

Let's start with some questions dealing with age, educational level and such matters.

1. What is your present age?.....years

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 12-13

2. Are you s man or a woman?

Man		
Woman		

 14

3. What is the highest educational qualification you have obtained?

(a) INDICATE HIGHEST STANDARD PASSED AND ADDITIONAL QUALIFICATIONS.

.....

(b) INDICATE BELOW

Std 3 and lower	1	
Std 4 or 5	2	
Std 6	3	
Std 7	4	
Std 8 or 9 or equivalent (e.g. NTC I or NTC II)	5	
Std 10, matriculation or equivalent (e.g. NTC III)	6	
Std 10 and 1 or 2 years' further training (e.g. NTC IV/V or NTD)	7	
Std 10 and 1 or 2 years' further training (e.g. B.A. or Nat. DIP. For Technicians)	8	
Std 10 and 4 or more years' further training (e.g. M.Sc.; B.A. & H.E.D.; B. Arch.; HNDD; etc.)	9	15

4. What is your present occupation?

DESCRIBE JOB AND EMPLOYER FULLY E.G. "CLERK – MUNICIPAL SERVICE" OR "LORRY-DRIVER – RAILWAYS" OR "SHOP-KEEPER – SELF-EMPLOYED"

.....(JOB)

.....(EMPLOYER)

5. INDICATE TYPE OF JOB BELOW

Professional	Educational e.g. teacher, lecturer	01		
	Medical and related e.g. doctor, nurse	02		
	Technical e.g. in laboratory, electronics, plastics	03		
	Other, e.g. attorney, engineer, scientist	04		
Managerial and clerical workers, e.g. clerk, company director, bookkeeper		05		
Salesworker, e.g. shop assistant, petrol-pump attendant, insurance salesman, shop-owner		06		
Transport and communication workers, e.g. lorry-driver, stoker, taxi-driver, telephone operator, bus-driver, postman		07		
Service, sport and recreational work, e.g. chefs, waiters, hairdressers, police		08		
Mining and quarry workers		09		
Artisan and semi-skilled workers	Skilled artisans and apprentices, e.g. painters, plumbers, motor mechanics	10		
	Semi-skilled, e.g. operators	11		
	Semi-skilled, e.g. supervisors and foremen	12		
Labourers (except farm labourers)		13		
Farmers, farm labourers		14		
Housewife		15		
Unemployed: Seeking employment, unfit for work, student, retired		16		16-17

6. In May the President's Council formulated important proposals with regard to constitutional change in South Africa. The proposals deal with, amongst other things, the future political rights of coloureds and Indians. Have you personally heard anything of the proposals made by the President's Council?

Yes	1		
No	2		18

(INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: ONLY IN THE EVENT OF A YES RESPONSE AT QUESTION 6 MUST THE REST OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE BE COMPLETED. IN THE EVENT OF A NO-RESPONSE THE INTERVIEWER MUST BE TERMINATED.)

*7. Are you of the opinion that the proposals of the President's Council contain any benefits for our own population group?

(a) The proposal <u>as a whole</u> contain benefits for our population group	1		
(b) <u>Most</u> of the proposals contain benefits for our population group	2		
© Only a <u>small</u> part of the proposals contain benefits for or population group	3		
(d) The proposals contain <u>no</u> benefits for our population group	4		
(e) Not sure	5		19

8. (INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: THIS QUESTION IS AN OPEN-ENDED QUESTION AND MUST BE ANSWERED ONLY IF THE RESPONDENT IS OF THE OPINION THAT THE PROPOSALS OF THE PRESIDENT’S COUNCIL CONTAIN NO (CODE 4 AT QUESTION) BENEFITS. TICK THE RESPONSE GIVEN BELOW WHICH IS CLOSEST IN MEANING TO THE RESPONDENT’S REPLY, BUT DO NOT REVEAL THE RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES TO THE RESPONDENT.)

Why do you believe that the proposals of the President’s Council contain no benefits for our population group? Give your main reason.

(a) The proposals are nothing more than apartheid dressed up in nice sounding words.	1	
(b) The proposals will not directly benefit me <u>personally</u>	2	
© The benefits that the proposals contain for <u>our own</u> population group are unimportant	3	
(d) The proposals ignore blacks (members of the black race groups)	4	
(e) The proposals will cause the relations between the population groups to deteriorate even further	5	
(f) The President’s Council is a government creation and as such will mainly protect white interests	6	
(g) Other (specify).....	7	20

9. (INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: DO NOT MENTION THE RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES OF QUESTION 9 TO THE RESPONDENT. TICK THE ANSWER WHICH CORRESPONDS WITH THE REPLY GIVEN BY THE RESPONDENT.)

Where, or from whom did you obtain most of your information about the President’s Council’s proposals? In other words, what was your main source of information?

Television	1	
Radio	2	
Newspapers	3	
Magazines	4	
Discussions with relatives, friends or acquaintances	5	
Political leaders or political parties by means of personal talks or meetings arranged by political parties or organizations	6	
Community leaders such as religious leaders, school principals, business leaders, etc.	7	
Different sources in equal measure	8	
Not sure	9	
Other (specify).....		21

*10 At present, members of the President’s Council are not elected but are appointed (nominated) by the government. What is your view on the membership (composition) of the President’s Council? Only one of the following 4 possibilities must be selected. The President’s Council should consist of:

(a) Government appointed members for each population group (as at present)		
(b) Members <u>elected</u> by their own population group on a separate voter's roll		
© Members <u>elected</u> jointly by all three population groups (Whites, coloureds and Indians) on a <u>common</u> voters roll		
(d) Respondent does not know enough of this matter to give an opinion		22

11. (INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: THE RESPONDENT MUST REPLY TO THIS QUESTION IN RESPECT OF HIS/HER OWN COMMUNITY.)

Do you think that the coloured and Indian members of the President's Council represent the views and interests of the majority of these two groups? Please respond only with regard to our own group.

Yes	No	Not sure	
1	2	3	23

12. What is your view on the argument that those blacks (black racial groups) living outside their homelands (for example in Mamelodi, Pretoria, Langa, Cape Town and Soweto, Johannesburg should be represented in the President's Council by their own leaders? (One answer only.)

(a) I agree that blacks outside the homelands must be represented in the President's Council by their own leaders	1	
(b) I do not agree that blacks outside the homelands must be represented in the President's Council by their own leaders.	2	
© Not sure	3	24

*13. (INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: ONLY THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO DO NOT AGREE REGARDING QUESTION 12, MUST REPLY TO QUESTION 13. (ONE ANSWER ONLY))

If, according to your opinion, blacks outside the homelands must not be represented in the current President's Council, in what manner can these black racial groups link up with the South African government? Blacks outside the homelands must link up with the government.

(a) By means of a separate "President's Council" only for blacks	1	
(b) By means of their homeland governments	2	
© By means of their local authorities such as black urban community councils	3	
(d) Respondent does not know how these blacks should link up with the government	4	25

*14. This question relates to the content of the President's Council's proposals. As you understand the proposals, are the following things possible should the proposals be implemented? (You must react to each of the following 5 statements.)

	Yes	No	Respondent does not know enough of this matter to give an opinion	
(a) The provincial councils as they exist at present can be abolished	1	2	3	26
(b) On a regional level, blacks (members of the black racial group) can be represented on regional authorities by blacks. (Regional units are areas that can contain several cities, towns and magisterial districts. The Durban-Pinetown, Western Cape, and the PWV regions are examples of such possible regional units.)	1	2	3	27
© It will be possible for the executive state president of the RSA to rule as a dictator	1	2	3	28
(d) A coloured or Indian will be able to become executive state president of the RSA.	1	2	3	29
(e) Coloureds and Indians who do not have their own local governments will be represented in white local government institutions such as municipalities.	1	2	3	30

*15. As you understand the President's Council proposals, do you think it is possible that these proposals - if carried out – can have the following consequences? You must react with a YES or NO to each of the 5 possible consequences. The proposals will -

	Yes	No	Respondent does not know enough of this matter to give an opinion	
(a) Lead to the abolition of apartheid	1	2	3	31
(b) Pave the way for black participation in the President's Council	1	2	3	32
© It will be possible for the executive state president of the RSA to rule as a dictator	1	2	3	33
(d) A coloured or Indian will be able to become executive state president of the RSA	1	2	3	34
(e) Coloureds and Indians who do not have their own local governments will be represented in white local government institutions such as municipalities	1	2	3	35

16. Do you believe that peace among South Africa's different population groups is impossible without black participation in the President's Council? (In this connection we have in mind mainly those blacks who reside permanently outside the black homelands.)

Yes	No	Not sure	
1	2	3	36

*17. The following statements are often made regarding what the consequences will be should blacks be represented in the President's Council. (Indicate in respect of each of the following statements whether you agree or not.)

Black representation in the President's Council will -

	Yes	No	Not sure	
(a) Lead to the greatest possible measure of peace between all the country's population groups	1	2	3	37
(b) Lead to black domination over the whole of South Africa	1	2	3	38
© Lead to lower living standards	1	2	3	39
(d) Make democratic government in South Africa impossible	1	2	3	40
(e) Threaten law and order	1	2	3	41

*18. As you understand the President's Council's proposals, do you think that the proposals could have the following consequences – that is if these proposals are accepted and carried out by the government? Please indicate in respect of each of the following 4 statements whether you agree with it or not.

	Yes	No	Not sure	
(a) The proposals will cause whites and blacks to drift further apart	1	2	3	42
(b) The proposals will cause blacks to believe that they have been stabbed in the back by the coloureds and Indians	1	2	3	43
© The proposals will have the effect that the Afrikaners will become more acceptable to coloureds and Indians	1	2	3	44
(d) The proposals will motivate the coloureds and Indians to work even harder to equal rights	1	2	3	45

*19. At present it seems as if there is a rightwing (conservative) reaction among whites (especially Afrikaners) – for example the recent “split” in the National Party. Some people argue that the proposals of the President's Council are an important cause of this conservative reaction. In your opinion, what is the connection between the President's Council's proposals and this conservative reaction?)Only one answer must be indicated.)

The proposals of the President's Council -

(a) Are the most important cause of the rightwing (conservative) reaction	1	
(b) Are only partially responsible for the conservative reaction	2	
© Are only to a very small extent responsible for the conservative reaction	3	
(d) There is no connection between the President's Council's proposals and the present conservative reaction among whites	4	46

*20. (INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: THIS QUESTION MUST BE PUT ONLY TO THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE, IN REPLY TO QUESTION 19, INDICATED THEIR BELIEF THAT THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL'S PROPOSALS ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT CAUSE OF THE PRESENT CONSERVATIVE REACTION AMONG WHITES (I.E. CODE 1 AT QUESTION 19.) THREE ANSWERS ARE REQUIRED.

If you believe that the President's Council's proposals are the most important cause of the present conservative reaction among whites, do you believe that this rightwing reaction -

	Yes	No	Not sure	
(a) Is going to force the government to drastically tone down its policy of "moving away from discrimination"	1	2	3	47
(b) Will cause the average coloured/Indian to feel that it is fruitless to co-operate with the government	1	2	3	48
© Convinces you personally that the President's Council is powerless to improve the position of our community	1	2	3	49

*21. According to your opinion, what will the government do with the proposals? (Only one answer must be given.)

The government will -

(a) Accept all the <u>most important</u> proposals	1	
(b) Accept the <u>majority</u> of the most important proposals	2	
© Accept only a <u>minority</u> of the most important proposals	3	
(d) <u>Reject</u> all the most important proposals	4	50

*22. There are people who argue that the President’s Council’s proposals, if they are accepted by the government, will assure a better future for our children. Which one of the following 5 possibilities is the more likely in your opinion?

(a) The future will be <u>much</u> better for our children than at present	1	
(b) The future will be <u>somewhat</u> better for our children than at present	2	
© The implementation of the proposals will have no influence on the future of our children	3	
(d) If put into practice, the proposals will make our children’s future only <u>more insecure</u>	4	
(e) If put into practice, the proposals will have an extremely <u>bad effect</u> on our children’s future	5	51

23. (INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: THIS IS AN OPEN-ENDED QUESTION. TICK THE RESPONSE BELOW THAT CORRESPONDS WITH THE RESPONDENT’S ANSWER.)

In your effort to improve your own living standards, what would you personally identify as your greatest immediate need?

(a) Better job opportunities	01	
(b) Better quality housing	02	
© Better transport service	03	
(d) Occupational training for yourself	04	
(e) Better educational facilities for your children	05	
(f) Better health services	06	
(g) Better sports and recreational facilities	07	
(h) More effective crime prevention in your area	08	
(i) The abolition of laws such as the Immorality Act, the Groups Areas Act, Mixed Marriages Act, the Population Registration Act, etc.	09	
(j) Equal local government rights with whites	10	
(k) Equal political rights with whites with regard to parliamentary representation	11	
(l) Other (specify).....		52-53

*24. Which of the following government measures do you personally feel to be the most hurtful? Please indicate the one measure which you experience as most hurtful as well as the one that you regard to be the least hurtful.

	24(a) Most	24(b) Least	
(a) The effect of the Group Areas Act	1	1	
(b) The Immorality Act	2	2	
© The Mixed Marriages Act	3	3	
(d) The fact that all population groups are not represented in Parliament	4	4	
(e) The Population Registration Act	5	5	
(f) Measures which enforce separate sports and recreational facilities	6	6	
(g) Unequal local government rights	7	7	
(h) Separate schools for the various population groups	8	8	24(a) 54
(i) The removal of coloured/Indian businesses from central town and city areas	9	9	24(b) 55

25. (INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: THIS IS AN OPEN-ENDED QUESTION. TICK THE ANSWER GIVEN BELOW THAT CORRESPONDS WITH THE RESPONDENT'S REACTION. DO NOT SHOW THE POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO THE RESPONDENT.)

If you wish to improve your own personal standards and general living conditions, what, in your opinion, will be the single most effective means to bring this about?

(a) Harder work	1	
(b) An increase in your occupational qualifications and/or educational standards	2	
© Active participation in your own community's local government affairs	3	
(d) Greater participation in party-political activities in your own community	4	
(e) The respondent's active efforts to help his own community to attain representation in parliament on the basis of political equality with whites	5	
(f) Participation in protest actions	6	
(g) Other (specify).....		56

*26. Do you think that the following activities (actions) may help our own population group to obtain equal political rights with whites? Please react to each of the following 8 lines of action. Our community's chances of achieving equal political rights with whites can be improved by means of the following:

	Yes	No	Not sure	
(a) If our population group joins hands with the blacks in order to form a united front against the present government	1	2	3	57
(b) Expanding and strengthening the party-political organizations of our own population group	1	2	3	58
© Stronger and more active involvement of our religious organizations or churches in efforts to achieve political equality with whites	1	2	3	59
(d) Increasing co-operation with the present government	1	2	3	60 61 62 63
(e) Active protest by means of <u>non-violent</u> actions such as strikes, boycotts, protest marches, demonstrations, etc.	1	2	3	
(f) To remain <u>passive</u> , hoping that things may improve for the better.	1	2	3	
(g) By <u>supporting</u> proposals such as those formulated by the President's Council.	1	2	3	
(h) Other (specify).....	1	2	3	64

(INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: IF THE RESPONDENT HAS REPLIED YES TO QUESTION 7(a) OR (b) OR (c), HE/SHE MUST ALSO ANSWER QUESTION 27. PLEASE ASSURE THAT THIS HAPPENS BY REFERRING BACK TO QUESTION 7.)

27. It is being said that the benefits that the President's Council's proposals hold for our population group are mainly the result of protest actions occurring within our community. In other words, any benefits contained in the President's Council's proposals are the result of pressure, by means of protest actions, that our community has over the years applied to the government. Do you agree?

N.a.	Yes	No	Not sure	
0	1	2	3	65

28. If coloureds/Indians were to receive representation in parliament, in which of the following 3 ways should this representation be organized? Please indicate the method that you favour personally? (One answer only.)

(a) By means of coloured/Indian members <u>appointed</u> (nominated) by the present government to represent their <u>own population groups</u>	1	
(b) By means of representatives selected by their <u>own population groups</u> voting on separate voter's rolls	2	
© By means of members elected <u>jointly</u> by whites, coloureds and Indians on a <u>common</u> voter's roll	3	
(d) Not sure	4	67

RECORD NUMBER					68-71
PROJECT NUMBER	090703001				72-80
	0	2			1-2

29. (INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: THIS QUESTION IS AN OPEN-ENDED QUESTION AND THE RESPONDENT'S REACTION MUST BE MARKED OFF AGAINST THE ALTERNATIVES PROVIDED, WITHOUT THESE ALTERNATIVES BEING MENTIONED TO THE RESPONDENT.)

How do you expect our community will react in the event of those proposals by the President's Council that you regard as the more important ones, being rejected by the government? In your view, which of the following reactions will occur most often in your community? Please mention the one kind of reaction that, in your opinion will occur most often.

Our community:

(a) Will remain passive, without doing anything	1	
(b) Will participate more actively in the political activities of his/her own population group	2	
(c) Will ask for more opportunities to discuss grievances with the government	3	
(d) Will co-operate with blacks in order to obtain more rights	4	
(e) Will participate in mostly non-violent (peaceful) protest actions such as boycotts, demonstrations, strikes, etc.	5	
(f) Not sure	6	
Other (specify).....		3

*30. In the discussions that have been taking place around the President's Council's proposals, the term consociational democracy (consociation, for short) has often cropped up. The term is used to indicate the general political/constitutional system expected to eventually replace the present Westminster parliamentary system.

(a) Have you previously heard of this concept?

Yes	No	Not sure	
1	2	3	4

(INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: ONLY THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE ANSWERED "YES" TO QUESTION 30 (a) MUST ANSWER QUESTION 30 (b).)

(b) Do you think that you understand enough of the concept (consociation) to have an opinion of its broad meaning?

Yes	No	Not sure	
1	2	3	5

(INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: ONLY THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE ANSWERED “YES” TO QUESTION 30(b) MUST ALSO ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTION.)

© As you understand the word “consociation” (or consociational democracy), could a consociational system contain the following principles? (Please react to each of the following 6 principles.)

	Yes	No	Not sure/does not know	
(a) Autonomy (self-determination) for each population group	1	2	3	6
(b) A coalition (active co-operation) of the leaders of the different population groups	1	2	3	7
© Parliamentary representation for all based on each group’s numerical strength	1	2	3	8
(d) The right of each group to veto (block) legislation harmful to its own interests	1	2	3	9
(e) One man-one vote linked to a common voter’s roll	1	2	3	10
(f) The abolition of group rights and the recognition of only a single S.A. identity – in other words, all are identified as South Africans only.	1	2	3	11

RECORD NUMBER					68-71
PROJECT NUMBER	090703001				72-80

I the undersigned hereby certify that all the questions in the questionnaire have been asked to the respondent during the interview.

SIGNATURE: CO-WORKER.....

Let's start with some questions dealing with age, educational level and such matters.

1. What is your present age?.....years

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 12-13

2. Are you s man or a woman?

Man		
Woman		

 14

3. What is the highest educational qualification you have obtained?

(a) INDICATE HIGHEST STANDARD PASSED AND ADDITIONAL QUALIFICATIONS.

.....

(b) INDICATE BELOW

Std 3 and lower	1	
Std 4 or 5	2	
Std 6	3	
Std 7	4	
Std 8 or 9 or equivalent (e.g. NTC I or NTC II)	5	
Std 10, matriculation or equivalent (e.g. NTC III)	6	
Std 10 and 1 or 2 years' further training (e.g. NTC IV/V or NTD)	7	
Std 10 and 1 or 2 years' further training (e.g. B.A. or Nat. DIP. For Technicians)	8	
Std 10 and 4 or more years' further training (e.g. M.Sc.; B.A. & H.E.D.; B. Arch.; HNDDT; etc.)	9	15

4. What is your present occupation?

DESCRIBE JOB AND EMPLOYER FULLY E.G. "CLERK – MUNICIPAL SERVICE" OR "LORRY-DRIVER – RAILWAYS" OR "SHOP-KEEPER – SELF-EMPLOYED"

.....(JOB)
(EMPLOYER)

5. INDICATE TYPE OF JOB BELOW

Professional	Educational e.g. teacher, lecturer	01		
	Medical and related e.g. doctor, nurse	02		
	Technical e.g. in laboratory, electronics, plastics	03		
	Other, e.g. attorney, engineer, scientist	04		
Managerial and clerical workers, e.g. clerk, company director, bookkeeper		05		
Salesworker, e.g. shop assistant, petrol-pump attendant, insurance salesman, shop-owner		06		
Transport and communication workers, e.g. lorry-driver, stoker, taxi-driver, telephone operator, bus-driver, postman		07		
Service, sport and recreational work, e.g. chefs, waiters, hairdressers, police		08		
Mining and quarry workers		09		
Artisans and semi-skilled workers	Skilled artisans and apprentices, e.g. painters, plumbers, motor mechanics	10		
	Semi-skilled, e.g. operators	11		
	Semi-skilled, e.g. supervisors and foremen	12		
Labourers (except farm labourers)		13		
Farmers, farm labourers		14		
Housewife		15		
Unemployed: Seeking employment, unfit for work, student, retired		16		16-17

6. In May the President's Council formulated important proposals with regard to constitutional change in South Africa. The proposals deal with, amongst other things, the future political rights of coloureds and Indians. Have you personally heard anything of the proposals made by the President's Council?

Yes	1		
No	2		18

(INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: CONTINUE WITH THE REST OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE ONLY IN THE CASE OF A "YES" RESPONSE.)

7. (INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: DO NOT MENTION THE RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES TO THE RESPONDENT. TICK THE ANSWER WHICH CORRESPONDS WITH THE REPLY GIVEN BY THE RESPONDENT.)

Where, or from whom did you obtain most of your information about the President's Council's proposals? In other words, what was your main source of information?

Television	1	
Radio	2	
Newspapers	3	
Magazines	4	
Discussions with relatives, friends or acquaintances	5	
Political leaders or political parties by means of personal talks or meetings arranged by political parties or organizations	6	
Community leaders such as religious leaders, school principals, business leaders, etc.	7	
Different sources in equal measure	8	
Not sure	9	
Other (specify).....		19-20

*8 At present, members of the President's Council are not elected but are appointed by the government. What is your view on the membership of the President's Council? Only one of the following 4 possibilities must be selected. The President's Council should consist of:

The President's Council should consist of:

(a) Representatives of each population group as <u>appointed</u> by the government (as at present)	1	
(b) Members elected by their own population group on a <u>separate voter's roll</u>	2	
© Members <u>elected jointly</u> by all three population groups (whites, coloureds and Indians) on a <u>common voter's roll</u>	3	
(d) Respondent does not know enough of this matter to give an opinion	4	21

9. What is your view on the argument that those blacks living outside their homelands (for example in Mamelodi, Pretoria, Langa, Cape Town and Soweto, Johannesburg should be represented in the President's Council by their own leaders? (One answer only.)

(a) I agree that blacks outside the homelands must be represented in the President's Council by their own leaders	1	
(b) I do not agree that blacks outside the homelands must be represented in the President's Council by their own leaders.	2	
© Not sure	3	22

*10. (INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: ONLY THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO DO NOT AGREE REGARDING QUESTION 9, MUST REPLY TO QUESTION 10. (ONE ANSWER ONLY))

If, according to your opinion, blacks outside the homelands must not be represented in the current President's Council, in what manner can these blacks link up with the South African government? (One answer.)

Blacks outside the homelands must link up with the government:

(a) By means of a separate "President's Council" only for blacks	1	
(b) By means of their homeland governments	2	
© By means of their local authorities such as black urban community councils	3	
(d) Respondent does not know how these blacks should link up with the government	4	23

*11. This question relates to the content of the President's Council's proposals. As you understand the proposals, are the following things possible, should the proposals be accepted and implemented by the government? (You must react to each of the following 5 statements.)

	Yes	No	Respondent does not know enough of this matter to give an opinion	
(a) The provincial councils as they exist at present can be abolished	1	2	3	24
(b) On a regional level, blacks (members of the black racial group) can be represented on regional authorities by blacks. (Regional units are areas that can contain several cities, towns and magisterial districts. The Durban-Pinetown, Western Cape, and the PWV regions are examples of such possible regional units.)	1	2	3	25
© It will be possible for the executive state president of the RSA to rule as a dictator	1	2	3	26
(d) A coloured or Indian will be able to become executive state president of the RSA.	1	2	3	27
(e) A coloured or Indian will be able to become Minister of National Education	1	2	3	28
(f) Coloureds and Indians who do not have their own local governments will be represented in white local government institutions such as municipalities	1	2	3	29

*12. As you understand the President's Council proposals, do you think it is possible that these proposals – if accepted by the government and carried out – can have the following consequences? You must react with a “YES” or “NO” to each of the 5 possible consequences.

The acceptance and implementation of the proposals:

	Yes	No	Does not know enough of the matter to give an opinion	
(a) Will lead to the abolition of apartheid	1	2	3	30
(b) Will pave the way for black participation in the President's Council	1	2	3	31
© Will cause colour to play a smaller role in South African society	1	2	3	32
(d) Will bring about the abolition of discriminatory legislation such as the Immorality Act, etc.	1	2	3	33
(e) Will lead to a greater willingness among whites than at present to accept coloureds and Indians as equal South African citizens	1	2	3	34

13. Do you believe that peace among South Africa's different population groups is impossible without black participation in the President's Council? (In this connection we have in mind mainly those blacks who reside permanently outside the black homelands.)

Yes	No	Not sure	
1	2	3	35

*14. The following statements are often made regarding what the consequences will be should blacks be represented in the President's Council. (Indicate in respect of each of the following statements whether you agree or not.)

Black representation in the President's Council will -

	Yes	No	Not sure	
(a) Lead to the greatest possible measure of peace between all the country's population groups	1	2	3	36
(b) Lead to black domination over the whole of South Africa	1	2	3	37
© Lead to lower living standards	1	2	3	38
(d) Make democratic government in South Africa impossible	1	2	3	39
(e) Threaten law and order	1	2	3	40

15. As you understand the President's Council's proposals, do you think that the proposals could have the following consequences – that is if these proposals are accepted and carried out by the government? Please indicate in respect of each of the following 2 statements whether you agree with it or not.

	Yes	No	Not sure	
(a) The proposals will cause whites and blacks to drift further apart	1	2	3	41
(b) The proposals will cause blacks to believe that they have been stabbed in the back by the coloureds and Indians	1	2	3	42

*16. At present it seems as if there is a rightwing (conservative) reaction among whites (especially Afrikaners) – for example the recent “split” in the National Party. Some people argue that the proposals of the President's Council are an important cause of this conservative reaction. In your opinion, what is the connection between the President's Council's proposals and this conservative reaction? Only one answer must be indicated.)

The proposals of the President's Council -

(a) Is the <u>most important</u> cause of the rightwing (conservative) reaction	1	
(b) Is only <u>partially</u> responsible for the conservative reaction	2	
© Is only to a <u>very small extent</u> responsible for the conservative reaction	3	
(d) There is <u>no connection</u> between the President's Council's proposals and the present conservative reaction among whites	4	43

*17. What will the government do with the proposals? (Only one answer must be given.)

In my opinion the government will:

(a) Accept all the <u>most important</u> proposals	1	
(b) Accept the <u>most</u> of the most important proposals	2	
© Accept only a <u>few</u> of the most important proposals	3	
(d) <u>Reject</u> all the most important proposals	4	44

*18. If coloureds and Indians were to receive representation in parliament, in which of the following ways should this representation be organised? Please indicate the method that you favour personally. (One answer only.)

Coloureds and Indians should be represented in parliament:

(a) By means of coloured/Indian members <u>appointed</u> by the government to represent their <u>own population groups</u>	1	
(b) By means of representatives <u>elected</u> by their <u>own population groups</u> voting on <u>separate voter's rolls</u>	2	
© By means of representatives <u>elected jointly</u> by whites, coloureds and Indians on a <u>common voter's roll</u>	3	
(d) I am totally opposed to the idea that coloureds and Indians are represented in parliament by their own leaders	4	
(e) Not sure		45

19. It is said that the proposals of the President's Council have stimulated expectations among coloureds and Indians that will put white interests under increasing pressure. Do you agree?

Yes	No	Not sure	
1	2	3	46

20. It is being said in certain circles that the proposals of the President's Council provide for some form of power sharing between whites, coloureds and Indians. It is also being said that if these proposals were to be carried out, this power sharing will become the "foot in the door" which will eventually lead to whites in the RSA also sharing power with blacks living outside the homelands.

What is your view on this matter? (One answer only.)

(a) I <u>agree</u> that the proposals of the President's Council – if implemented – will eventually lead to power sharing between whites and blacks in the RSA.	1	
(b) I <u>do not agree</u> that the proposals of the President's Council – if implemented – will eventually lead to power-sharing between whites and blacks in the RSA	2	
© Not sure	3	47

*21. Do you feel you have a good understanding of the most important proposals of the President's Council. (One answer only.)

(a) I am sure I have a good understanding of <u>all</u> the most important proposals of the President's Council?	1	
(b) I am sure I have a clear understanding of only <u>some</u> proposals of the President's Council	2	
© I feel I have only a <u>vague, general</u> understanding of the proposals of the President's Council	3	
(d) I <u>do not understand</u> the proposals of the President's Council at all	4	48

22. Have you tried to understand at least the most important aspects of the proposals of the President's Council?

Yes	No	
1	2	49

*23. (INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: ONLY THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE ANSWERED "YES" IN RESPECT OF QUESTION 22 MUST REPLY TO QUESTION 23. A REACTION TO ALL THREE QUESTIONS IS REQUIRED.)

If you have answered with a "Yes" to question 22, do you believe:

	Yes	No	Not sure	
(a) That the proposals have been formulated in such a manner that they are clear and understandable to most people.	1	2	3	50
(b) That the proposals have been presented and described in such technical and complex terms that only specialists and experts can understand them	1	2	3	51
© That the proposals have been presented and described in such a manner that even specialists and experts differ about their meaning	1	2	3	52

*24. Some people believe that the proposals of the President's Council, if accepted and implemented by the government, will lead to more violence and protest among coloureds and Indians. Others say that the proposals will in fact lead to less violence and protest. Which one of the following reactions do you expect will occur?

If accepted and carried out, I expect that the proposals of the President's Council...

(a) Will lead to an <u>increase</u> in protest action among coloureds and Indians	1	
(b) Will lead to a <u>decrease</u> in protest action among coloureds and Indians	2	
© Will have no influence on the level and extent of protest action that is already present in the coloured and Indian communities	3	
(d) Not sure	4	53

25. What is your view on the argument that coloureds and Indians generally regard the benefits contained in some of the proposals of the President's Council as proof that protest actions such as boycotts and strikes are effective. (One answer only.)

(a) I agree that coloureds/Indians generally regard the proposals as proof that protest actions are effective	1	
(b) I do not agree that coloureds/Indians generally regard the proposals as proof that protest actions are effective	2	
© Not sure	3	54

*26. In your opinion, how did the mass media (especially the newspapers and television) handle the proposals of the President's Council? Certain questions in this connection are now going to be put to you, three relating to the newspapers and three relating to TV.

(i) With regard to the newspaper in which you found most of your information about the proposals; did you yourself find this newspaper's coverage of the proposals:

	Yes	No	Not sure	
(a) Sufficiently full and clear	1	2	3	55
(b) Generally understandable	1	2	3	56
© Generally so objective that it could not be regarded as propaganda for any political party	1	2	3	57

(ii) Did you yourself regard the TV coverage of the proposals as:

	Yes	No	Not sure	
(a) Sufficiently full and clear	1	2	3	58
(b) Generally understandable	1	2	3	59
© Generally so objective that it could not be regarded as propaganda for any political party	1	2	3	60

27. The President's Council enjoys enough support among whites generally to make a valuable contribution towards better relations among South Africa's different population groups. Do you agree with this statement or not?

Agree	Disagree	Not sure	
1	2	3	61

28. Do you regard the proposals of the President's Council as a form of power sharing in the sense that whites, coloureds and Indians decide jointly on matters that affect them all, in other words matters that affect all South Africans, for example national roads, law and order, foreign affairs, defence, taxation, telecommunications, health, state finance, etc.

Yes	No	Not sure	
1	2	3	62

*29. (INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: ONLY THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE ANSWERED YES WITH REGARD TO QUESTION 28, MUST ANSWER THIS QUESTION.)

If you have answered Yes to Question 28, how do you personally feel about the possible consequences of power sharing? Please react to each of the following statements:

Power sharing among whites, coloureds and Indians as described in Question 28 -

	Agree	Do not agree	Not sure	
(a) Is the "foot in the door" for the coloureds and Indians (and later also for blacks) which will eventually mean the end of the whites' control over their own affairs (white self-determination)	1	2	3	63
(b) Can be implemented in practice as a means of ensuring peace among whites, coloureds & Indians	1	2	3	64

*30. Some people are of the opinion that peace between the whites and the black nations of South Africa can be ensured only if the political sovereignty (final political control over own affairs) of each national group is concentrated in a separate geographical area. Please answer the following two questions in this regard:

Do you agree -

	Agree	Do not agree	Not sure	
(a) That large-scale conflict between <u>whites</u> and <u>blacks</u> in South Africa can be avoided only if the political sovereignty of the two races is separated <u>geographically</u>	1	2	3	65
(b) That the whites can successfully protect their vital interests (such as their identity, physical safety and possessions) if they continue to live in the same state (the RSA) with blacks	1	2	3	66

1&2

				68-71
090703001				72-80
			02	1-2

31. What will your own reaction be if the more important proposals of the President's Council are accepted and carried out by the government? Please select one from the following four reactions.

(a) Will welcome this decision by the government as a step forward	1	
(b) Do not like the proposals of the President's Council but am willing to give the proposals a chance to see if they are going to work in practice	2	
(c) Will passively accept the government's decision because I realise there is nothing that I can do about it	3	
(d) Will reject and oppose the government's decision	4	
(e) Not sure	5	3

*32. Should the government accept and put into practice the more important proposals of the President's Council, which one of the following reactions would apply to you personally:

(a) I would participate more actively in party-political matters <u>to oppose</u> changes such as those proposed by the President's Council	1	
(b) I would participate more actively in party-political matters <u>to support</u> changes such as those proposed by the President's Council	2	
(c) Changes such as those proposed by the President's Council in May will not influence me to become <u>more or less</u> involved in party-politics	3	
(d) Not sure	4	4

*33. In the discussions that have been taking place around the President's Council's proposals, the term "consociational democracy" (consociation, for short) has often cropped up. The term is used to indicate the general political/constitutional system expected to eventually replace the present Westminster parliamentary system.

(a) Have you previously heard of this concept?

Yes	No	Not sure	
1	2	3	5

(INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: ONLY THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE ANSWERED "YES" TO QUESTION 33 (a) MUST ANSWER QUESTION 33 (b).)

(b) Do you think that you understand enough of the concept (consociation) to have an opinion of its broad meaning?

Yes	No	Not sure	
1	2	3	6

(INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: ONLY THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE ANSWERED “YES” TO QUESTION 33(b) MUST ALSO ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTION.)

© As you understand the word “consociation” (or consociational democracy), could a consociational system contain the following principles? (Please react to each of the following 6 principles.)

	Yes	No	Not sure	
(a) Autonomy (self-determination) for each population group	1	2	3	7
(b) A coalition (active co-operation) of the leaders of the different population groups	1	2	3	8
© Parliamentary representation for all based on each group’s numerical strength	1	2	3	9
(d) The right of each group to veto (block) legislation harmful to its own interests	1	2	3	10 11 12
(e) One-man-one-vote linked to a common voter’s roll	1	2	3	
(f) The abolition of group rights and the recognition of only a single S.A. identity – in other words, all are identified as South Africans only.	1	2	3	

RECORD NUMBER					68-71
PROJECT NUMBER	090703001				72-80

I the undersigned hereby certify that all the questions in the questionnaire have been asked to the respondent during the interview.

SIGNATURE: CO-WORKER.....

Let's start with some questions dealing with age, educational level and such matters.

1. What is your present age?.....years

--	--

 15-16

2. Are you s man or a woman?

Man		
Woman		

 17

3. What is the highest educational qualification you have obtained?

(a) INDICATE HIGHEST STANDARD PASSED AND ADDITIONAL QUALIFICATIONS.

.....

(b) INDICATE BELOW

Std 3 and lower	1	
Std 4 or 5	2	
Std 6	3	
Std 7	4	
Std 8 or 9 or equivalent (e.g. NTC I or NTC II)	5	
Std 10, matriculation or equivalent (e.g. NTC III)	6	
Std 10 and 1 or 2 years' further training (e.g. NTC IV/V or NTD)	7	
Std 10 and 1 or 2 years' further training (e.g. B.A. or Nat. DIP. For Technicians)	8	
Std 10 and 4 or more years' further training (e.g. M.Sc.; B.A. & H.E.D.; B. Arch.; HNDD; etc.)	9	18

4. What is your present occupation?

DESCRIBE JOB AND EMPLOYER FULLY E.G. "CLERK – MUNICIPAL SERVICE" OR "LORRY-DRIVER – RAILWAYS" OR "SHOP-KEEPER – SELF-EMPLOYED"

.....(JOB)

.....(EMPLOYER)

5. INDICATE TYPE OF JOB BELOW

Professional	Educational e.g. teacher, lecturer	01	
	Medical and related e.g. doctor, nurse	02	
	Technical e.g. in laboratory, electronics, plastics	03	
	Other, e.g. attorney, engineer, scientist	04	
Managerial and clerical workers, e.g. clerk, company director, bookkeeper		05	
Salesworker, e.g. shop assistant, petrol-pump attendant, insurance salesman, shop-owner		06	
Transport and communication workers, e.g. lorry-driver, stoker, taxi-driver, telephone operator, bus-driver, postman		07	
Service, sport and recreational work, e.g. chefs, waiters, hairdressers, police		08	
Mining and quarry workers		09	
Artisans and semi-skilled workers	Skilled artisans and apprentices, e.g. painters, plumbers, motor mechanics	10	
	Semi-skilled, e.g. operators	11	
	Semi-skilled, e.g. supervisors and foremen	12	
Labourers (except farm labourers)		13	
Farmers, farm labourers		14	
Housewife		15	
Unemployed: Seeking employment, unfit for work, student, retired		16	19-20

6. On behalf of the government, the Prime Minister announced in Bloemfontein on 30 July a number of “guidelines” for constitutional reform. These guidelines, which have now become part of the official policy of the National Party government, may lead to important changes in South Africa’s system of government.

If you look at the Prime Minister’s guidelines in general and you have to express a general opinion on them, would you say that you -

(a) Support the guidelines in general	1	
(b) Reject the guidelines in general	2	
© Do not know enough of the guidelines or are not interested enough in them to express an opinion	3	21

(INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: ONLY THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE SELECTED EITHER (A) OR (B) UNDER QUESTION 6 MUST ANSWER QUESTION 7.

7. This question also deals with the degree of support or rejection of the Prime Minister's guidelines for constitutional and government reform.

If you consider the following viewpoints, which one of them comes closest to your own viewpoint?

The Prime Minister's guidelines -

(a) <u>Should be supported in general</u> since they seem to be the best way to create good relations among the whites, coloureds and Indians	1	
(b) Do not go far enough to satisfy the political needs of the coloureds and Indians and therefore only that <u>part</u> of the guidelines that will really bring about more political rights for my people should be supported	2	
© Should be <u>entirely rejected</u> since the guidelines do not provide for the participation in the government of those blacks (formerly known as "Bantu") who live outside their own homelands	3	
(d) Should be <u>entirely rejected</u> since the guidelines do not nearly satisfy the political needs of my own people	4	22

8. React to each of the following five viewpoints by indicating whether you agree or not.

If you think of the Prime Minister's guidelines in general, do you agree that they:

	Agree	Do not agree	Not sure	
(a) Are merely apartheid dressed up in fine sounding words	1	2	3	23
(b) Will be of no direct benefit for me personally	1	2	3	24
© Will cause the relations between the whites, coloureds, Indians and blacks to deteriorate.	1	2	3	25
(d) Will have benefits for my own population group but the political dominance (superiority) of the whites will remain	1	2	3	26
(e) Will enable my people to participate in the central government	1	2	3	27

9. The Prime Minister's guidelines make provision for a single parliament consisting of three chambers – one for whites, one for coloureds, and one for Indians. Each population group will, in its own chamber, take decisions on those matters that effect that group only (own affairs). On matters that effect all three the population groups in equal measure (common affairs) the three population groups will make joint decisions. The guidelines also provide for a "mixed" cabinet consisting of whites, coloureds and Indians.

With regard to the Prime minister's guidelines for a mixed white, coloured and Indian parliament and cabinet, do you think it is possible that these guidelines may have the following consequences?

You must react to each of the following six possibilities.

The guidelines, if implemented: -

	Agree	Do not agree	Not sure/ do not know	
(a) Would be a form of power-sharing among whites, coloureds and Indians but with the whites still in the dominating political position	1	2	3	28
(b) Would lead to the speedy repeal of laws such as the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act	1	2	3	29
© Would lead to deep divisions and splits among the whites as a result of differences over a “mixed” (multi-racial) government	1	2	3	30
(d) Could cause large-scale conflict and confrontation between <u>whites and blacks</u> (known earlier as (“Bantu”)) because the guidelines do not provide for black participation in the new system of government	1	2	3	31
(e) Would definitely lead to improved relations between my own population group and the whites	1	2	3	32
(f) Would lead to power-sharing that would give the whites, coloureds and Indians equal political rights	1	2	3	33

10. According to the Prime Minister’s guidelines for government reform, blacks who live outside their homelands will not be represented in the central government (e.g. parliament, the President’s Council, the cabinet, etc.). How do you personally feel about this arrangement?

Do you think that the exclusion of blacks from these government bodies -

(a) Is the correct decision	1	
(b) A wrong decision	2	
© Not sure or do not know	3	34

INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: ONLY RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE INDICATED (A) UNDER QUESTION 10 MUST ANSWER QUESTION 11.

11. Do you think that the exclusion of blacks from South Africa’s system of government is the correct decision -

	Yes	No	Not sure or do not know	
(a) Since blacks have political rights that they exercise through the black homelands				35
(b) Since the massive numerical superiority of the blacks would enable them to dominate the central government bodies (e.g. Parliament)				36
© Since (any other reason than (a) or (b)).....				37

INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: ONLY RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE INDICATED (B) UNDER QUESTION 10 MUST ANSWER 12.

12. Do you think that the exclusion of blacks from South Africa’s system of government is the wrong decision -

	Yes	No	Not sure or do not know	
(a) Since it would cause the blacks to think that my community has stabbed the blacks in the back				38
(b) Since permanent peace would not be possible in South Africa if blacks were not represented in the central government				39
© Since (any other reason than (a) or (b)).....				40

INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: THIS QUESTION MUST BE ANSWERED BY COLOURED RESPONDENTS ONLY.

13. People often argue about the name that should be given to our population group. With a view to representation in the proposed new parliament and new government, which name do you personally favour for our group? (One answer only).

My group should be represented in the new government: -

(a) As the coloured community	1	
(b) As South Africans	2	
© As “Bruinmense”	3	
(d) As Blacks	4	
(e) Not sure or do not know	5	
(f) Other – specify	6	
(g) N.a. – member of the Indian population group	7	41

14. If a new three chamber parliament is created in which the whites, coloureds and Indians are represented according to their population numbers, will you personally participate in elections to elect your group’s parliamentary representatives?

Yes	No	Not sure or do not know	
1	2	3	42

15. Does the fact that the government’s new policy now makes it easier for your people to elect your own representatives to parliament give you more confidence in the present government?

Yes	No	Not sure or do not know	
1	2	3	43

16. According to the Prime Minister’s guidelines for constitutional reform, the Electoral College that will appoint the new president will consist of persons who are members of the three chambers of the proposed new parliament. The number of members from each chamber will be: 50 members from the white chamber, 25 members from the coloured chamber, and 13 members from the Indian chamber. The three chambers of the new parliament will also elect 35 members of the President’s Council. The 35 members of the President’s Council elected by the three chambers of the new parliament, will consist of 20 whites, 10 coloureds and 5 Indians. These numerical ratios (50: 25: 13 and 20: 10: 5) are roughly the same as the ratios that we get when we compare the present size of the three population groups. How do you personally feel about these numerical ratios as proposed for the new electoral College and President’s Council?

Please react to each one of the following statements:

These numerical ratios are a formula for power-sharing:

	Agree	Do not agree	Not sure/ do not know	
(a) That will give my population group political power in the central government (e.g. parliament and the cabinet) according to the present size of our population	1	2	3	44
(b) That must be changed as the population sizes of the whites, coloureds and Indians change (e.g. if the <u>combined numbers</u> of the coloureds and Indians become greater than the population size of the whites)	1	2	3	45
© That is acceptable to me <u>personally</u> as long as the representation of my group in parliament and the government is <u>increased</u> if our number grow faster than those of the whites	1	2	3	46
(d) That clearly proves that political power in South Africa is determined by the numerical size of the population groups	1	2	3	47

17. Do you think that the political leaders in our community should negotiate with the government so that they can get the greatest possible benefits from the government's new policy?

Yes	No	Not sure or do not know	
1	2	3	48

18. According to the Prime Minister's guidelines a difference is made between the "own" affairs of a specific group and the common or joint affairs of all the population groups. Own affairs are those affairs of interest to only a specific population group (as our own group, for instance). Common (joint) affairs have to do with interests that affect all the population groups. Only the specific group concerned decides on matters that are that group's own affairs. All three population groups must jointly decide on common or joint affairs.

Which of the following matters (interests) do you regard as the special affairs of our own population group, and which do you regard as common (joint) interests? Please react to each of the following 18 matters.

	Own affair (group interest)	Common affairs (joint interest)	Not sure or do not know	
(a) Maintenance of law and order	1	2	3	49
(b) Public library service	1	2	3	50
© University study	1	2	3	51
(d) Participation in sport and sports competitions	1	2	3	52
(e) Equal political rights	1	2	3	53
(f) The right of whites and “non-whites” to marry across the “colour bar”	1	2	3	54
(g) The right to choose the residential area where you want to live	1	2	3	55
(h) Choice of the school to which you would want to send your children	1	2	3	56
(i) A career in the public service	1	2	3	57
(j) Formulation of a policy for the blacks who live outside their homelands	1	2	3	58
(k) Recreation facilities such as municipal swimming baths, parks, beaches, camping and picnic spots	1	2	3	59
(l) Local transport services in areas such as the Cape Peninsula, Durban and vicinity, the Witwatersrand, etc.	1	2	3	60
(m) Art centres, art schools, music festivals, the performing arts, etc.	1	2	3	61
(n) Defence of the borders of SA	1	2	3	62
(o) Foreign affairs	1	2	3	63
(p) Allocation and distribution of funds for local community development	1	2	3	64
(q) Health services	1	2	3	65
® Care for the aged	1	2	3	66

19. In terms of the Prime Minister’s guidelines the new president will have the greatest say in deciding as to whether this matter is of common interest to all other groups. Some people argue that this right of decision places too much power in the hands of the president.

Do you agree that this right places too much power in the hands of the new president?

Agree	Do not agree	Not sure or do not know	
1	2	3	67

20. If the prime minister’s guidelines become official government policy, the new president himself will be able to appoint 25 of the 60 members of the President’s Council. Do you think that this right puts too much power in the hands of the president?

Yes	No	Not sure or do not know	
1	2	3	68

21. The government is at present considering a proposal by the President’s Council that the Group Areas Act be retained, but “improved” (to be less discriminatory). Which one of the following aspects of this Act is the least acceptable to you personally? (One answer only.)

(a) The financial costs (losses) caused by removals (e.g. great distances from work, transport costs, etc.)	1	
(b) Removal from an area where you have lived happily among acquaintances	2	
© The idea that you are denied the basic human right to choose your own residential area	3	
(d) Not sure or do not know	4	
(e) Other – specify:.....		69

22. The government is at present considering a proposal by the President’s Council that the Group Areas Act must be retained but also be “improved”. Many people believe that this law can be “improved” if certain parts in the urban areas are declared “open” (“gray”) areas. These “open” areas will not replace the existing group areas (which are mostly residential areas). Would you favour having the Group Areas Act changed in this way?

(a) In favour of such a change	1	
(b) Opposed to such a change	2	
© Nor sure or do not know	3	70

23. What do you regard as the greatest single threat to peace and prosperity in South Africa? (One answer only.)

(a) Communism		
(b) Black nationalists who, through black power, want to rule over the whole of South Africa		
© Economic collapse		
(d) The National Part’s current race policies		
(e) A government controlled by conservative whites		
(f) Not sure or do not know		
(h) Other (specify).....		71-72

24. INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: DO NOT INFORM THE RESPONDENT ABOUT THE RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES FOR THIS QUESTION. TICK THE ANSWER WHICH CORRESPONDS WITH THE REPLY GIVEN BY THE RESPONDENT.

The prime minister announced in Bloemfontein on 30 July certain important guidelines for constitutional reform. Where, or from whom, did you obtain most of your information about the Prime Minister’s guidelines? In other words, what was your main source of information?

Magazines	01		
Radio	02		
Newspapers	03		
Television	04		
Discussions with friends, relatives and acquaintances	05		
Political leaders or political parties by means of personal conversations or meetings/gatherings organized by political parties or political organizations	06		
Community leaders such as religious leaders, school principals, business leaders, etc.	07		
Printed documents such as brochures, letters, pamphlets, etc.	08		
Various sources in equal measure	09		
Not sure	10		
Other (specify).....			73-74

PROJECT NUMBER	SS08/6				75-80
CARD NUMBER			2		1
RECORD NUMBER					2-5

25. One often hears the following arguments about what the consequences would be if blacks (in the past known as “Bantu”) were to obtain representation in the South African Parliament according to the size of the black population.

Please indicate in respect of each of the following five viewpoints whether you agree or not.

Black representation in Parliament according to the size of the black population:

	Agree	Do not agree	Not sure or do not know		
(a) Will lead to the greatest degree of peace among all the population groups in South Africa	1	2	3		6
(b) Will lead to black domination over the whole of South Africa	1	2	3		7
© Will lead to lower living standards	1	2	3		8
(d) Will make it impossible for South Africa to have <u>democratic</u> and civilized standards of government	1	2	3		9
(e) Will threaten law and order in South Africa	1	2	3		10

26. How do you personally feel about the possibility that South Africa may still in your life-time be ruled by a black majority government?

I believe a black majority government -

(a) Will come in my life-time	1			
(b) Will not come in my life-time	2			
© Not sure or do not know	3			11

27. INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: ONLY RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE INDICATED (A) OR (B) UNDER QUESTION 26 MUST ANSWER QUESTION 27. THE RESPONDENT MUST REACT TO ALL SIX POSSIBILITIES.

I believe a black majority government over the whole of South Africa -

	Agree	Do not agree	Not sure or do not know		
(a) Will bring <u>me</u> more benefits than the present white government	1	2	3		12
(b) Will <u>not</u> necessarily bring <u>me</u> more political rights than those rights contained in the Prime Minister's guidelines	1	2	3		13
© Will <u>not</u> be able to offer <u>me</u> greater social and economic security than the security offered by the present government	1	2	3		14

	Agree	Do not agree	Not sure or do not know	
(d) Will threaten law and order and civilized living standards	1	2	3	15
(e) Will have so many disadvantages for South Africa that I will try to prevent a black majority government by supporting the prime minister's latest guidelines for political co-operation among the whites, coloureds and Indians	1	2	3	16
(f) Is unavoidable and I am resigned to the idea that it will come	1	2	3	17

28. There are people who claim that should South Africa be ruled by a black majority government, the whites, coloureds and Indians would be oppressed. Many people who think along these lines, believe that eventual black domination can be prevented only if certain parts of South Africa are indicated/reserved as states or countries over which the blacks have final political control. The rest of South Africa will be governed jointly by the whites, coloureds and Indians.

Do you agree that such a territorial division of political power should be made?

Agree	Disagree	Such a plan may work	Not sure or do not know	
1	2	3	4	18

29. Are you of the opinion that the blacks may one day seek to the revenge against our community should our people accept the government's guidelines for co-operation among the whites, coloureds and Indians?

Yes	No	Not sure or do not know	
1	2	3	19

30. Some people argue that if the proposed new system of government for whites, coloureds and Indians were to become a reality, South Africa should adopt a new national anthem ("volkslied") to demonstrate that the old apartheid policy is dead. What is your opinion in this regard? (One answer only)

(a) I agree: the present national anthem should be replaced by a new one	1	
(b) I disagree: the present national anthem should be retained	2	
© I do not care what the government decides	3	
(d) Not sure or do not know	4	20

31. How often do you talk "politics" with your acquaintances, friends or relatives?

Quite often	Now and then	Very seldom	Practically never	
1	2	3	4	21

32. Do you feel that because of the government's new policy the chances of conflict among the population groups (whites, coloureds, Indians and blacks) are now smaller or greater?

If the government's guidelines are carried out, the chances of conflict among South Africa's population groups -

(a) Will decrease	1	
(b) Will increase	2	
© Not sure or do not know	3	22

33. Do the Prime Minister's guidelines for government reform generally come close enough to your own ideas about constitutional and political reform to convince you that the proposed new system of government should be given a chance to work?

Yes	No	Not sure or do not know	
1	2	3	23

34. In your opinion, how many adult people in your community will be inclined to give the Prime Minister's proposed new system of government a chance of getting off the ground?

The majority	A minority	About half	Not sure or do not know	
1	2	3	4	24

35. How do you feel about the President's Council now that the Prime Minister has accepted some of the President's Council's proposals which, according to many people, do contain certain benefits for the coloureds and Indians. (One answer only).

(a) I completely rejected the President’s Council <u>from the beginning</u> and I <u>still</u> reject it	1	
(b) I <u>completely rejected</u> the President’s Council from the beginning but <u>now</u> I feel that it <u>does contain certain</u> benefits for my community	2	
© <u>From the beginning</u> I supported the President’s Council only <u>partly</u> but at present I do not support it <u>more or less</u>	3	
(d) <u>From the beginning</u> I supported the President’s Council only <u>partly</u> but at <u>present</u> I give it less support	4	
(e) <u>From the beginning</u> I supported the President’s Council only <u>partly</u> but at <u>present</u> I give it <u>more</u> support	5	
(f) <u>From the beginning</u> I <u>completely supported</u> the President’s Council and I <u>still</u> support it <u>completely</u>	6	
(g) <u>At first</u> I <u>completely supported</u> the President’s Council but <u>at present</u> I give it <u>less</u> support	7	
(h) Not sure or do not know	8	25

36. Are you able to make a clear deduction from the government’s constitutional guidelines as to the future division of political power in the central government among South Africa’s population groups? Please indicate which one of the following viewpoints comes closest to your own opinion, regardless of whether you agree or disagree with the guidelines. (Please note: central government includes institutions like parliament, the cabinet, the President’s Council, etc.)

According to what you know, or to what you have heard, about the government’s guidelines, do you personally feel that, with regard to the division of political power among the population groups -

(a) You have absolute clarity on what the government’s plans for the future are	1	
(b) you understand only a few aspects of the government’s plans	2	
© You have only a very vague idea of the government’s aims	3	
(d) You are now completely unsure about the government’s plans	4	
(e) You do not know enough about the guidelines to form an opinion	5	26

27. INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: OPEN QUESTION. ONLY THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE SELECTED (B), (C) OR (D) UNDER QUESTION 36 MUST ANSWER THIS QUESTION.

You have indicated under Question 36 that you are more or less unsure about the government’s constitutional guidelines. Please say in your own words about which two aspects of the proposed constitutional reform you have the least clarity.

First aspect:.....

Second aspect:.....

29-30

38. What is your view on the argument that holding a national convention will be the most effective means of finding a solution to the problem of group relations in South Africa? During such a national convention the recognized leaders of all the population groups will meet to work out a new system of government. What do you think of this argument?

A convention should be held	A convention should not be held	Not sure or do not know	
1	2	3	31

39. Many people believe that the government should consult the voters by means of a referendum or general election before implementing its new policy on government reform.

Which one of the following 5 viewpoints comes closest to you own?
I personally think -

(a) That the government's policy on government reform should be implemented only after the whites have held a general election	1	
(b) That the government's policy on government reform should be implemented only after a referendum among <u>whites, coloureds and Indians</u> has been held (in the case of a referendum the voters vote for or against a specific proposal. In this case the proposal will be the government's new policy on government reform)	2	
© That an election or referendum is unnecessary because the government is already handling the matter of government reform correctly	3	
(d) That an election or referendum is unnecessary because the majority of the white voters have already during the 1981 general election given the government a mandate to carry out its policy	4	
(e) That I do not know enough about this matter or that it does not interest me enough to express an opinion	5	
(f) Not one of the above – specify:		32

40. FIELDWORKER: THIS IS AN OPEN QUESTION.

If you were asked to choose from among any population group one person to lead South Africa politically through the present difficult years, whom would you choose?

.....

	33-34
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41. FIELDWORKER: IN WHICH LANGUAGE DID THE RESPONDENT GIVE HIS/HER ANSWER?

Afrikaans	1	
English	2	

 35

PROJECT NUMBER	SS08/6	75-80
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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: CO-WORKER.....

Let's start with some questions dealing with age, educational level and such matters.

1. What is your present age?.....years

--	--

 15-16

2. Are you s man or a woman?

Man		
Woman		

 17

3. What is your marital status?

Never married	1	
Married	2	
Divorced	3	
Separated	4	
Widow/widower	5	

18

4. What language do you mostly speak at home?

English	1	
Afrikaans	2	
English and Afrikaans	3	
Other (Specify).....		
.....		
.....		

19

5. What is the highest educational qualification you have obtained?

(a) INDICATE HIGHEST STANDARD PASSED AND ADDITIONAL QUALIFICATIONS.

.....

(b) INDICATE BELOW

Std 3 and lower	1	
Std 4 or 5	2	
Std 6	3	
Std 7	4	
Std 8 or 9 or equivalent (e.g. NTC I or NTC II)	5	
Std 10, matriculation or equivalent (e.g. NTC III)	6	
Std 10 and 1 or 2 years' further training (e.g. NTC IV/V or NTD)	7	
Std 10 and 1 or 2 years' further training (e.g. B.A. or Nat. DIP. For Technicians)	8	
Std 10 and 4 or more years' further training (e.g. M.Sc.; B.A. & H.E.D.; B. Arch.; HNDDT; etc.)	9	

20

4. What is your present occupation?

DESCRIBE JOB AND EMPLOYER FULLY E.G. “CLERK – MUNICIPAL SERVICE” OR
 “LORRY-DRIVER – RAILWAYS” OR “SHOP-KEEPER – SELF-EMPLOYED”

.....(JOB)
(EMPLOYER)

7. INDICATE TYPE OF JOB BELOW

Professional	Educational e.g. teacher, lecturer	01	
	Medical and related e.g. doctor, nurse	02	
	Technical e.g. in laboratory, electronics, plastics	03	
	Other, e.g. attorney, engineer, scientist	04	
Managerial and clerical workers, e.g. clerk, company director, bookkeeper		05	
Salesworker, e.g. shop assistant, petrol-pump attendant, insurance salesman, shop-owner		06	
Transport and communication workers, e.g. lorry-driver, stoker, taxi-driver, telephone operator, bus-driver, postman		07	
Service, sport and recreational work, e.g. chefs, waiters, hairdressers, police		08	
Mining and quarry workers		09	
Artisans and semi-skilled workers	Skilled artisans and apprentices, e.g. painters, plumbers, motor mechanics	10	
	Semi-skilled, e.g. operators	11	
	Semi-skilled, e.g. supervisors and foremen	12	
Labourers (except farm labourers)		13	
Farmers, farm labourers		14	
Housewife		15	
Unemployed: Seeking employment, unfit for work, student, retired		16	21-22

8. Are you a South African citizen?

Yes	No	
1	2	23

9. The Prime Minister, on behalf of the government, announced in Bloemfontein on 30 July a number of “guidelines” for constitutional reform. These guidelines, which have now become part of the official policy of the National Party government, may lead to important changes in South Africa’s system of government. The way you understood the guidelines, would you say that, generally speaking, they should be supported or rejected?

If you look at the Prime Minister’s guidelines in general and you have to express a general opinion about them, would you say that you:

(a) support the guidelines in general	1	
(b) reject the guidelines in general	2	
© do not know enough of the guidelines or are not interested enough in them to express an opinion	3	24

10. INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: ONLY THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE SELECTED (A) UNDER QUESTION 9, MUST ANSWER QUESTION 10.

Which one of the following viewpoints comes closest to your own opinion? THE PRIME MINISTER'S GUIDELINES FOR A NEW SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT -

(a) <u>Should be supported in general</u> since they seem to be the best way to create good relations among the whites, coloureds and Indians	1	
(b) Do not go far enough to satisfy the political needs of the coloureds and Indians, but should nevertheless be supported because they do contain certain benefits for the coloureds and Indians	2	
© Should be supported because they generally give the coloureds and Indians political rights without threatening the whites' political control over their own interests	3	
(d) Should be supported because the whites have no other choice and they have to make the best of a difficult situation	4	25

11. INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: ONLY RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE SELECTED THE (B) RESPONSE UNDER QUESTION 9 MUST ANSWER QUESTION 11. THE RESPONDENT IS NOW GOING TO BE ASKED TO SELECT THE MOST IMPORTANT REASON WHY HE/SHE REJECTS THE PRIME MINISTER'S GUIDELINES.

You have indicated under Question 9 that you reject the Prime Minister's guidelines in general (response b).

Which one of the following six viewpoints comes closest to the main reason why you personally reject the guidelines?

THE GUIDELINES, IF IMPLEMENTED AND CARRIED OUT AS POLICY, WOULD:

(a) amount to a form of power sharing between whites, coloureds and Indians that would harm the security and interests of the whites	1	
(b) be the thin edge of the wedge that would open the door for blacks (formerly known as “Bantu”) to participate in the central government	2	
© lead to a deep division among whites as a result of differences over a “mixed” government	3	
(d) cause large-scale confrontation and conflict between whites and blacks since the guidelines do not provide for black participation in the new system of government	4	
(e) retain too many elements of apartheid to assure a just and fair policy for co-operation among the whites, coloureds and Indians	5	
(f) eventually fail because there would be too many whites, coloureds and Indians who are not willing to work together in the new system of government	6	
(g) Other (specify).....		26

12. The Prime Minister’s guidelines make provision for a single parliament consisting of three chambers – one for whites, one for coloureds, and one for Indians. Each population group will, in its own chamber, take decisions on those matters that affect that group only (own affairs). On matters that effect all three the population groups in equal measure (common affairs) the three population groups will make joint decisions. The guidelines also provide for a “mixed” cabinet consisting of whites, coloureds and Indians.

With regard to the Prime minister’s guidelines for a common (white, coloured and Indian) parliament and a mixed cabinet, do you think it is possible that these guidelines may have the following consequences?

You must react to each of the 5 possible consequences.

THE GUIDELINES, IF CARRIED OUT:

	Agree	Do not agree	Not sure or do not know	
(a) would be a form of power-sharing among whites, coloureds and Indians but with the whites still in the strongest political position	1	2	3	27
(b) would lead to the speedy repeal of laws such as the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act	1	2	3	28
© would lead to deep divisions among whites as a result of differences over a “mixed” (multi-racial) government	1	2	3	29

	Agree	Do not agree	Not sure or do not know	
(d) would cause large-scale confrontation and conflict between <u>whites and blacks</u> because the guidelines do not provide for black participation in the new system of government	1	2	3	30
(e) would lead to power-sharing that would give the whites, coloureds and Indians <u>equal</u> political rights	1	2	3	31
Other (specify).....				32

13. Please react to each of the following 4 viewpoints.

If you look at the Prime Minister's guidelines in general, do you believe that they:

	Agree	Do not agree	Not sure or do not know	
(a) Still do not go far enough to satisfy the political needs of most coloureds and Indians?	1	2	3	33
(b) Are a starting point for uniting whites, coloureds and Indians in a common south Africa nation?	1	2	3	34
© Form no threat for the whites' security and right to make decisions on their own affairs?	1	2	3	35
(d) Would cause the relations, among the whites, coloureds, Indians and blacks to deteriorate?	1	2	3	36

14. According to the Prime minister's guidelines for government reform, blacks who live outside their homelands will not be represented in the central government (e.g. parliament, the President's Council, the cabinet, etc.). How do you personally feel about this arrangement?

Do you think that the exclusion of blacks from these government bodies:

(a) is the right decision	1	
(b) is the wrong decision	2	
(c) not sure or do not know	3	37

15. INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: ONLY TH00SE RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE SELECTED THE (A) RESPONSE UNDER QUESTION 14, MUST ANSWER QUESTION 15.

Do you think that the exclusion of blacks from South Africa's top government bodies is the right decision –

	Yes	No	Not sure or do not know	
(a) Since blacks have political rights that they exercise through black homelands	1	2	3	38
(b) Since the massive numerical superiority of the blacks would enable them to dominate the central government bodies (e.g. parliament	1	2	3	39
© since (any other reason than a or b).....				40

16. FIELDWORKER: ONLY THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE SELECTED THE (B) RESPONSE UNDER QUESTION 14, MUST ANSWER QUESTION 16.

Do you think that the exclusion of blacks from South Africa's top government is the wrong decision -

	Yes	No	Not sure or do not know	
(a) Since no lasting peace is possible in South Africa if blacks are not represented in the central government	1	2	3	41
(b) Since the blacks are also South Africans and therefore have the right to participate in the central government	1	2	3	42
© since (any other reason than a or b).....				43

17. Do you agree that it is only a matter of time before the blacks who live permanently outside the black homelands, will receive at least the same political rights that the prime minister announced on 30 July for coloureds and Indians.

Agree	Do not agree	Not sure or do not know	
1	2	3	44

18. INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: (ONLY RESPONDENTS WHO INDICATED AN AGREE-RESPONSE UNDER QUESTION 17 MUST ANSWER QUESTION 18.)

In Question 17 you have just indicated that you agree with the view that it is only a question of time before blacks who live permanently outside the black homelands will receive at least the same political rights that the government is at present offering the coloureds and Indians. Please indicate which one of the following statements comes the closest to your reason for agreeing with the above-mentioned fact.

THE FACT THAT YOU AGREE:

(a) is one of the reasons why you <u>reject</u> the prime minister's guidelines	1	
(b) is one of the reasons why you <u>support</u> the prime minister's guidelines	2	
(c) has little or nothing to do with your attitude towards the prime minister's guidelines	3	45

19. According to the prime minister's guidelines for constitutional reform, the Electoral College that will appoint the new president will consist of persons who are members of the three chambers of the proposed new parliament. The number of members from each chamber will be: 50 members from the white chamber, 25 members from the coloured chamber and 13 members from the Indian chamber. The three chambers of the new parliament will also elect 35 members of the President's Council. The 35 members of the President's Council elected by the three chambers of the new parliament, will consist of 20 whites, 10 coloureds and 5 Indians. These numerical ratios (50: 25:13 and 20:10:5) are roughly the same as the ratios that we get when we compare the present size of the three population groups. How do you personally feel about these numerical ratios as proposed for the new Electoral College and President's Council?

Please react to each of the following statements:

THESE NUMERICAL RATIOS ARE A FORMULA FOR POWER-SHARING:

	Agree	Do not agree	Not sure or do not know	
(a) That will give the coloureds and Indians political power in the central government (e.g. parliament and the cabinet) according to their present <u>population numbers</u>	1	2	3	46
(b) That must be changed as the numerical ratios for the whites, coloureds and Indians change	1	2	3	47
© That can in future bring about a situation where the coloureds and Indians <u>jointly</u> have more political power than the whites since their <u>combined numbers</u> are more than those of the whites	1	2	3	48
(d) That, on account of the coloureds' and Indians' population growth, contain so much danger for the whites' security and interests that this aspect of the Prime Minister's guidelines (namely the numerical formula) must be rejected	1	2	3	49
(e) That clearly proves that political power in South Africa is determined by population size	1	2	3	50
(f) The numerical ratios in the Prime Minister's guidelines have little or nothing to do with power sharing according to population numbers	1	2	3	51

20. According to the Prime Minister's guidelines, the whites, coloureds and Indians will be represented in the same parliament. This parliament will consist of three "chambers": one for whites, one for coloureds, and one for Indians. How do you personally feel about the following observations made about the proposed new parliament. You must react to each of the four remarks.

THE PROPOSED NEW PARLIAMENT:

	Agree	Do not agree	Not sure or do not know	
(a) Is at present the best way to satisfy the political needs of the coloureds and Indians	1	2	3	52
(b) Will eventually fail because the combined numbers of the coloureds and Indians will soon outstrip those of the whites	1	2	3	53
© Is a sound means of extending equal citizenship rights to the coloureds and Indians	1	2	3	54
(d) Is the beginning of a process of power sharing that will eventually cause the whites to loose control over their basic interests	1	2	3	55

21. According to the Prime Minister's guidelines the President's Council will have the final say in case of a disagreement among the three "chambers" of the proposed new parliament. Would you agree with the argument that this right puts too much power in the hands of the President's Council?

Agree	Do not agree	Not sure or do not know	
1	2	3	56

22. If you study the prime minister's guidelines you will find nothing that prevents or forbids a coloured or Indian from being elected president in the proposed new system of government. Please indicate with regard to each of the six cases listed below whether the following persons will be acceptable to you as president. For the purpose of this survey we accept that all candidates have roughly the same competence and qualifications.

	Yes	No	Not sure or do not know	
(a) A coloured Christian	1	2	3	57
(b) A coloured Moslem	1	2	3	58
© An Indian Christian	1	2	3	59
(d) Indian who is not a Christian (e.g. Moslem or Hindu)	1	2	3	60
(e) A white Christian	1	2	3	61
(f) A white, no matter what his faith may be	1	2	3	62

PROJECT NUMBER	S	S	0	8	/	7	75-80	
CARD NUMBER							2	
RECORD NUMBER								2-5

23. According to the Prime Minister's guidelines a difference is made between the "own affairs" of a specific group and the common or joint affairs of all the population groups. Own affairs are those affairs of interest to only a specific population group (as your own group, for instance). Common (joint) affairs have to do with the interests that affect all the population groups. Only the specific group concerned decides on matters that are that groups' own affairs. All three population groups must jointly decide on common or joint affairs.

Which of the following matters (interests) do you regard as the special affairs of your own population group, and which do you regard as common (joint) interests? (Please react to each of the following 18 cases.)

	Own affair (group interest)	Common affair (joint interest)	Not sure or do not know	
(a) Maintenance of law and order	1	2	3	6
(b) Public library service	1	2	3	7
© University study	1	2	3	8
(d) Participation in sport and sports competitions	1	2	3	9
(e) Equal political rights	1	2	3	10
(f) The right of whites and non-whites to marry across the "colour bar"	1	2	3	11
(g) The right to choose the residential area where you want to live	1	2	3	12
(h) Choice of the school to which you want to send your children	1	2	3	13
(i) A career in the public service	1	2	3	14
(j) Formulation of a policy for the blacks who live outside their homelands	1	2	3	15
(k) Recreation facilities such as municipal swimming baths, parks, beaches, camping and picnic spots	1	2	3	16
(l) Local transportation services in areas such as the Cape Peninsula, Durban and vicinity, the Witwatersrand, etc.	1	2	3	17
(m) Art centers, art schools, music festivals, the performing arts, etc.	1	2	3	18
(n) Defence of the borders of South Africa	1	2	3	19
(o) Foreign affairs	1	2	3	20
(p) Allocation and distribution of funds for local community development	1	2	3	21
(q) Health services	1	2	3	22
® Care for the aged	1	2	3	23

24. In terms of the Prime Minister’s guidelines the new president will have the greatest say as to whether a matter affects a specific group only, or whether this matter is of common interest to all the groups concerned. Do you agree that this right of decision will place power in the hands of the president?

Agree	Do not agree	Not sure or do not know	
1	2	3	24

25. If the Prime Minister’s guidelines become government policy, the new president will personally nominate 25 of the 60 members of the President’s Council. Do you think this arrangement gives the new president too much power?

Yes	No	Not sure or do not know	
1	2	3	25

26. What do you regard as the greatest threat to peace and prosperity in South Africa? (One answer only.)

(a) Communism	1
(b) Black nationalists who, through black power, want to rule over the whole of South Africa	2
© Economic collapse	3
(d) The National Party’s current race policies	4
(e) A government controlled by conservative whites	5
(f) A government controlled by liberal-minded whites	6
(g) Not sure or do not know	7
(h) Other (specify).....	26

27. The government is at present considering a proposal by the President’s Council that the Group Areas Act must be retained but also be “improved”. Many people believe that this law can be “improved” if certain parts in the urban areas are declared “open” (“gray”) areas. These “open” areas will not replace the existing group areas (which are mostly residential areas.) A member of any race will be able to live in an “open” area.

Would you favour the Group Areas Act changed in this way?

(a) In favour of such a change	1
(b) Opposed top such a change	2
© Not sure or do not know	27

28. INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: DO NOT INFORM THE RESPONDENT ABOUT THE RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES FOR QUESTION 28. TICK THE ANSWER WHICH CORRESPONDS WITH THE REPLY GIVEN BY THE RESPONDENT.

The Prime Minister announced in Bloemfontein on 30 July certain important guidelines for constitutional reform. Where, or from whom, did you obtain most of your information about the Prime Minister's guidelines? In other words, what was your main source of information?

Magazines	01		
Radio	02		
Newspapers	03		
Television	04		
Discussions with friends, relatives and acquaintances	05		
Political leaders or political parties by means of personal conversations or meetings/gatherings organized by political parties or political organizations	06		
Community leaders such as religious leaders, school principals, business leaders, etc.	07		
Printed documents such as brochures, letters, pamphlets, etc.	08		
Various sources in equal measure	09		
Not sure	10		
Other (specify).....			28-29

29. Do you feel that because of the government's new policy the chances of conflict among the population groups are now smaller or greater?

IF THE GOVERNMENT'S NEW POLICY IS CARRIED OUT, THE CHANCES OF CONFLICT AMONG THE POPULATION GROUP:

(a) will decrease	1		
(b) will increase	2		
© not sure or do not know	3		30

30. The way you understand the Prime Minister's guidelines, do you think it is possible that these guidelines can have the following consequences should they become official government policy? (Please react to each of the following 5 possibilities.)

IF THESE GUIDELINES ARE CARRIED OUT AS OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT POLICY, IT WILL –

	Yes	No	Not sure or do not know	
(a) lead to the disappearance of “apartheid”				31
(b) prepare the way for black participation in South Africa’s central government				32
© mean that colour will play a less important role in our society				33
(d) create a greater willingness among whites to accept coloureds and Indians as equal South African citizens				34
(e) lead to a system of government in which each of the three population groups (whites, coloureds and Indians) receives an effective say in decisions that affect its members				35

31. Do you agree with the view that the government’s new policy (based on the Prime Minister’s guidelines for constitutional reform) is responsible for a major conservative reaction among whites, particularly among Afrikaners?

Agree	Do not agree	Not sure or do not know	
1	2	3	36

32. ONLY ONE RESPONSE MUST BE GIVEN UNDER THIS QUESTION: THE PRIME MINISTER’S GUIDELINES AND THE DEBATE AT PRESENT GOING ON ABOUT THEM:

(a) have influenced me to be generally more conservative than before		
(b) have influenced me to be generally <u>less</u> conservative than before		
© have not made me more or less conservative because politically I don’t regard myself as conservative		
(d) have as yet had no influence on my political thoughts		37

33. INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: (ONLY RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE MADE THE “AGREE” RESPONSE UNDER QUESTION 31 MUST ANSWER QUESTION 33.)

If you agree with the statement made in question 31, which one of the following three possibilities has the best chance of really happening?

THE CONSERVATIVE REACTION TO THE PRIME MINISTER’S GUIDELINES FOR GOVERNMENT REFORM:

(a) does not really pose a great threat to the National Party	1	
(b) will weaken the National Party government to such an extent that it will be forced to co-operate with the Progressive Federal Party	2	
© is so deep and so widespread that it will bring the Conservative Party to power	3	
(d) not sure or do not know	4	38

34. In certain political and academic circles it is often being said that whereas the whites, coloureds and Indians have no choice but to form one nation in a common state, the blacks should not be part of such a nation or state. The reasons given are, firstly, that the black population is larger than the combined white, coloured and Indian population; and secondly, that the lifestyle, culture and history of the blacks differ very much from that of the whites. It is also argued that these differences make it essential that the political power of the whites, coloureds and Indians, on the one hand, and the political power of the blacks, on the other hand, must be separated and divided on a geographical (territorial) basis. Regarding this argument, what is your opinion on each of the following 5 viewpoints?

PLEASE NOTE: You are asked to express an opinion regardless of whether you believe that a similar geographical separation should also be applied between the whites, coloureds and Indians.

THE POLITICAL POWER OF THE WHITES, COLOURED AND INDIANS, ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE POLITICAL POWER OF THE BLACKS, ON THE OTHER:

	Agree	Do not agree	Not sure or do not know	
(a) should be separated and divided as far as possible on a <u>geographical</u> (territorial) basis	1	2	3	39
(b) <u>cannot</u> be separated and divided on a geographical basis because the various groups are already too mixed	1	2	3	40
© <u>do not</u> have to be separated and divided on a geographical basis since the whites, coloureds and Indians and blacks are all South Africans and should therefore take part in the same political system	1	2	3	41
(d) should be separated and divided on a geographical basis, but by means of separate provinces, cantons or homelands which together would still form one South African state	1	2	3	42
(e) <u>do not have to</u> be separated and divided on a territorial basis since the two groups (the white-coloured-Indian group on the one hand, and the black group on the other) can exercise their political rights separately in the same state <u>however intermixed they may live</u>	1	2	3	43

35. Are you able to make a clear deduction from the government’s constitutional guidelines as to the future division of political power (in the central government) among South Africa’s population groups? Please indicate which one of the following viewpoints comes closest to your own opinion, regardless of whether you agree or disagree with the guidelines. (Please note: central government includes institutions like parliament, the cabinet, the President’s Council, etc.)

According to what you know, or to what you have heard about the government’s guidelines, do you personally feel that, with regard to the division of political power among the population groups -

(a) you have absolute clarity on what the government’s plans for the future are	1	
(b) you understand only a few aspects of the government’s plans	2	
© you have only a very vague idea of the government’s aims	3	
(d) you are now completely unsure about the government’s plans	4	
(e) you do not know enough about the guidelines to form an opinion		44

36. INSTRUCTION TO FIELDWORKER: OPEN QUESTION. ONLY THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE SELECTED B, C OR D UNDER QUESTION 35 MUST ANSWER THIS QUESTION.

You have indicated under Question 35 that you are more or less unsure about the government’s constitutional guidelines. Please say in your own words about which two aspects of the proposed constitutional reform you have the least clarity.

First aspect:.....

.....

.....

.....

45-46

Second aspect:.....

.....

.....

.....

47-48

37. What is your view on the argument that holding a national convention will be the most effective means of finding a solution to the problem of group relations in South Africa? During such a national convention the recognized leaders of all the population groups will meet to work out a new system of government.

I feel such a national convention

Should be held	Should not be held	Not sure or do not know	
1	2	3	49

38. Many people believe that the government should consult the voters by means of a referendum or general election before implementing its new policy on government reform.

Which one of the following 5 viewpoints comes closest to your own?

I personally think:

(a) that the government's policy on government reform should be implemented only after the whites have held a <u>general election</u>	1	
(b) that the government's policy on government reform should be implemented only after a <u>referendum</u> among whites, coloureds and Indians (in the case of a referendum the voters vote for or against a specific proposal. In this case the proposal will be the government's new policy on government reform)	2	
© that an election or referendum is unnecessary because the government is already handling the matter of government reform correctly	3	
(d) that an election or referendum is unnecessary because the majority of the white voters have already during the 1981 general election given the government a mandate to carry out its policy	4	
(e) that I do not know enough about this matter or that it does not interest me enough to express an opinion		
(f) Not one of the above – (specify).....		50

38. FIELDWORKER: THIS IS AN OPEN QUESTION

If you were asked to choose from among any population group one person to lead South Africa politically through the present difficult years, whom would you choose?

..... 51-52

39. FIELDWORKER: IN WHICH LANGUAGE DID THE RESPONDENT GIVE HIS/HER ANSWERS

Afrikaans	1		
English	2		53

PROJECT NUMBER | S | S | 0 | 8 | / | 7 | 75-80

I THE UNDERSIGNED HEREBY CERTIFY THAT THE RESPONDENT WAS ASKED ALL THE QUESTIONS IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE DURING THE INTERVIEW

SIGNATURE: CO-WORKER.....