

Afrobarometer ROUND 4

THE QUALITY OF DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Document revised: 22 October 2008

Respondent Number

S	A	F			
[Office Use Only]					

Fieldworker No.

S	A	F		
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Data Entry Clerk No.

S	A	F		
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Field Number:

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[Allocated by Supervisor]

[Supervisor Use Only]

Household back-checked?		Questionnaire checked by:	PSU/EA: [Circle one]	
Yes	1	[Supervisor signature]	Urban	1
No	2		Rural	2
			PSU/EA-SAF [Circle one]	
			Urban	1
			Rural	2
			Rural Farm	3
			Informal	4
			Institution	5
			Tribal	6
			Other	7

[Interviewer: Select appropriate code for Region/Province. Write names for District and Town/Village and EA number in the boxes.]

Province		District	
Eastern Cape	700	Town/Village	
Free State	701	EA Number	
Gauteng	702		
Kwazulu Natal	703		
Limpopo	704		
Mpumalanga	705		
North West	706		
Northern Cape	707		
Western Cape	708		

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ARE TO BE FILLED IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE FIELD SUPERVISOR

EA-SVC. Are the following services present in the primary sampling unit / enumeration area?	Yes	No	Can't determine
A. Electricity grid that most houses could access	1	0	9
B. Piped water system that most houses could access	1	0	9
C. Sewage system that most houses could access	1	0	9
D. Cell phone service	1	0	9

EA-FAC. Are the following facilities available within the primary sampling unit / enumeration area, or within easy walking distance?	Yes	No	Can't determine
A. Post-office	1	0	9
B. School	1	0	9
C. Police Station	1	0	9
D. Health Clinic	1	0	9
E. Market stalls (selling groceries and/or clothing)	1	0	9

EA-SEC. In the PSU / EA, did you (or any of your colleagues) see:	Yes	No	Don't Know
A. Any policemen or police vehicles?	1	0	9
B. Any soldiers or army vehicles?	1	0	9

EA-ROAD. Thinking of the journey here:	Yes	No
A. Was the road at the start point in the PSU / EA paved / tarred / concrete?	1	0

DWELL-TYPE. Approximately what proportion of the dwelling units in this primary sampling unit / enumeration area were:		
<i>[Interviewer: In conjunction with field supervisors and other team members, estimate the percentage of each type of housing unit, in multiples of 10, i.e., 10%, 20%, 30%, etc. Enter two-digit number for each type (use "00" for 0%). Make sure that total of all four categories adds to 100%.]</i>		
A.	Formal (house, flat, semi-detached house, unit in a complex (e.g., simplex), room in backyard and room not in backyard)	
B.	Traditional (traditional dwelling / hut / structure made of traditional material)	
C.	Informal (shack / squatter settlement)	
D.	Other (caravan, private ship and workers' hostel)	

Household Selection Procedure

Interviewer: It is your job to select a random (this means any) household. A household is a group of people who presently eat together from the same pot.

Start your walk pattern from the start point that has been randomly chosen by your Field Supervisor. Team members must walk in opposite directions to each other. If A walks towards the sun, B must walk away from the sun; C and D must walk at right angles to A and B.

Use a 10 interval pattern to select a household. That is, walking in your designated direction away from the start point, select the 10th household for the first interview, counting houses on both the right and the left (and starting with those on the right if they are opposite each other). Once you leave your first interview, continue on in the same direction, this time selecting the 10th household, again counting houses on both the right and the left. If the settlement comes to an end and there are no more houses, turn at right angles to the right and keep walking, continuing to count until finding the tenth dwelling.

Interviewer: If a call is unsuccessful, use the table below to record your progress until you make a successful call. Circle a code number for unsuccessful calls only.

NOCALL	NOCALL_1	NOCALL_2	NOCALL_3	NOCALL_4	NOCALL_5	NOCALL_6	NOCALL_7
Reasons for Unsuccessful Calls	Household 1	Household 2	Household 3	Household 4	Household 5	Household 6	Household 7
Refused to be interviewed	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Person selected was never at home after at least two visits	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Household/Premises empty for the survey period after at least two visits	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Not a citizen/Spoke only a foreign language	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Deaf/Did not speak a survey language	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Did not fit gender quota	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
No adults in household	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Other (specify) _____	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Not Applicable	997	997	997	997	997	997	997

*If no one is at home (i.e., premises empty), substitute with the very **next** household. If the interview is refused, use an interval of 10 to select a substitute household, counting houses on both the right and the left.*

When you find a household with someone home, please introduce yourself using the following script. You must learn this introduction so that you can say it exactly as it is written below.

Good day. My name is _____ . I am from Citizens Surveys, an independent research organization. I do not represent the government or any political party. We are studying the views of citizens in South Africa about how the country is governed and how the economy is managed. We would like to discuss these issues with a member of your household. Every person in the country has an equal chance of being included in this study. All information will be kept confidential. Your household has been chosen by chance. We would like to choose an adult from your household. Would you help us pick one?

Note: The person must give his or her informed consent by answering positively. If participation is refused, walk away from the household and record this in the above table on "Reasons for Unsuccessful Calls." Substitute the household using an interval of 10 households. If consent is secured, proceed to Respondent Selection.

Respondent Selection Procedure

Interviewer: **Within** the household, it is your job to select a random (this means any) individual. This individual becomes the interview Respondent. In addition, you are responsible for alternating interviews between men and women. Circle the correct code below.

Note that "First Interview" should ONLY be used for your very first interview on the first day of fieldwork, NOT your first interview every day.

	First Interview	Male	Female
PREVINT. Previous interview was with a:	0	1	2
THISINT. This interview must be with a:		1	2

Please tell me the names of all males / females [select correct gender] who presently live in this household. I only want the names of males / females [select correct gender] who are citizens of South Africa and who are 18 years and older.

If this interview must be with a female, list only women's names. If this interview is with a male, list only men's names. List all eligible household members of this gender who are 18 years or older, even those not presently at home but who will return to the house at any time that day. Include only citizens of South Africa.

Women's Names	Men's Names
1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5
6	6
7	7
8	8
9	9
10	10

Please record the total number of adult women / men [select correct gender, from above table] who are citizens of South Africa in the household, i.e., how many names did you write in either the left of the right column above. Enter a two-digit number.

ADULT_CT. Number of women / men in the household (adult citizens)		
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Take out your deck of numbered cards. Present them face-down so that the numbers cannot be seen. Ask the person who is selecting respondents to pick any card, by saying:

Please choose a card. The person who corresponds to the number chosen will be the person interviewed.

[Interviewer: **REMEMBER** to circle the code number of the person selected on the table above.]

The person I need to speak to is [insert name] _____ . Is this person presently at home?	
If yes:	May I please interview this person now?
If no:	Will this person return here at any time today?
If no:	Thank you very much. I will select another household. Substitute with the next household to the right and repeat the respondent selection procedure. (NOTE: YOU CAN ONLY SUBSTITUTE HOUSEHOLDS NOT INDIVIDUALS.)
If yes:	Please tell this person that I will return for an interview at [insert convenient time]. If this respondent is not present when you call back, replace this household with the next household to the right.

If the selected respondent is not the same person that you first met, repeat Introduction:

Good day. My name is _____ . I am from Citizens Surveys, an independent research organization. I do not represent the government or any political party. We are studying the views of citizens in South Africa about how the country is governed and how the economy is managed. We would like to discuss these issues with a member of your household.

To ALL respondents:

Your answers will be confidential. They will be put together with 2400 other people we are talking to, to get an overall picture. It will be impossible to pick you out from what you say, so please feel free to tell us what you think. This interview will take about 45 minutes. There is no penalty for refusing to participate. Do you wish to proceed? [Proceed with next question only if answer is positive].

I am only allowed to conduct this interview with citizens of South Africa. Are you a citizen of South Africa, with an ID Book, or birth certificate issued by the Department of Home Affairs? Please remember, there is no penalty for not participating, and your answer will be kept confidential.

If yes:	Proceed with the interview
If no:	Thank you very much. I will select another household. Substitute with the next household to the right and repeat the respondent selection procedure. (NOTE: YOU CAN ONLY SUBSTITUTE HOUSEHOLDS NOT INDIVIDUALS.)

CALLS.		Circle number	
How many calls were made to the household where the interview actually took place?		1	2

DATEINTR.	Day	Month	Year
Date of interview <i>[Interviewer: Enter day, month, and year]</i>			

STRTIME.	Hour	Minute
Time interview started <i>[Interviewer: Enter hour and minute, use 24 hr. clock]</i>		

Interviewer: If a respondent firmly refuses to answer any question, write "refused" in the answer space and continue to the next question.

BEGIN INTERVIEW

Let's begin by recording a few facts about yourself.			
1. How old are you? [Interviewer: Enter three digit number. Don't Know = 999] [Interviewer: If respondent is aged less than 18, stop interview and use cards to randomly draw another respondent in the same household]			

	No	Yes	Don't know [DNR]
2. Are you the head of the household? [Interviewer: Circle correct response number]	0	1	9

3. Which South African language is your home language? [Interviewer: Prompt if necessary: <i>That is, the language of your group of origin.</i>]			
English	1	Setswana/Tswana	705
Portuguese	3	Shangaan	706
Afrikaans	700	Swazi	707
Ndebele	701	Venda	708
Xhosa	702	Zulu	709
Pedi/Spedi/North Sotho	703		
Sesotho/Sotho/South Sotho	704	Other [Specify]: _____	Post code

Let's discuss economic conditions.						
4. In general, how would you describe: [Read out response options]						
	Very good	Fairly Good	Neither good nor bad	Fairly Bad	Very Bad	Don't know [DNR]
A. The present economic condition of this country?	5	4	3	2	1	9
B. Your own present living conditions?	5	4	3	2	1	9

5. In general, how do you rate your living conditions compared to those of other South Africans? [Read out response options]	
Much worse	1
Worse	2
Same	3
Better	4
Much better	5
Don't know [Do not read]	9

6. Looking back, how do you rate the following compared to twelve months ago? [Read out response options]						
	Much worse	Worse	Same	Better	Much Better	Don't know [DNR]
A. Economic conditions in this country?	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. Your living conditions?	1	2	3	4	5	9

6-SAF. Is your life today better, about the same or worse than it was under apartheid? [Read out response options]	
Much worse	1
Worse	2
Same	3
Better	4
Much better	5
Too Young to remember [Do Not Read Out]	7
Don't know [Do not read]	9

7. Looking ahead, do you expect the following to be better or worse? [Read out options]						
	Much Worse	Worse	Same	Better	Much Better	Don't know [DNR]
A. Economic conditions in this country in twelve months time?	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. Your living conditions in twelve months time?	1	2	3	4	5	9

7-SAF. What about the overall direction of the country? Would you say that the country is: [Read out response options]	
Going in the right direction	1
Going in the wrong direction	2
Don't know [Do not read]	9

8. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family gone without: [Read out options]							
	Never	Just once or twice	Several times	Many times	Always	No access to electricity	Don't Know [DNR]
A. Enough food to eat?	0	1	2	3	4		9
B. Enough clean water for home use?	0	1	2	3	4		9
C. Medicines or medical treatment?	0	1	2	3	4		9
D. Enough fuel to cook your food?	0	1	2	3	4		9
E. A cash income?	0	1	2	3	4		9
F-SAF. Electricity in your home?	0	1	2	3	4	7	9

9. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: [Read out options]							
	Never	Just once or twice	Several times	Many times	Always	Don't Know [DNR]	
A. Feared crime in your own home?	0	1	2	3	4	9	
B. Had something stolen from your house?	0	1	2	3	4	9	
C. Been physically attacked?	0	1	2	3	4	9	

Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree, or agree very strongly?]			
10.			
Statement 1: The costs of reforming the economy are too high; the government should therefore abandon its current economic policies.		Statement 2: In order for the economy to get better in the future, it is necessary for us to accept some hardships now.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

11.			
Statement 1: The government's economic policies have helped most people; only a few have suffered.		Statement 2: The government's economic policies have hurt most people and only benefited a few.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

12. How often do you get news from the following sources? [Read out options]						
	Every day	A few times a week	A few times a month	Less than once a month	Never	Don't know [DNR]
A. Radio	4	3	2	1	0	9
B. Television	4	3	2	1	0	9
C. Newspapers	4	3	2	1	0	9

13. How interested would you say you are in public affairs? [Interviewer: Prompt if necessary: You know, in politics and government?] [Read out options]	
Very interested	3
Somewhat interested	2
Not very interested	1
Not at all interested	0
Don't know [Do not read]	9

14. When you get together with your friends or family, would you say you discuss political matters: [Read out options]	
Frequently	2
Occasionally	1
Never	0
Don't know [Do not read]	9

15. In this country, how free are you: [Read out options]					
	Not at all free	Not very free	Somewhat free	Completely free	Don't know [DNR]
A. To say what you think	1	2	3	4	9
B. To join any political organization you want	1	2	3	4	9
C. To choose who to vote for without feeling pressured	1	2	3	4	9

Lets talk for a moment about the kind of society you would like to have in this country. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree or agree very strongly?]

16.					
Statement 1: Citizens should be more active in questioning the actions of leaders.			Statement 2: In our country, citizens should show more respect for authority.		
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4		
Agree With Neither [Do not read]				5	
Don't know [Do not read]				9	

17.					
Statement 1: Since leaders represent everyone, they should not favour their own family or group.			Statement 2: Once in office, leaders are obliged to help their home community.		
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4		
Agree With Neither [Do not read]				5	
Don't know [Do not read]				9	

18.					
Statement 1: People are like children; the government should take care of them like a parent.			Statement 2: Government is like an employee; the people should be the bosses who control the government.		
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4		
Agree With Neither [Do not read]				5	
Don't know [Do not read]				9	

19.					
Statement 1: Government should be able to ban any organization that goes against its policies.			Statement 2: We should be able to join any organization, whether or not the government approves of it.		
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4		
Agree With Neither [Do not read]				5	
Don't know [Do not read]				9	

20.					
Statement 1: Government should be able to close newspapers that print stories it does not like.			Statement 2: The news media should be free to publish any story that they see fit without fear of being shut down.		
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4		
Agree With Neither [Do not read]				5	
Don't know [Do not read]				9	

21.			
Statement 1: Government should not allow the expression of political views that are fundamentally different from the views of the majority.		Statement 2: People should be able to speak their minds about politics free of government influence, no matter how unpopular their views may be.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

Let's turn to your role in the community.					
22. Now I am going to read out a list of groups that people join or attend. For each one, could you tell me whether you are an official leader, an active member, an inactive member, or not a member.					
	Official Leader	Active Member	Inactive Member	Not a Member	Don't Know <i>[DNR]</i>
A. A religious group (e.g., church, mosque)	3	2	1	0	9
B. Some other voluntary association or community group	3	2	1	0	9

23. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. <i>[If Yes, read out options 2-4]. If not, would you do this if you had the chance? [For No, read out options 0 and 1]</i>						
	YES			NO		Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
	Often	Several times	Once or twice	Would if had the chance	Would never do this	
A. Attended a community meeting	4	3	2	1	0	9
B. Got together with others to raise an issue	4	3	2	1	0	9
C. Attended a demonstration or protest march	4	3	2	1	0	9
C1-SAF. Used force or violence for a political cause	4	3	2	1	0	9

23D. With regard to the most recent, 2004 national elections, which statement is true for you? <i>[Read out options]</i>	
You were not registered or you were too young to vote	0
You voted in the elections	1
You decided not to vote	2
You could not find the polling station	3
You were prevented from voting	4
You did not have time to vote	5
Did not vote for some other reason	6
Don't Know / Can't remember <i>[DNR]</i>	9

24. In your opinion, how likely is it that you could get together with others and make: <i>[Read out options]</i>					
	Not at all likely	Not very likely	Somewhat likely	Very likely	Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
A. Your elected local councillor listen to your concerns about a matter of importance to the community?	0	1	2	3	9
B. Representatives to the National Assembly listen to your concerns about a matter of importance to the community?	0	1	2	3	9

25. During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views? <i>[Read out options]</i>					
	Never	Only once	A few times	Often	Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
A. A Local Government Councillor	0	1	2	3	9
B. A Representative to the National Assembly	0	1	2	3	9
C. An official of a government agency	0	1	2	3	9

26. Think of the last time you contacted any of these leaders. Did you go: *[If respondent answered 0=Never for ALL PARTS of Q25, i.e. they NEVER contacted any of these leaders, circle code 7=Not applicable in both parts of Q26]*

	Alone	With a group	Not applicable (did not contact any)	Don't know [DNR]
A. Alone or with a group?	1	2	7	9
	Community problem	Personal problem	Not applicable (did not contact any)	Don't know [DNR]
B. To discuss a community problem or a personal problem?	1	2	7	9

27. During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views? *[Read out options]*

	Never	Only once	A few times	Often	Don't know [DNR]
A. A religious leader	0	1	2	3	9
B. A traditional ruler	0	1	2	3	9
C. Some other influential person <i>(prompt if necessary: You know, someone with more money or power than you who can speak on your behalf.)</i>	0	1	2	3	9

28. Think of the last time you contacted any of these leaders. Did you go: *[If respondent answered 0=Never for ALL PARTS of Q27, i.e. they NEVER contacted any of these leaders, circle code 7=Not applicable in both parts of Q28]*

	Alone	With a group	Not applicable (did not contact any)	Don't know [DNR]
A. Alone or with a group?	1	2	7	9
	Community problem	Personal problem	Not applicable (did not contact any)	Don't know [DNR]
B. To discuss a community problem or a personal problem?	1	2	7	9

29. There are many ways to govern a country. Would you disapprove or approve of the following alternatives? *[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion.]*

	Strongly Disapprove	Disapprove	Neither Approve Nor Disapprove [DNR]	Approve	Strongly Approve	Don't know [DNR]
A. Only one political party is allowed to stand for election and hold office.	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. The army comes in to govern the country.	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. Elections and the National Assembly are abolished so that the president can decide everything.	1	2	3	4	5	9
D- SAF. If the country returned to the old system we had under apartheid	1	2	3	4	5	9

[Interviewer: In the section that follows, which asks questions about democracy, always read the question in the language of the interview, but always read "democracy" in English. Translate "democracy" into local language only if respondent does not understand English term. Be sure to ask ALL questions of ALL respondents, even if they have difficulty understanding the term "democracy".]

30. Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion? *[Read out statements. Only one option to be chosen. Read the question in the language of the interview, but always read "democracy" in English. Translate "democracy" into local language only if respondent does not understand English term.]*

STATEMENT 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.	3
STATEMENT 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable.	2
STATEMENT 3: For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have.	1
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree or agree very strongly?]</i>			
31.			
Statement 1: We should choose our leaders in this country through regular, open and honest elections.		Statement 2: Since elections sometimes produce bad results, we should adopt other methods for choosing this country's leaders.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

32.			
Statement 1: Political parties create division and confusion; it is therefore unnecessary to have many political parties in South Africa.		Statement 2: Many political parties are needed to make sure that South Africans have real choices in who governs them.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

33.			
Statement 1: The National Assembly should ensure that the President explains to it on a regular basis how his government spends the taxpayers' money.		Statement 2: The President should be able to devote his full attention to developing the country rather than wasting time justifying his actions.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

34.			
Statement 1: Opposition parties should regularly examine and criticize government policies and actions.		Statement 2: Opposition parties should concentrate on cooperating with government and helping it develop the country.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

35.			
Statement 1: The news media should constantly investigate and report on corruption and the mistakes made by the government.		Statement 2: Too much reporting on negative events, like corruption, only harms the country.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

36.			
Statement 1: The representatives to the National Assembly represent the people; therefore they should make laws for this country, even if the President does not agree.		Statement 2: Since the President represents all of us, he should pass laws without worrying about what the National Assembly thinks.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

37.			
Statement 1: Since the President was elected to lead the country, he should not be bound by laws or court decisions that he thinks are wrong.		Statement 2: The President must always obey the laws and the courts, even if he thinks they are wrong.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

38.			
Statement 1: The constitution should limit the president to serving a maximum of two terms in office.		Statement 2: There should be no constitutional limit on how long the president can serve.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

39.			
Statement 1: Our present system of elected government should be given more time to deal with inherited problems.		Statement 2: If our present system cannot produce results soon, we should try another form of government.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

39-SAF. We are now going to discuss how you rate different forms of government. I would like you to give marks out of 10. The best form of governing a country gets 10 out of 10 and the worst form of governing a country gets no marks at all. What grade would you give to: <i>[Write a two digit number between 0 and 10 in the cells provided. If respondent says "Do Not Know," write in code 99.]</i>			
39A-SAF.	The way the country was governed under apartheid.		
39B-SAF.	Our current system of government with regular elections where everyone can vote and there are at least two political parties.		
39C-SAF.	The political system of this country as you expect it to be in 10 years time.		

39D-SAF. If a non-elected government or leader could impose law and order, and deliver houses and jobs: How willing or unwilling would you be to give up regular elections and live under such a government? <i>[Read out options]</i>	
Very willing	1
Willing	2
Unwilling	3
Very unwilling	4
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	5

40. If you had to choose, which one of the following things: <i>[Read out options]</i>						
	Maintaining order in the nation	Giving people more say in government decisions	Protecting people's right to live freely	Improving economic conditions for the poor	None of these <i>[DNR]</i>	Don't Know <i>[DNR]</i>
A. Is most important?	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. And which would be the next most important?	1	2	3	4	5	9

Now let us speak about the political system in this country?						
41. Can you tell me the name of: <i>[Interviewer: Write down respondent's answer. Then circle correct code. If you do not know correct name, consult your supervisor, fill in the correct name, and circle relevant code before leaving PSU.]</i>						
			Know But Can't Remember	Incorrect Guess	Correct Name	Don't Know
A. Your representative to the National Assembly?	41a1. Name: _____ <i>[correct answer is: _____]</i>	41a2.	1	2	3	9
B. Your country's Minister of Finance?	41b1. Name: _____ <i>[correct answer is: Trevor Manuel]</i>	41b2.	1	2	3	9

42A. In your opinion how much of a democracy is South Africa today? <i>[Read out options. Accept only one option. Read the question in the language of the interview, but always read "democracy" in English Translate "democracy" into local language only if respondent does not understand English term.]</i>	
A full democracy	4
A democracy, but with minor problems	3
A democracy, with major problems	2
Not a democracy	1
Do not understand question /do not understand what 'democracy' is <i>[Do not read]</i>	8
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

42B. Andrew lives in a country with many political parties and free elections. Everyone is free to speak their minds about politics and to vote for the party of their choice. Elections sometimes lead to a change of ruling party. In your opinion, how much of a democracy is Andrew's country? <i>[Read out options. Accept only one option. Read the question in the language of the interview, but always read "democracy" in English Translate "democracy" into local language only if respondent does not understand English term.]</i>	
A full democracy	4
A democracy, but with minor problems	3
A democracy, with major problems	2
Not a democracy	1
Do not understand question /do not understand what 'democracy' is <i>[Do not read]</i>	8
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

42C. Beatrice lives in a country with regular elections. It has one large political party and many small ones. People are free to express their opinions and to vote as they please. But so far, elections have not led to a change of ruling party. In your opinion, how much of a democracy is Beatrice's country? <i>[Read out options. Accept only one option. Read the question in the language of the interview, but always read "democracy" in English Translate "democracy" into local language only if respondent does not understand English term.]</i>	
A full democracy	4
A democracy, but with minor problems	3
A democracy, with major problems	2
Not a democracy	1
Do not understand question /do not understand what 'democracy' is <i>[Do not read]</i>	8
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

42D. Charles lives in a country with regular elections. It has one big political party and many small ones. People are afraid to express political opinions or to vote for the opposition. The opposition is so weak that it seems that it can never win an election. In your opinion, how much of a democracy is Charles's country? <i>[Read out options. Accept only one option. Read the question in the language of the interview, but always read "democracy" in English Translate "democracy" into local language only if respondent does not understand English term.]</i>	
A full democracy	4
A democracy, but with minor problems	3
A democracy, with major problems	2
Not a democracy	1
Do not understand question /do not understand what 'democracy' is <i>[Do not read]</i>	8
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

43. Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in South Africa? Are you: <i>[Read out options. Only one option to be chosen. Read the question in the language of the interview, but always read "democracy" in English. Translate "democracy" into local language only if respondent does not understand English term.]</i>	
Very satisfied	4
Fairly satisfied	3
Not very satisfied	2
Not at all satisfied	1
South Africa is not a democracy <i>[Do not read]</i>	0
Do not know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

44. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you disagree or agree? <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]</i>						
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree <i>[DNR]</i>	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't Know <i>[DNR]</i>
A. The courts have the right to make decisions that people always have to abide by.	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. The police always have the right to make people obey the law.	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. The tax department always has the right to make people pay taxes.	1	2	3	4	5	9

45. In your opinion, how often, in this country: <i>[Read out options]</i>					
	Always	Often	Rarely	Never	Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
A. Does competition between political parties lead to violent conflict?	3	2	1	0	9
B. Does the President ignore the laws of this country?	3	2	1	0	9
C. Are people treated unequally under the law?	3	2	1	0	9
D. Do officials who commit crimes go unpunished?	3	2	1	0	9
E. Do ordinary people who break the law go unpunished?	3	2	1	0	9

46. In this country, how often do people have to be careful of what they say about politics? <i>[Read out options]</i>	
Always	3
Often	2
Rarely	1
Never	0
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

47. During election campaigns in this country, how much do you personally fear becoming a victim of political intimidation or violence? <i>[Read out options]</i>	
Not at all	3
A little bit	2
Somewhat	1
A lot	0
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

48. How likely do you think it is: <i>[Read out options]</i>					
	Not at all likely	Not very likely	Somewhat likely	Very likely	Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
A. That powerful people can find out how you voted, even though there is supposed to be a secret ballot in this country?	0	1	2	3	9
B. That people can be punished by government officials if they make complaints about poor quality services or misuse of funds?	0	1	2	3	9

49. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? [Read out options]					
	Not at all	Just a little	Somewhat	A lot	Don't know/ Haven't heard [DNR]
A. The new President Kgalema Motlanthe	0	1	2	3	9
A1-SAF The former President Thabo Mbeki	0	1	2	3	9
A2-SAF The President of the ANC, Jacob Zuma	0	1	2	3	9
B. The National Assembly	0	1	2	3	9
C. The Independent Electoral Commission	0	1	2	3	9
C1-SAF. The Premier of this province, _____ [Read in name]	0	1	2	3	9
C2-SAF. Your Provincial Government	0	1	2	3	9
D. Your Elected Local Government Council	0	1	2	3	9
E. The Ruling Party	0	1	2	3	9
F. Opposition Political Parties	0	1	2	3	9
G. The Police	0	1	2	3	9
G1-SAF. The National Directorate for Public Prosecutions (Scorpions)	0	1	2	3	9
H. Courts of law	0	1	2	3	9
I. Traditional leaders	0	1	2	3	9

50. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? [Read out options]					
	None	Some of them	Most of them	All of them	Don't know/ Haven't heard [DNR]
A. President Kgalema Motlanthe and Officials in his Office	0	1	2	3	9
A1- Former President Thabo Mbeki and Officials in SAF his office	0	1	2	3	9
B. Representatives to the National Assembly	0	1	2	3	9
C. Elected Local Government Councillors	0	1	2	3	9
D. Government Officials	0	1	2	3	9
E. Police	0	1	2	3	9
F. Tax Officials (e.g. SARS officials)	0	1	2	3	9
G. Judges and Magistrates	0	1	2	3	9
H. Traditional leaders	0	1	2	3	9

51. In the past year, how often (if ever) have you had to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour to government officials in order to: [Read out options.]						
	No experience with this in past year [DNR]	Never	Once or Twice	A Few Times	Often	Don't know [DNR]
A. Get a document or a permit?	7	0	1	2	3	9
B. Get water or sanitation services?	7	0	1	2	3	9
C. Avoid a problem with the police (like passing a checkpoint or avoiding a fine or arrest)?	7	0	1	2	3	9

52. Representatives to the National Assembly have different responsibilities. Which of the following do you think is the most important responsibility of representatives to the National Assembly? [Read out options]	
Listen to constituents and represent their needs.	1
Deliver jobs or development to your constituency	2
Make laws for the good of the country.	3
Monitor the president and his government.	4
None of these [Do not read]	5
Don't know [Do not read]	9

53. How much time: <i>[Read out options]</i>						
	Almost all of their time	At least weekly	At least once a month	At least once a year	Never	Don't know [DNR]
A. Should your representative to the National Assembly spend in this constituency to visit the community and its citizens?	4	3	2	1	0	9
B. Does your representative to the National Assembly spend in this constituency?	4	3	2	1	0	9

54. How much of the time do you think the following try their best to listen to what people like you have to say? <i>[Read out options]</i>					
	Never	Only Sometimes	Often	Always	Don't know [DNR]
A. Representatives to the National Assembly	0	1	2	3	9
B. Elected Local Government Councillors	0	1	2	3	9
C. Traditional leaders	0	1	2	3	9

55. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree or agree very strongly?]</i>				
Statement 1: In electing representatives to the National Assembly, I prefer to vote for a political party that can deliver goods and services to people in this community.		Statement 2: In electing representatives to the National Assembly, I prefer to vote for a political party that can make policies that benefit everyone in our country.		
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4	
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9	

56. In your opinion, what are the most important problems facing this country that government should address? [Do not read options. Code from responses. Accept up to three answers. If respondent offers more than three options, ask "Which three of these are the most important?"; if respondent offers one or two answers, ask "Anything else?"]

	1 st response	2 nd response	3 rd response
Economics			
Management of the economy (Including prices and inflation)	1	1	1
Wages, incomes and salaries	2	2	2
Unemployment	3	3	3
Poverty/destitution	4	4	4
Rates and Taxes	5	5	5
Loans / credit	6	6	6
Food / Agriculture			
Farming/agriculture	7	7	7
Agricultural marketing	32	32	32
Food shortage/famine	8	8	8
Drought	9	9	9
Land	10	10	10
Infrastructure			
Transportation	11	11	11
Communications	12	12	12
Infrastructure / roads	13	13	13
Government Services			
Education	14	14	14
Housing	15	15	15
Electricity	16	16	16
Water supply	17	17	17
Orphans/street children/homeless children	18	18	18
Services (other)	19	19	19
Health			
Health	20	20	20
AIDS	21	21	21
Sickness / Disease	22	22	22
Governance			
Crime and Security	23	23	23
Corruption	24	24	24
Political violence	25	25	25
Political instability/political divisions/ ethnic tensions	26	26	26
Discrimination/ inequality	27	27	27
Gender issues/women's rights	28	28	28
Democracy/political rights	29	29	29
War (international)	30	30	30
Civil war	31	31	31
Other responses			
Other (i.e., some other problem)	995	995	995
Nothing/ no problems	0		
No further reply		996	996
Don't know	999		

Now let's speak about the performance of the former Mbeki government.

57. How well or badly would you say the former Mbeki government was handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]

	Very Badly	Fairly Badly	Fairly Well	Very Well	DK / Haven't heard enough [DNR]
A. Managing the economy	1	2	3	4	9
B. Improving the living standards of the poor	1	2	3	4	9
C. Creating jobs	1	2	3	4	9
D. Keeping prices down	1	2	3	4	9
E. Narrowing gaps between rich and poor	1	2	3	4	9
F. Reducing crime	1	2	3	4	9
G. Improving basic health services	1	2	3	4	9
H. Addressing educational needs	1	2	3	4	9
I. Providing water and sanitation services	1	2	3	4	9
J. Ensuring everyone has enough to eat	1	2	3	4	9
K. Fighting corruption in government	1	2	3	4	9
L. Combating HIV/AIDS	1	2	3	4	9
M. Maintaining roads and bridges	1	2	3	4	9
N. Providing a reliable supply of electricity	1	2	3	4	9
O. Protecting our rivers and forests	1	2	3	4	9
P. Empowering women	1	2	3	4	9
Q-SAF. Uniting all South Africans into one nation	1	2	3	4	9
R-SAF. Distributing welfare payments to those who are entitled to them (such as old age pensions, disability pensions, child support grants)	1	2	3	4	9
S-SAF. Responding to the situation in Zimbabwe	1	2	3	4	9
T-SAF. Managing immigration	1	2	3	4	9

58. Who do you think actually has *primary* responsibility for managing each of the following tasks. Is it the central government, the local government, traditional leaders, or members of your community?

	Central Government	Local Government	Traditional Leaders	Members of the Community	None of them [DNR]	Don't Know [DNR]
A. Keeping the community clean	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. Managing schools	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. Managing health clinics	1	2	3	4	5	9
D. Collecting income taxes	1	2	3	4	5	9
E. Solving local disputes	1	2	3	4	5	9
F. Allocating land	1	2	3	4	5	9
G. Protecting rivers and forests	1	2	3	4	5	9
H. Maintaining law and order	1	2	3	4	5	9

59. What about local government? I do not mean the central government. I mean your local government council. How well or badly would you say your local government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]

	Very Badly	Fairly Badly	Fairly Well	Very Well	Don't know/ Haven't heard enough [DNR]
A. Maintaining local roads	1	2	3	4	9
B. Maintaining local market places	1	2	3	4	9
C. Maintaining health standards in public restaurants and food stalls	1	2	3	4	9
D. Keeping our community clean (e.g., refuse removed)	1	2	3	4	9
E. Collecting license fees on bicycles, carts and barrows	1	2	3	4	9
F. Collecting rates on privately owned	1	2	3	4	9

houses					
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60. How well or badly do you think your local council is practicing the following procedures? Or haven't you heard enough to have an opinion? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]

	Very Badly	Fairly Badly	Fairly Well	Very Well	Don't know/ Haven't heard enough [DNR]
A. Making the council's program of work known to ordinary people	1	2	3	4	9
B. Providing citizens with information about the council's budget (i.e. revenues and expenditures)	1	2	3	4	9
C. Allowing citizens like yourself to participate in the council's decisions	1	2	3	4	9
D. Consulting others (including traditional, civic and community leaders) before making decisions	1	2	3	4	9
E. Providing effective ways to handle complaints about local councilors or officials	1	2	3	4	9
F. Guaranteeing that local government revenues are used for public services and not for private gain	1	2	3	4	9

61. When there are problems with how local government is run in your community, how much can an ordinary person do to improve the situation? [Read out options]

A great deal	4
Some	3
A small amount	2
Nothing	1
Don't know [Do not read]	9

62A1. In the past year, have you yourself seen any problems with how local government is run?

No	0
Yes	1
Don't know [Do not read]	9

62. [Interviewer: If respondent answered "yes" or "Don't know" to Q62A1, ask:], How often, if at all, did you do any of the following?: [Read out options. If respondent saw no problems, i.e., said "No" on Q62A1, use code 7=Not applicable for ALL remaining parts of Q62, and continue to Q63. Code 7 should either be used for ALL parts of Q62A-F, or NONE of them.]

	Never	Once or twice	Several times	Many times	Not applicable/ Saw no problems [DNR]	Don't Know [DNR]
A. Discuss the problem with other people in your community?	0	1	2	3	7	9
B. Join with others in your community to address the problem?	0	1	2	3	7	9
C. Discuss the problems with other community, religious, or traditional leaders?	0	1	2	3	7	9
D. Write a letter to a newspaper or call a radio show?	0	1	2	3	7	9
E. Make a complaint to local government officials, for example, by going in person or by writing a letter?	0	1	2	3	7	9
F. Make a complaint to other government officials, for example, by going in person or by writing a letter?	0	1	2	3	7	9

63. Looking at the group of elected councillors who are presently serving on your local government council, how qualified do you think they are to do their jobs? Please rate them according to the following types of qualification. Or haven't you heard enough to have an opinion? [Interviewer: Read out options]

	Very Unqualified	Fairly Unqualified	Fairly Qualified	Very Qualified	Don't know/ Haven't heard enough [DNR]
A. Their level of education	1	2	3	4	9
B. The extent that they care about the community	1	2	3	4	9
C. Their experience at managing public service programs	1	2	3	4	9
D. Their honesty in handling public funds	1	2	3	4	9

64. Have you had to make any of the following payments during the past year?				
	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refused
A. Fees for a government service such as education or health care.	1	0	9	8
B. Licence fees to local government, e.g., for a bicycle, cart, or market stall	1	0	9	8
C. Property rates or taxes	1	0	9	8
D. Public utility fees, e.g., for water, electricity or telephone	1	0	9	8
E. Income taxes	1	0	9	8

65. How much influence do traditional leaders currently have in governing your local community? <i>[Read out options]</i>	
A great deal	4
Some	3
A small amount	2
None	1
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

66. Do you think that the amount of influence traditional leaders have in governing your local community should increase, stay the same, or decrease? <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion.]</i>	
Increase a lot	5
Increase somewhat	4
Stay the same	3
Decrease somewhat	2
Decrease a lot	1
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

67. Do you think that traditional leaders should sit on your local government council, or not? <i>[If yes, ask:] If so, do you think they should be elected by the people to these seats, appointed by government officials, or selected in some other way?</i>	
No, should not have seats on council	0
Yes, should have seats elected by people	1
Yes, should have seats appointed by government officials	2
Yes, should have seats selected in some other way	3
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

68. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree or agree very strongly?]</i>			
Statement 1: Traditional leaders must represent all of their people equally. They should remain non-partisan, and not affiliate themselves with any political party.		Statement 2: Traditional leaders are citizens like everyone else, and have the right to decide for themselves whether to support a particular party.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

69.			
Statement 1: To best serve their people, traditional leaders must remain independent of the government. They should not receive government salaries.		Statement 2: Traditional leaders serve their communities and the government, and they should receive a salary from government for their work.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

70. Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the following people have performed their jobs over the past twelve months, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]					
	Strongly Disapprove	Disapprove	Approve	Strongly Approve	Don't know/ Haven't heard enough [DNR]
A1-SAF The former President Thabo Mbeki	1	2	3	4	9
B. The Representatives to the National Assembly	1	2	3	4	9
B1-SAF. The Premier of this province _____ [Insert name]	1	2	3	4	9
C. Your Elected Local Government Councillor	1	2	3	4	9
D-SAF And do you approve or disapprove of the way that the new President Kgalema Motlanthe has performed his job since taking office in September?	1	2	3	4	9

71. On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last national election, held in 2004. Was it: [Read out options]	
Completely free and fair	4
Free and fair, but with minor problems	3
Free and fair, with major problems	2
Not free and fair	1
Do not understand question [Do not read]	8
Don't know [Do not read]	9

72. Think about how elections work in practice in this country. How well do elections: [Read out options]					
	Very well	Well	Not very well	Not at all well	Don't know [DNR]
A. Ensure that the Representatives to the National Assembly reflect the views of voters.	3	2	1	0	9
B. Enable voters to remove from office leaders who do not do what the people want.	3	2	1	0	9

73. Who should be responsible for: [Read out options]						
	The President / Executive	The Parliament / Local Council	Their Political Party	The Voters	No One [DNR]	Don't know [DNR]
A. Making sure that, once elected, representatives to the National Assembly do their jobs?	0	1	2	3	4	9
B. Making sure that, once elected, local government councillors do their jobs?	0	1	2	3	4	9
C. Making sure that, once elected, the president does his job?	0	1	2	3	4	9

74. How easy or difficult is it for an ordinary person to have his voice heard between elections?	
Very easy	4
Somewhat easy	3
Somewhat difficult	2
Very difficult	1
Don't know [Do not read]	9

75-SAF. Would you disapprove or approve of each of the following proposals concerning the financing of political parties and campaigns? <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]</i>						
	Strongly Disapprove	Disapprove	Neither Approve Nor Disapprove	Approve	Strongly Approve	Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
A. Requiring political parties to disclose publicly the source and amount of all donations.	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. Placing limits on the amount of money that any single person or company can contribute to a political party.	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. Placing limits on the total amount of money that each political party can receive.	1	2	3	4	5	9
D. Placing limits on the total amount of money that each political party can spend in an election campaign.	1	2	3	4	5	9

76A-SAF. How about people from other countries coming to South Africa? Which one of the following do you think the government should do? <i>[Read out options]</i>	
Let anyone in who wants to enter	4
Let people in as long as there are jobs available	3
Place strict restrictions on the number of foreigners who can enter	2
Prohibit people entering from other countries	1
Other: <i>[Do not read - Specify]:</i>	Post code
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

76B-SAF. How about people from other countries who are presently living in South Africa? Who, if anyone, do you think the government should send back to their own countries? <i>[Read out options]</i>	
All of these people	1
Only those who are not contributing to the economy	2
Only those who are here without the permission of the South African government	3
Only those who have committed crimes	4
The government should not send back any people to their own countries	5
Other: <i>[Do not read - Specify]:</i>	Post code
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

77-SAF. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent people who have come here from other countries in Africa from: <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]</i>					
	Very likely	Likely	Not Very Likely	Not Likely At All	Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
A. Moving into your neighbourhood?	1	2	3	4	9
B. Operating a business in your area?	1	2	3	4	9
C. Sitting in the same classroom as your children?	1	2	3	4	9
D. Becoming one of your co-workers?	1	2	3	4	9

Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.
[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree or agree very strongly?]

78A-SAF.

Statement 1: The Scorpions have been misused for political purposes and violated people's rights, and therefore should be disbanded.		Statement 2: The Scorpions are an effective tool in the fight against crime and corruption and should be left alone.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

78B-SAF.

Statement 1: The government should immediately stop the prosecution of Jacob Zuma.		Statement 2: The judicial process should continue and run its course so that we can know whether Jacob Zuma is innocent or guilty.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

78C-SAF.

Statement 1: The National Assembly should pass legislation that prevents sitting presidents from being charged with a crime.		Statement 2: Sitting presidents should not receive special consideration; they can be prosecuted for crimes they are accused of like everyone else.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

Let's go back to talking about you.

79. What is your tribe? You know, your ethnic or cultural group? *[Do NOT read options. Code from response] [If respondent does not identify any group on this question – that is, IF they REFUSE to answer (998), DON'T KNOW (999) or mention "South African only (990)"– then mark 7 = Not Applicable for questions 80-83 and continue to question 84.]*

English	700	Venda	709
Afrikaans / Afrikaner / Boer	701	Zulu	710
Ndebele	702	White / European	711
Xhosa	703	Coloured	712
Pedi/Spedi/North Sotho	704	Indian	713
Sesotho/Sotho/South Sotho	705	South African only or "doesn't think of self in those terms"	990
Setswana/Tswana	706	Refused to answer	998
Shangaan	707	Don't know	999
Swazi	708	Other <i>[Specify]:</i>	Post code

80. Think about the condition of _____ [R's Ethnic Group]. Are their economic conditions worse, the same as, or better than other groups in this country? *[Probe for strength of opinion. If respondent did not identify any group on Q79 – that is, IF they REFUSED to answer (998), DIDN'T KNOW (999), or said "South African only" (990) – then mark 7 = Not Applicable for questions 80-83 and continue to question 84.]*

Much worse	5
Worse	4
Same	3
Better	2
Much better	1
Not applicable	7
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

81. Think about the condition of _____ [R's Ethnic Group]. Do they have less, the same, or more influence in politics than other groups in this country? [Probe for strength of opinion. If respondent did not identify any group on Q79 – that is, IF they REFUSED to answer (998), DIDN'T KNOW (999), or said "South African only" (990) – then mark 7 = Not Applicable for questions 80-83 and continue to question 84.]	
Much less	5
Less	4
Same	3
More	2
Much more	1
Not applicable	7
Don't know [Do not read]	9

82. How often are _____s [R's Ethnic Group] treated unfairly by the government? [If respondent did not identify any group on Q79 – that is, IF they REFUSED to answer (998), DIDN'T KNOW (999), or said "South African only" (990) – then mark 7 = Not Applicable for questions 80-83 and continue to question 84.]	
Never	0
Sometimes	1
Often	2
Always	3
Not applicable	7
Don't know [Do not read]	9

83. Let us suppose that you had to choose between being a South African and being a _____ [R's ETHNIC GROUP]. Which of the following statements best expresses your feelings? [If respondent did not identify any group on Q79 – that is, IF they REFUSED to answer (998), DIDN'T KNOW (999), or said "South African only" (990) – then mark 7 = Not Applicable for questions 80-83 and continue to question 84.]	
I feel only South African	5
I feel more South African than _____ [insert R's ethnic group]	4
I feel equally South African and _____ [insert R's ethnic group]	3
I feel more _____ [insert R's ethnic group] than South African	2
I feel only _____ [insert R's ethnic group]	1
Not applicable	7
Don't know [Do not read]	9

83-SAF. Here are some things people say about the way they feel about South Africa. There are no right or wrong answers. We are simply interested in <u>your</u> opinions. Please tell me whether you <u>disagree</u>, <u>neither disagree nor agree</u>, or <u>agree</u> with these statements							
		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree	Do Not Know
A.	It makes you proud to be called a South African.	1	2	3	4	5	9
B.	You would want your children to think of themselves as South African.	1	2	3	4	5	9
C.	Being South African is a very important part of how you see yourself.	1	2	3	4	5	9
D.	People should realise we are South Africans first, and stop thinking of themselves in terms of the group they belong to.	1	2	3	4	5	9
E.	It is <u>desirable</u> to create one united South African nation out of all the different groups who live in this country.	1	2	3	4	5	9
F.	It is <u>possible</u> to create such a united South African nation.	1	2	3	4	5	9

Let's turn to your views on your fellow citizens.						
84. How much do you trust each of the following types of people? [Read out options]						
	Not at all	Just a little	I trust them somewhat	I trust them a lot	Not applicable, i.e., no relatives [DNR]	Don't know [DNR]
A. Your relatives	0	1	2	3	7	9
B. Other people you know	0	1	2	3		9
C. Other South Africans	0	1	2	3		9
D- And what about foreigners living SAF here in South Africa	0	1	2	3		9

85. Do you feel close to any particular political party?	
No (does NOT feel close to ANY party)	0
Yes (feels close to a party)	1
Refused to answer	8
Does not know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

86. [Interviewer: if "Yes" to Q85] Which party is that? [If answer to Q85 was "No," "Don't Know," or "Refused to answer," select 997 = Not applicable.]	
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	700
African Muslim Party	701
African National Congress (ANC)	702
Afrikaner Unity Movement / Afrikaner Eenheidsbeweging	703
Alliance of Free Democrats	704
Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO)	705
Christian Party	706
Democratic Alliance – Democratic Party / Demokratiese Alliansie – Demokratiese Party (DA-DP)	707
Federal Democrats	708
Freedom Front / Vryheidsfront	709
Independent Democrats (ID)	710
Inkatha Freedom Party / Inkatha Vryheidsparty (IFP)	711
Minority Front	712
National Democratic Convention (NADECO)	713
New National Party / Nuwe Nasionale Party (NNP)	714
Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)	715
United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)	716
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	717
United Independent Front	718
ANC Breakaway Party / new Lekota or George or Shilowa Party or Movement / National Conference Party or Movement	719
Yes, Other <i>[Specify]:</i> _____	Post code
Not applicable <i>[ONLY if response to Q85 was "No," "Don't Know," or "Refused to answer"]</i>	997
Refused to answer <i>[i.e., answered "Yes" to Q85, but will not identify party]</i>	998
Don't know	999

87. How often, if at all, do you receive money remittances from friends or relatives outside of the country? [Read out options]	
At least once a month	5
At least every 3 months	4
At least every 6 months	3
At least once a year	2
Less than once a year	1
Never	0
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

88. How often do you use: [Read out options]						
	Every day	A few times a week	A few times a month	Less than once a month	Never	Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
A. A mobile phone?	4	3	2	1	0	9
B. A computer?	4	3	2	1	0	9
C. The internet?	4	3	2	1	0	9
D. And how often do you travel 10 km or more from the place where you live now?	4	3	2	1	0	9

88E. What languages do you speak well? <i>[Interviewer: List all languages mentioned.]</i>		

88F. <i>[Interviewer: Enter total number of languages listed as a two-digit number. Enter 99 for "don't know."]</i>		

89. What is the highest level of education you have completed? <i>[Code from answer. Do not read options]</i>	
No formal schooling	0
Informal schooling only (including Koranic schooling)	1
Some primary schooling	2
Primary school completed	3
Some secondary school / high school	4
Secondary school / high school completed	5
Post-secondary qualifications, other than university e.g. a diploma or degree from a technikon or college	6
Some university	7
University completed	8
Post-graduate	9
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	99

90. What is your religion, if any? <i>[Code from answer. Do not read options]</i>	
None	0
CHRISTIAN GROUPS / DENOMINATIONS	
Christian only (i.e., respondents says only "Christian", without identifying a specific sub-group)	1
Roman Catholic	2
Orthodox	3
Coptic	4
Protestant – Mainline	
Anglican	5
Lutheran	6
Methodist	7
Presbyterian	8
Baptist	9
Quaker / Friends	10
Mennonite	11
Dutch Reformed (e.g. NGK, NHK, GK, Mission, APK, URC)	701
Protestant – Non-mainline	
Evangelical	12
Pentecostal (e.g., "Born Again" and/or "Saved")	13
Independent (e.g., "African Independent Church")	14
Zionist Christian Church	700
Others	
Jehovah's Witness	15
Seventh Day Adventist	16
Mormon	17
MUSLIM GROUPS / DENOMINATIONS	
Muslim only (i.e., respondents says only "Muslim", without identifying a specific sub-group)	18
Sunni	
Sunni only (i.e., respondents says only "Sunni" or "Sunni Muslim", without identifying a specific sub-group)	19
Ismaeli	20
Mouridiya Brotherhood	21
Tijaniya Brotherhood	22
Qadiriya Brotherhood	23

Shia	
Shia only (i.e., respondents says only "Shia" or "Shia Muslim", without identifying a specific sub-group)	24
OTHER	
Traditional / ethnic religion	25
Hindu	26
Bahai	27
Agnostic (Do not know if there is a God)	28
Atheist (Do not believe in a God)	29
Other	995
Refused	998
Don't know	999

91. How important is religion in your life? [Read out options]	
Not at all important	1
Not very important	2
Somewhat important	3
Very important	4
Refused to answer	8
Don't know [DNR]	9

92. Which of these things do you personally own?			
	No (Don't own)	Yes (Do Own)	Don't know [DNR]
A. Radio	0	1	9
B. Television	0	1	9
C. Motor Vehicle, Car or motorcycle	0	1	9

93A. Where is your main source of water for household use located?	
Inside the house	1
Inside the compound	2
Outside the compound	3
Don't know [DNR]	9

	No	Yes	Don't know [DNR]
93B. Do you have to pay for using water from this source?	0	1	9

94. Do you have a job that pays a cash income? Is it full-time or part-time? And are you presently looking for a job (even if you are presently working)?	
No (not looking)	0
No (looking)	1
Yes, part time (not looking)	2
Yes, part time (looking)	3
Yes, full time (not looking)	4
Yes, full time (looking)	5
Don't know [DNR]	9

95. Do you know a close friend or relative who has died of AIDS?	
No	0
Yes	1
Refused to answer	8
Don't know [DNR]	9

96. [Interviewer: If respondent answered "yes" to Q95, ask] How many friends or relatives is that? [Interviewer: Enter 3 digit number. If respondent refuses enter 998, and enter 999 for "don't know." If answer to Q95 was "No," "Don't Know," or "Refused to answer," enter 997 = Not applicable.]		

97. If a national election were held tomorrow, which party's candidate would you vote for? [DO NOT read options. Code from response]			
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)			700
African Muslim Party			701
African National Congress (ANC)			702
Afrikaner Unity Movement / Afrikaner Eenheidsbeweging			703
Alliance of Free Democrats			704
Azania People's Organization (AZAPO)			705
Christian Party			706
Democratic Alliance – Democratic Party / Demokratiese Alliansie – Demokratiese Party (DA-DP)			707
Federal Democrats			708
Freedom Front / Vryheidsfront			709
Independent Democrats (ID)			710
Inkatha Freedom Party / Inkatha Vryheidsparty (IFP)			711
Minority Front			712
National Democratic Convention (NADECO)			713
New National Party / Nuwe Nasionale Party (NNP)			714
Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)			715
United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)			716
United Democratic Movement (UDM)			717
United Independent Front			718
ANC Breakaway Party / new Lekota or George or Shilowa Party or Movement / National Conference Party or Movement			719
Other [Specify]: _____	Post Code		
Would not vote			997
Refused to answer			998
Don't know			999

98. In your opinion, how much do each of the following do to help your country, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Read out options]					
	Do nothing, no help	Help a little bit	Help somewhat	Help a lot	Don't know [DNR]
A. African Union	0	1	2	3	9
B. Southern African Development Community (SADC)	0	1	2	3	9
C. United Nations	0	1	2	3	9
D. Other international donors and NGOs (apart from the United Nations)	0	1	2	3	9
E. International businesses and investors	0	1	2	3	9
F. Nigeria	0	1	2	3	9
G. NOT ASKED IN SOUTH AFRICA					
H. China	0	1	2	3	9
I. United States	0	1	2	3	9
J. Great Britain	0	1	2	3	9
J1. The European Union	0	1	2	3	9

98K. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree or agree very strongly?]				
Statement 1: The NEPAD African Peer Review Mechanism (NEPAD/APRM) is a useful initiative that will help promote good governance in Africa. It should be given all necessary support.		Statement 2: The NEPAD/APRM is an empty initiative that is unlikely to do anything to improve governance in Africa. We should not waste time or resources in supporting it.		
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4	
Agree With Neither [Do not read]				5
Don't know [Do not read]				9

99. Do you think that each of the following has too little, too much, or about the right amount of influence over your government? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion.]						
	Far too little	Somewhat too little	About the right amount	Somewhat too much	Far too much	Don't know [DNR]
A. International donors and NGOs	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. International businesses and investors	1	2	3	4	5	9

C. South African civic organizations and NGOs	1	2	3	4	5	9
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100. Just one more question: Who do you think sent us to do this interview? [Code from response. Do not read options.]	
No one	0
Government	
Government (General)	1
National / Union Government	2
Provincial / Regional Government	3
Local Government	4
President's / Prime Minister's Office	5
Parliament / National Assembly	6
Government Census / Statistics Office	7
National Intelligence / Secret Service	8
Education or Social Affairs Department / Ministry	9
Tax or Finance Department / Ministry	10
Health Department / Ministry	11
Other Government Department / Ministry	12
Constitutional Commission	13
National Electoral Commission	14
National Planning Commission	15
Public Utility Company	16
Private	
NGO	17
Political Party / Politicians	18
Research Company / Organization / Programme (including the Afrobarometer National Partner)	19
Newspapers / Media	20
University / School / College	21
Private company	22
International Organization	23
God or a Religious Organization	24
Other	995
Refused to answer	998
Don't know	999

THANK YOU VERY MUCH. YOUR ANSWERS HAVE BEEN VERY HELPFUL.

	Hour	Minutes		
ENDTIME. Time interview ended [Interviewer: Enter hour and minute, use 24 hr. clock]				

LENGTH. For Office Use: Duration of interview in minutes			
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END INTERVIEW

DON'T FORGET TO COMPLETE NEXT SECTION!

ALL SUBSEQUENT QUESTIONS SHOULD BE ANSWERED BY THE INTERVIEWER AFTER THE INTERVIEW IS CONCLUDED

101. Respondent's gender	
Male	1
Female	2

102. Respondent's race?			
Black / African	1	South Asian (Indian, Pakistani, etc.)	5
White / European	2	East Asian (Chinese, Korean, Indonesian, etc.)	6
Coloured / Mixed race	3	Other	95
Arab / Lebanese / North African	4		

103. What was the primary language used in the interview?			
English	1	Setswana/Tswana	705
Afrikaans	700	Shangaan	706
Ndebele	701	Swazi	707
Xhosa	702	Venda	708
Pedi/Spedi/North Sotho	703	Zulu	709
Sesotho/Sotho/South Sotho	704	Other [Specify]: _____	Post code

104. Were there any other people immediately present who might be listening during the interview?	
No one	1
Spouse only	2
Children only	3
A few others	4
Small crowd	5

105.	Yes	No
A. Did the respondent check with others for information to answer any question?	1	0
B. Do you think anyone influenced the respondent's answers during the interview?	1	0
C. Were you approached by community and/or political party representatives?	1	0
D. Did you feel threatened during the interview?	1	0
E. Were you physically threatened during the interview?	1	0

106. What proportion of the questions do you feel the respondent had difficulty answering?	
All	4
Most	3
Some	2
Few	1
None	0

107. Which questions did the respondent have trouble answering? [Identify up to three. If the respondent had trouble with less than three, enter "000" in the boxes.]			
A. First question			
B. Second question			
C. Third question			

108. What was the respondent's attitude toward you during the interview?			
A. Was he or she	1 Friendly	2 In between	3 Hostile
B. Was he or she	1 Interested	2 In between	3 Bored
C. Was he or she	1 Cooperative	2 In between	3 Uncooperative
D. Was he or she	1 Patient	2 In between	3 Impatient
E. Was he or she	1 At ease	2 In between	3 Suspicious
F. Was he or she	1 Honest	2 In between	3 Misleading

INTERVIEWER DETAILS						
109. Interviewer's Name <i>[Write in]</i>						
110. Interviewer's Number				S	A	F
111. Interviewer's Age						

112. Interviewer's gender	
Male	1
Female	2

113. Do you come from a rural or urban area?	
Rural	1
Urban	2

114. Interviewer's home language:			
English	1	Setswana/Tswana	705
Afrikaans	700	Shangaan	706
Ndebele	701	Swazi	707
Xhosa	702	Venda	708
Pedi/Spedi/North Sotho	703	Zulu	709
Sesotho/Sotho/South Sotho	704	Other <i>[Specify]:</i> _____	Post code

115. Interviewer's highest level of education	
Primary school completed	3
Some secondary school / high school	4
Secondary school / high school completed	5
Post-secondary qualifications, other than university e.g. a diploma or degree from a technikon or college	6
Some university	7
University completed	8
Post graduate	9

SIGNATURE PAGE

116. **INTERVIEWER:** Do you have any other comments on the interview? For example, did anything else significant happen during the interview?

No	0
Yes: [Explain] _____ _____ _____	1

117. **INTERVIEWER:** I hereby certify that this interview was conducted in accordance with instructions received during training. All responses recorded here are those of the respondent who was chosen by the appropriate selection method.

INTERVIEWER SIGNATURE: _____

118. **SUPERVISOR:** Do you have any other comments on the interview? For example, did anything else significant happen during the interview?

No	0
Yes: [Explain] _____ _____ _____	1

119. **SUPERVISOR:** I hereby certify that this interview was conducted in accordance with instructions given to interviewers during training. All responses have been checked for completeness and accuracy. The information about the EA on the first page is based on observations I personally made in an area chosen by the appropriate sampling method.

SUPERVISOR SIGNATURE: _____