

ICPSR 4030

**Survey of Truth and  
Reconciliation in South Africa,  
2000-2001**

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First ICPSR Version  
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## **Bibliographic Description**

ICPSR Study No.: 4030

Title: Survey of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa, 2000-2001

Principal Investigator(s): James L. Gibson, Washington University in St. Louis. Department of Political Science

Funding Agency: National Science Foundation

Grant Number: SES 9906576

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## **Scope of Study**

Summary: The purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between truth acceptance and reconciliation among South Africans during and since the political transition from Apartheid to democracy. The study investigated the extent to which South Africans participated in the truth as promulgated by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the degree to which they were "reconciled." The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was based on the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act of 1995. The TRC investigated past gross human rights violations and granted amnesty to individuals in exchange for full and public disclosure of information related to these crimes. The hypothesis that truth acceptance leads to reconciliation was tested in this research. Data were collected through a rigorous and systematic survey of South Africans. Nearly all relevant segments of the South African population were included in the sample, as well as representative subsamples of at least 250 respondents of most major racial/ethnic/linguistic groups. Questions about the TRC investigated respondent awareness, knowledge, and approval of the activities of the TRC. Respondents were asked for their opinions on the effectiveness of the TRC in its efforts to provide a true and unbiased account of South Africa's history and in awarding compensation to those who suffered abuses under the Apartheid regime. Other questions about the TRC asked respondents how important it was to find out the truth about the past and achieve racial reconciliation. Demographic variables include age, marital status, education level, and employment status.

Subject Terms: amnesty, Apartheid, attitudes, Black White relations, democracy, human rights, human rights violations, political change, race, racial

attitudes, tolerance

Geographic Coverage: South Africa

Time Period: 2000-2001

Date of Collection: November 2000-February 2001

Universe: South African population, aged 18 and over.

Data Type: survey data

Data Collection Notes: (1) This study was conducted in collaboration with Amanda Gouws (Stellenbosch University, South Africa), Charles Villa-Vicencio (Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, Cape Town, South Africa), and Helen Macdonald (Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, Cape Town, South Africa). (2) Two weight variables are included in the dataset. One weight variable (NATWT) should be used when analysis is not conducted by race, and the other (RACEWT) should be used when conducting analyses comparing respondent race. (3) Users must cite the original NSF grant number in all materials produced from this project. (4) The codebook is provided by ICPSR as a Portable Document Format (PDF) file. The PDF file format was developed by Adobe Systems Incorporated and can be accessed using PDF reader software, such as the Adobe Acrobat Reader. Information on how to obtain a copy of the Acrobat Reader is provided on the ICPSR Web site.

## Methodology

Sample: The area probability sample included a primary sample of South Africans of all races and a boost sample of white South Africans. Representative subsamples of at least 250 respondents of most major racial, ethnic, and linguistic groups were also included.

Data Source: personal interviews

Response Rates: A total of 3,727 interviews were completed. In the primary sample, 3,139 interviews were completed. The boost sample included 588 completed interviews. The overall response rate for the survey was approximately 87 percent.

Extent of Processing: CONCHK.PR/ DDEF.ICPSR/ MDATA.PR/ REFORM.DATA/  
UNDOCCHK.PR/ REFORM.DOC

## Access and Availability

Extent of Collection: 1 data file + machine-readable documentation (PDF) + SAS data definition statements + SPSS data definition statements

Data Format: Logical Record Length with SAS and SPSS data definition statements, and SPSS portable file

## File Specifications

<i>Part No.</i>	<i>Part Name</i>	<i>File Structure</i>	<i>Case Count</i>	<i>Variable Count</i>	<i>LRECL</i>	<i>Records Per Case</i>
1	Data file	rectangular	3,727	454	646	1

## Publications

Gibson, James L. "Does Truth Lead to Reconciliation? Testing the Causal Assumptions of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Process." *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE* 48,2 (April 2004), 201-217.

Gibson, James L. *OVERCOMING APARTHEID: CAN TRUTH RECONCILE A DIVIDED NATION?* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2004.

Gibson, James L. "Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation: Judging the Fairness of Amnesty in South Africa." *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE* 46,3 (July 2002), 540-556.

Gibson, James L. "Truth, Reconciliation, and the Creation of a Human Rights Culture in South Africa." *LAW AND SOCIETY REVIEW* 38,1 (March 2004), 5-40.



## ICPSR PROCESSING NOTES FOR STUDY 4030

1. For the geographic variable MAGDIST, all values have been blanked by ICPSR for confidentiality purposes.
2. For the EDUC variable, the values of MASTERS and DOCTOR have been collapsed into a single value of MASTERS/DOCTOR by ICPSR for confidentiality purposes.
3. For the CARSOWN variable, the values of 5, 6, and 7 have been combined into a new value of '5 or more' by ICPSR for confidentiality purposes.



# **Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: A 2001 Survey\***

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## THE DESIGN OF THE SURVEY

This research is based on a survey of a representative sample of the South African population conducted at the close of 2000 and the beginning of 2001. The survey was managed by Decision Surveys International (Johannesburg) under the direction of Carroll Moore and Mokhele Makhothi. The purpose of this appendix is to provide some details on the technical aspects of the survey.

The survey on which this analysis is based was conducted in 2000 – 2001. The fieldwork for the project began in November 2000, and “mop-up” interviews were completed by February 2001. The sample is representative of the entire South African population (18 years old and older), and a total of 3,727 interviews was completed.

The sampling was divided into two parts – a primary sample, including South Africans of all races, and a boost sample of white South Africans. In the main sample, 3,139 interviews were completed. The Boost Sample was composed only of white South Africans, with a control for language (English versus Afrikaans). A total of 588 additional whites was interviewed.

The overall response rate for the survey was approximately 87 percent (after treating “break-offs” as unsuccessful interviews). The main reason for failing to complete the interview was inability to contact the respondent; refusal to be interviewed accounted for approximately 27 percent of the failed interviews. From the response rate alone, the representativeness of the sample seems assured.

Such a high rate of response can be attributed to the general willingness of the South African population to be interviewed, the large number of call-backs we employed, and the use of an incentive for participating in the interview (the incentive was a magnetic torch (flashlight), with which the respondents were quite pleased).

### **Weighting and Post-Stratification**

Because the various racial and linguistic groups were not selected proportional to their size in the South African population, it is necessary to weight the data according to the inverse of the probability of selection. In addition, we have applied post-stratification weights to the final data in order to make the sample more representative of the South African population.

After correcting for unequal probabilities of selection, we post-stratified the data according to three variables: (1) size of place of residence; (2) the respondent’s age; and (3) the respondents race. Size of place of residence is a trichotomy: (1) metro areas; (2) other urban areas (cities, large towns, and small towns); and (3) rural areas (villages, farms, and kraals). Age categories were defined as (1) 18-24 years old; (2) 35-44 years old; (3) 45-54 years old; (4) 55-64 years old; and (5) 65 years old and older. The four major racial groups in South Africa were used. After trimming the weight, and adjusting the weights to the actual number of completed interviews (3,727), the post-stratification weight variable ranges from .29

to 2.02.

### **The Survey Instrument**

The questionnaire we used in this survey was designed in part on the basis of focus groups we conducted in mid 2000. The purpose of the focus groups was to observe how ordinary people think and speak about truth and reconciliation in South Africa (on the methodology of focus groups, see Delli Carpini and Williams 1994). We sought to capture their language, understand the degree of salience of different aspects of the process, and to test in an extremely preliminary way ideas about what constitutes a “reconciled” South African.

During June 2000, six focus groups were held, two each in Cape Town, Durban, and Johannesburg. Focus group participants, who of course could not constitute a representative sample of any population, were recruited by DSI staff and were paid to participate in the discussions. The focus groups were held at the offices of the survey firm, DSI. The focus group participants were recruited so as to make each group racially homogeneous. The criteria used to recruit individuals were: (1) Race: We decided that the most frank discussions of the truth and reconciliation process would be held among South Africans of the same race. (2) Gender: All focus groups were mixed gender except one. We empaneled an all-female African group so as to be able to focus upon the specific experiences of women under apartheid. Most of those directly experiencing human rights violations under apartheid were men; the injuries to women were of a specific nature. We sought to get the respondents to discuss this topic. (3) Religiosity: Because we felt we already had reasonable insight into how religious people address processes of reconciliation, we over-represented relatively less religious South Africans in the focus groups.

All of the moderators were female. With one exception, the moderators of the focus groups matched the race of the participants. The exception is that we used a white moderator with the Indian South Africans in Durban.

The focus groups lasted approximately two hours. They were filmed and observed through a one-way mirror. The focus groups were recorded on video and audio and the conversations were transcribed. In a post-deliberation questionnaire, the respondents judged both the group and their own participation as honest and open. We treat the focus groups as a pretest of some of the ideas the survey was designed to address.

After the analysis of the focus groups was completed, a full draft of the questionnaire was produced. The questionnaire was first prepared in English and then translated into Afrikaans, Zulu, Xhosa, North Sotho, South Sotho, Tswana, and Tsonga. The methodology of creating a multilingual questionnaire follows closely that recommended by Brislin (1970). After producing an English-language version of the questionnaire, trained translators (employed by the survey firm) translated the questionnaire, and then another translator translated the translated questionnaire back to English. The “input” and the “output” English were then reconciled in a large and lengthy meeting involving all of the translators, back-translators, and survey firm staff (and me). At these meetings, a version of the questionnaire was prepared for the pretesting.

A formal pretest of the questionnaire was conducted, based on 59 interviews. On the basis of statistical analysis of the pretest data the questionnaire was further revised. Virtually all revisions involved deleting items from the pretest instrument.

### **The Respondents and the Interviewers**

Interviews were completed with 3,727 individuals, including: 2,004 Africans, 991 whites, 487 Coloured people, and 245 South Africans of Asian origin. The average length of interview was 84 minutes (median = 80 minutes, standard deviation = 22.2 minutes, with a range from 30 to 235 minutes). Interviews were conducted in the language of choice of the respondent, with interviews fielded in eight languages. A large plurality of the interviews was conducted in English (44.5 percent).

Most of the interviewers were females, and interviewers of every race were employed in the

project. The vast majority of respondents were interviewed by an interviewer of their own race. The percentage of same-race interviews for each of the racial groups is: African, 99.8 percent; white, 98.7 percent; Coloured, 71.5 percent; and Asian Origin, 73.9 percent. Only 4 black respondents were interviewed by a white interviewer; no whites were interviewed by blacks. Roughly half of the Coloured respondents not interviewed by a Coloured interviewer were interviewed by a white, the other half by a black. None of the respondents of Asian origin was interviewed by a white interviewer. Thus, the overwhelming pattern in the interviews is to have same-race interviewers, and where we deviated from that pattern, only 75 interviews involved a white interviewer interviewing a non-white respondent.

Given that two-thirds of our interviewers are female, same-gender interviews were not as common. For female respondents, 68.0 percent of the interviews were by females; for males the percentage was roughly the same (67.2 percent).

### **Interviewers**

A total of 149 interviewers were employed in this project. The average number of interviews completed was 25 (standard deviation = 19), with a median of 20. The number of interviews ranged from 1 to 81. Two-third (67.6 percent) of the interviewers are females and 74.3 percent are black South Africans.

### **Interviewer Judgments of the Interviewees**

According to the interviewers, cooperation with the interview was widespread: 69.3 percent of the respondents were rated as “friendly and interested” in the interview, and another 22.5 percent was said to be “cooperative, but not particularly interested.” As with all surveys in countries with high proportions of illiterate respondents, the respondents had some difficulty with our questions. When asked to rate the respondents in terms of how well they understand the questions, 69.2 percent were judged to have understood them well, 25.0 percent not very well, and 5.6 percent poorly. Only 64.6 percent of the subjects were able to read our showcards without any apparent difficulty. We should note, however, that understanding of the vignette was more common (72.3 percent understood it well).

### **Summary**

Generally, the design of this survey is as rigorous and systematic as any survey ever conducted in South Africa. Nearly all relevant segments of the South African population are included in the sample, and representative sub-samples of at least 250 respondents of most major racial/ethnic/linguistics are included. Great care was taken in preparing the survey instrument and insuring comparability in the questions across the different languages included in the survey. The evidence suggests that most respondents were cooperative and willing to answer our questions openly and honestly.

However, our survey certainly taxed a portion of the sample, in part due to illiteracy. As a result, a certain amount of random error (and perhaps some systematic error) is reflected in our variables. To the extent that the error is randomly distributed, its effect is to attenuate correlation coefficients. Since the amount of random error surely varies by race, we must adjust our standards for judging the magnitude of the coefficients we consider, especially among the African majority.

## **A NOTE ON RACE IN SOUTH AFRICA**

Whatever one’s preferences, one cannot write about South African politics without writing about race. Since race is such a salient part of the South African context – and since race is such a contentious concept – I offer here my understanding of the meaning of the concept.<sup>1</sup>

It is common in South Africa to divide the total population into four racial categories for the purposes of research or the explanation of demographic realities and/or socio-economic conditions in the country, and I follow this practice throughout the analysis reported in this book. As James and Lever (2000, 44) note: “The use of these categories is unavoidable given the fixity that they have come to

acquire both in popular consciousness and official business.” The use of these racial terminologies, however, differs from the way racial categorization may be understood in other societies. It is therefore important to understand the historical development of these categories, especially the legal boundaries imposed on racial groups by the apartheid government.<sup>2</sup>

The four racial groups are African, white, Coloured, and South Africans of Asian origin (Indian). These groups are also often referred to as population groups, ethnic groups (although this term usually refers to African subcategories such as Xhosa or Zulu), or national groups. The African majority has been known by European settlers by different names over time, such as “native,” “Bantu,” or “Black,” and some of these terminologies were later formalized by apartheid legislation. The Africans were the original inhabitants of the area now called South Africa and were descendants of Iron Age farmers speaking different variants of Bantu languages, spoken in sub-Saharan Africa, east of Cameroon (James and Lever 2000, 44). Generally, I refer to these people as Africans or blacks.

The white inhabitants of South Africa (also formerly called Europeans) are descendants of Dutch, German, French (Huguenots who fled France due to religious persecution), English, and other European and Jewish settlers. Though South Africa was colonized by the Dutch and the British in different historical periods, the British colonization entrenched English as the most commonly spoken language.

“Coloured” is considered a mixed race category, although as James and Lever (2000, 44) argue, it is actually a residual category of people with quite divergent descents. Coloured refers to the children of intermarriages between whites, Khoi-Khoi (commonly referred to as “Hottentots”) and the San (commonly referred to as “Bushmen”), and slaves from Malagasy and Southeast Asia (Malaysia), and Africans (Thompson and Prior 1982, 34).

The Indian population came to South Africa as indentured laborers to work in the sugar plantations in Natal in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Yet, they came from different regions in the Indian Subcontinent, adhered to different religions, and spoke different languages, so that they, like Coloured people, are not a homogeneous group. I refer to these people as South Africans of Asian origin, despite the fact that some Coloured people are technically of Asian origin.

When the National Party came to power in 1948 it embarked on a legislative process aimed at securing white political power and keeping the white population group “pure.” The Racial Registration Act, 30 of 1950 (and its various amendments) legislated that all citizens of South Africa be classified according to racial or ethnic origins. Racial origin was determined by the natural father’s classification (yet the policy was not consistently implemented, because when the father in a mixed race marriage was African the offspring was classified African, but if the father was white the offspring was classified Coloured – see Brookes 1968, 24). Additional criteria were acceptance in the community and appearance; a 1967 amendment added descent (Thompson and Prior 1982, 36). Very often mixed race families were split up due to the hues of their skin, causing immense suffering (Horrell 1982, 2).

The original act referred to the main groups as “white,” “coloured” and “Native.” In 1951, the South African government replaced “Native” with “Bantu,” and in 1978 it officially changed the term to “Black.” The most commonly used term now used for the original inhabitants of South Africa is “African,” while “Black” is often used inclusively to refer to everyone who is not white (and the term originated as a negative reaction to referring to groups other than whites as “non-whites”). In this sense, “Black” is sometimes misleading since it refers to Africans, Coloured people, and those of Asian Origin. (“Black” is rarely used in this way in this book.) The enforcement of the Population Registration Act was very important since it was the foundation for the Group Areas Act, 41 of 1950 (legalizing separate neighborhoods for each racial group) and the Separate Amenities Act, 49 of 1953 (legalizing separate public facilities for the different racial groups).<sup>3</sup>

A direct response to the fixed racial categorization of the apartheid regime was the ideological endorsement of non-racialism by the ANC. This policy was a rejection of race as a social construct, with support for the underlying principle of equality for all, in which appearance and descent would play no role. Yet, the political and sociological realities that were created under apartheid – such as homogeneous

neighborhoods and segregated schools, now coupled with political strategies such as Affirmative Action to undo past discrimination – still reinforce and politicize racial consciousness, involving these specific categorizations (James and Lever 2000, 45). From the perspective of research on South Africa’s political culture(s), it could therefore be justifiably argued that the subjective experience of these racial categorizations, the class positions, and sociological and historical realities of their members justify the general practice of reporting these results separately by these racial groupings.

Earlier research has documented enormous differences across South Africa’s groups in terms of a wide variety of political attitudes (e.g., Gibson and Gouws 2003, Gibson 2003). Consequently, it is essential that race be incorporated into the analyses in this book. To ignore race would be to fail to recognize that South African politics today continues to be shaped by its racist history. To incorporate race into this analysis is not to accept anything about apartheid, but is instead merely to acknowledge that apartheid shaped — and continues to shape — political reality in the country.

## **PUBLICATIONS**

### **Journal Publications:**

Gibson, James L. 2004. “Truth, Reconciliation, and the Creation of a Human Rights Culture in South Africa.” *Law and Society Review* 38 (#1): Forthcoming.

Gibson, James L. 2004. “Does Truth Lead to Reconciliation? Testing the Causal Assumptions of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Process.” *American Journal of Political Science* 48 (#2, April): 201–217.

Gibson, James L. 2002. “Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation: Judging the Fairness of Amnesty in South Africa.” *American Journal of Political Science* 46: (#3, July): 540-556.

**Recipient of the McGraw Hill Award (recognizing the best journal article on law and courts written by a political scientist and published during the previous calendar year), 2003. Law and Politics Organized Section, American Political Science Association.**

Gibson, James L. 2001a. “Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation: Judging Amnesty in South Africa.” Presented at the 59<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 19-21, 2001, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Illinois.

Gibson, James L. 2001b. “Does Truth Lead to Reconciliation? Testing the Causal Assumptions of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Process.” Paper delivered at the 2001 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Hilton San Francisco and Towers, August 30 - September 2, 2001.

Gibson, James L. 2001c. “The Land Question in South Africa – Clouds on the Horizon,” under “Articles” at the IJR web site <http://www.ijr.org.za>).

Gibson, James L., and Helen Macdonald. 2001. “Truth– Yes, Reconciliation – Maybe: South Africans Judge the Truth and Reconciliation Process.” Research Report, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. Rondebosch: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.

**Books:**

Gibson, James L. 2004. *Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

# == The Codebook ==

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ID1	Respondents Identification
SAMPLE	Sample detail-main and boost
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Main Sample</li><li>2. Boost Sample</li><li>4. White Supplement</li></ol>
C1DAY	Day of first call
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Monday</li><li>2. Tuesday</li><li>3. Wednesday</li><li>4. Thursday</li><li>5. Friday</li><li>6. Saturday</li><li>7. Sunday</li></ol>
C1TIME	Time of day of first call
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Morning (9 am – 1 pm)</li><li>2. Afternoon (1 pm – 5 pm)</li><li>3. Early evening (5 pm – 6 pm)</li><li>4. Evening (6 pm &amp; later)</li></ol>
SUCCESS1	Whether first call was successful
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Yes</li><li>2. No</li></ol>
C2DAY	Day of second call
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Monday</li><li>2. Tuesday</li><li>3. Wednesday</li><li>4. Thursday</li><li>5. Friday</li></ol>

6. Saturday
7. Sunday

C2TIME      Time of day of second call

1. Morning (9 am – 1 pm)
2. Afternoon (1 pm – 5 pm)
3. Early evening (5 pm – 6 pm)
4. Evening (6 pm & later)

SUCCESS2      Whether second call was successful

1. Yes
2. No

C3DAY      Day of third call

1. Monday
2. Tuesday
3. Wednesday
4. Thursday
5. Friday
6. Saturday
7. Sunday

C3TIME      Time of day of third call

1. Morning (9 am – 1 pm)
2. Afternoon (1 pm – 5 pm)
3. Early evening (5 pm – 6 pm)
4. Evening (6 pm & later)

SUCCESS3      Whether third call was successful

1. Yes
2. No

C4DAY      Day of fourth call

1. Monday
2. Tuesday
3. Wednesday
4. Thursday
5. Friday

6. Saturday
7. Sunday

C4TIME	Time of day of fourth call
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Morning (9 am – 1 pm)</li><li>2. Afternoon (1 pm – 5 pm)</li><li>3. Early evening (5 pm – 6 pm)</li><li>4. Evening (6 pm &amp; later)</li></ol>
SUCCESS4	Whether fourth call was successful
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Yes</li><li>2. No</li></ol>
NCALLS	Number of calls
IFAIL	Reason for failed call
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. House empty</li><li>2. No one at home after 4 calls</li><li>3. Selected respondent not available</li><li>4. Wrong age</li><li>5. REFUSED</li><li>6. OTHER</li><li>7. Completed</li><li>8. Break off</li></ol>
MAGDIST	Magisterial district
DATE	Date of Interview
	Day Month
IVIEWER	Interviewer Identification number
	1 – 997
PVERSION	Vignette Version

1- 16

SEX Sex of respondent

1. Male
2. Female

AGE Age bracket of respondent

1. 18-24
2. 25-34
3. 35-44
4. 45-54
5. 55-64
6. 65+

RACE Race of respondent

1. Black/African
2. White
3. Coloured
4. Indian/Asian

PROVINCE Province of respondent

1. Gauteng
2. Northern Province
3. Mpumalanga
4. North West
5. Free State
6. Northern Cape
7. Kwa-Zulu/Natal
8. Eastern Cape
9. Western Cape

METRO Metropolitan areas

0. Not a metropolitan area
1. Johannesburg
2. Pretoria
3. Reef
4. Vaal
5. Soweto
6. Durban

- 7. Pietermaritzburg
- 10. Capetown
- 20. Port Elizabeth
- 30. East London
- 40. Bloemfontaine
- 50. Mabopane (North West Metro)

CSIZE	Community size
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Metro</li> <li>2. City</li> <li>3. Large town</li> <li>4. Small town</li> <li>5. Village</li> <li>6. Farm</li> <li>7. Kraal</li> </ul>
ISTHR	Hour interview started
ISTMIN	Minute interview started
IFIHR	Hour interview finished
IFIMIN	Minute interview finished
ILENGTH	Total minutes of interview
	30 – 235
MEDIA1	Q.1a How often do you watch or listen to news programmes on television or on the radio?
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>0. Never</li> <li>1. Less than once a week</li> <li>2. Once a week</li> <li>3. Several times a week</li> <li>4. Every day</li> <li>8. DON'T KNOW</li> <li>9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER</li> </ul>

- MEDIA3 Q.1b And what about newspapers? How often do you read them?
0. Never
  1. Less than once a week
  2. Once a week
  3. Several times a week
  4. Every day
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER
- TALKPOL Q.2 When you get together with your friends, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally or never?
1. Frequently
  2. Occasionally
  3. Never
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. REFUSED-NO ANSWER
- RETSOC Q.3 How do you think the general economic situation in South Africa has changed over the last 12 months? Would you say it has .....
1. Got a lot worse
  2. Got a little worse
  3. Stayed the same
  4. Got a little better
  5. Got a lot better
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. REFUSED-NO ANSWER
- PROSOC Q.4 How do you think the economic situation in South Africa will change in the next 12 months? Will it ....
1. Get a lot worse
  2. Get a little worse
  3. Stay the same
  4. Get a little better
  5. Get a lot better
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. REFUSED-NO ANSWER
- RETPOCK Q.5 Compared with 12 months ago, would you say your family's living standards are ....
1. A lot worse
  2. A little worse

3. Stayed the same
4. A little better
5. A lot better
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED-NO ANSWER

PROPOCK Q.6 And what about the next 12 months? How do you think your family's living standard will be compared to now? Would you say you and your family's living standard will ....

1. Get a lot worse
2. Get a little worse
3. Nothing will change
4. Get a little better
5. Get a lot better
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED-NO ANSWER

Q.7 Please tell me how well each of the following statements describes you. Would you say it describes you extremely well, pretty well, but not completely, doesn't describe me at very well, or doesn't describe me at all?

XENO1 1. It is usually easy for me to like people who have different values from me.

1. Describes me extremely well
2. Pretty well, but not completely
3. Doesn't describe me very well
4. Doesn't describe me at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

LOCUS1 2. I feel like what happens in my life is mostly determined by powerful people.

1. Describes me extremely well
2. Pretty well, but not completely
3. Doesn't describe me very well
4. Doesn't describe me at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

XENO3 3. Listening to opposing viewpoints is usually a waste of time.

1. Describes me extremely well
2. Pretty well, but not completely
3. Doesn't describe me very well

4. Doesn't describe me at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

XENO4

4. I generally don't like people who have different ideas from me.

1. Describes me extremely well
2. Pretty well, but not completely
3. Doesn't describe me very well
4. Doesn't describe me at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

LOCUS3

5. It is not always wise for me to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune.

1. Describes me extremely well
2. Pretty well, but not completely
3. Doesn't describe me very well
4. Doesn't describe me at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

XENO6

6. I can usually accept other people as they are, even when they are very different from me.

1. Describes me extremely well
2. Pretty well, but not completely
3. Doesn't describe me very well
4. Doesn't describe me at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

LOCUS4

7. I can pretty much determine what will happen in my life.

1. Describes me extremely well
2. Pretty well, but not completely
3. Doesn't describe me very well
4. Doesn't describe me at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

LOCUS5

8. When I get what I want, it's usually because I worked hard for it.

1. Describes me extremely well
2. Pretty well, but not completely
3. Doesn't describe me very well
4. Doesn't describe me at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

Q.8 How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Would you say you agree strongly, agree, are uncertain, disagree, or disagree strongly?

REFORM1

1. Political reform in this country is moving too rapidly.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

DUEP1

2. In order to fight crime, police should be granted greater power, even if it means searching houses without permission.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

DUEP2

3. The government should never be allowed to interfere with people's privacy.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

RLAW2

4. Sometimes it might be better to ignore the law and solve problems immediately rather than wait for a legal solution.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

ELECT1 5. There are better ways to choose our political leaders than elections amongst candidates from several parties.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

ELECT2 6. If the leaders we elect cannot improve the situation in the country, then it is better not to have competitive elections in the future.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

ELECT3 7. Those supporting multi-party elections are doing harm to the country.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

RLAW3 8. It's alright to get around the law as long as you don't actually break it.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree

3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

RLAW4 9. In times of emergency, the government ought to be able to suspend law in order to solve pressing social problems.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

SOCCON2 10. People shouldn't accept everything the authority says without questioning it.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

PARTY1 11. All this country really needs is a single political party to rule the country.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

SOCCON4 12. People should not try to change how society works but just accept the way it is.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW

9. NO ANSWER

RIDEO1 13. Racially integrated schools should not be required because it makes many people angry.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

PARTY2 14. A country made up of many ethnic groups should be ruled by only one political party to prevent too much ethnic conflict from occurring.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

PARTY5 15. Democracy in South Africa is too fragile to allow many political parties to compete with each other.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

MAJOR1 16. The party that gets the support of the majority ought not to have to share political power with the political minority.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW

9. NO ANSWER

RLAW7 17. It is not necessary to obey the laws of a government that I did not vote for.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

REDIST4 18. The government should provide free medical care for people with HIV/AIDS.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

MAJOR2 19. The constitution is just like any other law; if the majority wants to change it, it should be changed.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

REDIST5 20. A special tax should be imposed on big business to help fund housing for the homeless.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

MAJOR3 21. If the majority of the people want something, the constitution should not be used to keep them from getting what they want.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

Q.9 Next I will read through a list of rights and freedoms. Please tell me how important these rights are to you personally on a scale from 1 (not very important ) to 5 (very important).

RIGHT1 1. The freedom to express your political views

1. Not very important
2. Slightly important
3. Somewhat important
4. Important
5. Very important
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

RIGHT2 2. The freedom to join and participate in social and political groups and unions

1. Not very important
2. Slightly important
3. Somewhat important
4. Important
5. Very important
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

RIGHT3 3. The right to be treated equally under the law

1. Not very important
2. Slightly important
3. Somewhat important
4. Important
5. Very important
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

RIGHT4      4. The right to a job

1. Not very important
2. Slightly important
3. Somewhat important
4. Important
5. Very important
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

RIGHT5      5. The right to own land

1. Not very important
2. Slightly important
3. Somewhat important
4. Important
5. Very important
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

RIGHT7      6. The right to a clean and safe environment, free from pollution

1. Not very important
2. Slightly important
3. Somewhat important
4. Important
5. Very important
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

RIGHT8      7. The right to education in my own language

1. Not very important
2. Slightly important
3. Somewhat important
4. Important
5. Very important
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

RIGHT9      8. The right to strike.

1. Not very important

2. Slightly important
3. Somewhat important
4. Important
5. Very important
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

RIGHT10      9. The right to adequate housing.

1. Not very important
2. Slightly important
3. Somewhat important
4. Important
5. Very important
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

RIGHT11      10. The right to own a gun

1. Not very important
2. Slightly important
3. Somewhat important
4. Important
5. Very important
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

Q.10 How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Would you say you agree strongly, agree, are uncertain, disagree, or disagree strongly?

IND3            1. People should go along with whatever is best for the group, even when they disagree.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

- RESPON1 2. People today are too quick to blame others for the failures and shortcomings, rather than taking responsibility for themselves.
1. Agree Strongly
  2. Agree
  3. Uncertain
  4. Disagree
  5. Disagree Strongly
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. NO ANSWER
- IND1 3. It is more important to do the kind of work society needs than to do the kind of work I like.
1. Agree Strongly
  2. Agree
  3. Uncertain
  4. Disagree
  5. Disagree Strongly
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. NO ANSWER
- RESPON2 4. One problem with South African society today is that few people take responsibility for their own actions.
1. Agree Strongly
  2. Agree
  3. Uncertain
  4. Disagree
  5. Disagree Strongly
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. NO ANSWER
- IND6 5. People have to look after themselves; the community shouldn't be responsible for the actions of each citizen.
1. Agree Strongly
  2. Agree
  3. Uncertain
  4. Disagree
  5. Disagree Strongly
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. NO ANSWER

- SOCCON6 6. It is very good that people today have greater freedom to protest against things they do not like.
1. Agree Strongly
  2. Agree
  3. Uncertain
  4. Disagree
  5. Disagree Strongly
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. NO ANSWER
- RESPON3 7. People in South Africa today place too much blame on the past as an excuse for their failures and shortcomings.
1. Agree Strongly
  2. Agree
  3. Uncertain
  4. Disagree
  5. Disagree Strongly
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. NO ANSWER
- IND2 8. The most important thing to teach children is obedience to their parents.
1. Agree Strongly
  2. Agree
  3. Uncertain
  4. Disagree
  5. Disagree Strongly
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. NO ANSWER
- INDCOL Q.11. Some people say individuals should take more responsibility for providing for themselves. Others say the state should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for. Others have views somewhere in between. How would you place your views on this scale?
1. Individuals should take more responsibility
  - 2.
  - 3.
  - 4.
  - 5.
  - 6.
  - 7.
  - 8.

- 9.
10. The state should take more responsibility
98. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED-NO ANSWER

SELFID

Q.12a) People see themselves in many different ways. Using this list, which of these *best* describes you? Please take a moment to look at all of the terms on the list. (ONE ONLY)

1. African
2. Afrikaner
3. Asian
4. Black
5. Boer
6. Brown
7. Christian
8. Coloured
9. English
10. European
20. Hindu
30. Indian
40. Jewish
50. Malaysian
60. Moslem
70. North Sotho/sepedi
80. Seswati/swazi
90. South Sotho/sesotho
100. South African
200. Tsonga/shangaan
300. Tswana
400. Venda
500. White
600. Xhosa
700. Zulu
800. Ndebele
900. Other

IDIMP

Q.12b. How important is this identity to you? Would you say it is very important; somewhat important; not very important; or not important at all for you to think of yourself as . . . (READ ANSWER GIVEN IN Q.12a)

1. Very Important
2. Somewhat Important
3. Not Very Important
4. Not Important at All
8. DON'T KNOW

Q.13 Still looking at the card, do you think of yourself in any of the other terms as well?  
(WRITE IN)

IDALSO1 Think of yourself in any other terms, 1<sup>ST</sup> response  
IDALSO2 Think of yourself in any other terms, 2<sup>nd</sup> response  
IDALSO3 Think of yourself in any other terms, 3<sup>rd</sup> response

1. African
2. Afrikaner
3. Asian
4. Black
5. Boer
6. Brown
7. Christian
8. Coloured
9. English
10. European
11. Hindu
12. Indian
13. Jewish
14. Malaysian
15. Muslim
16. North Sotho, Sepedi
17. Seswati, Swazi
18. South Sotho, Sesotho
19. South African
20. Tsonga, Shangaan
21. Tswana
22. Venda
23. White
24. Xhosa
25. Zulu
26. Ndebele
27. All the others, the rest
28. No, none
29. Other
30. REFUSED
99. DON'T KNOW

Q.20 Still looking at the card, which would you say most strongly does NOT describe you? (WRITE IN)

IDANTI1 1<sup>ST</sup> response  
IDANTI2 2<sup>nd</sup> response  
IDANTI3 3<sup>rd</sup> response

1. African
2. Afrikaner
3. Asian
4. Black
5. Boer
6. Brown
7. Christian
8. Coloured
9. English
10. European
11. Hindu
12. Indian
13. Jewish
14. Malaysian
15. Muslim
16. North Sotho, Sepedi
17. Seswati, Swazi
18. South Sotho, Sesotho
19. South African
20. Tsonga, Shangaan
21. Tswana
22. Venda
23. White
24. Xhosa
25. Zulu
26. Ndebele
27. All the others, the rest
28. No, none
29. Other
30. REFUSED
99. DON'T KNOW

Q.15 People have different sorts of feelings as a result of being a member of a group. Which of the following characteristics describes how you feel about being a ..... group (ANSWER GIVEN IN Q.12a)

IDSECURE It makes me feel very secure to be a ..

1. It Makes Me Feel Very Secure
2. It Makes Me Feel Fairly Secure
3. How Secure I Feel Does Not Depend on Being A...
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

IDIMPORT It makes me feel very important to be a ...

1. It Makes Me Feel Very Important
2. It Makes Me Feel Fairly Important
3. How Important I Feel Does Not Depend on Being A...
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

IDBETTER It makes me think much better of myself to think of myself as a ...

1. It Makes Me Think Much Better of Myself
2. It Makes Me Think a Little Better of Myself
3. How I Feel about Myself Does Not Depend on Being A...
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

Q.16 How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Would you say you agree strongly agree, are uncertain, disagree, or disagree strongly?

GROUPS1 The way South Africa is right now, if one group gets more power it is usually because another group is getting less power.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

GROUPS2 The trouble with politics in South Africa is that it is always based on what group you are a member of.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

GROUPS3 If people don't realize we are all South Africans and stop thinking of themselves as Xhosa or Afrikaans or Zulu or whatever, South Africa will have a very difficult political future.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain

4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

Q.17 Now I would like to ask you a few more questions about how you feel about being a . . . (ANSWER GIVEN IN Q.12a). Would you say you agree strongly agree, are uncertain, disagree, or disagree strongly?

IDENT2      Of all the groups in South Africa . . . are the best.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

IDENT4      Even though I might sometimes disagree with the standpoint/ viewpoint taken by other . . . , it is extremely important to support the... point-of-view.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

IDENT5      What happens to . . . in South Africa will affect my life a great deal.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

IDENT6      When it comes to politics, it is important for all . . . to stand together.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

IDENT7 Unless you are a member of a group like . . . it is very difficult to get much out of South African politics.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

IDENT8 The well-being of . . . has more to do with politics than it does with our own hard work.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

Q.18 How much do you agree or disagree with these statements? Would you say you agree strongly agree, are uncertain, disagree, or disagree strongly?

RIDEO7 1. People should have the right to set up their own communities, and not allow those of a different race to live in their communities.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

AIDEO1 2. The Truth Commission will only end badly - therefore South Africans should look to the future and forget the past.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

AIDEO2 3. There can be no reconciliation in South Africa unless people — both black and white — have confessed to their apartheid crimes.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

FMEDIA1 4. Newspapers should publish the views of all political parties, not just the party they support.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

FMEDIA2 5. Newspapers, radio and television should be responsible for presenting all points of view, even those that some people could consider racist.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

- MAJOR4 6. Voting in South African elections should be restricted to those who own property.
1. Agree Strongly
  2. Agree
  3. Uncertain
  4. Disagree
  5. Disagree Strongly
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. NO ANSWER
- FMEDIA3 7. The mass media should be protected by law more than they are now from control by the government.
1. Agree Strongly
  2. Agree
  3. Uncertain
  4. Disagree
  5. Disagree Strongly
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. NO ANSWER
- ORDER2 8. It is better to live in an orderly society than to allow people so much freedom that they can become disruptive.
1. Agree Strongly
  2. Agree
  3. Uncertain
  4. Disagree
  5. Disagree Strongly
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. NO ANSWER
- ORDER3 9. Free speech is just not worth it if it means that we have to put up with the danger to society of radical political views.
1. Agree Strongly
  2. Agree
  3. Uncertain
  4. Disagree
  5. Disagree Strongly
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. NO ANSWER
- ALIEN1 10. A politician's skin color doesn't matter; they are all untrustworthy.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

ORDER4      11. Society shouldn't have to put up with political views that are fundamentally different from the views of the majority.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

DUEP6      12. It is better for society to let some guilty people go free than to risk convicting an innocent person.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

ORDER5      13. Because demonstrations frequently become disorderly and disruptive, radical and extremist groups shouldn't be allowed to demonstrate.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

DUEP7      14. If police obtain evidence illegally, it should not be permitted in court, even if it would help convict a guilty person.

1. Agree Strongly

2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

REDIST6 15. Rate payers should be taxed to build daycare centres for people living in poverty stricken areas.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

REDIST7 16. In order to reduce poverty in South Africa, it is necessary that taxes be increased.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

NATID1 17. It makes me proud to be called a South African.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

NATID2 18. Being a South African is a very important part of how I see myself.

1. Agree Strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree Strongly

- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. NO ANSWER

INTPOL

Q.19. Are you very interested; interested; not very interested; or not at all interested in politics?

- 1. Very interested
- 2. Interested
- 3. Not very interested
- 4. Not at all interested
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

Q.20 We are interested in your thoughts about how things might have changed since the election of 1994 and the end of apartheid in South Africa. Would you say the following have improved a great deal, improved somewhat, worsened somewhat, or worsened a great deal?

PACHG1

A. Ability to earn a living

- 1. Improved a great deal
- 2. Improved somewhat
- 3. Worsened somewhat
- 4. Worsened a great deal
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED-NO ANSWER

PACHG2

B. Race relations

- 1. Improved a great deal
- 2. Improved somewhat
- 3. Worsened somewhat
- 4. Worsened a great deal
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED-NO ANSWER

PACHG3

C. Personal freedom

- 1. Improved a great deal
- 2. Improved somewhat
- 3. Worsened somewhat

- 4. Worsened a great deal
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED-NO ANSWER

PACHG4

D. Equality

- 1. Improved a great deal
- 2. Improved somewhat
- 3. Worsened somewhat
- 4. Worsened a great deal
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED-NO ANSWER

PACHG5

E. Hope for the future

- 1. Improved a great deal
- 2. Improved somewhat
- 3. Worsened somewhat
- 4. Worsened a great deal
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED-NO ANSWER

RGROUP

Group asked about in the Inter-group Relations Questions

- 1. Asked about whites
- 2. Asked about blacks

RCONTW

Q21 Now we would like to ask about the type of contacts you have with [GROUP]. In your work, on a typical working day, how much contact do you have with [GROUP].

- 1. A great deal
- 2. Some
- 3. Not very much
- 4. Hardly any contact
- 5. No contact at all
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

RCONTO

Q22 Outside your work, how much contact do you have with [GROUP]?

- 1. A great deal

- 2. Some
- 3. Not very much
- 4. Hardly any contact
- 5. No contact at all
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

RMEAL Q23 How often have you shared a meal with a [GROUP]?

- 1. Quite often
- 2. Not very often
- 3. Never
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

RFRIEND Q24 How many [GROUP] people would call "true" friends?

- 1. Quite a number of [GROUP] people
- 2. Only a small number of [GROUP] people
- 3. Hardly any [GROUP] people
- 4. No [GROUP] people
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

Q.25 Now we would like to ask your opinion about [GROUP – e.g., WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS/WHITES]. Would you say you agree strongly, agree, are uncertain, disagree, or disagree strongly with the following statements.

RUSTAND 1. I find it difficult to understand the customs and ways of [GROUP].

- 1. Agree strongly
- 2. Agree
- 3. Uncertain
- 4. Disagree
- 5. Disagree strongly
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. NO ANSWER

RFRIEND2 2. It is hard to imagine ever being friends with a [GROUP].

- 1. Agree strongly
- 2. Agree
- 3. Uncertain
- 4. Disagree

- 5. Disagree strongly
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. NO ANSWER

RCRIME

3. More than most groups, [GROUP] are likely to engage in crime

- 1. Agree strongly
- 2. Agree
- 3. Uncertain
- 4. Disagree
- 5. Disagree strongly
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. NO ANSWER

RTRUST

4. [GROUP] are untrustworthy.

- 1. Agree strongly
- 2. Agree
- 3. Uncertain
- 4. Disagree
- 5. Disagree strongly
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. NO ANSWER

RSELF

5. [GROUP] are selfish, and only look after the interests of their group.

- 1. Agree strongly
- 2. Agree
- 3. Uncertain
- 4. Disagree
- 5. Disagree strongly
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. NO ANSWER

RUNCOMP

6. I feel uncomfortable when I am around a group of [GROUP].

- 1. Agree strongly
- 2. Agree
- 3. Uncertain
- 4. Disagree
- 5. Disagree strongly
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. NO ANSWER

RRACIST

7. Most [GROUP] are not racists.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

RBELIEV

8. I often don't believe what [GROUP] say to me.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

RNONE

9. South Africa would be a better place if there were no [GROUP] in the country.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

RPARTY

10. I could never imagine being part of a political party made up mainly of [GROUP].

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

Q.26 One hears people describe South Africa's history in many different ways. We are interested in your opinions on the following statements about South Africa's past. Would you say that following statement are certainly true, probably true, probably not true, and certainly not true.

PAST1

1. When it comes to South Africa's past, we must learn from the mistakes that were

made in order to avoid making the same mistakes again.

1. Certainly true
2. Probably true
3. Probably not true
4. Certainly not true
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

PAST2

2. It's better not to open old wounds by talking about what happened in the past.

1. Certainly true
2. Probably true
3. Probably not true
4. Certainly not true
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

PAST3

3. I do not want my children to learn about the horrific atrocities that were committed in the past.

1. Certainly true
2. Probably true
3. Probably not true
4. Certainly not true
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

TRUTH1

4. There were certainly some abuses under the old apartheid system, but the ideas behind apartheid were basically good ones.

1. Certainly true
2. Probably true
3. Probably not true
4. Certainly not true
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

TRUTH2

5. In the past, whites profited greatly from apartheid, and most continue to profit today from the legacy of apartheid.

1. Certainly true
2. Probably true
3. Probably not true
4. Certainly not true

- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

TRUTH3            6. White's fear of Communism was real and motivated many of their actions in defense of the apartheid state.

- 1. Certainly true
- 2. Probably true
- 3. Probably not true
- 4. Certainly not true
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

TRUTH4            7. The struggle to preserve apartheid was just.

- 1. Certainly true
- 2. Probably true
- 3. Probably not true
- 4. Certainly not true
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

TRUTH5            8. Most white South Africans had no idea that the state was committing horrific atrocities against those struggling against apartheid.

- 1. Certainly true
- 2. Probably true
- 3. Probably not true
- 4. Certainly not true
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

TRUTH6            9. Apartheid was a crime against humanity.

- 1. Certainly true
- 2. Probably true
- 3. Probably not true
- 4. Certainly not true
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

Q.27 And now I'd like to ask you about your attitudes towards some groups of people. I am going to read you a list of some groups that are currently active in social and political life.

Here is a card showing a scale from 1 to 11. The number "1" indicates that you dislike the group very much; the number "11" indicates that you like the group very much. The number "6" means that you neither like nor dislike the group. The numbers 2 to 5 reflect varying amounts of dislike; and the numbers 7 to 10 reflect varying amounts of like towards the group.

The first group I'd like to ask you about is Afrikaners. If you have an opinion about Afrikaners please indicate which figure most closely describes your attitude towards them. If you have no opinion, please be sure to tell me. What is your opinion of .....?

AAFRIK                      Afrikaners

1. Dislike Very Much  
4. Dislike  
8. Like  
11. Like Very Much  
98. DON'T KNOW  
99. REFUSED

AANC                        Supporters of the ANC

1. Dislike Very Much  
4. Dislike  
8. Like  
11. Like Very Much  
98. DON'T KNOW  
99. REFUSED

AAWB                        Supporters of the AWB

1. Dislike Very Much  
4. Dislike  
8. Like  
11. Like Very Much  
98. DON'T KNOW  
99. REFUSED

ASACP                       South African Communist Party

1. Dislike Very Much

- 4. Dislike
- 8. Like
- 11. Like Very Much
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

APAC                      Supporters of the Pan Africanist Congress

- 1. Dislike Very Much
- 4. Dislike
- 8. Like
- 11. Like Very Much
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

ANNP                     Supporters of the New National Party

- 1. Dislike Very Much
- 4. Dislike
- 8. Like
- 11. Like Very Much
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

ADP                      Supporters of the Democratic Party

- 1. Dislike Very Much
- 4. Dislike
- 8. Like
- 11. Like Very Much
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

AIFP                     Supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party

- 1. Dislike Very Much
- 4. Dislike
- 8. Like
- 11. Like Very Much
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

ATOL                    People Who Say We Should Have 1 Party State

- 1. Dislike Very Much
- 4. Dislike
- 8. Like
- 11. Like Very Much
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

APAGAD                      Supporters of People Against Gangsterism and Dope (Pagad)

- 1. Dislike Very Much
- 4. Dislike
- 8. Like
- 11. Like Very Much
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

AMISH                      Supporters of the Mishlenti Society

- 1. Dislike Very Much
- 4. Dislike
- 8. Like
- 11. Like Very Much
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

AUNION                    Supporters of Trade Union

- 1. Dislike Very Much
- 4. Dislike
- 8. Like
- 11. Like Very Much
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

AMUSLIM                 Muslims

- 1. Dislike Very Much
- 4. Dislike
- 8. Like
- 11. Like Very Much
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

AAFRIKO                 Order of Presentation — Afrikaners

- 1. Started with this group

AANCO	Order of Presentation — African National Congress 1. Started with this group
AAWBO	Order of Presentation — AWB 1. Started with this group
ASCAPO	Order of Presentation — South African Communist Party 1. Started with this group
APACO	Order of Presentation — Pan Africanist Congress 1. Started with this group
ANNPO	Order of Presentation — New National Party 1. Started with this group
ADPO	Order of Presentation — Democratic Party 1. Started with this group
AIFPO	Order of Presentation — Inkatha Freedom Party 1. Started with this group
ATOLO	Order of Presentation — Those favoring a one-party state 1. Started with this group
APAGADO	Order of Presentation — PAGAD (People Against Gangsterism and Drugs) 1. Started with this group
AMISHO	Order of Presentation — The Mishlenti Society (a fictitious group) 1. Started with this group
AUNIONO	Order of Presentation — Trade Unions 1. Started with this group
AMUSLIMO	Order of Presentation — Muslims 1. Started with this group
AOTHGRP	Q.28a Is There Any <i>Other</i> Group Active in the Life of Our Country That You Dislike Enough to Rate at a "3" or a "2" or a "1" on this Scale?  1. Yes 2. No 8. Don't Know 9. Refused-No answer
AOTHNAME	Q.28b What is the name of the group?

1. United Democratic Party
2. Democratic Alliance
3. Freedom Front
4. Gangs, gangsters
5. AZAPO
6. Indians
7. Minority Front
8. UCDP
9. ACDP

AOTH Q.28c Would you rate (THE GROUP NAMED IN Q.28b)) as a "3", "2" or "1" on the scale that's on the card?

1. Dislike very much
2. [Points not labeled; from the 11-point scale]
- 3.
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED-NO ANSWER

Q.29a This card presents a list of groups we have already spoken about. Which of the following groups do you dislike the most?

LLIKE1 The group that you dislike the most.

LLIKE2 The next most disliked group

LLIKE3 And your third most disliked group

LLIKE4 Finally, which is your fourth most disliked group

1. Afrikaners
2. ANC, African National Congress supporters
3. AWB, Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging supporters
4. SACP, South African Communists
5. PAC, Pan Africanist Congress supporters
6. NNP, New National Party supporters
7. DP, Democratic Party supporters
8. IFP, Inkatha Freedom Party supporters
9. One party state supporters
10. Pagad, people against gangsterism and drugs
11. The Mishlenti Society
12. Trade unionists
13. Muslims

14. UDM, United Democratic Movement
15. Freedom Front
16. UCDP, United Christian Democratic Party
17. DA, Democratic Alliance
18. Criminals
19. Gangsters
20. Boers/Farmers
21. Other
22. Those who would re-impose apartheid in South Africa
23. Those who would force all whites to leave South Africa
99. None, no other group

NOLL1 No group disliked

1. Would not name disliked groups

Q.30b Do you dislike either of the following groups of people?

AAPART Those who would re-impose apartheid in the country

1. Yes
2. No
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED-NO ANSWER

ABLKNAT Those who would force all whites to leave South Africa

1. Yes
2. No
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED-NO ANSWER

LLIKE5 Which of the two groups of people do you dislike the most?

1. Reimpose apartheid
2. Force all whites to leave South Africa
3. Refused

GQ31 Name of group asked about in Q31

1. Afrikaners
2. ANC, African National Congress supporters
3. AWB, Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging supporters

4. SACP, South African Communists
5. PAC, Pan Africanist Congress supporters
6. NNP, New National Party supporters
7. DP, Democratic Party supporters
8. IFP, Inkatha Freedom Party supporters
9. One party state supporters
10. Pagad, people against gangsterism and drugs
11. The Mishlenti Society
12. Trade unionists
13. Muslims
14. UDM, United Democratic Movement
15. Freedom Front
16. UCDP, United Christian Democratic Party
17. DA, Democratic Alliance
18. Criminals
19. Gangsters
20. Boers/Farmers
21. Other
22. Those who would re-impose apartheid in South Africa
23. Those who would force all whites to leave South Africa
99. None, no other group

Q.31a. Now let's consider the ..... (GROUP IN Q.30 GPA) a bit more. To what extent do you agree strongly, agree, are uncertain, disagree, or disagree strongly with the following statements about .....?

LL1CAND            1. Members of the ..... (GPA) should be prohibited from standing as a candidate for an elected position

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

LL1CANP            1ii. And about what percentage of the people in South Africa do you think agree with you on this issue

- 1 – 100 %  
 &&& DON'T KNOW  
 [blank] NO ANSWER

LL1DEM            Members of the..... (GPA) should be allowed to hold street

demonstrations in your community

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

LL1BAN

(GPA) should be officially banned in your community

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

LL1CANP2

Q.30b Do you think most South Africans agree with your view or disagree with your view on this issue?

1. Most agree
2. Most disagree
3. Can't say which
8. Don't know
9. Refused

GQ32

Group asked about in LL4 questions

1. Afrikaners
2. ANC, African National Congress supporters
3. AWB, Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging supporters
4. SACP, South African Communists
5. PAC, Pan Africanist Congress supporters
6. NNP, New National Party supporters
7. DP, Democratic Party supporters
8. IFP, Inkatha Freedom Party supporters
9. One party state supporters
10. Pagad, people against gangsterism and drugs
11. The Mishlenti Society
12. Trade unionists
13. Muslims
14. UDM, United Democratic Movement

15. Freedom Front
16. UCDP, United Christian Democratic Party
17. DA, Democratic Alliance
18. Criminals
19. Gangsters
20. Boers/Farmers
21. Other
22. Those who would re-impose apartheid in South Africa
23. Those who would force all whites to leave South Africa
99. None, no other group

Q32 Now let's consider the [GPD/GPC/GPB] a bit more. To what extent do you agree strongly, agree, are uncertain, disagree, or disagree strongly with the following statements about ...?

NOLL4 No second group to ask about

1. No second group to ask about

LL4CAND 1. Members of [GPD/GPC/GPB] should be prohibited from standing as a candidate for an elected position

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

LL4DEM 2. Members of [GPD/GPC/GPB] should be allowed to hold street demonstrations in your community.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

LL4BAN 3. [GPD/GPC/GPB] should be officially banned in your community.

1. Agree strongly

2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

PVERSION	<p>Vignette Version</p> <p>Manipulations (Version recoded)</p>
PPROC	<p>Whether family got procedural justice/voice</p> <p>0. Not allowed to tell 1. Told how affected</p>
PPUN	<p>Whether Phillip was punished (retributive justice)</p> <p>0. Not punished 1. Was punished</p>
PAPOL	<p>Whether Phillip's apology was accepted (restorative justice)</p> <p>0. Apology not accepted 1. Apology accepted</p>
PCOMP	<p>Whether family was compensated (distributive justice)</p> <p>0. Not compensated 1. Compensated</p>
PRR1	<p>CIRCLE HERE IF THE RESPONDENT ASKS THAT THE STORY BE RE-READ</p> <p>1. Was re-read</p>
POFAIR	<p>Q.33 First, considering all aspects of the story, how fair do you think the outcome is to the families of the victims? If 10 means that you believe the outcome is completely fair to the families of the victims and 1 means the outcome is completely unfair to them, which number from 10 to 1 best describes how you feel? For example, you</p>

might answer with a 4 if you think the outcome is only somewhat unfair, or a 7 if you think the outcome is somewhat fair to the families of the victims.

1. Completely unfair
- 5.5 DON'T KNOW
10. Completely fair
99. REFUSED

PRR2 CIRCLE HERE IF THE RESPONDENT ASKS THAT THE STORY BE RE-READ

1. Was re-read

PPFAIR Q.34 Using this same scale, how fair do you think the outcome is to Phillip?

1. Completely unfair
- 5.5 DON'T KNOW
10. Completely fair
99. REFUSED

PRR3 CIRCLE HERE IF THE RESPONDENT ASKS THAT THE STORY BE RE-READ

1. Was re-read

Thinking back on the story.

PMPROC Q.35 Do you think that the families of the victims were given a chance to tell how the bombing has affected their lives?

1. Certain they were
2. Probably were
3. DON'T KNOW
4. Probably were not
5. Certain they were not
9. REFUSED

PMTRU Q.36 Do you think that the families of the victims say they found out what happened to their loved ones?

1. Certain they did
2. Probably did
3. DON'T KNOW
4. Probably did not
5. Certain they did not

9. REFUSED

PMPOL Q.37 Do you think that Phillip's apology was accepted by the families of the victims?

1. Certain it was
2. Probably was
3. DON'T KNOW
4. Probably was not
5. Certain it was not
9. REFUSED

PMPUN Q.38 Do you think that Phillip was punished by the actions of his own family?

1. Certain he was
2. Probably was
3. DON'T KNOW
4. Probably was not
5. Certain he was not
9. REFUSED

PMCOMP Q.39 Do you think that the families of the victim received compensation for what happened to them?

1. Certain they did
2. Probably did
3. DON'T KNOW
4. Probably did not
5. Certain they did not
9. REFUSED

PFORGIV1 Q.40a Would you forgive Phillip for what happened in the story?

1. Yes —> GO TO Q.40b
2. No —> GO TO Q.41
8. DON'T KNOW —> GO TO Q.41
9. REFUSED GO TO Q.41

PFORGIV2 IF Yes IN Q.40a Q.40b How much would you forgive Phillip?

1. I would definitely forgive him completely
2. I would probably forgive him
3. I would not forgive him
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

PAMNESTY Q.41 Now, what about the amnesty? Do you think Phillip should have been granted amnesty for his actions?

1. Believe strongly amnesty should have been granted [GO TO Q.42a]
2. Amnesty should probably have been granted [GO TO Q.42a]
3. Amnesty should probably not have been granted [GO TO Q.42b]
4. Believe strongly amnesty should not be grant [GO TO Q.42b]
8. DON'T KNOW [GO TO Q.43]
9. REFUSED

**INTERVIEWER:**

IF ANSWERED [BELIEVE STRONGLY AMNESTY SHOULD HAVE BEEN GRANTED] OR [AMNESTY SHOULD PROBABLY HAVE BEEN GRANTED] IN Q.41, ASK Q.42a:

IF ANSWERED 3 [AMNESTY SHOULD PROBABLY NOT HAVE BEEN GRANTED] OR [BELIEVE STRONGLY AMNESTY SHOULD NOT HAVE BEEN GRANTED] IN Q.41, ASK Q.42b:

PCCACCA Q.42a Now we would like you to imagine that the Constitutional Court decided that Phillip should not be granted amnesty. Using this same scale from 10 to 1, would you accept the Constitutional Court's decision not to give Phillip amnesty or would you try to get the Court's decision reversed?

1. Try to get the Court's decision reversed
10. Accept the Court's decision
98. DON'T KNOW
99. NO ANSWER

PCCACCB Q.42b Now we would like you to imagine that the Constitutional Court decided that Phillip should be granted amnesty. Using this same scale from 10 to 1, would you accept the Constitutional Court's decision to give Phillip amnesty or would you try to get the Court's decision reversed?

1. Try to get the Court's decision reversed
10. Accept the Court's decision
98. DON'T KNOW
99. NO ANSWER

PMATTER Q.43 Would it really matter very much to you, one way or another, if Phillip got amnesty?

1. Would matter a great deal to me
2. Would matter some to me
3. Would not matter much to me
4. Wouldn't matter to me at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

Q.44 How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Would you say you agree strongly, agree, are uncertain, disagree, or disagree strongly?

DOG1

1. There are two kinds of people in this world: those who are for the truth and those who are against it.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

EFF1

2. The people who run the country are not really concerned with what happens to people like me.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

RIDEO9

3. Affirmative action is necessary to make up for the harm done to people in our apartheid past.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

DOG2

4. A group which tolerates too many differences of opinion among its own members cannot exist for long.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

EFF2

5. If public officials are not interested in hearing what people like me think, there is really no way to make them listen.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

DOG3

6. To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to the betrayal of our own side.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

EFF4

7. In our country, all political power is concentrated in the hands of a small group of people and it is impossible for the rest of us to influence what the government does.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

RIDEO10

8. Most of those who are profiting from Affirmative Action don't really deserve it.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree

- 3. Uncertain
- 4. Disagree
- 5. Disagree strongly
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. NO ANSWER

REDIST9            9. The government pays too much attention to the needs of rich South Africans, and too little attention to the needs of the poor.

- 1. Agree strongly
- 2. Agree
- 3. Uncertain
- 4. Disagree
- 5. Disagree strongly
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. NO ANSWER

GQ45                Group asked about in LL1 threat questions

LL1DANGS        Q.45a Here is a list of words that can be used to describe various political groups. Taking them one at a time, please tell me how you feel about the least liked group. The first pair of words is "not dangerous to society" versus "dangerous to society".

- 1. Not dangerous to society
- 7. Dangerous to society
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

LL1PRED            Q.45b To what degree do you think the least liked group are

- 1. Predictable
- 7. Unpredictable
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

LL1DANG            Q.45c To what degree do you think the least liked group presents

- 1. Danger to the normal lives of people
- 7. No danger to the normal lives of people
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

- LL1PPOW      Q.45d To what degree do you think the least like group is likely to
1. Gain a lot of power in south africa
  7. Unlikely to gain a lot of power in south africa
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER
- LL1IMPAC      Q.45e To what degree do you think the least liked group is
1. Likely to affect how well my family and I live
  7. Unlikely to affect how well my family and I live
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER
- LL1ANGRY      Q.45f To what degree are you ...
1. Angry towards the group
  7. Indifferent towards the group
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER
- LL1PROC      Q.45g To what degree do you think the least liked group is
1. Willing to follow the rules of democracy
  7. Not willing to follow the rules of democracy
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER
- LL1POWER      Q.45h To what degree do you think the least liked group is
1. Powerful
  7. Not powerful
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER
- LL1CHG      Q46a Let's suppose, for a minute, that the (GPA) came to power in South Africa. Using the scale where 1 means that nothing would change, and 7 means that everything would change completely, please estimate how much you think the political situation in the country would change.
1. Nothing would change completely
  - 2.
  - 3.

- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. Everything would change completely
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

LL1MFREE Q46b And how much would the (GPA) affect you personally if it comes to power?  
Considering your own political freedom, to what extent would this group, if it gained power, affect your personal political freedom?

1. Would not reduce my personal political freedom at all
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. Would greatly reduce my personal political freedom
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

LL1SECUR Q46c Considering your own personal security, to what extent would the (GPE), if it gained power, affect your personal security?

1. Would not reduce my personal security at all
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. Would greatly reduce my personal security
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

LL1KNOW Q47 Do you personally know at least one member of the (GPA)?

1. Yes
2. No
3. DON'T KNOW
4. REFUSED-NO ANSWER

GQ48 Group asked about in LL4 threat questions

LL4DANGS Q.48a And to what degree do you think the least disliked group is

1. Not dangerous to society

7. Dangerous to society
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

LL4PRED Q.48b To what degree do you think the least disliked group is

1. Predictable
7. Unpredictable
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

LL4DANG Q.48c To what degree do you think the least disliked group presents

1. Danger to the normal lives of people
7. No danger to the normal lives of people
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

LL4PPOW Q.48d To what degree do you think the least disliked group is likely to

1. Gain a lot of power in South Africa
7. Unlikely to gain a lot of power in South Africa
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

LL4IMPAC Q.48e To what degree do you think the least disliked group is

1. Likely to affect how well my family and I live
7. Unlikely to affect how well my family and I live
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

LL4ANGRY Q.48f To what degree are you

1. Angry towards the least disliked group
7. Indifferent towards the least disliked group
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

LL4PROC Q.48g To what degree do you think the least disliked group is:

1. Willing to follow the rules of democracy

- 7. Not willing to follow the rules of democracy
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

LL4POWER Q.48h To what degree do you think the least disliked group is

- 1. Powerful
- 7. Not powerful
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

TRCKNOW Q.49 How much do you know about the activities of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)?

- 1. A great deal
- 2. Some, but not a great deal
- 3. Not very much
- 4. Nothing at all
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

TRCAPP Q.50 In general, how do you feel about the activities of the TRC? What you say you

- 1. Strongly approve of what the TRC has done
- 2. Somewhat approve
- 3. Some disapprove
- 4. Strongly disapprove of what the TRC has done
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

Q.51 The TRC is often said to have several important jobs. We would like your opinion about how well the TRC has done each of these jobs. Would you say that TRC has done an excellent job, a pretty good job, a pretty bad job, or a poor job?

TRCSAT1 1. Letting the families of people know what happened to their loved ones

- 1. Excellent job
- 2. Pretty good job
- 3. Pretty bad job
- 4. Poor job
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. NO ANSWER

TRCSAT2 2. Providing a true and unbiased account of South Africa's history.

1. Excellent job
2. Pretty good job
3. Pretty bad job
4. Poor job
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

TRCSAT3            3. Awarding compensation to those who suffered abuses under the apartheid regime.

1. Excellent job
2. Pretty good job
3. Pretty bad job
4. Poor job
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

TRCSAT4            4. Ensuring that human rights abuses will not happen again in South Africa's future.

1. Excellent job
2. Pretty good job
3. Pretty bad job
4. Poor job
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

TRCSAT5            5. Making sure that those guilty of atrocities are punished

1. Excellent job
2. Pretty good job
3. Pretty bad job
4. Poor job
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

TRCWAR            Q.52 Now do you agree strongly, agree, are uncertain, disagree or disagree strongly that: The TRC was essential to avoid civil war in South Africa during the transition from white rule to majority rule.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW

9. NO ANSWER

TRCAMN Q.53 The TRC has granted amnesties to those who have come forward and admitted committing atrocities during the struggle over apartheid. Do you approve of amnesty being given to those who admitted committing atrocities during the struggle over apartheid?

1. Strongly approve
2. Approve somewhat
3. Disapprove somewhat
4. Disapprove a great deal
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

TRCFVIC Q.54a 7. In general, how fair do you think it is *to the victims* that these people were given amnesty?

1. Extremely fair
2. Fair
3. Not very fair
4. Not fair at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

TRCFPER Q.54b And what about those seeking amnesty? How fair was it to them?

1. Extremely fair
2. Fair
3. Not very fair
4. Not fair at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

TRCFPEO Q.54c And to ordinary people like you? How fair was it?

1. Extremely fair
2. Fair
3. Not very fair
4. Not fair at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

TRCFDEA Q.54d And to those who died during the struggle over apartheid? How fair was it to

them?

1. Extremely fair
2. Fair
3. Not very fair
4. Not fair at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

We are interested in your view of those who received amnesty from the TRC. As you know, those who sought amnesty had to come forward and talk about the horrible things they did in the past. In exchange for telling the truth, they were granted amnesty.

PUNALL

IF RESPONDENT REFERS TO MOST INSTEAD OF ALL CIRCLE HERE

1. Refers to most, not all

APUNISH1

Q.55a Do you think those who were granted amnesty were punished by the fact that they had to publicly confess to doing horrible things?

**(NOTE: IF CANNOT ANSWER ABOUT ALL, ASK ABOUT MOST)**

1. Were punished harshly
2. Were punished, but not too harshly
3. Were punished only a little
4. Were not punished at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED-NO ANSWER

APUNISH2

Q.55b Do you think those who were granted amnesty are being punished today, by their own consciences?

**(NOTE: IF CANNOT ANSWER ABOUT ALL, ASK ABOUT MOST)**

1. Were punished harshly
2. Were punished, but not too harshly
3. Were punished only a little
4. Were not punished at all

- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED-NO ANSWER

Q.56 Would you strongly support, support, oppose, or strongly oppose doing the following to those who were granted amnesty?

SUPPUN1 1. Prohibiting them from being employed by the state

- 1. Strongly support
- 2. Support
- 3. Oppose
- 4. Strongly oppose
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED-NO ANSWER

SUPPUN2 2. Forcing them to pay some money to those whom they victimized.

- 1. Strongly support
- 2. Support
- 3. Oppose
- 4. Strongly oppose
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED-NO ANSWER

SUPPUN3 3. Forcing them to say that they are sorry for what they have done.

- 1. Strongly support
- 2. Support
- 3. Oppose
- 4. Strongly oppose
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED-NO ANSWER

SUPPUN4 4. Expelling them from South Africa

- 1. Strongly support
- 2. Support
- 3. Oppose
- 4. Strongly oppose
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED-NO ANSWER

COMPATTN Q.57 There have been some proposals to give compensation to those whom the TRC finds to be victims of human rights violations. Have you heard any talk about giving

compensation to victims?

1. Have heard
2. Have not heard
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

Q. 58 One idea is that the victims would receive compensation directly from the current government. Would you strongly support, support, oppose, or strongly oppose the current government providing the following kinds of compensation?

SUPCOMP1 1. Public apologies to the victims

1. Strongly support
2. Support
3. Oppose
4. Strongly oppose
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

SUPCOMP2 2. Special priority for jobs, housing and education

1. Strongly support
2. Support
3. Oppose
4. Strongly oppose
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

SUPCOMP3 3. Direct financial contributions to the victims and/or their families.

1. Strongly support
2. Support
3. Oppose
4. Strongly oppose
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

Q.59 Some have proposed that the costs of these types of compensation should be paid by institutions other than the government. Would you strongly support, support, oppose, or strongly oppose requiring the following to pay some of the costs of compensating the victims.

SUPPAY1 1. Large businesses in South Africa

1. Strongly support
2. Support
3. Oppose
4. Strongly oppose
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

SUPPAY2            2. The Afrikaans churches

1. Strongly support
2. Support
3. Oppose
4. Strongly oppose
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

SUPPAY3            3. White South Africans

1. Strongly support
2. Support
3. Oppose
4. Strongly oppose
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

SUPPAY4            4. Individual companies – like mining companies – that directly profited from apartheid

1. Strongly support
2. Support
3. Oppose
4. Strongly oppose
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

SUPPAY5            5. South African farmers

1. Strongly support
2. Support
3. Oppose
4. Strongly oppose
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

SUPPAY6 6. The perpetrators themselves

1. Strongly support
2. Support
3. Oppose
4. Strongly oppose
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

SUPPAY7 7. Black South Africans who are currently benefiting from Affirmative Action

1. Strongly support
2. Support
3. Oppose
4. Strongly oppose
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

SUPPAY8 8. New taxes on all South Africans

1. Strongly support
2. Support
3. Oppose
4. Strongly oppose
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

SUPPAY9 9. Special taxes on wealthy South Africans

1. Strongly support
2. Support
3. Oppose
4. Strongly opposed
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

Q.60. There are currently many disputes in South Africa over the ownership of land. We are interested in your opinions about this matter. Do you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly with the following statements?

LAND1 60.1 Most land in South Africa was taken unfairly by white settlers, and they therefore have no right to the land today.

1. Agree strongly

2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

LAND2            60.2 Since it is impossible to tell who really owns land in South Africa, we should just accept that current owners have the right to keep their land.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

LAND3            60.3 Something like *amnesty* ought to be given to the current owners of land so that it doesn't matter how they acquired their land and so that they can keep their property.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

LAND4            60.4 Land must be returned to blacks in South Africa, no matter what the consequences are for the current owners and for political stability in the country.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

TRUST            Q.61 On the whole, do you agree that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

1. Strongly Agree That Most People Can Be Trusted

2. Agree That Most People Can Be Trusted
3. Uncertain
4. Agree That You Can't Be Too Careful in Dealing with People
5. Strongly Agree That You Can't Be Too Careful
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

TRUSTOT

And what about the people you know - can they be trusted, or do you have to be very careful when dealing with people whom you know?

1. Strongly agree that majority can be trusted
2. Agree that majority can be trusted
3. Uncertain
4. Agree that is necessary to be careful
5. Strongly agree that is necessary to be careful
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

Q.63 Please look at this card and tell me, for each item listed, how much confidence you have in them. Is it a great deal, quite a lot, not very much or none at all?

CONMBEK

1. Thabo Mbeki
1. A great deal
2. Quite a lot
3. Not very much
4. None at all
8. UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

CONLAW

2. The legal system
1. A great deal
2. Quite a lot
3. Not very much
4. None at all
8. UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

CONMEDIA

3. The mass media
1. A great deal
2. Quite a lot
3. Not very much

4. None at all
8. UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

CONPOL

4. The police

1. A great deal
2. Quite a lot
3. Not very much
4. None at all
8. UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

CONPARL

5. Parliament

1. A great deal
2. Quite a lot
3. Not very much
4. None at all
8. UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

CONLCT

6. Local courts

1. A great deal
2. Quite a lot
3. Not very much
4. None at all
8. UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

CONSA

7. The South African political system

1. A great deal
2. Quite a lot
3. Not very much
4. None at all
8. UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

CONCCT

8. The Constitutional Court

1. A great deal

- 2. Quite a lot
- 3. Not very much
- 4. None at all
- 8. UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

CONTRC 9. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission

- 1. A great deal
- 2. Quite a lot
- 3. Not very much
- 4. None at all
- 8. UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

CONTRAD 10. Traditional leaders

- 1. A great deal
- 2. Quite a lot
- 3. Not very much
- 4. None at all
- 8. UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

CRIMCHG1 Q.64 There has been some talk recently about crime in South Africa. In terms of how it affects you personally, would you say that in the last year the level of crime has got worse, has not changed, or has got better?

- 1. Got better —> ASK Q.66a
- 2. Has not changed —> ASK Q.66a
- 3. Got worse -> ASK Q.65
- 8. DON'T KNOW —> ASK Q.66a
- 9. REFUSED-NO ANSWER

CRIMCHG2 Q.65 Would you say that crime has got a great deal worse, moderately worse, or only a little worse in comparison to last year?

- 1. Got a great deal worse
- 2. Got moderately worse
- 3. Only a little worse
- 8. DON'T KNOW/UNCERTAIN

9. REFUSED-NO ANSWER

ASK ALL:

CVICTIM Q.66a Over the last year have you and your family been the victims of a crime?

1. Yes -> ASK Q.66b AND Q.67a
2. No -> ASK Q.68
9. REFUSED TO ANSWER -> ASK Q.68

Q.66b What type of crime was it? (MULTIMENTION POSSIBLE)

CTYPE1 1. Vehicle (car/van/truck) stolen

CTYPE2 2. Car hijacking

CTYPE3 3. Home burglarised

CTYPE4 4. Property stolen

CTYPE5 5. Sexual harassment or sexual abuse or rape

CTYPE6 6. Physically attacked by someone (shot, stabbed, beaten, etc.)

CTYPE7 7. Other - pickpocket, car radio theft

CREPORT Q.67a Did you or anyone report the incident to the police?

1. Yes -> ASK Q.67b
2. No -> GO TO Q.68
9. REFUSED TO ANSWER

IF Yes:

CSATIS Q.67b Would you say that you were you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied, or very dissatisfied with the way the police dealt with your report?

1. Very satisfied
2. Somewhat satisfied
3. Not very satisfied
4. Very dissatisfied
8. DON'T KNOW/UNCERTAIN
9. REFUSED-NO ANSWER

Q.68 How much do you agree or disagree with each statement? Would you say you agree strongly, agree, are uncertain, disagree, or disagree strongly with each of these statements?

EFF5 1. I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

ATROC1 2. Under the right circumstances, most people are capable of committing the most horrific crimes.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

EFF7 3. I feel well prepared for participating in political life

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

ATROC2 4. Both those struggling for and those struggling against the old apartheid system did

unforgivable things to people.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

ATROC3

5. The abuses under apartheid were largely committed by a few evil individuals, not by the state institutions themselves.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

EFF8

6. Sometimes politics seems so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

Q. 69 We are interested in your views about who was responsible for creating and maintaining the old apartheid state and its institutions. How much should the following groups be blamed for the creation of and maintenance of the apartheid state in South Africa?

ABLAME1

1. The Nationalist Party

1. Blame a great deal
2. Blame somewhat
3. Not blame very much
4. Little, if any blame
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

- ABLAME2            2. White Afrikaners
1. Blame a great deal
  2. Blame somewhat
  3. Not blame very much
  4. Little, if any blame
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER
- ABLAME3            3. White English
1. Blame a great deal
  2. Blame somewhat
  3. Not blame very much
  4. Little, if any blame
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER
- ABLAME4            4. The Afrikaans churches
1. Blame a great deal
  2. Blame somewhat
  3. Not blame very much
  4. Little, if any blame
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER
- ABLAME5            5. The white business community
1. Blame a great deal
  2. Blame somewhat
  3. Not blame very much
  4. Little, if any blame
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER
- ABLAME6            6. Askaris (traitors)
1. Blame a great deal
  2. Blame somewhat
  3. Not blame very much
  4. Little, if any blame
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

- ABLAME7            7. Coloured people
1. Blame a great deal
  2. Blame somewhat
  3. Not blame very much
  4. Little, if any blame
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER
- ABLAME8            8. South Africans of Asian origin
1. Blame a great deal
  2. Blame somewhat
  3. Not blame very much
  4. Little, if any blame
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER
- ABLAME9            9. Communists
1. Blame a great deal
  2. Blame somewhat
  3. Not blame very much
  4. Little, if any blame
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER
- CCAWARE            Q.70a Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about the South African Constitutional Court. Would you say you are very aware, somewhat aware, not very aware or have you never heard of the South African Constitutional Court?
1. Very aware -> ASK Q.70b
  2. Somewhat aware
  3. Not very aware
  4. Never heard of -> ASK Q.70c
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. REFUSED
- CCSAT1              Q.70b From what you have heard or read, would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied or not satisfied at all with the way the South African Constitutional Court has been working?
1. Very satisfied
  2. Somewhat satisfied
  3. Not very satisfied
  4. Not satisfied at all

- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

CCSAT2 Q.70c Would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied or not satisfied at all with the way the South African Constitutional Court has been working?

- 1. Very satisfied
- 2. Somewhat satisfied
- 3. Not very satisfied
- 4. Not satisfied at all
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

PARAWARE Q.71a And what about the Parliament – Would you say you are very aware, somewhat aware, not very aware or have you never heard of the South African Parliament?

- 1. Very aware -> GO TO Q.71b
- 2. Somewhat aware
- 3. Not very aware
- 4. Never heard of -> ASK Q.71c
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

PATSAT1 Q.71b From what you have heard or read, would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied or not satisfied at all with the way the South African Parliament has been working?

- 1. Very satisfied
- 2. Somewhat satisfied
- 3. Not very satisfied ASK Q.72
- 4. Not satisfied at all
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

PARSAT2 Q.71c Would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied or not satisfied at all with the way the South African Parliament has been working?

- 1. Very satisfied
- 2. Somewhat satisfied
- 3. Not very satisfied
- 4. Not satisfied at all
- 8. DON'T KNOW

9. REFUSED

VOTE

Q.72 If there were an election in the next few days, how likely would you be to go out and vote?

1. Very likely
2. Quite likely
3. Not very likely
4. Not at all likely
5. Not South African
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

VOTEWHO

If there were an election in the next few days, which party would you vote for?

- O. None
1. Afrikaner Volksunie
2. Afrikaner Volksfront
3. African National Congress (ANC)
4. Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB)
5. Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO)
6. Bophuthatswana Progressive People's Party (BPPPP)
7. Christian Democratic Movement
8. Christian Democratic Party (CDP)
9. Conservative Party (CP)
10. Democratic Party (DP)
20. Dikwankwetia Party
30. Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)
40. IntandoYesizwe Party
50. Inyandza National Movement
60. Labour Party (LP)
70. National Peoples Party (NPP)
80. Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)
90. Solidarity
100. South African Communist Party (SACP)
200. Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC)
300. United Democratic Movement (UDM)
400. United People's Front
500. Ximoko Progressive Party
600. alliance (ANC/SACP/COSATU Alliance Only)
700. M.K. (Umkhonto We Sizwe)
800. Democratic Alliance
900. ACDP
7000. Won't vote
8000. DON'T KNOW
9000. REFUSED

VOTENP Q.74a Before Mandela was elected in 1994, did you ever vote in favor of or support the National Party?

1. Yes —> ASK Q.74b
2. No —> ASK Q.74c
3. DID NOT VOTE —> ASK Q.75
8. DON'T KNOW —> ASK Q.75
9. REFUSED —> ASK Q.75

VAPARTY Q.74b IF Yes: Was your support for the National Party due to its position on apartheid?

1. Yes
2. No ASK Q.75
8. DON'T REMEMBER

VAPARTN Q.74c IF No: Was your lack of support for the National Party due to its position on apartheid?

1. Yes
2. No
8. DON'T REMEMBER

Q.75 Please tell me how important each of the following problems is to you personally -- very important, important, not very important, or not important at all.

PROB1 1. Pollution

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Not very important
4. Not important at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

PROB2 2. Drugs

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Not very important
4. Not important at all
8. DON'T KNOW

9. REFUSED

PROB3

3. Poverty

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Not very important
4. Not important at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

PROB4

4. Unemployment

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Not very important
4. Not important at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

PROB5

5. Level of Crime

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Not very important
4. Not important at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

PROB6

6. Racism and discrimination

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Not very important
4. Not important at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

PROB7

7. HIV/AIDS

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Not very important
4. Not important at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

PROB8

8. Corruption

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Not very important
4. Not important at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

PROB9

9. Affirmative Action

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Not very important
4. Not important at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

PROB10

10. Illiteracy

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Not very important
4. Not important at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

PROB11

11. Finding out the truth about the past

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Not very important
4. Not important at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

PROB12 12. Racial reconciliation

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Not very important
4. Not important at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

PROB13 13. Problems of land ownership and redistribution

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Not very important
4. Not important at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

Q.76 Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Would you say that you agree strongly, agree, are uncertain, disagree, disagree strongly with each of the following statements?

HOPE1 1. The way things are, I have no future in South Africa

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

HOPE2 2. Our government is corrupt – it only does things for itself and not for the people.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

ALIEN4 3. The government only helps the upper class and not the poor.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

CHANGE Q.77 How much change do you believe there has been in South Africa since 1994?

1. The country has changed a great deal
2. The country has changed somewhat
3. The country has not changed very much
4. The country has not changed at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

HOPEFUL Q.78 How hopeful are you about your future?

1. Extremely hopeful
2. Somewhat hopeful
3. Not very hopeful
4. Not hopeful at all
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

BORNYR Q.79. In what year were you born?

9998. UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW  
9999. REFUSED

EDUC Q.80 What is your highest educational qualification?

1. No Formal School
2. Sub a or B/grade 1 or 2
3. Standard 1 up to 5/grade 3 up to Grade 7
4. Standard 6 up to 10/grade 8 up to Grade 12
5. Standard 1 up to 9/grade 3 up to  
Grade 11 plus Diploma —>
6. Matric/std 10 /Grade 12 plus Diploma
7. B or Honors Degree
8. Master's Degree/Doctor's Degree

ASK Q.81 AND Q.82

DEGREE Q.81 Specify highest school standard passed.

1. STD 1/Grade 3
2. STD 2/Grade 4
3. STD 3/Grade 5
4. STD 4/Grade 6
5. STD 5/Grade 7
6. STD 6/Grade 8
7. STD 7/Grade 9
8. STD 8/Grade 10
9. STD 9/Grade 11
0. STD 10/Grade 12

- DIPLOMA1      Technicon Diploma
- DIPLOMA2      Technical College Diploma
- DIPLOMA3      Business College Diploma
- DIPLOMA4      Teaching/Nursing Diploma
- DIPLOMA5      Trade (E.g. Hairdressing Diploma)

HLANG            Q.83. What language do you speak mostly at home?

1. Seswati
2. Shangaan
3. Ndebele
4. Other European
5. Other Black
6. Indian Language
10. Afrikaans
20. English
30. Portuguese
40. Xhosa
50. Zulu
60. Venda
70. South Sotho/Sesotho
80. Setswana/Tswana
90. North Sotho/Sepedi

DENOM            Q.84. If you consider yourself as belonging to a particular religion or church could you please tell me what religion or church do you belong to?

0. None
1. Anglican/Church of England
2. Baptist
3. Church of Nazareth

4. Dutch Reformed
5. Christian Scientist
6. Lutheran
7. Jehovah's Witness/7th Day Adventist
8. Methodist
9. Presbyterian
10. Roman Catholic
20. Jewish
30. Zion Christian Church
40. Charismatic-Rhema/Apostolic/Pentecostal/Evangelical
50. African Independent Church
60. Moslem/Islam
70. Hindu
80. Buddhist
100. Traditional/Animist
200. United Congregational
300. Mission Churches
400. Ethiopian Orthodox
500. Others
900. Refused

ATTEND

Q.85. How often do you now attend or go to a place of worship?

1. More than Once a Week
2. Once a Week
3. 2 to 3 Times a Month
4. Once a Month
5. Often, but less than Once a Month
6. 2-3 Times a Year
7. Hardly ever/seldom
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED-NO ANSWER

OPLEAD

Q.86. When you yourself, hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends, relatives or fellow workers to share your views?

1. Often
2. From Time to Time
3. Rarely
4. Never
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED-NO ANSWER

Q.87a How would you evaluate the following statements about the South African Constitutional Court? Would you say that you agree strongly, agree, are uncertain, disagree, disagree strongly with each of the following statements?

- CCSUP1            1. If the South African Constitutional Court started making a lot of decisions that most people disagree with, it might be better to do away with the court altogether
1. Agree strongly
  2. Agree
  3. Uncertain
  4. Disagree
  5. Disagree strongly
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. NO ANSWER
- CCSUP2            2. The right of the South African Constitutional Court to decide certain types of controversial issues should be done away with (eliminated).
1. Agree strongly
  2. Agree
  3. Uncertain
  4. Disagree
  5. Disagree strongly
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. NO ANSWER
- CCSUP3            3. The South African Constitutional Court can usually be trusted to make decisions that are right for the country as a whole.
1. Agree strongly
  2. Agree
  3. Uncertain
  4. Disagree
  5. Disagree strongly
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. NO ANSWER
- CCSUP4            4. The South African Constitutional Court treats all people who bring their cases to it – black, white, coloured, and Asian – the same.
1. Agree strongly
  2. Agree
  3. Uncertain
  4. Disagree
  5. Disagree strongly
  8. DON'T KNOW
  9. NO ANSWER

CCRACE            Would you say that all, most or few of the judges on the Constitutional Court are white?

1. All
2. Most
3. Few
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

MARTIAL            Q.88a. What is your present marital status?

1. Never married/single
2. Married
3. Living as married
4. Divorced
5. Separated
6. WIDOWED
9. REFUSED-NO ANSWER

EMPLOY            Q.89. What is your current employment status?

1. Unemployed (not looking for work)
2. Unemployed (looking for work)
3. Housewife (not looking for work)
4. Housewife (looking for work)
5. Student/scholar
6. Pensioner
7. Army/Armed forces
8. Work in informal sector (looking for permanent work)
9. Work in informal sector (not looking for permanent work)
10. Self-employed (part-time)
20. Self-employed (full-time)
30. Employed (part-time)
40. Employed (seasonally)
50. Employed (full-time)
60. Disabled not looking for permanent work
80. DON'T KNOW
90. REFUSED

EWORRY            Q.90 How much does the thought worry you that, during the next 12 months, you or some member of your family might become unemployed?

1. Not at all worried
2. Not very worried
3. A little worried

- 4. Very worried
- 8. REFUSED/NO ANSWER
- 9. NO ONE IS EMPLOYED/ALL UNEMPLOYED

- MUNEMP      Q. 91 Have you or a member of your family become unemployed in the last 12 months?
- 1. Yes
  - 2. No
  - 8. DON'T KNOW/UNCERTAIN
  - 9. REFUSED
- PARSUP1      Q.92.1 If the South African Parliament started making a lot of decisions that most people disagree with, it might be better to do away with the parliament altogether.
- 1. Agree strongly
  - 2. Agree
  - 3. Uncertain
  - 4. Disagree
  - 5. Disagree strongly
  - 8. DON'T KNOW
  - 9. NO ANSWER
- PARSUP2      2. The South African Parliament can usually be trusted to make decisions that are right for the country as a whole.
- 1. Agree strongly
  - 2. Agree
  - 3. Uncertain
  - 4. Disagree
  - 5. Disagree strongly
  - 8. DON'T KNOW
  - 9. NO ANSWER
- PARSUP3      3. The South African Parliament treats all people who come before it – black, white, coloured, and Asian – the same.
- 1. Agree strongly
  - 2. Agree
  - 3. Uncertain
  - 4. Disagree
  - 5. Disagree strongly

- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. NO ANSWER

SA2010 Q93. How likely is it that you will be living in South Africa 10 years from now (2010)?

- 1. Extremely likely
- 2. Quite likely
- 3. Not very likely
- 4. Highly unlikely
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. NO ANSWER

Q.94a Do you or anyone else in your household own ....?

OWN1 Own a refrigerator of combined fridge/freezer

- 0. Do not own this
- 1. Own this

OWN2 Own an electric floor polisher

- 0. Do not own this
- 1. Own this

OWN3 Own a vacuum cleaner

- 0. Do not own this
- 1. Own this

OWN4 Own a microwave oven

- 0. Do not own this
- 1. Own this

OWN5 Own a hi-fi music center

- 0. Do not own this
- 1. Own this

- OWN6 Own an automatic or semi-automatic washing machine
0. Do not own this
  1. Own this
- OWN7 Own a working telephone
0. Do not own this
  1. Own this
- OWN8 Own a television set
0. Do not own this
  1. Own this
- OWN9 Bank account
0. Do not own this
  1. Own this
- OWN10 Pension fund
0. Do not own this
  1. Own this
- OWN11 A car
0. Do not own this
  1. Own this
- CARSOWN Q.94b How many cars do you own?
- APARTL Q.95 Finally, we are interested in your experiences under the old system of apartheid. In general, how would you judge your life under apartheid compared with now? Would you say it was ..... ?
0. Not here during apartheid
  1. A lot worse
  2. A little worse

3. About the same
4. A little better
5. A lot better
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

ROLE

Q.96a People use many different words to describe their relationship with apartheid in the past. Which of the following best describes your role under apartheid?

1. Activist
2. Beneficiary
3. Bystander
4. Collaborator
5. Hero
6. Inactive Opponent
7. Slave
8. Victim
9. Victor
10. Spectator
20. Sellout
30. None
80. DON'T KNOW
90. REFUSED
00. DIDN'T LIVE HERE DURING APARTHEID

ROLEOTH

Q.96b Do any of the other terms describe you as well?

1. Activist
2. Beneficiary
3. Bystander
4. Collaborator
5. Hero
6. Inactive Opponent
7. Slave
8. Victim
9. Victor
10. Spectator
20. Sellout
30. None
80. DON'T KNOW
90. REFUSED
00. DIDN'T LIVE HERE DURING APARTHEID
- 10. NO OTHER ROLE APPLIES

APARTH

Q.97 Were you ever personally harmed or injured by apartheid?

- 0. Didn't live here during apartheid
- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 8. UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED/NO ANSWER

Q.98 Here is a list of things that happened to people under apartheid. Please tell me which, if any, of these experiences you have had.

APARTH1            Required to move my residence

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

APARTH2            Lost my job because of apartheid

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

APARTH3            Was assaulted by the police

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

APARTH4            Was imprisoned by the authorities

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

APARTH5            Was psychologically harmed

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

APARTH6 Was denied access to education of my choice

1. Yes
2. No
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

APARTH7 Was unable to associate with people of different race and colour.

1. Yes
2. No
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

APARTH8 Had to use a pass to move about.

1. Yes
2. No
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

APARTH9 Profited from the system

1. Yes
2. No
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

Q.99 Some people have told us that they benefitted from the old system of apartheid. What about you – would you say you definitely benefitted, probably benefitted, probably did not benefit, or definitely did not benefit from

ABEN1 1. the educational system under apartheid

1. Definitely benefitted
2. Probably benefitted
3. Probably did not benefit
4. Definitely did not benefit
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

ABEN2 2. Cheap labour available under apartheid

1. Definitely benefitted
2. Probably benefitted
3. Probably did not benefit
4. Definitely did not benefit
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

ABEN3

3. Level of crime under apartheid

1. Definitely benefitted
2. Probably benefitted
3. Probably did not benefit
4. Definitely did not benefit
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

ABEN4

4. Access to jobs under apartheid

1. Definitely benefitted
2. Probably benefitted
3. Probably did not benefit
4. Definitely did not benefit
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

FOR THOSE WHO WERE HARMED BY APARTHEID:

Q.100 Would you say you agree strongly, agree, are uncertain, disagree, or disagree strongly with the following statements?

IAPART1

I can never reclaim what was taken from me under apartheid.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

IAPART2

Those who harmed me deserved now to be forgiven.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

IAPART3            Those who say they had no knowledge of the human rights abuses committed under apartheid are not telling the truth.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

IAPART4            Supporting the National Party during the apartheid era was the same as supporting apartheid.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

IAPART5            Those who created apartheid continue to benefit from it in numerous ways.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

IAPART6            Apartheid is basically irrelevant to my life today.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Uncertain

4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly
8. DON'T KNOW
9. NO ANSWER

HOUSE

Q.101 What kind of housing are you living in at the moment?

0. Office
1. House in suburb
2. House in township
3. Townhouse/cluster
4. Flat
5. Hotel/residential hotel
6. Hut
7. Room in backyard
8. Shack in backyard
9. Squatter camp
10. House on employers property
20. Compound
30. Domestic accommodation room
40. Farm workers house
50. Shack in rural area
60. House in rural area
70. House in village
80. House on farm, farmhouse
90. Other

LIVE2001

Do you think you will still be living at this address in the year 2001. If not, do you know how we can contact you?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know

CONTACT

What is your relationship with the contact person?

1. Parent
2. Child
3. Sibling
4. Other family member
5. Friend
6. Colleague
7. Employer
8. Other

9. Refused

INTERVIEWER REMARKS  
(TO BE COMPLETED AFTER THE SURVEY IS FINISHED)

IVMO	Month of interview
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. January 2001</li><li>2. February 2001</li><li>11. November 2000</li><li>12. December 2000</li></ol>
IVDAY	Day of interview
IVYR	Year of interview
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>0. 2000</li><li>1. 2001</li></ol>
COOP	In general, what was the respondent's attitude toward the interview?
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Friendly and interested</li><li>2. Cooperative but not particularly interested</li><li>3. Impatient and restless</li><li>4. Hostile</li></ol>
USTAND	Did the respondent understand the questions?
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Well</li><li>2. Not very well</li><li>3. Poorly</li></ol>
RCARDS	Was the respondent able to read the show cards?
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Without any apparent difficulty</li><li>2. With some difficulty</li><li>3. With a great deal of difficulty</li><li>4. Could not read the show cards</li></ol>

USTANDVP Compared to other respondents, how well did the respondent understand the story?

1. Well
2. Not very well
3. Poorly
4. First interview so can't compare

SMART Was the respondent

1. About as Clever as Most Respondents
2. Not as Clever as Most Respondents
3. Somewhat More Clever than Most Respondents
4. A Great Deal More Clever than Most Respondents
5. First interview so can't compare
6. Can't compare

HONEST Compared to other respondents, was the respondent

1. About as Honest and Open as Most Respondents
2. Not as Honest and Open as Most Respondents
3. Somewhat More Honest and Open than Most Respondents
4. A Great Deal More Honest and Open than Most Respondents
5. First Respondent, Could Not Compare

PRESENT1 No one else was present

1. Yes

PRESENT2 The spouse of the respondent was present

1. Yes

PRESENT3 Children of the respondent were present

1. Yes

PRESENT4 Other adults were present

1. Yes

LIVSTD How would you evaluate the living quarters of the respondent?

1. Clearly Much Better off than Most People
2. About as Well off as Most People
3. Clearly less Well off than Most People
4. Interview Did Not Take Place in Living Quarters of Respondent

LOCA In what type of dwelling was the interview conducted?

0. Office
1. House in suburb
2. House in township
3. Townhouse/cluster
4. Flat
5. Hotel/residential hotel
6. Hut
7. Room in backyard
8. Shack in backyard
9. Squatter camp
10. House on employers property
20. Compound
30. Domestic accommodation room
40. Farm workers house
50. Shack in rural area
60. House in rural area
70. House in village
80. House on farm, farmhouse
90. Other

CLASS What would you say is the socio-economic status of the respondent?

1. Upper, upper middle class
2. Middle, non-manual workers
3. Manual workers - skilled, semi-skilled
4. Manual workers - unskilled, unemployed

READ How well could the respondent read?

1. Was able to read without difficulty
2. Was able to read, but with some difficulty
3. Was able to read, but with great difficulty
4. Was not able to read
5. Could not judge

ILANG In what language/languages was the interview conducted?

ILANG1 Afrikaans 1. Yes 0. No

ILANG2	English	1. Yes	0. No
ILANG3	North Sotho	1. Yes	0. No
ILANG4	South Sotho	1. Yes	0. No
ILANG5	Tswana	1. Yes	0. No
ILANG6	Tsonga	1. Yes	0. No
ILANG7	Venda	1. Yes	0. No
ILANG8	Xhosa	1. Yes	0. No
ILANG9	Zulu	1. Yes	0. No

MULTLANG Was it necessary to use a mixture of languages to conduct the interview?

1. Languages were often mixed
2. Languages were occasionally mixed
3. Languages were not mixed

IVGENDER Interviewer's gender

1. Male
2. Female

IVRACE Interviewer's race

1. Black
2. Coloured
3. White
4. Indian

IVID Interviewer's identification number

1-997

ILENGTH2 Length of interview

30-235 minutes

NATWT Weight to be used analysis is *not* conducted by respondent race

RACEWT Weight to be used when doing analysis comparing respondent race

1. For a most useful review of racial categorization under apartheid see Posel 2001.

2. The editor of a special issue of *Daedalus* focused on South Africa had this to say about the use of racial terms in the articles in the journal: "Many of the authors in this issue observe the South African convention of dividing the country's population into four racial categories: white (of European descent), colored (of mixed ancestry), Indian (forebears from the Indian subcontinent), and African. The official nomenclature for 'Africans' has itself varied over the years, changing from 'native' to 'Bantu' in the middle of the apartheid era, and then changing again to 'black' or, today, 'African/black.' All of these terms appear in the essays that follow." See Graubard 2001, viii.

3. While many racial communities remained separate during the first part of the twentieth century, others developed into vibrant multi-cultural communities (such as District Six in Cape Town, for example).