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South Africa
Findings of a Survey
of Political and Social Attitudes
in Post-Election South Africa
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I R I

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II. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

South Africa's remarkable democratic transformation spawned both hope for a promising future and deep concern about a possible "crisis of expectations". Public figures and policy experts in South Africa and abroad preached at length about the inherent dangers posed by a population of 35 million Africans, Coloureds, and Indians eager and impatient to attain the same living standards enjoyed by the country's five million Whites. Clearly, the fledgling Government of National Unity (GNU) would lack the economic resources and administrative capacity to satisfy the pressing demand for rapid change. Consequently, common wisdom argued that public frustration emanating from unmet expectations would lead to political turmoil and social unrest. Despite these dire, but logical, assertions, the predicted "crisis of expectation" failed to materialize. On the contrary, four months after President Mandela's historic inauguration, the survey found that the majority of the population appears to have adjusted their expectations to reflect practical constraints and remain patient despite continued social and economic disparity.

Findings of the 4003 respondents, national face-to-face survey sheds light on many of the questions currently posed about popular expectations in South Africa. The survey was conducted between August and September 1994 by the International Republican Institute in cooperation with the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, with field work done by Decision Surveys International. The margin of error is $\pm 2-2.5\%$.

A summary of the key survey results follows.

National Mood

- Four months after President Mandela's inauguration, there was still a high degree of post-election euphoria. Optimism continued to prevail, with 82% of respondents believing that the nation is generally headed in the right direction. In September 1993, the same question was asked in an IRI survey and only 35% of respondents indicated that things were going in the right direction then.
- This survey reveals much broader public patience than was initially perceived. This level of public patience provides the government with important, though limited, leeway in pursuing the goals of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and bodes well for short-term political stability.
- All racial groups voiced high levels of confidence in the GNU.
- Only 8% of respondents said that they would consider leaving the country.

National Priorities

- Job creation was the first priority among the overwhelming majority of respondents. Housing ranked a close second.
- Other issues such as education, rural water provision and electrification drew strong support within certain constituencies, but lacked the general public demand of jobs and housing.
- When asked to rank in order of importance six major issues that the government has to deal with, the respondents listed the following priorities: community needs (housing and water), social needs (health care and education), workers' needs (training programs and increased wages), economic factors (controlling inflation and reducing taxes), business needs (stimulating investment), and political factors (democratic growth and equality).

Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)

- Public awareness of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the basic policy document of the Government of National Unity, remained low with almost two-thirds of South Africans interviewed responding that they were unfamiliar with it.
- Levels of RDP awareness are linked to levels of education: the more schooling, the more familiarity with the programme.
- The majority of South Africans also believed that the government is responsible for making sure the RDP is implemented while a sizable majority said that it is the job of "everybody."
- Half or more of South Africans also believed individuals and business should be involved in RDP delivery and some called for trade union participation as well.

Housing

- Building small starter houses rather than complete houses or land with services to build on, was the most widely preferred policy choice of all races and residents of every type of housing.
- Most respondents indicated that if people cannot meet their housing bonds (mortgage payments) or service (utilities) charges, they should either lose the houses or services.

or be helped by their neighbors to pay. Only a small proportion thought that government should forgive the debts of defaulters.

Social Issues

- The most often cited solution to crime was "job creation", with steps to make law enforcement stricter taking second place.
- South Africans were cautious about affirmative action employment policies. If affirmative action would impair efficiency, they preferred merit-based employment by more than 3 to 2, even if this meant less progress for the disadvantaged.
- The majority of South Africans stressed equalizing educational opportunity rather than maintaining existing standards of education as a priority.

Economic Policy

- The most frequently suggested way to raise money for social needs was to cut government spending in other areas, followed by increased sin taxes, corporate taxes, personal income tax, and a national lottery.
- The most unpopular revenue sources were increased costs for basic foods, personal income tax, and value added tax.
- Africans had the smallest proportion unwilling to pay more tax for development, followed by Coloureds and Indians.
- The South African public was sharply split on the question of wage increases versus price stability. The survey results suggested that the division was roughly 50-50; a slim majority may have been in favor of more emphasis on price stability.
- There was widespread feeling among all races that trade unions need to place greater emphasis on preserving jobs and social co-operation, and less on pushing for higher wages and militancy.

Politics

- The African National Congress (ANC) retained its majority support nationally, and had caught up with the National Party (NP) among Coloured and Indian voters since the April 1994 elections.
- The ANC was most popular in all nine provinces, including KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape.

- Potential swing voters among party supporters were relatively few in number across the board, although the proportions among NP and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) supporters appeared larger than those among ANC supporters.
- The majority of NP and Democratic Party (DP) voters did offer second choice parties, which included a range of parties to the left and right of the ones they support. In contrast, relatively few of the ANC and IFP's supporters claimed to have a second choice party.
- Close to half of the South African electorate thought the elected Members of Parliament were out of touch with average citizens. These voters felt that Parliament was not responsive to their needs. The three racial minorities were the most likely to feel that way.
- South Africa's newly enfranchised citizenry clearly felt empowered to contact their leaders to express views. Only 11% said they did not know how to inform their leaders of their concerns.
- The vast majority of South Africans felt free to express their political views, but concern was expressed about political intolerance by significant minorities of people in KwaZulu-Natal and by right-wing supporters.

Traditional Leaders

- Roughly 80% of Africans wanted to retain traditional chiefs and to see them cooperate with elected authorities.
- Clear, but smaller, majorities favored keeping chiefs as important power figures at the local level in traditional rural areas. However, a substantial number of respondents disagreed: 44% of ANC supporters, 41% of NP supporters, 56% of Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) supporters, 28% of IFP supporters, and 53% of DP supporters.

1994 Elections

- While about two-thirds of the public, above all Africans, felt that the elections last year was very free and fair, many others were prepared to concede that it was imperfect but adequate.
- Seven percent of the public felt the vote was not at all free and fair, most often White right-wing supporters.

III. NATIONAL MOOD

Optimism (See Tables 1 and 2)

- Question 44A: Would you say since the election that your life has got better, got worse, or stayed about the same?*
- Question 44B: Do you think that things in general in this country are going in the right direction or the wrong direction?*
- Question 44C: Why do you say that?*
- Question 44D: Many people say that they expected their lives to change after the elections. While many things need to be changed, not all improvements can happen immediately. How would you describe your feelings about having to wait a few years for some changes to occur? What word best describes your feeling? And second best?*

On the whole, four months after South Africa's historic election the survey found that the national honeymoon had yet to end. There was still a high degree of post-election euphoria. Optimism continued to prevail, with 82% of respondents believing that the nation is generally headed in the right direction. In comparison to a poll conducted by IRI in September 1993, in which only 35% of respondents indicated that things were going in the right direction, this percentage is quite high. Despite some pockets of continued pessimism, there appeared to be a persisting level of post-election optimism.

- Pessimist responses were only in the majority among the White Right supporters of the Freedom Front (FF) and the Conservative Party (CP). Even these elements were unable to pinpoint the source of their negativity, with job loss, increased violence, crime, and lack of economic development all drawing 10% of respondents.
- Only 8% of the sample believed that their lives had become worse since the election. However, 16% of Indians and 26% of Whites believed that conditions have deteriorated.
- This sense of optimism was based largely on perceptions of political change rather than concrete improvements in the lives of ordinary citizens. Apart from expanded school lunch programs and free health care for pregnant mothers and children under six, in the four months between the historic inauguration of President Nelson Mandela in April and the fieldwork of this poll in August, only minor results had been

achieved in addressing the well publicized demands for better housing, improved education, and above all, job creation.

- The impoverished and underprivileged population groups that are widely believed to have the highest expectations for rapid change, and therefore the lowest thresholds of patience, retained their sense of hope and perseverance despite government delays in delivering the programs and services promised during the election campaign.
- Predictably, 56% of voters believed that their lives have generally stayed the same since the election. However, the belief that life had gotten better since the election was particularly strong among rural farm and kraal residents (44%), the unemployed (44%), and respondents with little or no formal education (47%). These groups stood to gain the most from the ambitious goals of the RDP despite the delays in getting the program off the ground.

Patience and Party Loyalty

Question 29: Which of the following statements best reflects your view?

1. *My party faces many difficulties and I will give it time to achieve results.*
2. *If my party does not deliver what it promises in the next year or two, I will support another party.*
3. *My party is the only one for me and I cannot support another party.*
4. *Refused to answer*
5. *Don't know*

The sentiments expressed in the survey results suggest that the public pressures for immediate action and time lines for change may be substantially different from initial predictions. This survey revealed much broader public patience than was initially perceived. This level of public patience provides the government with important, though limited, leeway in pursuing the goals of the RDP and bodes well for short-term political stability. However, the ultimate stability of the South African democracy will require a citizenry that is both patient and demanding of their government.

- When asked if they would support their party even if it would take time to achieve results, there was broad awareness that change can not come instantly.
- When voters were asked how they would feel if they had to wait several years for any real change to occur, African voters almost wholly refused to use negative adjectives to describe their reactions, with 64% saying "hopeful", 17% "patient" and 6% "satisfied". Only 6% said they were angry, impatient, discouraged, or frustrated.

- This patience was especially high among Africans with 45% indicating that their party faces difficulties and they will give the party time to achieve results. An additional 38% of Africans indicated that they could not support another party.
- Party loyalty was especially high among Xhosa speakers, part of the traditional power base of the ANC, with 41% stating that they would give their party time to achieve results and 54% stating more fervently that they would support their party under any circumstances.
- Not surprisingly, support for continued patience was lowest within squatter communities, with only 7% agreeing to give their party time to achieve results. This dearth of support reflects the substantial importance of the housing crisis and public pressures for concrete results.
- This patience can be a two-edged sword. Although it bodes well for short-term stability and provides the new government with much needed maneuvering room for achieving its ambitious goals, it could also pose a serious challenge for the development of pluralist democracy in South Africa.
- This high level of party loyalty may prove problematic over the long-term in building a democratic society where political parties are held accountable for their programs and policies on the basis of their results.
- Whites, Coloureds, and Indians responded favorably to the idea of changing loyalty in substantial numbers, 22%, 28%, and 31% respectively. This general sentiment reflects patience and strong dedication on the part of party supporters, but it also demonstrates that voters may be unwilling or unable to turn to the political process and express disfavor through their vote.

Confidence in GNU

Question 8: How much confidence do you have in the new Government of National Unity?

1. *A great deal of confidence*
2. *Some confidence*
3. *Not very much confidence*
4. *Don't know*

The survey reflected high levels of public patience translated into general confidence in the Government of National Unity. All racial groups voiced high levels of confidence in the GNU. Support for the GNU was weaker among Whites.

- Fully 87% of respondents expressed a level of confidence in the GNU. Only 12% stated that they did not have very much confidence.
- Africans expressed the strongest amount of confidence with 95% of respondents claiming some or great confidence in the new government. They were followed by Coloureds, Indians, and Whites with 77%, 70%, and 65% respectively. However, 35% of Whites and 30% of Indians said they did not have very much confidence in the GNU.
- Not surprisingly, the highest levels of confidence were found among traditional ANC supporters. Xhosa speakers and residents of the Eastern Cape had the highest percentages of supporters expressing a great deal of confidence in the GNU, with 79% and 72% respectively.
- Even Afrikaans-speaking respondents voiced their support, with 64% expressing some level of confidence in the new government.
- Political parties expressed confidence in the GNU by the following percentages: African National Congress, 71%; Pan Africanist Congress, 47%; Inkatha Freedom Party, 45%; Democratic Party, 17%; National Party, 11%; Freedom Front, 4%; and Conservative Party, 0%.

Attitudes Towards Emigration (See Table 3)

Question 33A: Before the elections, some people moved from South Africa because they were afraid of the changes that were happening. Are there any circumstances that would make you consider leaving South Africa?

Question 33B: What is the most important factor that would make you consider leaving?

One encouraging symbol of political stability was the new attitude toward emigration. Before the April elections many pundits predicted that the transition to majority rule would stimulate White flight, with droves of skilled citizens leaving the country. This mass exodus failed to materialize.

- In September, only 8% of the respondents said that they would consider leaving the country.
- However, the figures were much higher for Whites, with 28% of respondents still contemplating emigration during the August-September 1994 survey period.

Conclusion

A general sense of guarded optimism continued well after the election. This optimism stemmed from political gains and the perception that people have a stake in the new South Africa. Voters remained patient and confidence in the GNU remained high. The pre-election fears of White flight failed to materialize. Four months after President Mandela's historic inauguration, the "crisis of expectations" had yet to dampen election euphoria.

IV. NATIONAL PRIORITIES

First Priorities

Question 7: First, what do you think is the most important problem for the new government of South Africa to address?

Question 9: Thinking about one year from now, what would be most important to you in determining whether or not the country is headed in the right direction?

Question 11: Thinking some more about just one issue, who do you think should be most involved in creating jobs -- the government, companies, individuals, or trade unions?

Job creation was the top priority for most South Africans. Other issues, like housing construction and education, though featured extensively in President Mandela's Reconstruction and Development Programme, were of lesser importance in comparison.

- Job creation was listed as the first priority among most respondents. Nationwide, 30% list it as their first priority issue. The emphasis on increased employment was greatest among African participants, but all racial groups listed it as one of the most important challenges facing the nation. This revelation is particularly important given that the ANC has chosen to make housing construction the top priority of early RDP efforts. The data suggests that people want jobs first and foremost.
- Housing ranked a close second with 20% of respondents listing it first. However, even respondents living in backyard shacks and squatter communities ranked jobs higher than housing.
- Provision of potable water was a top priority among 10% of the population. Rural residents and citizens of the Northern Transvaal were particularly interested in greater water access.
- Education was the top priority for 8% of respondents. The call for education reform was particularly strong among Africans.

Rank Ordering of Public Needs (See Table 4)

Question 12: Thinking of the problems the government has to tackle over the next few years, which of these do you think they should pay more attention to?

1. *Social needs such as health and education.*
2. *Economic factors such as stable prices and taxes.*
3. *Political factors such as racial equality and democracy.*
4. *Community needs such as water and housing.*
5. *Business needs such as attracting foreign investment.*
6. *Workers needs such as skills training and fair wages.*

Question 14: South Africa is now known around the world as a new non-racial democracy. What role do you think is the most important for the government choosing among the following.

1. *Honest and clean government.*
2. *Government that keeps its campaign promises.*
3. *Government that helps other African countries.*
4. *Government that protects the rights of citizens.*
5. *Government that hears the voters and tries to help them.*
6. *Don't know.*

Although job creation was the most important single issue, most South Africans wanted the government to focus on programs that benefit the whole community. Less tangible programs, like economic policies geared towards foreign investment, only registered among elite social groups.

- Community Needs - When asked to choose a general policy category preference, the majority of respondents chose community needs, consisting of issues such as housing and water. Although participants viewed job creation as the most important program overall, they wanted the government to focus its attention on programs that benefit the community.
- Social Needs - The second most popular issue area was social needs. The public wanted to see the government address social needs such as improved health care and education.
- Workers' Needs - Workers' needs were the third choice of most respondents. There was strong support for better training programs and increased wages, but in a country with 50% real unemployment, most people are not in a position to call for greater benefits.
- Economic Factors - Controlling inflation and reducing taxes received even less support among the general population. These needs were largely articulated by Whites and respondents over the age of 50.

- Business Needs - The need to stimulate foreign investment was very low on most citizens' list. Most participants were unable to perceive the importance of foreign investment in stimulating economic growth and creating jobs.
- Political Factors - Continued demands for democratic growth and equality round out the list of priorities. There was a general perception that democracy was achieved through the April election. However, when asked what was the most important role for government to perform, 36% of respondents said that its first priority should be to remain "honest and clean", 25% want it to keep its campaign promises, and 23% want it to protect the rights of citizens.

Conclusion

By September, the majority of South African citizens had turned their focus from the political priorities of the struggle against apartheid to a more immediate struggle for improved standards of living. Consequently, the top priorities for most groups were those programs and policies, like job creation and housing construction, that have an immediate and visible impact on ordinary people. Less tangible priorities like macroeconomic policy, business needs, and continued democratic reform, were less popular.

V. RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

Awareness of the RDP (See Table 5 and 6)

Question 10: How familiar are you with the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Plan?

1. *Very familiar*
2. *Somewhat familiar*
3. *Not very familiar*
4. *Not at all familiar*

Although it received considerable media attention in the election campaign and since, public awareness of the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the basic policy document of the Government of National Unity, remained low. Although all the parties in the ruling coalition accepted it as a policy framework, almost two-thirds of South Africans were unfamiliar with the RDP.

- The general public was not familiar with the government's Reconstruction and Development Programme. The people who stood to gain the most from RDP -- women, elderly people, and less educated groups -- knew the least about it. Fully 41% of Africans stated that they were "not familiar at all" with the RDP.
- Some 64% of all respondents said they were not familiar with the RDP, and 36% said they were. Of the latter group, just 11% said they were very familiar with the plan.
- This applies even to the ANC's own supporters: 62% said they were unfamiliar with the RDP. Much the same holds for the backers of the other parties. The only exception is the DP, almost two-thirds of whose voters said they were familiar with the program.
- There was a significant gender gap in RDP awareness: 42% of men were familiar with the RDP, compared to 29% of women.
- In language terms, English-speakers were the most knowledgeable group (51% familiar), while Sotho speakers knew the least (25% familiar). The other language groups were close to the national average.
- There was also a substantial urban-rural divide on this question. Some 44% of city and town residents were familiar with the RDP, compared to 30% of former homeland dwellers and just 15% of the people living on farms.

- However, familiarity with the RDP was highest in the Eastern Cape (43%) and Eastern Transvaal and Northern Cape (42%), all mostly rural regions. It was lowest in two other predominantly rural provinces, in the Northern Transvaal (22%) and Free State (23%). The provinces with the big urban areas were about average in awareness, perhaps reflecting the large, poorly-educated squatter populations in each.
- In racial terms, Indians were most likely to know about the RDP (47% familiar), followed by Whites (45%), Coloureds (38%), and Africans (33%).
- The key to the pattern of awareness of the RDP was education: The more schooling, the more familiarity with the document. Differences in awareness between people at different levels of education within each race were far bigger than those between the races.
- Interestingly, a smaller share of Whites were familiar with the RDP than Africans, at each level of education, perhaps reflecting a lack of identification with it because it was originally an ANC party platform. (The overall White level of awareness was fairly high because more Whites are at higher levels of education.)
- The linkage between education and awareness probably means that those who knew about the RDP learned about it from the news media, particularly the print media. This suggests that promotion of the RDP may need to be oriented to the less educated groups and those who do not read newspapers, as was done in the voter education campaign last year.

RDP Implementation

Question 19: Who do you think should be primarily responsible for achieving the following objectives -- government, business, the individual or trade unions? And who should also be involved?

Government is responsible for making sure that the RDP is implemented, in the view of the majority of South Africans. But a sizable minority said that it is the job of the population as a whole.

- According to 63% of the respondents, government should be responsible, and 31% said that everyone must ensure that the RDP is applied. There were few differences between demographic groups on this point.
- The assignment of responsibility does vary by province, although all believe government should have primary responsibility. The Northwest and Northern Transvaal split almost evenly between those placing responsibility on the people and

those relying on the state. The Eastern and Western Cape had the largest numbers of citizens looking to the government for policy implementation.

- By party, ANC supporters were the most likely to say that ensuring the implementation of the RDP was everyone's job; 33% do so. The smallest proportions to say that were found among backers of the right-wing parties, the FF or CP, where 20% or less do.

Participation in Development (See Table 7)

Question 19 Continued:

Most of the public thought the government should bear the prime responsibility for development activity, but many also saw an important role for civil society. Depending on the area of activity, half or more of South Africans believed individuals and business should be involved, and some call for trade union participation as well.

- On issues like increasing living standards, promoting race and gender equality, access to education and training, and access to housing, opinion was nearly unanimous that government should take the lead. The proportions who say so vary from 85% to 97% depending on the issue, and in each case the overwhelming majority said the state should have the primary responsibility.
- However, there was also strong feeling that individuals should be involved; around half the public called for individuals to take some responsibility for their living standards, combatting discrimination, and improving their knowledge and skills. A little over 25% expected individuals to get involved in their own housing -- surprisingly low when one considers the traditions of self-built housing among Africans and of home ownership among the minorities.
- Some 76% of the population believed that business had a role to play in economic growth. Just under half thought business should help boost living standards (49%) and education and training (46%), slightly fewer thought it should promote equality (40%). On housing, where the fewest expect individuals to participate, the largest share, 61%, expected business to be involved.
- Minorities, but significant-sized ones, thought trade unions should be involved in development efforts. The most popular role was promoting race and gender equality, where 22% thought unions should have some responsibility. Roughly one in eight thought unions should also work to improve living standards, education, or housing.
- There were no noteworthy differences in this pattern on the basis of race or other demographic or political factors.

CONCLUSION

The IRI survey findings suggest that by August-September 1994, the Reconstruction and Development Programme had yet to make a strong impact on public consciousness; most people were unfamiliar with it, and most of those who knew about it belonged to privileged groups. This takes on particular significance given that most South Africans look to government to monitor and implement development activity. Although there was a general desire for state intervention to promote development, reliance on the state was tempered by the desire of about 50% of respondents for business and union involvement on the same sorts of issues.

VI. HOUSING

Housing Types (See Table 8)

Question 38: Some people say that it would be better to build single story houses only. Would you prefer to live in a single story free-standing house even if it costs more, or a flat of the same size that costs you less?

Question 39: Many houses have to be built over the next few years. There is much debate as to how it should be done. Could you tell me which of the following views do you support?

- 1. Only complete houses that people can buy or rent should be built, even if they cost more.*
- 2. Small two-roomed houses should be built to which people can add on and which will be cheaper than complete houses.*
- 3. Land and services should be made available on which poor people can erect shacks and build houses later.*

South Africans preferred houses to flats (apartments) by almost three to one, across the board. When the public was asked what kinds of houses should be built over the next few years, opinion was divided between the options. The most popular choice was incremental housing (small homes to be added on later), but complete houses and site and service (plot of land with access to public utilities) also command some support. In addition, there were considerable differences of opinion regarding housing options between different demographic and geographic groups.

- When offered a choice between a single-story, stand-alone house, and a flat of the same size that costs less, 72% said they would prefer the house, and just 28% the flat.
- The results were similar for all race groups.
- There were slight differences by education and ethnicity. Those with higher education and Zulu-speakers were a bit less negative about flats.
- Some 52% preferred incremental housing, small two-roomed houses to which people can add and which are cheaper than complete houses.
- Complete houses that people can buy or rent were preferred by 26%, even if they cost more.

- Land with services (water, electricity, and garbage collection) on which poor people can erect shacks and build houses was the choice of 21%.
- In terms of language: Among Africans, Zulu speakers were the most likely to prefer incremental two-roomed houses, Xhosa speakers the likeliest to prefer complete houses, and Sotho speakers the likeliest to opt for site and service. (There were no major differences by language on this issue among the racial minorities.)
- Incremental housing was the most popular choice in every province except the Northern Transvaal, where sites with services was preferred. But the proportions preferring incremental approaches vary widely, from 36% in the Northern Transvaal to 61% in the Northern Cape. So did the second favorite choice: sites with services in the Northwest, Eastern Transvaal, and Free State, complete houses in the rest, except for the Northern Transvaal.
- Although incremental housing was also the most widely preferred policy choice of all races and residents of every type of housing, Africans were more likely than the minorities to want sites with services or complete houses.
- Only 44% of Africans opted for two-room starter houses, against 58% for Coloureds, 75% for Indians, and 77% for Whites.
- Just over one in four Africans wanted serviced sites to be made available, substantially more than in the other groups.
- Some 29% of Africans and 27% of Coloureds thought the emphasis should be on complete houses, with substantially smaller proportions of the other races choosing this option.
- Africans who live in shacks were somewhat less likely than township house dwellers to prefer a policy of building complete houses and somewhat more likely to prefer one favoring incremental ones.

Subsidy Schemes

Question 40: Which of the following do you think is best.

1. *The government should assist poor people to build or acquire housing with up to R12,500 even if not everyone can be helped soon.*
2. *The government should subsidize people to acquire housing but make much less than R12,500 available so that more people can be helped sooner.*
3. *The government should not provide a sum of money, but should help*

- people pay off loans to banks and building societies.*
4. *People must pay for their own houses.*
 5. *Don't know.*
 6. *None of the above.*

A majority of the public favoured giving smaller subsidies for housing than those planned by the government, if this would let more people be helped more quickly. But on this issue, as on the type of houses to build, opinion varied considerably between the different demographic groups.

- On subsidies, 61% favoured a subsidy of less than the R12,500 proposed by the government at the time of the survey so that more people could be helped sooner.
- Some 21% preferred subsidizing repayment of private housing bonds, instead of receiving a one-time lump sum subsidy.
- Only 16% wanted the government to provide a subsidy of R12,500 even if this meant that not everyone could be helped soon.
- While most members of all language groups preferred smaller subsidies, Xhosa-speakers were more than twice as likely as other Africans to favor the full R12,500.
- The smaller subsidy is also preferred by the largest proportion of respondents in each province. However, in the Western Cape, assistance with bonds was almost as popular, and in the Eastern and Northern Cape, more than one-quarter of the population preferred the full subsidy.
- Some 30% of those with higher education preferred assistance with bonds, twice the proportion of those with no formal education who take that position. This reflects the association of education with social class.
- Two-thirds of Africans and Indians opted for a smaller subsidy scheme, the rest splitting almost equally between help with bonds and the full subsidy.
- In contrast, just under half the Whites and Coloreds favored the smaller subsidy, with around one-third preferring subsidies for bonds and one-sixth the full subsidy scheme.

Payment of Bonds and Service Charges

Question 36: Some people who start to buy their houses cannot keep up their bond payments. What do you think should be done in such cases.

Question 37: Buying or renting a house also means that you have to pay for water.

electricity, and rubbish collection. Sometimes people are unable to pay in advance for these services. In such cases what do you think should happen.

1. *People should not receive services they do not pay for.*
2. *The government should pay for them to have those services, even if it means there is less money to build houses for other people.*
3. *The community including your family and you should share these costs even if it means everyone will pay a little more.*
4. *Other.*
5. *Don't know.*

In the case of defaults on bonds or services charges, the largest number of respondents believed that defaulters should lose their houses. Having the community share the costs was the second most popular option, with government payments of bonds and service charges following a close third. Whites and Indians were much more likely to support foreclosure.

- Rather than asking directly about the ongoing boycott of bond payments and service charges in the African townships, the IRI poll asked about attitudes towards those who cannot afford to pay their home bonds or services.
- On bond defaulters, 41% of respondents said their houses should be sold off, 31% said the community, themselves included, should help to pay, and 26% said government should pay the bond even if left less money to house others.
- As to service charge defaulters, 48% believed people should not receive services they don't pay for, 32% said the community should help pay, and 20% said government should pay for them, even if that leaves less money to house others.
- In two provinces -- the Eastern and Northern Transvaal -- government repayment was the most popular position on housing bond defaults. There are no provinces where this was the case regarding service payment defaults.
- African opinion was divided on housing defaulters, with 36% calling for community solidarity, 34% for selling the house. Some 29% called for government to pay the bond.
- The largest part of Coloured opinion (44%) favored government forgiveness of bond defaults, while 28% favored communal aid and just 26% selling the house. Two percent did not know or gave a different response.

- Selling the houses of defaulters was the most popular position among Indians (48%) and massively so among Whites (80%). About one quarter of Indians favor communal aid, one-fifth government forgiveness.
- On service defaulters, the largest part of African opinion (41%) favored cutting off services, with 37% suggesting community assistance. Only 21% called on government to pay.
- Coloureds split evenly on this question between government help, cutting of services, and communal aid.
- White and Indian views were very similar to those on the question of housing defaults.
- Among Africans, language makes a difference. Sotho speakers were the most likely to favour government help with rents, Zulu speakers the most likely to take a hard line on selling houses or service cutoffs. Among the minorities, the English speakers took a harder line, the Afrikaans speakers favored government or communal help more often.
- Support for government payment of rent or service arrears was highest among the less educated, and dropped with increased education (associated higher income).

Conclusion

The survey confirmed that South Africans prefer houses. As to housing type, it revealed a desire for options rather than a single preferred view. It also indicated a realistic preference for policies focussed on incremental housing and sites with services schemes, which are more affordable than policies aimed at providing only complete houses. It also revealed an egalitarian willingness to accept policies that offer smaller subsidies to more people over ones that offer larger amounts but will make many wait. On bonds and service charges, there was evidence of "entitlement mentality", but a significant proportion of the general population realized that they must take individual responsibility for payment.

VII. SOCIAL ISSUES

Fighting Crime (See Table 9 and 9A)

Question 15: What is the best way to reduce crime? And the second best?

The most popular solution to the crime problem was "job creation", with steps to make law enforcement stricter taking second place. There were few differences between demographic groups on this issue. There were no big differences by race, age, or region. Education and party were the main factors distinguishing supporters of social reform from those suggesting a punitive approach to crime, apart from differences among English and Afrikaans speakers. However, tougher punishment was supported by a substantial minority, who tend to have less education and support parties of the right.

- Some 45% said social and economic measures, such as creating jobs and improving the economy, are the best way to reduce crime, and 35% mentioned stricter law enforcement and punishment. Community co-operation with the police was suggested by 5% of respondents, and all other options were mentioned by 3% or less.
- Among those opting for social reform, job creation was far and away the most frequently cited idea, mentioned by 40% of those polled. More general references to "improving the economy" were made by 3%, and expanding the social welfare system was mentioned by 2%.
- Those favoring a tougher approach divide fairly evenly between strengthening law enforcement and increasing penalties. Hiring more police was called for by 18%, stricter penalties by 14%, and the restoration of the death penalty by 3%.
- Although Whites, Coloureds, and Indians were generally considered more conservative than Africans, the three minorities were slightly more likely to emphasize solving economic and social problems than Africans were.
- There was only one province where punishment was mentioned more often than social uplift, the Northern Transvaal, but only by the narrow margin of 40% to 37%.
- There were noticeable differences on this issue by language among Coloureds, Whites, and Indians, but few among Africans.

- Among non-Africans, both English and Afrikaans speakers were more likely to suggest fighting crime by addressing social issues rather than tougher enforcement. However, the English do so by a wide margin, 59% to 24%, Afrikaans speakers narrowly, 41% to 39%.
- Among Africans, all language groups also favored social reform more often, except Sotho speakers, who split 39% to 39% between that option and stricter legal action.
- Emphasis on jobs and welfare rises steadily, though not dramatically, with education, and mentions of law enforcement decline.
- Those with no formal education were the only group where economic change was urged less often than punishment, 40% versus 41% respectively. In contrast, among those with higher education, the economic and social option was mentioned by 52%, more effective punishment by 24%.
- Better education probably explains why the minorities were a bit more liberal on this issue than the African majority.
- Supporters of the ANC, NP, and DP all mentioned economic and social reform more often than punishment. ANC and NP supporters did so by similar margins -- roughly 10% -- while DP voters preferred social reform by 24%.
- On the other hand, people who back the IFP, FF, or CP were more likely to mention law enforcement as a solution to crime than social action. The IFP electorate did so by a slim margin -- 2% -- and those of the White right-wing parties prefer punishment to economic change by roughly 20%.
- The CP and the FF were also the only parties with substantial proportions of supporters (somewhat over 25%) who think restoration of the death penalty is the best way to fight crime. (The comparable percentage for all other parties, including the NP, was in single digits.)

Unlicensed Weapons

Question 43: What do you think is the best way to reduce the number of illegal weapons in this country? And the second way?

On one specific aspect of the control of crime and violence -- reducing the number of unlicensed guns in circulation -- the South African public was clearly in favor

of stepped-up law enforcement. The pattern of support for anti-gun measures such as tougher punishment and roadblocks held across the board. There were no noteworthy differences by race, age, province, party, or education on this question.

- Increased punishment was offered by 30% as the best way to get guns off the streets, while 18% suggest more roadblocks.
- Only 9% thought the practice of offering rewards to turn in weapons was the best way to get rid of them.
- However, just 9% proposed house-to-house searches.
- Efforts by the political parties to get supporters to turn in weapons were suggested by 6%, and improving the economy to make crime less tempting by 5%. All other ideas received less than 5% support.

Affirmative Action in Employment (See Table 10)

Question 32: Affirmative action is a way to guarantee disadvantaged people will get jobs, in order to address lack of past opportunities. Some people worry that affirmative action will mean unqualified people will get jobs just because of their racial group or gender. Which statement best describes your opinion on affirmative action?

1. *Even if some businesses and offices will be less efficient until people are trained, it is necessary for people oppressed by apartheid to get special treatment.*
2. *Even if some people do not make progress, it is necessary that people compete for jobs based on their qualifications and skills.*

South Africans were cautious about affirmative action employment policies. If affirmative action policies would impair efficiency, they preferred merit-based employment by more than 3 to 2, even if this meant less progress for the disadvantaged. Party affiliation and education level had a significant impact on opinions towards affirmative action.

- When asked to choose between two views of affirmative action, 61% of respondents preferred the statement, "Even if some people do not make progress, it is necessary that people compete for jobs based on their qualification and skill." Some 38%

agreed more with the other, which held, "Even if some businesses and offices will be less efficient until people are trained, it is necessary for people oppressed by apartheid to get special treatment."

- Faced with this assumed tradeoff between equity and efficiency, a majority of all four race groups supported merit selection over affirmative action. This included Africans, though by the narrowest margin, 52% to 48%.
- Coloureds took the same position by 64% to 31%, and Indians by 85% to 15%. It seems that the proportions of these two groups who fear affirmative action were considerably larger than those who think they may benefit from it.
- Whites preferred merit hiring to affirmative action by an overwhelming 93% to 7%.
- There was a powerful relationship between race and attitudes towards affirmative action, even when differences in education were accounted for.
- Among African and Coloured respondents, preference for merit hiring over affirmative action policies rose sharply with education. When African responses were broken down by level of education, only among those with no formal education was merit hiring preferred less often than affirmative action, by 45% to 54%. Among those with tertiary education, over three-fourths preferred merit hiring, just one-fourth affirmative action.
- Among Indian and White respondents, support for affirmative action rose modestly with education. Some 25% of tertiary-educated Indians chose the affirmative action option, three times the proportion of those with no schooling. Of Whites, 9% of the tertiary-educated chose affirmative action, twice the proportion of those with primary education.
- ANC-supporting Africans and Coloureds were slightly more likely (3-4%) to prefer affirmative action than those supporting other parties.
- Whites and Indians who supported the ANC were moderately (10-15%) more likely to back affirmative action than other members of those groups. However, even among pro-ANC Whites and Indians, more than three-fourths opted for merit selection, and the sub-sample of ANC Whites was quite small.

Equal Education (See Table 11)

Question 41: Some people say it is more important to give all children equal education right away even if it means the standards of some schools must fall. Other people

say it is essential to maintain high standards for the future even if that means some inequality now.

The survey findings showed that the majority of South Africans put greater stress on equalizing educational opportunity than on maintaining existing standards of education. Africans and Coloured people emphasized the former, while Indians and Whites were more concerned with the latter.

- Respondents were faced with a choice: to establish "equal education right away, even if some school standards fall," or to "maintain high standards, even if it means some inequality now." Some 58% opted for equal education, 42% for maintaining standards.
- Africans opted for equal education by a margin of 69% to 30%, while Coloureds did the same by a margin of 62% to 34%. Their schools have lagged the furthest behind those of Whites in resources and results.
- Indians split evenly between the two options, 49% to 49%.
- Whites massively preferred to maintain existing standards, 88% to 12%.

Conclusion

The survey findings on crime and weapons highlighted public preference for general socio-economic reform, tempered by a demand for individual responsibility. Even though South Africans have suffered heavily from crime in recent years (their murder rate is roughly three times that of New York), the most frequent response was to solve the underlying social causes. Yet the support for stricter punishment among a substantial minority, and the general acceptance of the need for tougher measures to combat the possession of illegal weapons, also pointed to an awareness that individual decisions about costs and benefits also play a role in crime. (However, the poll did not find much support for highly intrusive anti-crime measures, like house-to-house searches for guns, among a population that only recently ceased to be subject to such intrusive interventions in daily life.)

A common thread also runs through the responses on affirmative action and educational equalization. For most South Africans -- including the majority of Africans -- equal employment opportunity was preferable to racial preferences that harm the general welfare. But equal educational opportunity was a goal of such transcendent importance that the majority wanted it as soon as possible, even if there is a cost in standards at some institutions.

VIII. ECONOMIC POLICY

Funding Government Programmes (See Table 12)

Question 17A: How do you think the money should be raised to pay for the provisions of social services such as health, education, and housing? Tell me the best way, and the second best way?

Question 17B: What would you not like to see happen at all as a way to raise money?

Question 17C: Would you be willing or not willing to pay higher taxes to help all citizens have better living conditions such as health, education, and housing?

The survey found that the most frequently suggested way to raise money for addressing social needs was to cut government spending in other areas, followed by increased sin taxes, corporate taxes, personal income tax, and a national lottery. The most unpopular revenue sources were increased prices for basic foods, personal income tax, and value added tax. Not surprisingly, members of each social group preferred to increase taxes falling more heavily on others, and avoid increases in those areas affecting them the most. Whites favoured reduced government spending or voluntary measures like lotteries and strongly opposed increased personal taxation, while it was just the opposite for Africans.

- The question asked on this point was open-ended, and allowed two responses, which made it a test of knowledge of tax options as much as one of preferences. This explains the relatively small proportions who mentioned each possibility; many more might have responded favorably to different options if these were put to them and explained.
- Shifting government spending or cutting the gravy train was suggested by 30% of respondents. It was supported most often by better-educated (and usually higher-income) people, members of the racial minorities, and supporters of the NP, DP, FF, and CP, who drew most of their voters from the minority groups.
- Increasing sin taxes on alcohol and cigarettes was suggested by 21% of respondents. (At the time of the survey, the idea had figured in media discussions of ways to finance a national health insurance plan.) Support increased steadily moving up the racial status ladder, from 19% among Africans to 37% among Whites. Education

appeared to have no effect independent of race, but women were also slightly more likely to mention the idea than men.

- Higher company taxes were urged by 20% of the respondents. Attitudes here, too, were closely linked to race: 24% of Africans proposed it, against 7% of Whites. Again, education had no independent effect, but women were slightly more favorable. Supporters of the mostly African-backed ANC and IFP brought up the suggestion more often than those of other parties.
- Increasing personal income tax on those earning the highest salaries was suggested by 18%, and general increases by 11%. Higher taxation of high earners was most favored by Africans, Coloureds, and Indians, while a general increase was supported by Africans alone. Here, too, education (which can be seen as a surrogate for income or class) had no independent effect on the result.
- A national lottery was suggested by 11% of those polled. It was suggested most often by Whites (37%), for whom it was the most popular option after reallocating spending, and least often by Africans (4%). Once more, education had no effect on the popularity of the concept, independent of race.
- No other idea was mentioned by more than 10% of respondents.
- Some 38% of respondents said they would not like to see increases in the prices of basic foodstuffs (some of which, such as bread, are subsidized) as a way to raise money. Women were somewhat more opposed than men, and the unemployed more than those in work. Africans, Coloureds, and Indians were more likely to express opposition, Whites somewhat less so. Among Africans and Whites, education made no difference, while among Coloureds and Indians, the less-educated (and lower-income) groups were more often opposed.
- Opposition to increased personal income tax was mentioned by 32%. On this issue, men and the employed were slightly more concerned. There were sharp racial differences: it was mentioned by 77% of Whites, most of whom pay income tax, and by only 19% of Africans, most of whom did not earn enough to do so. Whites of all educational levels opposed higher income tax, while Africans with higher education, more likely to hold jobs paying enough to fall into the tax net, were also more likely to express opposition to higher income tax.
- Opposition to higher value-added tax was expressed by 20% of the South Africans polled. The opposition was fairly general; despite the militant African opposition that culminated in a general strike against the tax in 1991, Whites and Indians were in fact slightly likelier to express opposition to raising it than Africans and Coloureds.

Fiscal Policy (See Table 13)

Question 18: The leaders of South Africa have to make many difficult decisions in trying to help the country because there are great shortages of money. In a democratic system everybody can express an opinion to help with these decisions. They are very difficult decisions so we can read them a few times. For each of the following would you agree or disagree?

The poll revealed a large level of inconsistency in public attitudes towards taxation. Africans, residents of the Eastern Cape and former Transvaal provinces, and ANC supporters appeared most likely to support "tax-and-spend" policies. However, even among many Africans, there was a pronounced lack of enthusiasm for increased taxation.

- Africans had the smallest proportion unwilling to pay more tax, followed by Coloureds and Indians, as Table 13 shows. On both questions, roughly three-fifths of Whites were unwilling to do so.
- Solid majorities of the electorates of the Northern Cape (75%), KwaZulu-Natal (66%), the Orange Free State (61%), and the Western Cape (58%) pronounced themselves unwilling to pay more in taxes for development purposes. In the other provinces, majorities were willing to do so.
- A majority of ANC supporters backed a tax increase to improve living conditions, while those of the other major parties did not.

Inflation and Wages

Question 18 Continued:

The South African public was sharply split on the question of wage increases versus price stability. The survey results suggested that the division was roughly 50-50; a slim majority may be in favor of more emphasis on price stability. The division on this issue was largely racial: Africans are more concerned about wages and less about inflation than Coloureds, Indians, and Whites.

- On the question of keeping prices stable even if it means holding wages down, 50% of respondents disagreed, 49% agreed -- a statistical dead heat.
- When they were asked if wages should be increased quickly, even if it means prices will go up, 55% disagreed, while 44% agreed.

- Finally, when asked if government should keep prices from rising, even if it means lower wage increases, 57% agreed, 41% disagreed.
- The problem of inconsistent responses mentioned above applies here as well to a lesser degree, but the responses clearly revealed a deep division.
- On all three questions, 20% to 30% fewer Africans took the anti-inflation position than members of the racial minorities.
- Half to three-fifths of Africans emphasized higher wages, depending on the question, while two-fifths or less of Coloureds, Indians, and Whites did so.
- Among Africans, this held even when education was taken into account; better-educated (and presumably higher-income) Africans were as likely to emphasize higher wages as less-educated ones. In the minority groups, by contrast, concern with inflation rose significantly as education increased; differences between the races remained large.

Attitudes Towards Unions

Question 34: Some people think that trade unions should work for better wages, even if it means more people will be unemployed. Do you agree or disagree?

Question 35A: What role do you think the trade unions should play in improving the economy?

Question 35B: What role do you think business/companies should play in improving the economy?

There was widespread feeling among all races that trade unions needed to place greater emphasis on preserving jobs and social co-operation, and less on pushing for higher wages and militancy. However, only a relatively small proportion of the public expected them to be active in development efforts or in implementing economic policy.

- When the public was asked whether union should emphasize higher wages or more jobs, 70% replied more jobs, just 29% higher wages.
- The proportion in favor of wage moderation ranged from almost two-to-one among Africans to ten-to-one among whites.
- There was no difference between employed and unemployed Africans on this point.

- Among supporters of all political parties, 60% or more said jobs are more important.
- Further evidence of the public desire for unions to play a more moderate, co-operative role emerged when the survey asked what role unions could play in development. (It should be remembered that the fieldwork occurred during the middle of a highly publicized strike wave in South Africa, which may have influenced these results somewhat.)
- Some 53% of the respondents called on unions to play a more co-operative role. The most popular one -- mentioned by 25% -- was to stop calling strikes. Others included helping create jobs, being reasonable, attracting foreign investment, and promoting healthy industrial relations.
- Only 20% called for unions to play their traditionally militant roles of fighting for better wages and worker rights.
- Africans favored a more co-operative stance by two to one, Whites by six to one.
- Within the African group, the more co-operative option was preferred three-to-two among the least educated (and poorest), while those with university degrees preferred it by three-to-one.
- There was less consensus on what role business should play in improving the economy. Some 27% believed that its primary role was to create jobs. Building more businesses and paying living wages each drew 10%. Nearly 40% of the Indian community believed that the primary role of business should be to create jobs. The only group that did not list job creation as the top priority for business were residents of backyard shacks, with 26% listing payment of living wages as business' top priority.

Conclusion

In general, the survey findings suggest that responses to economic issues reflected a divide between haves and have-nots, which was largely perceived along racial lines. On issues of taxation, inflation, and wage policy, race was the determining factor in attitudes, taking precedence over class divisions (at least as measured by education). It is more difficult to draw conclusions about taxing and spending, given the inconsistency of attitudes among the less-educated public and the low salience that economic policy issues appeared to have at the grassroots. The findings do suggest there was some support for increased taxation for development. Africans in particular displayed greater willingness, as a community, to pay increased taxes for development purposes than the other, more affluent racial groups. The results may even suggest some scope for anti-tax populism: Whites strongly express their hostility to additional taxation, while those with a weaker position in

the job market in every race are less willing to pay more taxes than the better educated and better off. Thus, while confirming that racial economic divides continue to haunt South Africa, the IRI poll certainly does not point to a general enthusiasm for looting the rich among the formerly disenfranchised.

IX. POLITICS

Party Support (See Table 14)

Question 20A: Do you consider yourself a supporter of a political party?

Question 20B: Which party do you support?

Question 21: Which of the following describe your political support?

1. *I am active in promoting my party.*
2. *I support my party but do not do any active work.*
3. *I am not really supportive of a political party.*
4. *I am not interested in politics at all.*
5. *Don't know*
6. *Refused*

The ANC retained its majority support nationally, and caught up with the National Party among Coloured and Indian voters since the April election. There was an apparent swing in the Coloured and Indian communities from the NP to the ANC between the election in April and the survey in August and September. With these shifts, along with an apparent swing from Inkatha to the ANC among Africans in KwaZulu-Natal, the ANC held a lead in the two provinces it lost in April, putting it ahead in all nine. (However, IFP support in particular is often underestimated given the noteworthy difficulties of effective polling in rural KwaZulu-Natal, making it difficult to state conclusively that a dramatic shift has taken place.)

- Some 20% of the electorate said they do not support any party. This was the case for just over one African in six, along with larger shares of the minority groups: one in four Coloureds and three out of ten Indians and Whites, the two groups least likely to profess party loyalties at present.
- This was why all the major parties have lower shares of popular support in the survey than in the general election last year, when only 13% of the potential voters were estimated to have abstained.
- The 20% who said they do not support any party included the genuinely uncommitted, as well as those who might vote for a party but did not identify with it, and many of those who would rather not disclose their preference.
- The ANC retained an overall majority of 71%, and its lead over the NP was 56%, slightly larger than in the election.

- The ANC retained its lock on the African vote with 88%, while no other party's share reached double digits.
- The NP share of the electorate was 15%, just over half its vote in last year's election. Its African support is virtually nil, and its support remains almost entirely drawn from the three minority groups.
- The NP remained dominant in the White community, at 42%. ANC support there remained in the low single digits, though it was still up from before the election.
- The poll put support for the IFP at 6%. It has 8% of the African vote.
- The smaller parties -- the DP, the FF, the CP, and the PAC -- were all at 1% in the survey.
- In the poll, the ANC led the NP among Indian voters, 49% to 40%. Among Coloureds, it was almost level with the former ruling party, with 46% against the NP's 48%.
- These figures contrast sharply with those of surveys shortly before the election, which showed the NP well ahead in both communities and substantially lower levels of ANC support.
- ANC support was up substantially in several groups where the NP was previously stronger, the primary and high school educated and the over-35s. There was still a gender gap, with the ANC weaker among women than men, but it was doing better than before the April elections in both groups.
- However, previous research and the findings of this study have suggested that party ties are weak and voter attitudes volatile in both communities. (It should be recalled that published polls in 1993 pointed to a similar shift to the ANC among Coloureds and Indians, which the NP succeeded in reversing during the campaign.)
- In the NP-ruled Western Cape, where the Coloured population is concentrated, the ANC was ahead of the NP by 46% to 43%.
- In KwaZulu-Natal, which the IFP won, the ANC had 52% in the survey, the IFP 25%, the NP 11%.
- Among African voters in KwaZulu-Natal, the survey found that the ANC led the IFP by 59% to 30%. Even in rural KwaZulu-Natal, the IFP's heartland, the poll put the ANC ahead by 49% to 37%. (A caveat is in order: most surveys before the last election under-rated the Inkatha vote.)

Second Choices

Question 28: Which if any party is your second favourite party?

The majority of NP and DP voters had second choices, who include a range of parties to the left and right of the ones they support. In contrast, relatively few of the ANC and IFP's supporters admitted to a second choice party. The picture that emerges from the poll, then, is consolidation of the ANC's African support and expansion into the Coloured and Indian communities, along with an apparent decline in support for the NP and IFP.

- The second choices of NP supporters included the ANC (17%), the DP (13%), the IFP and FF (9% each), and the CP (7%). In other words, 30% would consider parties to its left, 23% to its right. Some 43% said they do not have a second choice.
- DP supporters' second choices included the ANC (20%), the NP (25%), and the IFP (5%), producing a similar polarization. Some 44% would consider no other party.
- In contrast, 70% of ANC supporters said they have no second choice. Of the rest, 14% rest leaned toward the PAC, 10% to the NP, 6% to other parties.
- Similarly, 75% of Inkatha supporters offered no second choice. Those who did divide between 16% who would consider the ANC, 6% the NP, 3% other parties.

Key Issues in Voter Choice

Question 22: In a democratic system, citizens often become supporters of political parties that share their values and ideas. When choosing a political party which issues are most important to you?

Voters say that the major issues in their choice of party are broad-ranging practical ones: peace, economic and community development, racial equality, and, for women, gender equality. The ideological issues politicians often focus on -- economic equality, religious values, federalism, and tradition -- tend to rank lower.

- Peace and reconciliation ranked tops for the electorate as a whole; 37% said it was the first or second most important issue in their choice of a party. It also was at or near the top of the list for every race group. By province, this priority ranked highest in strife-torn KwaZulu-Natal.

- Improving the economy comes next overall, at 36%. For Whites and Coloureds, it was the highest priority, for Africans and Indians the second.
- Community development ranked third, at 27% overall.
- A surprise issue, women's rights, ranked fourth for women, at 23% (though just 4% of men placed it in their top two concerns). Among African women, 23% placed it in their top two issues, though just 2% of Whites do so. In a country where feminism has traditionally been weak, this suggests that the debate on women's issues around the election has finally placed gender issues on the agenda for good.
- After gender came racial equality (21%) and individual rights (19%). Interestingly, in South Africa questions of race and human rights do not top the list, and it turns out that the Coloureds and Indians are more concerned about them than the Africans and the Whites.
- Among more ideological issues, reducing inequality between the rich and poor was most popular. It was a leading concern for roughly 20% of Africans -- but the other four fifths did not consider it one of their top two issues. Even among ANC supporters, it was a hot-button factor in party choice for just 22%.
- Religious values were mentioned by 15%. They did not have much sway over political choice among Africans (except for IFP backers) and Indians. They were more central for parties seeking the Coloured or White vote: they were cited by 62% of FF voters, 49% of CP backers, and 34% of NP voters.
- Only 7% of the electorate list questions of local government and provincial power as top concerns. Even in KwaZulu-Natal only 9% of the voters, including 17% of IFP voters, listed this as a top factor in voting. However, there is more support among members of the Freedom Front (19%) and the Democratic Party (11%).
- Likewise, the issue of protecting traditions are top concerns of only 7%.

Members of Parliament

Question 24: Do you feel that the elected members of parliament know what your priorities are?

Although there was general satisfaction with the work of the new government, as noted above, close to half the South African electorate thought that the elected Members of Parliament (MP) were not aware of citizen priorities and responsive to their needs. The three racial minorities were the most likely to feel that way.

- When asked if the elected MPs know what voters' priorities are, 45% of the South African electorate said no. Some 30% said yes to some extent, while just 24% said yes, completely.
- Those feeling alienated from the MPs included majorities of Coloureds, Indians, and Whites, along with supporters of the NP, FF, and CP.
- However, 40% of Africans and 30% of ANC supporters also answered no to the question. Given the overall contentment with government, this may suggest that the role of the MP as defined by South Africa's interim constitution, which provides for proportional-representation elections with no specified constituencies, fails to provide an effective tie between representatives and the represented.

Communication With Leaders

Question 25: If you want your leaders to know your concerns, how would you inform them/tell them?

While some citizens may not feel their elected representatives understand citizen priorities, South Africa's newly enfranchised citizenry clearly felt empowered to do something about it. Only 11% said they did not know how they could inform their leaders of their concerns.

- This included 12% of Africans, 9% of Coloureds, 4% of Indians, and 6% of Whites.
- For Africans, civic organizations and meetings or rallies were the most important ways for contacting leaders.
- For the minorities, letters were the most popular ways to reach politicians. For Coloureds, this would be followed by meetings, for Indians, by civic organizations, and for Whites, by directly contacting party officials.

Traditional Leaders (See Table 15)

Question 30: What role should traditional leaders play in government? Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

1. *Traditional leaders should have most power in rural traditional areas.*
2. *Traditional leaders should keep their traditional powers and elected leaders and chiefs must co-operate and share power.*

3. *Traditional leaders must retain some traditional power but elected leaders should have overall authority.*
4. *Traditional leaders should keep the power to judge in tribal courts.*
5. *Traditional leaders should only appear in ceremonies but should have no other powers.*
6. *System of traditional leaders should be ended.*

Roughly 80% of Africans wanted to retain traditional chiefs and to see them co-operate with elected authorities. Despite the processes of economic and social modernization and the growth of modern politics, traditional leaders retain considerable popularity in the African community. There appeared to be a reasonably broad consensus regarding the retention of chieftaincy among Africans, but significant disagreement on the specific powers chiefs should enjoy beyond the ceremonial sphere in traditional rural areas.

- Some 77% of the Africans surveyed opposed eliminating traditional leaders, while only 23% support it. (Only 24% of ANC supporters favored ending the chieftaincy.)
- Around 80% wanted chiefs to keep their traditional powers, while co-operating with elected leaders.
- The question of who should have more power elicited a bit less consensus, but 70% said that chiefs should keep their traditional powers while elected leaders are in charge.
- Some 60% of Africans said chiefs should have the most power in traditional rural areas, but 40% disagreed.
- Some 57% said chiefs should act as judges in tribal courts, while 43% rejected this.
- The sharpest division arose when Africans are asked if chiefs should have only ceremonial authority. A narrow majority of 52% rejected this, while 47% agreed.
- On these issues, Zulu speakers and IFP supporters tended to endorse higher levels of traditional authority; Xhosa speakers and ANC supporters lower levels. Both groups were divided, however, and Sotho speakers were split right down the middle.

Election '94: Free and Fair?

Question 27A: To what extent do you think that elections were free and fair?

Question 27B: Why do you say that?

While about two-thirds of the public, above all Africans, feel that the election last year was very free and fair, many others are prepared to concede that it was imperfect but adequate. Only 7% of the public feel the vote was not at all free and fair, most often White right-wingers. Last year's election seems to be seen by most South Africans as being as free and fair as was possible, given the circumstances.

- Some 83% of Africans believed the election was free and fair, while only 3% believed it was not.
- Among Coloured and Indians, roughly 40% said the contest was very free and fair, and around half said it was not entirely free and fair, but satisfactory.
- Only 16% of Whites said the election was very free and fair, but 57% said it was satisfactory, making a total of 73% prepared to accept the process. Some 26% of Whites said the vote was not at all free and fair, drawn principally from the White right-wing parties and to a lesser extent from the NP.
- Even in strife-torn KwaZulu-Natal, only 9% of potential voters said the election was not at all free and fair. Some 58% considered it very free and fair, and 31% said it was satisfactorily so.
- The principal problems cited by those who said the election was not at all free and fair were the disappearance of ballot papers, the stealing of ballot boxes, intimidation, and the disorganization of election administration.

Political Tolerance

Question 31: Do you feel free to express whatever political opinion you wish to, or do you feel that people around you expect and put pressure on you to hold particular views and support a particular party?

Overall, the vast majority of South Africans felt free to express their political views, but concern was expressed about political intolerance by significant minorities of people in KwaZulu-Natal and by right-wing political party supporters.

- Around the country, 88% of South Africans (and 87% of Africans) said they are free to express their views. Some 12% said people put pressure on them to express particular views.
- By province, the proportion of Africans who said people put pressure on them is highest in KwaZulu-Natal, where it reaches 22%. Some 28% of all rural dwellers in

KwaZulu-Natal complained of intimidation. By party, this concern is voiced by 22% of IFP supporters and by 18% of ANC supporters in KwaZulu-Natal.

- Some 14% of Coloureds, 10% of Indians, and 9% of Whites complain of pressure on them to change their views.
- White right-wingers in particular say they are subject to pressure: 21% of FF supporters and 13% of CP supporters indicate this.

Conclusion

Institutional questions pose some challenges to the new South African democracy, though none appear insurmountable. There was considerable dissatisfaction with the performance of MPs, partly reflecting the discontent of supporters of the defeated parties, but also apparently reflecting the role of parliamentarians as vestigial organs in the current legislature. This finding may add impetus to calls to re-establish a constituency (district) system for future elections to strengthen ties between representatives and represented. But in any event, South Africans feel quite able to communicate their concerns to their MPs. This culture is juxtaposed with the older, traditional culture of chiefs and traditional authority, and while there is considerable goodwill and desire to coexist, some real tensions exist regarding the distribution of power on the ground between tribal and elected authority. Nonetheless, the acceptance of the elective principle is clear, and the majority of South Africans also accept last year's election as a valid exercise of it. Generally speaking, last year's election seems to be seen by the South African public as being as free and fair as was possible, given the circumstances.

X. APPENDIX A - IRI-DSI SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

XI. APPENDIX B - TABLES 1-15

Appendix A - IRI-DSI Survey Questionnaire

SEX		AGE											RACE			
MAL	FEM	18-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-	B	N	C	A
47	53	5	15	15	13	11	9	8	5	5	5	7	71	17	9	3

REGIONS									100% = ALL RESPONDENTS (4003)			
PWV	N.TVL	NORTH WEST	N CAPE	E.TVL	W CAPE	E CAPE	OFS	KWA/NATAL				
21	10	9	2	6	11	15	7	20				

OFFICE CODE										
JHB	PTA	ER	WR	V	GOLDFIELDS	CT	DBN	PE/EL	BLOEM	
8	2	7	3	2	1	6	5	4	2	

AREA											
METRO					URBAN					RURAL	
FORMAL	INFORMAL		HOSTEL		FORMAL	INFORMAL				FARM	KRAAL
	BACKYARD	SQUATTER				BACKYARD	SQUATTER				
31	2	4	2		17	1	*			14	29

OFFICE ONLY				
METRO	LARGE TOWN	SMALL TOWN/VILLAGE	FARM	KRAAL
39	9	10	14	29

OFFICE CODE			
EX TRANSKEI	EX CISKI	EX VENDA	EX BOP
3	3	1	5

NAME: _____ DATE: _____

ADDRESS: _____ INTERVIEWER NAME: _____

TEL (H) _____ INTERVIEWER No: _____

(W) _____ CHECKED: _____

SAMPLING AREA/MAJ. DISTRICT: _____ BACKCHECKED: _____

W/O: _____

FOLDER No.: _____ QUEST. No.: _____

INTRODUCTION:

Good morning/afternoon/evening. My name is _____ I am from Decision Surveys International (SHOW CARD) a market research company that does surveys on many kinds of things throughout South Africa. May I ask you some questions. All your replies are totally confidential. All the answers get added together on the computer so nobody will be able to see how you yourself have answered.

We want to talk about how people feel today in South Africa.

- Goeiemôre/-middag/-naand. My naam is _____. Ek is van Decision Surveys International, 'n marknavorsingsfirma wat opnames omtrent baie verskillende soorte dinge doen dawsoor Suid-Afrika. Mag ek aan u 'n paar vrae stel. Al u antwoorde is heeltemal vertroulik. Al die antwoorde word bymekaar getel op rekenaar, dus sal niemand in staat wees om te sien hoe u self geantwoord het nie.

Ons wil gesels oor hoe mense vandag in Suid-Afrika voel.

- Q.A Are you a South African citizen?
 is u 'n Suid-Afrikaanse burger?

Yes • Ja	
No • Nee	

-> CONTINUE

-> CLOSE AND SUBSTITUTE

- Q.B Please give me the names of all the men/women aged 18 or over in the house from the oldest to the youngest.
 Gee asseblief vir my die name van al die mans/vrouens in die huis, 18 jaar of ouer, van die oudste tot die jongste.

COLUMN A NUMBER MEN/ WOMEN IN HOME (with a child)	COLUMN B											
	OLDEST	2ND	3RD	4TH	5TH	6TH	7TH	8TH	9TH	10TH	11TH	12TH -
1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	1	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	1	2	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	1	2	3	4	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	1	2	3	4	5	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-	-	-	-	-
8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	-	-	-	-
9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	-	-	-
10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-	-
11	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	-
12+	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

- Q.1 What language do you speak most often at home?
 Watter taal praat u meestal tuis?

DO NOT READ OUT	%
English	11
Afrikaans	17
Zulu	22
Xhosa	17
N Sotho	7
S Sotho/Sepedi	8
Tswana	3
Tsonga/Shangaan	4
Swazi	3
Venda	1
Ndebele	1
Mixed African	1
African/English equally	*
English/Afrikaans equally	1
Portuguese	*
Other European e.g. French etc.	*
Asian e.g. Hindi, Tamil	*
Other (specify)	*

- Q.2 What is the highest level of education that you completed?
 • Wat is die hoogste vlak van opleiding wat u voltooi het?

	%
No formal schooling	11
Sub A/Grade 1/Class 1	1
Sub B/Grade 2/Class 2	1
Std 1	3
Std 2	3
Std 3	5
Std 4	5
Std 5	7
Std 6	10
Std 7	6
Std 8	12
Std 9	9
Std 10/matric	17
Technical certificate	1
Diploma after matric	5
Some university	1
University completed	2
Post graduate qualification	1
Other (specify)	

- Q.3 What is your current employment status?
 • Wat is u huidige werkstatus?

DO NOT READ OUT		%
Working full-time	Self-employed	5
	Work for someone else	30
Working part-time	Self-employed	3
	Work for someone else	5
Unemployed	Looking for a job	23
	Not seeking employment	4
Retired		9
Student		8
Disabled		1
Housewife/taking care of home full-time		11
Other (specify)		

- Q 4 Please tell me your primary occupation? (IF UNEMPLOYED IN Q.3, ASK: *Wat is u primêre vaardigheid?*)
 • *Sê asseblief vir my wat u primêre beroep is?*

--

- Q 5 Are you currently a member of a trade union?
 • *is u huidige 'n lid van 'n vakbond?*

	%
Yes • Ja	12
No • Nee	88

- Q 6 What is your religion?
 • *Wat is u geloof?*

	%
African Independent/Zionist	17
Anglican	9
Catholic	10
Hindu	2
Jewish	1
Muslim	1
NG Kerk	14
Methodist	9
Charismatic	12
7th Day Adventist	1
Faith Mission	1
Lutheran	5
Baptist	1
Presbyterian	2
UCC	2
Other	10
Refused	*
None	6

- Q 7 First, what do you think is the most important problem for the new government of South Africa to address? (DO NOT READ OUT) And what is second most important, and third?
 • *Eerstens, wat dink u is die heel belangrikste probleem waaraan die nuwe regering van Suid-Afrika aandag moet skenk? En wat is die tweede belangrikste, en die derde?*

	1ST	2ND	3RD	ALL MENTIONS
Peace/political stability	5	2	4	12
Taxes too high/reduce tax on individuals	1	1	1	4
Crime	5	6	7	17
Jobs/unemployment	30	18	12	60
Lack of water	10	9	6	25
Lack of housing	20	24	12	55
Education	8	10	16	34
Land reform	*	1	1	2
Ending racial discrimination	1	2	2	5
Health and medical services	1	3	5	9
High VAT	*	*	*	1
Reducing the gap between rich and poor	*	1	1	2
Ensuring individual rights and freedoms	1	*	1	2
Too little affirmative action	*	*	*	1
High prices/price increases	1	2	2	4
Poor recreational facilities	*	1	1	3
Low wages/minimum wage	7	5	6	17
Improving the economy in general	2	3	4	8
Electrification of houses	2	6	5	12

- Q.8 How much confidence do you have in the new Government of National Unity? (READ OUT)
 • Hoeveel vertroue het u in die nuwe regering van Nasionale Eenheid?

	%
A great deal of confidence • 'n Groot mate van vertroue	54
Some confidence • 'n Mate van vertroue	34
Not very much confidence • Nie baie vertroue nie	12
Don't know • Weet nie	•

- Q.9 Thinking about ONE YEAR FROM NOW, what would be MOST important to you in determining whether or not the country is heading in the right direction? (DO NOT READ OUT)
 • Gedagtig aan omtrent EEN JAAR VAN NOU AF, wat sou vir u die HEEL belangrikste wees om te bepaal of die land op die regte koers is?

MAIN REASONS ONLY	%
Better access to jobs	32
Improved access to housing	15
Improved economy in general	11
Improved education	7
Improved health service	3
Higher wages	8
Less crime	3
Less violence/peace	6
No racial discrimination	3
Other (specify)	

- Q.10 How familiar are you with the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Plan? (READ OUT)
 • Hoe vertrou is u met die ANC se Heropbou- en Ontwikkelingsplan?

	%
Very familiar • Baie vertrou	11
Somewhat familiar • Ietwat vertrou	25
Not very familiar • Nie baie vertrou nie	27
Not at all familiar • Glad nie vertrou nie	37

READ PROMPT EXPLAINING RDP TO EVERYBODY

- Q.11 Thinking some more about just one issue, who do you think should be most involved in creating jobs - the government, companies, individuals or trade unions?
 • Dink 'n bietjie meer aan slegs een aangeleentheid; wie dink u behoort die meeste betrokke te wees by werkskepping - die regering, maatskappye, individue of vakbonde?

	%
Government • Regering	69
Companies • Maatskappye	19
Individuals starting businesses of their own • Individue wat eie besighede begin	7
Trade unions • Vakbonde	4
Everybody	•
Other	•
Don't know	•

Q 12 Thinking of the problems the government has to tackle over the next few years, which of these do you think they should pay more attention to ?

HAND RESPONDENT CARDS AND SAY: 'Please rank these in order from most important to least important'

Gedagte aan die probleme wat die regering oor die volgende paar jaar moet aanpak, aan watter van hierdie behoort hulle meer aandag te skenk ? 'Rangskik hierdie asseblief in volgorde van heel belangrikste tot mins belangrikste'

READ OUT RANK ORDER THESE	AVERAGE SCORE
Social needs such as health and education • <i>Sosiale behoeftes soos gesondheid en onderwys</i>	2.87
Economic factors such as stable prices and taxes • <i>Ekonomiese faktore soos stabiele pryse en belasting</i>	3.81
Political factors such as racial equality and democracy • <i>Politiese faktore soos rasse gelykheid en demokrasie</i>	4.42
Community needs such as water and housing • <i>Gemeenskapsbehoefte soos water en behuising</i>	2.71
Business needs such as attracting foreign investment • <i>Sakebehoefte soos aantrek van buitelandse beleggings</i>	4.16
Workers needs such as skills training and fair wages • <i>Werkersbehoefte soos vakopleiding en regverdige lone</i>	3.03

SCORE OF 1 = MOST IMPORTANT
SCORE OF 6 = LEAST IMPORTANT

- Q 13 All South Africans have to participate in improving the country. We are going to ask some questions about what you think is most important in order to help the leaders decide what to do first.

Please can you rank each section in order of importance to YOU AND YOUR FAMILY
(INTERVIEWER TO ROTATE ORDER)

Alle Suid-Afrikanners moet deelneem aan die verbetering van die land. Ons gaan sommige vrae stel omtrent wat u dink die heel belangrikste is, om die leiers te help besluit wat om eerste te doen.

Kan u asseblief elke afdeling rangskik in die volgorde van belangrikheid vir U EN U FAMILIE.

A) SOCIAL (RANK ORDER 1 TO 3)	AVERAGE SCORE
Improve health care • Verbeter gesondheidsorg	2.17
Improve quality of education and training • Verbeter kwaliteit van onderwys en opleiding	1.99
Reduce crime and violence • Verminder misdaad en onrus	1.84

1 = MOST IMPORTANT

B) ECONOMIC (RANK ORDER 1 TO 4)	AVERAGE SCORE
Reduce taxes • Verminder belasting	2.89
Keep prices stable • Hou pryse stabiel	2.86
Improve standard of living • Verbeter lewenstandaard	2.59
Create jobs • Skep werk	1.66

C) POLITICAL (RANK ORDER 1 TO 4)	AVERAGE SCORE
Protect basic freedom and equality for all • Beskerm basiese vryheid en gelykheid vir almal	2.18
Ensure open and honest government • Verseker oop en eerlike regering	1.95
Reduce government involvement in people's lives • Verminder regering se betrokkenheid in mense se lewens	3.28
Increase political cooperation and tolerance • Verhoog politieke samewerking en verdraagsaamheid	2.62

D) COMMUNITY NEEDS (RANK ORDER 1 TO 4)	AVERAGE SCORE
Provide basic housing for all • Voorsien basiese behuising aan almal	1.66
Improve roads and railways • Verbeter paaie en spoorweg	3.31
Provide clean water for all • Voorsien skoon water aan almal	2.20
Provide electricity for all • Voorsien elektrisiteit aan almal	2.83

E) BUSINESS NEEDS (RANK ORDER 1 TO 4)	AVERAGE SCORE
Develop small businesses • Ontwikkel klein besighede	2.28
Attract foreign investment • Lok buitelandse beleggings aan	2.47
Improve relations with trade unions • Verbeter verhoudinge met vakbonde	3.20
Improve the skill of workers • Verbeter die vaardighede van werkers	2.05

- Q.14 South Africa is now known around the world as a new non-racial democracy. What role do you think is the most important for the new government choosing among the following. (ONE ANSWER ONLY)
- Suid-Afrika is nou dwarsoor die wêreld bekend as 'n nuwe nie-rassige demokrasie. Watter rol dink u is die heel belangrikste vir die nuwe regering? Kies uit die volgende.

READ OUT	%
Honest and clean government • Eerlik en skoon regering	36
Government that keeps its campaign promises • Regering wat sy veldtogbeloftes nakom	25
Government that helps other African countries • Regering wat ander Afrikaanse help	3
Government that protects the rights of all citizens • Regering wat regte van alle burgers beskerm	23
Government that hears the voters and tries to help them • Regering wat kiesers aanhoor en probeer om hulle te help	13
Don't know	*

- Q.15 What is the best way to reduce crime? And the second best? (DO NOT READ OUT)
- Wat is die beste manier om misdaad te verminder? En die tweede beste?

RECORD TWO MENTIONS

	1ST	2ND	ALL MENTIONS
	%	%	%
Create jobs	40	14	54
Expand social welfare system	2	3	5
Increase number of police	18	16	34
Increase fines and jail sentences	14	16	30
Encourage citizen self defense units	2	3	5
Develop local police units	3	5	8
Decrease the number of illegal weapons	2	4	6
Improve the economy	3	10	13
Re-introduce death penalty	3	2	5
Community working together with police	5	3	7

- Q.16 What is the best way to increase political tolerance and co-operation? And the second best?
 • *Wat is die beste manier om politieke verdraagsaamheid en samewerking te verhoog? En die tweede beste?*

	1ST MENTION	2ND MENTION	TOTAL
	%	%	%
Political leaders/parties talking to each other/sharing ideas	24	5	30
People to have respect/tolerance for each other	16	7	23
Rallies/meetings where people come together	8	3	11

- Q.17a) How do you think the money should be raised to pay for the provisions of social services such as health education and housing? Tell me the best way, and second best? (RECORD IN GRID)
 • *Hoe dink u behoort die geld ingesamel te word vir die voorsiening van maatskaplike dienste soos gesondheid, onderwys en behuising? Noem vir my die beste manier, en die tweede beste?*
- Q.17b) What would you not like to see happen at all as a way to raise money? (RECORD IN GRID) (MULTIMENTIONS POSSIBLE)
 • *Wat sou u nie wil sien gebeur nie as 'n manier om geld in te samei?*

DO NOT READ OUT	Q.17a)		TOTAL	Q.17b)
	RECORD TWO MENTIONS			NOT
	1ST	2ND		
	%	%	%	%
Increase personal taxes	8	3	11	32
Increase company taxes	11	9	20	3
Increase VAT	3	2	5	20
Have higher taxes on luxury goods such as alcohol and cigarettes	11	10	21	2
Save money through cutting government expenditure	15	15	30	1
Encourage foreign investment	5	2	7	*
Increase personal tax only on those earning the highest salaries	7	10	18	2
Increase costs of basic foodstuffs	*	*	1	38
A National Lottery	7	5	12	2
Other (specify)				

- Q.17c) Would you be willing or not willing to pay higher taxes to help all citizens have better living conditions such as health, education and housing?
 • *Sou u gewillig wees of onwillig wees om hoër belasting te betaal om alle burgers te help om beter lewenstoelstande soos gesondheid, onderwys en behuising te hê?*

	%
Willing • <i>Gewillig</i>	33
Not willing • <i>Onwillig</i>	50
Depends on which taxes • <i>Hang af van watter belasting</i>	17
Don't know	*

Q.18 The leaders of South Africa have to make many difficult decisions in trying to help the country because there are great shortages of money. In a democratic system everybody can express an opinion to help with these decisions. They are very difficult decisions so we can read them a few times. For each of the following decisions would you agree or disagree?

- Die leiers van Suid-Afrika moet baie moeilike besluite neem om die land te probeer help omdat daar groot geldtekorte is. In 'n demokratiese stelsel kan elkeen 'n opinie uitspreek om met hierdie besluite te help. Hulle is baie moeilike besluite, dus kan ons hulle 'n paar keer lees. Vir elk van die volgende besluite, sou u saamstem of verskil?

READ OUT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD:	AGREE	DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW	%
Borrow money to help develop the country even if it means higher taxes to repay the larger debt in the future • Leen geld om die land te help ontwikkel, selfs al beteken dit hoër belasting om die groter skuld in die toekoms terug te betaal	52	47	1	%
Increase trade and investment to make the economy grow, even if less funds are available for social services • Verhoog handel en belegging om die ekonomie te laat groei, selfs al is daar minder fondse beskikbaar vir maatskaplike dienste	67	32	2	%
Increase wages fast, even if it means prices will go up • Verhoog lone vinnig, selfs al beteken dit dat pryse sal styg	44	55	1	%
Keep prices stable even if it means holding wages down • Hou pryse stabiel, selfs al beteken dit dat lone laag gehou word	50	50	1	%
Keep interest rates on loans low even if that means prices go up • Hou rentekoerse op lenings laag, selfs al beteken dit dat pryse sal styg	38	60	2	%
Keep prices from rising, even if it means lower wage increases • Keer dat pryse styg, selfs al beteken dit laer loonverhogings	58	41	1	%
Spend more on health, education and housing, even if that means extra taxes for everyone • Spandeer meer aan gesondheid, onderwys en behuising, selfs al beteken dit ekstra belasting vir elkeen	57	32	1	%
Keep taxes down, even if that means fewer services will be provided • Hou belasting laag, selfs al beteken dit dat minder dienste voorsien sal word	42	57	1	%

Q.19 Who do you think should be primarily responsible for achieving the following objectives, government, business, the individual or trade unions? And who should also be involved?

- Wie dink u behoort hoofsaaklik verantwoordelik te wees om die volgende doelwitte te bereik? Die regering, besighede, die individu of vakbonde? En wie behoort ook nog betrokke te wees?

READ OUT	(ONE ANSWER ONLY)						(MULTIMENTIONS POSSIBLE)				%
	PRIMARILY						ALSO				
	GOVT	BUSS	INDV	TR UN	NONE	D/K	GOVT	BUSS	INDV	TR UN	
Increase the economic growth of the country • Verhoog die ekonomiese groei van die land	74	18	5	3	*	*	18	58	15	17	%
Increase your standard of living • Verhoog u lewenstandaard	68	8	22	2	*	*	18	41	33	11	%
Increase exports of SA goods to other countries • Verhoog uitvoer van SA goedere na ander lande	74	22	1	2	*	*	18	59	9	14	%
Prevent prices going up • Voorkom prysstygings	78	16	2	4	*	*	14	56	13	18	%
Reduce unemployment • Verminder werkloosheid	77	15	2	5	*	*	15	59	12	27	%
Improve growth of existing private companies • Verbeter groei van bestaande private maatskappye	63	27	6	4	*	1	20	49	17	18	%
Develop new companies • Ontwikkel nuwe maatskappye	64	26	8	2	*	*	19	50	23	15	%
Attract foreign investors to put money into SA • Lok buitelandse beleggers aan om geld in Suid-Afrika te belê	84	12	1	3	*	*	10	62	10	25	%
Ensure racial and gender equality • Verseker rasse- en geslagsgelykheid	81	4	12	3	*	*	11	36	40	19	%
Improve access to education and training • Verbeter toeganklikheid tot onderwys en opleiding	92	3	4	1	*	*	6	43	39	11	%
Improve access to housing • Verbeter toeganklikheid tot behuising	93	3	2	1	*	*	5	58	24	12	%

- Q.20a) Do you consider yourself a supporter of a political party?
 • Beskou u self as 'n ondersteuner van 'n politieke party?

	%
Yes • Ja	79
No • Nee	21
Refused	-

-> SKIP TO Q.21

- Q.20b) Which party do you support?
 • Watter party ondersteun u?

REBASED ON TOTAL RESPONDENTS WHO SUPPORT A POLITICAL PARTY

DO NOT READ OUT	%
ANC	71
AZAPO	•
CP	1
DP	1
FF	1
IFP	6
NP	15
PAC	1
AWB	•
ACDP	•

- Q.21 Which of the following would describe your political support?
 • Watter van die volgende sou u politieke ondersteuning beskryf?

READ OUT	%
I am active in promoting my party • Ek is aktief in die bevordering van my party se belange	13
I support my party but do not do any active work • Ek ondersteun my party, maar doen nie aktief enige werk nie	60
I am not really supportive of a political party • Ek ondersteun nie eintlik 'n politieke party nie	13
I am not interested in politics at all • Ek is glad nie in politiek geïnteresseerd nie	14
Don't know	•
Refused	•

- Q.22 In a democratic system, citizens often become supporters of political parties that share their values and ideas. When choosing a political party to support which issues are most important to you? Please sort these cards in order from most important to least important.
- in 'n demokratiese stelsel word burgers dikwels ondersteuners van politieke partye wat hulle waardes en idees deel. Wanneer dit kom by die keuse van 'n politieke party om te ondersteun, watter aangeleenthede is vir u die heel belangrikste? Sorteer asseblief hierdie kaarte in die volgorde van die heel belangrikste tot die min belangrikste.

	AVERAGE
	RANK ORDER OF IMPORTANCE
Women's rights • Vroueregte	5.46
Racial equality • Rassegelykheid	5.04
Peace and reconciliation • Vrede en versoening	3.88
Community development • Gemeenskapsontwikkeling	4.53
More powers for provinces and local areas • Meer mag vir provinsies en plaaslike areas	6.84
Protecting traditional customs • Beskerming van tradisionele gewoontes	7.12
Religious values • Godsdienstige waardes	6.49
Improving the economy • Verbeter die ekonomie	4.02
Reducing inequality between rich and poor • Verminder ongelykheid tussen ryk en arm	5.60
Individual rights and freedoms • Individuele regte en vryhede	5.02

SCORE OF 1 = MOST IMPORTANT
SCORE OF 10 = LEAST IMPORTANT

- Q.23 Who would you say has an influence on your political opinions?
 • Wie sou u sê het 'n invloed op u politieke opinies?

DO NOT READ OUT	%
Friends and family	16
Traditional leaders	1
Church leaders	3
Political leaders	20
The media (radio, newspapers and TV)	16
Trade unions	1
Nelson Mandela	2
Nobody/self	42

- Q.24 Do you feel the elected Members of Parliament know what your priorities are?
 • Voel u dat die verkose lede van die parlement weet wat u prioriteite is?

READ OUT	%
Yes, completely • Ja, heeltemal	24
Yes, to some extent • Ja, tot 'n mate	30
No • Nee	45
Don't know	1

- Q.25 If you want your leaders to know your concerns, how would you inform them/tell them? (MULTIMENTIONS POSSIBLE)
 • As u wil hê u leiers moet kennis dra van u belange, hoe sou u hulle in kennis stel/vertel?

DO NOT READ OUT	%
By going to see them in person	7
By telephone	9
By letter	21
Through an organised meeting or rally	20
Through a local/civic organisation	21
Through a radio call-in	4
By contacting my political party	12
By contacting a member of parliament	6
Media/newspapers	2

- Q.26 Did you vote in the April elections?
 • Het u in die April verkiesings gestem?

	%
Yes • Ja	94
No • Nee	6
Refused • Geweer	-

- Q.27a) To what extent do you think the elections were free and fair?
 • Tot watter mate dink u was die verkiesings vry en regverdig?

READ OUT	%
Very free and fair • Baie vry en regverdig	57
Not entirely free and fair but satisfactory • Nie heeltemal vry en regverdig nie, maar bevredigend	24
Not at all free and fair • Glad nie vry en regverdig nie	7
Don't know	2
Refused	*

-> GO TO Q.28

-> GO TO Q.27b)

IF NOT AT ALL ASK:

- Q.27b) Why do you say that?
 • Waarom sê u dit?

REBASED ON TOTAL SAYING ELECTIONS WERE NOT FREE AND FAIR	%
Ballot papers went missing/got lost/stolen	30
Intimidation	23
Theft of/missing/opened ballot boxes	23
Disorganised/chaos at voting stations/unprofessional	17
Corruption/cheating/dishonesty/general irregularities	10
Tampering with ballot papers/ballot papers already marked	9
Counting suspect/inaccurate/results tampered with	8
People voted twice/more than once	6

- Q.28 Which if any is your second favourite political party? (INTERVIEWER MAKE SURE THIS IS NOT THE SAME AS Q.20)
 • Watter, indien enige, is u tweede geliefkoosde party?

	%
ANC	5
AZAPO	1
CP	1
DP	3
FF	2
IFP	2
NP	8
PAC	8
None	68
Refused	1

- Q.29 Which of the following statements best reflects your view? (ONE ANSWER ONLY)
 • Watter van die volgende stellings weerspieël u sienswyse ten beste?

READ OUT	%
My party faces many difficulties and I will give it time to achieve results • My party staar baie moelikhede in die gesig en ek sal hulle tyd gee om resultate te behaal	43
OR/OF	
If my party does not deliver what it promises in the next year or two I will support another party • Indien my party nie binne die volgende jaar of twee hulle beloftes nakom nie, sal ek 'n ander party ondersteun	16
OR/OF	
My party is the only one for me and I cannot support another party • My party is die enigste een vir my en ek kan nie 'n ander party ondersteun nie	35
Refused	*
Don't know	3

- Q.30 What role should traditional leaders play in government? Do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?
 • *Watter rol behoort tradisionele leiers in die regering te speel? Stem u saam met of verskil u van eik van die volgende stellings?*

READ OUT	AGREE	DISAGREE	O.K.	REFUSED	%
Traditional leaders should have most power in rural traditional areas • <i>Tradisionele leiers behoort die meeste mag in landelike tradisionele areas te hê</i>	56	42	2	*	%
Traditional leaders should keep their traditional powers and elected leaders and chiefs must co-operate and share power • <i>Tradisionele leiers behoort hul tradisionele magte te behou en verkose leiers en stamhoofde moet saamwerk en mag deel</i>	77	22	2	*	%
Traditional leaders must retain some traditional power but elected leaders should have overall authority • <i>Tradisionele leiers moet 'n mate van tradisionele mag behou, maar verkose leiers behoort algehele gesag te hê</i>	66	30	2	*	%
Traditional leaders should keep the power to judge in tribal courts • <i>Tradisionele leiers behoort die mag te behou om in stamhove as regters op te tree</i>	53	44	2	*	%
Traditional leaders should only appear in ceremonies but have no other powers • <i>Tradisionele leiers behoort slegs in seremonies te verskyn, maar moet geen ander mag hê nie</i>	44	54	2	*	%
System of traditional leaders should be ended • <i>Stelsel van tradisionele leiers behoort beëindig te word</i>	23	75	2	*	%

- Q.31 Do you feel free to express whatever political opinion you wish to, or do you feel that people around you expect and put pressure on you to hold particular views and support a particular party?
 • *Voel u vry om enige politieke opinie uit te druk wat u wil, of voel u dat mense om u verwag van u om sekere sieningswyses te huldig en 'n sekere party te ondersteun en plaas hulke druk op u?*

	%
Feel free to express my views • <i>Voel vry om my sieningswyses uit te druk</i>	88
People put pressure on me to hold particular views • <i>Mense plaas druk op my om sekere sieningswyses te huldig</i>	12
Don't know	1
Refused	*

- Q.32 Affirmative action is a way to guarantee disadvantaged people will get jobs, in order to address lack of past opportunities. Some people worry that affirmative action will mean unqualified people will get jobs just because of their racial group or gender. Which statement best describes your opinion on affirmative action?
 • *Regstellende aksie is 'n manier om te waarborg dat onbegunstigde mense werk sal kry om die gebrek aan geleenthede in die verlede aan te spreek. Party mense is bekommerd dat regstellende aksie sal beteken dat ongekwalifiseerde mense werk sal kry net oor hulle rassegroep of geslag. Watter stelling beskryf u mening omtrent regstellende aksie die beste?*

READ OUT	%
Even if some businesses and offices will be less efficient until people are trained, it is necessary for people oppressed by apartheid to get special treatment • <i>Selfs al sal sommige besighede en kantore minder doeltreffend wees totdat mense opgelei is, is dit nodig dat mense wat deur apartheid onderdruk was, spesiale behandeling kry</i>	38
OR/OF	
Even if some people do not make progress, it is necessary that people compete for jobs based on their qualifications and skills • <i>Selfs al maak sommige mense nie vordering nie, is dit nodig dat mense meeding om werk, gebaseer op hulle kwalifikasies en vaardighede</i>	51
Don't know	1

- Q.33a) Before the elections, some people moved from South Africa because they were afraid of the changes that were happening. Are there any circumstances that would make you consider leaving South Africa?
- *voor die verkiesings het sommige mense uit Suid-Afrika getrek omdat hulle bang was vir die veranderinge wat plaasgevind het. Is daar enige omstandighede wat u sal laat oorweeg om Suid-Afrika te verlaat?*

	%
Yes • Ja	8
No • Nee	92
Don't know	*

-> GO TO Q.33b)

-> GO TO Q.34

IF YES IN Q.33a):

- Q.33b) What is the most important factor that would make you consider leaving?
- *Wat is die heel belangrikste faktor wat u sal laat oorweeg om weg te gaan?*

REBASED ON TOTAL WHO WOULD CONSIDER LEAVING

DO NOT READ OUT	%
Declining quality of education for my children	4
Continued violence and crime	48
Less job opportunity	17
An unstable economy	14
Whites discriminated against	4

- Q.34 Some people say trade unions should work for better wages, even if it means more people will be unemployed. Do you agree or disagree?

- *Sommige mense sê vakbonde behoort hulle te beywer vir beter lone, selfs al beteken dit dat meer mense werkloos sal wees. Stem u saam of verskil u?*

	%
Agree, should work for better wages anyway • Stem saam, behoort in ieder geval vir beter lone te beywer	29
Disagree, more important that many people are employed • Verskil, meer belangrik dat meer mense werksaam is	70
Don't know	2

- Q.35a) What role do you think the trade unions should play in improving the economy? (PROBE)

- *Watter rol dink u behoort die vakbonde te speel om die ekonomie te verbeter?*

	%
Stop/less strikes/stop inciting workers to strike	25
Negotiate/fight for better wages/a living wage/salary increases	12
Create jobs/persuade companies to open job opportunities	9
Fight for workers' rights/better working conditions	8
Advise and negotiate not demand/demands to be more reasonable	7

- Q.35b) What role do you think business/companies should play in improving the economy? (PROBE)

- *Watter rol dink u behoort besighede/maatskappye te speel om die ekonomie te verbeter?*

	%
Create jobs/job opportunities/expand to create more jobs	27
Build more businesses/factories/expand to other areas/develop	10
Pay a living wage/increase salaries/wages	10
Train workers/improve skills of workers by training them	8
Attract/encourage foreign investment	6
Reduce prices of goods/stop increasing prices	5

- Q.36 Some people who start to buy their houses cannot keep up their bond payments. What do you think should be done in such cases?
 Sommige mense wat begin om hulle huise te koop, kan nie byhou nie met hulle verbandopslaeimente nie. Wat dink u behoort in sulke gevalle gedoen te word?

READ OUT (ONE ANSWER ONLY)

	%
People must pay their bond or their houses should be sold to other people Mense moet hulle verband betaal, of hulle huise word aan ander mense verkoop	41
OR/OF	
The government should pay the bond for them, even if it means the government has less money to build houses for others Die regering behoort die verband vir hulle te betaal, selfs al beteken dit dat die regering minder geld het om huise vir ander te bou	26
OR/OF	
The community including your family and you should share the costs even if it means everyone will pay a little more Die gemeenskap insluitend u en u familie, behoort die koste te deel, selfs al beteken dit dat elkeen 'n bietjie meer sal betaal	31
Other	1
Don't know	1

- Q.37 Buying or renting a house also means that you have to pay for water, electricity and rubbish collection. Sometimes people are unable to pay in advance for these services. In such cases what do you think should happen?
 Om 'n huis te koop of te huur beteken ook dat u vir water, elektrisiteit en vuilnisverwydering moet betaal. Parykeer is mense nie in staat om vooruit vir hierdie dienste te betaal nie. Wat dink u behoort in sulke gevalle te gebeur?

READ OUT (ONE ANSWER ONLY)

	%
People should not receive services they do not pay for Mense behoort nie dienste te ontvang waarvoor hulle nie betaal nie	48
OR/OF	
The government should pay for them to have those services, even if it means there is less money to build houses for other people Die regering moet vir hulle betaal sodat hulle daardie dienste kan hê, selfs al beteken dit daar is minder geld om huise vir ander mense te bou	20
OR/OF	
The community including your family and you should share these costs even if it means everyone will pay a little more Die gemeenskap insluitend u en u familie behoort hierdie koste te deel, selfs al beteken dit dat elkeen 'n bietjie meer sal betaal	32
Other	*
Don't know	1

ASK ONLY IN METROPOLITAN AREAS:

- Q.38 Some people say that it would be better to build single story houses only. Would you prefer to live in a single story free-standing house even if it costs you more, or a flat of the same size which costs you less?
 Sommige mense sê dat dit beter sal wees om net enkelverdieping huise te bou. Sou u verkies om in 'n enkelverdieping losstaande huis te woon, selfs al kos dit u meer, of in 'n woonstel van dieselfde grootte wat u minder kos?

REBASED ON MET AREAS

	%
Single story/tree-standing • Enkelverdieping/losstaande	72
Flat • Woonstel	28
Neither	*
Don't know	*

ASK ALL:

Q.39 Many houses have to be built over the next few years. There is much debate as to how it should be done. Could you tell me which of the following views you would support?

- *Bare huise moet oor die volgende paar jaar gebou word. Daar is heelwat debattering oor hoe dit gedoen behoort te word. Kan u vir my sê watter van die volgende sieniswyses u sou ondersteun?*

READ OUT (ONE ANSWER ONLY)

%

Only complete houses that people can buy or rent should be built, even if they cost people more • <i>Slegs volledige huise wat mense kan koop of huur behoort gebou te word, selfs al kos dit mense meer</i>	26
OR/OF	
Small two-roomed houses should be built to which people can add on and which will be cheaper than complete houses • <i>Klein twee-vertrek huise behoort gebou te word waaraan mense kan aanbou en wat goedkoper as volledige huise sal wees</i>	52
OR/OF	
Land with services should be made available on which poor people can erect shacks and build houses later • <i>Grond met dienste behoort beskikbaar gestel te word waarop arm mense krotte/pondokke kan opng en later huise kan bou</i>	22
Other	*
Don't know	*

Q.40 Which of the following do you think is best?

- *Watter van die volgende dink u is die beste?*

READ OUT (ONE ANSWER ONLY)

%

The government should assist poor people to build or acquire housing with up to R12 500 even if not everyone can be helped soon • <i>Die regering behoort bystand aan arm mense te verleen tot R12 500, om te bou of behuising te bekom, selfs al kan elkeen nie gou gehelp word nie</i>	15
The government should subsidise people to acquire housing but make much less than R12 500 available so that more people can be helped sooner • <i>Die regering behoort mense te subsidieer om behuising aan te skaf, maar baie minder as R12 500 beskikbaar stel, sodat meer mense gouer gehelp kan word</i>	51
The government should not provide a sum of money, but should help people pay off loans to banks and building societies • <i>Die regering behoort nie 'n bedrag geld te voorsien nie, maar behoort mense te help om lenings aan banke en bouverenigings af te betaal</i>	21
People must pay for own houses	*
Don't know	1
None of above	1

- Q 41 Some people say it is more important to give all children equal education right away even if it means the standards of some schools must fall. Other people say it is essential to maintain high standards for the future even if that means some inequality now. What do you think?
 • Sommige mense sê dis belangriker om dadelik aan alle kinders gelyke onderwys te gee, selfs al beteken dit dat die standaarde van sommige skole sal daal. Ander mense sê dis essensieel om hoë standaarde te handhaaf vir die toekomst, selfs al beteken dit nou 'n bietjie ongelikheid. Wat dink u?

READ OUT	%
Equal education right away, even if some school standards fall • Gelyke onderwys dadelik, selfs al daal sommige skool standaarde	58
OR/OF	
Maintain high standards even if it means some inequality now • Handhaaf hoë standaarde, selfs al beteken dit nou 'n bietjie ongelikheid	42
Other	-
Don't know	1

- Q.42 Who do you think should be responsible for making sure that RDP is implemented?
 • Wie dink u behoort verantwoordelik te wees om seker te maak dat HOP geïmplementeer word?

DO NOT READ OUT	%
Everybody	31
Civics	2
Labour	-
Business	2
Government	63
Other (specify)	

- Q.43 What do you think is the best way to reduce the number of illegal weapons in this country? And the second way?
 • Wat dink u is die beste manier om die aantal onwettige wapens in hierdie land te verminder? En die tweede manier?

DO NOT READ OUT	1ST	2ND	TOTAL
	%	%	%
Offer a reward for each weapon turned in	9	7	16
Increase the punishment for having unlicensed weapons	30	22	52
Increase the number of roadblocks to confiscate weapons	18	17	35
Get political parties to help get their supporters to hand in their weapons	-	9	15
Improve the economy so that crime won't be tempting	5	11	17
House to house search for illegal weapons	9	5	13

- Q.44a) Would you say since the election that your life has got better, got worse or stayed about the same?
 Sou u sê dat u ewe verbeter het, versleg het of omtrent dieselfde geely het sedert die verkiesing?

	%
Better • Beter	36
Worse • Slechter	9
The same • Dieselfde	56
Don't know	*

- Q.44b) Do you think that things in general in this country are going in the right direction or in the wrong direction?
 Dink u dat dinge oor die algemeen in hierdie land op die regte koers is of op die verkeerde koers?

	%
Right • Reg	82
Wrong • Verkeerd	15
Don't know	4
Refused	*

-> SKIP TO Q.44d)

IF WRONG:

- Q.44c) Why do you say that?
 Waaron sê u dit?

REBASED ON TOTAL SAYING THE COUNTRY IS GOING IN WRONG DIRECTION

	%
Lack of employment/jobs are scarce	17
Violence/is still escalating	17
Strikes/have accelerated/ruining the economy	17
Economy is bad/getting worse/hasn't improved as expected	16
Crime/too much crime	15
Very few promises met/broken promises	12
Has been very little progress/nothing good happened/the same	10
Government expenditure/misspent	6

- Q.44d) Many people say that they expected their lives would change after the elections. While many things need to be changed, not all improvements can happen immediately. How would you describe your feelings about having to wait a few years for some changes to occur? What word best describes your feeling? And second best?
 Baie mense sê dat hulle verwag het dat hulle lewens na die verkiesing sou verander. Terwyl baie dinge verander moet word, kan nie alle verbeteringe dadelik plaasvind nie. Hoe sou u u gevoelens beskryf omdat u 'n paar jaar sal moet wag vir sekere veranderinge om plaas te vind? Watter woord beskryf u gevoel ten beste? En tweede beste?

READ OUT	1ST MENTION	2ND MENTION	TOTAL
	%	%	%
Hopeful • Hoopvol	57	21	78
Frustrated • Gefrustreerd	3	3	6
Impatient • Ongeduldig	3	4	6
Satisfied • Teverde	6	14	20
Angry • Kwead	1	2	3
Confused • Verward	5	5	10
Patient • Geduldig	17	41	58
Discouraged • Ontmoedig	2	3	5
Worried • Bekommerd	7	8	14
Don't know	*	1	*

- Q.45a) How many people in this household earn an income?
 • Hoeveel mense in hierdie huishouding verdien 'n inkomste?

%	
0	4
1	53
2	32
3	9
4	2
5+	1
Refused	"

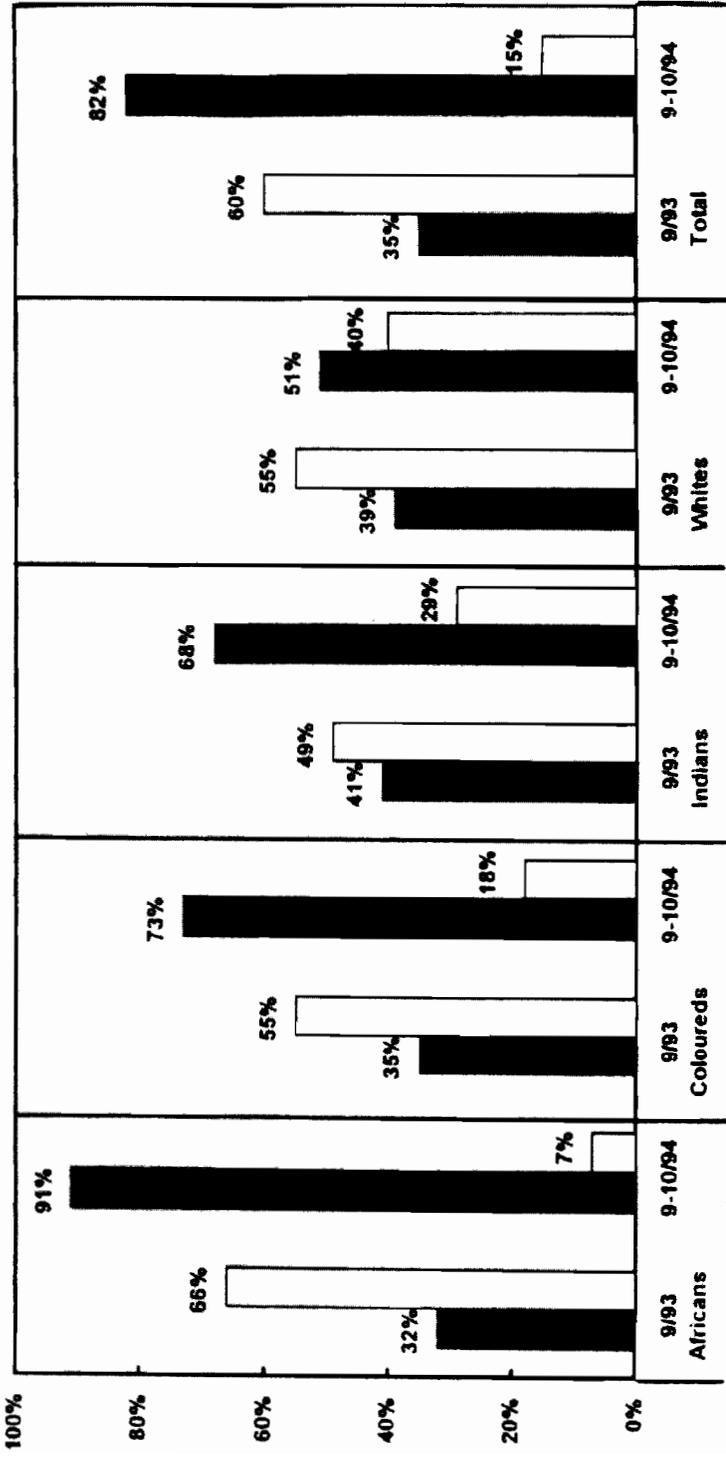
- Q.45b) Would you please tell me into which of these categories you estimate your household's total monthly income falls. That is before deductions. Just stop when I come to it.
 • Sal u asseblief vir my sê in watter van hierdie kategorieë u skat dat u huishouding se totale maandelikse inkomste val? Dit is voor aftrekkings. Hou op wanneer ek daarby kom.

%			%		
HOUSEHOLD RAND PER MONTH	GIVEN BY RESPONDENT	INTERVIEWER ESTIMATE	HOUSEHOLD RAND PER MONTH	GIVEN BY RESPONDENT	INTERVIEWER ESTIMATE
1. R1 - R99	4	1	8. R1200 - R1599	7	1
2. R100 - R199	7	2	9. R1600 - R1999	5	2
3. R200 - R399	15	3	10. R2000 - R2499	6	3
4. R400 - R599	9	4	11. R2500 - R2999	3	4
5. R600 - R899	12	5	12. R3000 - R3999	5	5
6. R900 - R999	4	6	13. R4000 - R4999	4	6
7. R1000 - R1199	7	7	14. R5000 - R5999	2	7
			15. R6000 - R7999	3	8
			16. R8000 - R9999	2	9
			17. R10 000 - R11 999	2	1
			18. R12 000+	2	2
			Refused (INTERVIEWER TO ESTIMATE)		100%

- Q.45c) What is your actual age?
 • Wat is u werklike ouderdom?

Appendix B - Tables 1-15

IN GENERAL, ARE THINGS IN THIS COUNTRY GOING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION OR ARE THEY SERIOUSLY OFF ON THE WRONG TRACK?



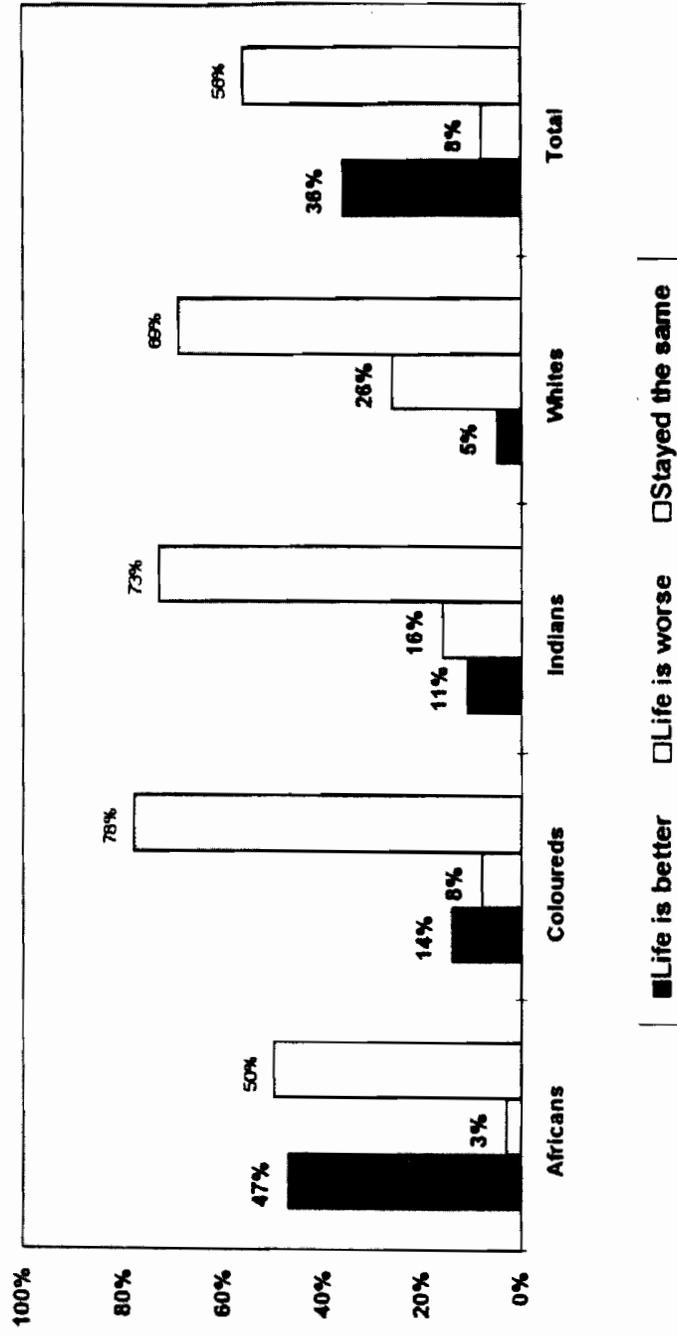
■ Right direction □ Wrong direction

IRI and DSI
 South Africa National Survey, N = 4003
 August - September 1994

IRI, Public Opinion Strategies, and DSI
 South Africa National Survey, N = 2382
 September, 1993

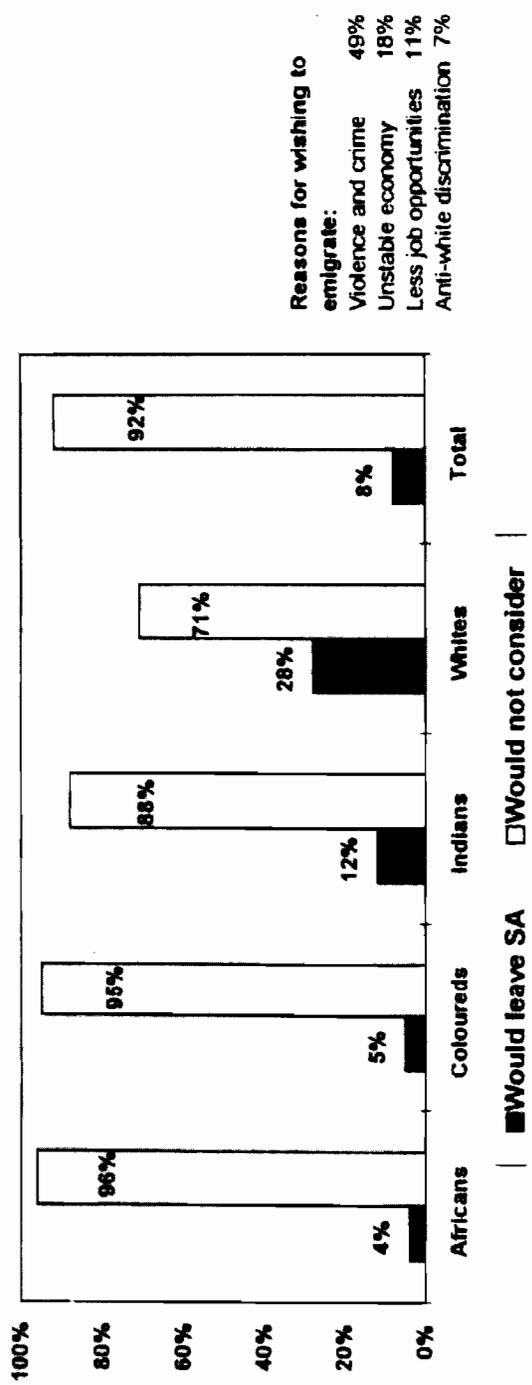
TABLE I

HAS LIFE GOTTEN BETTER, WORSE OR STAYED THE SAME?



International Republican Institute and DSI
 South Africa National Survey, N = 4003
 August - September 1994

PROSPECTS OF EMIGRATION



Reasons for wishing to emigrate:

- Violence and crime 49%
- Unstable economy 18%
- Less job opportunities 11%
- Anti-white discrimination 7%

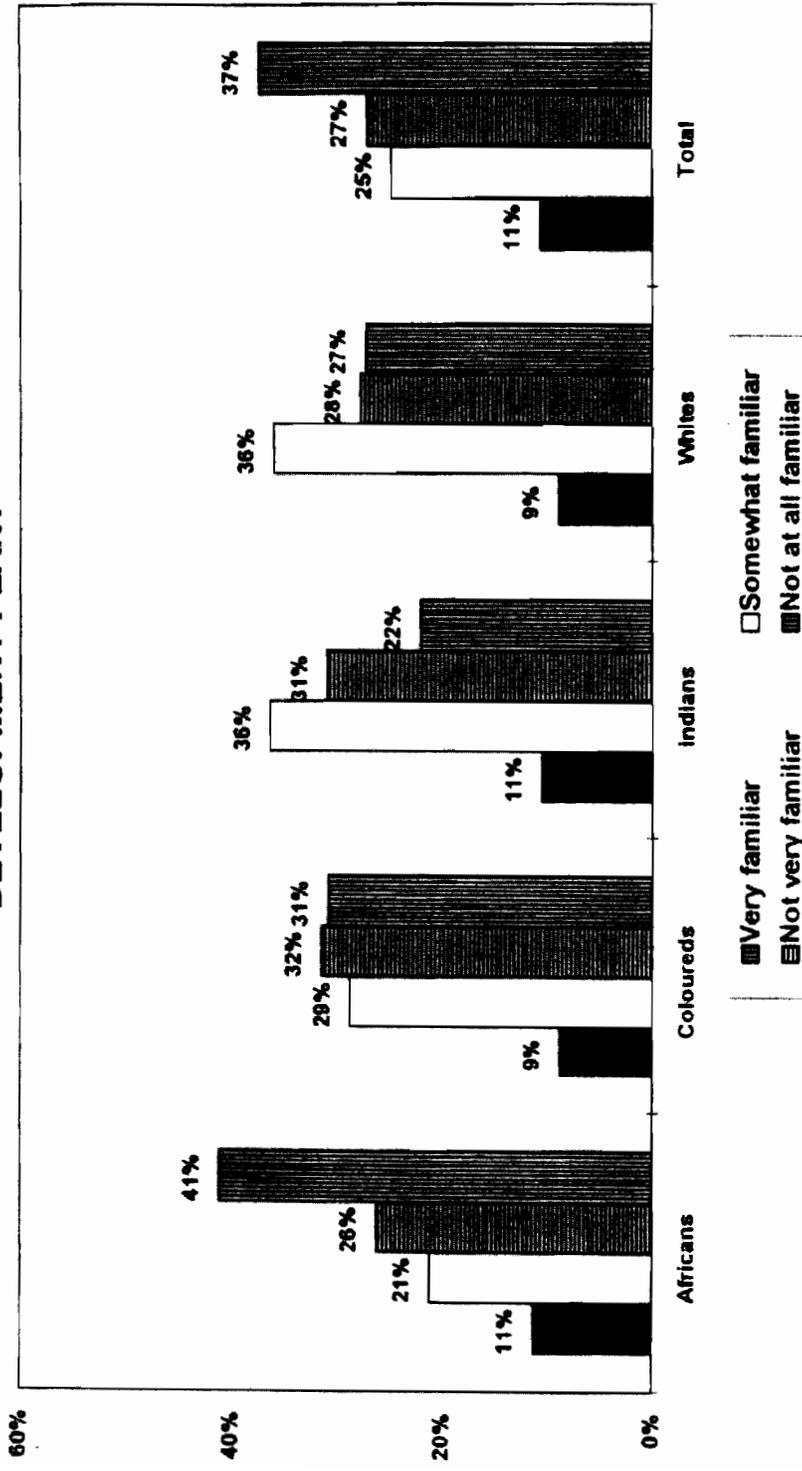
International Republican Institute and DSI
 South Africa National Survey, N = 4003
 August - September 1994

RANK ORDER OF ISSUES

	AFRICAN	WHITE	COLOURED	INDIAN
COMMUNITY NEEDS: eg, water, housing	1	5	2	3
SOCIAL NEEDS: eg, health, education	2	2	3	2
WORKERS NEEDS: eg, training, wages	3	4	1	1
ECONOMIC FACTORS: eg, stable prices, taxes	4	1	4	4
BUSINESS NEEDS: eg, attract foreign investment	5	3	6	5
POLITICAL FACTORS : eg, equality, democracy	6	6	5	6

TABLE 4

HOW FAMILIAR ARE YOU WITH THE ANC'S RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PLAN?



International Republican Institute and DSI
 South Africa National Survey, N = 4003
 August - September 1994

TABLE 5

AWARENESS OF RDP BY RACE AND EDUCATION

VERY OR SOMEWHAT FAMILIAR WITH RDP

	TOTAL	NO SCHOOLING	PRIMARY	HIGH SCHOOL	TERTIARY COMPLETE
	%	%	%	%	%
AFRICAN	33	17	37	55	58
COLOURED	38	29	34	51	68
INDIAN	47	20	36	54	78
WHITE	45	**	30	47	54

** Too few Whites with no education in the survey to analyze.

TABLE 6

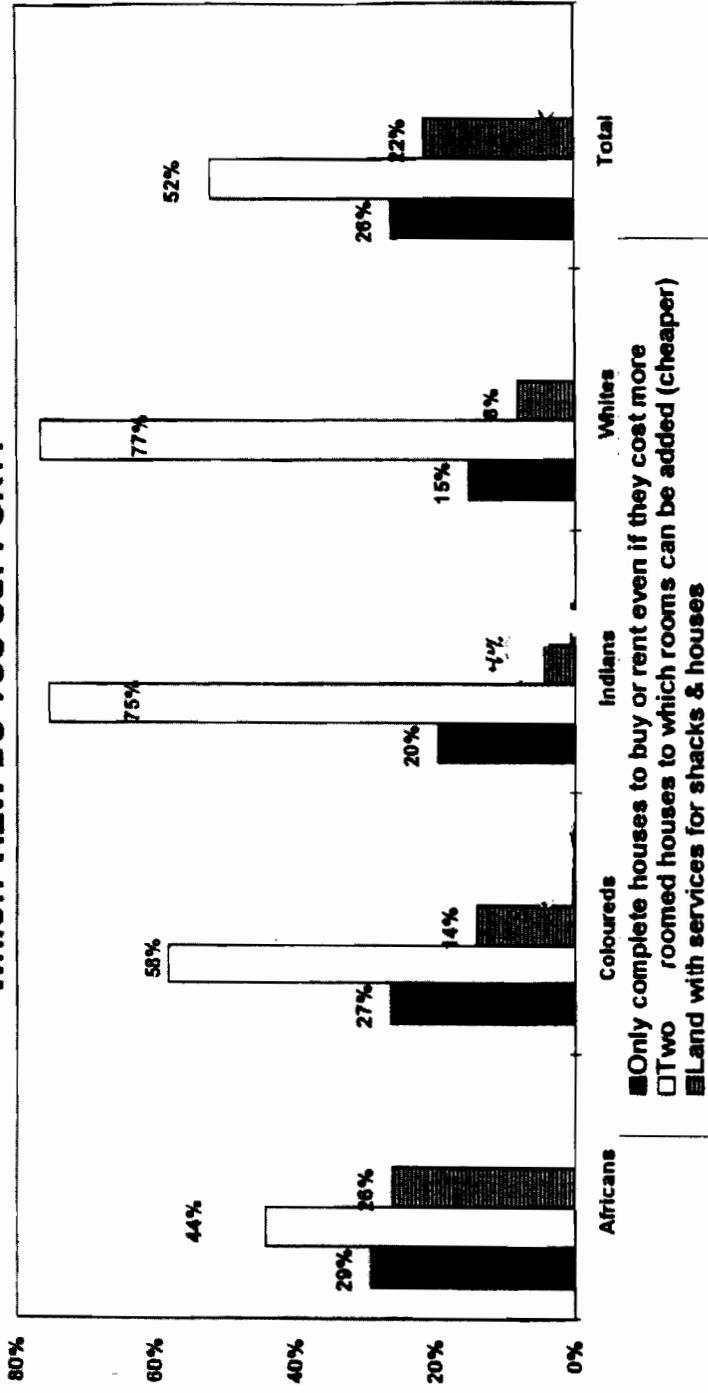
WHO SHOULD BE PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE FOR OR INVOLVED IN....

	GOVT.	INDIVIDUAL	BUSINESS	TRADE UNIONS
	%	%	%	%
Increasing your living standard	86	55	49	13
Promoting Race and Gender equality	92	52	40	22
Access to education and training	98	43	46	12
Access to housing	98	26	61	13

Note: The columns do not add to 100% because respondents gave multiple answers.

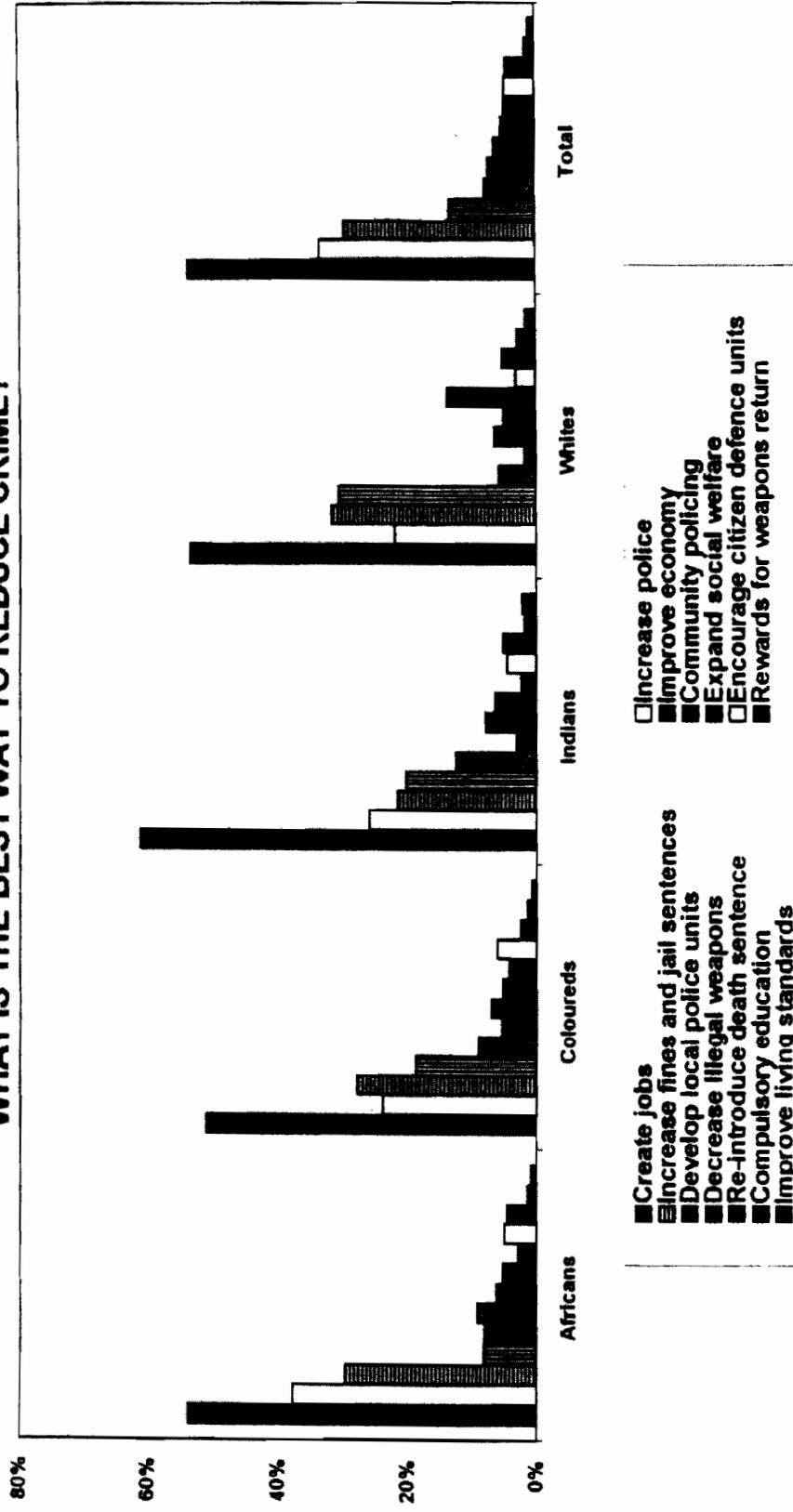
TABLE 7

**MANY HOUSES HAVE TO BE BUILT OVER THE NEXT FEW YEARS.
WHICH VIEW DO YOU SUPPORT?**



International Republican Institute and DSI
South Africa National Survey, N = 4003
August - September 1994

WHAT IS THE BEST WAY TO REDUCE CRIME?



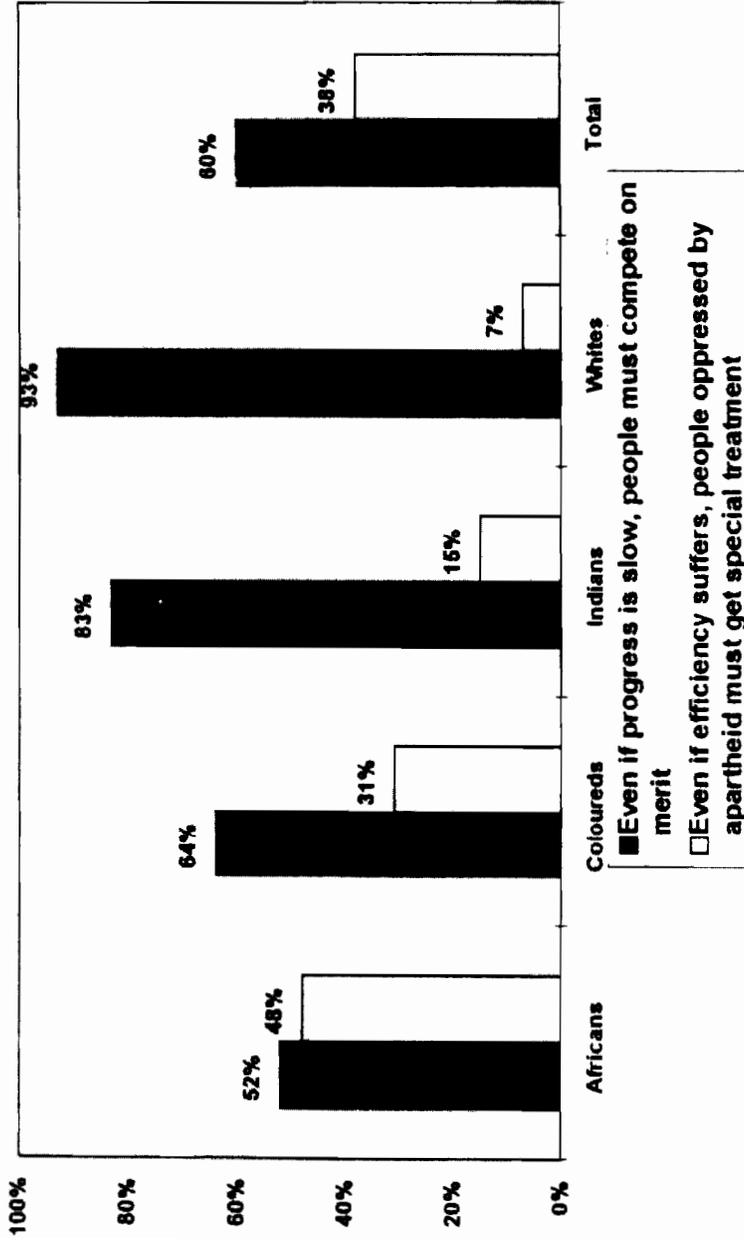
International Republican Institute and DSI
 South Africa National Survey, N = 4003
 August - September 1994

WHAT IS THE BEST WAY TO REDUCE CRIME?

	Total	Africans	Coloureds	Indians	Whites
Create jobs	54%	54%	51%	61%	54%
Increase police	34%	38%	24%	26%	22%
Increase fines and jail sentences	30%	30%	28%	22%	32%
Improve economy	13%	8%	19%	20%	31%
Develop local police units	8%	8%	9%	13%	6%
Community policing	7%	9%	5%	3%	2%
Decrease illegal weapons	6%	6%	7%	8%	7%
Expand social welfare	5%	5%	5%	7%	5%
Re-introduce death sentence	5%	3%	4%	2%	14%
Encourage citizen defence units	5%	5%	6%	5%	3%
Compulsory education	5%	5%	3%	5%	5%
Rewards for weapons return	2%	1%	1%	2%	3%
Improve living standards	1%	1%	1%	2%	2%

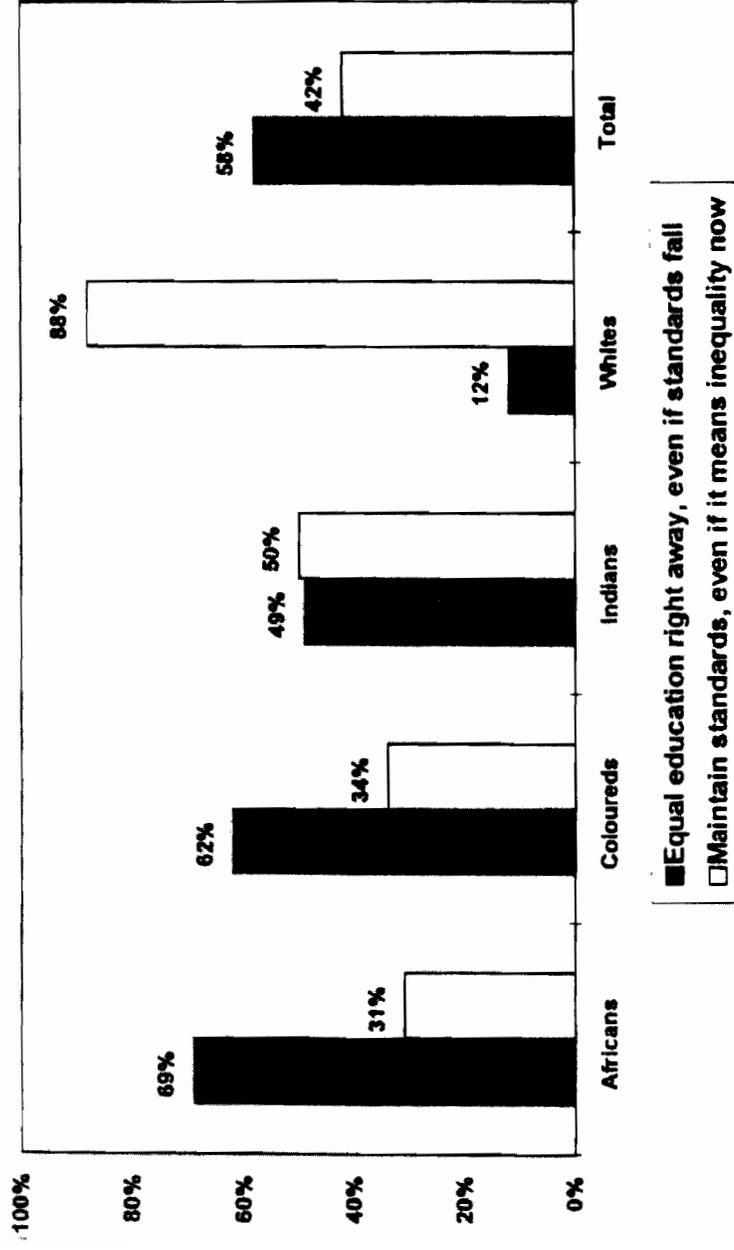
TABLE 9A

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION



International Republican Institute and DSI
 South Africa National Survey, N = 4003
 August - September 1994

EQUAL EDUCATION



International Republican Institute and DSI
 South Africa National Survey, N = 4003
 August - September 1994

FINDING MONEY FOR UPLIFTMENT

The most frequent suggestions were:

Africans:	increase company taxes (13%) increase luxury goods tax (11%) increase income tax (10%)
Coloureds/Indians:	reduce government spending (29%) increase luxury goods tax (15%)
Whites:	reduce government spending (27%) national lottery (22%)

Methods of raising money which people interviewed were most OPPOSED to were:

African	increased basic food costs (40%) increased personal taxes (19%) increased VAT (19%)
Coloureds	increased basic food costs (40%) increased personal taxes (39%) increased VAT (19%)
Indians:	increased basic food costs (43%) increased personal taxes (41%) increased VAT (23%)
Whites:	increased personal taxes (77%) increased VAT (28%) increased basic food costs (25%) increased COMPANY TAX (12%)

TABLE 12

TAXES FOR SOCIAL UPLIFTMENT

	TOTAL	AFRICAN	WHITE	COLOURED	INDIAN
Willing to pay higher taxes	33%	40%	10%	24%	23%
Not willing	50%	44%	68%	58%	60%
Depends on tax	17%	16%	22%	18%	17%

TABLE 13

WHICH PARTY DO YOU SUPPORT

	TOTAL	AFRICAN	COLOURED	INDIAN	WHITE
	%	%	%	%	%
ANC	70.5	87.6	45.6	49.4	5.4
NP	14.5	0.5	47.6	40.1	60
IFP	6.2	7.8	-	0.8	2.5
DP	1.4	0.2	1.9	1.5	7
FF	1.2	0.2	-	-	7
CP	1.2	-	-	-	7.7
PAC	0.7	1	-	.4	-
AWB	0.2	-	-	-	1.5
ACDP	0.2	0.1	-	-	1
AZAPO	0.2	0.2	-	-	-
OTHER	0.6	0.4	1	1.2	1.5
REFUSED	3	2.1	3.9	6.6	6.3
DON'T KNOW	0.0	-	-	-	0.2

TABLE 14

TRIBAL AUTHORITY: CHIEFS SHOULD.....

	ALL AFRICANS	TRADITIONAL AREAS
Have most power in traditional areas	60%	63%
Keep power and co-operate with elected leaders	80%	85%
Have some powers under elected leaders	71%	75%
Only appear in ceremonies with no other powers	47%	52%
The system of chiefs should be ended	23%	19%

TABLE 15