

ZA7876

The TRI 2007 and CMP 2013 Surveys of Members of Parliament

**Country Questionnaire
South Africa 2013**

SOUTH AFRICAN ELITE SURVEY 2013

Q1. Country of interview	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY. </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 80%;"> 1. Chile 2. Germany 3. Poland 4. South Africa 5. South Korea 6. Sweden 7. Turkey </div> <div style="width: 15%; text-align: center;"> 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 </div> </div>																										
Q2. Date of interview	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td style="width: 25%; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="width: 25%; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="width: 25%; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="width: 25%; height: 20px;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td>DAY</td> <td>MONTH</td> <td>YEAR</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>					DAY	MONTH	YEAR																			
DAY	MONTH	YEAR																									
<p>INTRODUCTION: Hello. I am from the _____ (mention name of the interview organization). We are carrying out a comparative study analyzing the attitudes of members of seven national parliaments/legislatures on crucial matters concerning democracy and other related issues. You have been selected as part of a representative sample in South Africa. I'd like to ask your views on a number of different subjects. Your input will be treated with the strictest of confidence.</p>																											
<p>Q21. SHOW CARD C : All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? Using this card on which 1 means you are "completely dissatisfied" and 10 means you are "completely satisfied" where would you put your satisfaction with your life as a whole? (CODE ONE ANSWER ONLY) WVS</p>																											
<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td style="width: 10%;">COMPLETELY DISSATISFIED</td> <td colspan="8"></td> <td style="width: 10%;">COMPLETELY SATISFIED</td> <td style="width: 10%;">REFUSE D (DNRO)</td> <td style="width: 10%;">DON'T KNOW (DNRO)</td> <td style="width: 10%;">NO ANSWER (DNRO)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>5</td> <td>6</td> <td>7</td> <td>8</td> <td>9</td> <td>10</td> <td>-97</td> <td>-98</td> <td>-99</td> </tr> </table>	COMPLETELY DISSATISFIED									COMPLETELY SATISFIED	REFUSE D (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-97	-98	-99	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY. </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 80%;"> 1. Most people can be trusted 2. Need to be very careful 3. Refused (DO NOT READ OUT) 3. Do not know (DO NOT READ OUT) 4. No answer (DO NOT READ OUT) </div> <div style="width: 15%; text-align: center;"> 1 2 -97 -98 -99 </div> </div>
COMPLETELY DISSATISFIED									COMPLETELY SATISFIED	REFUSE D (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)															
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-97	-98	-99															
<p>SHOWCARD D On this list are various groups of people. Could you please mention any that you would not like to have as neighbours? WVS</p>																											
<p>Q23. People of a different race</p> <p>Q24. Atheists</p> <p>Q25. Immigrants/foreign workers</p> <p>Q26. People of a different religion</p>	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td style="width: 40%;">NOT LIKE TO HAVE AS NEIGHBOURS</td> <td style="width: 60%;">NOT MENTIONED (OFFICE USE)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> </tr> </table>	NOT LIKE TO HAVE AS NEIGHBOURS	NOT MENTIONED (OFFICE USE)	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2																
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1	2																										
1	2																										
1	2																										
1	2																										
<p>Q27. What proportion of the South African population do you think would not want a person of a different religion as a neighbour? (respondent to give a percentage)</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: center; gap: 20px;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 20px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 20px;"></div> </div>																											
<p>Q28. And how about the voters or supporters of your own party? (respondent to give a percentage)</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: center; gap: 20px;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 20px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 20px;"></div> </div>																											
<p>Q29. Some people feel they have complete free choice and control over their lives, while other people feel that what they do has no real effect on what happens to them. Please use this scale where 1 means "no choice at all" and 10 means "a great deal of choice" to indicate how much freedom of choice and control you feel you have over the way your life turns out. ONE MENTION ONLY. WVS</p>																											
<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td style="width: 10%;">NO CHOICE AT ALL</td> <td colspan="8"></td> <td style="width: 10%;">A GREAT DEAL OF CHOICE</td> <td style="width: 10%;">REFUSED (DNRO)</td> <td style="width: 10%;">DON'T KNOW (DNRO)</td> <td style="width: 10%;">NO ANSWER (DNRO)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>5</td> <td>6</td> <td>7</td> <td>8</td> <td>9</td> <td>10</td> <td>-97</td> <td>-98</td> <td>-99</td> </tr> </table>	NO CHOICE AT ALL									A GREAT DEAL OF CHOICE	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-97	-98	-99	
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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-97	-98	-99															
<p>Q30. Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance, or would they try to be fair? Please show your response on this card, where 1 means that "people would try to take advantage of you, " and 10 means that "people would try to be fair" (CODE ONE ANSWER ONLY) WVS</p>																											
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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-97	-98	-99															

Q31. SHOW CARD E: People sometimes talk about what the aims of this country should be for the next ten years. On this card are listed some of the goals which different people would give top priority. Would you please say which one of these you, yourself, consider the most important? CODE ONE ANSWER ONLY UNDER "FIRST CHOICE" .														
Q32. And which would be the next most important? ONE MENTION ONLY. CODE UNDER "SECOND CHOICE" WVS														
										Q31 FIRST CHOICE		Q32 SECOND CHOICE		
1. Maintaining order in the nation										1		1		
2. Giving people more say in important government decisions										2		2		
3. Fighting rising prices										3		3		
4. Protecting freedom of speech										4		4		
5. Refused (DNRO)										-97		-97		
6. Don't know (DNRO)										-98		-98		
7. No answer (DNRO)										-99		-99		
Q39. In political matters, people talk of "the left" and "the right." How would you place your views on this scale, generally speaking? (ONE MENTION ONLY) WVS														
LEFT										RIGHT	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-97	-98	-99		
Q40. And where would you place your party's position? (ONE MENTION ONLY)														
LEFT										RIGHT	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-97	-98	-99		
Q41. And your party's voters' position? (ONE MENTION ONLY)														
LEFT										RIGHT	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-97	-98	-99		
Q42. And where would you place the position of the South African population as a whole? (ONE MENTION ONLY)														
LEFT										RIGHT	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-97	-98	-99		
Now I'd like you to tell me your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between. (CODE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ISSUE): WVS														
Q43.	INCOMES SHOULD BE MADE MORE EQUAL									WE NEED LARGER INCOME DIFFERENCES AS INCENTIVES FOR INDIVIDUAL EFFORT		REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97			
Q44.	PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY SHOULD BE INCREASED									GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY SHOULD BE INCREASED		REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97			
Q45.	THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD TAKE MORE RESPONSIBILITY TO ENSURE THAT EVERYONE IS PROVIDED FOR									PEOPLE SHOULD TAKE MORE RESPONSIBILITY TO PROVIDE FOR THEMSELVES		REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97			
Q46.	COMPETITION IS GOOD. IT STIMULATES PEOPLE TO WORK HARD AND DEVELOP NEW IDEAS									COMPETITION IS HARMFUL. IT BRINGS OUT THE WORST IN PEOPLE		REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97			
I am going to name a number of organisations. For each one, could you tell me how much confidence you have in them: is it a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence or none at all? READ OUT AND CODE ONE ANSWER FOR EACH STATEMENT WVS														
READ OUT			A GREAT DEAL		QUITE A LOT		NOT VERY MUCH		NONE AT ALL		REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)	
Q53. The churches			1		2		3		4		97	98	99	
Q54. The armed forces			1		2		3		4		97	98	99	
Q55. The press			1		2		3		4		97	98	99	
Q56. Television			1		2		3		4		97	98	99	
Q57. Labour unions			1		2		3		4		97	98	99	
Q58. The police			1		2		3		4		97	98	99	

Q59. The courts	1	2	3	4	97	98	99
Q60. The South African government	1	2	3	4	97	98	99
Q61. Political parties	1	2	3	4	97	98	99
Q62. Parliament	1	2	3	4	97	98	99
Q63. The Civil service	1	2	3	4	97	98	99
Q64a. Major Companies	1	2	3	4	97	98	99
Q64b. Banks	1	2	3	4	97	98	99
Q65. Environmental organisations	1	2	3	4	97	98	99
Q66. Women's organisations	1	2	3	4	97	98	99
Q67. Charitable or humanitarian organisations	1	2	3	4	97	98	99
Q68. The African Union	1	2	3	4	97	98	99
Q69. The United Nations	1	2	3	4	97	98	99
Q70. The Constitutional Court	1	2	3	4	97	98	99

I'm going to describe various types of political systems and ask what you think about each as a way of governing this country. For each one, would you say it is a very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad way of governing this country? **READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY FOR EACH STATEMENT.**

READ OUT	VERY GOOD	FAIRLY GOOD	FAIRLY BAD	VERY BAD	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)
Q75. Having a strong leader who does not have to bother with parliament and elections WVS	1	2	3	4	97	98	99
Q77. Having the army rule WVS	1	2	3	4	97	98	99
Q78. Having a democratic political system WVS	1	2	3	4	97	98	99

Many things may be desirable, but not all of them are essential characteristics of democracy. Please tell me for each of the following things how essential you think it is as a characteristic of democracy. Use this scale where 1 means "not at all an essential characteristic of democracy" and 10 means it definitely is "an essential characteristic of democracy" (**READ OUT AND CODE ONE ANSWER FOR EACH STATEMENT**) **WVS**

CHARACTERISTICS OF DEMOCRACY	NOT AN ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTIC									AN ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTIC	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)
Q80. Governments tax the rich and subsidise the poor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97	98	99
Q81. The individual Human Right to dignity e.g. respect of others is upheld	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97	98	99
Q82. People choose their leaders in free elections	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97	98	99
Q83. People receive state aid/help for unemployment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97	98	99
Q84. Civil rights protect people's liberty against oppression	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97	98	99
Q85. The economy is prospering	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97	98	99
Q87. Women have the same rights as men	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97	98	99
Q89. Complete freedom for anyone to criticise government	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97	98	99
Q90. Equality of vote in elections	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97	98	99
Q91. Basic necessities like shelter, food and water for everyone	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97	98	99
Q92. Jobs for everyone	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97	98	99
Q93. Equal opportunity in education	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97	98	99
Q94. Minority Rights	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97	98	99

How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters I am going to read to you now? Very badly, fairly badly, fairly well or very well.

READ OUT		VERY BADLY	FAIRLY BADLY	FAIRLY WELL	VERY WELL	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)					
Q96	Government taxes the rich and subsidizes the poor.	1	2	3	4	97	98	99					
Q97	The individual human right to dignity (e.g. respect of others) is upheld	1	2	3	4	97	98	99					
Q98	People choose their leaders in free elections.	1	2	3	4	97	98	99					
Q99	People receive state aid for unemployment.	1	2	3	4	97	98	99					
Q100	Civil rights protect people's liberty against oppression.	1	2	3	4	97	98	99					
Q101	The economy is prospering.	1	2	3	4	97	98	99					
Q103	Women have the same rights as men.	1	2	3	4	97	98	99					
Q105	Complete freedom for anyone to criticize the government	1	2	3	4	97	98	99					
Q106	Equality of the vote in elections	1	2	3	4	97	98	99					
Q107	Basic necessities like shelter, food and water for everyone	1	2	3	4	97	98	99					
Q108	Jobs for everyone	1	2	3	4	97	98	99					
Q109	Equal opportunity in education	1	2	3	4	97	98	99					
Q110	Minority Rights	1	2	3	4	97	98	99					
Q112.	<p>I am going to read a statement that people sometimes say about a democratic political system. Could you please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree?</p> <p>Although democracy has many shortcomings, it is still better than any other political system. WVS</p> <p>READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Strongly agree Agree Disagree Strongly disagree Refused (DNRO) Don't know (DNRO) No answer (DNRO) 							<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>4</p> <p>97</p> <p>98</p> <p>99</p>					
Q114.	How democratically is this country being governed today? Again using a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means that it is "not at all democratic" and 10 means that it is "completely democratic," what position would you choose? (ONE MENTION ONLY) WVS												
NOT AT ALL DEMOCRATIC		COMPLETELY DEMOCRATIC							REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)		
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-97	-98	-99
Q115.	<p>On the whole are you very satisfied, rather satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy is developing in our country?</p> <p>READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Very satisfied Rather satisfied Not very satisfied Not at all satisfied Refused (DNRO) Don't know (DNRO) No answer (DNRO) 							<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>4</p> <p>97</p> <p>98</p> <p>99</p>					
Q117.	<p>How much respect is there for individual human rights nowadays in South Africa? Do you feel there is ...</p> <p>READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> A great deal of respect for individual human rights Fairly much respect Not much respect No respect at all Refused (DNRO) Don't know (DNRO) No answer (DNRO) 							<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>4</p> <p>97</p> <p>98</p> <p>99</p>					
How likely do you think it would be that the authorities could enforce the law if a person like yourself: (INTERVIEWER INSERT CATEGORY): very likely, likely, not very likely or not at all likely?		VERY LIKELY	LIKELY	NOT VERY LIKELY	NOT AT ALL LIKELY	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)					
Q118	Committed a serious crime	1	2	3	4	97	98	99					
Q119	Did not pay tax on some of the income they earned	1	2	3	4	97	98	99					
How likely do you think it is that the courts will punish [INTERVIEWER: INSERT CATEGORY] who take bribes. Very likely, likely, not very likely or not at all likely?		VERY LIKELY	LIKELY	NOT VERY LIKELY	NOT AT ALL LIKELY	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)					
Q120	Elected public office holders	1	2	3	4	97	98	99					
Q121	Civil servants	1	2	3	4	97	98	99					
Q122	Managers of private businesses	1	2	3	4	97	98	99					
How widespread do you think corruption is in South Africa?		VERY FEW CORRUPT	LESS THAN HALF CORRUPT	MOST ARE CORRUPT	ALMOST ALL ARE CORRUPT	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)					

Q123	Amongst elected public office holders	1	2	3	4	97	98	99
Q124	Amongst civil servants	1	2	3	4	97	98	99
Q125	Amongst managers of private businesses	1	2	3	4	97	98	99

Here are some things people often say about our current political system. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree.

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)
Q126 People have freedom of speech	1	2	3	4	5	97	98	99
Q127 People have freedom of association	1	2	3	4	5	97	98	99
Q129 Nobody needs to be afraid of arbitrary arrest	1	2	3	4	5	97	98	99
Q130 People have the freedom to choose who to vote for without being pressured	1	2	3	4	5	97	98	99

Communication to reach mutual understanding is as important in politics as in our everyday life. How well or badly do you feel such communication takes place between the following groups here in [South Africa]? Very badly, fairly badly, fairly well or very well?

	VERY LIKELY	LIKELY	NOT VERY LIKELY	NOT AT ALL LIKELY	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)
Q146. The governing and opposition parties	1	2	3	4	97	98	99
Q147. The governing party/parties and mass media	1	2	3	4	97	98	99
Q148. The opposition parties and mass media	1	2	3	4	97	98	99
Q149. The governing party/parties and NGOs	1	2	3	4	97	98	99
Q150. The opposition parties and NGOs	1	2	3	4	97	98	99

Q156. Now let's turn to another topic. How often, if at all, do you think about the meaning and purpose of life?	READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY. 1. Often 2. Sometimes 3. Rarely 4. Never 5. Refused (DNRO) 6. Don't know (DNRO) 7. No answer (DNRO)	1 2 3 4 97 98 99
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Q160. Do you belong to a religion or religious denomination? If yes, which one? (Code answer due to list below. Code 0, if respondent answers to have no denomination!) DO NOT READ OUT.	RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION. 0. No, do not belong to a denomination 1. Yes; Roman Catholic 2. Yes; Protestant If Protestant, specify _____ 3. Yes; Orthodox (Russian/Greek/etc.) 4. Yes; Jewish 5. Yes; Muslim / Islam 6. Yes; Hindu 7. Yes; Buddhist 8. Yes; Independent African Church e.g. ZCC 9. Yes; Evangelical/Apostolic Faith Mission 10. Yes; Pentecostal 11. Yes; African Traditional Religion 13. Other (SPECIFY): _____ 14. Refused (DO NOT READ OUT) 15. Don't know/Refused (DO NOT READ OUT) 16. No answer (DO NOT READ OUT)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 13 97 98 99
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Q161. Apart from weddings and funerals, about how often do you attend religious services these days?	READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY. 1. More than once a week 2. Once a week 3. Once a month 4. Only on special holy days 5. Once a year 6. Less often 7. Never, practically never 8. Refused 9. Don't know (DO NOT READ OUT) 10. No answer	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 97 98 99
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Q162. Independently of whether you attend religious services or not, would you say you are...?	READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY. 1. A religious person 2. Not a religious person 3. An atheist 4. Refused 5. Don't know/Refused (DO NOT READ OUT) 6. No answer	1 2 3 97 98 99
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Generally speaking, do you think that the churches in South Africa are giving adequate answers to...? READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY PER STATEMENT.										YES	NO	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)
Q163. The moral problems and needs of the individual										1	2	97	98	99
Q164. The problems of family life										1	2	97	98	99
Q165. People's spiritual needs										1	2	97	98	99
Q166. The social problems facing South African society today										1	2	97	98	99
Q167. How important is God in your life? Please use this scale to indicate – 10 means “very important” and 1 means “not at all important”. (ONE MENTION ONLY)														
NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT										VERY IMPORTANT	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-97	-98	-99		
Please tell me for each of the following statements whether you think it can always be justified, never be justified, or something in between, using this card. “1” means that it is never justifiable and “10” means that it is always justifiable. (READ OUT AND CODE ONE ANSWER FOR EACH STATEMENT) WVS														
		NEVER JUSTIFIABLE								ALWAYS JUSTIFIABLE		REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)
Q176 Homosexuality		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97	98	99
Q177 Prostitution		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97	98	99
Q178 Abortion		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97	98	99
Q179 Divorce		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97	98	99
Q183 Death penalty		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97	98	99
Q184 How proud are you to be South African? WVS														
										READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY				
										1. Very proud				1
										2. Quite proud				2
										3. Not very proud				3
										4. Not at all proud				4
										IF VOLUNTEERED:				
										5. I am not South African (DO NOT READ OUT)				100
										6. Refused (DNRO)				97
										7. Don't know (DNRO)				98
										8. No answer (DNRO)				99
Q184a Turning to the question of ethnic diversity, with which of the following views do you agree? Please use this scale to indicate your position where 1 means “ethnic diversity erodes a country's unity” and 10 means “ethnic diversity enriches life”. (ONE MENTION ONLY)														
ETHNIC DIVERSITY ERODES A COUNTRY'S UNITY										ETHNIC DIVERSITY ENRICHES LIFE		REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-97	-98	-99		
In the following, we have a number of questions regarding the economic situation of country and the impact of the global financial and economic crisis: (INT: If respondent asks which crisis is meant, explain that we mean the crisis that started with the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers in September of 2008)														
N1. Please indicate on a scale from 1 to 10 how you evaluate the current state of the economy in South Africa. "1" means that it is very bad and "10" means that it is very good. (ONE MENTION ONLY)														
VERY BAD										VERY GOOD		REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-97	-98	-99		
N2. Compared to 12 months ago, do you think that the general economic situation in South Africa is...														
										READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY				
										1. A lot better				1
										2. A little better				2
										3. Stayed the same				3
										4. A little worse				4
										5. A lot worse				5
										6. Refused (DNRO)				97
										7. Don't know (DNRO)				98
										8. No answer (DNRO)				99
N3. Compared to the situation before the onset of the global financial and economic crisis, do you think that the general economic situation in South Africa is...														
										READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY				
										1. A lot better				1
										2. A little better				2
										3. Stayed the same				3
										4. A little worse				4
										5. A lot worse				5
										6. Refused (DNRO)				97
										7. Don't know (DNRO)				98
										8. No answer (DNRO)				99

N4. And over the next 12 months, how do you think the general economic situation in this country will be?										READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY				
										1. A lot better				1

2.	A little better	2
3.	Will stay the same	3
4.	A little worse	4
5.	A lot worse	5
6.	Refused (DNRO)	97
7.	Don't know (DNRO)	98
8.	No answer (DNRO)	99

Please evaluate the impact of the global financial and economic crisis on South Africa, using a scale from 1 to 10. "1" means that it has had no negative impact at all and "10" means that the crisis has had a severe negative impact. **(READ OUT AND CODE ONE ANSWER FOR EACH STATEMENT)**

	NO NEGATIVE IMPACT AT ALL										SEVERE NEGATIVE IMPACT	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)
N5 South Africa in general	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	97	98	99
N6 South Africa's economy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	97	98	99
N7 The banking system	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	97	98	99
N8 People's standard of living	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	97	98	99
N9 The quality of democracy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	97	98	99

How do you rate the performance of different national and international actors in handling the impact of the crisis. "1" means that the performance of the actor was very poor and "10" means that it was very competent. **(READ OUT AND CODE ONE ANSWER FOR EACH STATEMENT)**

	VERY POOR										VERY COMPETENT	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)
N10 South Africa's national government	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	97	98	99
N11 African National Congress (ANC)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	97	98	99
N12 Democratic Alliance (DA)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	97	98	99
N13 Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	97	98	99
N14 Congress of the People (COPE)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	97	98	99
N15 Agang	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	97	98	99
N16 OTHER (specify):	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	97	98	99
N20 International Monetary Fund (IMF)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	97	98	99
N21 The G20	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	97	98	99
N22 The European Union (EU)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	97	98	99

N23 How much have you been personally involved in government decision-making in dealing with the crisis, e.g. as member of the government, as member of a governmental or legislative committee or as member of an informal task force? "1" means that you have not been involved at all "10" means that you have been intimately involved over the entire period since 2008. **(ONE MENTION ONLY)**

NOT AT ALL INVOLVED										A GREAT DEAL INVOLVED	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	-97	-98	-99

On a scale ranging from 1 to 10, which political parties in *country* have overall benefitted or suffered from the crisis, e.g. by exploiting the crisis for publicly criticizing international or national actors, by gaining votes in elections or by having to bear the blame for not being able to overcome the crisis? "1" means that a party has suffered and "10" means that it has profited. **(READ OUT AND CODE ONE ANSWER FOR EACH STATEMENT)**

	HAS SUFFERED										HAS BENEFITTED	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)
N24 African National Congress (ANC)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	97	98	99
N25 Democratic Alliance (DA)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	97	98	99
N26 Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	97	98	99
N27 Congress of the People (COPE)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	97	98	99
N28 Agang	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	97	98	99
N29 OTHER (specify):	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	97	98	99

N33 To what extent do you think was the crisis a consequence of neo-liberal economic policies? "1" means that these policies did not play any role and "10" means that they were primarily responsible for the crisis. **(ONE MENTION ONLY)** [INT: If respondent asks what is meant by neo-liberal policies, explain that neo-liberalism means laissez-faire policies relying primarily on market forces]

POLICIES DID NOT PLAY ANY ROLE										POLICIES WERE PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	-97	-98	-99

N34 Some analysts say that the impact of the economic crisis on the job market has already reached its peak and things will recover little by little. Others, on the contrary, say that the worst is still to come. Which of the two statements is	READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY 1. The impact of the crisis on jobs has already reached its peak 2. The worst is yet to come 3. Refused (DNRO)	1 2 97
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closer to your opinion?										4. Don't know (DNRO)		98
										5. No answer (DNRO)		99

How do you rate the positions of the most important political parties in *country* on matters of economic and welfare policies on a scale from "1" meaning that a party favours laissez-faire policies relying primarily on market forces (neo-liberalism) and "10" meaning that the party favours state interventionist policies (strong welfare state). **[INT: ASK FOR EACH PARTY PLUS OTHER PARTY]**

	FAVOURS MARKET FORCES									FAVOURS STRONG WELFARE STATE	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)
N35 African National Congress (ANC)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97	98	99
N36 Democratic Alliance (DA)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97	98	99
N37 Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97	98	99
N38 Congress of the People (COPE)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97	98	99
N39 Agang	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97	98	99
N40 OTHER (specify):	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	97	98	99

N44 Are you personally in favour of strengthening existing or introducing additional social welfare programs to help those citizens who have been hit hardest by the financial and economic crisis or do you believe that it is necessary to cut back social welfare programs to balance the public budget or to become globally more competitive? "1" means that you are in favour of cutting back on social welfare programs and "10" means that you are in favour of strengthening existing or introducing additional social welfare programs. **(ONE MENTION ONLY)**

CUT BACK ON SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAMS									STRENGTHEN AND INCREASE SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAMS	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-97	-98	-99

N45 Do you think that national policy measures for dealing with the impact of the global financial and economic crisis can be effective or will they have no effect in the present situation? Please use a scale from 1 to 10 "1" means that you consider purely national policies as totally ineffective and "10" means that they can contribute a lot to overcoming the crisis. **(ONE MENTION ONLY)**

TOTALLY INEFFECTIVE									CAN CONTRIBUTE TO OVERCOMING CRISIS	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-97	-98	-99

N46 How fair do you think that the income distribution is in South Africa?

READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY										
1. Very fair										1
2. Fair										2
3. Unfair										3
4. Very unfair										4
5. Refused (DNRO)										97
6. Don't know (DNRO)										98
7. No answer (DNRO)										99

N47 Do you think that the income distribution in South Africa has been negatively affected by the economic crisis? Which of the following is the most appropriate description for South Africa?

READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY										
1. Income differences have become larger than before										1
2. Income differences have become somewhat larger than before										2
3. Income differences have remained about the same as before										3
4. Refused (DNRO)										97
5. Don't know (DNRO)										98
6. No answer (DNRO)										99

Thinking about country, how often would you say the following occurs today? 1 means "hardly ever" and 7 means "almost always".

	HARDLY EVER						ALMOST ALWAYS	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)
N48 Firms that provide the most favourable kickbacks to senior officials are awarded public procurement contracts in favour of firms making the lowest bid?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	97	98	99
N49 When deciding how to implement policies in individual cases, public sector employees treat some groups in society unfairly?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	97	98	99
N50 When granting licenses to start up private firms, public sector employees favour applicants with which they have strong personal contacts?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	97	98	99
N51 Generally speaking, how often would you say that public sector employees today, in country, act impartially when deciding how to implement a policy in an individual case?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	97	98	99

N52 Would you say that it is better for the economic policy in a democracy to be run by elected politicians or by experts, who are not elected? Choose your answer from this card where 1 means your democracy should be run by elected politicians and 10 means you think a democracy should be run by experts who have not been elected. (ONE MENTION ONLY)
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ECONOMIC POLICY SHOULD BE RUN BY ELECTED POLITICIANS										ECONOMIC POLICY SHOULD BE RUN BY NON-ELECTED EXPERTS	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-97	-98	-99
N53 Would you say that it is better for the economic policy in South Africa is run by elected politicians or by experts, who are not elected? Choose your answer from this card where 1 means run by elected politicians and 10 means you think its run by experts who have not been elected. (ONE MENTION ONLY)													
ECONOMIC POLICY IS RUN BY ELECTED POLITICIANS										ECONOMIC POLICY IS RUN BY NON-ELECTED EXPERTS	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-97	-98	-99
N54 Please indicate on a scale from 1 to 10 what you think about globalisation. "1" means that you consider it to be a bad thing and "10" means you consider it to be a good thing. (ONE MENTION ONLY)													
A BAD THING										A GOOD THING	REFUSED (DNRO)	DON'T KNOW (DNRO)	NO ANSWER (DNRO)
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-97	-98	-99
N55 Two fundamental democratic values coexist in real existing democracies – equality and freedom. At times they are contradictory, in particular when it comes to policy decision and implementation. Which of the two values is – in your view – more important today:													
READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY 1. Definitely freedom 2. Rather freedom 3. Rather equality 4. Definitely equality 5. Refused (DNRO) 6. Don't know (DNRO) 7. No answer (DNRO)										1 2 3 4 97 98 99			
N56 There are different opinions about the contemporary role of the state. Which of the two visions comes closer to yours?													
READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY 1. State guaranteeing its citizens political freedoms 2. State preoccupied mainly with securing relatively equal citizens' welfare 3. Refused (DNRO) 4. Don't know (DNRO) 5. No answer (DNRO)										1 2 97 98 99			

DEMOGRAPHICS

We also want to find out about the social backgrounds of opinion-leaders in this country. Now I'd like to ask you a few final questions for statistical purposes only.

Q186. Gender? (BY OBSERVATION)	1. Male 2. Female	1 2				
Q187. In what year were you born?	1. WRITE IN: <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td>1</td><td>9</td><td></td><td></td></tr></table> 2. Refused	1	9			97
1	9					
Q188. In which country were you born?	1. Chile 2. Germany 3. Poland 4. South Africa 5. South Korea 6. Sweden 7. Turkey 8. Other (PLEASE SPECIFY):	1 2 3 4 5 6 7				
Q189. What is the highest level of formal educational you have completed? Just give me the number.	READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY. 1. Primary 2. Secondary 3. Tertiary 4. If tertiary, specify: _____ 5. Refused (DNRO) 6. Don't know (DNRO) 7. No answer (DNRO)	1 2 3 97 98 99				
Q191. What is your marital status?	READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY. 1. Married 2. Divorced/separated 3. Widow/widower 4. Living with partner 5. Never been married 6. Refused (DNRO) 7. Don't know (DNRO) 8. No answer (DNRO)	1 2 3 4 5 97 98 99				
Q194. What is your father's highest level of formal education?	READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY. 1. Primary 2. Secondary 3. Tertiary	1 2 3				

	4. If tertiary, specify: _____	
	5. Refused (DNRO)	97
	6. Don't know (DNRO)	98
	7. No answer (DNRO)	99
Q195. And your mother's?	READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY.	
	1. Primary	1
	2. Secondary	2
	3. Tertiary	3
	4. If tertiary, specify: _____	
	5. Refused (DNRO)	97
	6. Don't know (DNRO)	98
	7. No answer (DNRO)	99

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN OUR SURVEY. IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS MY SUPERVISOR MIGHT CONTACT YOU TO EVALUATE THE QUALITY OF MY WORK AND ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS YOU MIGHT HAVE ABOUT THE INTERVIEW.

TO BE COMPLETED BY INTERVIEWER		
D1. During the interview the respondent was	1. Very interested	1
	2. Somewhat interested	2
	3. Not interested	3
D2. Ethnic group [code by observation]:	1. Black	1
	2. White	2
	3. Coloured	3
	4. Indian	4
	5. Other (specify)	5
	
D3. Party of respondent	1. African National Congress (ANC)	401
	2. Democratic Alliance (DA)	402
	3. Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	403
	4. Congress of the People (COPE)	404