local leaders come from the people and that we have to be able to vote for them. Would you say you agree more with the first statement, or do you tend to agree more with the second statement?

AGREE: Is a waste of time		IN BETWEEN (Do not read)	AGREE: Voting is important		DON'T KNOW (Do not read)
Strongly	Somewhat		Somewhat	Strongly	
1	2	3	4	5	6 [64]

24. Some say having elections will make local government better, others say that they will make no difference, and still others say elections will only make things worse. What do you think?

BETTER		NO DIFFERENCE	WORSE		DON'T KNOW (Do not read)
Much better	Somewhat better		Somewhat worse	Much worse	
1	2	3	4	5	6 [65]

25 (a) We previously asked you about the most important problem facing the country. Now what about your local community? What are the **most important problems facing your community** that local government should address? Any others? (**Interviewer: accept up to three**) Of those you've mentioned, what would you say is the single most important problem your community faces? And the second? And the third?

	Most important	2 nd most important	3 rd most important	
Problem 1.....[66]	1	2	3	[69]
Problem 2.....[67]	1	2	3	[70]
Problem 3.....[68]	1	2	3	[71]

(b) Do you think that **your OLD local town council** (the ones that are now being replaced) would have been able to do anything to address or solve these problems?

Yes 1 [72]
 No 2
 Don't know (Do not read) 3

© Do you think that your **NEW local town council** (the ones that will come into being will be able to address or solve these problems?

Yes 1 [73]
 No 2
 Don't know (Do not read) 3

(d) Is there one political party that will be able to address or solve this problem better than other parties? If yes, which party? [**Do not read**] [**One code only**]

YES	African National Congress (ANC)	1
	National Party (NP)	2
	Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	3
	Freedom Front (FF)	4
	Democratic Party (DP)	5
	Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)	6
	African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	7
	Other (specify).....	8 [74]

(**If no party**): Do you feel that there is no particular party that can address or solve this problem better than other parties, or do you feel that all the parties are pretty much the same, or don't you know? [**One code only**]

NO	No particular party	9
	All parties the same	10
	Confidential	11
	Don't know	12

26. Do you feel very confident, confident, not very confident or not at all confident that you understand the voting system for local elections?

Very confident	1	[75]
Confident	2	
Not very confident	3	
Not at all confident	4	
Don't know (Do not read)	5	

27. Do you know in which voting station you will have to vote, or will you be able to vote anywhere, or haven't you heard enough about this yet?

Know where to vote	1	[76]
Will be able to vote anywhere	2	
Haven't heard enough/Don't know	3	

28. Can you tell me the name of any of your local candidates for council, or haven't you had time to find out about this yet? **[INTERVIEWER: Write down number of candidates mentioned] [Accept up to three]**

Number of candidates mentioned	1	[77]
Haven't had enough time	2	
Don't know (Do not read)	3	

[Interviewer: How many names of candidates mentioned by respondent are:]

Correct	1	[78]
Not correct	2	[79]
Don't know (Do not read)	3	[80]

29. Do people have to be registered in order to vote, or will everyone be able to vote when they go to the polling place, or haven't you heard enough yet about this matter?

Have to be registered	1	[81]
Everyone will be able to vote	2	
Don't know (Do not read)	3	

30 (a) With regard to the coming elections, are you registered to vote?

GO TO Q. 31	Yes	1	
GO TO Q 30 (b)	No	2	
GO TO Q. 31	Unsure	3	[82]

(b) (IF NO) Is this because you did not know about the registration procedures, or did you know about it but did not have the time to register, or had decided not to register?

Did not know	1	[83]
Did not have the time	2	
Decided not to	3	

© Will you still try and vote?

GO TO Q. 31	Yes	1	
GO TO Q. 30 (d)	No	2	
GO TO Q. 30 (d)	Unsure	3	[84]

(d) If you try to vote, what do you think will happen? Will they turn you away, or will they find a way to let you vote?

Will turn me away	1	[85]
Will find a way for me to vote	2	
Don't know (Do not read)	3	

31. Do you think that people should have to register to vote, or do you think that people should just automatically be able to vote?

Should have to register	1	[86]
Should automatically be able to vote	2	
Unsure	3	
Don't know (Do not read)	4	

32. Do you think that members of NEW local town councils, should be members of political parties, independent from political parties, or doesn't this matter to you?

Should be members	1	[87]
Should be independent	2	
Doesn't matter	3	
Don't know (Do not read)	4	

33 (a) If the local government elections were held tomorrow, would you vote?

Yes	1	Go to Q. 33 (b)	[88]
No	2	Go to Q. 34	

(b) **If yes:** One of your votes for your local town council will be for a **political party**. Which political party would you vote for? (**Do not read**) [**One code only**]

© The other vote for local town council will be for an individual **candidate** from your **local ward** or **area**. Would you vote for an independent or a candidate affiliated with a political party. Which party? [**One code only**] [**Do not read**]

Local government election	(a) Political party	(b) Local ward
Independent candidate		1
African National Congress (ANC)	2 [89]	2 [90]
National Party (NP)	3	3
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	4	4
Freedom Front (FF)	5	5
Democratic Party (DP)	6	6
Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)	7	7
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	8	8
Other (specify).....	9	9
Don't know/unsure (Do not read)	10	10
Confidential (Do not read)	11	11

Let's move away from elections and talk about how people in South Africa see their government.

34. Here is a list of different types of government. About how much of the time do you think you can trust each of the following types of government to do what is right: just about always, most of the time, only some of the time or never?

	Just about always	Most of the time	Some of the time	Never	Don't know (Do not read)
National government	1	2	3	4	5 [91]
The government of this province	1	2	3	4	5 [92]
Old local town councils that are now being replaced	1	2	3	4	5 [93]
New local town councils that will come into being	1	2	3	4	5 [94]

We are also interested in people's understanding of what goes on in politics and government.

35 (a) Some people say that what goes on in **government is so complicated that people** like themselves can't really understand what's going on. Other people say that they feel that they have a **pretty good understanding** of what goes on in government. What would you say about your understanding of what goes on in the following types of government?

	COMPLICATED		IN-BETWEEN [Do not read]	UNDERSTANDABLE		DON'T KNOW [Do not read]
	Very	Some-what		Somewhat	Very	
National government	1	2	3	4	5	6 [95]
Provincial government	1	2	3	4	5	6 [96]
Local town councils	1	2	3	4	5	6 [97]

Now we would like to find out whether people feel that they can influence what their government does.

36. Some people say that if a government were considering a law that they thought was unjust or harmful, they feel there would be nothing they could do about it. Other people say that if that were the case, they feel confident that they would be able to do something about the situation. For each of the following types of government, tell me whether you agree that there would be nothing you can do about it, or whether there could be something you can do.

	CANNOT DO ANY-THING ABOUT IT		IN-BETWEEN [Do not read]	CAN DO SOME-THING ABOUT IT		DON'T KNOW [Do not read]
	Strongly agree	Agree		Agree	Strongly agree	
National government	1	2	3	4	5	6 [98]
Provincial government	1	2	3	4	5	6 [99]
Old local town councils	1	2	3	4	5	6 [100]
New local town councils	1	2	3	4	5	6 [101]

37. Some people say that those in government have a good idea of what ordinary people think. Others say those in government don't know much about what ordinary people think. For each of the following types of government, tell me whether you agree that those in government don't know what ordinary people think or whether you agree that they have a good idea what ordinary people think.

	DON'T KNOW MUCH		IN-BETWEEN [Do not read]	HAVE A GOOD IDEA		DON'T KNOW [Do not read]
	Strongly agree	Agree		Agree	Strongly agree	
National government	1	2	3	4	5	6 [102]
Provincial government	1	2	3	4	5	6 [103]
Old local town councils	1	2	3	4	5	6 [104]
New local town councils	1	2	3	4	5	6 [105]

38. Which of the following types of government has the greatest impact (laws passed and so on) on your day-to-day life – your local town council, provincial parliament or national parliament?

Local town council	1	[106]
Provincial parliament	2	
National parliament	3	
All equal (Do not read)	4	
Don't know (Do not read)	5	

Let's concentrate on the national parliament for a minute or two.

MP'S

39. If you had a problem that a member of parliament could do something about, do you think he or she would be very helpful, somewhat helpful, or not very helpful to you?

Very helpful	1	[107]
Somewhat helpful	2	
Not very helpful	3	
Don't know (Do not read)	4	

40. How good a job would you say that members of parliament do of **keeping in touch** with people? Do they do a very good job, fairly good, fairly poor or poor job of keeping in touch with the people?

Very good	1	[108]
Fairly good	2	
Fairly poor	3	
Poor	4	
Don't know (Do not read)	5	

41. In comparison to ordinary people, would you say that the people we have elected to government are much more honest, more honest, less honest or much less honest?

Much more honest	1	[109]
More honest	2	
No difference	3	
Less honest	4	
Much less honest	5	
Unsure (Do not read)	6	

42. In comparison to ordinary people, would you say that we should expect people elected to government to be much more honest, more honest, about the same or less honest?

Much more honest	1	[110]
More honest	2	
No difference	3	
Less honest	4	
Unsure (Do not read)	5	

43. Are the people in government mostly concerned with helping only themselves or mostly concerned with helping the people?

Helping themselves	1	[111]
Helping the people	2	
Unsure (Do not read)	3	

44. What about corruption, that is where people in government and the civil service illegally use public monies for their own benefit, or take bribes. Would you say that almost no public officials are engaged in it, a few public officials are engaged in it, most public officials are engaged in it, or that almost all public officials are engaged in it?

Almost no public officials are engaged in it	1	[112]
A few public officials are engaged in it	2	
Most public officials are engaged in it	3	
Almost all public officials are engaged in it	4	
Unsure (Do not read)	5	

45. Do you think that there is more or less corruption in government than there used to be?

A lot more	1	[113]
A little more	2	
About the same, no change	3	
A little less	4	
A lot less	5	
Unsure/don't know (Do not read)	6	

46. Some people say that the new government is becoming too corrupt. Others say that it is wrong to criticize the new government on this matter since the former government was so corrupt. What do you think? Is it fair or unfair to criticize the new government on corruption?

Fair to criticize them	1	[114]
Unfair to criticize them	2	
Unsure (Do not read)	3	

47. Some members of parliament **have other jobs** as well. Do you think that they should be allowed, or not allowed to hold these other jobs?

Allowed to have other jobs	1	[115]
Not allowed to have other sources of income	2	
Unsure (Do not read)	3	

48. Some members of parliament have **other sources of income**, such as shares in companies or stocks. What do you think about this? Should members of parliament be allowed or not allowed to have other sources of income?

Allowed to have other sources of income	1	[116]
Not allowed to have other sources of income	2	
Unsure (Do not read)	3	

49. Would you support or oppose setting limits on outside sources of income?

Support limits on outside sources of income	1	[117]
Oppose limits on outside sources of income	2	
Unsure (Do not read)	3	

50. Would you support or oppose paying members of parliament more money so that they will not be dependent on outside sources of income?

Support higher salaries – no outside sources of income	1	[118]
Oppose higher salaries	2	
Unsure (Do not read)	3	

51. Is it extremely likely, somewhat likely, unlikely or very unlikely that members of parliament could be corrupted on outside sources of income?

Extremely likely	1	[119]
Somewhat likely	2	
Unlikely	3	
Very unlikely	4	
Unsure (Do not read)	5	

52 (a) Would you support or oppose requiring members of parliament to **disclose the sources and amounts of all their income publicly**?

Support disclosure of all income publicly	1	[120]
Oppose disclose of all income publicly	2	
Unsure (Do not know)	3	

(b) What about their **spouses or other family members** ? Would you support or oppose requiring all members of parliament to disclose the sources of their family's and spouse's income?

Support disclosure of spouse's & family's income	1	[121]
Oppose disclosure of spouse's & family's income	2	
Unsure (Do not read)	3	

53. Should members of parliament and other government officials be allowed or not allowed to accept gifts or hospitality while on the job?

Allowed to accept gifts	1	[122]
Not allowed to accept gifts	2	
Unsure (Do not read)	3	

54. What do you think? Are the salaries of elected representatives too high, about right, or too low, or haven't you had a change to think about this matter yet?

Too high	1	[123]
About right	2	
Not enough	3	
Haven't had a change/don't know	4	
(Do not read)		

55. To what extent should we monitor how our elected leaders perform their jobs?

(Read)

Not at all	1	[124]
Only if we do not interfere with officials doing their jobs	2	
All those things which elected representatives do in the course of their jobs	3	
All those things they do in the course of their jobs as well as in the conduct of their personal lives	4	
Don't know (Do not read)	5	

At this point, we would like to speak about more matters of local interest.

56. **[SHOW CARD D]** Here is a list of things some people do when they are not satisfied with the decisions of their local government. If you were not satisfied with the decisions of local town council, which of these things would be the best strategy to follow? And second? And third?

[Read options]

	[125] 1 st	[126] 2 nd	[127] 3 rd
Wait until the next election to vote for someone else	1	1	1
Go to the next council meeting to complain	2	2	2
Organize a petition	3	3	3
Hold a protest march	4	4	4
Refuse to pay for rent, rates and services	5	5	5
Hold a sit-in or occupation of council offices	6	6	6
Damage public property	7	7	7
Take hostages	8	8	8
Don't know [Do not read]	9	9	9

57. To what extent should people have to pay for their rents, rates and services? **[Read options]**

Always	1 [128]
Only when they can afford it	2
Only when they are satisfied with their houses and the delivery of their services	3
Only when they approve of the local town council	4
Never, these things are basic rights and should be provided for free	5
Don't know (Do not read)	6

58. To what extent are actions such as damaging public property or taking public officials hostage, justified, are they? **[Read options]**

Often justified	1 [129]
Sometimes justified	2
Almost never justified	3
Never justified	4
Don't know (Do not read)	5

59. What about the following actions? For each please tell me whether it is always, sometimes, almost never or never at all, a citizen's duty to:

	Always your duty	Sometimes your duty	Almost never your duty	Never your duty	Don't know [Do not read]
Confront people who throw trash on the ground or in the streets and tell them to pick it up	1	2	3	4	5 [130]
Report people who are not paying their taxes or rent to the authorities	1	2	3	4	5 [131]
Report your knowledge of criminal acts or wrongdoing to the authorities	1	2	3	4	5 [132]

60. People have different opinions about how important it is to obey the law. Which one of the following statements comes closest to your feelings about the importance of obeying the law. **[Read options] [One code only]**

People should always obey the law (even if it goes against what they think is right)	1 [133]
People should only obey laws they think are morally just	2
People should only obey laws passed by a government they feel is legitimate	3
People should obey the law only if you could get caught	4
Don't know (Do not read)	5

Now I would like us to talk for a short while about how people in South Africa see themselves.

61 (a) In terms of **culture, history and language**, do you consider yourself as belonging to a distinctive community (with a distinctive culture and history)

Yes 1 Go to (b) No 2 Go to © Don't know 3 Go to © [134]

(b) **(IF YES)** To which community do you belong?

.....[135]

© **(IF NO OR DON'T KNOW)** Then how would you describe yourself in one or two words?

.....[136]

62. **Since the election of last year**, do you think the conditions of the.....s (the community mentioned above) has improved, stayed about the same, or got worse?

IMPROVED		STAYED THE SAME	GOT WORSE		DON'T KNOW (Do not read)
Greatly improved	Improved		Worse	Much worse	
1	2	3	4	5	6 [137]

63. How important is your **culture and language** to you? Is it not important or important?

NOT IMPORTANT		IMPORTANT		DON'T KNOW (Do not read)
Definitely not important	Not important	Important	Very important	
1	2	3	4	5 [138]

64. Would you want your children to think of themselves as being members of a distinctive cultural community?

NO		UNCERTAIN (Do not read)	YES		DON'T KNOW (Do not read)
Feel strongly about this	Do not feel strongly about this		Do not feel strongly about this	Feel strongly about this	
1	2	3	4	5	6 [139]

65. Do you feel very proud, proud, not very proud or not at all proud to be called a South African?

Very proud	1	[140]
Proud	2	
Not very proud	3	
Not at all proud	4	
Don't know (Do not read)	4	

66. The **government** of this country **represents the interest and ideals of people like me**. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with this statement?

Strongly agree	1	[141]
Agree	2	
Uncertain (Do not read)	3	
Disagree	4	
Strongly disagree	5	
Don't know (Do not read)	6	

Let us turn to a discussion of some current policy issues. As you may know, the Constitutional Assembly is presently writing the final constitution of South Africa. I would like to ask you some questions about what should or should not go into the constitution.

67. There are a number of areas where a government has to make rules and policies. There is a good deal of debate about whether the national government or the provincial government should have final authority in these different areas. What things, if any, do you think that your provincial government should have final authority over, instead of national government? Which of these are the most important? And the second? And the third? And the fourth? **[Interviewer: accept up to four]**

.....1 [142]
2 [143]
3 [144]
4 [145]

68. Do you think that provincial government's power and authority should be increased, reduced, kept about the way it is at present, or haven't you had a chance to hear enough about this issue yet to have an opinion?

INCREASED		KEPT THE WAY THEY ARE	REDUCED		DON'T KNOW (Do not read)
Feel strongly about this	Do not feel strongly about this		Do not feel strongly about this	Feel strongly about this	
1	2	3	4	5	6 [146]

69. Do you think that provinces can have differing power and authority, or should they be given the same powers and authority, or haven't you had a chance to hear enough about this issue yet to have an opinion?

Differing authority and responsibilities 1 [147]
 Same 2
 Unsure (Do not read) 3

70. Are things in **KwaZulu/Natal** so different from the rest of the country that its provincial government should be given special powers and authority which are different from the rest of the provinces, or should they have the same powers and authority as any other province, or haven't you had a chance to hear enough about this issue yet to have an opinion?

Special powers 1 [148]
 Same powers 2
 Unsure (Do not read) 3

71. The constitution will include a number of rights. Which ones, in your opinion, are the most important? And the second? And the third? **[Interviewer: accept up to three]**

.....1 [149]
2 [150]
3 [151]

72. There is a great deal of controversy about land. When do you think that government can take possession of someone's land? **[Read options]**

Never	1 [152]
Only in order to use it to build something for the public (e.g. a road or a school)	2
Only in order to give it back to those people who formerly owned that land	3
Only in order to give it to people without land	4
Whenever it wants to	5
Don't know (Do not read)	6

73. Now let's assume that government does take possession of someone's land. How much should they pay the owners? **[Read options]**

The current market value	1 [153]
What the owner originally paid for the land	2
Government does not have to pay	3
Don't know [Do not read]	4

There is a great deal of debate over the role of TRIBAL OR TRADITIONAL LEADERS in the new South Africa.

Tribal/Traditional leaders

74. Now that South Africa has a democracy, would you say that **tribal or traditional leaders** have no role, have some role, or have an important role to play in this country or haven't you heard enough about this matter yet to have an opinion?

No role 1 [154]
 Some role 2
 Important role 3
 Don't know/ haven't heard enough about it [Do not read] 4

75. Do you think that there is a conflict between the idea of traditional authority and the idea of democratically elected representatives or do you think that the two ideas can go together.

A CONFLICT		UNSURE (Do not read)	CAN GO TOGETHER		DON'T KNOW (Do not read)
A serious conflict	A minor conflict		Somewhat easily	Very easily	
1	2	3	4	5	6 [155]

76. When it comes to **local or community government**, do you think that tribal or traditional leaders should or should not be represented in local government?

Should be represented in local government	1	[156]
Should not be represented in local government	2	
Don't know/unsure (Do not read)	3	

77. If traditional leaders are represented in local government, how should they be represented. Should they be automatically awarded a seat on the council or should they have to stand for election and win people's votes?

Awarded a seat	1	[157]
Have to run for election	2	
Don't know/unsure (Do not read)	3	

78. Do you think that traditional leaders should or should not be aligned with any political party?

Should be aligned with a political party	1	[158]
Should not be aligned with a political party	2	
Don't know [Do not read]	3	

79. Do you think that traditional leaders should or should not take public stances on political issues?

Yes – should take public stances	1	[159]
No –should not take public stances	2	
Don't know [Do not read]	3	

80. On another matter, over the past year, a controversy has arisen over the site of parliament. Do you think that parliament should remain in Cape Town where it presently is, or do you think that it should be moved some place else, such as Pretoria, Midrand or Bloemfontein, or have you not thought about it?

Parliament should stay in Cape Town 1 [160]
 Move elsewhere: Where: Pretoria 2
 Midrand 3
 Bloemfontein 4
 Other 5
 Haven't thought about it/don't know
 (Do not read) 6

81 (a) Have you heard of the government's plan called the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) or haven't you had a chance to hear of this?

Have not had a chance to hear of it 1 [161]
 Have heard of it 2

(b) The RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme) consists of a number of different projects and programmes which pursue various goals. All of them cannot be given equal amounts of money at the same time. Which project or programme do you think is the most important? An the second? **[Interviewer: accept up to two]**

.....1 [162]
2 [163]

© **(IF HEARD OF IT)** Do you have a favourable or unfavourable impression of the RDP?

FAVOURABLE		IN- BETWEEN	UNFAVOURABLE		DON'T KNOW [Do not read]
Very favourable	Somewhat favourable		Somewhat unfavourable	Very unfavourable	
1	2	3	4	5	6 [164]

82. In order to pay for the programme that you mentioned as most important, would you be very willing, willing, unwilling or very unwilling to:

	Very willing	Willing	Un-willing	Very unwilling	Don't know [Do not read]
Pay taxes (VAT) on goods like brown bread, milk and medicine which are not taxed at present	1	2	3	4	5 [165]
Pay-increased taxes on things like alcohol and cigarettes	1	2	3	4	5 [166]
Pay increased rates for services like electricity and water	1	2	3	4	5 [167]
Pay increased income taxes (PAYE)	1	2	3	4	5 [168]

83. **How should we pay** for providing things like **electricity, water, hospitals and schools**? Should each community pay for its own development, or should wealthier communities shift some of their tax monies to help poorer communities?

- Each community pay for its own 1 [169]
- Wealthier communities shift tax monies 2
- Don't know [Do not read] 3

84 (a) There has been some discussion about **abortion** during recent years. Under which circumstances should abortion be permitted?

Never [Go to Q. 85]	1 [170]
Only in case of rape, incest or when the woman's life is in danger	2
For reasons other than rape, incest, or danger to the woman's life, but only after the need for the abortion has been clearly established	3
Always as a matter of personal choice	4
Don't know [Do not read]	5

(b) **(IF OPTIONS 2 THROUGH 5)** When should a woman be able to obtain an abortion?

- At any point of her pregnancy 1 [171]
- Only in the first six months 2
- Only in the first three months 3
- Don't know [Do not read] 4

85. What was your age at your last birthday?

Age of respondent..... [172]

(Interviewer: In which of the following categories does the respondent fall?

- 18-24 1 [173]
- 25-34 2
- 35-49 3
- 50-69 4
- 70+ 5

86. Which of the following best describes your present housing situation? Do you this dwelling?

- Own
- Tent/lease from other people or companies 1 [174]
- Receive dwelling as part of you job (e.g. live on farm) 2
- Live with others 3
- Live on land allocated by the state (e.g. site and service) 4
- Illegally occupy land 5
- Homeless 6

87. What church do you belong to, or to what faith/religion do you subscribe?
(Interviewer: One code only. (Do not read option))

Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk	1	NG Sendingkerk	23 [175]
AME	2	NGK (Reform) Church	24
Anglican (Church of the Province of SA)	3	Old Apostolic Church	25
Church of England	4	Orthodox (Greek Serbian, Russian) Church	26
Apostolic Faith Mission of SA (AFM)	5	Presbyterian of SA	27
Assemblies of God	6	Reformed Ecumenical Synod	28
Baptist Churches	7	Rhema bible Church	29
Buddhist	8	Roman Catholic	30
Ethiopian Churches	9	Seventh Day Adventist Church	31
Full Gospel Church of God in SA	10	Shembe	32
Gereformeerde Kerk in SA	11	International Fellowship of Christian Churches	33
Hindu	12	Traditional African Belief	34
Islam/Muslim	13	Union of Orthodox Synagogues in SA	35
Jehovah's Witnesses	14	United Congregational Church of SA	36
Jewish	15	United Hebrew congregation of Jhb	37
Luthern Church & Evangelical Luthern Church in SA	16	World Alliance of Reformed Churches	38
Methodist of SA/Wesleyan	17	Zion Christian Church (ZCC)	39
Moravian Assemblies of God	18	Other Zionist Churches	40
Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk	19	Other Independent Black Churches	41
Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK)	20	None	42
New Apostolic Church	21	Refuse to answer	43
NG Kerk in Afrika	22	Other (specify).....	44

88. Apart from weddings, funerals and baptisms, about how often do you attend religious services these days?

Every day	1	[176]
Between 2 & 6 times a week	2	
Every week	3	
Once or twice a month	4	
Once or twice a year	5	
Only on special days	6	
Never	7	

89. Which of the following best describes your present work situation? Are you (One code only)

Unemployed (not looking for work)	1	[177]
Unemployed (looking for work)	2	
Housewife (not looking for work)	3	
Housewife (looking for work)	4	

Student/scholar	5
Pensioner	6
National service	7
Work in informal sector (looking for permanent work)	8
Work in informal sector (not looking for permanent work)	9
Self-employed (part-time)	10
Self-employed (full-time)	11
Employed (part-time)	12
Employed (seasonally)	13
Employed (full time)	14
Other (specify)	15

90. What is your current occupation? (if unemployed) What was your previous occupation?
(Interviewer: One mark only) [Do not read options]

Own business/self employed	1	Shop/counter assistant	15 [178]
Manager/supervisor/MD/Director	2	Driver (Taxi/bus driver/chauffeur)	16
Professional (attorney/engineer/architect/ accountant)	3	Other worker in transport (guard/ticket examiner/shunter/conductor)	17
Professional medics (Doctor/pharmacist /dentist)	4	Caretaker/cleaner/church warden	18
Other medical or health worker (Health inspector/nurse)	5	Housekeeper/chef/cook/porter/char	19
Teacher/professor/lecturer/inspector of schools	6	Waiter/wine steward/air hostess/barman	20
Minister/priest/missionary	7	Hairdresser/barber/beauty specialist	21
Secretary/receptionist/clerical worker	8	Entertainment/professional sportsman/ artist/jockey/coach	22
Trade/craftsman (carpenter/bricklayer /mechanic/electrician)	9	Labourer/worker/construction worker	23
Service worker (policeman/traffic officer/prison warden/lifesaver /messenger of the court)	10	Student/scholar	24
Sales worker (marketing/advertising/ public relations)	11	Housewife	25
Farmer/forester/fisherman/agriculture	12	Pensioner	26
Miner	13	Unemployed	27
Community/social worker	14	Other (specify).....	28

91. What is your highest educational qualification?

None	11	[179]
Sub A or B/Class 1 or 2	12	
Standard 1 through 10		
[Write down highest standard passed	13	
Standard 1 through 9 plus diploma: (standard.....)	14	
Matric plus diploma	15	
B. or Honours Degree	16	
Master's Degree	17	
Doctor's Degree	18	

(IF DIPLOMA) Specify kind of diploma

Standard.....

Technikon Diploma	1
Technical College Diploma	2
Business College Diploma	3
Teaching/Nursing Diploma	4
Trade (e.g. hairdressing) Diploma	5
Other (specify).....	6

92. What is your joint household income per month? (Gross income from all sources and both spouses)

None	1	R2500 – R2999	13 [182]
Less than R200	2	R3000 – R3499	14
R200 – R399	3	R3500 – R3999	15
R400 – R599	4	R4000 – R4499	16
R600 – R799	5	R4500 – R4999	17
R800 – R999	6	R5000 – R7499	18
R1000 – R1199	7	R7500 – R9999	19
R1200 – R1399	8	R10 000 – R14 999	20
R1400 – R1599	9	R15 000 – R19 999	21
R1600 – R1799	10	R20 000 +	22
R1800 – R1999	11	Refuse to answer	23
R2000 – R2499	12	Uncertain/don't know	24

93. What language do you speak mostly at home? (Interviewer: One code only.) Do not read option)

Afrikaans	1	[183]
English	2	
Portuguese	3	
Xhosa	4	
Zulu	5	
Venda	6	
South Sotho/Sesotho	7	
Setswana/Tswana	8	
North Sotho/Sepedi	9	
Seswati	10	
Shangaan	11	
Other (specify).....	12	

94. In what sort of area does the respondent live? (Interviewer mark)

Urban	1	[184]
Urban township	2	
Urban shack	3	
Suburban	4	
Rural	5	
Rural township	6	
Rural village	7	
Rural shack	8	

95. Gender of respondent (Interviewer mark)

Male	1	[185]
Female	2	

96. Into which race group does the respondent fall (Interviewer mark)

Asian	1	[186]
Black	2	
Coloured	3	
White	4	
Other (specify)	5	

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND CO-OPERATION

Any further comments:.....[187]
.....

At the end of the interviewing:

What was the respondent's attitude towards the interview?

Friendly and interested	1	[188]
Co-operative but not particularly interested	2	
Impatient and restless	3	
Hostile	4	

What was respondent's understanding of the questions?

Good	1	[189]
Fair	2	
Poor	3	

Was respondent?

<u>About as smart</u> as most respondents?	1	[190]
<u>Not as smart</u> as most respondents	2	
<u>Somewhat smarter</u> than most respondents	3	
<u>A great deal smarter</u> than most respondents	4	

Compared to other respondents, was respondent?

<u>About as nervous</u> or anxious as most respondents	1	[191]
<u>Not as nervous</u> or anxious as most respondents	2	
<u>Somewhat more nervous</u> or anxious than most respondents	3	
<u>A great deal more nervous</u> or anxious than most respondents	4	

Compared to other respondents, was respondent?

<u>About as honest</u> and open as most respondents	1	[192]
<u>Not as honest</u> and open as most respondents	2	
<u>Somewhat more honest</u> and open than most respondents	3	
<u>A great deal more honest</u> and open than most respondents	4	

Compared to other respondents, did respondent show anger and hostility during the interview (not necessarily directed against the interviewer?)

<u>About as much anger and hostility</u> as most respondents	1	[193]
<u>Not as much</u> anger and hostility as most respondents	2	
<u>Somewhat more anger</u> and hostility than most respondents	3	
<u>A great deal more anger</u> and hostility than most respondents	4	