

# Weight and Counterweight: Analysis of the results of a Political Opinion Survey on Party Support Patterns and Interparty Cooperation, April –June 2008

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## 1. Background

Since the first open democratic elections in South Africa in 1994, the ANC Alliance has steadily increased its majority in general elections to the point that it has appeared to have unassailable dominance of parliament and South Africa has come to be regarded as a clear example of a one party dominant system.

Single party dominance for a protracted period, particularly where the dominance is such as to ensure a two-thirds majority in parliament with the power to change entrenched clauses in the constitution, is likely to erode the vitality of any democracy. The morale of opposition voters is understandably depressed and the relative lack of leverage of opposition parties threatens their electoral credibility and capacity to mobilise both material and human resources.

In recent months in South Africa, three developments have occurred that might signal possibilities of the power imbalance becoming ameliorated and of the initiative beginning to shift towards alternatives to one-party dominance. The first factor has been the surfacing of disunity in the governing Alliance accompanying the success of Mr. Jacob Zuma in being elected as President of the ANC and ushering in a change of key office bearers to challenge the influence of personnel associated with the leadership of the outgoing President of the country. The tensions within the governing Alliance and associated policy difference could well signal the dilution of the liberation solidarity that has given the ANC formidable coherence since 1994.

The second development has been the quickening descent of neighbouring Zimbabwe into political chaos and economic crisis, along with a surge of refugees across the borders and anti-foreigner violence in South Africa that has punished economic confidence in the economy. These developments might for South Africans provide a warning of the consequences of political domination by a party impervious to legitimate challenges to its control.

A third factor has been interest among key South Africa opposition parties in the possibilities of augmenting their influence by collaborating in some form of alliance,

possibly as an electoral alliance for the next general elections in 2009 or possibly thereafter in coalition form in the legislative process at all three tiers of government.

This political opinion survey is intended to shed light on the reactions of voters to the events and possibilities briefly sketched above and the further possibilities emerging after the next general election.

## 2. The Survey

MarkData, an opinion polling and strategic research company that has operated as an independent private sector organisation since its separation from the statutory Human Sciences Research Council in 1996-1997, regularly undertakes surveys of political support patterns in South Africa and other African countries. Its political opinion surveys are based on two-stage stratified probability samples of adult voters in households in all communities throughout the country in both rural and urban areas, using census enumerator areas as a sampling frame.

The current survey, which covers 2415 adult South Africans, is slightly larger than the 2250 of previous surveys and also incorporates a modified design intended to strengthen the sample size and reliability of results in opposition constituencies without sacrificing the relevance of results for the electorate as a whole. Hence, in the first stage of sampling, constituencies more likely to include opposition voters were given a slightly higher chance of being randomly selected than those that typically contain dominant majorities of governing party supporters, but subsequent to the completion of fieldwork the sampling results were re-weighted using appropriate post-weighting software in order to provide estimates of the overall national support patterns of political parties.

The post-weighting controlled for the following variables to ensure a representative outcome:

- Gender balance
- Proportions according to race
- Age
- Dwelling and residential area categories: rural farming/rural traditional/urban, informal/ low cost and middle class housing areas/ hostels and collective dwellings/ metropolitan areas versus smaller towns.

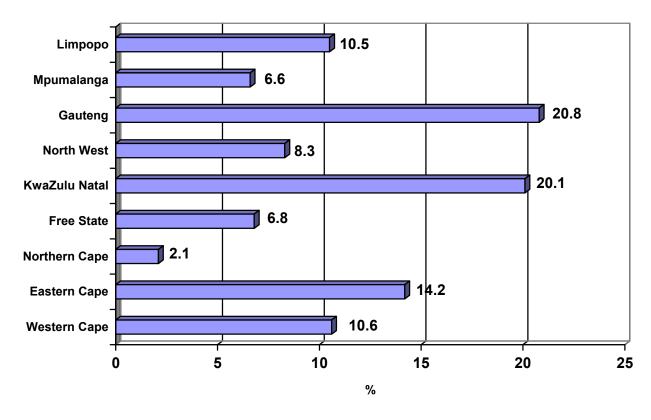
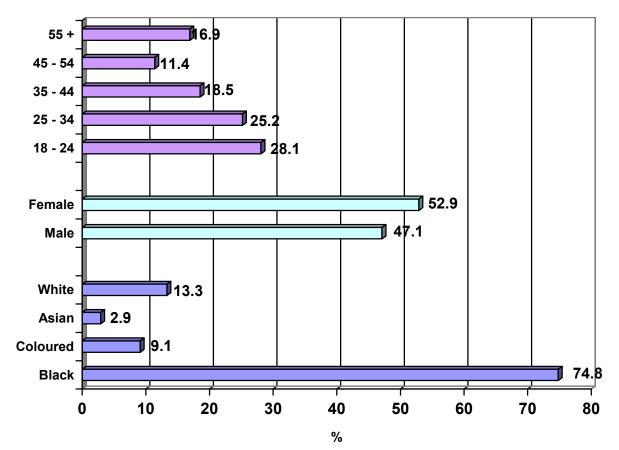


Figure 1. Sample distribution by province (Weighted)

Figure 2. Sample distribution by age, gender and race (Weighted)



MarkData (Pty) Ltd Strategic Research Solutions Thus the results are statistically comparable with those of previous surveys but allow generalisations to be made in opposition constituencies with greater confidence than would be the case in a standard sample of the electorate. This refinement is indicated in situations where a single party in the past has captured over two-thirds of the results leaving sample sizes in opposition constituencies small by comparison.

The <u>un-weighted</u> (non-rectified) sampling outcome in terms of the governing party versus collective opposition versus non-choice responses in the current survey was as follows:

ANC-SACP Alliance:	1100
Other political parties:	885
No choice: (uncertain, will not vote, etc.):	430
TOTAL SAMPLE:	2415

The survey results that follow, however, will reflect the proportionate breakdowns of estimates after computer weighting and rectification. The breakdown above, however, indicates that samples sizes for non-governing Alliance supporters are sufficiently generous to allow relatively confident statistical generalisations.

The fieldwork was carried out by regular field teams employed by MarkData, consisting of experienced interviewers long accustomed to carrying out political studies. The field executives have been in the employ of the company for over a decade and some for considerably longer. Face-to-face personal interviews were conducted followed by a 15% back-check on accuracy of selection procedures and questions posed. All respondents were assured of the utter confidentiality of their replies.

In the report that follows tabulations will be presented on critical findings. In some cases, for the sake of easier reading, however, lengthy tabulations are avoided in favour of shorter summaries or discussion in the text. The readers who wish to consult the detailed tabulations of the survey output can consult **Appendix B** (tabulations according to political party) in consultation with **Appendix A** (the complete questionnaire applied in the field).

# 3. The Results: weighted and rectified

#### **Party Support Patterns**

The following breakdown of party strengths emerged from the standard open-ended question posed: "Which political party will you vote for in the general election in 2009?" The results are presented in the table below compared with results in two previous surveys by MarkData.

**Table 1. Current strength of political parties compared with two previous surveys** (The percentages in parenthesis exclude respondents not intending to vote or not responding in order to approximate an **election outcome**)

Political party supported	May 2008		March 2007		March 2004	
supported	%	(%)	<u> </u>	(%)	%	(%)
ANC/SACP	59,6	(70,5)	62,0	(76,8)	52,3	(73,7)
PAC	0,6	(0,7)	0,7	(0,9)	0,9	(1,3)
NNP	-	-	0,6	(0,7)	2,0	(2,8)
DA	17,4	(20,6)	9,9	(12,3)	7,9	(11,2)
ID	2,0	(2,4)	1,4	(1,7)	3,3	(4,7)
UDM	1,0	(1,2)	0,5	(0,6)	0,7	(1,0)
IFP	2,1	(2,5)	3,2	(4,0)	2,7	(3,8)
FF+	0,5	(0,6)	0,4	(0,5)	0,2	(0,3)
ACDP	0,9	(1,0)	0,5	(0,6)	0,7	(1,0)
Right wing parties	-	-	0,2	(0,2)	-	-
AZAPO	0,4	(0,5)	0,3	(0,4)	-	-
Other	0,4	(0,4)	1,1	(1,3)	0,2	(0,2)
(Total of party		(100,4)		(100,0)		(100,0)
choices)						
No choice	15,5	-	19,2		29,1	
(undecided, will not						
vote, not registered,						
not interested in						
politics, refuse)						
TOTAL	100,1		100,0		100,0	
Deviations from 100 due to	rounding					

Comparisons of party strength have to be based on the second set of estimates for each year (the figures in brackets) that allow standardised comparisons with the uncertain voters removed. These figures also approximate election outcomes (it is a common procedure in electoral research to remove the uncertain voters and those who refuse to give a choice in order to estimate election outcomes).

Hence, as voter attitudes stand at the moment, what may be predicted from these results is that the ANC majority in the next election will decline slightly to just over 70% and that the DA will consolidate its position as the major opposition to government, with results like the following:

#### Party outcomes 2009:

•	ANC/SACP:	70-71%
•	DA:	20-21%
•	ID:	2-3%
•	IFP:	2-3%
•	UDM:	+- 1%
•	ACDP:	+- 1%
•	PAC:	<1%
•	FF+:	<1%
•	AZAPO:	< 1%
•	Others:	<1%

Broadly what the results in table 1 show is that the level of uncertainty among voters has declined from 2004. Currently only some 16% of the electorate does not make choices between parties in the survey interviews. There is a challenge for opposition parties, however, in that the motivation to vote among their supporters is slightly lower than that among ANC supporters:

Party	Voter motivation: Will definitely/probably vote*	Total % of party Supporters
ANC	80% + 13%	93%
ID	52%+37%	89%
DA	67% + 20%	87%
ACDP	67% + 19%	86%
UDM	74% + 7%	81%
Other parties	54% + 21%	75%
IFP	55% + 18%	73%
FF+	29%+41%	70%

Table 2. Motivation to vote among party supporters

\* "Definitely" or "probably" is taken as a firmer intention to vote than other responses like will "possibly" vote or will probably or possibly not vote

It is clear from the table above that the ANC has a motivational advantage, not necessarily because of enthusiasm among supporters but because of what is by now an established habit of high voter turnout amidst the boredom of life in the mass townships. The opposition parties are going to have to work on strengthening the motivation to go to the polls among their supporters.

The results in table 1 broadly show that:

- The ANC/SACP: while it strengthened up to 2007, its support has now fallen back slightly to some 71% in an election outcome. It may be seen as surprising that it has maintained its support at so high a level despite the lack of service delivery for many supporters and the turbulence in the party but it should be expected for the following reasons:
  - The disagreements over leadership in the party have kept it very firmly in the news, and publicity is a first requirement in the maintenance of party support – "any news is good news" as it were.
  - The leaders of different support groups in the party are all inside the party, hence not only villains but the heroes as well are ensconced in key party structures.
  - The prospects of a new leader in the person of Mr. Jacob Zuma, notwithstanding his controversial position, is a source of hope for the poorest, most aspirant and most numerous section among the party supporters.
  - Among ANC supporters in our survey results, President Mbeki has a 53% "admiration" rating, but Mr. Zuma's rating is higher at 60%. The current Deputy President Mlambo-Nguka's admiration rating is a mere 35% and Blade Nzimande of the SACP gets only 21%. Some 22% of ANC supporters positively dislike Mr. Zuma. If Mr. Zuma takes over as Party Leader the level of disaffection therefore will not be very high somewhere between 10 and 20%.

It is therefore more probable than not that the support for the ANC will consolidate around Zuma if he assumes the leadership, and that the party will strengthen slightly before the next elections. "Centrist" supporters that dislike Zuma and who will feel less comfortable in the party, will not exceed 10-20%. There will thus be rather limited gains for the opposition if

Zuma succeeds Mbeki, but small gains from a very large party could nonetheless be significant for a smaller opposition party.

If Mr. Zuma does not assume the leadership due to the legal charges pending against him, the party will be thrown into disarray because there is no alternative candidate with a sufficiently prominent profile to unite the party at short notice. Under these conditions the support for the party will weaken, perhaps significantly. This is not to say that the ANC will lose its dominant position. Opposition parties are also not likely to gain from disaffection among Zuma loyalists. But there will be some potential gains for opposition parties.

It is very difficult to say which one of the two scenarios for the ANC holds most promise for increased opposition support.

• The Democratic Alliance has strengthened since 2004, most particularly since 2007, and now could capture some 21% of the vote in an election, the highest level any opposition party has achieved in any MarkData survey since 1994. This support is significantly multiracial: 21% African, 17% coloured, 8% Asian and 54% white.

The DA's growth prospects at this stage are somewhat limited by considerable hostility to it among African voters: 65% dislike the DA leader and 14% admire her. It is not because of her race – African voters have almost exactly the same reaction to Bantu Holomisa, Patricia de Lille and Mangosutho Buthelezi of the UDM, the ID and the IFP respectively. The hostility is significantly due to what one could call liberation solidarity -- a tendency among ANC activists and spokespeople to vilify and stereotype any leader outside the ANC Alliance. While the vilifications are usually no more than very loose rhetoric, like all stereotypes their effects are remarkably persistent.

• In the Western Cape the DA and the ANC receive exactly the same level of support. <u>Western Cape</u> support levels are as follows:

ANC 36,3%, DA 35,9%, ID 5,5%, UDM 2,3%, ACDP 1,2% and all the other parties below 1%.

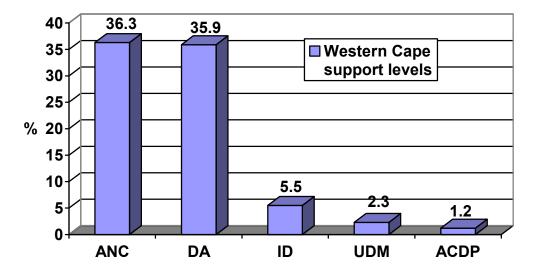


Figure 3: Western Cape support levels

If these results are right, the DA could win the province with either the ID and, or the UDM as coalition or electoral alliance partners. The ANC, on the other hand, would have a problem finding a significant partner because all Western Cape parties with support levels above 1% would lose significant numbers of their supporters in a coalition or electoral alliance with the ANC.

• Support for other opposition parties is at a low level. The ID has recovered marginally but its support is still well below its high point in 2004. The UDM does not seem to be going anywhere, and nor are the IFP and the FF+.

Therefore it seems at this stage that the DA is the only opposition party that has a record of recent growth. This does not mean to say that other opposition parties will remain static from now on. The further growth of opposition in general, however, is made difficult by the political polarisation in the electorate that makes many if not most African voters hostile to any opposition, irrespective of its composition.

This is notwithstanding the fact that <u>among ANC supporters</u>:

- Nearly 40% are highly or partially dissatisfied with the performance of the government
- Nearly 40% feel that their quality of life is bad
- Some 40% feel that the country is moving in the wrong direction
- 47% would most like to support a party that is free of corruption clearly not an attribute of the current ANC

Aside from the exaggerated sense of solidarity in ANC ranks, and notwithstanding lip service to democratic principles, when asked what kind of opposition they would most like to see, ANC supporters respond as follows:

- 44% would like a "cooperative" opposition that sometimes criticises but more often helps and supports the government
- 22% would like no opposition at all
- And when asked to identify things that ensure that a governing party keeps on doing its best for its supporters, only 10% prioritise an opposition party that criticises government and can attract support away from it.

The ANC has clearly done very well in discrediting the principle of opposition and along with it a tradition of pluralism and dissent.

It can be argued that opposition parties, therefore, have a dual responsibility. Not only should they promote the policies that they consider most desirable for the country and its people but they also have to defend and promote the principles of political pluralism, checks and balances, freedom of dissent and the rights and role opposition in democracy.

It is in this latter respect that there is a very great need for opposition parties to work together. It is also often said that the image liabilities of the opposition parties within the ANC camp and its stakeholder groups would be ameliorated if opposition parties were to operate in some form of wider Alliance. This challenge will be explored on the basis of other findings of this survey.

#### The growth potential of existing political parties

In order to assess the zone of possible expansion among political parties, two additional questions were posed about voting preferences in order to estimate the "closet" support that parties enjoy. The respondents were also asked:

- 1. What party "most" deserves to be supported
- 2. What other parties also deserve to be supported

In response to the first additional question the following pattern emerged:

#### Party most deserving of support:

- 2% of ANC support selects the DA
- 6 % of DA support selects the ANC
- 12% of IFP support selects the ANC
- 2% of IFP support selects the DA
- 12% of ID support selects the ANC
- 6% of ID support selects the DA
- 28% of ACDP support selects the DA
- 2% of ACDP support selects the FF+
- 12% of FF+ support selects the DA
- 10% of UDM support selects the ANC
- **3% of UDM support selects the IFP**

The key issue, however, is how much overall "closet" support within other parties each party enjoys. **This closet support represents a <u>potential</u> for expansion by a political party.** In table 3 an estimate is calculated of the overall amount of potential support within other parties that each political party enjoys.

Table 3. The overall amount of hidden support within other parties that each political party enjoys (selected parties only) Based on the parties that respondents consider:

Political	Base support based	Additional %* of	Further %* of				
party	on party	hidden support	additional support				
	respondents would	because party is	because party is				
	vote for in an	considered to be	considered "also"				
	election (q.23)	"most" deserving of	deserving of support				
	(1)	support					
ANC/SACP	71,5%	9,6%	5,5%				
DA	20,6%	4,3%	14,4%				
IFP	2,5%	0,09%	5,8%				
ID	2,4%	0,07%	9,1%				
UDM	1,2%	0,05%	5,2%				
FF+	0,6%	0,04%	3,6%				
ACDP	1,0%	0,04%	2,8%				
* Additional % is to the base of total support for parties excluding non-response							

To be <u>most</u> deserving of support
 To be also deserving of support

In analysing the table, each party has to be considered separately because a gain for one means a loss for another and here the focus is only on potential gains. Summing up what table 3 tells us is that, due to hidden or "closet" support, <u>under favourable circumstances, a better election campaign than all other parties and high supporter turnout, the potential for expansion in support for the following parties could be as follows (rounded %s):</u>

•	ANCP/SACP:	70,5% plus 9% - 15% = 81% - 86%
•	DA:	20,6% plus 4% - 18% = 25% - 39%
•	IFP:	2,5% plus 1% - 6% = 4% - 9%
•	ID:	2,4% plus 1% - 10% = 3% - 12%
•	UDM:	1,2% plus 1% - 6% = 2% - 7%
•	FF+:	0,6% plus $0%$ - $4% = 1%$ - $5%$
•	ACDP:	1,0% plus $0%$ - $3% = 0%$ - $4%$

These outcomes are of course possibilities rather than probabilities but they reflect the maximum potential of each party given the extent of hidden sympathy and support, which may very well remain hidden. It certainly might be an incentive for certain parties like the DA and the ID, for example, to keep up the struggle for additional support and to seek potential alliance or coalition partners.

#### The Issue of an Election Alliance or Coalition

The respondents in the survey were asked a general question about a coalition – loosely defined as parties that agree on basic principles not competing against each other but putting forward a shared list of candidates and operating together thereafter:

- Remarkably, 69% of the respondents felt that this was a very good or fairly good idea
- It was however endorsed more strongly by opposition parties, excluding the IFP, than by ANC supporters

Certain attributes or functions of a coalition were put to all respondents and the proportions considering that the attributes were essential or a good thing were as follows:

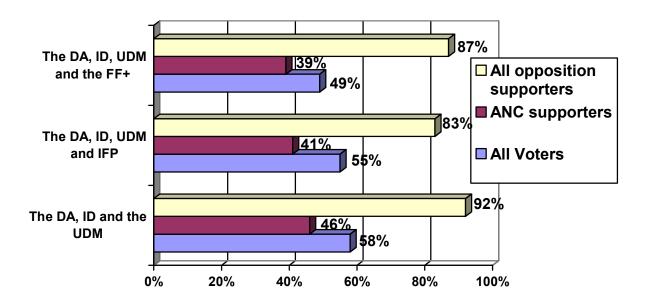
- A coalition should be a rainbow coalition with prominent people from all groups: 70% support
- A coalition should strengthen opposition to the ANC: 58% overall support, rising to over 75% among opposition parties excluding the IFP.
- A coalition should draw together the best expertise in running the country irrespective of race: 72% support
- A coalition should only include parties that believe in the same economic principles: 65% support
- A coalition should only include parties that believe in the same political and democratic principles: 66% support

It would seem, therefore that the principle of coalition and cooperation across party lines is rather overwhelmingly endorsed. One must be very cautious in this respect, however – people just love the idea of cooperation and consensus and the replies above may be a reflection of uncritical political sentimentality, very much like our collective enthusiasm for "reconciliation" and "ubuntu" when our actual behaviour is more often than not exactly the opposite. A far more valid test of the acceptance of political cooperation is to specify the participants in a coalition or alliance and then test voter reaction. The following concrete examples were given and the proportions indicating that they would actually vote for such an alliance were as follows -- first the general response and then the response among ANC supporters and finally the reactions of opposition supporters. See table 4.

Table 4. Reactions to three alternative coalition options									
Composition of coalition	Percentage that would definitely or probably vote for the coalition or seriously consider supporting it								
	All Voters								
	All voters	ANC supporters	All opposition supporters						
The DA, ID	58%	46%	92%						
and the UDM									
The DA, ID,	55%	41%	83%						
UDM and IFP									
The DA, ID,	49%	39%	87%						
UDM and the									
FF+									

 Table 4. Reactions to three alternative coalition options

#### Figure 4. Reactions to three alternative coalition options



The support among ANC voters is remarkable and probably reflects not only the sentimental attractions of cooperation but also the quite substantial perception among many (but not all) ANC supporters that there should be a stronger and critical opposition to government (34%). While they would probably not actually vote for such MarkData (Pty) Ltd 17 Strategic Research Solutions

a coalition, the ANC supporters in their responses above are possibly responding to genuine enthusiasm for better government.

The first option is clearly the optimal composition in terms of potential support in general and it is very clearly the optimal coalition composition for opposition party supporters.

One notes from a comparison of the options that while the addition of the Freedom Front Plus depresses support it does so most among all voters and among the ANC supporters and relatively less among opposition party supporters. Among the latter it is the second most attractive alternative.

The addition of the IFP also depresses potential support in all categories but most significantly among opposition party supporters.

As an opposition approach, therefore, a coalition comprising the DA, ID and UDM is clearly the most advantageous, with the addition of the IFP least attractive to opposition supporters.

Another perspective on the composition of the cooperating alliance or coalition is seen in the extent to which certain parties are rejected as participants. Rejection of party participation in an association, by other parties:

- The ANC is rejected by:
  - FF+: 87% of supporters
  - DA: 73%
  - ACDP: 71%
  - ID: 57%
  - UDM: 43%
  - IFP: 40%
- The DA is rejected by:
  - ANC: 35%
  - UDM: 17%
  - IFP: 14%
  - ACDP: 7%
  - ID: 5%
  - FF+: 4%
- The ID is rejected by:
  - ANC: 42%
  - UDM: 33%
  - IFP: 20%
  - FF+ 17%
  - ACDP: 13%
  - DA: 12%
- The UDM is rejected by:
  - ANC: 34%
  - The FF+ 33%
  - DA 28%
  - IFP 23%
  - ACDP 21%
  - ID 13%
- The IFP is rejected by:
  - ANC: 44%
  - ID: 30%
  - ACDP: 30%
  - DA: 28%
  - FF+: 21%
  - UDM: 13%
- The FF+ is rejected by
  - ANC: 53% - UDM: 45% - DA: 28%
    - ID: 26%
  - IFP: 24%
  - ACDP: 20%

There are certainly few signs of racial patterns in the levels of rejection of one another by parties. The supposedly white dominated DA is rejected less by the supposedly black dominated ANC than the less "white" ID and the black IFP. There is clearly a mindset opposed to the former right wing stance of the FF+ and a strong residue of the tensions between the ANC and the IFP. Hence there is a mix of ideological and leadership factors involved in rejection of parties, as is quite normal in party politics.

Because the notion of inter-party cooperation is to increase the likelihood of drawing support from across the spectrum of parties, and particularly from black voters, it is useful to consider the overall levels of rejection of particular parties among opposition supporters, all voters and black voters. The patterns are given in table 5:

 Table 5. Overall level of rejection of political parties as coalition partners among opposition supporters and voters at large

Political party	Level of rejection as partner by opposition supporters	Level of rejection as partner by all respondents	Level of rejection by all BLACK respondents
ANC	55%	41%	33%
FF+	46%	46%	51%
IFP	39%	38%	41%
ID	33%	32%	39%
UDM	31%	31%	32%
DA	30%	26%	32%

In looking at these figures one must bear in mind that particularly among ANC supporters, respondents who are not interested in a coalition with any party are part of the rejection levels. This distortion applies mainly to the answers by ANC supporters in respect of the ANC. The other figures for rejection levels are almost all rejection of a party as a coalition partner.

The ANC might be the largest party in a dominant position but outside of its large support base it is not popular at all. Despite all the loose or subtle accusations of "racist" intention by ANC leaders and activists, the DA is the least disliked party both in the electorate as a whole and among opposition supporters and **black voters**. Fortunately the activist denunciation of the DA as neo-liberal or racist has little effect on mass sentiment.

The IFP has a poor image in both the electorate at large and among opposition supporters, and the same can be said of the FF+. The ID and the UDM are in a relatively favourable position with levels of rejection only slightly higher than that of the DA.

The issue of the race of candidates that a coalition should field was also explored and the results appear in table 6 according to the main prospects for coalition membership.

Types of candidates	ANC	DA	ID	UDM	FF+	ACDP	All Respondents
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Broad quotas for different races	32	30	21	48	58	39	33
People with the greatest knowledge and ability	52	67	76	49	42	54	56
Anyone but NOT whites	12	2	3	3	-	7	8

Table 6. Types of candidates that a coalition of parties should field

If one considers the practices of affirmative action, BEE and candidate selection by the ANC, the results in this table could be from a different country.

We note that the DA and the ID supporters have distinctly similar views on the desirability of knowledge and ability in the selection of candidates. This is a powerful unifying factor in coalition politics. The other opposition parties are rather more inclined to favour racially based quotas for candidate selection, a problematic preference in democracy. Only the ANC, however, has a significant minority of supporters that favour the exclusion of whites altogether, fortunately small at some 12% of ANC supporters.

Another issue relating to candidates that could be extremely divisive relates to a code of conduct as a basis of candidate acceptance, and the implied exclusion of candidates who are not above reproach. The results of a question on this are summarised in table 7.

Adherence versus exceptions	ANC	DA	ID	UDM	ACDP	IFP	FF+	All Respondents
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Strict adherence to code	50	79	70	54	86	48	83	57
Exceptions on the basis of popularity or race	50	21	30	46	14	52	17	43

Table 7. Strict adherence to a code of conduct for candidates, versus relaxations on the basis of popularity or race

The supporters of the DA, the ID, the ACDP, and the FF+ are strongly in favour of strict adherence to a code of conduct whereas the UDM and the IFP supporters tend to be rather similar to those of the ANC, who equivocate on the issue.

One should also consider the compatibility of party supporters on issues of policy and socio-political attitudes. Questions were posed with multiple items and the results need not be presented in full. The results will be summarised below but interested readers are referred to Appendix B for the full detail (q 3-7, 10).

Broadly the results suggest the following:

## Government performance

- Intense dissatisfaction with government performance is present among 40% of more of supporters of all opposition parties. Intense dissatisfaction falls to just over 20% among ANC support. There is thus considerable opposition consensus
- Some 70% or more of all opposition supporters feel that the country is heading in the wrong direction, as opposed to 40% in the ANC
- Generally only somewhat more than a third of all voters and those in both government and opposition parties feel that their quality of life is bad or very bad. Among IFP and FF+ supporters, however, this rises to over 60%.

Quality of life, however, is not necessarily closely linked to government performance.

• Some 70% or more of ANC supporters feel that government tries its best to provide a better life, and this view is shared by 45% of ID, 40% of ACDP and 63% of UDM supporters. In the DA, the IFP and the FF+ less than a third of supporters make this concession. In this respect the opposition is divided.

#### Social and political policy

- Not surprisingly, with the exception of the FF+ which is cynical about state action, all party supporters, ANC included, are broadly agreed on the following policy priorities:
  - Assistance to people in poverty
  - Investment for growth
  - Combating crime and abuse
  - Fighting corruption
  - Improved basic service delivery
  - The need for a more efficient public service
  - Improved education and training
  - Improved health and HIV/Aids policies
  - Improved public housing delivery
  - Changing labour laws to combat unemployment (except among ACDP and FF+ supporters). The respondents' agreement was elicited more by the concern over unemployment than a desire to change labour laws, however.
- There is somewhat less general enthusiasm, but broad inter-party consensus on and support for:
  - Protecting workers' rights (the FF+ disagrees)
  - The protection of language and cultural rights
  - Achieving racial harmony and reconciliation (except the FF+)

- There is, however, **divergence** of views on the following issues:
  - State appointments on merit and ability irrespective of race. Only half of ANC supporters support merit appointments whereas majorities of all opposition parties, particularly the ID, the UDM and the DA support merit.
  - The ID, the ACDP and the FF+ are fairly strongly opposed to transformation policies to overcome the effects of Apartheid. The ANC, the DA and the other opposition party supporters are, however, lukewarm in their support. This policy was once more widely supported but it has been partially discredited by promoting the interests of a new elite.
  - There is only lukewarm support or less for policies to reduce inequality between rich and poor of any race, even in the ANC. While the inequality is condemned **government intervention is mistrusted**, except among IFP supporters, who see themselves as the poorest of the poor.
  - There is fairly lukewarm support for Affirmative Action and Empowerment policies, but moderate opposition to these policies by DA, ID, ACDP, and FF+ supporters, once again because government has misapplied the policies.
  - For the very same reason there is even more lukewarm support for restitution policies to compensate for Apartheid

Conclusions on the issue of coalitions will be drawn at the end of this report.

## 4. Leadership Image

In table 8 the proportions of all voters and of opposition voters who either admire or dislike the country's leaders are presented.

Leaders	All voters,	ANC included	Opposition	n supporters
	Admire	Dislike	Admire	Dislike
ANC Alliance	⁰∕₀ ->	⁰∕₀ ->	⁰∕₀ ->	⁰∕₀ ->
Thabo Mbeki	38	37	17	57
Jacob Zuma	46	36	25	58
Phumzile M-Nguka	28	46	18	57
Blade Nzimande	17	58	11	62
Opposition				
Helen Zille	25	51	48	31
Mangos. Buthelezi	14	62	19	53
Patricia de Lille	20	53	34	39
Pieter Mulder	8	68	15	60
Bantu Holomisa	14	60	12	59

Table 8. Admiration versus dislike of political leaders

These results are remarkable. Only Jacob Zuma is admired more than he is disliked among all voters, the majority of whom are ANC. Mbeki is admired and disliked in equal measure and the other leaders of the ruling Alliance are disliked more than they are liked. There is a leader-appeal vacuum among the governing elite, and even Zuma is disliked by well over a third of all voters.

As expected, opposition leaders are disliked much more than they are liked among all voters, but Helen Zille and Patricia de Lille are disliked least.

Among opposition voters, Helen Zille is admired most and disliked least, followed by Patricia de Lille. The other opposition leaders clearly do not have a following outside their own parties. Helen Zille is the leader most likely to find support outside her own party.

#### 5 Broad Conclusions

#### Party strength:

The ANC/SACP Alliance is still clearly the dominant force in the electorate. It has, however, weakened slightly after sustained growth since 1994. The end of a trend and the peaking of support always signals possibilities of a change of direction and opposition parties should take heart from these signals.

At the same time, however, there will be some consolidation of ANC support during the 2009 election campaign under a new leader, and the effects of the peaking of underlying support may not be very clearly evident until after the elections. The consolidation of support will not be as powerful as it has been in past election campaigns, however, because never before has the ANC gone into elections with a leader whose popularity is not universal in the party.

In the past opposition parties have perceived the effects of the ANC party activists playing the race card to consolidate black support against the opposition. Whether the exploitation of race has been the main consolidating factor is debateable, however. Other possible factors are the effects on voters of overblown and over-optimistic promises of a "better life" (detailed results in Appendix B show how susceptible mass voters are to such promises) as well as the pervasive pressure of politics in public life. In response to question 8 (see Appendix A) it may be noted that black and so-called coloured voters are most likely to find it very difficult to hold political opinions different to those of the people around them (around 20%), and this diffuse pressure certainly helps the consolidation of parties dominant in specific areas. Racial solidarity, in this author's interpretation of trends in the results, not as powerful than it is among new elites and among a fairly distinctive African nationalist core within the ANC, which is less than 20% of ANC support. This leads to the second theme in these conclusions.

More so than in very many survey results in the past, the significance of the racial factor in itself is rather muted. In the patterns of popularity or dislike of leaders and in a variety of direct probes, rank-and-file voters of the ANC and other parties are either disinterested in or firmly reject "race" as a criterion for acceptance. They perceive the complexities and contradictions in behaviour around them and generally see through the racial stereotypes peddled by activists, both black and white.

The DA as a political party is the best example of this. It has been commonplace for semi-"progressive" opinion leaders to hint or allege that the DA has a "neo-liberal" (i.e. new conservative) ideology and to imply that its agenda is racist. Yet the results in the survey show that, while there is minority based racial antipathy for the DA in the ANC, DA communication is more generally accepted as bona-fide and that there is considerable covert sympathy for its stance among rank-and-file black voters. The fact that this sympathy has not yet been translated into open electoral support, in this writers view, is due more to the barrage of promises that the ANC makes of a better life for the poor, a relative lack of healthy cynicism about politics and that the government does get its message through that, all its capacity failures notwithstanding, it is "trying its best" to improve the lives of the rank-and-file poor.

Race can never be discounted in South Africa, but at the same time, open democracy is still fairly new, and the judicious caution and indeed the cynicism about promissory rhetoric that effective democracy requires is not yet well-developed among the mass of voters. However disappointed they are, these voters still play it safe and support the party that most consistently promises that it is "on their side". Lavish promises are also in the nature of a short-term "fix" for disillusionment among all people. We should know how often unscrupulous partners get away with delinquency by promising undying love and fidelity thereafter. Political promises can have the same effect, and the respondents give a clear indication of this in the results of this survey (see the detailed results of q 11 in Appendix B).

Hence while opposition politics faces huge challenges in South Africa's segmented democracy, there is no reason to believe that the factor of majority-based racial solidarity is so overwhelming as to render the task of political education through effective communication at grass roots level hopeless. Certain opposition parties can

look forward to steady, if slow, gains in the future, and once a tipping point is reached, gains could be significant. And in the 2009 elections, unless the country is hugely disrupted by the economic downturn that will last through 2009, opposition parties collectively can look forward to increasing their share of the vote.

The DA in particular could look forward to quite significant gains as the major opposition party, taking its support to around the 20% mark.

#### **Cooperation, alliances and coalitions:**

There is also very substantial popular support for political cooperation between opposition parties and interest in such cooperation among substantial minorities in the ANC support base.

The supporter interest in a coalition of parties is most significant in opposition ranks, however, and a well-crafted election alliance and or post election coalition could consolidate opposition strength.

From the perspective and preferences of the supporters, the cooperation would be most appropriate between the DA, the ID and the UDM and it is this combination that would optimise support levels. The addition of any other party would decrease the overall appeal.

On the basis of policy preferences and political orientations of supporters across racial categories, cooperation between the DA and the ID would be most appropriate, because other opposition parties have rather stronger elements of racial nationalism, black or otherwise, that will make cooperative action after the elections difficult.

The question arises, however, as to whether or not it will be important to include a party with a black leader. Yes and no.

As far as the general image and media profile of the cooperation is concerned, it will be an obvious advantage to have a prominent black leader in the ranks. As far as delivering votes in the short run, however, the effects will not be dramatic. Among black voters at large, none of the possible black participants have public profiles and popularity levels that will deliver very significant numbers of extra votes. Full interracial cooperation will deliver medium term rather than short run benefits.

As in most countries aside from the highly developed few, the largest underlying challenge for democracy in South Africa is the level of independence and sophistication of voter choices, across racial categories. Although its current political and economic stresses may disguise it, South Africa is making progress. To that extent the results of this research are encouraging.

# Appendix A. Questionnaire

## **RESPONDENTS AGED 18 YEARS AND OLDER AND ELIGIBLE TO VOTE RESPONDENTE OUDERDOM 18 JAAR EN OUER EN STEMGEREGTIG**

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MarkData (Pty) Ltd Strategic Research Solutions

#### OMNIBUS SURVEY April 2008

MARKDATA regularly undertakes studies on a wide range of social matters amongst all population groups, for example research on family planning, education, unemployment, the problems of the aged, and Image studies.

This questionnaire covers a variety of subjects, which are currently being investigated to obtain additional information. Apart from biographical data, subjects being covered are: Social and Political

Political parties are beginning to get ready for the next general election in 2009. I am from MarkData, a private research company that regularly does research on economic, social and political issues. There have been many recent developments affecting political parties, and various organisations have encouraged MarkData to undertake research on how voters feel about what has been happening before the elections next year.

The area in which you live, as well as you personally have been selected randomly for the purpose of this survey. The fact that you have been chosen is thus quite coincidental. Your name will not be written anywhere on the questionnaire and you need not sign the questionnaire or any other documents. The information you provide will be treated as confidential. It will be processed by computer in such a way that no personal identification is possible.

#### OMNIBUSOPNAME April 2008

MARKDATA doen gereeld ondersoeke onder alle bevolkingsgroepe oor 'n wye reeks maatskaplike aangeleenthede, byvoorbeeld: navorsing oor gesinsbeplanning, opvoeding, werkloosheid, die probleme van bejaardes, en Beeld studies.

Hierdie vraelys dek 'n verskeidenheid onderwerpe wat tans ondersoek word ten einde addisionele inligting te bekom. Benewens biografiese data, word die volgende onderwerpe gedek: Sosiaal en Polities

Politieke partye begin hulself gereed kry vir die volgende algemene verkiesing in 2009. Ek is van MarkData, 'n privaat navorsingsmaatskappy wat gereeld navorsing doen oor ekonomiese, maatskaplike en politieke aangeleenthede. Daar was in die afgelope tyd talle ontwikkelinge wat politieke partye raak en verskeie organisasies het MarkData aangemoedig om voor die verkiesing volgende jaar navorsing te doen oor kiesers se gevoelens oor wat gebeur het.

Die gebied waarin u woon, en uself, is vir die doeleindes van hierdie opname op 'n ewekansige wyse geselekteer. Die feit dat u by die steekproef ingesluit is, is heeltemal toevallig. Dus sal u naam nêrens op die vraelys geskryf word nie en daar word ook nie van u verwag om die vraelys of enige ander dokumente te onderteken nie. Die inligting wat u verskaf word vertroulik hanteer. Dit sal deur 'n rekenaar op sodanige wyse verwerk word dat geen persoonlike identifisering moontlik is nie.

#### PARTICULARS OF VISITS/BESONDERHEDE VAN BESOEKE

	MONTH/MAAND DATE/DATUM *TIME/TYD **OUTCOME/UITKOMS		
First visit/Eerste besoek		]	48-54
Second visit/ Tweede besoek		]	55-61
Third visit/ Derde besoek		]	62-68
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* TIME/TYD	**OUTCOME/UITKOMS		
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Morning till 12:00	Revisit/Herbesoek		
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10 00 10 50	Selected respondent not at home/ Geselekteerde respondent nie tuis nie.	=	03
12:00 - 13:59 = 2	No one home/Niemand tuis nie.	=	04
14:00 - 14:59 = 3	Do not qualify/Kwalifiseer nie		0.5
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19:00 - 19:59 = 8	Respondent kan a.g.v. taal nie met OHV kommunikeer nie.	=	07
20:00 - 20:59 = 9	Respondent kan a.g.v. dan ne net off v kommunikeer net. Respondent is physically/mentally not fit to be interviewed/.	_	07
20.00 - 20.39 = -9 21:00 - 24:00 = 0	Respondent is fisies/geestelik nie in staat om 'n onderhoud te voer nie.	_	08
21.00 24.00 0	Refusals/Weierings		00
	Contact person refused/Kontakpersoon weier.	=	09
	Interview refused by selected respondent/Onderhoud geweier deur geselekteerde respondent.	=	10
	Interview refused by parent/Onderhoud geweier deur ouer.	=	11
	OFFICE USE/KANTOORGEBRUIK		
	Used wrong respondent/address/Verkeerde respondent/adres gebruik.	=	12

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3	28	53	1	1	2	1	4	2	7	6	9	3	5	11	2	1	3	11	7	10	16	16	10	5	2	2	3
4	29	54	1	2	3	2	1	3	5	8	6	2	4	2	4	8	11	10	16	6	9	10	15	11	12	11	18
5	30	55	1	1	1	4	5	6	3	5	7	5	9	8	14	3	2	13	5	18	1	4	1	20	11	5	24
6	31	56	1	2	2	2	3	5	6	7	8	7	1	4	9	14	8	2	17	17	14	12	14	22	10	3	14
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9	34	59	1	1	3	2	5	6	2	2	1	9	10	1	10	4	6	6	1	9	10	1	5	6	9	1	12
10	35	60	1	2	2	4	1	3	3	6	9	10	11	12	3	9	15	7	8	11	6	3	9	4	3	10	1
11	36	61	1	1	1	3	1	4	5	3	1	6	2	9	13	11	14	4	11	4	15	15	17	1	1	23	2
12	37	62	1	2	3	1	3	2	7	5	6	5	7	7	8	6	10	3	3	1	12	20	7	13	22	12	16
13	38	63	1	1	2	1	5	3	6	4	3	4	6	2	11	13	12	1	15	8	7	2	12	15	21	13	7
14	39	64	1	2	3	2	4	1	4	7	8	2	5	6	11	12	9	16	13	16	11	18	18	14	16	18	23
15	40	65	1	2	1	4	2	4	3	8	7	7	11	1	3	5	7	12	14	13	8	17	20	19	20	19	11
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HAS FIELDWORK CONTROL BEEN DONE FROM MARKDATA OFFICE?

Is veldwerkkontrole deur MarkData kantoor gedoen?

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3.

5a

WITH REGARD TO EACH OF THE HOUSEHOLDS MENTIONED ABOVE, INDICATE THE FOLLOWING 4. Met betrekking tot elk van bogenoemde huishoudings dui asseblief die volgende aan:

	А	В	С		
	HOUSEHOLD	NUMBER OF	DWELLING STRUCTURE IN WHICH EACH OF		
	NUMBER	PEOPLE IN	THE HOUSEHOLDS PREDOMINANTLY LIVE/		
		EACH	Woonstruktuur waarin elk van die huishoudings		
		HOUSEHOLD	hoofsaaklik woon.		
			INTERVIEWER: REFER TO THE CODING LIST		
			OF DWELLING TYPES BELOW		
	Huishouding	Aantal persone in	Oonderhoudvoerder: raadpleeg die onderstaande		
	nommer	elke huishouding	kodelys vir woonstruktuur tipes		
SELECTED					
HOUSEHOLD					
Geselekteerde					
huishouding					

5 1

4,5

#### CODING LIST FOR QUESTIONS 4c AND 5a/ KODELYS VIR VRAE 4c EN 5a

		FORMAL SINGLE HOUSE
	1	Formele enkele huis
		FLAT (IN FLAT BUILDING)
	2	Woonstel (in woonstelgebou)
		FLAT (ON SAME STAND AS HOUSE)
	3	Woonstel (op dieselfde perseel as huis)
		TOWN HOUSE, CLUSTER HOUSE, SEMI-DETACHED HOUSE/MAISONETTE/ DUETTE
	4	Meenthuis /trosbehuising/skakelhuis/maisionette/ duet huis
		RETIREMENT DWELLING IN A RETIREMENT VILLAGE/COMPLEX
	5	Aftreewoning in 'n aftree-oord/kompleks
		ROOM OR SUITE IN AN OLD AGE HOME
	6	Kamer of suite in 'n ouetehuis
		TRADITIONAL DWELLING (HUT)
	7	Tradisionele woning (hut)
		SHACK (INCLUDING TEMPORARY PRE-FABRICATED STRUCTURES)
	8	Pondok (insluitend tydelike voorafvervaardigde strukture)
		BOARDING HOUSE/RESIDENTIAL HOTEL/HOSTEL/COMPOUND
	9	Losieshuis/residensiële hotel/hostel/kampong
		OTHER: PLEASE SPECIFY
	0	Ander:Spesifiseer asb.
		/ER: (REFER TO ANSWER ON QUESTION 1, PAGE 4).
		RE MORE THAN FOUR HOUSEHOLDS ON THE PREMISES, ASK THE FOLLOWING:
		JDVOERDER: (VERWYS NA VRAAG 1, BL. 4). INDIEN DAAR MEER AS VIER HUISHOUDINGS OP
DIE PE	ERSEE	EL IS, VRA DIE VOLGENDE:
		E PREDOMINANT TYPE OF DWELLING STRUCTURE OF THE REMAINING HOUSEHOLDS ON
THE PR	EMISI	ES?

Wat is die oorwegende tipe woonstruktuur van die res van die huishoudings op die perseel?

5b	HOW MANY PEOPLE IN TOTAL LIVE IN THE REMAINING HOUSEHOLDS MENTIONED ABOVE?
	Hoeveel mense in totaal bly in die bogenoemde oorblywende huishoudings?

HOW MANY PEOPLE WHO WORK FOR THE SELECTED HOUSEHOLD ARE LIVING ON THE PREMISES? 6. Hoeveel mense wat vir die geselekteerde huishouding werk, woon op die perseel?

.....

7.	INTERVIEWER	USE GRID TO IDENTIFY RESPONDENT RESPONDENT NUMBER	
	ONDERHOUDVOERDER	Gebruik ruitenet om respondent te identifiseer Nommer van respondent	

#### BIOGRAPHICAL DATA BIOGRAFIESE GEGEWENS

1.

NITEDVIEWED, DO NOT ACK, DUT DI EACE MADK		1
INTERVIEWER: DO NOT ASK, BUT PLEASE MARK		
ONDERHOUDVOERDER: MOENIE VRA NIE, MAAR	MERK ASSEBLIEF	
	BLACK	
	Swart	1
	GRIQUA	
	Griekwa	2
	KHOISAN (BUSHMAN)	
	KhoiSan (Boesman)	3
	COLOURED	
	Kleurling	4
	ASIAN	
	Asiër	5
	WHITE	
	Blank	6

2. GENDER OF RESPONDENT Geslag van respondent

MALE	
Manlik	1
FEMALE	
Vroulik	2

#### 3. WHAT IS YOUR AGE IN COMPLETED YEARS? Wat is u ouderdom in voltooide jare?

.....YEARS/Jare

5

#### 4. WHAT IS YOUR CURRENT MARITAL STATUS? Wat is u huidige huwelikstaat?

	CIVIL (CHURCH OR MAGISTRATE)	WITH CHILDREN/Met kinders	01
	Siviel (kerk of magistraat)	WITHOUT CHILDREN/ Sonder kinders	02
MARRIED	TRADITIONAL	WITH CHILDREN/Met kinders	03
	(LOBOLA/BOGADI/OTHER)		
Getroud	Tradisioneel (lobola /bogadi/ander)	WITHOUT CHILDREN/ Sonder kinders	04
	CIVIL AND TRADITIONAL	WITH CHILDREN/Met kinders	05
	Siviel en tradisioneel	WITHOUT CHILDREN/ Sonder kinders	06
BETROTHED A	AND LIVING TOGETHER	WITH CHILDREN/Met kinders	07
Verloof en woor	n saam	WITHOUT CHILDREN/ Sonder kinders	08
LIVE TOGETH	IER	WITH CHILDREN/Met kinders	09
Bly saam		WITHOUT CHILDREN/ Sonder kinders	10
DIVORCED/ES	STRANGED	WITH CHILDREN/Met kinders	11
Geskei/ vervree	md	WITHOUT CHILDREN/ Sonder kinders	12
WIDOWER/ WIDOW WITH CHILDREN/Met kinders		13	
Wewenaar/wedu	uwee	WITHOUT CHILDREN/ Sonder kinders	14
NEVER MARR	led	WITH CHILDREN/Met kinders	15
Nooit getroud n	ie	WITHOUT CHILDREN/ Sonder kinders	16
OTHER (PLEA	SE DESCRIBE IN THE SPACE PROVIDED)		
Ander (Beskryf	asseblief in die spasie voorsien)		17

5. WHAT IS YOUR HIGHEST COMPLETED EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION? Wat is u hoogste voltooide opvoedkundige kwalifikasie?

NONE	
Geen	01
GRADE 1 AND 2 (SUB A AND B)	
Graad 1 en 2 (Sub A en B)	02
GRADE 3/ STD 1	
Graad 3/ St. 1	03
GRADE 4/ STD 2	
Graad 4/ St. 2	04
GRADE 5/ STD 3	
Graad 5/ St. 3	05
GRADE 6/ STD 4	
Graad 6/ St. 4	06
GRADE 7/ STD 5	
Graad 7/ St. 5	07
GRADE 8/ STD 6 (FORM 1)	
Graad 8/ St. 6 (Vorm 1)	08
GRADE 9/ STD 7 (FORM II)	
Graad 9/ St.7 (Vorm II)	09
GRADE 10/ STD 8 (FORM III, NTC I)	
Graad 10/ St. 8 (Vorm III, NTS I)	10
GRADE 11/ STD 9 (FORM IV, NTC II)	
Graad 11/ St. 9 (Vorm IV, NTS II)	11
GRADE 12/STD 10 (FORM V, NTC III)	
Graad 12/ St. 10 (Vorm V, NTS III)	12
GRADE 12/ STD 10 + COLLEGE DIPLOMA	
Graad 12/ St. 10 + Kollege Diploma	13
TECHNIKON DIPLOMA	
Technikon Diploma	14
TECHNIKON HIGHER DIPLOMA	1.5
Technikon Hoër Diploma	15
B. DEGREE/HONOURS DEGREE	16
Baccalaureus- / Honneursgraad MASTER'S DIPLOMA IN TECHNOLOGY	16
	17
Meestersdiploma in Tegnologie MASTER'S DEGREE	17
	18
Magistergraad LAUREATUS IN TECHNOLOGY	18
	19
Laureatus in Tegnologie DOCTOR'S DEGREE (NON-MEDICAL)	19
Doktorsgraad (nie medies)	20
OTHER (SPECIFY)	20
Ander	21
(spesifiseer)	21
(speamseer)	

6. WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU SPEAK AT HOME MOST OF THE TIME? Watter taal praat u die meeste tuis?

AFRIKAANS/AF	RIKAANS	01
ENGLISH/Engels		02
	ANS AND ENGLISH / Beide Afrikaans en Engels	03
EUROPEAN LAI	NGUAGE / Europese taal	04
ORIENTAL / INI	DIAN LANGUAGE / Oosterse / Indiese taal	05
	SOUTHERN SOTHO/ Suid Sotho / Sesotho	06
SOTHO	WESTERN SOTHO (TSWANA)/ Wes-Sotho (Tswana) / Setswana	07
	NORTHERN SOTHO (PEDI)/ Noord-Sotho (Pedi) / Sepedi	08
	Swazi/ Siswati	09
NGUNI	Ndebele/ isiNdebele	10
	Xhosa/ isiXhosa	11
	Zulu/ isiZulu	12
TSONGA/ Xitsor	nga	13
VENDA/LEMBA/ Tshivenda		14
OTHER AFRICAN LANGUAGE / Ander Afrikataal		15
OTHER (SPECIFY)		
Ander (spesifiseer)		

5

- 7a.WHAT IS THE AVERAGE JOINT INCOME FOR THIS HOUSEHOLD PER MONTH (GROSS INCOME FROM ALL<br/>SOURCES)?<br/>Wat is die gemiddelde gesamentlike inkomste vir hierdie huishouding per maand (bruto uit alle bronne)?
- 7b. WHAT IS YOUR AVERAGE <u>PERSONAL</u> GROSS INCOME PER MONTH? Wat is u gemiddelde <u>persoonlike</u> bruto inkomste per maand?

	7a	7b
NO INCOME/Geen inkomste	01	01
R1 – R99	02	02
R100 - R299	03	03
R300 - R499	04	04
R500 - R799	05	05
R800 – R999	06	06
R1000 - R2399	07	07
R2400 – R4999	08	08
R5000 – R9999	09	09
R10 000 - R15 999	10	10
R16 000 - R19 999	11	11
R20 000 - R24 999	12	12
R25 000 - R29 999	13	13
R30 000 - R39 999	14	14
R40 000 - R49 999	15	15
R50 000 - R69 999	16	16
R70 000 – R99 999	17	17
R100 000 - R119 999	18	18
R120 000 - R149 999	19	19
R150 000 - R199 999	20	20
R200 000 - +	21	21
REFUSE TO ANSWER/ Weier om te antwoord	22	22
UNCERTAIN /DON'T KNOW/Onseker /Weet nie	23	23

5

7c.	WHAT IS THE MAIN SOURCE OF INCOME FOR THIS HOUSEHOLD?: (MARK ONE) Wat is die hoof bron van inkomste vir hierdie huishouding?: (Merk een) MONTHLY SALARY/Maandelikse salaris	1
	WEEKLY WAGE/Weeklikse besoldiging	2
	INCOME FROM OWN BUSINESS/Inkomste uit eie besigheid	3
	FEES EARNED/Fooie verdien	4
	OCCASIONAL INCOME/Inkomste per geleentheid	5
	INVESTMENTS/Beleggings	6
	PRIVATE PENSION/Privaat pensioen	7
	GOVERNMENT PENSION OR GRANTS/Regerings pensioen of toelae	8
	OTHER (SPECIFY)/Ander (Spesifiseer)	

#### 8a. WHAT IS YOUR CURRENT EMPLOYMENT STATUS (WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING BEST DESCRIBES YOUR PRESENT WORK SITUATION)? What is a building workstatus (Watter van die volgende beskryf a building worksituasie die beste)?

wat is u huidige werkstatus (watter van die volgende beskryf u huidige werkstatusie die beste)?	
UNEMPLOYED, NOT LOOKING FOR WORK	
Werkloos, soek nie werk nie	01
UNEMPLOYED, LOOKING FOR WORK	
Werkloos, soek werk	02
WORK IN INFORMAL SECTOR, NOT LOOKING FOR PERMANENT WORK	
Werk in informele sektor, soek nie permanente werk nie	03
WORK IN INFORMAL SECTOR, LOOKING FOR PERMANENT WORK	
Werk in informele sektor, soek permanente werk	04
PENSIONER (AGE/RETIRED/SICK/DISABLED, ETC.)	
Pensionaris (ouderdom/afgetree/siekte/onbevoeg, ens.)	05
HOUSEWIFE, NOT WORKING AT ALL, NOT LOOKING FOR WORK	
Huisvrou, werk glad nie, soek nie werk nie	06
HOUSEWIFE, LOOKING FOR WORK	
Huisvrou, soek werk	07
STUDENT/SCHOLAR	
Student/Skolier	08
SELF-EMPLOYED - FULL TIME	
Eie besigheid – voltyds	09
SELF-EMPLOYED - PART TIME	
Eie besigheid – deeltyds	10
EMPLOYED PART TIME (IF NONE OF THE ABOVE)	
Werk deeltyds (indien geen van bogenoemde nie)	11
EMPLOYED FULL TIME	
Werk voltyds	12
OTHER (SPECIFY)/Ander (Spesifiseer)	
	13

 8b. WHAT IS YOUR CURRENT OCCUPATION? (DETAILS PLEASE e.g GOVERNMENT DEPARMENT OR ORGANISATION, PRIVATE COMPANY, OWN BUSINESS, CONSULTANCY, NON GOVERNMENT ORGANISATION, SELF-EMPLOYED, OTHER DOING WHAT)?
 Watter beroep beoefen u tans? (Besonderhede asb. bv. Regeringsdepartement of organisasie, privaat maatskappy, eie besigheid, konsultant, nie regeringsorganisasie, in eie diens, ander wat doen u)?

8c. WHAT IS YOUR CURRENT OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL (E.G. MANAGERIAL, CLERICAL)? Wat is u huidige beroepsvlak (bv. bestuur, klerklik)?

#### IF UNEMPLOYED (CODES 01 OR 02 OR 04 OR 07) / Indien werkloos (kodes 01 of 02 of 04 of 07):

#### 8d. DO YOU: Verrig u: HAVE SOME REGULAR EARNING ACTIVITY? Een of ander vorm van aktiwiteit waaruit u 'n inkomste verdien? 1 WORK FOR YOUR FAMILY/FARM OR SOMEONE ELSE WITHOUT PAY (PAYMENT IN KIND)? Werk by u familie/plaas of iemand anders sonder betaling (ruilbetaling)? 2 HAVE NO EARNING ACTIVITY AT ALL? Geen aktiwiteit waaruit u 'n inkomste verdien nie? 3

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#### 8e. IF UNEMPLOYED: HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN UNEMPLOYED? Indien werkloos: Hoe lank is u reeds werkloos?

Months/Maande.....

9. DO YOU READ A DAILY NEWSPAPER REGULARLY, THAT IS, AT LEAST FOUR OUT OF SIX ISSUES A WEEK OR DO YOU READ A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER REGULARLY, THAT IS, AT LEAST THREE ISSUES PER MONTH? Lees u gereeld 'n dagblad, d.w.s, ten minste vier uit elke ses koerantuitgawes per week of lees u 'n weeklikse koerant gereeld, d.w.s, ten minste drie uitgawes per maand?

YES/Ja	1
NO/Nee	2

#### 10. DO YOU HAVE A TELEVISION SET IN YOU HOUSE? Het u 'n televisiestel in u huis?

YES/Ja	1
NO/Nee	2

#### 11. DO YOU HAVE A WORKING TELEPHONE AT HOME (LANDLINE)? Het u 'n werkende telefoon tuis (landlyn)?

YES/Ja	1
NO/Nee	2

#### 12. DO YOU HAVE ACCESS TO A COMPUTER FOR PERSONAL OR BUSINESS USE?

Het u toegang tot 'n rekenaar vir persoonlike of besigheidsgebruik?	
PERSONAL USE	
Persoonlike gebruik	1
BUSINESS USE	
Besigheidsgebruik	2
BOTH	
Albei	3
NONE	
Geen	4

#### 13. DO YOU PERSONALLY HAVE A CELL PHONE FOR PERSONAL OR BUSINESS USE? Het u persoonlik 'n seltelefoon vir persoonlike of besigheidsgebruik?

PERSONAL USE/ Persoonlike gebruik	1
BUSINESS USE/ Besigheidsgebruik	2
BOTH/Albei	3
NONE/Geen	4

#### 14. WHICH CHURCH DO YOU BELONG TO OR TO WHICH FAITH/RELIGION DO YOU SUBSCRIBE? Aan watter kerk of aan watter geloof/godsdiens behoort u?

INTERVIEWER	PLEASE DESCRIBE THE CHURCH OR RELIGIOUS GROUP FULLY, I.E. NO	DT ONI	Y
	AN ABBREVIATION OR CONGREGATION NAME		
ONDERHOUDVOERDER	Beskryf asseblief die kerk of godsdiensgroep volledig, m.a.w. nie slegs 'n afkortin	g of di	e
	naam van die gemeente nie.		
NAME OF CHURCH/FAITH			1

NAME OF CHURCH/FAITH Naam van kerk/geloof.....

#### 15. LSM (LIVING STANDARD MEASURE / LEWENSTANDAARDMAATSTAF)

	YES/ JA	NO/NEE
A FRIDGE OR FRIDGE/FREEZER COMBINATION	1125/ 34	NO/NEL
'n Yskas of 'n yskas/vrieskas kombinasie	1	2
A DEEP FREEZER	1	2
'n Vrieskas A WASHING MACHINE	1	2
'n Wasmasjien	1	2
A TUMBLE DRYER		-
'n Tuimeldroër	1	2
DISHWASHER		2
'n Skottelgoedwasser A SEWING MACHINE	1	2
'n Naaldwerk masjien	1	2
A FLOOR POLISHER OR VACUUM CLEANER	-	
'n Vloer poleerder of stofsuier	1	2
A MICROWAVE OVEN		
'n Mikrogolfoond AN ELECTRIC STOVE OR HOTPLATE	1	2
'n Electric STOVE OR HOTPLATE	1	2
A TV	1	
'n TV	1	2
A HI-FI OR MUSIC CENTRE (RADIO EXCLUDED)		_
'n Hoëtroustel of musieksentrum (radio uitgesluit)	1	2
TWO OR MORE RADIO SETS Twee of meer radio's	1	2
A VIDEO CASSETTE RECORDER	1	2
'n Video kasset opnemer	1	2
A CELLPHONE		_
'n Selfoon	1	2
A PERSONAL /HOME COMPUTER (PC)	,	2
'n Persoonlike of tuisrekenaar A HOME SECURITY SERVICE	1	2
'n Tuis sekuriteitsdiens	1	2
A M NET/MULTICHOICE DSTV SUBSCRIPTION		
'n M Net/Multichoice DSTV intekenaar	1	2
ONE OR MORE CARS		
Een of meer motors	1	2
DO YOU HAVE THE FOLLOWING IN YOUR HOME? Het u die volgende in u huis?		
WATER PIPED TO STAND OR DWELLING		
Water aangelê na erf of huis	1	2
HOT RUNNING WATER		
Warm lopende water	1	2
ELECTRICITY Elektrisiteit	1	2
A DOMESTIC SERVANT	1	
'n Huishulp	1	2
A FLUSH TOILET (inside or outside house)		
'n Spoeltoilet (binne of buite huis)	1	2
A BUILT-IN KITCHEN SINK	1	2
'n Ingeboude wasbak in die kombuis INTERVIEWER RECORD	1	
Onderhoudvoerder dui aan		
GAUTENG PROVINCE	1	2
WESTERN CAPE PROVINCE	1	2
WEGTERN CAFE FROMINCE	1	
RURAL IN ALL PROVINCES EXCLUDING GAUTENG OR WESTERN CAPE	1	2
HUT DWELLER		1
IIOT DWEELEEK		
Hutbewoner	1	2 DNDENT LSM

5

## Political Cooperation / Politieke Samewerking

	TALKING ABOUT ELECTIONS, WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING ARE YOU: Watter een van die volgende is jy, wanneer ons van verkiesings praat? EGISTERED VOTER AND ON THE VOTERS ROLL?	1
NO	Geregistreerde kieser op die kieserslys? I REGISTERED BUT WILL BE ELIGIBLE TO VOTE AND CAN REGISTER geregistreer nie, maar sal stemgeregtig wees en kan registreer?	2
	LL NOT BE ELIGIBLE TO VOTE IN 2009? / Sal nie stemgeregtig wees in 2009 nie?	3
	<u>3 – re-select a respondent who is eligible as instructed)</u> en 1.3 – selekteer 'n respondent wat stemgeregtig is soos opgedra)	
2.	WHAT ARE THE <u>TWO</u> MOST SERIOUS PROBLEMS THAT GOVERNMENT SHOULD ATTEND TO URGENTLY AFTER THE NEXT ELECTIONS? Wat is die <u>twee</u> ernstigste probleme waaraan die regering na die volgende verkiesing dringend aandag moet skenk?	
2		
3. VEI	HOW SATISFIED ARE YOU WITH WHAT THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT HAS ACHIEVED SINCE THE LAST ELECTIONS IN 2004? ARE YOU: / Hoe tevrede is jy met wat die huidige regering sedert die vorige verkiesing in 2004 bereik het? Is jy: RY SATISFIED? / Baie tevrede?	01
	RTLY SATISFIED? / Gedeeltelik tevrede?	02
	RTLY DISSATISFIED? / Gedeeltelik ontevrede?	02
	RY DISSATISFIED? / Baie ontevrede?	04
	HER COMMENT – SPECIFY	04
011		
4.	IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT IS THE QUALITY OF LIFE OF PEOPLE LIKE YOU THESE DAYS? IS IT: / Wat, na jou mening, is die kwaliteit van lewe van mense soos jy deesdae? Is dit:	
VE	RY GOOD / Baie goed	1
GO	OD / Goed	2
NO	T GOOD OR BAD / Nie goed of sleg	3
BAI	D / Sleg	4
VEI	RY BAD / Baie sleg	5
5. AGI	SOME PEOPLE SAY THAT DESPITE PROBLEMS, THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT TRIES ITS BEST TO IMPROVE THE LIVES OF PEOPLE LIKE YOURSELF: DO YOU: / Sommige mense sê dat die huidige regering, ten spyte van probleme, sy bes probeer om die lewens van mense soos jy te verbeter: Stem jy: REE STRONGLY? / Sterk saam?	01
	REE TO SOME EXTENT? / Tot 'n mate saam?	02
	AGREE TO SOME EXTENT? / Nie tot 'n mate saam nie?	03
	AGREE STRONGLY? / Glad nie saam nie?	04
	HER - SPECIFY:	

6. RIGH	IN GENERAL, IS THE COUNTRY MOVING IN THE RIGHT OR THE WRONG DIRECTION? / Oor die algemeen gesien, is die land besig om in die regte of die verkeerde rigting te beweeg? IT DIRECTION / Regte rigting	1
WRO	NG DIRECTION / Verkeerde rigting	2
7. NO O	WHAT SORT OF OPPOSITION TO THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE? / Watter soort opposisie tot die huidige regering sal jy graag wil sien? PPOSITION AT ALL / Geen opposisie nie	01
AND	OPERATIVE OPPOSITION THAT SOMETIMES CRITICISES BUT OFTEN HELPS SUPPORTS THE GOVERNMENT newerkende opposisie wat soms kritiseer maar dikwels help en die regering ondersteun	02
AN O DOES	OPPOSITION THAT STRONGLY CRITICISES THE GOVERNMENT WHEN IT S NOT PERFORM WELL	03
	posisie wat die regering kwaai kritiseer wanneer hy nie goed presteer nie ER: SPECIFY	
	r: spesifiseer	
8.	HOW EASY OR DIFFICULT IS IT FOR A PERSON LIKE YOU TO HAVE POLITICAL OPINIONS THAT ARE DIFFERENT TO THOSE OF THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE AND WORK AROUND YOU? / Hoe moeilik of maklik is dit vir iemand soos jy om politieke menings te hê wat anders is as dié van mense wat om jou lewe en werk?	
VERY	EASY / Baie maklik	1
FAIRL	Y EASY / Redelik maklik	2
SOME	TIMES DIFFICULT / Soms moeilik	3
VERY	DIFFICULT / Baie moeilik	4
9.	WHAT KIND OF POLITICAL PARTY WOULD YOU MOST LIKE TO VOTE FOR IN AN ELECTION – CHOOSE ONE OF THE FOLLOWING: A PARTY: Watter soort politieke party sou jy die graagste voor stem in 'n verkiesing – kies een van	
THAT	die volgende: 'n Party: IS HONEST AND WITHOUT CORRUPTION	01
Wat ee	rlik is en sonder korrupsie	01
	HAS PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES YOU SUPPORT	02
	ginsels en beleide het wat jy steun REPRESENTS PEOPLE OF YOUR RACE GROUP	03
	e mense van my rassegroep verteenwoordig	05
	IS ACTIVE AND WELL-KNOWN IN YOUR COMMUNITY	04
	tief is en goed bekend is in my gemeenskap HAS THE KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE TO RUN A GOVERNMENT	05
	e kennis en ervaring het om 'n regering te bestuur	05
THAT	REPRESENTS PEOPLE OF YOUR LANGUAGE AND CULTURE	06
	e mense van my taal en kultuur verteenwoordig	
	R: SPECIFY spesifiseer	
	~r	

10. AS THE NEXT ELECTION DRAWS NEAR, POLITICAL PARTIES WILL START TALKING ABOUT THEIR POLICIES. I WILL READ YOU A RANGE OF POLICY GOALS. FOR EACH OF THESE GOALS TELL ME WHETHER YOU THINK THAT IT IS: ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL, VERY NECESSARY, FAIRLY NECESSARY, UNNECESSARY OR AN UNDESIRABLE GOAL: *(SHOW CARD)* 

Soos die volgende verkiesing nader kom sal politieke partye begin praat oor hulle beleide. Ek sal vir jou 'n verskeidenheid van hierdie doelwitte lees. Vir elkeen van hierdie doelwitte moet jy vir my sê of jy dink dat dit: absoluut noodsaaklik is, baie noodsaaklik is, redelik noodsaaklik is, onnodig is of 'n ongewensde doelwit is: *(Toonkaart)* 

noodsaaklik is, redelik noodsaaklik is, o				TINT	TINI
POLICY Beleid	ABSOLUTE ESSENTIAL	VERY	FAIRLY	UN- NECESSARY	UN- DESIRABLE
Beleid	Absoluut	NECESSARY Baie noodsaaklik	NECESSARY Redelik		
	noodsaaklik	Bale noodsaakiik	noodsaaklik	Onnodig	Ongewens
ASSISTING PEOPLE IN POVERTY					
Hulp aan mense in armoede	1	2	3	4	5
ENCOURAGING INVESTMENT AND NEW					
INDUSTRIES / Aanmoediging van beleggings	1	2	3	4	5
en nuwe nywerhede	1	2	5	4	5
COMBATING CRIME, DRUGS AND ABUSE					
Bekamping van misdaad, dwelms en	1	2	3	4	5
mishandeling	1	2	5	4	5
FIGHTING CORRUPTION IN					
GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS / Bekamping	1	2	3	4	5
van korrupsie in die regering en besigheid	1	2	5	4	5
APPOINTING THE MOST ABLE PEOPLE					
IRRESPECTIVE OF RACE OR POLITICAL					
CONNECTIONS / Die aanstel van die mees	1	2	3	4	5
bekwame mense ongeag ras of politieke kontakte COMPENSATING VICTIMS OF APARTHEID					
	1	2	3	4	5
Vergoeding van slagoffers van apartheid PROTECTING WORKERS' RIGHTS					
	1	2	3	4	5
Beskerming van werkerregte IMPROVING THE DELIVERY OF					
ELECTRICITY, WATER AND OTHER BASIC	1	2	3	4	5
SERVICES / Verbetering van die voorsiening					
van elektrisiteit, water en ander basiese dienste					
RESPECTING LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL	1	2	3	4	5
RIGHTS / Respek vir taal en kultuurregte	_	_			-
AN EFFICIENT PUBLIC SERVICE THAT					_
DELIVERS / 'n Effektiewe staatsdiens wat diens	1	2	3	4	5
lewer					
IMPROVING EDUCATION AND TRAINING	1	2	3	4	5
Verbetering van onderrig en opleiding	-	-	5		č
TRANSFORMATION TO GET RID OF ALL					
EFFECTS OF APARTHEID / Transformasie	1	2	3	4	5
om ontslae te raak van al die gevolge van	-	-	5		6
apartheid					
CHANGING ECONOMIC AND LABOUR					
REGULATIONS TO MAKE JOB CREATION		_	_		_
EASIER / Verandering van ekonomiese en	1	2	3	4	5
arbeidsregulasies om werkskepping te					
vergemaklik					
IMPROVING HEALTH POLICY, INCLUDING		_	-		_
HIV/AIDS / Verbetering van gesondheidsbeleid,	1	2	3	4	5
insluitende MIV/VIGS					
IMPROVING THE DELIVERY OF HOUSING					
FOR NEEDY FAMILIES / Verbetering van die	1	2	3	4	5
voorsiening van behuising aan behoeftige	· ·	_	5		5
gesinne					
COMBATING GROWING INEQUALITY					
BETWEEN RICH AND POOR PEOPLE OF					
ANY COLOUR / Bekamping van toenemende	1	2	3	4	5
ongelykheid tussen ryk en arm mense van enige					
kleur					
WORKING FOR HARMONY AND					
RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE RACES	1	2	3	4	5
Werk vir harmonie en versoening tussen die		-	5		
rasse					
AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND	1	1			
EMPOWERMENT FOR PEOPLE					
PREVIOUSLY DISADVANTAGED	1	2	3	4	5
	1	2	3	4	5

 WHICH <u>ONE</u> OF THE FOLLOWING IS MOST IMPORTANT TO ENSURE THAT A GOVERNING PARTY, <u>AFTER ELECTIONS</u>, KEEPS ON DOING ITS BEST FOR THE PEOPLE IN A COUNTRY? Watter <u>een</u> van die volgende is die belangrikste om te verseker dat die regerende party, <u>na die verkiesing</u>, aanhou om sy beste vir die mense van die land te doen?

THE PARTY'S HISTORY OF STRUGGLE FOR THE PEOPLE?	1
Die party se geskiedenis van stryd vir die bevolking?	
THE PROMISES IT MADE DURING ELECTIONS?	2
Die beloftes wat hy tydens die verkiesing gemaak het?	
A STRONG OPPOSITION THAT CRITICISES GOVERNMENT AND CAN ATTRACT	3
DISAPPOINTED VOTERS?	
'n Sterk opposisie wat die regering kritiseer en teleurgestelde kiesers kan werf?	
THE NEEDS OF ORDINARY MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE PARTY?	4
Die behoeftes van gewone lede en ondersteuners van die party?	
WHAT THE PARTY SAYS ABOUT ITS PRINCIPLES AND WHAT IT BELIEVES IN?	5
Uitsprake van die party oor sy beginsels en waarin hy glo?	

12. WHAT POLITICAL PARTY <u>MOST</u> DESERVES TO BE SUPPORTED DURING THE NEXT ELECTIONS IN 2009?

Watter politieke party verdien dit die <u>meeste</u> om tydens die volgende verkiesing in 2009 onderseurn te word?

ACDP	01
ANC	02
SACP	03
SAKP	
AZAPO	04
DA	05
IFP	06
IVP	
FF+	07
VF+	
ID	08
OD	
PAC	09
UDM	10
VDB	
OTHER	11
Ander	
NONE	12
Geen	
SPECIFY OTHER PARTY:	
Spesifiseer ander party	

#### 13. WHAT OTHER PARTY ALSO DESERVES TO DO WELL IN THE ELECTIONS? Watter ander party verdien dit ook om tydens die verkiesing goed te presteer?

watter ander party veralen alt ook om tydens die verkiesing goed te presteer:	
ACDP	01
ANC	02
SACP	03
SAKP	
AZAPO	04
DA	05
IFP	06
IVP	
FF+	07
VF+	
ID	08
PAC	09
UDM	10
VDB	
OTHER	11
Ander	
NONE	12
Geen	
SPECIFY OTHER PARTY:	1

14. THINKING OF THE NEXT GENERAL ELECTION, WOULD IT BE A GOOD IDEA OR NOT FOR POLITICAL PARTIES THAT AGREE WITH EACH OTHER ON BASIC PRINCIPLES, TO COOPERATE IN THE ELECTION BY NOT COMPETING WITH EACH OTHER AND PUTTING FORWARD A <u>SHARED</u> <u>LIST</u> OF CANDIDATES? IN OTHER WORDS THIS WOULD BE AN <u>ELECTION</u> <u>COALITION</u>.

Wanneer jy aan die volgende algemene verkiesing dink, sou dit 'n goeie idee wees vir politieke partye wat met mekaar saamstem oor basiese beginsels om saam te werk tydens die verkiesing deur nie met mekaar te wedywer en 'n <u>gesamentlike lys</u> van kandidate voor te hou of nie? Met ander woorde, dit sou 'n <u>verkiesingskoalisie</u> wees.

A VERY GOOD IDEA	01
'n Baie goeie idee	
A FAIRLY GOOD IDEA	02
'n Redelike goeie idee	
NOT GOOD NOT BAD	03
Nie goed of sleg nie	
A FAIRLY BAD IDEA	04
'n Redelike swak idee	
A VERY BAD IDEA	05
'n Baie swak idee	
OTHER ANSWERS-SPECIFY:	

#### 15. WHY DO YOU FEEL THIS WAY? (OPEN ANSWERS) Waarom voel jy so? (Oop antwoorde)

1	
2	
3	

- 16. IF SUCH A COALITION OF PARTIES WERE TO BE FORMED FOR THE NEXT ELECTIONS, WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING THINGS ABOUT SUCH A COALITION WOULD YOU SEE AS ESSENTIAL, OR A GOOD THING THAT YOU WOULD SUPPORT, OR SOMETHING YOU WOULD ACCEPT OR SOMETHING YOU WOULD NOT SUPPORT:
  Indien so 'n partykoalisie vir die volgende verkiesing gesluit word, watter van die volgende dinge omtrent so 'n koalisie beskou jy as noodsaaklik, of as 'n goeie ding wat jy sou ondersteun, of iets wat jy sou aanvaar of iets wat jy nie sou steun nie:
- 16.1 A COALITION SHOULD BE A "RAINBOW COALITION" WITH PROMINENT PEOPLE FROM ALL POPULATION GROUPS:
  'n Koalisie behoort 'n "reënboog koalisie" met prominente mense uit alle bevolkingsgroepe te wees:

ESSENTIAL	1
Noodsaaklik	
A GOOD THING	2
'n Goeie ding	
SOMETHING YOU COULD ACCEPT	3
Iets wat jy sou aanvaar	
SOMETHING YOU WOULD NOT SUPPORT	4
Iets wat jy nie sou steun nie	

#### 16.2 A COALITION SHOULD STRENGTHEN OPPOSITION TO THE ANC: 'n Koalisie behoort die opposisie tot die ANC te versterk:

ESSENTIAL	1
Noodsaaklik	
A GOOD THING	2
'n Goeie ding	
SOMETHING YOU COULD ACCEPT	3
Iets wat jy sou aanvaar	
SOMETHING YOU WOULD NOT SUPPORT	4
Iets wat jy nie sou steun nie	

 16.3 A COALITION SHOULD DRAW TOGETHER THE BEST EXPERTISE IN RUNNING A COUNTRY IRRESPECTIVE OF RACE GROUPS:
 'n Koalisie behoort die beste kundigheid in die bestuur van 'n land saam te snoer, ongeag die ras groepe:

ESSENTIAL	1
Noodsaaklik	
A GOOD THING	2
'n Goeie ding	
SOMETHING YOU COULD ACCEPT	3
Iets wat jy sou aanvaar	
SOMETHING YOU WOULD NOT SUPPORT	4
Iets wat jy nie sou steun nie	

# 16.4 A COALITION SHOULD ONLY INCLUDE PARTIES THAT BELIEVE IN THE SAME <u>POLITICAL AND DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES</u>: 'n Koalisie behoort slegs partye in te sluit wat in dieselfde <u>politieke en demokratiese</u> <u>beginsels glo</u>:

ESSENTIAL	1
Noodsaaklik	
A GOOD THING	2
'n Goeie ding	
SOMETHING YOU COULD ACCEPT	3
Iets wat jy sou aanvaar	
SOMETHING YOU WOULD NOT SUPPORT	4
Iets wat jy nie sou steun nie	

# 16.5 A COALITION SHOULD ONLY INCLUDE PARTIES THAT BELIEVE IN THE SAME <u>ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES</u>:

'n Koalisie behoort slegs partye in te sluit wat in dieselfde ekonomiese beginsels glo:

ESSENTIAL	1
Noodsaaklik	
A GOOD THING	2
'n Goeie ding	
SOMETHING YOU COULD ACCEPT	3
Iets wat jy sou aanvaar	
SOMETHING YOU WOULD NOT SUPPORT	4
Iets wat jy nie sou steun nie	

#### 16.6 WHAT OTHER THINGS ARE NECESSARY IN A COALITION? (SPECIFY) Wat anders is nodig in 'n koalisie (spesifiseer)

.....

- 17. THINK OF THIS COALITION OF PARTIES THAT YOU HAVE IN MIND. I WILL READ YOU THE NAMES OF POLITICAL PARTIES. FOR EACH, WILL YOU SAY WHETHER IT:
  - SHOULD DEFINITELY BE PART OF THE COALITION
  - WHETHER YOU WOULD ACCEPT IT IN SUCH A COALITION, OR
  - WHETHER IT SHOULD <u>NOT</u> BE PART OF THE COALITION

Dink aan die koalisiepartye wat jy in gedagte het. Ek sal vir jou die name van die politieke partye lees. Vir elkeen van hulle moet jy sê of dit

- Definitief deel moet wees van so 'n koalisie
- Of dit sou aanvaar in so 'n koalisie, of
- Dit nie deel moet wees van die koalisie nie

	wees van die Koansie me		
	DEFINITELY IN	WOULD ACCEPT IN	NOT BE PART
	COALITION	COALITION	OF COALITION
	Definitief in koalisie	Sou aanvaar in koalisie	Nie deel wees
			van koalisie nie
ANC	1	2	3
DA	1	2	3
ID	1	2	3
OD			
UDM	1	2	3
VDB			
IFP	1	2	3
IVP			
FF+	1	2	3
VF+			
PAC	1	2	3

18. IS THERE ANY PARTY I HAVE NOT MENTIONED THAT YOU FEEL SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN SUCH A COALITION?Is daar enige party wat ek nie genoem het nie wat jy voel deel moet wees van so 'n koalisie?

.....

19 IN SUCH A COALITION: SHOULD THE MAJORITY OF CANDIDATES BE PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT WHITE, SHOULD THERE BE BROAD QUOTAS OF PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT GROUPS OR SHOULD THE MAJORITY SIMPLY BE PEOPLE WITH THE BEST KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE WITHOUT CONSIDERING THEIR GROUP? In so 'n koalisie: behoort die meerderheid van die kandidate mense te wees wat nie wit is nie, behoort daar breë kwotas van mense van verskillende groepe te wees of behoort die meerderheid eenvoudig mense te wees met die beste kennis en ervaring sonder inagneming van hulle groep? THE MAJORITY SHOULD NOT BE WHITE Die meerderheid behoort nie wit te wees nie THERE SHOULD BE BROAD OUOTAS OF DIFFERENT GROUPS Daar behoort breë kwotas van mense van verskillende groepe te wees THE MAJORITY SHOULD BE THE PEOPLE WITH THE BEST KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE WITHOUT CONSIDERING THEIR GROUP

Die meerderheid behoort eenvoudig mense te wees met die beste kennis en ervaring sonder inagneming van hulle groep OTHER (SPECIFY)..... 01

02

03

20. HOW NECESSARY WOULD IT BE FOR SUCH A COALITION TO HAVE A STRICT <u>CODE OF CONDUCT</u> FOR CANDIDATES TO EXCLUDE PEOPLE WITH ANY RECORD OF CORRUPTION, CRIME, BAD MANAGEMENT, DEBT OR POOR PERFORMANCE OR BEHAVIOUR? WOULD YOU: Hoe noodsaaklik sou dit vir so 'n koalisie wees om 'n streng <u>gedragskode</u> vir kandidate te hê om mense met enige geskiedenis van korrupsie, misdaad, swak bestuur, skuld of swak resultate of gedrag uit te sluit? Sou jy:

STRONGLY SUPPORT A STRICT CODE	1
'n Streng gedragskode sterk ondersteun	
SUPPORT THE CODE BUT VERY POPULAR CANDIDATES SHOULD BE	2
CONSIDERED ANYWAY	
Die kode ondersteun, maar baie gewilde kandidate behoort in elk geval oorweeg te word	
SUPPORT THE CODE BUT IF NECESSARY SOME PEOPLE SHOULD BE INCLUDED	3
TO GET THE RIGHT BALANCE OF GROUPS	
Die kode ondersteun, maar indien noodsaaklik moet sommige mense ingesluit word om die	
regte balans van groepe te bereik	
FEEL THAT SUCH A CODE IS NOT REALLY NECESSARY	4
Voel dat so 'n gedragskode nie regtig nodig is nie	

21. WHICH KINDS OF CANDIDATES STANDING FOR A PARTY IN ELECTIONS ARE YOU MOST LIKELY TO WANT TO SUPPORT? CHOOSE <u>TWO</u>OF THE FOLLOWING THINGS I WILL READ OUT (<u>SHOW CARD</u>): Watter soort kandidate wat in 'n verkiesing vir 'n party staan sal jy die waarskynlikste steun? Kies twee van die volgende items wat ek sal lees (*Toonkaart*):

CANDIDATES THAT KNOW MOST ABOUT POLICIES AND GOVERNANCE	1
Kandidate wat die meeste omtrent beleide en regering weet	
CANDIDATES THAT BELONG TO YOUR LANGUAGE GROUP	2
Kandidate wat aan jou taalgroep behoort	
CANDIDATES THAT CAN INSPIRE YOU TO SUPPORT THEM	3
Kandidate wat jou kan aanmoedig om hulle te ondersteun	
CANDIDATES FROM YOUR LOCAL COMMUNITY	4
Kandidate uit jou plaaslike gemeenskap	
CANDIDATES THAT BELONG TO THE PARTY YOU NORMALLY SUPPORT	5
Kandidate wat aan die party behoort wat jy normaalweg ondersteun	
CANDIDATES THAT WILL WORK VERY HARD TO IMPROVE CONDITIONS FOR	6
PEOPLE LIKE YOU	
Kandidate wat hard sal werk om toestande vir mense soos jy te verbeter	
CANDIDATES THAT BELONG TO THE MOST POWERFUL PARTY	7
Kandidate wat aan die sterkste party behoort	
CANDIDATES THAT ARE OF YOUR RACE GROUP	8
Kandidate van jou eie rassegroep	

# 22. HOW LIKELY ARE YOU TO VOTE IN THE NEXT ELECTION IN 2009 – WILL YOU:

Hoe waarskynlik is dit dat jy in die volgende verkiesing in 2009 sal stem – sal jy:

MOST DEFINITELY VOTE?	1
Definitief stem?	
PROBABLY VOTE?	2
Waarskynlik stem?	
SEE HOW THINGS ARE AND POSSIBLY VOTE?	3
Sien hoe dinge verloop en moontlik stem?	
PROBABLY NOT VOTE?	4
Waarskynlik nie stem nie?	
DEFINITELY NOT VOTE?	5
Definitief nie stem nie?	
NOT SURE?	6
Nie seker nie?	

23. IF YOU VOTE, WHICH POLITICAL PARTY WOULD YOU VOTE FOR IN 2009? (OPEN ANSWER) Indien jy stem, vir watter party sal jy in 2009 stem (oop antwoord)

.....

24. WE HAVE SPOKEN ABOUT A COALITION OF PARTIES FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION NEXT YEAR. <u>IF</u> THERE IS A COALITION OF PARTIES CONSISTING OF THE DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE (<u>DA</u>), THE INDEPENDENT <u>DEMOCRATS (ID) AND THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT (UDM</u>), WILL YOU:

Ons het oor 'n partykoalisie vir volgende jaar se verkiesing gepraat. Indien daar 'n partykoalisie is bestaande uit die Demokratiese Alliansie (DA), die Onafhanklike Demokrate (OD) en die Verenigde Demokratiese Beweging (VDB), sal jy:

DEFINITELY VOTE FOR SUCH A COALITION?	01
Definitief vir so 'n koalisie stem?	
PROBABLY VOTE FOR THE COALITION?	02
Waarskynlik vir die koalisie stem?	
SERIOUSLY CONSIDER VOTING FOR THE COALITION?	03
Dit ernstig oorweeg om vir die koalisie te stem?	
NOT VOTE FOR THE COALITION BUT FOR SOME OTHER PARTY?	04
Nie vir die koalisie stem nie maar vir 'n ander party?	
OTHER (VERBATIM:)	
Ander (verbatim:	
WILL PROBABLY NOT VOTE OR WILL NOT VOTE IN THE ELECTION AT ALL	05
Sal waarskynlik nie stem nie of sal glad nie stem in die verkiesing nie	

25. IF THERE IS A COALITION OF PARTIES CONSISTING OF THE DA, THE ID, THE UDM AND <u>THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY (IFP)</u>, WILL YOU: Indien daar 'n partykoalisie bestaande uit die DA, die OD, die VDB en die Inkhata Vryheids Party (IVP) is, sal jy:

DEFINITELY VOTE FOR SUCH A COALITION?	01
Definitief vir so 'n koalisie stem?	
PROBABLY VOTE FOR THE COALITION?	02
Waarskynlik vir die koalisie stem?	
SERIOUSLY CONSIDER VOTING FOR THE COALITION?	03
Dit ernstig oorweeg om vir die koalisie te stem?	
NOT VOTE FOR THE COALITION BUT FOR SOME OTHER PARTY?	04
Nie vir die koalisie stem nie maar vir 'n ander party?	
OTHER (VERBATIM:)	
WILL PROBABLY NOT VOTE OR WILL NOT VOTE IN THE ELECTION AT ALL	05
Sal waarskynlik nie stem nie of sal glad nie stem in die verkiesing nie	

# 26. <u>IF</u> THERE IS A COALITION OF PARTIES CONSISTING OF THE <u>DA</u>, <u>THE ID</u>, <u>THE UDM AND THE FREEDOM FRONT PLUS</u> WILL YOU:

Indien daar 'n partykoalisie bestaande uit die DA, die OD, die VDB en die Vryheidsfront Plus is, sal jy:

<u> </u>	
DEFINITELY VOTE FOR SUCH A COALITION?	01
Definitief vir so 'n koalisie stem?	
PROBABLY VOTE FOR THE COALITION?	02
Waarskynlik vir die koalisie stem?	
SERIOUSLY CONSIDER VOTING FOR THE COALITION?	03
Dit ernstig oorweeg om vir die koalisie te stem?	
NOT VOTE FOR THE COALITION BUT FOR SOME OTHER PARTY?	04
Nie vir die koalisie stem nie maar vir 'n ander party?	
OTHER (VERBATIM:)	
WILL PROBABLY NOT VOTE OR WILL NOT VOTE IN THE ELECTION AT ALL	05
Sal waarskynlik nie stem nie of sal glad nie stem in die verkiesing nie	

27. WHAT KIND OF PERSON WOULD YOU SEE AS BEST FOR THE LEADERSHIP OF THE COALITION WE HAVE DISCUSSED? WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING WOULD YOU SUGGEST – YOU MAY CHOOSE ONE OR TWO OF THE FOLLOWING:

Watter tipe persoon sal jy as die beste beskou vir die leierskap van die koalisie wat ons bespreek het? Watter van die volgende sou jy voorstel – jy mag een of twee uit die volgende kies:

A LEADER WITH PERSONALITY WHO CAN INSPIRE PEOPLE	01
'n Leier met persoonlikheid wat mense kan inspireer	
A LEADER WHO CAN ATTRACT PEOPLE AMONG THE MAJORITY OF SOUTH	02
AFRICANS	
'n Leier wat mense uit die meerderheid Suid-Afrikaners kan aantrek	
A LEADER WITH SOUND EXPERIENCE IN POLITICS, GOVERNMENT OR SERVICE	03
TO THE PEOPLE	
'n Leier met goeie ervaring in politiek, regering of diens aan die volk	
AN INTELLIGENT LEADER WITH NEW IDEAS ON SOLVING PROBLEMS IN THE	04
COUNTRY	
'n Intelligente leier met nuwe idees oor die oplossing van landsprobleme	
A LEADER WHO HAS SYMPATHY FOR PEOPLE AND WHO CARES ABOUT THE	05
CONDITIONS THAT PEOPLE FACE	
'n Leier wat simpatie het met die mense en wat omgee oor die toestande wat hulle beleef	

OTHER (SPECIFY:)	

28. WE WOULD LIKE YOU NOW TO THINK OF LEADERS OF POLITICAL PARTIES. HOW MUCH DO YOU ADMIRE OR DISLIKE THE PRESENT LEADERS OF PARTIES? PLEASE GIVE YOUR ANSWERS IN SCORES OUT OF 5, WITH 5 BEING A LEADER YOU <u>ADMIRE STRONGLY</u>, 4 FOR A LEADER YOU <u>ADMIRE</u>, DOWN TO 1 FOR A LEADER YOU <u>STRONGLY</u> <u>DISLIKE</u>, AND WITH SCORES IN BETWEEN. WHAT SCORE OUT OF FIVE WOULD YOU GIVE TO: Ons wil hê dat jy nou dink aan die leiers van politieke partye. Tot watter mate bewonder jy of hou jy nie van die huidige leiers van politieke partye nie? Gee jou antwoorde asb in 'n punt uit 5, met 5 as 'n leiers wat jy <u>baie bewonder</u>, 4 vir 'n leier wat jy <u>bewonder</u>, tot by 1 vir 'n leier van wie jy glad niks hou nie, met punte tussenin. Watter punt uit vyf sou jy gee aan:

THABO MBEKI OF THE ANC	/5	DK
Thabo Mbeki van die ANC		
HELEN ZILLE OF THE DA	/5	9
Helen Zille van die DA		
MANGOSUTHO BUTHELEZI OF THE IFP	/5	9
Mangosutho Buthelezi van die IVP		
JACOB ZUMA OF THE ANC	/5	9
Jacob Zuma van die ANC		
PATRICIA DE LILLE OF THE ID	/5	9
Patricia de Lille van die OD		
PIETER MULDER OF THE FREEDOM FRONT PLUS	/5	9
Pieter Mulder van die Vryheidsfront Plus		
BANTU HOLOMISA OF THE UDM	/5	9
Bantu Holomisa van die VDB		
BLADE NZIMANDE OF THE SACP	/5	9
Blade Nzimande van die SAKP		
PHUMZILE MLAMBO-NGCUKA OF THE ANC	/5	9
Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka van die ANC		

# **THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME** Dankie vir u tyd

# APPENDIX B TABLES

#### **APPENDIX B**

#### P1 Talking about elections, which of the following are you:

U	ANC	C/SACP		DA		IFP	•	ID	A	CDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
A registered voter and on the voters roll	1,101	76.5%	323	76.9%	30	59.0%	33	70.3%	17	79.8%	8	67.1%	21	87.3%	18	69.7%	257	68.7%	1,809	74.9%
Not registered but will be eligible to vote and can register	338	23.5%	97	23.1%	21	41.0%	14	29.7%	4	20.2%	4	32.9%	3	12.7%	8	30.3%	117	31.3%	606	25.1%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

## P2 Two most serious problems government should attend to after the next elections

-	ANC	/SACP		DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Unemployment/joblessness/create jobs	650	45.1%	128	30.5%	18	34.1%	21	45.1%	7	31.6%	2	21.1%	11	46.8%	17	63.1%	154	41.1%	1,007	41.7%
Crime (all forms except below)	283	19.7%	274	65.3%	11	22.0%	25	52.4%	11	49.3%	8	71.6%	7	31.0%	7	24.7%	134	35.7%	759	31.4%
Housing provision/subsidized housing	336	23.3%	38	9.2%	10	19.7%	10	20.3%	2	10.7%	0	3.2%	7	29.7%	6	23.9%	80	21.5%	491	20.3%
Services - electricity	200	13.9%	30	7.0%	19	36.5%	1	1.2%	2	8.6%			3	12.0%	4	13.7%	50	13.4%	308	12.7%
Services - water	179	12.4%	2	0.4%	12	22.8%	1	1.2%									17	4.4%	209	8.7%
Basic service provision (general/all services)	134	9.3%	25	6.0%	3	5.2%	2	3.5%			0	3.0%	3	12.3%	4	15.7%	24	6.3%	195	8.1%
Services - roads/rural roads/untarrred roads	147	10.2%	11	2.5%	2	3.5%			1	6.8%			1	6.0%			14	3.9%	177	7.3%
Poverty, helping poor, etc.	89	6.2%	33	8.0%	3	5.8%	4	7.9%	3	12.7%	0	2.3%	1	3.5%	5	18.7%	30	8.0%	168	7.0%
Services - sewerage/sanitation/toilets	85	5.9%	3	0.6%									1	5.2%	4	13.7%	7	1.9%	99	4.1%
Lower/curb food costs	45	3.1%	23	5.4%	2	4.5%	1	2.0%	3	13.2%	2	15.2%			1	4.9%	14	3.7%	91	3.8%
Education - free education/cheaper education	63	4.4%	8	1.8%	1	2.2%	1	1.5%	1	5.7%	0	4.2%			1	4.3%	9	2.5%	84	3.5%
Poverty relief (food vouchers, subsidies etc.)	63	4.4%	10	2.3%													11	2.8%	84	3.5%
Corruption/fraud (general)	21	1.5%	32	7.6%	1	1.1%	3	5.6%			0	4.2%	3	10.7%	0	1.6%	16	4.2%	75	3.1%
Education - better schools/qualified teachers	38	2.7%	13	3.1%	0	0.8%	4	7.8%	1	3.5%	1	10.4%	0	1.7%			12	3.3%	70	2.9%
More/better clinics	27	1.9%	11	2.7%	2	4.0%	2	4.5%	1	4.0%			1	4.5%			11	2.9%	55	2.3%
More state grants (all types)	42	2.9%	2	0.4%	1	2.2%											9	2.3%	53	2.2%
Services - water and electricity	45	3.2%	2	0.4%	1	2.2%											5	1.3%	53	2.2%

No power-cuts/no load shedding	31	2.1%	12	2.9%	1	1.2%	2	8.5%	0	3.8%	0	1.9%	1	2.8%	5	1.2%	51	2.1%
etc./no outages	51	2.170	12	2.970	1	1.270	-	0.070	0	5.670	Ū	1.970		2.070	0	1.270	01	2.170

## P2 Two most serious problems government should attend to after the next elections - Continues

	ANC	C/SACP		DA		IFP		ID	A	CDP		FF	١	UDM	0	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Education - more schools/more teachers	34	2.3%	2	0.4%	8	15.5%											5	1.5%	49	2.0%
Improvement of Medical services (all)	26	1.8%	8	1.9%	0	0.8%	2	4.7%	1	4.5%			1	5.7%			9	2.3%	47	2.0%
Corruption/fraud (government)	12	0.9%	19	4.5%			2	3.5%			2	17.4%	5	20.2%			6	1.6%	46	1.9%
Better quality housing	31	2.1%	1	0.2%	1	2.8%	0	0.2%									10	2.8%	43	1.8%
Permanent jobs/jobs with salaries, wages, security, etc. etc	29	2.0%	5	1.1%													4	1.0%	38	1.6%
Control entry of foreigners	20	1.4%	7	1.6%			2	4.8%									7	1.9%	36	1.5%
Combat inflation	12	0.9%	14	3.2%	1	1.2%	1	1.4%									8	2.1%	35	1.5%
Support for elderly/better pensions	22	1.5%	5	1.3%	0	0.5%	0	1.0%	0	1.2%							5	1.3%	33	1.4%
Lower cost of living	14	1.0%	9	2.2%					1	5.6%	1	7.1%			0	1.3%	8	2.1%	33	1.4%
Services - community amenities/facilitites	16	1.1%	4	0.9%													11	2.9%	30	1.3%
More recreation facilities for young people/entertainment	23	1.6%	5	1.2%			1	1.5%									1	0.2%	30	1.2%
Other	12	0.8%	3	0.8%	2	4.2%	2	3.3%									5	1.4%	24	1.0%
Moral values/fewer teenage pregnancies	16	1.1%	3	0.7%	-		4	7.8%							1	4.6%	U	1.170	24	1.0%
Prevent exploitation of																				
workers/by employers/workers rights	18	1.2%									0	2.9%					4	1.1%	22	0.9%
Legal system/courts/prison, etc.	3	0.2%	17	4.2%													1	0.3%	22	0.9%
Cut fuel costs/lower government fuel taxes	3	0.2%	9	2.2%	1	2.9%			0	1.8%	0	4.0%			0	1.1%	5	1.4%	20	0.8%
Improve race relations/less discrimination	8	0.5%	6	1.4%			1	2.0%	0	2.3%	0	3.2%	1	3.0%			3	0.9%	20	0.8%
Abuse (child/women/family)	7	0.5%	8	1.8%			1	2.9%	1	3.5%	0	3.9%					2	0.5%	19	0.8%
Better hospital services	8	0.5%	1	0.3%	1	1.2%	0	0.5%	1	3.3%			1	2.9%	0	1.4%	5	1.4%	17	0.7%
Higher economic growth	7	0.5%	4	1.0%			2	4.2%									3	0.7%	16	0.7%
Politicians should keep	6	0.4%	2	0.4%			2	3.7%									4	1.1%	13	0.6%
promises/be more accountable	0	0.4%	2	0.470			2	3.770									4	1.170	15	0.070
Lower/no charges for services/free services	10	0.7%	1	0.2%													1	0.4%	12	0.5%
Improve government efficiency/cut	0	0.0%	7	1.7%			0	0.8%	1	5.0%	1	8.4%					1	0.2%	11	0.4%

misspending/underspending/												
Less affirmative action/merit	5	1.3%	0	1.0%	2	8.5%	1	6.9%	2	0.4%	10	0.4%
appointments	5	1.370	0	1.070	2	0.370	1	0.970	2	0.470	10	0.470

#### P2 Two most serious problems government should attend to after the next elections - Continues

1	ANC	/SACP		DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	I	UDM		Other	No 1	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
More Tertiary education More/better skills	8	0.6%															0	0.1%	9	0.4%
training/learnerships, apprenticeships, e	4	0.3%	2	0.6%			0	1.0%	0	1.2%							1	0.2%	8	0.3%
Lower taxes	1	0.1%	4	0.9%											1	4.6%	1	0.4%	8	0.3%
Cheaper Tertiary education	5	0.3%											1	2.9%			2	0.4%	7	0.3%
Lower interest rates	1	0.0%	5	1.1%													2	0.5%	7	0.3%
"Equal rights"	1	0.1%	1	0.3%													4	1.0%	6	0.3%
None	3	0.2%															3	0.7%	6	0.2%
More top experts in Government	2	0.1%	2	0.6%													1	0.3%	5	0.2%
Assistance to farmers/support for agriculture			3	0.7%	1	2.2%													4	0.2%
Combat inequality			2	0.4%													2	0.5%	3	0.1%
Help for small (black) farmers	2	0.1%	-	00													-	0.070	2	0.1%
Combat price fixing/profiteering	-	0.170							•	0.50/									-	
by business									2	8.5%									2	0.1%
More affirmative action	2	0.1%																	2	0.1%
Combat Global warming							0	0.6%									1	0.3%	1	0.1%
Medical costs/medical aid costs			1	0.2%															1	0.0%
Encourage foreign skills			0	0.1%															0	0.0%
More/speedier land redistribution			0	0.1%															0	0.0%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P3 How satisfied are you with what the present Government has achieved since the last elections in 2004

	ANC	SACP		DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	I	JDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Very satisfied	279	19.4%	10	2.3%	3	5.2%	2	3.4%					2	10.1%	6	24.2%	37	10.0%	339	14.0%
Partly satisfied	626	43.5%	96	22.9%	7	13.6%	16	34.5%	8	37.0%	2	13.8%	6	24.8%	7	27.3%	116	31.1%	885	36.6%
Partly dissatisfied	201	13.9%	107	25.5%	10	19.4%	10	21.2%	4	18.2%	3	26.1%	1	3.3%	3	12.0%	77	20.6%	416	17.2%
Very dissatisfied	328	22.8%	207	49.3%	32	61.8%	19	40.9%	10	44.8%	7	60.1%	15	61.8%	10	36.6%	141	37.9%	768	31.8%
Neutral/neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	6	0.4%															2	0.4%	8	0.3%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P4 In your opinion, what is the quality of life of people like you these days

	ANC	C/SACP	·	DA		IFP	·	ID	-	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Very good	95	6.6%	17	4.1%	1	1.8%	3	5.4%					1	2.6%			23	6.1%	139	5.8%
Good	483	33.5%	122	29.0%	2	4.4%	12	25.6%	6	29.0%	0	3.7%	10	41.4%	8	28.6%	81	21.7%	724	30.0%
Not good or bad	316	21.9%	130	31.0%	15	29.7%	18	38.6%	8	38.5%	3	28.6%	3	11.8%	4	13.9%	99	26.5%	597	24.7%
Bad	416	28.9%	113	26.9%	19	36.8%	12	25.1%	5	22.5%	7	56.1%	3	11.1%	9	35.0%	118	31.6%	701	29.0%
Very bad	129	9.0%	38	9.0%	14	27.2%	3	5.3%	2	10.1%	1	11.6%	8	33.2%	6	22.4%	51	13.7%	252	10.4%
Not answered / Do not know																	2	0.4%	2	0.1%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P5 Some people say that despite problems, the present Government tries its Best to improve the lives of people like yourself

	ANC	SACP		DA	-	IFP		ID	I	ACDP		FF	I	UDM	Ē.	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Agree strongly	336	23.3%	16	3.8%	0	0.9%	0	1.0%							2	7.4%	42	11.1%	397	16.4%
Agree to some extent	715	49.7%	119	28.4%	13	25.2%	21	43.9%	8	39.5%	1	7.7%	15	63.0%	12	44.1%	123	32.9%	1,027	42.5%
Disagree to some extent	183	12.7%	104	24.9%	8	15.8%	11	23.8%	6	28.5%	3	21.6%	6	26.2%	7	27.6%	77	20.6%	406	16.8%
Disagree strongly	202	14.0%	180	42.9%	30	58.1%	15	31.3%	7	31.9%	8	70.7%	3	10.8%	6	21.0%	132	35.3%	582	24.1%
Not answered / Do not know	4	0.3%																	4	0.2%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P6 In general is the country moving in the right or the wrong direction

8	AŇČ	SACP	5	DA		IFP	0	ID	A	ACDP		FF	I	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Right direction	876	60.8%	92	22.0%	9	17.0%	14	29.1%	7	31.6%	0	4.0%	6	26.2%	11	41.5%	149	40.0%	1,164	48.2%
Wrong direction	564	39.2%	323	77.0%	43	83.0%	34	70.9%	15	68.4%	11	96.0%	18	73.8%	15	58.5%	223	59.8%	1,245	51.6%
Don't know	0	0.0%	4	1.0%													1	0.3%	5	0.2%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P7 What sort of opposition to the present Government would you like to see

	ANC	SACP		DA		IFP		ับ	A	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
No opposition at all A cooperative opposition that	319	22.1%	17	4.0%	4	7.7%							1	2.9%	0	1.1%	48	12.9%	388	16.1%
sometimes criticises but often helps and supports the government	629	43.7%	150	35.7%	19	37.5%	16	34.1%	16	72.9%	5	41.2%	17	71.6%	20	75.7%	150	40.0%	1,021	42.3%
An opposition that strongly criticices the Government when it does not perform well	483	33.5%	252	60.1%	28	54.9%	31	65.9%	6	27.1%	7	58.8%	6	25.5%	6	23.2%	170	45.4%	989	40.9%
Honesty/no corruption Cares for the poor/needy people	10	0.70/	1	0.20/													1 1	0.2% 0.4%	1 1	0.0% 0.1%
Don't know Total	10 1,440	0.7% 100.0%	419	0.3% 100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	4 374	1.1% 100.0%	15 2,415	0.6% 100.0%

## P8 How easy or difficult is it for a person like you to have political opinions

-	ANC	SACP		DA		IFP	-	ID -	A	ACDP		FF	I	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Very easy	410	28.5%	79	18.7%	14	27.6%	5	11.5%	8	35.2%	5	42.1%	4	17.1%	9	34.1%	127	34.1%	661	27.4%
Fairly easy	379	26.3%	153	36.4%	17	32.3%	16	33.9%	4	19.4%	3	24.0%	2	9.9%	5	17.6%	102	27.2%	680	28.2%
Sometimes difficult	396	27.5%	118	28.1%	16	30.3%	13	26.7%	9	40.4%	1	10.8%	6	26.3%	4	15.7%	88	23.7%	651	26.9%
Very difficult	254	17.6%	70	16.7%	5	9.8%	13	27.9%	1	5.1%	3	23.1%	11	46.7%	9	32.6%	56	15.1%	422	17.5%
Not answered / Do not know	2	0.1%																	2	0.1%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

1) What Kind of point	ivai pa	11 LY 11 U	uiu y	ou mos	U IIIN			n m an	cicc	non										
	ANC	C/SACP		DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF		UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	$\mathbf{T}_{t}$	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	- %	n	%
That is honest and without corruption	679	47.2%	233	55.6%	24	46.8%	17	35.3%	14	64.2%	7	59.1%	7	27.4%	15	58.3%	179	48.0%	1,175	48.7%
That has principles and policies you support	185	12.9%	45	10.7%	3	6.7%	5	9.5%	5	21.7%	1	11.0%	5	22.8%	4	15.2%	55	14.6%	308	12.8%
That represents people of you race group	53	3.7%	9	2.1%	2	4.5%	2	4.2%			1	7.8%	3	10.8%	1	2.4%	10	2.6%	80	3.3%
That is active and well-known in your community	94	6.5%	15	3.6%	3	5.8%	7	14.7%					3	12.2%	3	9.8%	11	3.0%	136	5.6%
That has the knowledge and experience to run a Government	386	26.8%	108	25.7%	17	33.1%	17	35.4%	3	14.1%	2	16.9%	6	26.8%	2	8.6%	110	29.5%	652	27.0%
That represents people of your Language and culture	37	2.6%	9	2.2%	2	3.0%	0	0.9%			1	5.2%			2	5.8%	8	2.1%	58	2.4%
Other Total	5 1,440	0.3% 100.0%	1 419	0.2% 100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	1 374	0.2% 100.0%	6 2,415	0.3% 100.0%

#### P9 What kind of political party would you most like to vote for in an election

#### P10\_1 Range of policy goals: Assisting people in poverty

<b>_</b> 0 I	ANC	SACP	01	DA	•	IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	I	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Absolute Essential	1,171	81.4%	320	76.2%	46	88.9%	41	87.0%	17	78.3%	7	59.1%	17	70.3%	23	86.5%	293	78.4%	1,934	80.1%
Very necessary	232	16.1%	70	16.7%	6	11.1%	5	11.0%	4	16.7%	3	27.7%	6	26.7%	4	13.5%	59	15.8%	389	16.1%
Fairly necessary	22	1.5%	28	6.7%			0	1.0%	1	5.0%	2	13.3%	1	3.0%			20	5.2%	74	3.1%
Unnecessary	9	0.6%	1	0.2%			0	1.0%									2	0.7%	12	0.5%
Undesirable	4	0.3%																	4	0.2%
Not interested/Not answered	1	0.1%	1	0.1%															1	0.1%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P10 2 Range of policy goals: Encouraging investment and new industries

	ANC	C/SACP	0	DĂ		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Absolute Essential	731	50.7%	258	61.4%	23	44.8%	35	73.8%	10	44.6%	3	27.6%	9	39.3%	17	64.4%	196	52.5%	1,282	53.1%
Very necessary	519	36.0%	121	29.0%	23	44.8%	11	23.0%	7	30.9%	6	50.8%	9	38.8%	8	29.2%	128	34.3%	832	34.5%
Fairly necessary	137	9.5%	33	7.8%	4	6.8%	2	3.3%	5	24.5%	2	13.2%	0	1.7%	2	6.4%	40	10.7%	224	9.3%
Unnecessary	31	2.2%	7	1.7%	2	3.6%					1	8.4%	5	20.2%			9	2.4%	55	2.3%
Undesirable	19	1.3%																	19	0.8%
Not interested/Not answered	2	0.2%	0	0.1%															3	0.1%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P10\_3 Range of policy goals: Combating crime, drugs and abuse

_ 0 1	ANC	SACP		DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Absolute Essential	1,021	70.9%	367	87.4%	42	81.1%	42	89.5%	18	82.8%	9	78.6%	14	60.4%	15	55.0%	303	81.0%	1,830	75.8%
Very necessary	371	25.8%	45	10.7%	7	14.4%	5	9.9%	2	10.7%	2	21.4%	9	39.6%	12	45.0%	55	14.6%	509	21.1%
Fairly necessary	27	1.8%	8	1.8%	0	0.9%	0	0.6%	1	6.5%							15	4.1%	52	2.1%
Unnecessary	7	0.5%															1	0.3%	8	0.3%
Undesirable	13	0.9%			2	3.6%													15	0.6%
Not interested/Not answered	2	0.1%																	2	0.1%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P10\_4 Range of policy goals: Fighting corruption in government and business

_ 8 1		C/SACP	0	D.4		IFD		ID		ACDP		FF	1	UDM		<b>Al</b>	NT		T	- 4 - 1
	ANC	JSACP		DA		IFP		ID	F	ACDP		FF		UDM	, c	Other	INO I	response	1	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Absolute Essential	930	64.6%	355	84.6%	30	58.7%	37	79.0%	16	74.1%	9	78.6%	17	72.8%	14	53.7%	262	70.0%	1,670	69.2%
Very necessary	414	28.7%	51	12.1%	18	34.4%	6	13.5%	4	19.4%	2	21.4%	6	27.2%	12	46.3%	87	23.3%	601	24.9%
Fairly necessary	75	5.2%	11	2.6%	4	6.8%	4	7.4%									21	5.7%	115	4.7%
Unnecessary	9	0.6%	3	0.7%													4	1.0%	16	0.7%
Undesirable	10	0.7%							1	6.5%									12	0.5%
Not interested/Not answered	1	0.1%																	1	0.1%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P10\_5 Range of policy goals: Appointing the most able people irrespective of race or political connections

<b>_</b> 0 <b>i</b>	ANC	SACP		DA		IFP	-	ID Î	A	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	- %	n	%
Absolute Essential	704	48.9%	297	70.9%	32	61.5%	38	79.8%	13	61.5%	6	51.6%	17	71.9%	19	70.9%	218	58.2%	1,343	55.6%
Very necessary	493	34.3%	86	20.5%	17	33.9%	9	19.0%	8	38.5%	3	27.2%	7	28.1%	4	14.7%	101	27.1%	729	30.2%
Fairly necessary	168	11.7%	32	7.7%	2	4.6%	1	1.3%			2	21.2%			4	14.4%	47	12.7%	257	10.6%
Unnecessary	49	3.4%	3	0.8%													7	1.9%	60	2.5%
Undesirable	23	1.6%	1	0.1%													1	0.2%	25	1.0%
Not interested/Not answered	2	0.1%																	2	0.1%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P10\_6 Range of policy goals: Compensating victims of apartheid

_ 0 1	ANC	C/SACP		DA		IFP		ID	1	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Absolute Essential	510	35.4%	143	34.2%	21	40.8%	20	42.9%	7	30.5%	2	13.5%	7	29.8%	11	43.1%	126	33.7%	847	35.1%
Very necessary	498	34.6%	103	24.6%	19	36.7%	9	19.3%	2	8.6%	1	5.6%	8	35.0%	13	48.3%	115	30.9%	769	31.8%
Fairly necessary	255	17.7%	77	18.4%	9	16.7%	11	23.5%	8	36.6%	4	32.2%	2	7.4%	0	1.7%	82	21.9%	447	18.5%
Unnecessary	127	8.8%	69	16.5%	2	4.6%	4	9.5%	4	17.9%	5	40.2%	2	7.6%	1	4.6%	38	10.1%	253	10.5%
Undesirable	46	3.2%	26	6.1%			2	4.9%	1	6.4%	1	8.6%	5	20.2%	1	2.3%	11	3.0%	93	3.8%
Not interested/Not answered	4	0.3%	0	0.1%	1	1.2%											1	0.4%	7	0.3%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P10 7 Range of policy goals: Protecting workers

_ 0 1	ANC	SACP	0	DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Absolute Essential	869	60.4%	247	58.9%	46	88.5%	32	67.3%	13	60.0%	3	27.6%	14	57.2%	16	60.4%	221	59.1%	1,460	60.5%
Very necessary	446	31.0%	114	27.2%	3	5.5%	13	27.4%	7	32.7%	6	54.9%	7	31.0%	9	32.7%	112	29.9%	717	29.7%
Fairly necessary	92	6.4%	52	12.5%	3	6.0%	2	4.5%	1	4.0%	2	14.6%	2	10.1%	2	6.9%	36	9.7%	192	8.0%
Unnecessary	11	0.7%	6	1.4%			0	0.9%	1	3.3%	0	2.9%					4	0.9%	21	0.9%
Undesirable	15	1.0%															1	0.2%	16	0.6%
Not interested/Not answered	8	0.5%	0	0.1%									0	1.7%			0	0.1%	9	0.4%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P10\_8 Range of policy goals: Improving the delivery of electricity, water and other basic services

<b>_</b> 0 I	ANC	/SACP	C	DA		ĬFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	T	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	- %	n	%
Absolute Essential	1,119	77.7%	352	84.0%	49	94.4%	40	83.5%	16	75.4%	9	79.7%	16	67.0%	22	84.9%	294	78.7%	1,918	79.4%
Very necessary	265	18.4%	56	13.4%	3	5.6%	5	11.0%	5	22.4%	2	20.3%	7	30.0%	4	15.1%	56	15.1%	404	16.7%
Fairly necessary	47	3.2%	11	2.5%			3	5.4%	0	2.3%			1	3.0%			22	5.8%	83	3.4%
Unnecessary	2	0.1%															1	0.3%	3	0.1%
Undesirable	6	0.4%															0	0.1%	6	0.3%
Not interested/Not answered	1	0.1%																	1	0.0%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P10\_9 Range of policy goals: Respecting language and cultural rights

<b>_</b> 0 I	ANC	C/SACP		DA	0	IFP		ЮŬ	1	ACDP		FF	I	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Absolute Essential	693	48.1%	232	55.4%	40	76.8%	27	57.5%	9	42.6%	7	62.0%	12	51.3%	12	46.2%	185	49.4%	1,218	50.4%
Very necessary	511	35.5%	124	29.6%	11	21.9%	13	26.6%	9	44.0%	2	16.7%	11	46.9%	13	47.5%	115	30.7%	809	33.5%
Fairly necessary	185	12.9%	57	13.6%	1	1.3%	4	9.2%	2	10.2%	2	21.3%	0	1.8%	2	6.3%	64	17.1%	318	13.2%
Unnecessary	34	2.3%	5	1.2%			3	6.7%	1	3.3%							8	2.2%	51	2.1%
Undesirable	12	0.8%	1	0.2%													2	0.6%	15	0.6%
Not interested/Not answered	4	0.3%																	4	0.2%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P10\_10 Range of policy goals: An efficient public service that delivers

_ 0 1	ANC	C/SACP		DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Absolute Essential	838	58.2%	304	72.5%	30	58.8%	42	88.8%	14	65.4%	6	49.8%	15	64.0%	15	57.9%	233	62.4%	1,498	62.0%
Very necessary	460	31.9%	88	20.9%	18	34.8%	4	7.9%	6	30.1%	5	42.9%	7	30.0%	8	31.9%	94	25.1%	690	28.6%
Fairly necessary	118	8.2%	25	5.9%	3	6.4%	2	3.3%	1	4.5%	1	7.3%	1	6.0%	3	10.1%	44	11.7%	197	8.2%
Unnecessary	13	0.9%	2	0.5%													1	0.2%	16	0.7%
Undesirable	4	0.2%															2	0.6%	6	0.2%
Not interested/Not answered	7	0.5%	1	0.1%															8	0.3%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P10\_11 Range of policy goals: Improving education and training

	ANC	SACP		DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Absolute Essential	1,001	69.5%	328	78.2%	45	87.7%	40	85.0%	18	84.0%	5	43.8%	20	84.8%	14	52.8%	292	78.1%	1,764	73.0%
Very necessary	361	25.1%	76	18.2%	6	10.8%	6	11.8%	3	16.0%	7	56.2%	4	15.2%	11	41.3%	60	16.0%	533	22.1%
Fairly necessary	62	4.3%	15	3.6%	1	1.5%	0	1.0%									22	5.9%	100	4.1%
Unnecessary	5	0.4%																	5	0.2%
Undesirable	4	0.3%																	4	0.2%
Not interested/Not answered	7	0.5%					1	2.3%							2	5.9%			9	0.4%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P10\_12 Range of policy goals: Transformation to get rid of all effects of apartheid

_ 8 1	ANC	C/SACP		DA	0	IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	I	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	· %	n	%
Absolute Essential	572	39.7%	192	45.7%	30	58.0%	16	34.2%	6	27.7%	3	28.1%	10	42.4%	8	31.6%	165	44.2%	1,002	41.5%
Very necessary	563	39.1%	89	21.2%	17	32.6%	18	38.0%	7	30.8%	2	16.0%	7	31.3%	16	61.5%	106	28.2%	825	34.1%
Fairly necessary	221	15.3%	85	20.3%	2	4.8%	8	16.6%	6	27.3%	2	20.6%	1	4.7%	1	4.6%	71	19.0%	398	16.5%
Unnecessary	58	4.0%	41	9.8%	2	4.6%	5	10.2%	3	14.1%	3	27.0%	5	21.6%	1	2.3%	22	5.8%	140	5.8%
Undesirable	20	1.4%	13	3.1%			0	1.0%			1	8.4%					9	2.4%	43	1.8%
Not interested/Not answered	6	0.4%															1	0.4%	8	0.3%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### 10 13 Range of policy goals: Changing economic and labour regulations to make job creation easier

_	ANC	C/SACP		DA		IFP		IĎ	A	ACDP	•	FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Absolute Essential	922	64.1%	277	66.1%	48	92.1%	34	71.8%	8	35.5%	5	42.2%	15	62.1%	14	51.7%	243	65.0%	1,565	64.8%
Very necessary	402	28.0%	111	26.4%	3	5.8%	10	20.4%	12	55.5%	6	47.7%	9	37.9%	8	28.6%	93	25.0%	653	27.0%
Fairly necessary	74	5.1%	28	6.7%	0	0.9%	4	7.9%	1	5.7%	1	10.1%			5	19.7%	34	9.1%	148	6.1%
Unnecessary	22	1.5%	2	0.5%					1	3.3%							3	0.9%	28	1.1%
Undesirable	19	1.3%	1	0.2%															20	0.8%
Not interested/Not answered	1	0.1%			1	1.2%													1	0.1%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P10 14 Range of policy goals: Improving health policy, including HIV/Aids

<u> </u>	ANC	SACP		DA	-	IFP		ID	1	ACDP		FF	I	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Absolute Essential	1,065	74.0%	322	76.8%	47	91.8%	36	77.1%	15	69.1%	5	42.2%	18	73.4%	15	57.5%	287	76.8%	1,810	75.0%
Very necessary	336	23.3%	71	16.9%	4	8.2%	9	19.5%	5	22.3%	3	26.2%	6	26.6%	11	40.2%	62	16.6%	507	21.0%
Fairly necessary	31	2.2%	26	6.2%			2	3.5%	2	8.7%	4	31.6%			1	2.3%	23	6.1%	88	3.6%
Undesirable	6	0.4%	0	0.1%															7	0.3%
Not interested/Not answered	2	0.1%															2	0.5%	3	0.1%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P10\_15 Range of policy goals: Improving the delivery of housing for needy families

_ 8 1	ANC	SACP		DA		IFP		ที่	A	AČDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	· %	n	%
Absolute Essential	1,104	76.7%	297	70.9%	42	80.9%	38	79.8%	13	62.5%	3	26.7%	20	84.3%	10	37.5%	275	73.7%	1,802	74.6%
Very necessary	285	19.8%	94	22.5%	10	18.5%	7	13.9%	4	16.7%	7	60.0%	4	15.7%	11	42.7%	68	18.2%	489	20.3%
Fairly necessary	42	2.9%	25	6.0%	0	0.5%	3	6.3%	4	20.8%	1	10.4%			5	19.8%	28	7.4%	109	4.5%
Unnecessary	1	0.1%	2	0.4%							0	3.0%					2	0.5%	5	0.2%
Undesirable	6	0.4%	1	0.2%															7	0.3%
Not interested/Not answered	2	0.1%															1	0.2%	3	0.1%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P10\_16 Range of policy goals: Combating growing inequality between rich and poor people of any colour

_ 0 1	ANC	C/SACP		DĂ		IFP	•	ID	1	ACDP	-	FF -	1	U <b>DM</b>	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Absolute Essential	755	52.5%	202	48.1%	38	73.7%	23	48.5%	6	29.7%	3	26.9%	12	48.5%	15	56.4%	211	56.5%	1,265	52.4%
Very necessary	464	32.3%	119	28.3%	13	24.5%	18	37.6%	7	30.8%	2	16.2%	5	21.0%	11	41.3%	103	27.4%	741	30.7%
Fairly necessary	174	12.1%	67	16.0%	1	1.2%	5	10.6%	6	28.6%	5	45.9%	1	6.0%	1	2.3%	53	14.3%	314	13.0%
Unnecessary	24	1.7%	24	5.6%	0	0.5%	1	2.6%	2	10.9%	1	11.0%	6	23.1%			5	1.3%	63	2.6%
Undesirable	21	1.5%	8	1.9%			0	0.6%					0	1.4%			1	0.3%	31	1.3%
Not interested/Not answered	1	0.1%															1	0.2%	2	0.1%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P10\_17 Range of policy goals: Working for harmony and reconciliation between the races

_ 0 1	ANC	SACP	0	DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Absolute Essential	705	49.0%	232	55.2%	35	67.2%	22	47.1%	10	47.6%	2	18.1%	18	75.6%	10	37.6%	184	49.1%	1,217	50.4%
Very necessary	511	35.5%	118	28.2%	12	24.1%	17	36.1%	5	22.2%	4	32.8%	5	20.8%	8	30.9%	122	32.7%	803	33.2%
Fairly necessary	162	11.3%	63	15.0%	4	8.7%	7	15.8%	6	30.2%	4	38.7%	0	1.7%	5	18.6%	51	13.8%	305	12.6%
Unnecessary	37	2.6%	6	1.5%			0	1.0%			1	10.4%	0	1.8%	3	12.9%	14	3.8%	63	2.6%
Undesirable	20	1.4%	0	0.1%													2	0.4%	22	0.9%
Not interested/Not answered	4	0.3%															1	0.2%	4	0.2%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P10\_18 Range of policy goals: Affirmative action and empowerment for people previously disadvantaged

_ 0 1						1					1	•			-					
	ANC	C/SACP		DA		IFP		ID	1	ACDP		FF	I	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Absolute Essential	695	48.3%	163	38.8%	31	59.8%	18	37.5%	6	28.0%	2	16.8%	10	42.1%	13	50.7%	167	44.8%	1,105	45.7%
Very necessary	490	34.0%	82	19.6%	16	30.4%	16	34.6%	6	29.0%	2	17.6%	5	22.7%	9	33.1%	110	29.4%	737	30.5%
Fairly necessary	186	12.9%	75	17.9%	3	5.0%	5	10.7%	5	22.1%	1	8.1%	2	7.4%	4	13.9%	63	16.9%	343	14.2%
Unnecessary	48	3.4%	66	15.7%	2	3.6%	6	12.7%	4	18.0%	5	40.7%	6	26.0%			17	4.7%	154	6.4%
Undesirable	18	1.2%	32	7.6%			2	4.5%	1	2.8%	2	16.8%	0	1.8%	1	2.3%	15	4.0%	70	2.9%
Not interested/Not answered	3	0.2%	2	0.5%	1	1.2%											1	0.2%	6	0.3%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

# P11 Which one of the following is most important to ensure that a Governing party, after elections, keeps on doing its best for the people in a country

in a country	ANC	/SACP		DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	I	U <b>DM</b>	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
The party's history of struggle for the people	268	18.6%	27	6.5%	12	23.9%	2	4.2%	0	2.2%	1	9.3%	7	31.4%	3	11.5%	29	7.7%	350	14.5%
The promises it made during elections	832	57.8%	177	42.3%	24	45.6%	20	41.4%	13	60.2%	7	59.4%	6	24.2%	10	36.9%	200	53.5%	1,288	53.3%
A strong opposition that criticises Government and can attract disappointed voters	140	9.7%	100	23.7%	8	14.9%	8	17.7%	2	10.8%	2	19.4%	0	1.4%	6	22.6%	78	20.8%	344	14.2%
The needs of ordinary members and supporters of the party	94	6.5%	72	17.1%	5	10.1%	12	24.7%	3	14.1%	1	8.4%	7	30.3%	3	12.8%	39	10.4%	236	9.8%
What the party says about its principles and what it believe	104	7.3%	44	10.4%	1	1.4%	6	12.0%	3	12.6%	0	3.5%	3	12.6%	4	16.2%	29	7.7%	194	8.0%
Not answered / Do not know Total	2 1,440	0.1% 100.0%	419	100.0%	2 52	4.0% 100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	4 2,415	0.2% 100.0%

	ANC	SACP		DA		IFP		ÎD D	1	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
ANC	1,368	95.0%	23	5.5%	6	10.8%	6	11.9%	0	1.2%			2	10.4%	7	25.5%	144	38.6%	1,556	64.4%
DA	24	1.6%	363	86.6%	1	1.6%	3	5.9%	6	27.8%	1	12.5%	0	1.4%	2	6.2%	50	13.4%	450	18.6%
NONE	16	1.1%	6	1.4%	1	2.7%	0	0.6%					3	12.3%			99	26.5%	125	5.2%
IFP	4	0.3%	4	0.9%	43	82.9%							1	2.9%			11	2.9%	62	2.6%
ID	8	0.5%	2	0.4%			37	78.5%									5	1.2%	51	2.1%
Not sure	3	0.2%	5	1.1%											0	1.3%	25	6.8%	33	1.4%
UDM	1	0.1%	1	0.3%			0	1.0%					17	73.0%	0	1.7%	4	1.2%	25	1.0%
ACDP	3	0.2%	2	0.5%	1	1.2%	0	0.8%	15	69.2%							2	0.5%	23	1.0%
PAC	3	0.2%	2	0.4%											13	48.3%	1	0.2%	18	0.8%
FF+			3	0.6%	0	0.8%			0	1.7%	10	87.5%					2	0.6%	16	0.7%
SACP	9	0.6%	3	0.7%													4	1.2%	16	0.7%
Refused																	10	2.8%	10	0.4%
OTHER	1	0.1%	1	0.3%											2	9.2%	6	1.6%	10	0.4%
AZAPO			5	1.3%			1	1.3%							2	5.7%	3	0.7%	10	0.4%
Political party not specified	1	0.1%	0	0.1%													7	1.8%	8	0.3%
Minority Front	0	0.0%													1	2.2%			1	0.0%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P12 What political party most deserves to be supported during the next elections in 2009

#### P13 What other party also deserves to do well in the elections

	ANC	SACP		DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No 1	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	- %	n	%
DA	205	14.2%	33	7.8%	6	11.0%	26	54.3%	5	25.4%	9	81.2%	3	11.9%	2	8.0%	36	9.5%	324	13.4%
ANC	168	11.7%	39	9.3%	5	8.8%	6	12.4%	1	5.6%			6	23.7%	13	49.9%	33	8.8%	271	11.2%
ID	47	3.3%	109	26.0%	2	3.9%	7	15.8%	3	12.5%	0	2.3%	1	4.2%			20	5.4%	190	7.9%
IFP	64	4.5%	31	7.4%	13	24.5%											22	5.9%	130	5.4%
PAC	102	7.1%	7	1.8%			2	4.7%					2	9.2%	2	8.4%	12	3.2%	128	5.3%
UDM	87	6.1%	4	0.9%			1	2.4%					1	4.5%	5	18.9%	8	2.0%	106	4.4%
SACP	73	5.1%	0	0.0%											0	1.6%	6	1.5%	80	3.3%
FF+	7	0.5%	57	13.7%	1	2.8%	1	2.0%	1	4.5%	2	16.5%	0	1.4%			4	1.0%	73	3.0%
ACDP	33	2.3%	19	4.6%					6	26.6%			1	3.3%			4	1.1%	63	2.6%
Not answered / Do not know	12	0.8%	4	0.9%			0	1.0%							2	7.2%	24	6.4%	42	1.7%
AZAPO	33	2.3%	1	0.2%													6	1.7%	40	1.7%
OTHER	20	1.4%	4	1.0%			0	1.0%									3	0.7%	27	1.1%
Political party not specified	5	0.4%	1	0.1%													5	1.4%	11	0.5%
Refused																	7	2.0%	7	0.3%
Minority Front	1	0.1%	1	0.3%															3	0.1%
NONE	582	40.4%	109	25.9%	25	48.9%	3	6.3%	5	25.3%			10	41.9%	2	6.1%	185	49.4%	921	38.1%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

P14 Thinking of the next general election would it be a good idea or not for political parties that agree with each other on basic principles, to cooperate in the election by not competing with each other and putting forward a shared list of candidates? In other words this would be an election coalition.

	ANC	C/SACP		DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
A very good idea	600	41.7%	243	58.0%	13	24.3%	30	63.0%	14	64.5%	7	59.3%	13	54.7%	14	52.4%	143	38.2%	1,076	44.6%
A fairly good idea	339	23.6%	115	27.4%	16	31.2%	13	27.9%	3	15.6%	3	30.1%	6	26.9%	8	29.2%	85	22.8%	589	24.4%
Not good not bad	75	5.2%	26	6.2%	10	18.7%	1	1.7%	3	13.8%	1	6.9%	1	5.1%	1	3.7%	52	13.8%	169	7.0%
A fairly bad idea	79	5.5%	11	2.6%			3	5.5%	1	5.1%	0	3.8%	2	7.0%	4	14.6%	16	4.2%	115	4.8%
A very bad idea	340	23.6%	23	5.6%	13	25.8%			0	1.1%			2	6.4%			69	18.5%	448	18.5%
Other party	3	0.2%																	3	0.1%
Party for blacks only	1	0.1%																	1	0.0%
Don't know	3	0.2%	1	0.3%			1	1.8%									9	2.5%	14	0.6%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P15 - Why do you feel this way

i ie wing do you ieei	ANC	C/SACP		DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No 1	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
More effective delivery of	610	25 (0)	127	22.00/	12	24 (0/	27	57.00/	4	10.50/	2	20.00/	14	(0.00/	~	20 (0/	05	25.50/	012	22 (0/
services/more effective governance Co-	512	35.6%	137	32.8%	13	24.6%	27	57.0%	4	19.5%	3	30.0%	14	60.8%	5	20.6%	95	25.5%	812	33.6%
operation/consensus/agreement etc.	489	33.9%	132	31.6%	16	31.8%	16	34.8%	3	16.3%	2	19.1%	4	17.7%	12	46.7%	119	31.9%	796	32.9%
Parties too different in ideas, ideals, ideologies, etc.	226	15.7%	29	7.0%	9	18.2%	2	4.0%	1	2.9%	0	3.8%	1	4.6%	3	10.4%	47	12.7%	319	13.2%
More effective opposition/keeps better check on government/k	97	6.8%	128	30.6%	4	7.2%	14	29.2%	10	46.1%	5	46.7%	2	9.9%	3	9.9%	43	11.6%	307	12.7%
Parties will not waste energy fighting each other	136	9.4%	17	4.0%	2	4.6%	1	2.9%	1	3.6%			1	4.8%	0	1.4%	38	10.3%	197	8.2%
Need unity/single rule/single Rainbow Nation	132	9.1%	12	3.0%	3	5.7%	6	13.3%	4	16.8%			2	6.8%	6	23.2%	21	5.6%	185	7.7%
Greater size = greater strength/more effective/undivided votes	74	5.1%	58	13.9%	3	6.1%	13	27.8%	2	8.5%	2	21.5%	1	4.4%	3	11.4%	25	6.8%	182	7.5%
Politicians/parties too competitive More opportunity to find	134	9.3%	5	1.1%	3	6.7%	1	3.1%	1	5.1%			2	9.2%	1	4.6%	17	4.5%	165	6.8%
consensus strengthen ideals/stronger	80	5.5%	27	6.4%	2	3.6%	4	9.3%	1	5.7%					1	4.6%	22	5.9%	137	5.7%
Some parties too influent/useless	89	6.2%	9	2.0%	1	2.0%	0	0.7%	1	6.4%							20	5.2%	120	5.0%

#### P15 - Why do you feel this way - continues

u u	ANC	SACP		DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	I	JDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Some parties too corrupt	58	4.0%	5	1.1%	2	3.5%			0	1.1%							23	6.2%	88	3.6%
Don't know / No comment / Refuse	38	2.6%	8	2.0%	3	6.3%	1	2.9%	1	3.3%							31	8.2%	82	3.4%
Greater size not greater strength	51	3.6%	5	1.1%			2	3.5%	0	2.3%			1	3.5%			17	4.5%	76	3.1%
Parties live in past/cling to old ideas	55	3.8%	3	0.6%											1	4.3%	10	2.6%	68	2.8%
Easier to attract votes	20	1.4%	11	2.5%	1	2.2%									2	7.2%	6	1.5%	39	1.6%
Parties and politicians basically the same anyway	11	0.8%	6	1.3%													6	1.7%	23	1.0%
ANC too corrupt Total	5 1,440	0.4% 100.0%	5 419	1.1% 100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	3 374	0.7% 100.0%	13 2,415	0.5% 100.0%

#### P16 1 A coalition should be a "Rainbow Coalition" with prominent people from all population groups

—	ANC	SACP		DA		IFP	L	ID	• • •	ACDP		FF	I	J <b>ĎM</b>	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Essential	388	26.9%	174	41.5%	11	22.2%	14	30.2%	12	56.4%	3	23.3%	12	49.8%	14	51.6%	112	29.9%	740	30.6%
A good thing	596	41.4%	164	39.2%	11	21.4%	28	60.1%	8	37.4%	3	27.8%	8	34.5%	5	18.5%	117	31.3%	941	39.0%
Something you could accept	181	12.6%	63	15.0%	21	40.5%	5	9.7%	1	6.2%	5	39.9%	2	7.0%	7	25.3%	82	21.9%	366	15.1%
Something you would not support	275	19.1%	18	4.3%	8	15.8%					1	8.9%	2	8.7%	1	4.6%	62	16.7%	368	15.2%
Not answered / Do not know																	1	0.2%	1	0.0%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P16 2 A coalition should strengthen opposition to the ANC

—	ANC	/SACP	11	DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	I	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Essential	214	14.8%	223	53.1%	14	27.4%	28	58.8%	13	59.0%	9	76.3%	12	48.6%	8	31.2%	94	25.3%	614	25.4%
A good thing	513	35.6%	113	27.0%	16	30.4%	10	21.6%	7	31.7%	1	9.8%	6	24.3%	9	33.3%	107	28.5%	781	32.3%
Something you could accept	209	14.5%	47	11.2%	14	26.4%	7	13.9%			0	3.2%	3	11.4%	8	29.5%	74	19.8%	361	14.9%
Something you would not support	505	35.1%	37	8.7%	8	15.8%	3	5.7%	2	9.3%	1	10.6%	4	15.7%	2	6.0%	98	26.2%	659	27.3%
Not answered / Do not know																	1	0.2%	1	0.0%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P16\_3 A coalition should draw together the best expertise in running a country irrespective of race groups

—						1				•		1								
	ANC	C/SACP		DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Essential	391	27.1%	224	53.4%	10	19.4%	24	50.5%	14	63.4%	5	39.1%	11	46.1%	5	19.7%	136	36.4%	819	33.9%
A good thing	596	41.4%	134	32.0%	19	37.2%	20	41.6%	8	36.6%	5	45.1%	9	35.9%	14	52.7%	110	29.6%	915	37.9%
Something you could accept	176	12.2%	46	11.0%	18	34.2%	4	7.9%			1	12.0%	3	11.0%	7	27.6%	69	18.6%	324	13.4%
Something you would not support	275	19.1%	15	3.6%	5	9.1%					0	3.8%	2	7.0%			58	15.4%	355	14.7%
Not answered / Do not know	1	0.1%																	1	0.0%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P16\_4 A coalition should only include parties that believe in the same political and democratic principles

_	ANC	SACP	-	DA		IFP		ID	- -	ACDP		FF	i	JDM -	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Essential	313	21.8%	157	37.5%	11	21.9%	13	26.5%	7	34.9%	4	37.3%	11	46.3%	9	32.4%	107	28.7%	633	26.2%
A good thing	615	42.7%	162	38.6%	21	40.1%	24	50.2%	8	35.4%	2	19.5%	5	21.4%	5	18.8%	108	29.0%	950	39.3%
Something you could accept	224	15.6%	65	15.6%	16	30.6%	11	22.4%	2	9.7%	1	8.9%	4	15.4%	9	34.2%	80	21.3%	412	17.0%
Something you would not support	286	19.9%	35	8.2%	4	7.5%	0	0.9%	4	20.1%	4	34.3%	4	16.9%	4	14.6%	78	21.0%	419	17.4%
Not answered / Do not know	1	0.1%																	1	0.0%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P16\_5 A coalition should only include parties that believe in the same economic principles

_	ANC	SACP	-	DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP	-	FF	1	JDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Essential	325	22.6%	152	36.2%	10	18.6%	12	25.5%	7	34.9%	4	31.5%	11	44.7%	5	19.4%	97	26.0%	623	25.8%
A good thing	599	41.6%	163	39.0%	24	45.6%	27	56.3%	8	35.4%	2	20.8%	6	24.1%	7	26.1%	113	30.3%	948	39.3%
Something you could accept	212	14.7%	60	14.3%	13	25.4%	8	16.9%	1	6.8%	2	13.4%	4	18.2%	14	52.8%	79	21.0%	393	16.3%
Something you would not support	303	21.0%	43	10.3%	5	10.4%	1	1.3%	5	23.0%	4	34.3%	3	13.0%	0	1.7%	82	21.9%	446	18.5%
Not answered / Do not know	1	0.1%	1	0.1%													3	0.8%	5	0.2%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

P16_6 What other	things are necessary	in a	coalition
	A NICICI CD	<b>T</b> 1	X 7 7 7

	ANC	SACP	J	DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	١	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Mention of various																				
benefits/services/etc. (all	108	7.5%	23	5.4%	1	2.8%	4	8.6%					1	6.0%	1	3.3%	22	5.8%	160	6.6%
together) Unity/an urge to be																				
together/common feelings	89	6.2%	28	6.7%	0	0.5%	1	2.7%			1	12.7%	2	9.2%	1	2.6%	24	6.3%	147	6.1%
Trust/honesty/openness	38	2.7%	30	7.2%	1	1.2%	1	3.0%	1	4.6%	1	5.4%	5	22.8%	3	11.7%	18	4.9%	99	4.1%
Co-operation and give and take	42	2.9%	17	4.1%	1	2.7%			1	5.0%							6	1.6%	67	2.8%
Must include all people in	36	2.5%	8	1.9%			2	3.3%	1	3.9%			2	7.4%			10	2.7%	59	2.4%
country/all South Africans Illuminate crime and corruption	20	1.4%	23	5.5%	1	2.8%	1	2.2%			2	13.5%	3	11.1%			7	1.9%	56	2.3%
Same beliefs/basic values same	36	2.5%	4	1.1%	1	1.7%	1	2.270	2	9.4%	2	15.570	5	11.170			8	2.2%	51	2.1%
Concentration on delivery	22	1.5%	7	1.8%	2	3.6%	3	7.3%									12	3.3%	47	1.9%
Other	24	1.7%	5	1.3%	0	0.6%	0	0.6%					1	3.5%	1	4.3%	10	2.6%	42	1.7%
Equal rights/equality in coalition	21	1.5%	4	1.0%					1	3.5%	1	5.1%	1	3.3%	0	1.4%	6	1.7%	34	1.4%
Respect/ubuntu Community representatives	24 23	1.6% 1.6%	57	1.2% 1.6%	1	1.6%											4	1.2% 0.6%	33 33	1.4% 1.4%
Strong leader/good leadership	13	0.9%	6	1.5%	1	1.070	0	0.9%							1	3.7%	10	2.7%	30	1.4%
Democratic/rules of democracy	13	0.9%	4	1.0%			1	1.4%							-		4	0.9%	22	0.9%
must apply			•				1										4	0.9%		
Outside experts	10	0.7%	0	0.1%			2	3.8%	1	6.4%					2	5.8%			16	0.6%
Strong opposition to criticism of government	6	0.4%	4	1.0%							0	3.0%					4	1.0%	15	0.6%
Avoid all																				
infighting/competitiveness in	8	0.6%	3	0.7%			1	1.9%	0	1.2%							2	0.5%	14	0.6%
coalition																				
Christian values	4	0.2%	2	0.5%	42	02.40/	20	(1.20/	2	11.3%	-	60 40/	0	1.4%	10	(7.20)	4	1.1%	13	0.5%
Don't know / None Total	903 1.440	62.7% 100.0%	237 419	56.4% 100.0%	43 52	82.4% 100.0%	30 47	64.3% 100.0%	12 21	54.7% 100.0%	12	60.4% 100.0%	8 24	35.3% 100.0%	18 26	67.3% 100.0%	220 374	59.0% 100.0%	1,478 2,415	61.2% 100.0%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.076	4/	100.076	<i>2</i> 1	100.070	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	20	100.0%	5/4	100.076	2,413	100.076

# P17\_1 Think of this coalition of parties, will you say: ANC

_	ANC	C/SACP		DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	I	JDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Definitely in Coalition	832	57.8%	55	13.0%	12	22.9%	9	19.5%	5	21.9%	0	4.0%	11	44.8%	15	56.9%	148	39.6%	1,086	45.0%
Would accept in Coalition	156	10.8%	64	15.2%	19	37.2%	11	23.7%	2	7.1%	1	8.8%	3	12.4%	6	20.8%	74	19.7%	335	13.9%
Not be part of Coalition	449	31.2%	301	71.8%	21	39.9%	27	56.8%	15	71.0%	10	87.2%	10	42.8%	6	22.4%	152	40.6%	990	41.0%
Don't know/Not answered	3	0.2%															0	0.1%	4	0.2%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P17\_2 Think of this coalition of parties, will you say: DA

_	ANC	C/SACP		DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Definitely in Coalition	446	31.0%	366	87.3%	21	41.3%	37	77.1%	15	71.5%	11	92.1%	12	50.9%	16	61.9%	165	44.2%	1,090	45.1%
Would accept in Coalition	487	33.8%	37	8.8%	22	43.0%	9	18.3%	5	21.7%	0	3.9%	8	32.1%	6	23.8%	128	34.3%	702	29.1%
Not be part of Coalition	502	34.9%	16	3.9%	7	13.6%	2	4.6%	1	6.8%	0	4.0%	4	17.0%	4	14.3%	78	20.9%	615	25.5%
Don't know/Not answered	5	0.3%	0	0.1%	1	2.2%											2	0.5%	8	0.3%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

## P17\_3 Think of this coalition of parties, will you say: ID

_	ANC	C/SACP		DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Definitely in Coalition	384	26.7%	236	56.3%	18	35.2%	41	86.5%	11	49.2%	7	60.0%	10	41.8%	10	38.0%	130	34.7%	847	35.1%
Would accept in Coalition	448	31.1%	134	32.0%	23	44.7%	6	12.2%	8	37.7%	3	23.5%	6	24.7%	13	49.1%	140	37.4%	780	32.3%
Not be part of Coalition	599	41.6%	48	11.5%	10	20.1%	1	1.3%	3	13.2%	2	16.6%	8	33.4%	3	12.9%	103	27.5%	777	32.2%
Don't know/Not answered	9	0.6%	1	0.2%													1	0.4%	11	0.5%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

## P17\_4 Think of this coalition of parties, will you say: EUDM

_	ANC	C/SACP		DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	I	JDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Definitely in Coalition	413	28.7%	112	26.8%	14	27.9%	18	37.0%	8	37.6%	4	36.8%	21	86.9%	15	57.0%	106	28.3%	711	29.5%
Would accept in Coalition	528	36.7%	186	44.4%	25	49.2%	24	50.2%	9	41.0%	3	29.9%	1	3.2%	10	37.9%	150	40.1%	937	38.8%
Not be part of Coalition	490	34.0%	118	28.2%	12	22.9%	6	12.8%	5	21.4%	4	33.3%	2	9.9%	1	5.2%	116	31.1%	754	31.2%
Dont know/Not answered	8	0.6%	2	0.6%													2	0.6%	13	0.5%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P17\_5 Think of this coalition of parties, will you say: IFP

_	ANC	C/SACP	,	DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	I	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Definitely in Coalition	348	24.2%	157	37.4%	26	49.5%	7	14.8%	12	56.5%	7	56.1%	12	52.2%	8	29.0%	98	26.1%	673	27.9%
Would accept in Coalition	452	31.4%	144	34.4%	16	30.7%	26	55.2%	3	13.9%	3	23.3%	8	35.0%	12	46.5%	139	37.3%	804	33.3%
Not be part of Coalition	634	44.0%	116	27.7%	10	19.8%	14	30.0%	6	29.6%	2	20.7%	3	12.8%	6	23.5%	135	36.1%	927	38.4%
Don't know/Not answered	6	0.4%	2	0.6%											0	1.1%	2	0.4%	11	0.4%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P17\_6 Think of this coalition of parties, will you say: FF+

—	ANC	Z/SACP	,	DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	I	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Definitely in Coalition	280	19.4%	163	39.0%	21	41.4%	11	22.8%	12	54.9%	11	93.7%	8	35.0%	9	34.4%	87	23.2%	602	24.9%
Would accept in Coalition	387	26.9%	136	32.5%	18	35.1%	24	51.3%	5	24.5%	0	2.3%	5	20.4%	7	25.9%	113	30.3%	696	28.8%
Not be part of Coalition	767	53.3%	116	27.7%	12	23.5%	12	25.8%	4	20.6%	0	4.0%	11	44.6%	10	38.5%	171	45.8%	1,104	45.7%
Dont know/Not answered	6	0.4%	4	0.9%											0	1.1%	3	0.8%	13	0.5%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P17\_7 Think of this coalition of parties, will you say: PAC

—	ANC	C/SACP	,	DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Definitely in Coalition	448	31.1%	79	18.8%	16	31.9%	10	20.4%	8	39.5%	3	28.6%	9	39.4%	18	69.3%	104	28.0%	697	28.9%
Would accept in Coalition	448	31.1%	110	26.2%	21	41.5%	17	35.4%	5	25.6%	2	19.1%	4	18.6%	7	25.4%	117	31.2%	731	30.3%
Not be part of Coalition	536	37.3%	227	54.2%	14	26.6%	21	44.2%	7	34.9%	6	52.3%	10	42.0%	1	4.1%	150	40.3%	973	40.3%
Don't know/Not answered	7	0.5%	3	0.8%											0	1.1%	2	0.6%	13	0.5%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P18 Is there any party I have not mentioned that you feel should be included in such a coalition

	 ANC	SACP		DA	·	IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
ACDP	58	4.1%	30	7.2%			6	11.7%	17	78.7%	1	6.0%	1	4.2%			20	5.4%	133	5.5%
Azapo	87	6.0%	5	1.3%			1	1.9%							1	2.4%	8	2.1%	102	4.2%
SACP	57	4.0%	2	0.5%	1	2.8%	2	4.7%							1	4.6%	9	2.4%	73	3.0%
Other	14	1.0%	11	2.7%	1	1.2%	1	1.9%							2	8.0%	12	3.2%	41	1.7%
Madeco	13	0.9%													2	7.7%			15	0.6%
Christian Party	6	0.4%	2	0.6%													5	1.2%	13	0.5%
Minority Front	2	0.1%	4	0.9%	1	2.8%									1	2.6%	2	0.5%	10	0.4%
Refused	1	0.1%															6	1.6%	7	0.3%
None	1,201	83.4%	364	86.9%	48	93.1%	38	79.9%	5	21.3%	11	94.0%	23	95.8%	20	74.7%	312	83.5%	2,022	83.7%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

	 ANC	C/SACP		DA	·	IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
ACDP	58	4.1%	30	7.2%			6	11.7%	17	78.7%	1	6.0%	1	4.2%			20	5.4%	133	5.5%
Azapo	87	6.0%	5	1.3%			1	1.9%							1	2.4%	8	2.1%	102	4.2%
SACP	57	4.0%	2	0.5%	1	2.8%	2	4.7%							1	4.6%	9	2.4%	73	3.0%
Other	14	1.0%	11	2.7%	1	1.2%	1	1.9%							2	8.0%	12	3.2%	41	1.7%
Madeco	13	0.9%													2	7.7%			15	0.6%
Christian Party	6	0.4%	2	0.6%													5	1.2%	13	0.5%
Minority Front	2	0.1%	4	0.9%	1	2.8%									1	2.6%	2	0.5%	10	0.4%
Refused	1	0.1%															6	1.6%	7	0.3%
None	1,201	83.4%	364	86.9%	48	93.1%	38	79.9%	5	21.3%	11	94.0%	23	95.8%	20	74.7%	312	83.5%	2,022	83.7%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P18 Is there any party I have not mentioned that you feel should be included in such a coalition

P19 In such a coalition should the majority of candidates be people who are not white, should there be broad quotas of people of different groups or should the majority simply be people with the best knowledge and experience without considering their group?

8 1	ANC	SACP	•			IFP		ID	A	ACDP	7	FF I	1	UDM	(	Other	Nor	esponse	T T	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
The majority should not be white	166	11.5%	9	2.2%	2	3.5%	2	3.4%	1	6.7%			1	3.2%	3	11.9%	13	3.6%	198	8.2%
There should be broad Quotas of different groups	464	32.2%	125	29.9%	19	37.4%	10	20.9%	8	39.2%	7	57.8%	11	48.1%	10	39.6%	130	34.8%	785	32.5%
The majority should be the people with the best knowledge	755	52.4%	283	67.4%	30	59.1%	36	75.7%	12	54.1%	5	42.2%	12	48.8%	13	48.5%	214	57.1%	1,358	56.2%
an Don't know/Not answered	51	3.5%	2	0.4%													15	4.1%	68 0	2.8%
Quotas in proportion to support Blacks	1	0.1%															0 1	0.1% 0.3%	0	0.0% 0.1%
People with best knowledge and skills	3	0.2%																	3	0.1%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

# P20 How necessary would it be for such a coalition to have a strict code of conduct for candidates to exclude people with any record of corruption, crime, bad management, debt or poor performance or behaviour? Would you:

••••••••••••••••••		/SACP	0	DA		IFP	L	ID		ACDP		FF	•	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Strongly support a strict code Support the code but very popular	716	49.7%	331	78.8%	25	47.6%	33	69.8%	18	85.5%	10	82.5%	13	54.1%	16	61.3%	210	56.3%	1,371	56.8%
candidates should be considered anyway Support the code but if necessary	203	14.1%	31	7.3%	7	14.0%	6	11.8%	1	5.1%	1	9.6%	8	32.0%	4	14.4%	38	10.3%	298	12.3%
some people should be included to get the right balance of groups	325	22.6%	52	12.4%	15	29.5%	6	13.7%	2	9.4%	1	7.9%	1	6.2%	5	20.5%	84	22.5%	493	20.4%
Feel that such a code is not really necessary	195	13.6%	6	1.5%	5	8.8%	2	4.7%					2	7.7%	1	3.7%	40	10.7%	251	10.4%
Not answered Total	1 1,440	0.1% 100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	1 374	0.3% 100.0%	2 2,415	0.1% 100.0%

#### P21 Kind of candidates most likely want to support

	ANC	SACP		DA	1	IFP		ID	A	CDP		FF	I	JDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Candidates that know most about policies and Governance	712	49.5%	287	68.3%	16	30.9%	32	66.9%	12	58.5%	9	73.9%	8	31.7%	8	29.4%	211	56.4%	1,293	53.6%
Candidates that belong to your Language group	129	9.0%	18	4.4%	2	4.4%	5	10.4%			1	9.2%	3	13.1%	7	27.1%	25	6.8%	192	7.9%
Candidates that can inspire you to support them	196	13.6%	77	18.3%	4	8.1%	7	14.5%	2	8.6%	4	30.4%	6	23.7%	2	7.2%	55	14.8%	352	14.6%
Candidates from your local community	173	12.0%	34	8.1%	8	14.7%	4	8.9%	2	10.7%	1	5.7%	9	38.7%	2	7.7%	27	7.3%	260	10.7%
Candidates that belong to the party you normally support	277	19.2%	44	10.6%	10	20.2%	7	14.8%	3	13.3%	0	3.2%	3	11.6%	5	20.7%	41	11.0%	392	16.2%
Candidates that will work very hard to improve conditions for people like you	965	67.1%	285	68.0%	41	79.8%	31	65.4%	17	80.4%	8	70.0%	16	66.4%	15	56.1%	280	75.0%	1,659	68.7%
Candidates that belong to the most powerful party	92	6.4%	24	5.8%	6	10.8%	2	3.5%	1	4.9%			1	2.6%	1	3.7%	24	6.4%	150	6.2%
Candidates that are of your race group	29	2.0%	11	2.7%	2	3.4%			0	1.1%	0	3.8%	0	1.9%			9	2.3%	52	2.2%
Do not know/Not answered Total	306 1,440	21.3% 100.0%	58 419	13.8% 100.0%	14 52	27.7% 100.0%	7 47	15.5% 100.0%	5 21	22.6% 100.0%	0 12	4.0% 100.0%	2 24	10.4% 100.0%	13 26	47.9% 100.0%	75 374	20.0% 100.0%	480 2,415	19.9% 100.0%

#### P22 How likely are you to vote in the next election in 2009 - will you

	ANC	SACP/		DA		IFP		Ъ	A	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Most definitely vote	1,156	80.3%	281	67.0%	28	55.1%	25	51.8%	14	66.6%	3	29.2%	18	74.0%	14	53.5%	186	49.8%	1,726	71.5%
Probably vote	187	13.0%	82	19.6%	9	18.1%	17	36.9%	4	19.1%	5	41.0%	2	7.0%	5	20.8%	60	16.0%	372	15.4%
See how things are possibly vote	65	4.5%	29	7.0%	8	15.9%	4	9.0%	1	5.7%	1	9.0%	3	14.4%	3	11.3%	31	8.4%	146	6.1%
Probably not vote	13	0.9%	9	2.2%			0	1.0%	2	8.5%	2	20.7%	1	2.9%	0	1.5%	17	4.4%	44	1.8%
Definitely not vote			10	2.3%													34	9.2%	44	1.8%
Not sure	19	1.3%	8	1.8%	6	10.8%	1	1.3%					0	1.7%	3	12.9%	46	12.2%	82	3.4%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

P24 We have spoke about a coalition of parties for the general election next year if there is a coalition of parties consisting of the Democratic Alliance (DA), the Independent Democrats (ID) and the United Democratic Movement (UDM), will you:

	<i>,,,</i> -		1				,						_						_	_
	ANC	C/SACP		DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Definitely vote for such Coalition	176	12.2%	176	41.9%	2	3.6%	21	44.7%	6	26.5%	0	1.9%	4	18.6%	6	24.0%	46	12.4%	438	18.1%
Probably vote for the Coalition	293	20.4%	123	29.4%	7	14.5%	18	37.8%	6	29.2%	4	31.0%	10	42.3%	5	17.1%	75	20.0%	541	22.4%
Seriously consider voting for the Coalition	197	13.7%	75	17.9%	13	25.7%	7	15.7%	7	33.7%	5	46.3%	7	30.3%	9	35.1%	85	22.8%	407	16.9%
Not vote for the Coalition but for some other party	627	43.6%	40	9.6%	27	52.2%	1	1.8%	2	10.6%	2	17.0%	2	8.7%	5	17.8%	75	20.0%	781	32.4%
Will Probably not vote or will not vote in the election at a	142	9.9%	4	1.1%	2	4.0%					0	3.8%			2	6.0%	84	22.5%	235	9.7%
Don't know Total	3 1,440	0.2% 100.0%	0 419	0.1% 100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	9 374	2.3% 100.0%	12 2,415	0.5% 100.0%

#### P25 If there is a coalition of parties consisting of the DA the ID the UDM and the Inkatha Fredoom Party, will you

	ANC	SACP		DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	Ć	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Definitely vote for such Coalition	112	7.8%	151	36.1%	7	14.2%	11	23.2%	5	21.2%	2	16.0%	2	10.3%	5	19.0%	32	8.7%	328	13.6%
Probably vote for the Coalition	280	19.4%	111	26.4%	10	18.4%	17	35.0%	5	24.2%	2	15.4%	8	35.0%	7	27.7%	62	16.6%	501	20.7%
Seriously consider voting for the Coalition	205	14.2%	74	17.7%	15	29.0%	15	32.1%	4	20.6%	5	41.9%	4	16.5%	8	29.2%	71	18.9%	401	16.6%
Not vote for the Coalition but for some other party	686	47.6%	72	17.2%	17	32.8%	5	9.7%	7	34.0%	3	26.7%	6	25.5%	5	18.0%	99	26.5%	900	37.3%
Will Probably not vote or will not vote in the election at a	155	10.7%	10	2.4%	3	5.7%							3	12.7%	2	6.0%	102	27.4%	275	11.4%
Don't know Total	2 1,440	0.2% 100.0%	1 419	0.2% 100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	7 374	1.8% 100.0%	10 2,415	0.4% 100.0%

#### P26 If there is a coalition of parties consisting of the DA, the ID, UDM and the Freedom Front plus will you

	ANC	SACP		DA		IFP		Ď	A	ACDP		FF	Ī	UDM	Č (	Other	No r	esponse	T	'otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Definitely vote for such Coalition	114	7.9%	164	39.2%	6	11.1%	17	35.8%	5	24.6%	3	22.6%	2	7.3%	1	4.7%	35	9.4%	347	14.4%
Probably vote for the Coalition	283	19.6%	115	27.5%	8	14.6%	15	32.2%	6	27.6%	4	31.7%	9	36.1%	8	29.9%	62	16.7%	509	21.1%
Seriously consider voting for the Coalition	151	10.5%	81	19.3%	8	16.5%	8	17.4%	7	33.3%	4	35.6%	0	1.9%	9	33.4%	60	16.0%	328	13.6%
Not vote for the Coalition but for some other party	732	50.8%	51	12.2%	27	52.2%	7	14.6%	3	14.5%	1	10.1%	10	42.0%	5	18.9%	106	28.5%	943	39.0%
Will Probably not vote or will not vote in the election at a	157	10.9%	7	1.6%	3	5.7%							3	12.7%	3	10.2%	104	27.9%	277	11.5%
Don't know Total	3 1,440	0.2% 100.0%	1 419	0.2% 100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	1 26	2.9% 100.0%	6 374	1.5% 100.0%	11 2,415	0.4% 100.0%

#### P27 Kind of person best for leadership of coalition

I	ANC	/SACP	1	DA		IFP		ID	A	ACDP		FF	١	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
A leader with personality who can inspire people	229	15.9%	124	29.6%	3	6.4%	18	37.7%	6	26.6%	4	36.0%	5	19.3%	6	23.9%	65	17.3%	460	19.1%
A leader who can attract people among the majority of South	165	11.4%	70	16.8%	11	21.7%	8	16.2%	0	1.7%	1	12.2%			5	19.3%	33	8.9%	294	12.2%
A leader with sound experience in politics, Government or se	552	38.4%	182	43.4%	15	28.6%	20	43.2%	7	31.7%	4	34.5%	15	61.8%	15	55.4%	142	38.0%	951	39.4%
An intelligent leader with new ideas on solving problems in	626	43.5%	211	50.3%	21	40.7%	16	33.4%	10	48.3%	3	29.4%	7	27.5%	5	20.4%	191	51.2%	1,091	45.2%
A leader who has sympathy for people and who cares about the	572	39.7%	114	27.2%	26	49.4%	18	38.9%	11	53.4%	4	37.0%	7	27.5%	4	16.0%	145	38.9%	901	37.3%
Don't support the coalition Do not know/Not answered Total	23 6 1,440	1.6% 0.4% 100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	2 0 374	0.6% 0.1% 100.0%	25 7 2,415	1.1% 0.3% 100.0%

#### P28\_1 How much do you admire or dislike the present leaders of parties? Thabo Mbeki of the ANC

	ANC	C/SACP		DA	•	IFP		D	I	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Strongly dislike	194	13.5%	174	41.4%	31	59.2%	18	37.1%	6	28.3%	5	40.4%	3	13.5%	4	16.5%	102	27.3%	536	22.2%
Dislike	132	9.2%	113	27.0%	9	17.6%	11	24.2%	5	23.7%	5	39.0%	3	12.9%	6	24.3%	65	17.3%	350	14.5%
	340	23.6%	92	22.0%	8	15.4%	14	29.7%	6	29.3%	1	12.4%	1	3.7%	7	27.2%	104	27.9%	574	23.8%
Admire	319	22.2%	25	6.0%	3	5.0%	4	9.0%	2	10.7%	0	3.7%	11	45.0%	6	22.0%	47	12.7%	418	17.3%
Admire strongly	441	30.6%	9	2.1%	1	2.8%			2	8.0%	1	4.5%	3	11.0%	2	8.4%	49	13.2%	507	21.0%
Do not know	13	0.9%	6	1.5%									3	13.9%	0	1.6%	6	1.6%	29	1.2%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P28\_2 How much do you admire or dislike the present leaders of parties? Helen Zille of the DA

_	ANC	C/SACP		DA	-	IFP		ID ¯	1	ACDP		FF	I	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Strongly dislike	622	43.2%	14	3.4%	31	59.7%	5	10.2%	1	6.4%			7	30.7%	9	33.3%	125	33.3%	814	33.7%
Dislike	314	21.8%	17	4.1%	8	15.1%	4	7.9%	1	4.0%	0	4.0%	9	39.0%	6	21.8%	71	18.9%	430	17.8%
	216	15.0%	54	12.8%	7	14.2%	18	37.9%	6	26.7%	2	16.9%	5	21.2%	4	13.3%	86	23.0%	398	16.5%
Admire	111	7.7%	161	38.5%	4	8.3%	13	28.0%	10	46.3%	6	54.2%	1	5.1%	4	15.1%	46	12.2%	357	14.8%
Admire strongly	50	3.5%	168	40.1%	1	2.7%	6	13.1%	3	13.0%	2	19.8%	1	4.0%	4	14.2%	36	9.7%	272	11.2%
Do not know	126	8.8%	5	1.2%			1	2.9%	1	3.5%	1	5.1%			1	2.4%	11	2.9%	145	6.0%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P28 3 How much do you admire or dislike the present leaders of parties? Mangosutho Buthelezi of the IFP

—	ANC	C/SACP		DA	•	IFP		D	A	ACDP		FF	I	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Strongly dislike	616	42.8%	94	22.3%			24	50.1%	6	29.2%	4	30.2%	9	36.8%	7	26.5%	139	37.3%	898	37.2%
Dislike	371	25.8%	125	29.7%	2	3.3%	11	23.3%	3	16.0%	3	26.6%	9	39.2%	3	11.1%	77	20.5%	604	25.0%
	227	15.8%	118	28.2%	3	6.2%	6	12.8%	9	41.7%	4	30.5%	3	14.1%	12	44.1%	79	21.2%	462	19.1%
Admire	101	7.0%	48	11.5%	16	30.5%	1	2.3%	0	1.8%	0	3.7%	1	4.8%	1	3.7%	39	10.4%	207	8.6%
Admire strongly	45	3.1%	11	2.5%	31	60.0%	3	5.5%	2	7.8%	1	9.0%	1	3.3%	3	13.0%	27	7.3%	123	5.1%
Do not know	80	5.5%	24	5.8%			3	6.0%	1	3.5%			0	1.8%	0	1.6%	13	3.3%	121	5.0%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P28\_4 How much do you admire or dislike the present leaders of parties? Jacob Zuma of the ANC

	ANC	C/SACP		DA	1	IFP		Ш	I	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Strongly dislike	167	11.6%	242	57.7%	8	15.8%	23	47.8%	7	32.4%	9	74.1%	3	12.3%	2	6.2%	122	32.5%	582	24.1%
Dislike	151	10.5%	72	17.1%	9	16.5%	13	27.0%	6	25.7%	2	19.0%	6	27.0%	0	1.1%	39	10.4%	297	12.3%
	238	16.5%	45	10.7%	9	17.7%	5	11.3%	5	25.2%	0	3.2%	10	41.5%	4	14.1%	63	16.9%	379	15.7%
Admire	305	21.2%	18	4.3%	8	15.0%	5	9.7%	0	1.1%	0	3.7%	1	5.9%	10	39.5%	55	14.7%	403	16.7%
Admire strongly	563	39.1%	24	5.7%	18	34.9%	1	1.2%	3	12.3%			3	13.4%	10	37.6%	85	22.8%	707	29.3%
Do not know	15	1.1%	18	4.4%			1	3.0%	1	3.3%					0	1.6%	10	2.6%	46	1.9%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P28\_5 How much do you admire or dislike the present leaders of parties? Patricia De Lille of the ID

—	ANC	C/SACP		DA	-	IFP		D	A	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Strongly dislike	618	42.9%	49	11.7%	28	55.0%	3	6.0%	1	4.7%	1	7.7%	5	20.7%	8	31.3%	120	32.1%	833	34.5%
Dislike	288	20.0%	73	17.4%	8	15.8%	0	1.0%	3	13.1%	2	13.8%	4	16.8%	2	5.7%	70	18.8%	450	18.6%
	235	16.3%	115	27.3%	8	14.9%	3	6.9%	9	43.3%	3	27.3%	5	20.0%	6	23.6%	90	24.2%	474	19.6%
Admire	117	8.1%	115	27.4%	3	5.9%	14	30.4%	7	34.8%	6	51.1%	6	24.8%	5	20.0%	62	16.6%	336	13.9%
Admire strongly	48	3.3%	57	13.5%	4	8.5%	26	55.8%	1	4.0%			2	6.8%	3	12.7%	22	5.8%	163	6.7%
Do not know	134	9.3%	11	2.6%									3	10.9%	2	6.7%	10	2.6%	160	6.6%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P28\_6 How much do you admire or dislike the present leaders of parties? Pieter Mulder of the Freedom Front Plus

	ANC	C/SACP		DA	•	IFP		D	I	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Strongly dislike	833	57.9%	120	28.5%	32	61.7%	15	30.9%	2	10.1%			9	37.0%	7	26.9%	197	52.7%	1,215	50.3%
Dislike	228	15.8%	88	21.0%	11	21.2%	13	28.1%	6	26.8%	0	4.1%	8	33.5%	10	37.7%	65	17.4%	429	17.8%
	105	7.3%	84	20.1%	5	8.8%	10	20.4%	7	34.1%	1	7.1%	2	8.9%	4	15.5%	53	14.2%	271	11.2%
Admire	45	3.1%	59	14.0%	3	5.3%	4	8.1%	5	22.6%	4	34.9%	0	1.7%			20	5.4%	140	5.8%
Admire strongly	5	0.4%	27	6.4%	1	1.2%	3	5.8%	0	1.7%	6	49.9%	0	1.4%			11	2.9%	53	2.2%
Do not know	222	15.4%	42	10.0%	1	1.8%	3	6.6%	1	4.7%	0	4.1%	4	17.4%	5	19.9%	28	7.4%	307	12.7%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P28\_7 How much do you admire or dislike the present leaders of parties? Bantu Holomisa of the UDM

—	ANC	C/SACP		DA	•	IFP		D	I	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Strongly dislike	545	37.8%	150	35.7%	22	42.0%	16	34.8%	3	14.5%	4	32.4%	2	9.4%	3	12.9%	141	37.6%	886	36.7%
Dislike	328	22.8%	101	24.1%	11	21.0%	16	34.8%	4	17.0%	4	38.7%	2	6.3%	6	24.4%	89	23.8%	562	23.3%
	297	20.6%	91	21.8%	12	24.1%	6	13.7%	9	41.6%	2	19.7%	3	13.4%	6	21.9%	75	20.2%	502	20.8%
Admire	149	10.3%	32	7.6%	5	10.0%	3	6.7%	5	21.8%			12	51.1%	5	17.6%	27	7.1%	237	9.8%
Admire strongly	62	4.3%	7	1.6%			1	2.2%	0	1.7%			5	19.7%	4	16.2%	16	4.4%	95	3.9%
Do not know	59	4.1%	39	9.2%	2	3.0%	4	7.8%	1	3.3%	1	9.2%			2	6.9%	26	6.9%	132	5.5%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P28\_8 How much do you admire or dislike the present leaders of parties? Blade Nzimande of the SACP

_	ANC	C/SACP		DA	-	IFP		Ш	1	ACDP		FF	1	UDM	(	Other	No r	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Strongly dislike	483	33.5%	210	50.2%	25	49.2%	26	55.7%	5	24.1%	7	61.3%	5	21.5%	4	14.8%	145	38.7%	911	37.7%
Dislike	297	20.6%	69	16.4%	11	22.1%	10	21.5%	5	22.4%	3	25.8%	9	36.2%	1	5.3%	72	19.3%	477	19.8%
	248	17.3%	46	11.0%	5	10.3%	2	3.2%	7	31.4%	1	5.6%	4	15.2%	10	39.3%	55	14.7%	377	15.6%
Admire	180	12.5%	15	3.5%	6	12.4%	3	6.1%	2	7.6%			1	5.9%	3	12.2%	39	10.5%	250	10.4%
Admire strongly	119	8.2%	5	1.3%	2	4.3%	1	1.5%	1	2.8%			1	4.2%	1	4.6%	30	8.1%	160	6.6%
Do not know	112	7.8%	74	17.7%	1	1.8%	6	12.1%	3	11.8%	1	7.4%	4	17.1%	6	23.8%	32	8.6%	239	9.9%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

#### P28\_9 How much do you admire or dislike the present leaders of parties? Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka of the ANC

—	Č ANC	C/SACP		DA	1	IFP		ID I	1	ACDP		FF	١	UDM	(	Other	No 1	esponse	Т	otal
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Strongly dislike	328	22.8%	174	41.5%	21	41.0%	20	43.0%	6	29.5%	8	67.2%	2	7.4%	5	20.8%	143	38.4%	708	29.3%
Dislike	220	15.3%	80	19.1%	12	23.6%	12	25.4%	5	23.1%	3	23.7%	6	26.2%	2	6.3%	53	14.3%	394	16.3%
	314	21.8%	57	13.6%	5	10.6%	10	21.4%	4	17.1%			11	47.6%	4	14.0%	80	21.5%	486	20.1%
Admire	310	21.5%	39	9.2%	7	13.1%	3	5.8%	0	1.7%	0	3.7%	0	1.7%	4	16.7%	56	15.1%	420	17.4%
Admire strongly	194	13.5%	20	4.7%	6	11.7%			5	25.2%					9	32.5%	24	6.3%	258	10.7%
Do not know	74	5.1%	49	11.7%			2	4.4%	1	3.3%	1	5.4%	4	17.1%	3	9.8%	17	4.4%	149	6.2%
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

# P23 If you vote which political party would you vote for in 2009

-	ANC/SACP		DA		IFP		ID		ACDP		FF		UDM		Other		No response		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
ANC (African National Congress)	1,437	99.8%																	1,437	59.5%
DA (Democratic Alliance) IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party) The ID (Independent Democrats)			419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%											419 52 47	17.4% 2.1% 2.0%
The UDM (United Democratic Movement)													24	100.0%					24	1.0%
ACDP (African Christian Democratic Party)									21	100.0%									21	0.9%
PAC (Pan African Congress) Freedom Front Plus											12	100.0%			15	58.6%			15 12	0.6% 0.5%
NADECO															6	24.4%			6	0.3%
AZAPO (Azanian Peoples Organisation)															3	10.5%			3	0.1%
SACP (South African Communist Party)	2	0.2%																	2	0.1%
Minority Front Would not vote Uncertain Don't know/not answered Refuse Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	2 26	6.6%	26 70 136 141 374	7.0% 18.8% 36.4% 37.9% 100.0%	2 26 70 136 141 2,415	0.1% 1.1% 2.9% 5.6% 5.9% 100.0%
1 0121	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	4/	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	3/4	100.0%	2,415	100.0%

## Q1 Race

	ANC	ANC/SACP		DA		IFP		ID		ACDP		FF		UDM		Other		No response		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Black	1,344	93.4%	89	21.2%	45	87.6%	13	28.5%	7	34.3%			21	86.4%	24	89.8%	263	70.3%	1,806	74.8%	
Coloured	72	5.0%	73	17.3%	1	1.4%	24	51.2%	7	31.6%	1	10.6%	1	3.7%	0	1.3%	40	10.6%	219	9.1%	
Asian	18	1.3%	33	8.0%	3	5.1%	1	1.3%			1	4.5%			2	6.6%	12	3.2%	69	2.9%	
White	5	0.4%	224	53.5%	3	5.9%	9	19.1%	7	34.2%	10	84.9%	2	9.9%	1	2.3%	60	15.9%	321	13.3%	
Total	1,440	100.0%	419	100.0%	52	100.0%	47	100.0%	21	100.0%	12	100.0%	24	100.0%	26	100.0%	374	100.0%	2,415	100.0%	