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**Launching Democracy – 1993 and 1994**  
**[South Africa]**

**Human Sciences Research Council**

**SADA 0040**

Launching Democracy – 1993 and 1994 [South Africa}

SADA 0040

Principal Investigator  
Human Sciences Research Council

1995

South African Data Archive

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## STUDY DESCRIPTION

**SADA STUDY NUMBER:** 0040

**TITLE:** Launching Democracy - 1993 and 1994 [South Africa]

**PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:** B. Johnson and L. Schlemmer

**DEPOSITOR:** Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC)

**DATA COLLECTION AGENCY:** MarkData, Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC)

**MAIN SUBJECT:** Democratic Elections in South Africa

**ABSTRACT:** The purpose of the survey was to gather data on the democratic process in South Africa on behalf of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy.

**GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION:** The survey was carried out in the PWV (Pretoria, Witswatersrand, Vereeniging), Natal and Western Cape areas.

**IMPORTANT VARIABLES:** Political party support/protection/intention, voter influence, post election life expectations

**BASIC DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES:** Population group, sex, age, religion, language, education, occupation, income

**METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION:** Face-to-face interview with structured questionnaire

**TYPE OF DATA:** survey

**DATE OF RESEARCH:** Phase I 16 November 1993 to 14 December 1993  
Phase II 31 January 1994 to 26 February 1994

**LANGUAGE(S) OF WRITTEN MATERIAL:**

INTRODUCTION: Afrikaans, translated to English

**EXTENT OF COLLECTION:** 2 data files in SPSS and hardcopy documentation and questionnaire.

Part 1 Data for 1993

Number of cases:	2 140
Number of records:	2 140
Number of records per case:	3
Logical record length:	80
Number of variables:	114
Number of kilobytes:	339 KB

Part 2 Data for 1994

Number of cases:	2 419
Number of records:	2 419
Number of records per case:	3
Logical record length:	80
Number of variables:	126
Number of kilobytes:	416 KB

# LAUNCHING DEMOCRACY 1

## 1 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Purpose

The purpose of the survey was to gather data on the democratic process in South Africa. The survey was done in two phases.

### 1.2 Client

The client was Professor L. Schlemmer who did the survey for the Institute for Multiparty Democracy (IMD).

### 1.3 Target area

The survey was carried out in the PWV, Natal and Western Cape among all population groups. The survey was done by MarkData in the PWV, by DRA in Natal and by M & M in the Western Cape.

### 1.4 Period

The fieldwork of the first phase was done from 16 November 1993 to 14 December 1993. The second phase took from 31 January 1994 to 26 February 1994.

## 2 QUESTIONNAIRE

### 2.1 Questionnaire development

Professors B. Johnson and L. Schlemmer compiled the questionnaire. A panel of IMD members and the three market-research organisations provided input. Mr M. van der Merwe of MarkData used the input to finalise the questionnaire and he also co-ordinated the printing of the questionnaires.

### 2.2 General comments about the questionnaire The following questions were troublesome:

2.2.1 Questions 9 and 10. The interviewers were uncertain of the occupation of the respondent, especially in the cases where the respondent did not work.

2.2.2 Question 33. Most of the respondents had difficulty understanding the demarcation of the new regions in the RSA.

1

2.2.3 The ballot card. Some respondents understood the ballot card and its purpose. But many respondents believed that this would be their actual vote and refused to indicate on paper how they intended to vote.

2.3 The questionnaire used for the second phase was shorter and more structured. This questionnaire was used without difficulty for interviewing.

### **3 SAMPLE DESIGN**

3.1 Mr N. Kriek in consultation with Prof L. Schlemmer compiled the sample.

### **4. RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING OF INTERVIEWERS**

#### **4.1 Recruitment**

The fieldwork organisers in the allocated areas were mainly responsible for the recruitment of interviewers. To curtail excessive travelling time and kilometres, they endeavoured to recruit interviewers from the residential areas adjacent to the areas marked for surveys. Preference was given to interviewers whom MarkData had previously used successfully.

#### **4.2 Selection**

Interviewers with a minimum qualification of matric or a senior certificate were recruited for the survey. The final selection of the interviewers was done after personal interviews and evaluation. Preference was given to interviewers whom MarkData had previously used successfully.

#### **4.3 Training**

##### **4.3.1 Training of fieldwork organisers**

Field workers for the first phase were trained by Mr Van der Merwe on 12 November 1993 at MarkData's training venue. Messrs Van der Merwe and Mokgolobotho both gave the training for the second phase.

##### **4.3.2 Training of the interviewers**

Messrs Van der Merwe and Mokgolobotho handled the training of the interviewers. The training and administration took place over two days during which intensive training was given. During the training the final evaluation of the interviewers took place with a view to appointment.

### **5 FIELDWORK**

The fieldwork was characterised by a variety of problems which hampered activities during fieldwork. In both phases of the survey the following problems continuously hampered fieldwork.

- The theme and content of the questionnaire evoked suspicion among the respondents.
- Some of the areas were difficult to identify from the photographs and maps.
- Certain organisations at grassroots level obstructed the fieldwork. However, after discussions with the organisations, co-operation was gained without difficulty.

#### **5.1 Methodology in fieldwork**

5.1.1 Eleven teams of black field-workers were used in the first phase and nine such teams in the second phase. Each of these teams of field workers consisted of four interviewers. The teams used Imperial vehicles and were deployed in the various areas according to a fieldwork programme. Maps and aerial photographs were used to identify the areas and survey regions.

Due to the size of the sample and time restrictions, the teams had to cope with a heavy schedule and send statistics on the progress in the field to the office every day. Mr M. van der Merwe monitored and updated these statistics continuously and computerised the data. This system revealed several errors concerning the sample and the system could be adjusted in good time.

5.1.2 The white, coloured and Asian interviewers worked independently under Mr Y. Naidu, Mr D. Manuel and Mrs L. Furstenburg. These interviewers were visited regularly at which time their work was also checked.

## 5.2 Negotiations

The political tenor of this survey made negotiations imperative at all levels of the community. During the survey, various structures were approached in all areas of the PWV region in order to obtain the co-operation needed to proceed with the fieldwork.

## 5.3 Accessibility of regions

The accessibility of the regions differed from one area to another. In general, access did not cause great problems. In particular, breakthroughs were made where access had been obstructed for political reasons. In these cases access was gained by negotiating with the appropriate structures. In cases where the prevailing problems were due to violence and/or crime, negotiations were not possible and fieldwork had to be adapted to these circumstances.

## 5.4 Maps and aerial photographs

The maps and aerial photographs used during the survey, had generally been prepared well. Although the latest maps and photographs were used for the survey, the teams nevertheless had problems with identifying certain areas in the regions. This problem was particularly acute in the informal settlement areas owing to their rapid expansion.

# 6 **IMPRESSIONS OF THE RESPECTIVE AREAS**

## 6.1 PWV region (General)

6.1.1 The PWV is traditionally the most difficult region for conducting fieldwork. In both phases of the survey attempts were made to obtain access to the violence-torn Katlehong and Thokoza. Other possibilities were investigated to try in one way or another to include respondents from these two areas. Each option was carefully considered in terms of the safety of MarkData's staff as well as that of the interviewers. The eventual decision to exclude Thokoza and Katlehong was taken in consultation with Prof L. Schlemmer. Mr Van der Merwe had been in contact with the commander of the security forces controlling the region. MarkData had been advised not to do surveys in Katlehong and Thokoza. Consequently Katlehong and Thokoza were both replaced by Vosloorus in the second phase.

6.2 Fieldwork in the rest of the areas in the PWV proceeded without problems. The following problems occurred in both phases of the survey:

### 6.2.1 Tembisa

The photographs of the squatter part of Tembisa were indistinct and the fieldwork organiser spent many hours identifying the survey area. This problem had a bearing on phase two of the

survey.

#### 6.2.2 Soshanguve

The survey area in Soshanguve marked “AA” on the map, was later identified as the area Shoshanguve “7 East”. This information was obtained from the SAP in Soshanguve. This problem had a bearing on phase two of the survey.

6.2.3 The same pattern was followed in both phases of the survey, to gain access to Sebokeng hostels. Meetings were held at the H.P. Ubahle School with the leaders of Sebokeng to discuss the purpose of the survey. In both the discussions with the leaders, the requisite co-operation was obtained to go ahead with the survey. The chairperson of the controlling body, Mr E. Ndaliso, ensured the safety of the teams of field workers.

6.2.4 The non-urban sample in both phases was a problem in certain respects. Some of the owners of the premises were initially sceptical about the survey. In all cases the requisite permission was obtained to go ahead with the survey. In both phase one and phase two the same problem was encountered in Survey Area 4335 of Krugersdorp. There is no formal black township in this survey area. Most of the respondents in this area work on smallholdings as individuals and live alone in backyards. All eight the visiting points were therefore single households and are indicated as such in the biographical particulars of the questionnaire.

#### 6.2.5 Soweto

The survey area in Meadowlands “Zone 2” had to be replaced owing to the prohibition on all activities dealing with politics. This prohibition had been instituted by the local civic organisation.

In the squatter area of Moloto, Meshiniville Survey Area 0033, the residents nearly assaulted the interviewers because it was claimed that the proper structures had not been approached to obtain permission. The organiser obtained the necessary permission after a discussion with the leaders.

#### 6.2.6 Bekkersdal

At the time of the survey in Bekkersdal, discord prevailed among some of the local organisations which caused tension in the community. This situation impeded fieldwork. The surveys in two of the survey areas in the squatter camp and one in the township were completed with the aid of the civic leader, Mr B. Ntsoelengoe.

### **7 MONITORING**

An attempt was made throughout to check at least 10 % of the questionnaires. In most cases the fieldwork organisers succeeded in achieving this. Monitoring was not an easy task, however. The tension prevailing during the survey, as well as criminal elements, were the main reasons for the difficulties experienced.

#### 7.1 Method of control

The organisers checked the questionnaires during and after the interviews, then gave feedback to the interviewers.

7.1 .1 Every morning before fieldwork began, feedback sessions were held with all the fieldwork organisers. Problems affecting all aspects of the fieldwork as well as the sample realisation were discussed at these sessions. This contributed to an effective overall control mechanism for monitoring the survey as a whole.

## **8 SCORING OF QUESTIONNAIRES**

Mr H. Vos and his team scored the questionnaires on a daily basis. The quality of the interviewing could thus be monitored daily, making it possible to give regular feedback to the interviewers.

## **9 SAMPLE REALISATION**

Full tables of the realisation of the sample are given in Appendix 2 of this report.  
[Available from SADA upon special request only].

## **10 SUMMARY**

Despite the problems experienced during fieldwork, as well as the problems with arranging the final format of the data set, both phases of the survey were completed successfully. This was made possible by the input of MarkData and CC staff who persevered with the project under difficult conditions.

## Launching Democracy November 1993

The Human Science Research Council (HSRC) and Data Research Africa are conducting this survey in the PWV, Natal and the Western Cape for the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (MPD). The MPD does not support any political party or organization, but works of democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation. The survey extends to all race groups and the results will be made available equally to all political parties. The anonymity of all those interviewed is assured.

Explain to the respondent that the questionnaire is divided into three broad sections.

- Section 1: Demographic and socio-economic information
- Section 2: Socio-political information
- Section 3: Voting card

The respondent must agree to supply information for each section, in order that you proceed with the interview.

Ensure that the respondent is a South African Citizen of 18 years or older and is entitled to vote in the 1994 elections.

Particulars of visits

	MONTH	DATE	TIME	RESPONSE
First visit				
Second visit				
Third visit				
Substitute address				

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Time</u></li> </ul>	<b>**Response</b> Interview completed =1 <b>Revisit</b> Appointment made =2 Selected respondent not at home =3 No one home =4 <u>Do not qualify</u> Vacant house/flat/stand/not a house or a flat =5 No person qualifies according to specifications for the survey =6 Respondent cannot communicate with interviewer because of language =7 Respondent is physically/mentally not fit to be interviewed =8 <b>Refusals</b> Contact person refused =9 Interview refused by selected respondent =10 Interview refused by parent =11
Morning till 12:00 =1  12:00-13:59 =2 14:00-14:59 =3 15:00-15:59 =4 16:00-16:59 =5 17:00-17:59 =6 18:00-18:59 =7 19:00-19:59 =8 20:00-20:59 =9 21:00-later =0	<b>Office Use</b> Used wrong respondent/address =12

Interviewer: Identify number of households on premises

NB: Write in from oldest (Top) to Youngest (bottom)

Age Male =1  
Female =2

NB WRITE IN FROM OLDEST (TOP) TO YOUNGEST (BOTTOM)		AGE		Male=1	Female=2
PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD WHO QUALIFY FOR THIS SURVEY. (PERSONS WHO WILL BE AVAILABLE FOR THE DURATION OF THIS SURVEY)		1			
		2			
		3			
		4			
		5			
		6			
		7			
		8			
		9			
		10			
		11			
		12			
		13			
		14			
		15			

PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD WHO DO NOT QUALIFY FOR THIS SURVEY AND PERSONS WHO WILL NOT BE AVAILABLE FOR THE DURATION OF THIS SURVEY		1			
		2			
		3			
		4			
		5			
		6			
		7			
		8			
		9			
		10			

<p>REASONS WHY PERSONS DO NOT QUALIFY OR ARE NOT AVAILABLE.</p> <p>1. ....</p> <p>2. ....</p> <p>3. ....</p> <p>4. ....</p>
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Biographical Data

INTERVIEWER PLEASE MARK		
BLACK	1	
COLOURED	2	
ASIAN	3	
WHITE	4	24

1. Type of dwelling structure

FORMAL HOUSE	1	
FORMAL FLAT	2	
TRADITIONAL DWELLING	3	
SHACK	4	
SINGLE ROOM	5	
STREET	6	
BOS	7	25

2. Household status of respondent

Household Head	1	
Spouse of household head	2	
Main financial breadwinner	3	
Other household member	4	
Lodger	5	26

3. Sex of Respondent

Male	1	
Female	2	27

4. What was your age at your last birthday (in years)

.....Years		28-29
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5. What is your current marital status?

Married	Legally	1
	Ceremonially	2
Never married		3
Widow/Widower		4
Divorced		5
Live together		6

30

6. What church do you belong to or to what faith/religion do you subscribe?

Afrikaanse Protestante Kerk	01
Anglican (Church of the Province of SA) Church of England	02
Apostolic Faith Mission of SA	03
Assemblies of God	04
Baptist Churches	05
Buddhist	06
Ethiopian Churches	07
Full Gospel Church of God in SA	08
Gerformeerde Kerk in SA	09
Hindu	10
Independent Black Churches	11
Jewish/Hebrew	12
Lutheran Church and Evangelical Lutheran Church in SA	13
Methodist of SA	14
Moslem/ISLAM	15
Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk	16
Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk	17
New Apostolic Church	18
NG Kerk in Afrika	19
NG Sendingkerk	20
NGK (Reform) Church	21
Orthodox (Greek, Serbian, Russian) Church	22
Presbyterian of SA	23
Reformed Ecumenical Synod	24
Rhema Bible Church	25
Roman Catholic	26
Seventh Day Adventist Church	27
Tamil	28
The International Fellowship of Christian Churches	29
Traditional African Belief	30
Union of Orthodox Synagogues in SA	31
United Congregational Church of SA	32
United Hebrew Congregation of Johannesburg	33
World Alliance of Reformed Churches	34
Zion Christian Church (ZCC)	35
Other Zionist Churches	36
None	37
Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) .....	

7. What language do you speak mostly at home?

Afrikaans	01
Arabic	02
English	03
Gugerati	04
Hindi	05
Ndebele	06
Western Sotho (Tswana)	07
Northern Sotho (Pedi)	08
Portuguese	09
Southern Sotho	10
Swazi	11
Tamil	12
Telegu	13
Tsonga/Shangaan	14
Urdu	15
Venda/Lemba	16
Xhosa	17
Zulu	18
Other African	19
Other Asian/Oriental	20
Other European	21
Other (Please specify)	
.....	

33-34

8. What is your highest educational qualification?

8.1 Completed at school

No education	11
SUB A OR B/Class 1 or 2	12
STD 01-10: Enter raw figure	
.....	

35-36

8.2 Completed after school

B. or Honours degree	01
Masters degree	02
Doctor's degree	03
Technikon diploma	04
Technical college diploma	05
Business college diploma	06
Teaching/Nursing diploma	07
Other (Please specify)	
.....	

37-38

9. What is your current occupational position?

Unemployed, not looking for work	01
Unemployed, looking for work	02
Work in informal sector, not looking for (permanent ) work	03
Work in informal sector, looking for (permanent ) work	04
Pensioner (age/sick/disability etc)	05
Housewife, not working at all, not looking for work	06
Housewife looking for work	07
Student/Scholar	08
Employed part time if none of the above	09
Employed full time	10
Other (please specify) .....	

39-40

10. What is your current work or occupation?

.....	41-42
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11. What is the joint income for this household per month? ( Gross income from all sources and both spouses-estimate income in kind welfare grants, pensions, business, agricultural and informal income in total)

None	01
Less than R200	02
R200-R399	03
R400-R599	04
R600-R799	05
R800-R899	06
R1 000 – R1 199	07
R1 200-R1 399	08
R1 400-R1 599	09
R1 600-R1 799	10
R 1 800-R1 999	11
R 2 000-R2 499	12
R2 500-R2 999	13
R 3 000-R3 499	14
R3 500-R 3 999	15
R4 000-R4 499	16
R4 500-R4 999	17
R5 000-R7 499	18
R7 500 +	19
Refuse to answer	20
Uncertain/don't know	21

43-44

12. In or near which town did you spend most of your life before your 18<sup>th</sup> birthday

On a farm/in a rural area near the town of.....		45-46
In the town/township of.....		47-48

OR

13. Are you a citizen of

RSA	1	49
Transkei	2	
Ciskei	3	
Bophuthatswana	4	
Venda	5	
RSA and TBVC Country	6	
Other/none of the above	7	
Refuse to answer	8	
Uncertain/don't know	9	

14. Do you have your id documents ready so that you can vote in and election?

Yes	1	50
No, but I have applied for and id document	2	
No, but I intend to apply for the id document	3	
No, and I do not intend to apply for the id document	4	

15. When the time comes for voting in the general election, which is planned for early next year, what will you do?

I will definitely vote	1	51
I will try my best to vote	2	
I will vote If I have time and it is easy to vote	3	
I am not sure whether I will vote	4	
I will definitely not vote	5	

16. Here are the names of political parties/movements/alliance which will be standing for election. Which party will you vote for?

ANC under Mandela	01
SACP under Ngakula,Slovo	02
ANC/SACP alliance	03
PAC under Makwetu/Alexander	04
National party under De Klerk	05
Inkhatha Freedom Party under Buthelezi	06
Democratic party under Zac De Beer	07
Conservative party under Hartzenberg	08
AWB under Terreblanche	09
The Volksfront under Constand Viljoen	10
Freedom alliance under Constand Viljoen/ Buthelezi etc	11
Refuse to respond	12
Other party (Please specify).....	

52-53

17. Have political parties started going around in your area talking about elections?

Yes	1
No	2
Uncertain/Don't know	3

54

17.1 If yes  
Which party/parties

.....	
-------	--

55-56

18. Since the political parties have started talking about elections. Do you think there has been?

More violence	1
Less Violence	2
No change	3
Uncertain/Don't know	4

57

19. In your opinion, if violence comes about, who would be most likely to start it?

.....	
.....	

58-59

20.. Do you think violence/intimidation will make people in your community more likely to vote:

ANC	01
AWB	02
CP/KP	03
DP	04
IFP	05
NP	06
PAC	07
SAKP	08
Not vote at all	09
Uncertain/don't know	10

60-61

21. Why do you say so?

Because it would make people even more determined to vote for that party	01
Because people would be bullied into voting for that party	02
People would change to that party because they thought it would be best at putting a stop to such violence/intimidation	03
Other reasons please specify	

62-63

22. How easy or how difficult is it in your area to live next to people whose political opinions are different from yours?

Easy	1
Difficult	2
Impossible	3
My neighbours always had the same opinions as me	4
I don't know what my neighbours opinions are	5

64

23. Who would you fear most if they were to know who you voted for/intended to vote for?

.....
-------

65-66

24. If violence starts in your area, who can protect you/ your family?

The police	01
The Chief	02
Your party	03
Your neighbours	04
Only yourself	05
Your civic association	06
The army	07
MK (Unkontho We Sizwe)	08
SDUS (Self defence units)	09
Street committee/Area committee/Local structures	10
Peace monitors	11
Other (Please specify)	
.....	

67-68

25. Think of the political party which you support, you need not mention it now. Do you expect the party to:

Win the largest number of votes in this area (mention name of area)	1	69
Do very well and be one of the largest parties in the area	2	
Not to be one of the largest parties but win a good many votes nevertheless	3	
Get few votes in the election	4	
Do not presently support any party	5	

26. How would you like parties active in your area to go about mobilizing support?

Mass rallies	01	70-71
Meetings in houses	02	
Door to door canvassing	03	
Street committee meetings	04	
Community newspapers	05	
Larger newspapers	06	
Pamphlets	07	
Radio	08	
Television	09	
Would prefer them to do nothing, just to leave people alone	10	
Other (Please specify) .....		

27. If your party gets fewer votes than you and its supporters expect, what are these supporters likely to do?

Accept the result	01	72-73
Criticise the result but do no more	02	
Organise a peaceful protest	03	
Organise very angry protest with marches and demonstrations	04	
Not accepting the winning party and refuse to accept it as the government in the region	05	
Uncertain/don't know	06	
Other (Please specify)	07	

28. Some people say that there is too much violence and intimidation to have free and fair elections now. Others say that we must have elections no matter how much violence there is. What do you think?

Too much violence for elections	1	74
Elections must be held	2	
Uncertain/ don't know	3	

29. Some people say that how people vote will be influenced by groups who control local areas. Thinking of your area, as it likely to happen or not?

Yes	1	
Yes to some extent	2	
No	3	
Uncertain/don't know	4	
Refuse to answer	5	75

29.1 If response 1 or 2 at previous question. Which political groups controls your area and discourages support for other political parties?

.....  76-77  
 .....

30. Do you think that it is right or wrong that certain political parties not be allowed to seek support in certain areas?

Right	1	
Wrong	2	
Uncertain/don't know	3	78

2 1  
2-5

31. Do you think voters like you will be influenced in how they vote by :

	Yes	No	Don't know	
The chiefs	1	2	3	6
The elders of the community	1	2	3	7
The church	1	2	3	8
Trade Unions	1	2	3	9
Civics	1	2	3	10
Street committees/ area committees	1	2	3	11
Your/their employees	1	2	3	12
Your/their husband/wife	1	2	3	13
You're their parents	1	2	3	14
Your/their children	1	2	3	15

32. Since 1990 all the parties are unbanned, the emergency has been lifted, and some restrictive laws have been abolished so there is more political, freedom than before but there is also far more violence. Do you think...

You are better off than you were before 1990	1	16
You are worse off than you were before 1990	2	
You are neither better off than worse off than you were before	3	
Uncertain/don't know	4	

33. The major arguments between the parties at the multi party talks have been about the power of the regions versus the powers of the central government? Do you think it very important to you or not important to you?

Very important	1	17
Not important	2	
Uncertain/Don't know	3	

33.1 (If response 1 or 2 at previous question) Why do you say that it is very important/ Not important to you?

.....  18-19

.....

34. Think of life for people like you after elections and a new government will no longer be white. I will read some things people say about lie after the elections. For each, tell me which choice you think will be true.

34.1 People like me will get

Richer	1	20
Poorer	2	
No difference in wealth	3	
Uncertain/don't know	4	

34.2 People of my group will feel

Weak and insecure	1	21
Strong and secure	2	
No different than now	3	
Uncertain/don't know	4	

34.3 There will be

More violence than at present	1	22
Less violence that at present	2	
No change in present levels	3	
Uncertain/don't know	4	

34.4 People will feel

Afraid to criticise the new government	1	23
Free to criticise the new government	2	
Uncertain/don't know	3	

34.5 Relations between races will get

Better	1	24
Worse	2	
No change at all	3	
Uncertain/don't know	4	

34.6 There will be

More unemployment than at present	1	25
More employment than at present	2	
No change in present levels	3	
Uncertain/don't know	4	

34.7 The new government will

Give benefits to people who voted for it	1	26
Treat all people in the same way	2	
Uncertain/don't know	3	

34.8 Of the following race groups, please tell us if you feel a lot, a few or none will leave South Africa?

	A lot	A few	None	
Asians	1	2	3	27
Blacks	1	2	3	28
Coloureds	1	2	3	29
Whites	1	2	3	30

34.9 Asians/Blacks/Coloureds/Whites like me will be....

Discriminated against	1	31
Treated fairly and equally	2	
Uncertain/don't know	3	

35. Which of the parties/alliances/movements do you think would be best at:

**CODING KEY**

- 01 ANC under Mandela
- 02 SACP under Ngakula/Slove
- 03 ANC/SACP Alliance
- 04 PAC under Makwetu/Alexander
- 05 National Party under De Klerk
- 06 Inkatha Freedom party under Buthelezi
- 07 Democratic party under Zac De Beer
- 08 Conservative party under Hartzenberg
- 09 AWB under Terreblanche
- 10 The Volksfront under Constand Viljoen
- 11 Freedom Alliance under Costand Viljoen
- Other party (Please specify)

Enforcing law and order		32-33
Creating a climate of peace and reconciliation		34-35
Preventing intimidation		36-37
Being free of corruption in government		38-39
Being capable rulers of the country		40-41
Making the economy grow		42-43
Promoting education		44-45
Promoting Health Care		46-47
Providing Housing		48-49
Improving your income		50-51

36. It has been decided that there will be 9 or more provinces in South Africa. Each of which will have its own elected government, as well as the parliament for the country as a whole.

36.1 Which part of the country would you see as your home province?

Western Cape		01
Northern Cape		02
Eastern Cape		03
Border/Kei Area		04
Natal		05
OFS		06
Western Transvaal		07
Northern Transvaal		08
Eastern Transvaal		09
PWV		10
Pretoria Region		11
Transkei		12
Ciskei		13
Venda		14
Bophuthatswana		15

Lebowa	16
Ga-Zankulu	17
Qwa-Qwa	18
Kwandebele	19
KwaZulu	20
Kangwane	21
Other (please specify)	52-53
.....	

36.2 Would you like the government of your province to have more powers than the parliament for the country as a whole, or would you like the parliament for the country as a whole to have more powers than the government of your province?

Government of province more power	1
Parliament of country more power	2
Uncertain/don't know	3

54

37. These days many people talk of liberation. What do you understand by this word?

“The people shall rule”	01
That poverty and inequality will be banished	02
That all violence will cease	03
That there will be a black government	04
That apartheid will finally be dead	05
That people like you will be ruled by others	06
The word “liberation” has no meaning	07
Uncertain/don't know	08
Other (Please specify)	
.....	

55-56

38. People expect different kinds of improvements or changes after the elections. Here are some of the things people say they would like to see. Please indicate at each whether you regard it as important or unimportant

	Important	Neither important nor unimportant	Unimportant	Uncertain	
Peace and harmony between political groups	1	2	3	4	57
Business and factory growing and making profits	1	2	3	4	58
Black people getting the same increases, jobs and evaluation as whites	1	2	3	4	59
Townships and Towns well managed with good services and honest officials	1	2	3	4	60
Safety and security for all people even if they are small groups	1	2	3	4	61
Less crime and violence					62

Whites being forced to share their wealth and opportunities with Blacks					63
Whites people having to respect Blacks as the most important group in the country					64
All people, Black and White, and all language groups having the same rights and protection					65

39. People have different reasons for supporting a political party. I will read out some of these reasons. Which two reasons do you have for supporting a political party?

The party will work for and protect people of my language and culture	1	
The party is powerful with a great and inspiring leader	2	
The party supports religious teaching and stands for high moral	3	
The party is tough and strong and will restore law and order to the country	4	
The party will work for and improve the lives of people with my king of job and living conditions	5	
Uncertain/don't know	6	66

40. There have been negotiations about power sharing between parties forming a government together after the elections. Do you agree with such power sharing or not?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain	3	67

41. If yes:  
Then which parties should share power?

.....		68-69
-------	--	-------

42. How do you think your party ought to select its candidates for election?

Candidates chosen by local party meeting with every member having a vote	1	
Candidates chosen by local/Regional leaders	2	
Candidates chosen by the party's national executives in shell house	3	
Candidates chosen by party congress	4	70

43. Do you think that members of parliament you elect?

Should do only what they have been mandated to do?	1	
Should use their own judgement to decide what is the best thing to do?	2	
Uncertain/don't know	3	71

2
---

44. Have your political views changed over the past three months?

Yes	1
No	2

72

45. If yes

45.1 How

.....	
-------	--

73-74

45.2 What is the single most important reason that has caused you to change your views?

.....	
.....	
.....	

75-76

46. If you could vote for two parties, which would be your second choice party?

ANC under Mandela	01
SACP under Ngakula/Slove	02
ANC/SACP Alliance	03
PAC under Makwetu/Alexander	04
National Party under De Klerk	05
Inkatha Freedom party under Buthelezi	06
Democratic party under Zac De Beer	07
Conservative party under Hartzenberg	08
AWB under Terreblanche	09
The Volksfront under Constand Viljoen	10
Freedom Alliance under Costand Viljoen	11
Uncertain/Don't know	12
None	13
Other party (Please specify)	
.....	

77-78

47. Apart from your first and second choice parties, which other party do you like close to?

ANC under Mandela	01
SACP under Ngakula/Slove	02
ANC/SACP Alliance	03
PAC under Makwetu/Alexander	04
National Party under De Klerk	05
Inkatha Freedom party under Buthelezi	06
Democratic party under Zac De Beer	07
Conservative party under Hartzenberg	08
AWB under Terreblanche	09
The Volksfront under Constand Viljoen	10
Freedom Alliance under Costand Viljoen	11
Uncertain/Don't know	12
None	13
Other party (Please specify)	
.....	

79-80

On the sheet of paper that I shall present to you are in alphabetical order the names of political parties which will be standing for election. I shall ask you to please place a cross in the first column opposite the party that you would first and foremost vote for. Please do the same in the second and third columns indicating the parties that you would choose as a second or third choice. When you have completed the exercise please fold the page in half and place it in this container. I cannot open this container and will not know who you voted for. Your response will be matched back against the rest of the questionnaire in the office, thus no one will know how you have voted. Should you require any help, then please ask me to assist you.

Interviewer to complete this after the respondent has voted

Was the respondent assisted?

Yes	1
No	2

## RECORD LAYOUT

<b>CARD 1</b>	<b>COL</b>	<b>LE</b>	<b>MIN</b>	<b>MAX</b>	<b>TYPE</b>
Card Number 1	1	1	1	1	N
Record Number	2	0000	0000	9999	N
Non Metro	6	0	1	2	N
Urban, Rural, Squatter Hostel	7	0	1	4	N
Magisterial District	8	000	000	999	N
E.A Number	11	0000	0000	9999	N
Visiting point	15	00	00	99	N
Language group	17		0	4	N
Project Number GCOAPF	18		-	1	A
<u>Biographical Data</u>					
Population Group	24	1	1	4	X
1. Dwelling	25	1	1	7	X
2. Household status	26	1	1	5	X
3. Sex	27	1	1	2	X
4. Age	28	2	00	99	X
5. Marital Status	30	1	1	6	X
6. Religion	31	2	01	99	X
7. Language	33	2	01	99	X
8.1 Highest Qualification	35	2	01	12	X
8.2 After School	37	2	01	99	X
9. Occupational Position	39	2	01	99	X
10 Current work	41	2	01	99	X
11 Joint Income	43	2	01	21	X
12 Town spent most of like	45	2	00	99	X
	47	2	00	99	X
13 Citizen of	49	1	1	9	X
14 ID ready	50	1	1	4	X
15 Voting what will you do	51	1	1	5	X
16 Party vote for	52	2	01	99	X
17 Parties going around	54	1	1	3	X
17.1 If yes which party	55	2	00	99	X
18 Do you think there has been	57	1	1	4	X
19 Who most likely to start violence	58	2	00	99	X
20 Violence people more likely to vote	60	2	01	10	X
21 Why do you say so	62	2	01	99	X
22 Live next to people, different political opinions	64	1	1	5	X
23 Fear most - Who you vote for	65	2	00	99	X
24 Violence, who can protect you	67	2	01	99	X
25 Do you expect the party to:	69	1	1	5	X
26 Mobilising support	70	2	01	99	X
27 Fewer votes than you expect	72	2	01	99	X
28 Election, no matter violence	74	1	1	3	X
29 Influenced think of your area	75	1	1	5	X
29.1 1or 2 previous question	76	2	00	99	X
30 Parties seek support in certain areas					
Right, wrong	78	1	1	3	X
Blanko	79	2	b	b	b

<b>CARD 2</b>	<b>COL</b>	<b>LE</b>	<b>MIN</b>	<b>MAX</b>	<b>TYPE</b>
Card Number 2	1	1	2	2	N
Record Number	2	4	0000	9999	N
31. Influenced how you vote					
Chiefs	6	1	1	3	X
Elders	7	1	1	3	X
Church	8	1	1	3	X
Trade Unions	9	1	1	3	X
Civics	10	1	1	3	X
Street committees	11	1	1	3	X
Employers	12	1	1	3	X
Husband/Wife	13	1	1	3	X
Parents	14	1	1	3	X
Children	15	1	1	3	X
32. Political freedom more violence	16	1	1	4	X
33. Very important, not important	17	1	1	3	X
33.1 1or 2 previous question	18	2	00	99	X
34. Life after elections					
34.1 People like me	20	1	1	4	X
34.2 People of my group	21	1	1	4	X
34.3 There will be	22	1	1	4	X
34.4 People will feel	23	1	1	3	X
34.5 Relations between races	24	1	1	4	X
34.6 There will be	25	1	1	4	X
34.7 New government will be	26	1	1	3	X
34.8 Lot, a few or none will leave SA					
Asians	27	1	1	3	X
Blacks	28	1	1	3	X
Coloureds	29	1	1	3	X
Whites	30	1	1	3	X
34.9 Race groups like me will be	31	1	1	3	X
35 Parties best at					
Enforcing law	32	2	01	99	X
Creating peace	34	2	01	99	X
Preventing intimidation	36	2	01	99	X
Free of corruption	38	2	01	99	X
Capable rulers	40	2	01	99	X
Economy grow	42	2	01	99	X
Promoting education	44	2	01	99	X
Promoting Health Care	46	2	01	99	X
Providing Housing	48	2	01	99	X
Improving your income	50	2	01	99	X
36 9 or more provinces					
36.1 See as your home province	52	2	1	4	X
36.2 Government of province more power	54	1	01	99	X
37. Liberation	55	2	1	4	X

<b>CARD 2</b>	<b>COL</b>	<b>LE</b>	<b>MIN</b>	<b>MAX</b>	<b>TYPE</b>
38 Important of unimportant					
Peace and harmony	57	1	1	4	X
Business growing	58	1	1	4	X
Some increases, job	59	1	1	4	X
Towns well managed	60	1	1	4	X
Safety and Security	61	1	1	4	X
Less crime	62	1	1	4	X
Whites share their wealth	63	1	1	4	X
Whites respect blacks	64	1	1	4	X
Same rights	65	1	1	4	X
39. Two reasons-political party	66	1	1	6	X
40. Agree power sharing	67	1	1	3	X
41. If yes, which parties	68	2	00	99	X
42. Select candidates	70	1	1	9	X
43. Members of the parliament	71	1	1	3	X
44. Political views changed	72	1	1	2	X
45.1 If yes How?	73	2	00	99	X
45.2 Most important reason	75	2	00	99	X
46. Two parties, second choice	77	2	01	99	X
47. Which other party	79	2	01	99	X

<b>CARD 3</b>	<b>COL</b>	<b>LE</b>	<b>MIN</b>	<b>MAX</b>	<b>TYPE</b>
Card Number 3	1	1	3	3	N
Record Number	2	4	0000	9999	N
Respondent Assisted	6	1	1	2	X
Magisterial District	7	3	000	999	N
EA Number	10	4	0000	9999	N
Visiting point	14	2	00	99	N
Party alliances					
1 <sup>st</sup> choice	16	2	01	99	X
2 <sup>nd</sup> choice	18	2	01	99	X
3 <sup>rd</sup> choice	20	2	01	99	X
Two reasons political	22	1	1	6	X
Blanko	23	58	b	b	b

## Launching Democracy February/March 1994

The Human Science Research Council (HSRC) and Data Research Africa are conducting this survey in the PWV, Natal and the Western Cape for the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (MPD). The MPD does not support any political party or organization, but works of democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation. The survey extends to all race groups and the results will be made available equally to all political parties. The anonymity of all those interviewed is assured.

Explain to the respondent that the questionnaire is divided into three broad sections.

- Section 1: Demographic and socio-economic information
- Section 2: Socio-political information
- Section 3: Voting card

The respondent must agree to supply information for each section, in order that you proceed with the interview.

Ensure that the respondent is a South African Citizen of 18 years or older and is entitled to vote in the 1994 elections.

Particulars of visits

	MONTH	DATE	TIME	RESPONSE
First visit				
Second visit				
Third visit				
Substitute address				

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Time</u></li> </ul>	<b>**Response</b> Interview completed =1 <b>Revisit</b> Appointment made =2 Selected respondent not at home =3 No one home =4 <u>Do not qualify</u> Vacant house/flat/stand/not a house or a flat =5 No person qualifies according to specifications for the survey =6 Respondent cannot communicate with interviewer because of language =7 Respondent is physically/mentally not fit to be interviewed =8 <b>Refusals</b> Contact person refused =9 Interview refused by selected respondent =10 Interview refused by parent =11
Morning till 12:00 =1 12:00-13:59 =2 14:00-14:59 =3 15:00-15:59 =4 16:00-16:59 =5 17:00-17:59 =6 18:00-18:59 =7 19:00-19:59 =8 20:00-20:59 =9 21:00-later =0	<b>Office Use</b> Used wrong respondent/address =12

Interviewer: Identify number of households on premises

Use Grid: Number of the selected household

NB: Write in from oldest (Top) to Youngest (bottom) Age Male =1  
Female =2

NB WRITE IN FROM OLDEST (TOP) TO YOUNGEST (BOTTOM)		AGE		Male=1 Female=2
PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD WHO QUALIFY FOR THIS SURVEY. (PERSONS WHO WILL BE AVAILABLE FOR THE DURATION OF THIS SURVEY)		1		
		2		
		3		
		4		
		5		
		6		
		7		
		8		
		9		
		10		
		11		
		12		
		13		
		14		
		15		

PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD WHO DO NOT QUALIFY FOR THIS SURVEY AND PERSONS WHO WILL NOT BE AVAILABLE FOR THE DURATION OF THIS SURVEY		1		
		2		
		3		
		4		
		5		
		6		
		7		
		8		
		9		
		10		

REASONS WHY PERSONS DO NOT QUALIFY OR ARE NOT AVAILABLE.	
5.	.....
6.	.....
7.	.....
8.	.....

Biographical Data

INTERVIEWER PLEASE MARK	
BLACK	1
COLOURED	2
ASIAN	3
WHITE	4

24

1. Type of dwelling structure

FORMAL HOUSE	1
FORMAL FLAT	2
TRADITIONAL DWELLING	3
SHACK	4
SINGLE ROOM	5
STREET	6
BOS	7

25-26

2. Respondent's status in the selected household:

Household Head	1
Spouse of household head	2
Child of household head	3
Parent of household head	4
Brother/sister of household head	5
Grandparent of household head	6
Grandchild of household head	7
Other family member of household head	8
Visitor	9
Lodger	10
Domestic worker/gardener (if he/she is not head of the selected household, but is part of that household)	11

27-28

3. Gender (Sex) of Respondent

Male	1	
Female	2	

29

4. What was your age at your last birthday (in years)

..... Years	
-------------	--

30-31

5. What church do you belong to or to what faith/religion do you subscribe?

Afrikaanse Protestante Kerk	01
AME	02
Anglican (Church of the Province of SA)	03
Church of England	04
Apostolic Faith Mission of SA	05
Assemblies of God	06
Baptist Churches	07
Buddhist	08
Ethiopian churches	09
Full Gospel Church of God in SA	10
Gerformeerde Kerk in SA	11
Hindu	12
Islam/Muslim	13
Jehovah's Witnesses	14
Jewish	15
Lutheran Church and Evangelical Lutheran Church in SA	16
Methodist of SA	17
Moravian Assemblies of God	18
Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk	19
Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk	20
New Apostolic Church	21
NG Kerk in Afrika	22
NG Sendingkerk	23
NGK (Reform) Church	24
Old Apostolic Church	25
Orthodox (Greek, Serbian, Russian) Church	26
Presbyterian of SA	27
Reformed Ecumenical Synod	28
Rhema Bible Church	29
Roman Catholic	30
Seventh Day Adventist Church	31
Shembe	32
The International Fellowship of Christian Churches	33
Traditional African Belief	34
Union of Orthodox Synagogues in SA	35
United Congregational Church of SA	36
United Hebrew Congregation of Johannesburg	37
World Alliance of Reformed Churches	38
Zion Christian Church (ZCC)	39
Other Zionist Churches	40
Other Independent Black Churches	41
None	42
Refuse to answer	43
Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) .....	

6. What language do you speak mostly at home?

Afrikaans	01
Arabic	02
English	03
Gugerati	04
Hindi	05
Ndebele	06
Western Sotho	07
Northern Sotho	08
Portuguese	09
Southern Sotho	10
Swazi	11
Tamil	12
Telegu	13
Tsonga	14
Urdu	15
Venda	16
Xhosa	17
Zulu	18
Other African	19
Other Asian	20
Other European	21
Other (Please specify) .....	

34-35

7 EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

7.1 What is your highest educational qualification?

No education	11
SUB A OR B/Class 1 or 2	12
STD 01-10: Enter raw figure .....	
Std 01-09 plus Diploma	13
Matric plus diploma	14
B. or Honours degree	15
Masters degree	16
Doctor's degree	17

36-37

7.2 (If 13 or 14 at Question 7.1) Specify highest school standard passed

.....	
-------	--

38-39

7.3 -Completed after school?

Technikon diploma	01	
Technical college diploma	02	
Business college diploma	03	
Teaching/Nursing diploma	04	
Trade (e.g. hairdressing)	05	
Other (Please specify)		
.....		40-41

8. What is your current occupational position? (Whic

Unemployed, not looking for work	01	
Unemployed, looking for work	02	
Work in informal sector, not looking for (permanent ) work	03	
Work in informal sector, looking for (permanent ) work	04	
Pensioner (age/sick/disability etc)	05	
Housewife, not working at all, not looking for work	06	
Housewife looking for work	07	
Student/Scholar	08	
Employed part time if none of the above	09	
Employed full time	10	
Other (please specify)		
.....		42-43

9. (If code 01, 02, 03, 04, 07, 09, 10, 11, 12 or 13 at Q. 8) What is your current occupation (or previous occupation, if unemployed)? Please give full details:

.....	44-45
-------	-------

10. In what kind of area did you live for the longest period before your 18<sup>th</sup> birthday?  
(INTERVIEWER: WRITE NAME OF TOWN BELOW ANSWER)

On a white farm	1	
In a black rural area	2	
In a small town/township near a small town	3	
In a large town/city or township near a large town/city	4	46

10.1 Name of town

.....	47-48
-------	-------

11. Do you have an ID document/passport/reference book/"dompas" ready so that you can vote in an election?

Yes	1
No, but I have applied for an ID document	2
No, but I intend to apply for an ID document	3
No, and I do not intend to apply for an ID document	4

49

11.1 (If yes to Q. 11): Which ID document do you intend to use?

South African ID document	1
Transkei ID document	2
Bophuthatswana ID document	3
Venda ID document	4
Ciskei ID document	5
Reference book	6
"Dompas"	7
Other (specify) .....	

50-51

12. When the time comes for voting in the general election, which is planned for April 27 1994, what will you do?

I will definitely vote	1
I will try my best to vote	2
I am not sure whether I will vote	3
I will definitely not vote	4
Refuse to answer	5

52

12.1 (If 2, 3, 4 or 5 at Q. 12): Why might you not vote?

.....	5
-------	---

53-54

13. Here are the names of political parties that will possibly take part in the election - which of these do you know or have you heard of?

ANC	Yes	No	Uncertain	55
AWB	1	2	3	56
CP	1	2	3	57
DP	1	2	3	58
IFP	1	2	3	59
NP	1	2	3	60
PAC	1	2	3	61
SACP	1	2	3	62

13.1. Here is a picture of a ladder. We would like you to place the political parties you know of on the ladder. The more you like a party, the higher you must place it on the ladder. The less you like a party, the lower you place it on the ladder.

The best parties are at or near the top. The worst parties are at or near the bottom.  
 (INTERVIEWER: POINT ROUGHLY TO TOP AND BOTTOM)

Where on the ladder will you place each of the following parties?

											Don't know	Refuse to answer	
ANC	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	63-64
AWB	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	65-66
CP	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	67-68
DP	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	69-70
IFP	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	71-72
NP	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	73-74
PAC	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	75-76
SACP	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	77-78

2	1 2-5
---	----------

13.2 People have different reasons for supporting a political party. What is the most important reason why you will support a particular political party? (INTERVIEWER: RECORD SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT REASON/PROBE FOR SPECIFIC CONTENT)

..... .....	6-7
----------------	-----

13.3 If you had to choose one of the following people as your leader, who would you prefer?

Bennie Alexander	01
Mangosuthu Buthelezi	02
Zac de Beer	03
F.W. de Klerk	04
Ferdi Hartzenberg	05
Clarence Makwetu	06
Nelson Mandela	07
Alfred Nqakula	08
Joe Slovo	09
Eugene Terreblanche	10
Constand Viljoen	11
None of the above	12
Uncertain/don't know	13
Refuse to answer/Confidential	14
Other (specify) .....	

8-9

14. What will you do if there is violence and intimidation in your area around the time of the election?

I will definitely vote	1
I will try my best to vote	2
I am not sure whether I will vote	3
I will definitely not vote	4
Refuse to answer	5

10

15. In your opinion, if violence comes about in this area where you live, which group/organisation/party would be most likely to start it?

.....	
-------	--

11-12

16. Think of the political party which you support. You need not mention it now. Do you expect the party to: (INTERVIEWER: READ OPTIONS)

Win the largest number of votes	1
Do very well and be one of the largest parties	2
Not to be one of the largest parties but win a good many votes nevertheless	3
Get few votes in the election	4
Do not presently support any party	5
Uncertain/Don't know	

13

17. Do you think that it is right or wrong that any particular political party be prevented/stopped from holding meetings and seeking support in your area?

Right that they be prevented/stopped	1
Wrong that they be prevented/stopped	2
Uncertain/Don't know	3
Refuse to answer	4

14

17.1 (If right): Please say why you think that it is right:

.....	
-------	--

15-16

18. Different people have different expectations about what will happen in South Africa after the elections. For each of the following pairs of words, tell me which one best describes your expectations of what life in South Africa will be like after the elections. (INTERVIEWER: READ EACH PAIR OF WORDS SEPARATELY AND PAUSE FOR RESPONDENT'S ANSWER.)

				Uncertain/ Don't know	
Insecure	7	Or Secure	8	9	17
Honest	7	Or Corrupt	8	9	18
Abundant	7	Or Scarce	8	9	19
Equal	7	Or Unequal	8	9	20
Violent	7	Or Non-violent	8	9	21
Free	7	Or Oppressed	8	9	22
Undemocratic	7	Or Democratic	8	9	23
Chaotic	7	Or Orderly	8	9	24

19. Do any of the following people or organisations encourage people like you to vote for a particular political party?

	Yes	No	Not applicable	Uncertain/ Don't know	
Friends/Colleagues	1	2	3	4	25
Members of family	1	2	3	4	26
Churches	1	2	3	4	27
Trade unions	1	2	3	4	28
Politicians	1	2	3	4	29
Street/area committees	1	2	3	4	30
Chiefs	1	2	3	4	31
Elders	1	2	3	4	32
Civics	1	2	3	4	33
Employers	1	2	3	4	34
Teachers/ministers of religion	1	2	3	4	35

20. For each of these people or organisations, how easy or difficult is it for people like you to disagree with them about politics?

	Easy to disagree	Difficult to disagree	Impossible to disagree	
Friends/Colleagues	1	2	3	36
Members of family	1	2	3	37
Churches	1	2	3	38
Trade unions	1	2	3	39
Politicians	1	2	3	40
Street/area committees	1	2	3	41
Chiefs	1	2	3	42
Elders	1	2	3	43
Civics	1	2	3	44
Employers	1	2	3	45
Teachers/ministers of religion	1	2	3	46

21.. Both in the Cape and in Natal some homeless people have occupied houses that were newly built for other people, who had not yet moved in. What is your attitude to such occupation of property? (INTERVIEWER: READ OPTIONS)

Fully support	1	47
Some sympathy	2	
Some sympathy, but feel it is wrong	3	
Occupation of property is wrong and such people must be evicted	4	
People who do such things must be arrested and punished	5	
Uncertain/Don't know	6	

22. Are you worried that the victory of a black government in the election might lead to more occupation of property or not?

Yes, I'm worried	1	48
No, I'm not worried	2	
No, I would support such occupation of property	3	
Uncertain/Don't know	4	

23. Many people are leaving South Africa. How do you feel about people of each of the following groups leaving the country? INTERVIEWER: READ AND RECORD RESPONSE FOR EACH GROUP SEPARATELY)

	Blacks	Asians	Coloureds	Whites	
It is good they are going, we don't want them.	1	1	1	1	49-52
It's a pity they are going because they are South Africans like the rest of us.	2	2	2	2	
It's a pity they are going because many of them have skills the country needs.	3	3	3	3	
We should try to persuade such people to come back.	4	4	4	4	
We should try to replace such people with other immigrants	5	5	5	5	
It is their free choice – we should not interfere	6	6	6	6	
Uncertain/Don't know	7	7	7	7	

24. Thinking of political parties, which do not win an election, called opposition parties. What is best for a country: (INTERVIEWER: READ)

Opposition parties have little support and cannot influence the winning party	1	53
Opposition parties have quite strong support and can influence the winning party	2	
Opposition parties can stand together and have enough support to force the winning party to listen to them	3	
Uncertain/Don't know	4	

25. Do you believe that within community it will be know how you vote?

Yes	1	54
No	2	
Uncertain/Don't know	3	

26. Some parties say they disapprove of the new constitution. They feel it does not meet their needs and that accordingly they will boycott the election. Do you agree with such a boycott?

Yes	1	55
No	2	
Uncertain/Don't know	3	
Refuse to answer	4	
Knowledge of political terminology not sufficient to answer question.	5	

27. Do you believe that all South Africans can become one united nation or do you believe that within a single South Africa there can still be different nations and national groups?

One nation	1	56
Different nations	2	
Uncertain/Don't know	3	

28. Thinking about listening to political messages on TV or radio or reading about them in the newspapers, what interests you most? (INTERVIEWER: READ OPTIONS)

Messages from your own party only	1	57
Messages from other parties as well	2	
Debates and discussions between different parties	3	
Don't listen to or read political messages	4	
Uncertain/Don't know	5	

29. Think of the party in your area to which you are the most strongly opposed and indicate whether it or a member of this party, should be allowed or not allowed to take the following actions: (INTERVIEWER: READ)

Party or member of this party to:	Allow	Un-certain	Not allow	Refuse to answer	
Hold a public protest in your town/city	1	2	3	4	58
Make a speech in your area that criticise the party you support	1	2	3	4	59
Teach at a school in your area	1	2	3	4	60
Be associated with your friends	1	2	3	4	61
Live in your neighbourhood	1	2	3	4	62
Operate a business in your neighbourhood	1	2	3	4	63
Visit people to enrol support for the party	1	2	3	4	64

30. Is there any pressure on you to vote for a party you do not necessarily support?

Yes, definitely	1
Yes, to some extent	2
No	3
Uncertain/Don't know	4
Refuse to answer	5

65

31. If a person does not agree with his neighbours on things like which party to support in the elections coming up in April... Do you think people in your community will be tough with this person or will they tolerate his views?

Tough with person	1
Will tolerate his views	2
Uncertain/Don't know	3

66

32. Suppose most people in your community favoured a party you do not support. Would you .....? (INTERVIEWER: READ ANSWERS)

Stick to the party you support	01
Consider voting with the majority so as to avoid conflict	02
Uncertain/Don't know	03
Other (specify).....	
.....	

67-68

33. Where do you mostly obtain political information (*Three options possible*)

Newspapers	01
Magazines	02
Radio	03
TV	04
Community organisations	05
At political meetings	06
Other meetings	07
From respected people in the community (teachers/priests, etc.)	08
From family	09
From friends and colleagues	10
Most of the above	11
All of the above	12
Not applicable	13
Other (specify).....	
.....	

69-70  
71-72  
73-74

34. Would you say that sources of information such as newspapers, television, radio, etc are usually trustworthy, or are they very trustworthy?

	Trust-worthy	Sometimes trustworthy	Not trust-worthy	Uncertain/Don't know	
Newspapers	1	2	3	4	6
Magazines	1	2	3	4	7
Radio	1	2	3	4	8
TV	1	2	3	4	9
Community organisations	1	2	3	4	10
At political meetings	1	2	3	4	11
Other meetings	1	2	3	4	12
From respected people in the community (teachers/priests, etc.)					13
From family					14
From friends and colleagues					15

35. Political parties have policies and plans for what they will do after the elections. Think of the political party you are most likely to vote for. Which policy or plan of this party do you like best?

..... 

	16-17
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36. Which results of an election are best to ensure good government in a country?  
 (INTERVIEWER: READ)

One political party wins with so much support that it can govern on its own without having to worry about other political parties	1	
One political party wins but decides to include other parties in the government	2	
One political party gets more votes than other parties but does not have so much support that it can govern on its own – it has to include other parties in government	3	
Uncertain/Don't know	4	18

37. What is the joint income for this household per month? (Gross income from all sources and both spouses – estimate income in kind, welfare grants, pensions, business, agricultural and informal income in total.)

None	01
Less than R200	02
R200 – R399	03
R400 – R599	04
R600 – R799	05
R800 – R999	06
R1000 – R1199	07
R1200 – R1399	08
R1400 – R1599	09
RR1600 – R1799	10
R1800 – R1999	11
R2000 – R2499	12
R2500 – R2999	13
R3000 – R3499	14
R3500 – R3999	15
R4000 – R4499	16
R4500 – R4999	17
R5000 – R7499	18
R7500 – R9999	19
R10000 – 14999	20
R15000 – R19999	21
R20000 +	22
Refuse to answer	23
Uncertain/Don't know	24

19-20

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION

38. INTERVIEWER: Was the respondent assisted?

Yes	1
No	2

21

**For which party or political grouping are you most likely to vote in the election of April 1994?**

**Please draw a cross in the block next to the party of your choice.**

<b>ANC/SAPC ALLIANCE</b>	
<b>AFRIKANER VOLKSFRONT</b>	
<b>AWB</b>	
<b>CONSERVATIVE PARTY (CP)</b>	
<b>DEMOCRATIC ARTY (DP)</b>	
<b>FREEDOM ALLIANCE</b>	
<b>INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY (IFP)</b>	
<b>NATIONAL PARTY (NP)</b>	
<b>PAC</b>	
<b>OTHER PARTY/ALLIANCE</b> Please say which.....	

Uncertain/Don't know  
 My vote is confidential  
 Would not vote


## RECORD LAYOUT

<b>CARD 1</b>	<b>COL</b>	<b>LE</b>	<b>MIN</b>	<b>MAX</b>	<b>TYPE</b>
Card Number 1	1	1	1	1	N
Record Number	2	4	0000	9999	N
Metro	6	1	1	2	N
Urban, Rural	7	1	1	5	N
Magisterial District	8	3	000	999	N
E.A Number	11	4	0000	9999	N
Visiting point	15	2	00	99	N
Language group	17	1	1	4	N
Project Number GCOAQF	18	6	-	-	A
<u>Biographical Data</u>					
Population Group	24	1	1	4	N
1. Dwelling	25	2	01	99	N
2. Respondent's status	27	2	01	99	N
3. Gender	29	1	1	2	N
4. Age	30	2	18	99	N
5. Marital Status	32	2	01	99	X
6. Religion	34	2	01	99	X
7.1 Educational qualification	36	2	01	99	N
7.2 School standard	38	2	01	99	X
7.3 Diploma	40	2	01	99	X
8. Occupation	42	2	01	99	X
9 Current occupation	44	2	01	99	X
10 Area	46	1	1	4	X
10.1 Name of town	47	2	01	99	X
11. I.D. document	49	1	1	4	X
11.1 Intend to use	50	2	01	99	X
12 Will you vote	52	1	1	5	X
12.1 Not vote – why	53	2	01	99	X
13. Have you heard of:					
ANC	55	1	1	3	X
AWB	56	1	1	3	X
CP	57	1	1	3	X
DP	58	1	1	3	X
IFP	59	1	1	3	X
NP	60	1	1	3	X
PAC	61	1	1	3	X
SACP	62	1	1	3	X
13.1 Party – Ladder:					
ANC	63	2	01	12	X
AWB	65	2	01	12	X
CP	67	2	01	12	X
DP	69	2	01	12	X
IFP	71	2	01	12	X
NP	73	2	01	12	X
PAC	75	2	01	12	X
SACP	77	2	01	12	X
Blanko	79	2	b	b	X

<b>CARD 2</b>	<b>COL</b>	<b>LE</b>	<b>MIN</b>	<b>MAX</b>	<b>TYPE</b>
Card Number 2	1	1	2	2	N
Record Number	2	4	0000	9999	N
13.2 Support political party	6	2	01	99	
13.3 Choose a leader	8	2	01	99	X
14. Violence	10	1	1	5	X
15. Group to start it	11	2	01	99	X
16. Expect the party to...	13	1	1	6	X
17. Holding meetings	14	1	1	4	X
17.1 That it is right – why	15	2	01	99	X
18. Pairs of words					
Insecure	17	1	7	9	X
Honest	18	1	7	9	X
Abundant	19	1	7	9	X
Equal	20	1	7	9	X
Violent	21	1	7	9	X
Free	22	1	7	9	X
Undemocratic	23	1	7	9	X
Chaotic	24	1	7	9	X
19. Encourage to vote					
Friends	25	1	1	4	X
Family	26	1	1	4	X
Churches	27	1	1	4	X
Union	28	1	1	4	X
Politicians	29	1	1	4	X
Committees	30	1	1	4	X
Chiefs	31	1	1	4	X
Elders	32	1	1	4	X
Civics	33	1	1	4	X
Employers	34	1	1	4	X
Teachers	35	1	1	4	X
20. Disagree with them					
Friends	36	1	1	9	X
Family	37	1	1	9	X
Churches	38	1	1	9	X
Union	39	1	1	9	X
Politicians	40	1	1	9	X
Committees	41	1	1	9	X
Chiefs	42	1	1	9	X
Elders	43	1	1	9	X
Civics	44	1	1	9	X
Employers	45	1	1	9	X
Teachers	46	1	1	9	X
21. Occupation of property	47	1	1	9	X
22. Black government - occupation	48	1	1	9	X
23. Groups leaving country					X
Blacks	49	1	1	7	X
Asians	50	1	1	7	X
Coloureds	51	1	1	7	X

Whites	52	1	1	7	X
24. Best for country	53	1	1	4	X
25. Known how you vote	54	1	1	3	X
26. Agree with boycott	55	1	1	5	X
27. SA one united nation	56	1	1	3	X
28. TV and radio	57	1	1	5	X
29. Take following actions:					
Public protests	58	1	1	4	X
Speech	59	1	1	4	X
Teach	60	1	1	4	X
Friends	61	1	1	4	X
Live	62	1	1	4	X
Business	63	1	1	4	X
Visit	64	1	1	4	X
30. Pressure to vote	65	1	1	5	X
31. Tough or tolerate	66	1	1	3	X
32. Party you do not support	67	2	01	99	X
33. Political information					
1	69	2	01	99	X
2	71	2	01	99	X
3	73	2	01	99	X
Blanko	75	6	b	b	X
<b>CARD 3</b>	<b>COL</b>	<b>LE</b>	<b>MIN</b>	<b>MAX</b>	<b>TYPE</b>
Card Number 3	1	1	3	3	N
Record Number	2	4	0000	9999	N
34. Information trustworthy					
Newspapers	6	1	1	4	X
Magazines	7	1	1	4	X
Radio	8	1	1	4	X
TV	9	1	1	4	X
Organisations	10	1	1	4	X
Meetings	11	1	1	4	X
Other meetings	12	1	1	4	X
People	13	1	1	4	X
Family	14	1	1	4	X
Friends	15	1	1	4	X
35. Plan like best	16	2	01	99	X
36. Which result	18	1	1	4	X
37. Income	19	2	01	24	X
38. Assisted	21	1	1	2	N
Vote	22	2	01	99	X
Blanko	23	58	b	b	X

# Launching democracy

February – March 1994

## OPEN QUESTIONS

### Question 5

Other	
Pinkter Protestants	44
Mormon	45

### Question 6

Refuse	22
Tswana	23
French	24

### Question 7.3

Don't know	06
Refuse	07
SAP College Diploma	08

### Question 9

#### OCCUPATIONAL CODE

Present or previous work

01. Professional, Executive, Administrative (High)
02. Managerial, salaried professional, Business owners (middle)
03. Teachers, Nurses, Technical, Creative, Semi-professional, inspectional
04. Clerical, Administrative, Sales, small formal business, Artisans and Blue Collar Supervisory
05. Routine White collar, counter sales, semi-skilled blue collar, drivers and operatives
06. Unskilled manual, informal sector hawkers, vendors, etc.
07. Unemployed – seeking work
08. Economically inactive
09. Don't know
10. Not applicable
11. Refuse

## Question 10.1

### FARM/RURAL OF TOWN/TOWNSHIP

01. Southern Transvaal
02. Western Transvaal
03. Northern Transvaal
04. Eastern Transvaal
05. PWV
06. Natal Inland
07. Natal North Coast
08. Natal South Coast
09. Free State
10. Northern Cape
11. Eastern Cape
12. Southern Cape
13. Western Cape
14. Transkei
15. Ciskei
16. Venda
17. Bophuthatswana
18. Kwa-Zulu
19. Kwa-Ndebele
20. Venda
21. Lesotho
22. Lebowa
23. Gazankulu
24. Kangwane
25. Swaziland
26. Mosambique
27. Zimbabwe
28. Botswana
29. European Countries
30. Zambia
31. Asia
32. Namibia
  
97. Don't know
98. Not applicable
99. Refuse

## Question 11.1

Don't know	08
Not applicable	09
Refuse	10
Passport	11
European Passport	12

## Question 12.1

Don't know	01
Not applicable	02
Refuse	03
Not interested in political issues	04
The bible doesn't allow us to vote	05
Support no political party	06
I don't have an ID	07
Afraid of other parties/intimidation	08
Walking disability	09
Policies	10

## Question 13.2

Don't know	01
Not applicable	02
Refuse	03
The party fought for liberation	04
The party stands for democracy	05
Better living conditions	06
Job creation	07
Peace	08
The way it solves problems	09
It presents the black nation	10
Allocation of houses/housing	11
Education	12
Better future	13
Employment and education	14
The party has wide support	15
The party protects us	16
Dynamic leadership	17
No political affiliation	18
Change	19
Constitution	20
It's policy	21
Black government	22
Employment, housing & freedom	23
Armed struggle/violence	24
A democratic, anti-sexist party	25
Equal life	26
Oppose a black government	27
Grew up with the party	28
White interests/Boerevolk	29
Religious freedom	30

### Question 13.3

Cyril Ramaphosa	15
Nobody	16
Gomolemo Makai	17
Dingong Moreneke	18
Walter Sisulu	19
Tokyo Sexwale	20 + 25
Thabo Mbeki	21
Peter Mokaba	22
King Goodwill Zwelithini	23
Pik Botha	24
Van Zyl Slabbert	26
Lucas Mangope	27

## Question 15

Don't know	01
Not applicable	02
Refuse	03
IFP	04
Unemployed people	05
AWB	06
Political misunderstanding	07
Criminal elements who claim to have political affiliation	08
All political groups	09
White people	10
No party causes violence	11
Anyone who is not in favour of peace	12
AWB & IFP	13
CP IFP & AWB	14
ANC	15
IFP & ANC	16
Freedom Alliance	17
Police	18
Squatters	19
Street committees	20
Third Force	21
NP	22
AWB, ANC & NP	23
The youth	24
3 <sup>rd</sup> Force & Azapo	25
Blacks and whites	26
PAC	27
ISU	28
NP & DP	29
CP	30
Taxi drivers	31
Blacks	32
ANC & AWB	33
AWB & NP	34
AVF & AWB	35
SACP & ANC	36
ANC & PAC	37

### Question 17.1

Don't know	01
Not applicable	02
Refuse	03
It causes violence	04
It will cause confusion	05
We don't want them in our area	06
Democratic rights	07
We support different parties	08

### Question 32

Not applicable	04
Refuse	05
Do not support any party	06

### Question 33

Don't know	14
Refuse	15
IFP Booklet	16
Pamphlets	17
Churches	18
Schools	19
Books	20

### Voting card: (CA 3 CO 1 LE 22)

ANC/SAPC Alliance	01
Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF)	02
Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging (AWB)	03
Conservative Party (CP)	04
Democratic Party (DP)	05
Freedom Alliance (FA)	06
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	07
National Party (NP)	08
Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)	09
Don't know	10
My vote is confidential	11
Will not vote	12
Did not vote	13
African National Congress (ANC)	14
Spoilt Voting Card	15

## Question 35

Don't know	01
Not applicable	02
Refuse	03
Employment	04
Peace	05
Democracy	06
Jobs, peace, freedom	07
Housing	08
Protection	09
Jobs, education, peace	10
Honesty, integrity	11
Better living/conditions/econ. policy	12
Peace and democracy	13
Jobs, housing, democracy	14
Not interested in politics	15
To help people who cannot help themselves	16
Education	17
Land reform	18
Education & housing	19
Equality for Africans	20
Employment & equality	21
Abolish apartheid	22
Freedom	23
Policy	24
Health services	25
Federal system	26
Volkstaat	27
Environmental policy	28
Anti-Communism	29
Approve of violence/Armed struggle	30
Religion	31
Capitalism	32
Affirmative Action	33