

QUESTIONNAIRE INSTRUCTIONS

1.

GENERAL

- 1.1 Study this instructions thoroughly before beginning with the interviews.
- 1.2 The questions have been formulated as clearly as possible and provision has been made as far as possible for all possible answers. If at any question you get a response that will not fit in any answer space you must write on the questionnaire (at the question). Report it to the fieldwork organiser as well.
- 1.3 Study the questionnaire in conjunction with these instructions.
- 1.4 Where answers are given to questions, you are required to encircle the relevant answer, alternatively, write the response in the space provided.
- 1.5 Leave the codes of those questions that must be skipped i.e. according to the instructions at some questions, blank.
- 1.6 The Display Card booklet must be handed to the respondent at the beginning of the interview. At all questions marked with an * the respondent must refer to the Display Card booklet while you are reading the question.

IMPORTANT

You must read the questions and not the respondent.

- 1.7 Please note that person's between 18 and 65 years of age (both ages included) qualify for this survey.

BACKGROUND AND AIM

a) Background

Throughout the world decision makers in both the public and private sectors of society are increasingly turning to opinion surveys as a source of information on how the general public, and even specific sections of the public, feel about certain matters. In countries such as Britain, France, West Germany and the USA for example governments do not easily adopt new policies without first finding out through opinion surveys whether the majority of voters would oppose such policy decisions. Large businesses would not dare to market a new product before establishing through opinion surveys whether potential consumers definitely experienced a need for such a product. Planners use surveys on a large scale to determine the public's specific needs. In reality, decision-making institutions in an increasing number of countries in both the private and public sector are virtually forced to implement the findings of opinion surveys in decisions that concern large sections of the public directly.

Various methods can be used to conduct surveys, for instance the answering of questions over the telephone or by post. There are also several types of personal interviews that can be used. In these particular surveys questionnaires are important research instruments. In developed Western countries it is not unusual for a person to be approached in a variety of ways by opinion survey organizations in the course of a single week to establish his opinion on widely divergent subjects - from perfume to political party preferences. In an increasing number of countries opinion surveys at home, in the street, by post and over the telephone have become as common as the delivery of newspapers. The public knows its participation is anonymous, and, what is more, it promotes judicious economic, social and political planning from which the individual respondent could benefit.

With these facts as background the Division Group Interaction of the HSRC's Institute for Sociological and Demographic Research conducts its own opinion surveys with the aid of the HSRC's Opinion Survey Centre. The division is particularly interested in the far reaching changes that are taking place in the social and political lives of all South Africa's communities, and the results concern not only decision makers in the private and public sectors, but also ordinary men and women.

Until quite recently the division concentrated mainly on unique surveys of certain problems situations in South African society. However, in 1984 it was decided to pay more attention to social and political change as a continuous process with the specific intention of measuring, on a continuous basis in the long term, people's experiences and perceptions of change. The first round of this continuous monitoring programme (which involves a series of surveys conducted among Whites Coloureds, Indians and Blacks) took place in 1984. A third round of surveys will take place in 1986. The project leaders are particularly interested in the changes in South African society over a period of time, how people's perceptions of social and political trends in particular change from year to year and how people's values, ideas and even lifestyles change as they adapt to changing circumstances. The aim is to conduct these monitoring surveys on a regular basis among all the main population groups. The current project is consequently an integral part of the HSRC's continuous monitoring of socio-political change in South Africa.

b) Aims

By means of the monitoring surveys the HSRC will concentrate on, *inter alia*, the following (i) changes in South Africans' opinions on and experiences of particular issues (among other things the tempo and direction of changes of opinion on these issues); (ii) the circumstances and factors that determine these changes of opinion; (iii) the conflict potential of change; (iv) the problem of whether peoples' opinions and experience of change correspond logically with their reaction to change in terms of their actual behaviour (for instance, whether a supporter of the NP government who is in favour of segregated residential areas would react by means of a deliberate protest against a decision to abolish this segregation) —in other words, whether people do what they say; (v) the frustration threshold of Black, Coloured and Indian communities with regard to measures that they consider to be discriminatory and the point at which frustrated efforts to obtain equal rights would lead to actual protest behaviour, and (iv) what communities regard as their basic interests, and the communities' willingness to change.

c) Findings of previous surveys

Interesting findings have already been based on the survey data since the first round of monitoring surveys was conducted in 1984. According to the 1984 monitor survey proportionately fewer Coloured and Indian respondents (11 % in both cases) than White respondents (20 % believed that the general political situation in South Africa had deteriorated during the past year. More than half (56 %) of the coloured respondents and almost two-thirds (65 %) of the Indian respondents indicated that they preferred to be known as South Africans rather than Coloureds and Indians respectively; 32 % of the Coloureds preferred the group name "Coloured" and 19 % of the Indians preferred the group name "Indian".

According to a survey conducted shortly after the election of the members of the House of Representatives, one out of every three Coloureds in the Cape Province who were entitled to vote maintained that TV had been the medium which had played the biggest role in their decision whether to vote or not. Only 6 % of the respondents indicated that the radio had been their biggest source of information on the election arrangements. More than three out of every four respondents mentioned that they had never been visited at home by a representative of a political party.

d) Remark

The value of such monitoring surveys will increase with each passing year since it is continuous research of this nature which enables researchers to observe and analyze the history unfolding before their eyes in a scientific manner. In this process the researchers, the people manning the infrastructure of support services, the co-workers and respondents function as a well—integrated team. Only if all these components of the research co-operate will opinion surveys such as those the HSRC is presently conducting produce results that will satisfy all scientific requirements.

A project initiated by the HSRC itself is usually regarded as complete when a research report on the subject has been published and the information thus becomes available to researchers and members of the public who are interested in the subject. However, not all projects are concluded in this manner. The findings of some projects are published in a variety of media such as books, journals, technical journals and even newspapers, but the findings of the HSRC's survey research are only published and released if the survey has been conducted according to established scientific procedure. Owing to the stringent requirements for the processing of the data it sometimes takes a considerable time before the research findings are released to the public.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR SPECIFIC QUESTIONS

The following questions are CRITICAL and Co-workers must handle it very accurate.

BNBC01R126

Question 18:

Please note that only one person from any population group must be chosen.

Question 20: The important aspect of this question is to distinct between people who really don't know enough to give a response and the rest. The former group must be coded as don't know while a response (1-3) for the latter group must be get.

Question 28: As a matter of fact this will be a sensitive question for some respondents. Assure yourself that you get the real response and not one only to please you.

Question 32d Please note that the question refers to majority government, in other words domination of minority groups is still possible.

Question 54: Quite a number of respondent should like to qualify which groups to be included in the negotiations. That is however not the aim of the question. The actual aim is to find out if the respondent see negotiations as a way to solve the RSA's problems.

BNBC01R114

Question 17: Please note that only one person from any population group must be chosen.

Question 20: The important aspect of this question is to distinct between people who really don't know enough to give a response and the rest. The former group must be coded as don't know while a response (1-3) for the latter group must be get.

Question 26: Please note that the principle of "grey areas" is not the same as unqualified "open areas". It provides for "some open" and "some closed" areas.

Question 36d Please note that the question refers to majority government, in other words domination of minority groups is still possible.

Question 52: Quite a number of respondents should like to qualify which groups to be included in the negotiations. That is however not the aim of the question. The actual aim is to find out if the respondent see negotiations as a way to solve the RSA's problems.

BNBC01R128

Question 19: The two concepts to keep in mind are for Blacks and in the lone run.

Question 35: The aim of this question is to measure the attitude towards the disinvestment policy of a number of countries as a measure to destroy apartheid.

Question 38: Please note that only one person from any population group must be chosen.

Question 43: The stress must fell on peacefully right at the end of the question.

Question 53d): Quite a number of respondents should like to qualify which groups to be included in the negotiations. That is however not the aim of the question. The actual aim is to find out if the respondent see negotiations as a way to solve the RSA's problems.

Part 1 (Whites)

Human Sciences Research Council

OPINION SURVEY CENTRE

MONITOR SURVEY 1986: RESEARCH ON SOCIO-POLITICAL CHANGE

The Human Sciences Research Council regularly undertakes studies on a wide variety of social matters among all the population groups.

As there have been major changes on the socio-political front in recent times that will influence the future of every individual in the RSA it is imperative that the HSRC also carry out research within this field. However, little is known about the public's views on such changes.

With the aid of this questionnaire the researchers are trying to determine how people in South Africa feel about certain topical issues in this regard. The research is therefore about matters that presently affect all South Africans.

The HSRC's researchers would like to determine how you and other people feel about some of these issues. In order to gather reliable information on these matters in a scientific manner, we would be grateful if you would answer the questionnaire as frankly, comprehensively and clearly as possible.

The area in which you live, and you yourself, have been included in the sample for the purpose of this project in a random way and therefore quite coincidentally.

Your opinion is important in this research. Your name will not be written anywhere on the questionnaire and you need not sign the questionnaire or any other documents. Persons who co-operate thus remain anonymous. The information that you provide will be treated as strictly confidential. It will be processed by computer in such a way that no personal identification will be possible.

The findings of this research will be published.

CARD NUMBER	1	1
RECORD NUMBER		2-5
CO-WORKER NUMBER		6-14

CO-WORKER:

- 1. PARTS THAT ARE IN ORDINARY TYPE SHOULD BE READ ALOUD TO THE RESPONDENT.
- 2. PARTS THAT ARE IN *ITALICS*, MUST NEVER BE READ TO THE RESPONDENT
- 3. PARTS THAT ARE TYPED IN CAPITAL LETTERS (WITHIN FRAMES) CONCERN YOU AS CO-WORKER.

1. Sex?

Male	1	
Female	2	15

2. What language do you regard as your home language?

Afrikaans	1	
English	2	
Afrikaans and English	3	
Other (specify).....		16
.....		

3. What is your age?.....years

17-18

*4. What is your total annual income (before deductions)? If you are married, what is your and your husband/wife's combined annual income?

R4999 and less per year	01	
R5000 – R9999	02	
R10 000 – R14 999	03	
R15 000 – R19 999	04	
R20 000 – R24 999	05	
R25 000 – R29 999	06	
R30 000 – R34 999	07	
R35 000 – R39 999	08	
R40 000 – R59 999	09	
R60 000 and more per year	10	19-20

5. What is your highest educational qualification?

Did not attend school	1	
Standard 3 or lower	2	
Standard 4 or 5	3	
Standard 6 or 7/Form I or II/equivalent qualification	4	
Standard 8 or 9/Form III or IV/equivalent qualification e.g. NTC I or II	5	
Standard 10/Matric/Form V/equivalent qualification e.g. NTC III	6	
Standard 10 and 1 or 2 year's further training (e.g NTC IV/V)	7	
Standard 10 and 1 or 2 year's further training (e.g BA, Nat Dip, etc)	8	
Other (describe qualification).....		21
.....		

6. What is your present marital status?

Never married	1	
Married	2	
Divorced/separated	3	
Widow/widower	4	22

7. Are you a South African citizen?

Yes	1	
No	2	23

8. What is your religious affiliation?

None	01	
Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk	02	
Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk	03	
Gereformeerde Kerk	04	
Apostolic Faith Mission	05	
Methodist	06	
Baptist	07	
Anglican	08	
Presbyterian	09	
Roman Catholic	10	
Jewish	11	
Other (specify).....		24-25
.....		

*9. How do you feel about the general economic situation in South Africa at present? Are you -

Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	26

10. How do you think the general economic situation in South Africa has changed over the last year? Has it -

Improved	Remained the same	Deteriorated	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	27

11. How do you think the general economic situation in South Africa will change over the next year? Will it -

Improve	Remain the same	Deteriorate	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	28

*12. How do you feel about the general political situation in South Africa at present? Are you -

Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	29

13. How do you think the general political situation in South Africa has changed over the last year? Will it -

Improve	Remain the same	Deteriorate	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	30

14. How do you think the general political situation in South Africa will change over the next year? Will it -

Improve	Remain the same	Deteriorate	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	31

15. How have your own feelings towards the coloureds changed in the last year? Are your feelings towards them -

More favourable	Unchanged	Less favourable	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	32

16. How have your own feelings towards the Indians changed in the last year? Are your feelings towards them -

More favourable	Unchanged	Less favourable	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	33

17. How have your own feelings towards the blacks changed in the last year? Are your feelings towards them -

More favourable	Unchanged	Less favourable	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	34

18. If you today had to choose one person from any population group to lead South Africa politically, who would you choose?

..... 35-36

CO-WORKER: ASK QUESTION 19 ONLY IF RESPONDENT MENTIONED A SPECIFIC NAME AT QUESTION 18

19. Why do you choose.....to lead South Africa politically? (Give your most important reason)

N.a. – did not mention a specific name	00	
.....		37-38

ASK EVERYONE

20. Personally, how do you feel about the rate at which the government is carrying out its current plans for reform? Do you feel that it is -

Too fast	1	
Just about right	2	
Too slow	3	
Other (specify).....		
Do not know	4	39

CO-WORKER: IF RESPONDENT IS RELUCTANT TO ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTION: WE REALISE THAT THIS QUESTION MAY BE SENSITIVE. HOWEVER, THE RESEARCHERS REQUIRE THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER TO MAKE A THOROUGH SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS OF SOCIO-POLITICAL CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA. REMEMBER, WE ARE NOT INTERESTED IN YOUR NAME OR ADDRESS. THE HSRC NEVER ABUSED ITS RULES OF CONFIDENTIALITY.

21. Which political party or group are you presently inclined to support the most?

..... 40-41

*22. What is your attitude towards each of the following laws and policies in South Africa? Must the specific act or policy be abolished, be retained, or do you have mixed feelings about the matter?

	Must be abolished	Must be retained	Have mixed feelings about the matter	Do not know	
(a) The Group Areas Act which prohibits mixed residential areas	1	2	3	4	42
(b) The policy that prescribes separate schools for each population group	1	2	3	4	43
© The Acts that provide for separate amenities for whites and non-whites	1	2	3	4	44
(d) Separate parliamentary voter's rolls for each population group	1	2	3	4	45
(e) The policy that restricts the influx of blacks to the white urban areas	1	2	3	4	46
(f) The policy that blacks are excluded from the present parliament	1	2	3	4	47
(g) The Population Registration Act according to which each person is classified as a member of a specific race or population group	1	2	3	4	48

*23. The following acts have recently been abolished. Do you feel that these acts should have been retained, or do you support the abolition of these acts?

	The act should have been retained	Must be retained	Mixed feelings	Do not know	
(a) The Mixed Marriages Act which prohibited marriages between whites and non-whites	1	2	3	4	49
(b) The section of the Immorality Act which prohibited sexual relations between whites and non-whites	1	2	3	4	50
© The Political Interference Act which prohibited a political party from having members from different population groups	1	2	3	4	51

24. We should like to know more about your views on how South Africa is governed. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. It is usually easiest to decide first whether you agree or disagree, and then to decide how strongly you feel about the matter.

	Do not know enough to have an opinion	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
(a) I don't think the government takes any notice of what people like me think.	1	2	3	4	5	6	52
(b) Sometimes politics seems to be so complicated that someone like me cannot understand it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	53
© Almost anyone in South Africa can improve his standard of living if he is willing to work hard.	1	2	3	4	5	6	54
(d) The political future of South Africa looks good.	1	2	3	4	5	6	55
(e) The present central government in South Africa has too much control over the lives of individuals.	1	2	3	4	5	6	56
(f) A person never knows what the government's next step is going to be.	1	2	3	4	5	6	57

	Do not know enough to have an opinion	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
(g) When I think of the system of government in South Africa, I feel like an outsider.	1	2	3	4	5	6	58
(h) The government wastes a lot of the tax-payer's money.	1	2	3	4	5	6	59
(i) South Africa is governed by a small minority to their own advantage.	1	2	3	4	5	6	60
(j) The people who govern South Africa are doing a good job.	1	2	3	4	5	6	61
(k) Corruption can be found amongst many civil servants (government officials).	1	2	3	4	5	6	62
(l) My population group has enough political power in South Africa.	1	2	3	4	5	6	63
(m) I have enough political power in South Africa.	1	2	3	4	5	6	64

*25. If you were offered a permanent job in a western country today which would give you at least the same income and standard of living as you presently enjoy, to what extent would you consider emigrating from South Africa to accept the job? Would you -

Consider it strongly	1	
Consider it	2	
Not consider it	3	
Under no circumstances consider it	4	
Uncertain or do not know	5	65

*26. Some people argue that, apart from separate residential areas for each population group, there should also be "open" residential areas where members of any population group can live of their own free will (so-called "grey areas"). To what extent do you agree or disagree with this argument?

Strongly agree	1	
Agree	2	
Disagree	3	
Strongly disagree	4	
Uncertain or do not know	5	66

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CARD NUMBER	2	1

*27. How would you rate the government's handling of the following national affairs?

	Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	Do not know	
(a) The national economy	1	2	3	4	5	6	6
(b) The protection of South Africa's borders	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
(c) The combating of terrorism	1	2	3	4	5	6	8
(d) The promotion of good race relations	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
(e) The promotion of white education	1	2	3	4	5	6	10
(f) The provision of information to the public on important national affairs.	1	2	3	4	5	6	11
(g) The curbing of inflation	1	2	3	4	5	6	12
(h) Safeguarding the ability of whites to decide on their own future.	1	2	3	4	5	6	13
(i) The satisfaction of the political needs of blacks in S.A.	1	2	3	4	5	6	14
(j) The maintenance of law and order in black residential areas.	1	2	3	4	5	6	15
(k) The presentation of South Africa's case in the outside world.	1	2	3	4	5	6	16
(l) The provision of information on the true situation in the unrest areas.	1	2	3	4	5	6	17

*28. How do you think South Africa's state president (Mr P.W. Botha) has fared, generally speaking, in the last year?

Extremely well	Well	Averagely	Poorly	Very poorly	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	18

29. If Mr P.W. Botha were to retire now, who from the present cabinet would be your choice to succeed him as state president?

..... 19-20

30. Here is a list of certain black persons, groups and organisations. Do you think the government should negotiate with these people over the political future of South Africa or not?

Should the government negotiate with:	Yes	No	Un-certain	Have no knowledge of this person, group or organisation	
(a) African National Congress (ANC)	1	2	3	4	21
(b) Azanian People's Organisation	1	2	3	4	22
© Rev. Allen Boesak	1	2	3	4	23
(d) Chief Minister Mangosuthu (Gatsha) Buthelezi	1	2	3	4	24
(e) Congress of South African Students	1	2	3	4	25
(f) Members of black local authorities	1	2	3	4	26
(g) Inkatha	1	2	3	4	27
(h) Black church leaders	1	2	3	4	28
(i) Mr Nelson Mandela	1	2	3	4	29
(j) Pan African Congress (PAC)	1	2	3	4	30
(k) Homeland leaders	1	2	3	4	31
(l) Bishop Desmond Tutu	1	2	3	4	32
(m) United Democratic Front (UDF)	1	2	3	4	33
(n) Black trade union leaders	1	2	3	4	34
(o) All black leaders who reject violence	1	2	3	4	35
(p) Congress	1	2	3	4	36

31. In your opinion, which organisation, group or person represents the majority of blacks in South Africa?

..... 37-38

*32. In this question you are asked to give your views on a future under a number of different types of government in South Africa. In each case please choose the word(s) that best describe your views of a future under the specific type of government.

(a) A future under a white government will be:

Excellent	Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	Extremely bad	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	39

(b) A future under a government consisting of whites, coloureds and Indians such as we now have will be:

Excellent	Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	Extremely bad	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	40

© A future under a government consisting of whites, coloureds, Indians and blacks in which none of the groups will be able to dominate the other will be:

Excellent	Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	Extremely bad	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	41

(d) A future under a black majority government will be:

Excellent	Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	Extremely bad	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	42

*33. What do you think in principle about opening the following services or facilities so that whites, coloureds and Indians (but not blacks) may use them together?

	A			B	C	
	Must be opened to coloureds and Indians					
	Now	In the near future	In the distant future			
(a) Creches/nursery schools	1	2	3	4	5	43
(b) Hospital wards	1	2	3	4	5	44
© Public toilets	1	2	3	4	5	45
(d) Hotels	1	2	3	4	5	46
(e) Public libraries	1	2	3	4	5	47
(f) Public swimming baths	1	2	3	4	5	48
(g) Public transport services	1	2	3	4	5	49
(h) Beaches	1	2	3	4	5	50
(i) Restaurants	1	2	3	4	5	51
(j) Cinemas	1	2	3	4	5	52
(k) Caravan parks	1	2	3	4	5	53
(l) School sport	1	2	3	4	5	54
(m) Public sport outside the school context	1	2	3	4	5	55

*34. This question is similar to the previous one, but now we would like to know what you think in principle about opening the following services or facilities to blacks as well as coloureds and Indians.

	A			B	C	
	Must be opened to blacks as well			Must never be opened to coloureds and Indians	Do not know	
	Now	In the near future	In the distant future			
(a) Creches/nursery schools	1	2	3	4	5	56
(b) Hospital wards	1	2	3	4	5	57
© Public toilets	1	2	3	4	5	58
(d) Hotels	1	2	3	4	5	59
(e) Public libraries	1	2	3	4	5	60
(f) Public swimming baths	1	2	3	4	5	61
(g) Public transport services	1	2	3	4	5	62
(h) Beaches	1	2	3	4	5	63
(i) Restaurants	1	2	3	4	5	64
(j) Cinemas	1	2	3	4	5	65
(k) Caravan parks	1	2	3	4	5	66
(l) School sport	1	2	3	4	5	67
(m) Public sport outside the school context	1	2	3	4	5	68

35. Do you yourself know enough about the form of government known as federalism to be able to compare it with South Africa's present form of government?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	

36. Do you think it is possible for the government to find a solution for the political problems of South Africa without the involvement of at least the major western countries such as Britain, the USA and West Germany?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	

37. Do you think it is possible for the government to find a solution for the political problems of South Africa without the involvement of South Africa's neighbouring countries such as Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Swaziland?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	71

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CARD NUMBER		3	1
			2-5

38. What would you say is the single most important reason why the present unrest is still continuing?

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.....

		6-7
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39. Do you think that the security forces (such as the Police and Defence Force) have enough control in the urban black areas to maintain law and order?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	8

40. In your opinion, do the security forces act too hard, too soft or just right against blacks who protest peacefully (without violence)?

Too hard	1	
Too soft	2	
Just right	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	9

41. In your opinion, do the security forces act too hard, too soft or just right against black rioters who use violence?

Too hard	1	
Too soft	2	
Just right	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	10

42. To what extent do you think the state of emergency in certain magisterial districts has helped to restore law and order? Has it -

Helped to a large extent	1	
Helped to a small extent	2	
Not helped at all	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	11

43. Generally speaking, are you in favour of or opposed to the state of emergency which has been announced?

In favour	1	
Opposed	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	12

44. Some people argue that peace in South Africa will only be possible if the blacks are allowed into the new constitutional system in the same way as the coloureds and Indians. Do you agree or disagree?

Agree	1	
Disagree	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	13

45. In the long run, what action do you think will help the most to ensure peace in South Africa: is it the large-scale improvement of the economic position of blacks, or is it political power sharing with blacks, or do you think that neither of these actions will help to ensure peace?

Improvement of the economic position of blacks	1	
Political power-sharing with blacks	2	
Neither of these measures	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	14

46. Some people argue that the current unrest in black residential areas is already a country-wide revolutionary movement among blacks. Do you agree or disagree?

Agree	1	
Disagree	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	15

47. The government decided a few months ago that no TV or photographic recordings (visual material) may be made during unrest in areas where a state of emergency is in effect. Do you support this decision?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	16

*48. How satisfied are you with the South African Police's handling of the unrest in black residential areas? Are you -

Very satisfied	1	
Satisfied	2	
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	3	
Dissatisfied	4	
Very dissatisfied	5	
Uncertain or do not know	6	17

*49. How satisfied are you with the South African Defence Force's handling of the unrest in black residential areas? Are you -

Very satisfied	1	
Satisfied	2	
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	3	
Dissatisfied	4	
Very dissatisfied	5	
Uncertain or do not know	6	18

50. If you think about the unrest in black residential areas, do you presently feel safer, just as safe or less safe than a year ago?

Safer	1	
Just as safe	2	
Less safe	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	19

51. Have you or any member of your household obtained a firearm during the last 12 months?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Do not know	3	20

CO-WORKER: IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED "YES" TO QUESTION 51

52. What role did the present unrest in black residential areas play in the decision to obtain a firearm? Did it -

N.a. – did not obtain a firearm	0	
Play a large role	1	
Play a small role	2	
Play no role at all	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	21

CO-WORKER: ASK EVERYONE

53. If you yourself possess a firearm, do you now take it with you to places that you previously would never have taken it? (For example when you do shopping, go to work, etc.)

N.a. – does not possess a firearm	0	
Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	22

*54. What do you personally think the chances are that South Africa's political problems can be solved peacefully through negotiation? Are the chances -

Very good	1	
Good	2	
Neither good nor bad	3	
Bad	4	
Very bad	5	
Uncertain or do not know	6	23

*55. Here are a number of statements on the future in South Africa. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the statements.

	Definitely agree	Agree	Un-certain	Dis-agree	Definitely disagree	
(a) The political situation in South Africa will be better five years hence than it is now	1	2	3	4	5	24
(b) The whites will not survive in South Africa	1	2	3	4	5	25
(c) In the end the whites in South Africa will lose everything	1	2	3	4	5	26
(d) There is a future for my children in this country	1	2	3	4	5	27
(e) I fear for my own and my family's safety in South Africa	1	2	3	4	5	28
(f) In the future things can only get better for the whites in South Africa	1	2	3	4	5	29

56. In your opinion, has the new tricameral parliament been a success or a failure up to now?

A success	1	
A failure	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	30

57. Do you think that terrorist attacks against South Africa will decrease, remain the same or increase during the next few months?

Will decrease	1	
Will remain the same	2	
Will increase	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	31

*58. There has been talk about releasing Mr Nelson Mandela. Which of the following is closest to your view?

Nelson Mandela should be released without any pre-conditions	1	
Nelson Mandela should be released only if he renounces violence	2	
Nelson Mandela should not be released at all	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	32

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION.

QUESTIONNAIRE INSTRUCTIONS

1.

GENERAL

- 1.1 Study this instructions thoroughly before beginning with the interviews.
- 1.2 The questions have been formulated as clearly as possible and provision has been made as far as possible for all possible answers. If at any question you get a response that will not fit in any answer space you must write on the questionnaire (at the question). Report it to the fieldwork organiser as well.
- 1.3 Study the questionnaire in conjunction with these instructions.
- 1.4 Where answers are given to questions, you are required to encircle the relevant answer, alternatively, write the response in the space provided.
- 1.5 Leave the codes of those questions that must be skipped i.e. according to the instructions at some questions, blank.
- 1.6 The Display Card booklet must be handed to the respondent at the beginning of the interview.

IMPORTANT

You must read the questions and not the respondent.

- 1.7 Please note that person's between 18 years and older qualify for this survey.

BACKGROUND AND AIM

a) Background

Throughout the world decision makers in both the public and private sectors of society are increasingly turning to opinion surveys as a source of information on how the general public, and even specific sections of the public, feel about certain matters. In countries such as Britain, France, West Germany and the USA for example governments do not easily adopt new policies without first finding out through opinion surveys whether the majority of voters would oppose such policy decisions. Large businesses would not dare to market a new product before establishing through opinion surveys whether potential consumers definitely experienced a need for such a product. Planners use surveys on a large scale to determine the public's specific needs. In reality, decision-making institutions in an increasing number of countries in both the private and public sector are virtually forced to implement the findings of opinion surveys in decisions that concern large sections of the public directly.

Various methods can be used to conduct surveys, for instance the answering of questions over the telephone or by post. There are also several types of personal interviews that can be used. In these particular surveys questionnaires are important research instruments. In developed Western countries it is not unusual for a person to be approached in a variety of ways by opinion survey organizations in the course of a single week to establish his opinion on widely divergent subjects - from perfume to political party preferences. In an increasing number of countries opinion surveys at home, in the street, by post and over the telephone have become as common as the delivery of newspapers. The public knows its participation is anonymous, and, what is more, it promotes judicious economic, social and political planning from which the individual respondent could benefit.

With these facts as background the Division Group Interaction of the HSRC's Institute for Sociological and Demographic Research conducts its own opinion surveys with the aid of the HSRC's Opinion Survey Centre. The division is particularly interested in the far reaching changes that are taking place in the social and political lives of all South Africa's communities, and the results concern not only decision makers in the private and public sectors, but also ordinary men and women.

Until quite recently the division concentrated mainly on unique surveys of certain problems situations in South African society. However, in 1984 it was decided to pay more attention to social and political change as a continuous process with the specific intention of measuring, on a continuous basis in the long term, people's experiences and perceptions of change. The first round of this continuous monitoring programme (which involves a series of surveys conducted among Whites Coloureds, Indians and Blacks) took place in 1984. A third round of surveys will take place in 1986. The project leaders are particularly interested in the changes in South African society over a period of time, how people's perceptions of social and political trends in particular change from year to year and how people's values, ideas and even lifestyles change as they adapt to changing circumstances. The aim is to conduct these monitoring surveys on a regular basis among all the main population groups. The current project is consequently an integral part of the HSRC's continuous monitoring of socio-political change in South Africa.

b) Aims

By means of the monitoring surveys the HSRC will concentrate on, inter alia, the following

(i) changes in South Africans' opinions on and experiences of particular issues (among other things the tempo and direction of changes of opinion on these issues);

(ii) the circumstances and factors that determine these changes of opinion;

(iii) the conflict potential of change;

(iv) the problem of whether peoples' opinions and experience of change correspond logically with their reaction to change in terms of their actual behaviour (for instance, whether a supporter of the NP government who is in favour of segregated residential areas would react by means of a deliberate protest against a decision to abolish this segregation) - in other words, whether people do what they say;

(v) the frustration threshold of Black, Coloured and Indian communities with regard to measures that they consider to be discriminatory and the point at which frustrated efforts to obtain equal rights would lead to actual protest behaviour, and

(iv) what communities regard as their basic interests, and the communities' willingness to change.

c) Findings of previous surveys

Interesting findings have already been based on the survey data since the first round of monitoring surveys was conducted in 1984. According to the 1984 monitor survey proportionately fewer Coloured and Indian respondents (11 % in both cases) than White respondents (20 % believed that the general political situation in South Africa had deteriorated during the past year. More than half (56 %) of the coloured respondents and almost two-thirds (65 %) of the Indian respondents indicated that they preferred to be known as South Africans rather than Coloureds and Indians respectively; 32 % of the Coloureds preferred the group name "Coloured" and 19 % of the Indians preferred the group name "Indian".

According to a survey conducted shortly after the election of the members of the House of Representatives, one out of every three Coloureds in the Cape Province who were entitled to vote maintained that TV had been the medium which had played the biggest role in their decision whether to vote or not. Only 6 % of the respondents indicated that the radio had been their biggest source of information on the election arrangements. More than three out of every four respondents mentioned that they had never been visited at home by a representative of a political party.

d) Remark

The value of such monitoring surveys will increase with each passing year since it is continuous research of this nature which enables researchers to observe and analyze the history unfolding before their eyes in a scientific manner. In this process the researchers, the people manning the infrastructure of support services, the co-workers and respondents function as a well—integrated team. Only if all these components of the research co-operate will opinion surveys such as those the HSRC is presently conducting produce results that will satisfy all scientific requirements.

A project initiated by the HSRC itself is usually regarded as complete when a research report on the subject has been published and the information thus becomes available to researchers and members of the public who are interested in the subject. However, not all projects are concluded in this manner. The findings of some projects are published in a variety of media such as books, journals, technical journals and even newspapers, but the findings of the HSRC's survey research are only published and released if the survey has been conducted according to established scientific procedure. Owing to the stringent requirements for the processing of the data it sometimes takes a considerable time before the research findings are released to the public.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR SPECIFIC QUESTIONS

The following questions are CRITICAL and Co-workers must handle it very accurate.

Question 17:

Please note that only one person from any population group must be chosen.

Question 20: The important aspect of this question is to distinct between people who really don't know enough to give a response and the rest. The former group must be coded as don't know while a response (1-3) for the latter group must be get.

Question 26 Please note that the principle of “grey areas” is not the same as unqualified “open areas”. It provides for “some open” and “some closed” areas.

Question 36(d): Please note that the question refers to majority government, in other words domination of minority groups is still possible.

Question 45: Quite a number of respondents should like to qualify which groups to be included in the negotiations. That is however not the aim of the question. The actual aim is to find out if the respondent see negotiations as a way to solve the RSA's problems.

Part 2 (Whites)

HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH COUNCIL

OPINION SURVEY CENTRE

BNBC02R114 (WHITES)

POSTAL SURVEY: RESEARCH ON SOCIO-POLITICAL CHANGE

Thank you for your kind willingness to participate in this important research project. The questionnaire which you have in front of you is the one you agreed to complete when we recently contacted you telephonically.

The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) regularly undertakes studies on a wide variety of social matters among all population groups. As there have been major changes on the socio-political front in recent times that could influence the future of every individual in the RSA it is imperative that the HSRC also carry out research within this field. However, little is known about how the public experiences these changes and what their attitudes are towards such changes. The research is therefore about issues that presently affect all South Africans.

The HSRC's researchers would like to determine how you and other people feel about some of these issues. In order to gather reliable information on these matters in a scientific manner, we would be grateful if you would answer the questionnaire as honestly, completely and clearly as possible, and it would be appreciated if you would answer all the questions. If you have any queries regarding the questionnaire, fee free to contact Mr M.P. Couper or Dr C.P. de Kock.

Your opinion is important in this research. You do not need to sign the questionnaire or any other document. The information that you provide will be treated as strictly confidential. It will be processed by computer in such a way that no personal identification will be possible.

Your co-operation is greatly appreciated.

KINDLY RETURN THE QUESTIONNAIRE BEFORE 1986-11-28 IN THE ENCLOSED ENVELOPE.

	1	1
RECORD NUMBER		2-5
DATE RECEIVED		6-9

INSTRUCTIONS

FOR MOST OF THE QUESTIONS, YOU SIMPLY CIRCLE THE NUMBER OPPOSITE THE ANSWER THAT BEST MATCHES YOUR OWN VIEW. WHERE THE QUESTION IS FOLLOWED BY A DOTTED LINE, WRITE YOUR ANSWER AS CLEARLY AND FULLY AS POSSIBLE IN THE SPACE PROVIDED. IF YOU HAVE ANY FURTHER COMMENTS ON ANY QUESTION/SUBJECT, PLEASE FEEL FREE TO WRITE IT ALONGSIDE THE QUESTION CONCERNED, BUT PLEASE DO NOT WRITE IN THE COLUMN MARKED "COMPUTER USE".

SECTION A

This section contains questions on the general socio-political situation in South Africa.

1. How do you feel about the general political situation in South Africa at present? Are you -

Very satisfied	1	
Satisfied	2	
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	3	
Dissatisfied	4	
Very dissatisfied	5	
Do not know	6	10

2. How do you feel about the general economic situation in South Africa at present? Are you -

Very satisfied	1	
Satisfied	2	
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	3	
Dissatisfied	4	
Very dissatisfied	5	
Do not know	6	11

3. In your opinion, is the relationship between whites and blacks in South Africa better or worse today than a year ago?

Better	1	
Worse	2	
The same	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	12

4. If you today had to chose one person from any population group to lead South Africa politically, who do you choose?

..... 13-14

5. Personally, how do you feel about the pace at which the government's current reforms are being carried out. Do you feel that -

The pace of reform is too fast	1	
The pace of reform is just about right	2	
The pace of reform is too slow	3	
The reforms must be stopped	4	
Uncertain or do not know	5	15

6. Do you generally support the government's constitutional reform policies?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	16

7. What is your attitude towards each of the following laws and policies in South Africa? Must the specific act or policy be abolished, be retained, or do you have mixed feelings about the matter?

	Must be abolished	Must be retained	Have mixed feelings about the matter	Do not know	
(a) The Group Areas Act which prohibits mixed residential areas	1	2	3	4	17
(b) The policy that prescribes separate schools for each population group	1	2	3	4	18
© The Acts that provide for separate amenities for whites and non-whites	1	2	3	4	19
(d) Separate parliamentary voters' rolls for each population group	1	2	3	4	20
(e) The policy that blacks are excluded from the present parliament.	1	2	3	4	21
(f) The Population Registration Act according to which each person is classified as a member of a specific race or population group	1	2	3	4	22

8. The following acts have recently been abolished. Do you feel that these acts should rather have been retained, or do you support the abolition of these acts?

	The act should have been abolished	Support the abolition of the act	Mixed feelings	Do not know	
(a) The Group Areas Act which prohibits mixed residential areas	1	2	3	4	23
(b) The section of the Immorality Act which prohibited sexual relations between whites and non-whites	1	2	3	4	24
(c) The Political Interference Act which prohibited a political party from having members from different population groups.	1	2	3	4	25
(d) The policy that restricted the influx of blacks to the white urban areas	1	2	3	4	26

9. How would you rate the government's handling of the following national affairs?

	Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	Do not know	
(a) The combating of terrorism.	1	2	3	4	5	6	27
(b) The promotion of good race relations.	1	2	3	4	5	6	28
(c) The satisfaction of the political needs of blacks in S.A.	1	2	3	4	5	6	29
(d) The maintenance of law and order in black residential areas.	1	2	3	4	5	6	30
(e) The provision of information on the true situation in the unrest areas.	1	2	3	4	5	6	31

10. How do you think South Africa's state president (Mr P.W. Botha) has fared, generally speaking, in the last year?

Extremely well	1	
Well	2	
Averagely	3	
Poorly	4	
Very poorly	5	
Uncertain or do not know	6	32

11. Do you personally believe that the present government will make the right or wrong decisions in the future with regard to the political needs and aspirations of blacks?

Will make the right decisions	1	
Will make the wrong decisions	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	33

12. There is much debate at present on the suggestion that the government should convene a national convention to solve the country's political problems. All leaders who enjoy considerable support among their own people should be able to attend the convention. The main aim of the convention would be to draw up a new constitution and system of government in which South Africans from all population groups would be represented. Are you personally in favour of or opposed to the holding of such a national convention?

In favour	1	
Opposed	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	34

13. Do you support the principle that blacks should receive representation in institutions where decisions affecting all South Africans are made?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	35

14. Do you think that the South African public is kept sufficiently well informed by the government regarding important national problems such as the present unrest?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	36

15. Are you prepared to accept a form of government in which all four population groups are represented in parliament, but without any one group being able to dominate the others?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	37

16. Do you yourself know enough about the form of government known as federalism to be able to compare it with South Africa's present form of government?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	38

17. Some people argue that the government's constitutional reforms are leading towards a federal form of government for South Africa. Do you agree with this argument or not?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	39

SECTION B

A few questions on the current sanctions campaign against South Africa follow.

1. In your opinion, what effect will the current international sanctions campaign against South Africa have on the country's economy?

Negative effect	1	
Positive effect	2	
Not have much effect	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	40

2. In your opinion, what effect will the current international sanctions campaign against South Africa have on the pace of the government's reforms?

Will slow down pace of reform	1	
Will speed up pace of reform	2	
Will not effect the pace of reform much	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	41

3 As the international sanctions campaign against South Africa increases, what section of the South African population do you think will suffer the most economically?

.....

.....

42-43

SECTION C

This section contains certain questions on the Group Areas Act and related matters.

1. In your opinion, should the government retain the Group Areas Act as it is, amend it in response to new circumstances, or scrap it entirely?

Retain	1	
Amend	2	
Scrap	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	44

2(a). Do you support the idea that residential areas should be opened to all population groups or not?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	45

2(b). If yes, who should have the right to make the final decision whether a residential area should be opened to all population groups or not? Should it be -

N.a. – did not answer “YES” to Question 2(a)	0	
The central government	1	
The local authority (e.g. city council)	2	
The residents of the area	3	
Other (specify).....		
Uncertain or do not know	4	46

3. Some people argue that, apart from separate residential areas for each population group, there should also be open residential areas where members of any population group can live of their own free will (so-called grey areas). To what extent do you agree or disagree with this argument?

Strongly agree	1	
Agree	2	
Disagree	3	
Strongly disagree	4	
Uncertain or do not know	5	47

4. If your residential area were to be declared a grey (open) area, would you be prepared to remain in the area if the standards which you are used to were maintained?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	48

5. Under what conditions would you be prepared to accept that members of other population groups can live in your residential area?

My residential area should not be opened under any circumstances	1	
My residential area can be opened unconditionally	2	
My residential area can be opened under certain conditions (specify conditions in order of importance)		
1.		49
2.		50-51
3.	3	52-53
Uncertain or do not know	4	54-55

SECTION D

In this section questions are asked on the current unrest situation as well as the present countrywide state of emergency which was declared on 12 June 1986.

1. Generally speaking, are you in favour of or opposed to the imposition of the countrywide state of emergency?

In favour	1	
Opposed	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	56

2. Would you, at this stage, say that the current state of emergency in South Africa -

Should be lifted for the whole country	1	
Should be lifted only in certain areas	2	
Should be maintained countrywide	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	57

3. Do you think that the present state of emergency will slow down the government's reforms, speed them up or not have much effect on them?

Slow down	1	
Speed up	2	
Not have much effect	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	58

4. Do you think that the security forces (such as the Police and Defence Force) have enough control in the urban black townships to maintain law and order?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	59

5. Some people argue that the current unrest in black residential areas is already a country-wide revolutionary movement among blacks. Do you agree or disagree?

Agree	1	
Disagree	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	60

6. Do you think that terrorist attacks against South Africa are going to decrease, remain the same, or increase over the next twelve months?

Will decrease	1	
Will remain the same	2	
Will increase	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	61

7. In your opinion, which one of the following provides the most reliable information on the current unrest situation in South Africa?

The SABC	1	
Newspapers which usually support the government	2	
Newspapers which usually do not support the government	3	
The Bureau for Information	4	
None of the above	5	
Uncertain or do not know	6	62

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SECTION F

This section deals with two issues: public holidays and languages.

1. It has been proposed that public holidays that have a particular meaning for a certain interest group or population group, should be an official holiday for that group only, e.g. Kruger Day, Shaka Day or May Day. Do you agree or not?

Agree	1	
Disagree	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	21

2. It has also been proposed that public holidays that have a particular interest in a region where a specific interest group or population group live in relatively large numbers, should only be an official holiday in that region. Do you agree or not?

Agree	1	
Disagree	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	22

3. Which language/s do you think should be the official language/s of South Africa (that is/are officially recognised countrywide)?

..... 23-24

4. Apart from the official language/s you mentioned above, which additional language/s (if any), do you think should be recognised in your region as the official language/s of that region?

..... 25-26

5. If a black language were to be introduced as a compulsory subject at white schools, would you support or reject such an idea?

Support	1	
Reject	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	27

SECTION G

In this section a few biographical questions are asked in order to make a scientific analysis of the survey data. We again wish to assure you that you will not be identified personally and that your answers will be treated with the strictest confidentiality.

1. What is your sex?

Male	1		
Female	2		28

2. What language do you regard as your home language?

Afrikaans	1		
English	2		
Afrikaans and English	3		
Other (specify).....			29
.....			

3. In what year were you born?.....19.....

30-31

4. What is your highest educational qualification?

Did not attend school	1		
Standard 3 or lower	2		
Standard 4 or 5	3		
Standard 6 or 7/Form I or II/equivalent qualification	4		
Standard 8 or 9/Form III or IV/equivalent qualification e.g. NTC I or II	5		
Standard 10/Matric/Form V/equivalent qualification e.g. NTC III	6		
Standard 10 and 1 or 2 year's further training (e.g NTC IV/V)	7		
Standard 10 and 1 or 2 year's further training (e.g BA, Nat Dip, etc)	8		
Other (describe qualification).....			32
.....			

5. What is your marital status?

Never married	1		
Married	2		
Divorced/separated	3		
Widow/widower	4		33

6. In which magisterial district do you live?

.....

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 34-36

7. What is your religious affiliation?

None	01	
Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk	02	
Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk	03	
Gereformeerde Kerk	04	
Apostolic Faith Mission	05	
Methodist	06	
Baptist	07	
Anglican	08	
Presbyterian	09	
Roman Catholic	10	
Jewish	11	
Other (specify).....		37-38
.....		

8. Are you a South African citizen?

Yes	1	
No	2	39

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION

PROJECT NUMBER	SDAE1R25	73-80
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KODELYS

Posopname 1986 Navorsing oor sosiaal-politieke verandering

MPS Projeknommer BNBC02R114

Projeknommer SDAE01R025

Rekeningnommer 07K

Vraag 4: LEIER VIR SUID-AFRIKA

- 01 = Weet nie/onseker
- 02 = Weier/geen kommentaar
- 03 = Stel nie belang nie
- 04 = Niemand
- 05 = 'n Blanke
- 06 = P.W. Botha
- 07 = Pik (R.F. Botha)
- 08 = F.W. de Klerk
- 09 = Gerrit Viljoen
- 10 = Piet Koornhof
- 11 = Chris Heunis
- 12 = Louis le Grange
- 13 = Magnus Malan
- 14 = Barend du Plessis
- 15 = A.P. Treurnicht
- 16 = Jaap Marais
- 17 = F.W. van Zyl Slabbert
- 18 = Cohn Eglin
- 19 = Mangosuthu Buthelezi
- 20 = Biskop Tutu
- 21 = Nelson Mandela
- 22 = Harry Oppenheimer
- 23 = Eugene Terreblanche
- 24 = Dr. Karel Boshoff
- 25 = Dennis Worrall
- 26 = Connie Mulder
- 27 = Ron Muller
- 28 = n Regse persoon
- 29 = HelenSuzman
- 30 = Anton Rupert
- 31 = Louis Nel
- 32 = Radcliffe Cadman
- 33 = Ferdie Hartzenberg
- 34 = Louis Rive
- 35 = Van der Merwe (K.P.)
- 36 = National Party
- 37 = Hendrik Schoeman

Vraag 3

- 01 Weet nie/onseker
- 02 Weier/geen kommentaar
- 03 Stel nie belang nie
- 04 Niemand
- 05 Swartes/Nie-blankes
- 06 Blankes
- 07 Swartes en Kleurlinge (gewone Bruin en swart werker)
- 08 Swartes en blankes
- 09 Almal
- 10 Afrikaners
- 11 Minderbevoorregtes/armes/lae inkomstegroep
- 12 Ongeletterdes en onopgeleides (maak nie saak watter kleur)
- 13 Swartes en eienaars van klein besighede
- 14 Landbou
- 15 Sakeondernemings/Besighede/ (masjiene + rekenaars)
- 16 Swart tuislande
- 17 Besighede wat handel in luukse en ingevoerde goedere
- 18 Swartes + minderbevoorregtes
- 19 Laer inkomstegroepe + klein sakeondernemings

Vraag 5

- 01 Redelike mate van stilte gehandhaaf
- 02 Eenvormige tariefstelsel
- 03 Wet en orde gehandhaaf
- 04 Geen oorbevolking
- 05 Ekonomies bekostigbaar/Dieselfde lewenstandaard as bure gehandhaaf
- 06 Higiëniese toestande + gesondheidreëls nagekom
- 07 Munisipale reëls + regulasies moet gehandhaaf word
- 08 Aansoekers moet gekeur word
- 09 Privaatheid moet gerespekteer word
- 10 Aparte skole
- 11 Mense moet beskaafd wees/Soberheid
- 12 Persoonlike regte moet behou word
- 13 Akademiese vergelykbaarheid
- 14 Huislenings slegs aan privaat persone
- 15 Slegs aan staatsamptenare
- 16 Kerk moet dit goedkeur
- 17 Regering moet dit goedkeur
- 18 Inwoner moet eiendom besit
- 19 Wonings moet goed versorg word en goed gebou word
- 20 Aanvaarding/Respek vir mekaar
- 21 Alleen vir diplomatieke doeleindes
- 22 Kerke apart
- 23 That laws be stricter
- 24 Indians only
- 25 Must not receive subsidy to purchase or rent
- 26 Adequate. schooling
- 27 Adequate medical securities
- 28 Compulsory school fees
- 99 Ander

Vraag 2

- 01 = Weet nie/onseker
- 02 = Stel nie belang nie
- 03 = Niemand (Slegs as persoon skryf “niemand” = dit beteken nie dat daar niks geskryf staan nie!)
- 04 = Regering moet self besluit
- 05 = Blanke volk van SA (of Blankes)
- 06 = Swartes deur middel van referendum
- 07 = Swartes
- 08 = Prominente Swart leiers
- 09 = Gematigde Swart leiers
- 10 = Tuislandleiers
- 11 = Swart gemeenskapsleiers wat teen geweld is
- 12 = Leiers van onafhanklike state
- 13 = Afrikaleiers
- 14 = Sakegemeenskap/besigheidsleiers
- 15 = Kerklike gemeenskap
- 16 = Regse groepe (ongespesifiseerd)
- 17 = AWB, KP, HNP. Afr. Volkswag
- 18 = AWB
- 19 = KP
- 20 = HNP
- 21 = Afr. Volkswag
- 22 = Justice Tshoengoe
- 23 = Savimbi
- 24 = Hastings Banda
- 25 = Verkose Swart, Kleurling en Indiërleiers en onderwysleiers (almal demokraties)
- 26 = Verteenwoordigers van alle rasse-groepe
- 27 = Blanke Afrikaner organisasies
- 28 = Kleurlinge en Indiërs
- 29 = Indiërs
- 30 = Kleurlinge
- 31 = PAC
- 32 = Persone of groepe wat geweld afsweer

33	=	Kerklike organisasies
34	=	Swart studente
35	=	Suid-Afrikaners met voorwaardes
36	=	Swart, Indiër en Kleurlinge (leiers)
37	=	Linkse groepe
38	=	Vakbonde (trade unions)
39	=	Politieske partye
40	=	PFP
41	=	Afrikaans en Volkswag
42	=	U.C.A.S.A.
43	=	Broederbond
44	=	Urban foundation
45	=	All democratic elected leaders
46	=	Any group with large following
47	=	Van Zyl Slabbert
48	=	Educationalists
49	=	Buitelandse oorsese leiers by. Regan en M. Thatcher
50	=	NAFCOC

99	=	Ander
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Vraag 3 en Vraag 4

- 01 = Weet nie/onseker
- 02 = Weier/geen kommentaar
- 03 = Stel nie belang nie
- 04 = Geen
- 05 = Afrikaans
- 06 = Engels
- 07 = Afrikaans en Engels
- 08 = Afrikaans en Engels en 'n Swart taal
- 09 = Afrikaans en 'n Swart taal
- 10 = Engels en 'n Swart taal
- 11 = 'n Swart taal
- 12 = Zulu
- 13 = Sotho
- 14 = Noord-Sotho
- 15 = Suid-Sotho
- 16 = Tswana
- 17 = Duits
- 18 = Swart streekstaal
- 19 = Afrikaans en Engels en Swart streekstaal
- 20 = Afrikaans, Engels en Sotho
- 21 = Afrikaans, Engels en Noord-Sotho
- 22 = Afrikaans, Engels en Suid-Sotho
- 23 = Afrikaans en Zulu
- 24 = Engels en Zulu
- 25 = Afrikaans, Engels en Zulu
- 26 = Afrikaans en Xhosa
- 27 = Engels en Xhosa
- 28 = Engels, Afrikaans en Xhosa
- 29 = Afrikaans en Sotho
- 30 = Engels en Sotho
- 31 = Afrikaans, Engels en Fanagalo
- 32 = Zulu, Sotho, Swazi
- 33 = Sotho, Tswana, Zulu
- 34 = Engels, Afrikaans, Zulu, Xhosa
- 35 = Een taal verstaan deur alle Swartes
- 36 = Zulu en Noord-Sotho
- 37 = Xhosa
- 38 = Alle tale
- 39 = Afr. Eng. Sotho, Zulu
- 40 = Afr, Tswana
- 41 = Xhosa + Zulu
- 42 = Zulu + Sotho
- 43 = Afr, Eng, Tswana
- 44 = N Sotho/Shangaan
- 45 = Afrikaans/Sotho/Tswana
- 46 = Sotho/Tswana
- 47 = Afrikaans/Sotho/Tswana/Zulu
- 48 = Afrikaans /Engels/Tswana/Zulu
- 49 = Engels/Zulu/Fanagalo
- 50 = Xhosa/Sotho

51 = Tswana/N. Sotho/Zulu
52 = Portuguese/French/German
53 = Engels/Afrikaans/Swazi/Ndebele/Xhosa/Zulu
54 = Swazi
55 = Tswana/Venda
56 = Afrikaans/Zulu/Sotho
57 = Afrikaans/Engels/German/Portuguese/Italian
58 = Engels/Zulu/N.Sotho
59 = Eng/Afrikaans/Zulu/Xhosa/N. Sotho/S .Sotho
60 = Afrikaans /Zulu/Tswana
61 = Afrikaans/N.Sotho
62 = Tsonga
63 = Siswati

99 = ander (Ek wil nie een taal se naam he nie!)

Part 3 (Coloureds)

HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH COUNCIL

OPINION SURVEY CENTRE

BNBC02R114 (COLOUREDS)

MONITOR SURVEY: RESEARCH ON SOCIO-POLITICAL CHANGE

The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) regularly undertakes studies on a wide variety of social matters among all population groups.

As there have been major changes on the socio-political front in recent times that could influence the future of every individual in the RSA it is imperative that the HSRC also carry out research within this field. However, little is known about how the public experiences these changes and what their attitudes are towards such changes.

With the aid of this questionnaire the researchers are trying to determine how people in South Africa feel about certain topical issues in this regard. The research is therefore about matters that presently affect all south Africans.

The HSRC's researchers would like to determine how you and other people feel about some of these issues. In order to gather reliable information on these matters in a scientific manner, we would be grateful if you would answer the questionnaire as honestly, completely and clearly as possible.

The area in which you live, and you yourself, have been included in the sample for the purpose of this project in a random way and therefore quite coincidentally.

Your opinion is important in this research. Your name will not be written anywhere on the questionnaire form and you need not sign the questionnaire or any other documents. Persons who co-operate thus remain anonymous. The information that you provide will be treated as strictly confidential. It will be processed by computer in such a way that no personal identification will be possible.

The findings of this research will be published.

CARD NUMBER	1	1
RECORD NUMBER		2-5
CO-WORKER NUMBER		6-14

CO-WORKER:

1. PARTS THAT ARE IN ORDINARY TYPE SHOULD BE READ ALOUD TO THE RESPONDENT.
2. PARTS THAT ARE IN ITALICS, MUST NEVER BE READ TO THE RESPONDENT.
3. PARTS THAT ARE TYPED IN CAPITAL LETTERS (WITHIN FRAMES) CONCERN YOU AS CO-WORKER.

1. Sex?

Male	1		
Female	2		15

2. What language do you regard as your home language?

Afrikaans	1		
English	2		
Afrikaans and English	3		
Other (specify).....			16
.....			

3. What is your age?.....years 17-18

*4. What is your total annual income (before deductions)? If you are married, what is your and your husband/wife's combined annual income?

R4999 and less per year	01		
R5000 – R9999	02		
R10 000 – R14 999	03		
R15 000 – R19 999	04		
R20 000 – R24 999	05		
R25 000 – R29 999	06		
R30 000 – R34 999	07		
R35 000 – R39 999	08		
R40 000 – R59 999	09		
R60 000 and more per year	10		19-20

5. What is your highest educational qualification?

Did not attend school	1	
Standard 3 or lower	2	
Standard 4 or 5	3	
Standard 6 or 7/Form I or II/equivalent qualification	4	
Standard 8 or 9/Form III or IV/equivalent qualification e.g. NTC I or II	5	
Standard 10/Matric/Form V/equivalent qualification e.g. NTC III	6	
Standard 10 and 1 or 2 year's further training (e.g NTC IV/V)	7	
Standard 10 and 1 or 2 year's further training (e.g BA, Nat Dip, etc)	8	
Other (describe qualification).....		21
.....		

6. What is your religious affiliation?

None	01	
N.G. Sendingkerk	02	
N.G. Kerk/Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk/Gereformeerde Kerk	03	
Apostolic Faith Mission	04	
Methodist	05	
Baptist	06	
Anglican	07	
Presbyterian	08	
Roman Catholic	09	
Congregational Church	10	
Islam	11	
Hindu	12	
Other (specify).....		22-23
.....		

7. What is your present marital status?

Never married	1	
Married	2	
Divorced/separated	3	
Widow/widower	4	24

*8. How do you feel about the general economic situation in South Africa at present? Are you -

Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	25

9. How do you think the general economic situation in South Africa has changed over the last year? Has it -

Improved	Remained the same	Deteriorated	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	26

10. How do you think the general economic situation in South Africa will change over the next year? Will it -

Improve	Remain the same	Deteriorate	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	27

*11. How do you feel about the general political situation in South Africa at present? Are you -

Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	28

12. How do you think the general political situation in South Africa has changed over the last year? Will it -

Improve	Remain the same	Deteriorate	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	29

13. How do you think the general political situation in South Africa will change over the next year? Will it -

Improve	Remain the same	Deteriorate	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	30

14. How have your own feelings towards the whites changed in the last year? Are your feelings towards them -

More favourable	Unchanged	Less favourable	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	31

15. How have your own feelings towards the Indians changed in the last year? Are your feelings towards them -

More favourable	Unchanged	Less favourable	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	32

16. How have your own feelings towards the blacks changed in the last year? Are your feelings towards them -

More favourable	Unchanged	Less favourable	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	

33

17. If you today had to choose one person from any population group to lead South Africa politically, who would you choose?

.....

34-35

CO-WORKER: ASK QUESTION 18 ONLY IF RESPONDENT MENTIONED A SPECIFIC NAME AT QUESTION 17

18. Why do you choose.....to lead South Africa politically? (Give your most important reason)

N.a. – did not mention a specific name	00	
.....		

36-37

ASK EVERYONE

19. If you today had to choose one person as political leader of the coloureds in South Africa, who would you choose?

.....

38-39

20. Personally, how do you feel about the rate at which the government is carrying out its current plans for reform? Do you feel that it is -

Too fast	1
Just about right	2
Too slow	3
Other (specify).....	
Do not know	4

40

CO-WORKER: IF RESPONDENT IS RELUCTANT TO ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTION: WE REALISE THAT THIS QUESTION MAY BE SENSITIVE. HOWEVER, THE RESEARCHERS REQUIRE THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER TO MAKE A THOROUGH SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS OF SOCIO-POLITICAL CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA. REMEMBER, WE ARE NOT INTERESTED IN YOUR NAME OR ADDRESS. THE HSRC NEVER ABUSED ITS RULES OF CONFIDENTIALITY.

21. Which political party or group are you presently inclined to support the most?

..... 41-42

*22. What is your attitude towards each of the following laws and policies in South Africa? Must the specific act or policy be abolished, be retained, or do you have mixed feelings about the matter?

	Must be abolished	Must be retained	Have mixed feelings about the matter	Do not know	
(a) The Group Areas Act which prohibits mixed residential areas	1	2	3	4	43
(b) The policy that prescribes separate schools for each population group	1	2	3	4	44
© The Acts that provide for separate amenities for whites and non-whites	1	2	3	4	45
(d) Separate parliamentary voter's rolls for each population group	1	2	3	4	46
(e) The policy that restricts the influx of blacks to the white urban areas	1	2	3	4	47
(f) The policy that blacks are excluded from the present parliament	1	2	3	4	48
(g) The Population Registration Act according to which each person is classified as a member of a specific race or population group	1	2	3	4	49

*23. The following acts have recently been abolished. Do you feel that these acts should have been retained, or do you support the abolition of these acts?

	The act should have been retained	Must be retained	Mixed feelings	Do not know	
(a) The Mixed Marriages Act which prohibited marriages between whites and non-whites	1	2	3	4	50
(b) The section of the Immorality Act which prohibited sexual relations between whites and non-whites	1	2	3	4	51
© The Political Interference Act which prohibited a political party from having members from different population groups	1	2	3	4	52

*24. We should like to know more about your views on how South Africa is governed. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. It is usually easiest to decide first whether you agree or disagree, and then to decide how strongly you feel about the matter.

	Do not know enough to have an opinion	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
(a) I don't think the government takes any notice of what people like me think.	1	2	3	4	5	6	53
(b) Sometimes politics seems to be so complicated that someone like me cannot understand it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	54
© Almost anyone in South Africa can improve his standard of living if he is willing to work hard.	1	2	3	4	5	6	55
(d) The political future of South Africa looks good.	1	2	3	4	5	6	56
(e) The present central government in South Africa has too much control over the lives of individuals.	1	2	3	4	5	6	57
(f) A person never knows what the government's next step is going to be.	1	2	3	4	5	6	58

	Do not know enough to have an opinion	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
(g) When I think of the system of government in South Africa, I feel like an outsider.	1	2	3	4	5	6	59
(h) The government wastes a lot of the tax-payer's money.	1	2	3	4	5	6	60
(i) South Africa is governed by a small minority to their own advantage.	1	2	3	4	5	6	61
(j) The people who govern South Africa are doing a good job.	1	2	3	4	5	6	62
(k) Corruption can be found amongst many civil servants (government officials).	1	2	3	4	5	6	63
(l) My population group has enough political power in South Africa.	1	2	3	4	5	6	64
(m) I have enough political power in South Africa.	1	2	3	4	5	6	65

*25. If you were offered a permanent job in a western country today which would give you at least the same income and standard of living as you presently enjoy, to what extent would you consider emigrating from South Africa to accept the job? Would you -

Consider it strongly	1	
Consider it	2	
Not consider it	3	
Under no circumstances consider it	4	
Uncertain or do not know	5	66

*26. Some people argue that, apart from separate residential areas for each population group, there should also be "open" residential areas where members of any population group can live of their own free will (so-called "grey areas"). To what extent do you agree or disagree with this argument?

Strongly agree	1	
Agree	2	
Disagree	3	
Strongly disagree	4	
Uncertain or do not know	5	67

PROJECT NUMBER	SDAE1R18	73-80
CARD NUMBER	2	1

*27 How would you rate the government's handling of the following national affairs?

	Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	Do not know	
(a) The national economy	1	2	3	4	5	6	6
(b) The protection of South Africa's borders	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
© The combating of terrorism	1	2	3	4	5	6	8
(d) The promotion of good race relations	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
(e) The provision of information to the public on important national affairs.	1	2	3	4	5	6	10
(f) The curbing of inflation	1	2	3	4	5	6	11
(g) The satisfaction of the political needs of blacks in S.A.	1	2	3	4	5	6	12
(h) The maintenance of law and order in black residential areas.	1	2	3	4	5	6	13
(i) The presentation of South Africa's case in the outside world.	1	2	3	4	5	6	14
(j) The provision of information on the true situation in the unrest areas.	1	2	3	4	5	6	15

*28. How would you rate the (coloured) House of Representatives in Parliament's handling of the following affairs:

	Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	Do not know	
(a) Education for coloureds	1	2	3	4	5	6	16
(b) Housing for coloureds	1	2	3	4	5	6	17
© Job opportunities for coloureds	1	2	3	4	5	6	18
(d) Transport services for coloureds	1	2	3	4	5	6	19
(e) Health services for coloureds	1	2	3	4	5	6	20
(f) Recreation facilities for coloureds	1	2	3	4	5	6	21
(g) Care of aged coloureds	1	2	3	4	5	6	22
(h) The elimination of discriminatory legislation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	23
(i) The handling of unrest in coloured communities.	1	2	3	4	5	6	24

*29. Generally speaking, how do you think the (coloured) House of Representatives in parliament has fared in the last year?

Extremely well	Well	Averagely	Poorly	Very poorly	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	25

30. Do you think the (coloured) House of Representatives in parliament fared better or worse in the last year than what you expected before the elections for the House in August 1984?

Fared better	1	
Fared worse	2	
Fared neither better nor worse	3	
Do not know	4	26

31. In your opinion, would it have brought more advantages or more disadvantages for the coloureds if the new parliament had consisted of one chamber for whites, coloureds and Indians from the start?

More advantages	1	
More disadvantages	2	
Advantages and disadvantages in equal measure	3	
Do not know	4	27

32. If an election for the (coloured) House of Representatives in parliament was held tomorrow, would you participate in such an election?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	28

33. Did you participate in the first election for the (coloured) House of Representatives in August 1984?

Yes	1	
No	2	29

*34. How do you think South Africa's State President (PW Botha) has fared, generally speaking, in the last year?

Extremely well	Well	Averagely	Poorly	Very poorly	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	30

35. In your opinion, which organisation, group or person represents the majority of blacks in South Africa?

		31-32
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*36. In this question you are asked to give your views on a future under a number of different types of government in South Africa. In each case please choose the word(s) that best describe your views of a future under the specific type of government.

(a) A future under a white government will be:

Excellent	Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	Extremely bad	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	33

(b) A future under a government consisting of whites, coloureds and Indians such as we now have will be:

Excellent	Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	Extremely bad	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	34

© A future under a government consisting of whites, coloureds, Indians and blacks in which none of the groups will be able to dominate the other will be:

Excellent	Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	Extremely bad	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	35

(d) A future under a black majority government will be:

Excellent	Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	Extremely bad	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	36

37. Do you yourself know enough about the form of government known as federalism to be able to compare it with South Africa's present form of government?

Yes	1	
Know	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	37

38. Do you understand the policy of Rev. Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party or not? (CO-WORKER: RESPONDENT DOES NOT HAVE TO BE A SUPPORTER OF THE LABOUR PARTY)

Understand the policy	1	
Do not understand the policy	2	
Know nothing about the policy	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	38

39. What would you say is the single most important reason for the present unrest in the coloured community?

.....

.....

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39-40

40. Do you think that the security forces (such as the Police and Defence Force) have enough control in the coloured residential areas to maintain law and order?

Yes	1	
Know	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	41

41. Do you think it is right or wrong that the South African Defence Force help the police maintain law and order in coloured residential areas while there is unrest?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	42

42. In your opinion, do the security forces act too hard, too soft or just right against coloureds who protest peacefully (without violence)?

Too hard	1	
Too soft	2	
Just right	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	43

43. In your opinion, do the security forces act too hard, too soft or just right against coloured rioters who use violence?

Too hard	1	
Too soft	2	
Just right	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	44

44. To what extent do you think the state of emergency in certain magisterial districts has helped to restore law and order? Has the state of emergency -

Helped to a large extent	1	
Helped to a small extent	2	
Not helped at all	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	45

45. Generally speaking, are you in favour of or opposed to the state of emergency which has been announced?

In favour	1	
Opposed	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	46

46. In your opinion, has the present unrest caused more division or more unity between coloureds and blacks in your area?

More division	1	
More unity	2	
Neither division nor unity	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	47

47. Do you think that the majority or minority of coloureds in your community think the present unrest is a good thing?

Majority	1	
Minority	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	48

48. In your opinion, what will achieve more for the coloureds in the long run: violence or negotiation?

Violence	1	
Negotiation	2	
Both violence and negotiation	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	49

49. Some people argue that peace in South Africa will only be possible if the blacks are allowed into the new constitutional system in the same way as the coloureds and Indians. Do you agree or disagree?

Agree	1	
Disagree	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	50

50. The government decided a few months ago that no TV or photographic recordings (visual material) may be made during unrest in areas where a state of emergency is in effect. Do you support this decision?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	51

51. To what extent do you think coloured schools are being used for the organisation of protest actions and demonstrations against the government?

To a large extent	1	
To a small extent	2	
To no extent	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	52

*52. What do you personally think the chances are that South Africa's political problems can be solved peacefully through negotiation? Are the chances -

Very good	1	
Good	2	
Neither good nor bad	3	
Bad	4	
Very bad	5	
Uncertain or do not know	6	53

53. In your opinion, has the new tricameral parliament been a success or a failure up to now?

A success	1	
A failure	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	54

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED "FAILURE" (CODE 2), ASK QUESTION 54, OTHERWISE CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 55.
--

54. What is the most important reason why you think the new parliament has been a failure?

N.a. – did not answer code 2	00		
.....			55-56
.....			

ASK EVERYONE

55. Are you in favour of blacks being admitted to the new parliament in the same way as the coloureds and Indians have been admitted?

A success	1		
A failure	2		
Uncertain or do not know	3		57

56. If blacks were admitted to the new parliament in the same way as the coloureds and Indians were admitted, do you think that the blacks will use their numbers to take over the government?

Yes	1		
No	2		
Uncertain or do not know	3		58

57. In the new parliament the coloureds, Indians and whites are represented according to their numbers. If the blacks later also got representation, must they also be represented in the new parliament according to their numbers?

Yes	1		
No	2		
Uncertain or do not know	3		59

58. Some people argue that the new dispensation still amounts to apartheid for coloureds and Indians. Other people argue that coloureds and Indians are on the threshold of great political progress. Do you think the new dispensation means -

Apartheid still	1		
Political progress	2		
Uncertain or do not know	3		60

59. Should the outside world apply an economic boycott against South Africa?

Yes	1		
No	2		
Uncertain or do not know	3		61

*60. There has been talk about releasing Mr Nelson Mandela. Which of the following is closest to your view?

Nelson Mandela should be released without any pre-conditions.	1	
Nelson Mandela should be released only if he renounces violence.	2	
Nelson Mandela should not be released at all	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	62

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION.

PROJECT NUMBER	SDAE1R18	73-80
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I, THE UNDERSIGNED, HEREBY CERTIFY THAT ALL THE QUESTIONS IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE HAVE BEEN PUT TO THE RESPONDENT DURING THE INTERVIEW.

SIGNATURE OF CO-WORKER.....

Part 4 (Blacks)

HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH COUNCIL

OPINION SURVEY CENTRE

THE VIEWS OF URBAN BLACKS ON VARIOUS SOCIAL ISSUES: February 1986

The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) often undertakes studies on a wide variety of social matters among all population groups, for example research on family planning, educational matters, unemployment, the problems of the aged, inter-group relations, etc.

This survey is aimed at determining how urban blacks feel about current social issues presently widely discussed throughout South Africa.

For the purpose of this survey, you as well as the area in which you reside, have been selected at random by computer. We don't need your name and address as we are interested only in your views on certain current issues.

This is a scientific study and your co-operation is very important for the successful completion of this survey. Your name will not appear anywhere on the questionnaire and you are not required to sign the questionnaire or any other document. You thus remain anonymous. The information that you provide in answering the questions is regarded as confidential and is processed by a computer in such a way that no personal identification is possible.

The findings of this research will be published.

CARD NUMBER	1	1
RECORD NUMBER		2-5
CO-WORKER NUMBER		6-14

1. Sex? (Should not be asked)

Male	1		15
Female	2		

2. What is your home language?

English		01		
Afrikaans		02		
Sotho	Southern Sotho	03		
	Western Sotho (Tswana)	04		
	Northern Sotho (Sepedi)	05		
Nguni	Swazi	06		
	Ndebele	07		
	Xhosa	08		
	Zulu	09		
Shangana-Tsonga		10		
Venda/Lemba		11		
Other (specify).....				16-17

3. When (in what year) were you born?.....

--	--

 18-19

4. What is your highest educational qualification?

None	0		
Grade I/Sub A to Std 3	1		
Std 4	2		
Std 5	3		
Std 6/Form I	4		
Std 7/Form II	5		
Std 8/Form III	6		
Std 9/Form IV	7		
Std 10/Form V	8		
Std 10/Form V plus further qualifications	9		20

5. To which church or religious group do you belong?

.....

--	--

 21-22

*6. What is your present income?

R.....per week
OR
R.....per month

Monthly:
IF NO INCOME SPECIFY

.....
.....

[]
[]

23-26

7. What do you think is the main cause of the present unrest in the black communities?

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

[]

27-28

8. Do you think that the majority or minority of blacks in this community think the present unrest is good thing?

Majority	1	
Minority	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	

29

9. Have blacks gained anything from the unrest up to now?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	

30

10. If yes, what have blacks gained from the unrest up to now?

.....
.....

[]

31-32

11. Will blacks gain anything from the unrest in the future?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	

33

12. If yes, what will blacks gain from the unrest in the future?

.....
.....

[]

34-35

*13. In your opinion, are the security forces acting too hard, too soft or just right against blacks who demonstrate peacefully (without violence)?

Too hard	1	
Too soft	2	
Just right	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	36

*14. In your opinion, are the security forces acting too hard, too soft or just right against black rioters who use violence?

Too hard	1	
Too soft	2	
Just right	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	37

*15. In your opinion, to what extent do the security forces act with brutality in dealing with unrest in your area?

A large extent	1	
A small extent	2	
No extent	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	38

*16. Have you personally witnessed any acts of brutality by the security forces during the current unrest?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	39

17. Do you think that the security forces have enough control in your township to maintain law and order?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	40

18. Is it right or wrong that the army (South African Defence Force) help the police maintain law and order in the black townships during unrest?

Right	1	
Wrong	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	41

19. What do you think will achieve more for blacks in South Africa in the long run: Violence or negotiation?

Violence	1	
Negotiation	2	
Both violence and negotiation	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	42

20. Should the army (South African Defence Force) be withdraw from the black townships while the unrest is continuing?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	43

21. Should the South African Police be withdrawn from the black townships while the unrest is continuing?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	44

22. In your opinion, who should be responsible for maintaining law and order in the black townships?

.....

.....

	45-46
--	-------

*23. To what extent has the unrest in black townships contributed to the scrapping of apartheid laws during the past year?

To a large extent	1	
To a small extent	2	
To no extent	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	47

24. Has a state of emergency been declared in your township?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	48

IF YES, ASK QUESTIONS 25 AND 26, OTHERWISE CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 27

25. Do you feel more safe or less safe since the state of emergency in your township was declared?

N.a. – no state of emergency in township	0	
More safe	1	
Less safe	2	
Neither more safe nor less safe	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	49

26. Should the state of emergency in your township be lifted?

N.a. – no state of emergency in township	0	
Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	50

ASK EVERYONE

27. A number of black officials (e.g. policemen, community councillors and people working for the central and local authorities) have been killed by blacks during the unrest. Do you think that these killings are right or wrong?

Right	1	
Wrong	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	51

28. Do you think that the unrest is causing mostly division or mostly unity among blacks?

Mostly division	1	
Mostly unity	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	52

29. What would you say is the single most important reason why the current unrest is still continuing?

.....

.....

.....

.....

30. Do you regard the community councillors as the rightful leaders of your community?

N.a. – no community council in area	0	
Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	55

*31. Are you treated well or badly by:

	Well	Badly	Have no contact with these people	Uncertain/ Do not know	
White officials at the Community Council (Development Board/Administration Board)	1	2	3	4	56
Black officials at the Community Council (Development Board/Administration Board)	1	2	3	4	57
White policemen of the South African Police	1	2	3	4	58
Black policemen of the South African Police	1	2	3	4	59
Soldiers of the South African Defence Force (the army)	1	2	3	4	60

32. Should the outside world apply an economic boycott (sanctions) against South Africa?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	61

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED "YES" TO QUESTION 32:

33. If an economic boycott against South Africa meant that you would become unemployed, would you still support such a boycott?

N.a. – did not answer yes	0	
Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	62

ASK EVERYONE

34. Who will suffer the most if the outside world applies an economic boycott (sanctions) against South Africa?

..... 63-64

*35. Which will help the most to get rid of apartheid: If the outside world withdraws their money (disinvest) from South Africa or if they invest more money in South Africa?

Withdraw their money	1	
Invest more money	2	
Neither will help	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	<input type="checkbox"/> 65

36. The South African government has said that if the overseas countries continue to boycott South Africa, the government will, in order to make jobs available for South African blacks, have to send foreign black workers from our neighbouring countries (such as Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique and Botswana) back home. Should the government send these foreign workers home or not?

They should send them home	1	
They should not send them home	2	
Uncertain/do not know	3	<input type="checkbox"/> 66

37. Is the relationship between whites and blacks better or worse today than a year ago?

Better	1	
Worse	2	
The same	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	<input type="checkbox"/> 67

38. If you had to choose one person from any population group to lead South Africa politically in these times, who would you choose?

..... 68-69

IF RESPONDENT HAS MENTIONED THE NAME OF A PARTICULAR PERSON AT QUESTION 38 ASK QUESTION 39, OTHERWISE CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 40

39. Why do you choose.....? (READ OUT THE NAME OF THE PERSON INDICATED AT QUESTION 38). (Please give only your single most important reason)

.....

70-71

PROJECT NUMBER	SDAE1R19	73-80
CARD NUMBER	2	1 2-5

ASK EVERYONE

40. If you had to choose one black person to lead South Africa politically in these times, who would you choose?

..... 6-7

41. In your opinion, which black organization or black group is the strongest in South Africa?

.....

8-9

*42. I am going to read out a list of names of certain black persons, groups and organisations. Please indicate to me in respect of each person, group or organisation whether you support them or not or if you are uncertain or have no knowledge of them. Your answers are completely confidential. Please note that support of a group or organisation does not necessarily mean membership.

Do you support:	Yes, I support him/them	No, I don't support him/them	Un-certain	Have no knowledge of this person, group or organisation	
(a) The African National Congress (ANC)	1	2	3	4	10
(b) The Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO)	1	2	3	4	11
© Chief Minister Mangosuthu (Gatsha) Buthelezi	1	2	3	4	12
(d) The Confress of South African Students (COSAS)	1	2	3	4	13
(e) The members of black local authorities (such as Community Councils) in your area	1	2	3	4	14
(f) Inkatha	1	2	3	4	15
(g) Reverend Allen Boesak	1	2	3	4	16
(h) Mr Nelson Mandela	1	2	3	4	17

Do you support:	Yes, I support him/them	No, I don't support him/them	Un-certain	Have no knowledge of this person, group or organisation	
(i) The Pan African Congress (PAC)	1	2	3	4	18
(j) Homeland leaders	1	2	3	4	19
(k) Bishop Desmond Tutu	1	2	3	4	20
(l) The United Democratic Front (UDF)	1	2	3	4	21
(m) Black trade union leaders	1	2	3	4	22
(n) Only those black leaders who reject violence	1	2	3	4	23
(o) The Federation of South African Women	1	2	3	4	24
(p) The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)	1	2	3	4	25

*43. In your opinion, what is the chance that problems between blacks and whites in South Africa can be solved peacefully?

Very good	1	
Good	2	
Neither good nor bad	3	
Bad	4	
Very bad	5	
Uncertain/do not know	6	26

44. What do you think is the most effective way to get rid of the apartheid system? (Give only the one most important method)

..... 27-28

.....

45. In 1984 a new parliament with three chambers was created for whites, coloureds and Indians. Do you personally support a fourth chamber for blacks in this new parliament?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	
Do not know about tri-cameral parliament	4	29

46. If blacks were to obtain the right to elect local representatives to parliament, which person from your own community would you choose to represent you?

..... 30-31

*47. How do you feel about the economic situation in South Africa today? Are you -

Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	32

*48. How do you think the economic situation in South Africa will change over the next year? Will it -

Improve	Remain the same	Worsen	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	33

*49. How do you feel about the political situation in South Africa today? Are you -

Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	34

*50. How do you think the political situation in South Africa will change over the next year? Will it -

Improve	Remain the same	Worsen	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	35

*51. How have your own feelings towards the whites changed in the last year? Are your feelings towards them -

More favourable	Unchanged	Less favourable	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	36

*52. Generally speaking, how do you think South Africa's state president (PW Botha) has fared during the past year?

Extremely well	Well	Averagely	Poorly	Very poorly	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	37

*53. In this question you are asked to give your views on how you see a future living under different types of government. Please say how you would see a future living under each type of government.

(a) A future under a white government will be:

Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	38

(b) A future under a government consisting of whites, coloureds and Indians such as we now have will be:

Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	39

© A future under a government consisting of whites, coloureds, Indians and blacks in which none of the groups will be able to dominate the other will be:

Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	40

(d) A future under a black majority government will be:

Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	41

54. Do you support the boycott of white shops and businesses by blacks (consumer boycott)?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	42

55. Have you personally been threatened by anyone to obey the consumer boycott?

N.a. – no consumer boycott in this area	1	
Yes	2	
No	3	43

56. If the government decided to include blacks in the President's Council, please name four black leaders (in order of preference) that you would choose to represent you?

1.....	<table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td></tr></table>			44-45
2.....	<table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td></tr></table>			46-47
3.....	<table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td></tr></table>			48-49
4.....	<table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td></tr></table>			50-51

57. There has been talk about releasing Nelson Mandela. Which of the following is closest to your view?

Nelson Mandela should be released without any pre-conditions	1	
Nelson Mandela should be released only if he renounces violence	2	
Nelson Mandela should not be released at all	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	52

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION.

Part 5 (Indians)

Human Sciences Research Council

OPINION SURVEY CENTRE

MONITOR SURVEY 1986: RESEARCH ON SOCIO-POLITICAL CHANGE

The Human Sciences Research Council regularly undertakes studies on a wide variety of social matters among all the population groups.

As there have been major changes on the socio-political front in recent times that will influence the future of every individual in the RSA it is imperative that the HSRC also carry out research within this field. However, little is known about the public's views on such changes.

With the aid of this questionnaire the researchers are trying to determine how people in South Africa feel about certain topical issues in this regard. The research is therefore about matters that presently affect all South Africans.

The HSRC's researchers would like to determine how you and other people feel about some of these issues. In order to gather reliable information on these matters in a scientific manner, we would be grateful if you would answer the questionnaire as frankly, comprehensively and clearly as possible.

The area in which you live, and you yourself, have been included in the sample for the purpose of this project in a random way and therefore quite coincidentally.

Your opinion is important in this research. Your name will not be written anywhere on the questionnaire and you need not sign the questionnaire or any other documents. Persons who co-operate thus remain anonymous. The information that you provide will be treated as strictly confidential. It will be processed by computer in such a way that no personal identification will be possible.

The findings of this research will be published.

CARD NUMBER	1	1
RECORD NUMBER		2-5
CO-WORKER NUMBER		6-14

CO-WORKER:

1. PARTS THAT ARE IN ORDINARY TYPE SHOULD BE READ ALOUD TO THE RESPONDENT.
2. PARTS THAT ARE IN ITALICS, MUST NEVER BE READ TO THE RESPONDENT.
3. PARTS THAT ARE TYPED IN CAPITAL LETTERS (WITHIN FRAMES) CONCERN YOU AS CO-WORKER.

1. Sex?

Male	1		
Female	2		15

2. What language do you regard as your home language?

Afrikaans	1	
English	2	
Afrikaans and English	3	
Gujarati	4	
Urdu	5	
Tamil	6	
Telegu	7	
Hindi	8	
Other (specify).....		16

3. What is your age?.....years 17-18

*4. What is your total annual income (before deductions)? If you are married, what is your and your husband/wife's combined annual income?

R4999 and less per year	01	
R5000 – R9999	02	
R10 000 – R14 999	03	
R15 000 – R19 999	04	
R20 000 – R24 999	05	
R25 000 – R29 999	06	
R30 000 – R34 999	07	
R35 000 – R39 999	08	
R40 000 – R59 999	09	
R60 000 and more per year	10	19-20

5. What is your highest educational qualification?

Did not attend school	1	
Standard 3 or lower	2	
Standard 4 or 5	3	
Standard 6 or 7/Form I or II/equivalent qualification	4	
Standard 8 or 9/Form III or IV/equivalent qualification e.g. NTC I or II	5	
Standard 10/Matric/Form V/equivalent qualification e.g. NTC III	6	
Standard 10 and 1 or 2 year's further training (e.g NTC IV/V)	7	
Standard 10 and 1 or 2 year's further training (e.g BA, Nat Dip, etc)	8	
Other (describe qualification).....		21
.....		

6. What is your religion?

None	01	
Hindu	02	
Islam	03	
Christian	04	
Other (specify).....		22
.....		

7. What is your present marital status?

Never married	1	
Married	2	
Divorced/separated	3	
Widow/widower	4	23

8. How do you feel about the general economic situation in South Africa at present? Are you -

Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	24

9. How do you think the general economic situation in South Africa has changed over the last year? Has it -

Improved	Remained the same	Deteriorated	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	25

10. How do you think the general economic situation in South Africa will change over the next year? Will it -

Improve	Remain the same	Deteriorate	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	26

11. How do you feel about the general political situation in South Africa at present? Are you -

Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	27

12. How do you think the general political situation in South Africa has changed over the last year? Will it -

Improve	Remain the same	Deteriorate	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	28

13. How do you think the general political situation in South Africa will change over the next year? Will it -

Improve	Remain the same	Deteriorate	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	29

14. How have your own feelings towards the whites changed in the last year? Are your feelings towards them -

More favourable	Unchanged	Less favourable	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	30

15. How have your own feelings towards the coloureds changed in the last year? Are your feelings towards them -

More favourable	Unchanged	Less favourable	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	31

16. How have your own feelings towards the blacks changed in the last year? Are your feelings towards them -

More favourable	Unchanged	Less favourable	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	32

17. If you today had to choose one person from any population group to lead South Africa politically, who would you choose?

..... 33-34

CO-WORKER: ASK QUESTION 18 ONLY IF RESPONDENT MENTIONED A SPECIFIC NAME AT QUESTION 17

18. Why do you choose.....to lead South Africa politically? (Give your most important reason)

N.a. – did not mention a specific name	00	35-36
.....		

ASK EVERYONE

19. If you today had to choose one person as political leader of the Indians in South Africa, who would you choose?

..... 37-38

20. Personally, how do you feel about the rate at which the government is carrying out its current plans for reform? Do you feel that it is -

Too fast	1	39
Just about right	2	
Too slow	3	
Other (specify).....		
Do not know	4	

CO-WORKER: IF RESPONDENT IS RELUCTANT TO ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTION: WE REALISE THAT THIS QUESTION MAY BE SENSITIVE. HOWEVER, THE RESEARCHERS REQUIRE THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER TO MAKE A THOROUGH SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS OF SOCIO-POLITICAL CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA. REMEMBER, WE ARE NOT INTERESTED IN YOUR NAME OR ADDRESS. THE HSRC NEVER ABUSED ITS RULES OF CONFIDENTIALITY.

21. Which political party or group are you presently inclined to support the most?

..... 40-41

22. What is your attitude towards each of the following laws and policies in South Africa? Must the specific act or policy be abolished, be retained, or do you have mixed feelings about the matter?

	Must be abolished	Must be retained	Have mixed feelings about the matter	Do not know	
(a) The Group Areas Act which prohibits mixed residential areas	1	2	3	4	42
(b) The policy that prescribes separate schools for each population group	1	2	3	4	43
© The Acts that provide for separate amenities for whites and non-whites	1	2	3	4	44
(d) Separate parliamentary voter's rolls for each population group	1	2	3	4	45
(e) The policy that restricts the influx of blacks to the white urban areas	1	2	3	4	46
(f) The policy that blacks are excluded from the present parliament	1	2	3	4	47
(g) The Population Registration Act according to which each person is classified as a member of a specific race or population group	1	2	3	4	48

23. The following acts have recently been abolished. Do you feel that these acts should have been retained, or do you support the abolition of these acts?

	The act should have been retained	Support the abolition of the act	Mixed feelings	Do not know	
(a) The Mixed Marriages Act which prohibited marriages between whites and non-whites	1	2	3	4	49
(b) The section of the Immorality Act which prohibited sexual relations between whites and non-whites	1	2	3	4	50
© The Political Interference Act which prohibited a political party from having members from different population groups	1	2	3	4	51

24. We should like to know more about your views on how South Africa is governed. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. It is usually easiest to decide first whether you agree or disagree, and then to decide how strongly you feel about the matter.

	Do not know enough to have an opinion	Strong- ly agree	Agree	Neutral	Dis- agree	Strongly disagree	
(a) I don't think the government takes any notice of what people like me think.	1	2	3	4	5	6	52
(b) Sometimes politics seems to be so complicated that someone like me cannot understand it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	53
© Almost anyone in South Africa can improve his standard of living if he is willing to work hard.	1	2	3	4	5	6	54
(d) The political future of South Africa looks good.	1	2	3	4	5	6	55
(e) The present central government in South Africa has too much control over the lives of individuals.	1	2	3	4	5	6	56
(f) A person never knows what the government's next step is going to be.	1	2	3	4	5	6	57
(g) When I think of the system of government in South Africa, I feel like an outsider.	1	2	3	4	5	6	58
(h) The government wastes a lot of the tax-payer's money.	1	2	3	4	5	6	59
(i) South Africa is governed by a small minority to their own advantage.	1	2	3	4	5	6	60
(j) The people who govern South Africa are doing a good job.	1	2	3	4	5	6	61
(k) Corruption can be found amongst many civil servants (government officials).	1	2	3	4	5	6	62
(l) My population group has enough political power in South Africa.	1	2	3	4	5	6	63
(m) I have enough political power in South Africa.	1	2	3	4	5	6	64

25. If you were offered a permanent job in a western country today which would give you at least the same income and standard of living as you presently enjoy, to what extent would you consider emigrating from South Africa to accept the job? Would you -

Consider it strongly	1
Consider it	2
Not consider it	3
Under no circumstances consider it	4
Uncertain or do not know	5

65

26. Some people argue that, apart from separate residential areas for each population group, there should also be “open” residential areas where members of any population group can live of their own free will (so-called “grey areas”). To what extent do you agree or disagree with this argument?

Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Strongly disagree	4
Uncertain or do not know	5

66

PROJECT NUMBER	SDAE1R20	73-80
CARD NUMBER	2	1

2-5

27 How would you rate the government's handling of the following national affairs?

	Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	Do not know	
(a) The national economy	1	2	3	4	5	6	6
(b) The protection of South Africa's borders	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
© The combating of terrorism	1	2	3	4	5	6	8
(d) The promotion of good race relations	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
(e) The provision of information to the public on important national affairs.	1	2	3	4	5	6	10
(f) The curbing of inflation	1	2	3	4	5	6	11
(g) The satisfaction of the political needs of blacks in S.A.	1	2	3	4	5	6	12
(h) The maintenance of law and order in black residential areas.	1	2	3	4	5	6	13
(i) The presentation of South Africa's case in the outside world.	1	2	3	4	5	6	14
(j) The provision of information on the true situation in the unrest areas.	1	2	3	4	5	6	15

*28. How would you rate the (Indian) House of Representatives in Parliament's handling of the following affairs:

	Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	Do not know	
(a) Education for Indians	1	2	3	4	5	6	16
(b) Housing for Indians	1	2	3	4	5	6	17
© Job opportunities for Indians	1	2	3	4	5	6	18
(d) Transport services for Indians	1	2	3	4	5	6	19
(e) Health services for Indians	1	2	3	4	5	6	20
(f) Recreation facilities for Indians	1	2	3	4	5	6	21
(g) Care of aged Indians	1	2	3	4	5	6	22
(h) The elimination of discriminatory legislation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	23

29. Generally speaking, how do you think the (Indian) House of Representatives in parliament has fared in the last year?

Extremely well	Well	Averagely	Poorly	Very poorly	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	24

30. Do you think the (coloured) House of Representatives in parliament fared better or worse in the last year than what you expected before the elections for the House in August 1984?

Fared better	1	
Fared worse	2	
Fared neither better nor worse	3	
Do not know	4	25

31. In your opinion, would it have brought more advantages or more disadvantages for the Indians if the new parliament had consisted of one chamber for whites, coloureds and Indians from the start?

More advantages	1	
More disadvantages	2	
Advantages and disadvantages in equal measure	3	
Do not know	4	26

32. If an election for the (Indian) House of Representatives in parliament was held tomorrow, would you participate in such an election?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	27

33. Did you participate in the first election for the (Indian) House of Representatives in August 1984?

Yes	1	
No	2	28

34. How do you think South Africa's State President (PW Botha) has fared, generally speaking, in the last year?

Extremely well	Well	Averagely	Poorly	Very poorly	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	29

35. In your opinion, which organisation, group or person represents the majority of blacks in South Africa?

		30-31
--	--	-------

36. In this question you are asked to give your views on a future under a number of different types of government in South Africa. In each case please choose the word(s) that best describe your views of a future under the specific type of government.

(a) A future under a white government will be:

Excellent	Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	Extremely bad	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	32

(b) A future under a government consisting of whites, coloureds and Indians such as we now have will be:

Excellent	Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	Extremely bad	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	33

© A future under a government consisting of whites, coloureds, Indians and blacks in which none of the groups will be able to dominate the other will be:

Excellent	Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	Extremely bad	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	34

(d) A future under a black majority government will be:

Excellent	Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	Extremely bad	Do not know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	35

37. Do you yourself know enough about the form of government known as federalism to be able to compare it with South Africa's present form of government?

Yes	1	
Know	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	36

38. Do you think that the security forces (such as the Police and Defence Force) have enough control in the urban black areas to maintain law and order?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	37

39. Do you think it is right or wrong that the South African Defence Force help the police maintain law and order in black residential areas during periods of unrest?

Right	1	
Wrong	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	38

40. In your opinion, do the security forces act too hard, too soft or just right against people who protest peacefully (without violence)?

Too hard	1	
Too soft	2	
Just right	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	39

41. In your opinion, do the security forces act too hard, too soft or just right against black rioters who use violence?

Too hard	1	
Too soft	2	
Just right	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	40

42. In your opinion, has the recent unrest caused more division or more unity between Indians and blacks in your area?

More division	1	
More unity	2	
Neither division nor unity	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	41

43. In your opinion, what will achieve more for the Indians in the long run: violence or negotiation?

Violence	1		
Negotiation	2		
Both violence and negotiation	3		
Uncertain or do not know	4		42

44. Some people argue that peace in South Africa will only be possible if the blacks are allowed into the new constitutional system in the same way as the coloureds and Indians. Do you agree or disagree?

Agree	1		
Disagree	2		
Uncertain or do not know	3		43

45. What do you personally think the chances are that South Africa's political problems can be solved peacefully through negotiation? Are the chances -

Very good	1		
Good	2		
Neither good nor bad	3		
Bad	4		
Very bad	5		
Uncertain or do not know	6		44

46. In your opinion, has the new tricameral parliament been a success or a failure up to now?

A success	1		
A failure	2		
Uncertain or do not know	3		45

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED "FAILURE" (CODE 2), ASK QUESTION 47, OTHERWISE CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 48.

54. What is the most important reason why you think the new parliament has been a failure?

N.a. – did not answer code 2	00			
.....				46-47
.....				

ASK EVERYONE

48. Are you in favour of blacks being admitted to the new parliament in the same way as the coloureds and Indians have been admitted?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	48

49. If blacks were admitted to the new parliament in the same way as the coloureds and Indians were admitted, do you think that the blacks will use their numbers to take over the government?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	49

50. In the new parliament the coloureds, Indians, coloureds and whites are represented according to their numbers. If the blacks later also got representation, must they also be represented in the new parliament according to their numbers?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	50

51. Some people argue that the new dispensation still amounts to apartheid for coloureds and Indians. Other people argue that coloureds and Indians are on the threshold of great political progress. Do you think the new dispensation means -

Apartheid still	1	
Political progress	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	51

52. Should the outside world apply an economic boycott against South Africa?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	52

53. There has been talk about releasing Mr Nelson Mandela. Which of the following is closest to your view?

Nelson Mandela should be released without any pre-conditions.	1	
Nelson Mandela should be released only if he renounces violence.	2	
Nelson Mandela should not be released at all	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	53

54. Are you in favour of or opposed to the opening of state-controlled Indian schools to the following population groups?

	In favour	Opposed	Uncertain or do not know	
Whites	1	2	3	54
Coloureds	1	2	3	55
Blacks	1	2	3	56

ASK EVERYONE

55. How much do you trust the state president PW Botha, to carry out his reform promises? Do you trust him -

A lot	1	
A little	2	
Not at all	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	57

56. A number of organisations are currently holding an “indaba” on the future of Natal and KwaZulu. Do you support the idea of joint government between Natal and KwaZulu or not?

Support	1	
Do not support	2	
Uncertain or do not know	3	58

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION.

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I, THE UNDERSIGNED, HEREBY CERTIFY THAT ALL THE QUESTIONS IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE HAVE BEEN PUT TO THE RESPONDENT DURING THE INTERVIEW.

SIGNATURE OF CO-WORKER.....

Indian panel

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 AIM AND BACKGROUND

The survey was conducted to ascertain Indians' attitude to socio-political change. Because of the many changes in recent times such a survey was essential. The investigation concerns subjects that currently affect all South Africans.

It is a monitor survey that is regularly carried out among all four population groups.

The target group in the survey was people 18 years and older.

1.2 AIM OF THIS REPORT

The aim of the report is to

- Provide the project leader concerned with certain details on various aspects of the gathering of the data for the above project.
- Identify certain hiatuses in the sample, if any, and to inform the project leader accordingly.
- Enable the Institute for Statistical Research to take certain decisions regarding the further analysis of the data.

In the report attention is given to the following matters, among other: the sample design, fieldwork, quality control, the realisation of the sample and a summary.

2. SAMPLE DESIGN

This survey was conducted among Indians only. The survey among coloureds and whites was done earlier this year. The project fell directly under the control of the panel and the regional offices.

Use was made of the 1985 data, in other words new addresses were written and new samples drawn. New towns were also included in the sample, while other places such as Vereeniging fell away. Places where work had not been done previously were Springs, Standerton and Pietersburg.

Within every cluster included in the Opinion Survey Centre sample a number of addresses were randomly drawn for the sample.

At every address a respondent was drawn randomly from all those living at the specific address. In this case it was all persons 18 years and older. Those who were not at home for the full duration of the survey were excluded. In other words persons who would not be at home at the address up to and including 7 July, for example those doing military services and students.

Table 2.1 shows how the sample for this survey among Asians was compiled according to economic status and magisterial district.

Table 2.1: PLANNED SAMPLE ACCORDING TO METROPOLE/PROVINCE

	N	%
Wynberg	24	1,59
Port Elizabeth/East London	36	2,38
Durban/Pinetown	936	61,90
Rest of Natal	264	17,46
PWV and East and West Rand	216	14,29
Rest of the Transvaal	36	100,00
	1512	100,00

3. FIELDWORK

3.1 ORGANISATION

The fieldwork was preceded by thorough planning.

3.1.1 Manual

The documents for the training of the interviewers consist of “Instructions for interviewers” and “Questionnaire instructions”. These documents were made available to the interviewers and they served as the basis for their training.

3.1.2 Training

Dr C. de Kock. The project leader, trained the fieldwork organisers. Retaining did not appear necessary. A test questionnaire could not be completed by the white fieldwork organisers as it was not applicable to whites.

The fieldworkers commenced with the training of the interviewers on 10 June. The Johannesburg people had to be trained from scratch as they were new interviewers. They received retraining on 12 June. The same procedure was followed with new interviewers in Krugersdorp, Standerton and Pietersburg. The interviewers in Springs and Pretoria were experienced workers and they consequently required only one thorough training session. The training in the Transvaal was completed on 13 June.

On 16 June Mrs Richards left for East London and Port Elizabeth. She recruited an interviewer in East London and then trained her. She also had to check written addresses to ascertain if they were correct. Subsequently she went to Port Elizabeth to do training there.

Mr Heath and Dr de Kock did the training at the Natal regional office.

The training presented few problems. However our interviewer in Krugersdorp nearly withdrew – we had to go there three times to sort out the situation.

The questionnaire itself did not present any problems. The questions were clearly and frankly stated. The questionnaire was compiled throughout in this way so that the interview could flow smoothly.

3.1.3. The subject

Sociopolitical change is currently a highly topical and pressing subject. This can be seen from the attitude of the respondents to the topic. The information was obtained from the cover questionnaire.

TABLE 3.1: RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDE TO THE SUBJECT

	Indians	
	N	%
Positive	864	73.0
Negative	276	23.3
Neutral	44	3.7

3.1.4 The questionnaire

As already mentioned, the questionnaire was easy. In other words the questions read easily and followed logically on one another.

There were only two follow-up questions in the questionnaire, namely Q. 17/18 and Q. 46/47. In the case of these two questions 00 had to be coded at Q. 18 or 47 if certain responses were obtained to Q. 17 or 46.

There were no printing mistakes in the questionnaire. The language editing was excellent and the questions were clearly and frankly stated.

Many of respondents were afraid of answering the questions because of the state of emergency and instances of general unrest.

The respondents' attitude to the questionnaire are shown in the following table. (Table 3.2)

TABLE 3.2: RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDE TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE

	N	%
Positive	818	68.7
Negative	248	29.2
Neutral	24	2.0

3.1.5 Co-workers

A politically oriented investigation such as this places high demands on interviews.

Many of the interviewers had been recently appointed. Following the availability of the new census data it was decided to work in other places as well. New interviewers therefore had to be recruited.

Certain problems arose as a result of the political content of the questionnaire. Fiery meetings were held in Lenasia in particular, following which houses were looted. The people were frightened, leading to numerous refusals.

Some Indians were "picked up" by the police in Pietersburg, which caused Mr Kalla a number of problems.

The biographical data of the interviewers who were involved in this survey are shown in Table 3.4.3.

TABLE 3.3: BIOGRAPHICAL DATA OF INDIAN INTERVIEWERS

a) Sex					
		Male	Female		
N		10	60		
%		14,3	85,7		
b) Language					
		Afrikaans	English		
N		0	70		
%		0	100		
c) Age					
	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+
N	15	20	23	7	1
%	21,4	28,5	32,8	10	1,4
Average age	34				
d) Marital state					
	Never married	Married	Widow(er)		Divorced
N	13	56	1		0
%	18,6	80,0	1,4		0
e) Qualifications					
	Std8	Std10	Std10+dip	Std10+degree	
N	32	19	9	7	
%	47,8	28,4	13,4	10,4	
f) Occupation					
			N	%	
Professional			2	2,9	
Management/Admin.			6	8,7	
Sales/Clerk			1	1,4	
Transport/Comm. Service			3	4,3	
Farmer			0	0	
Economically inactive			54	78,3	
Mining/Production			0	0	
No occupation			1	1,4	
g) Experience in interviewing					
			N	%	
0 – 9			21	66	
10 – 19			8	13,6	
20 – 29			17	28,9	
30 +			13	22,1	
Average			20	90	

3.1.6 Comments

Provision is made in the cover questionnaire for comments by the interviewer.

TABLE 3.4: CO-WORKER'S COMMENTS ON THE INTERVIEW

ATTITUDE	N	%
Positive	1036	77,5
Negative	289	21,6
Neutral	12	0,9

If a respondent refused to answer the questions provision is made in the cover questionnaire to give reasons for the refusal.

On the basis of the data the following table was drawn up:

TABLE 3.5: REASONS FOR REFUSALS

REASON	N	%
No time	8	8,8
Not interested	50	54,9
Object to the subject	27	29,7
Object to the HSRC	2	2,2
Other	4	4,4
TOTAL	91	100

4 CHECKING

Checks were done in this project. The Natal regional office did 11,25% checks, and the Transvaal regional office 13,49% checks. In Natal mainly personal checks were carried out, while in the Transvaal the checking was mainly telephonic.

In each case that was checked the correctness of the following matters was gone into:

- (i) Whether the interviewer visited the address and whether it was the correct address
- (ii) Whether the interviewer identified himself as being from the HSRC
- (iii) Whether the aim of the visit was explained
- (iv) Whether the number of people living there were 18 years and older
- (v) Whether the matrix was used correctly
- (vi) Whether the respondent understood all the questions

From Tables 4.1 and 4.2 it can be seen what the number and percentage of checks were, as well as the percentage of errors that were found.

TABLE 4.1 NUMBER OF CLUSTERS CHECKED

	N	%
Total number of clusters	126	100
Total number of clusters checked	49	38,88
Total number of respondents	1368	100
Total number of respondents checked	167	12,21

TABLE 4.2: CHECKING OF CORRECT ADDRESS, USE OF MATRIX AND AGE QUALIFICATION

ADDRESS	N	%
a) Correct address	167	100
Wrong address	0	0
b) Matrix correct	167	100
Incorrect	0	0
c) Age correct	167	100
Incorrect	0	0
Wrong respondents	0	0

5. REALISATION

The realisation of the sample is shown in Table 5.1.

TABLE 5.1: REALISATION OF SAMPLES

	N	%
Total sample	1512	100
Completed questionnaires	1368	90,48
Total half completed	1	0,06
No contact after three visits	32	2,12
Refusals	86	5,69
Respondents do not qualify	3	0,20
Incorrect questionnaires and wrong respondents	22	1,46
TOTAL	1512	

According to the table there was a sample realisation of 90,48%. In view of all the problems the refusals did not appear to constitute such a large percentage (5,69%). Most of the respondents who did not qualify was because of language – they could not understand English.

A few incorrect respondents were traced during the checking of the questionnaires. These questionnaires were summarily rejected and were not taken into consideration in the processing of the data.

TABLE 5.2:

METROPOLE/PROVINCE	NUMBER OF QUESTIONNAIRES	%
Peninsula	17	70,8
Rest of the Cape	6	50
P.E.	16	66,7
Durban, Pinetown, Inanda	871	93,1
Rest of Natal	253	48,3
PWV	178	87,3
Rest of the Transvaal	27	75

SUMMARY

Bearing in mind the mentioned circumstances the project proceeded well. The percentage of completed questionnaires was exceptionally high for a questionnaire with a political colouring.

The entire survey was completed within seven weeks, i.e. from the packaging of the material to the sending of the questionnaires to the Computer Centre.

There were few errors in the cover questionnaire – only 27 mistakes were discovered by the computer programs.

Only two errors could be found in the questionnaires.

If a project proceeds like this, it is a pleasure to conduct it.