

# **AFRO**

## **BAROMETER**

LET THE PEOPLE HAVE A SAY

**Summary of Results**

**Afrobarometer Round 6  
Survey in South Africa, 2015**

**Compiled by:  
Plus 94 Research**



## **Afrobarometer Round 6 Summary of Results for South Africa, 2015**

Afrobarometer is an African-led, non-partisan research network that conducts public attitude surveys on democracy, governance, economic conditions, and related issues in more than 30 countries in Africa. Five rounds of surveys were conducted between 1999 and 2013, and Round 6 surveys are being carried out in 2014-2015. Afrobarometer conducts face-to-face interviews in the language of the respondent's choice with nationally representative samples of between 1,200 and 2,400 respondents.

Afrobarometer is produced collaboratively by social scientists from across Africa. Coordination is provided by the Center for Democratic Development (CDD) in Ghana, the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) in South Africa, the Institute for Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Nairobi in Kenya, and the Institute for Empirical Research in Political Economy (IREEP) in Benin. Michigan State University (MSU) and the University of Cape Town (UCT) provide technical support to the network.

The Afrobarometer Research Partner in South Africa, Plus 94 Research, interviewed a nationally representative, random, stratified probability sample of 2400 adult South Africans between 13 August 2015 and 21 September 2015. A sample of this size yields results with a margin of error of +/-2% at a 95% confidence level. Previous surveys have been conducted in South Africa in 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, and 2011. The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) provided technical backstopping for the survey. Technical details of the survey, including descriptions of stratification and household selection, translation languages, and related information, can be found in the survey Technical Information Form that follows.

Below is an outline of the survey findings from all the questions posed to respondents. We also present the findings by some critical demographics such as gender and place of residence (urban-rural).

Core support for Afrobarometer Rounds 5 and 6 has been provided by the UK's Department for International Development (DFID), the Mo Ibrahim Foundation, the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and the World Bank.

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**Survey Overview**  
**The Quality of Democracy**  
**and Governance in South Africa**  
**Afrobarometer Round 6, 2014-2015**

<b>Dates of fieldwork:</b>	14 August to 21 September 2015
<b>Sample size:</b>	2,400
<b>Sampling frame:</b>	2011 South African Population Census with a national population of 51 million
<b>Sample universe:</b>	Citizens age 18 years or older, excluding institutions
<b>Sample design:</b>	Nationally representative, random, clustered, stratified, multistage area probability sample
<b>Stratification:</b>	Province, race, and urban-rural location
<b>Stages:</b>	EAs, start points, households, respondents
<b>PSU selection:</b>	Probability Proportionate to Population Size (PPPS)
<b>Cluster size:</b>	4 households per EA
<b>Household selection:</b>	Randomly selected start points, followed by walk pattern using 5/10 interval
<b>Respondent selection:</b>	Gender quota filled by alternating interviews between men and women; respondents of appropriate gender listed, after which household member draws a numbered card to select individual.
<b>Weighting:</b>	Weighted to account for individual selection probabilities
<b>Margin of error:</b>	+/- 2% with 95% confidence level
<b>Fieldwork by:</b>	Plus 94 Research
<b>Survey Languages: (Official translations)</b>	SeSotho, SePedi, Afrikaans, SeTswana, Tshivenda, Xhosa, Zulu and English
<b>Main researchers:</b>	Tina Katembo-Phiri
<b>Outcome rates:</b>	Contact rate: 94.5% Cooperation rate: 67.5% Refusal rate: 13.9% Response rate: 63.7%
<b>EA Substitution Rate:</b>	3.3%

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**Note:** All figures in the following tables are percentages, rounded to whole numbers. Due to rounding, columns may not add up to exactly 100%. Also note that a reported figure of "0" indicates that at least one response, but less than 0.5% of all responses, were in this category, whereas a dash ("-") or blank cell indicates that there were no responses in this category. For questions 1 through 100, weighted frequency distributions are reported.

### Demographic Distribution of the Sample

		Unweighted	Weighted
<b>Gender</b>			
	Male	50	50
	Female	50	50
<b>Location</b>			
	Urban	68	66
	Rural	32	34
<b>Region</b>			
	Eastern Cape	13	12
	Free State	5	5
	Gauteng	24	25
	Kwa-Zulu Natal	18	20
	Limpopo	9	10
	Mpumalanga	7	8
	North West	6	7
	Northern Cape	8	2
	Western Cape	11	12
<b>Education</b>			
	No formal education	3	3
	Primary	12	13
	Secondary	59	59
	Post-secondary	26	25
	Don't know	0	0
<b>Religion</b>			
	Christian	82	83
	Muslim	3	2
	Other	15	15
	Refused		
<b>Race</b>			
	Black African	70	75
	White	11	9
	Coloured	14	12
	Indian	6	4
	Other	0	0

### Q1. How old are you?

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
18-25	20	19	19	20	19
26-35	29	25	28	27	28
36-45	23	25	25	23	24
46-55	15	15	14	16	15
56-65	9	9	8	9	9
Over 65	4	6	6	5	5
Don't know		1			

**Q2. Which South African language is your home language?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
English	16	1	11	11	11
Portuguese					
Afrikaans	19	4	15	13	14
Ndebele	1	1	1	1	1
Xhosa	13	16	13	15	14
Pedi/North Sotho	7	17	10	11	10
Sotho/ South Sotho	7	3	5	6	5
Tswana	9	12	10	9	10
Shangaan/Tsonga	3	8	4	5	5
Swazi	1	6	3	4	3
Venda	2	3	3	2	2
Zulu	20	30	24	23	24
Asian/Indian					
Other [Specify]:					

**Q3. Let's start with your general view about the current direction of our country. Some people might think the country is going in the wrong direction. Others may feel it is going in the right direction. So let me ask YOU about the overall direction of the country: Would you say that the country is going in the wrong direction or going in the right direction?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Going in the wrong direction	68	55	65	62	64
Going in the right direction	27	39	31	31	31
Don't know	5	6	4	6	5

**Q4A. In general, how would you describe: The present condition of this country?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very bad	30	23	27	28	28
Fairly bad	27	26	28	25	26
Neither good nor bad	14	17	15	15	15
Fairly good	24	29	25	27	26
Very good	5	3	4	4	4
Don't know	1	2	1	1	1

**Q4B. In general, how would you describe: Your own present living conditions?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very bad	16	19	16	18	17
Fairly bad	18	22	19	20	19
Neither good nor bad	21	20	21	21	21
Fairly good	34	34	35	33	34
Very good	10	5	9	8	9
Don't know					

**Q5. In general, how do you rate your living conditions compared to those of other South Africans?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Much worse	9	10	9	10	10
Worse	19	20	20	19	20
Same	28	33	29	31	30
Better	35	30	34	32	33
Much better	8	6	8	7	7
Don't know		1		1	1

**Q6. Looking back, how do you rate economic conditions in this country compared to 12 months ago?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Much worse	13	10	12	12	12
Worse	29	23	26	27	27
Same	35	36	36	35	35
Better	20	24	21	21	21
Much Better	3	4	3	3	3
Don't know	1	4	1	2	2

**Q7. Looking ahead, do you expect economic conditions in this country to be better or worse in 12 months' time?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Much worse	14	9	13	11	12
Worse	18	14	16	17	17
Same	23	25	24	23	24
Better	29	30	28	30	29
Much Better	12	14	13	13	13
Don't know	4	9	6	5	6

**Q8A. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: Gone without enough food to eat?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	72	66	72	68	70
Just once or twice	12	17	13	14	14
Several times	11	10	11	10	10
Many times	5	5	4	6	5
Always		1		1	1

**Q8B. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: Gone without enough clean water for home use?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	79	50	70	68	69
Just once or twice	12	16	12	14	13
Several times	6	14	8	9	8
Many times	3	11	6	6	6
Always	1	8	4	3	4

**Q8C. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: Gone without medicines or medical treatment?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	76	61	72	69	71
Just once or twice	11	16	13	13	13
Several times	9	13	9	12	11
Many times	3	6	4	4	4
Always	1	3	1	1	1
Don't Know					

**Q8D. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: Gone without enough fuel to cook your food?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	77	69	75	73	74
Just once or twice	12	16	13	15	14
Several times	7	9	8	7	8
Many times	3	4	3	4	4
Always	1	1	1	1	1
Don't Know					

**Q8E. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: Gone without a cash income?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	51	39	49	45	47
Just once or twice	16	14	15	16	16
Several times	15	17	15	15	15
Many times	12	23	14	17	16
Always	6	8	6	6	6
Don't Know					

**Q8E1\_SAF. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: Gone without electricity in your home?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	40	36	41	36	39
Just once or twice	22	22	20	23	22
Several times	24	26	25	23	24
Many times	12	9	9	13	11
Always	3	7	4	4	4
Don't Know					

**Q8F. [Regarding the most intense (highest) code circled on Q8A-E, i.e., if the respondent went without any item in Q8A-E “always” or “many times” or “several times”:] When you say you went without [insert item] [insert frequency], would you say this occurred: about once every two or three months, about once a month, two or three times a month, about once a week, several times a week, or every day?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Missing	3	1	3	2	2
About once every two or three months	4	4	5	4	4
About once a month	8	6	7	7	7
Two or three times a month	15	21	17	17	17
About once a week	7	7	7	7	7
Several times a week	12	19	14	15	14
Every day	5	13	7	8	8
Not Applicable	46	30	41	40	41
Don't know					

**Q9. How often, if at all, do you or anyone in your household receive money remittances from friends or relatives living outside of the country?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	92	89	91	91	91
Less than once a year	2	2	2	1	2
At least once a year	2	1	1	1	1
At least every 6 months	1	1	1	1	1
At least every 3 months	1	2	1	1	1
At least once a month	2	5	3	3	3
Don't know	1	1	1		1

**Q10A. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: Felt unsafe walking in your neighbourhood?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	35	50	42	39	40
Just once or twice	18	17	17	18	18
Several times	20	16	18	19	18
Many times	12	8	11	11	11
Always	15	8	12	14	13
Don't Know					

**Q10B. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: Feared crime in your own home?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	41	58	49	45	47
Just once or twice	17	12	15	16	16
Several times	16	14	15	15	15
Many times	10	8	8	10	9
Always	16	8	12	15	13
Don't Know					

**Q11A. During the past year, have you or anyone in your family: Had something stolen from your house?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
No	71	76	72	73	72
Yes, once	14	15	14	15	14
Yes, twice	8	5	8	7	7
Yes, three or more times	7	4	6	5	6
Don't know					

**Q11B. During the past year, have you or anyone in your family: Been physically attacked?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
No	86	89	86	88	87
Yes, once	10	9	10	9	9
Yes, twice	2	2	2	2	2
Yes, three or more times	2	1	2	1	2
Don't know					

**Q12A. How often do you get news from the following sources: Radio?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	10	13	8	14	11
Less than once a month	3	2	3	2	3
A few times a month	5	2	4	4	4
A few times a week	16	11	14	15	14
Every day	65	72	71	65	68

**Q12B. How often do you get news from the following sources: Television?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	4	11	6	7	6
Less than once a month	1	1	1	1	1
A few times a month	2	2	2	3	2
A few times a week	8	14	9	11	10
Every day	85	72	82	79	81

**Q12C. How often do you get news from the following sources: Newspapers?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	18	34	20	27	23
Less than once a month	8	13	8	11	10
A few times a month	17	15	14	19	16
A few times a week	25	19	26	21	23
Every day	32	18	32	23	27
Don't know					

**Q12D. How often do you get news from the following sources: Internet?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	44	64	49	53	51

Less than once a month	4	5	5	4	4
A few times a month	8	7	7	8	7
A few times a week	15	8	13	12	13
Every day	29	15	26	22	24
Don't know		1			

**Q12E. How often do you get news from the following sources: Social media such as Facebook or Twitter?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	47	62	51	53	52
Less than once a month	2	2	2	2	2
A few times a month	4	3	4	4	4
A few times a week	12	10	12	11	11
Every day	34	22	31	29	30
Don't know					

**Q13. How interested would you say you are in public affairs?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not at all interested	21	18	17	23	20
Not very interested	23	21	20	25	23
Somewhat interested	33	38	36	34	35
Very interested	22	23	27	18	23
Don't know					

**Q14. When you get together with your friends or family, would you say you discuss political matters?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	26	27	23	29	26
Occasionally	53	52	52	54	53
Frequently	20	20	25	16	20
Don't know					

**Q15A. In this country, how free are you: To say what you think?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not at all free	5	2	4	4	4
Not very free	9	7	7	9	8
Somewhat free	27	28	29	26	27
Completely free	60	62	60	61	60
Don't know		1			

**Q15B. In this country, how free are you: To join any political organization you want?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not at all free	2	1	2	2	2
Not very free	5	4	4	5	5
Somewhat free	17	22	19	18	18
Completely free	75	73	74	74	74
Don't know	1	1	1	1	1

**Q15C. In this country, how free are you: To choose who to vote for without feeling pressured?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not at all free	1	1	2	1	1
Not very free	4	3	3	4	4
Somewhat free	15	20	16	18	17
Completely free	79	75	78	77	78
Don't know					

**Q16. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.**

**Statement 1: Government should be able to ban any organization that goes against its policies.**

**Statement 2: We should be able to join any organization, whether or not the government approves of it.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Agree very strongly with 1	9	9	9	9	9
Agree with 1	12	16	13	14	13
Agree with 2	28	30	27	30	28
Agree very strongly with 2	48	42	48	44	46
Agree with neither	2	2	3	2	2
Don't know	1	1	1	1	1

**Q17. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.**

**Statement 1: The media should have the right to publish any views and ideas without government control.**

**Statement 2: The government should have the right to prevent the media from publishing things that it considers harmful to society.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Agree very strongly with 1	38	38	39	36	38
Agree with 1	25	25	24	25	25
Agree with 2	19	19	19	19	19
Agree very strongly with 2	17	14	15	17	16
Agree with neither	2	1	2	2	2
Don't know		3	1	2	1

**Q18. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.  
Statement 1: Men make better political leaders than women, and should be elected rather than women.  
Statement 2: Women should have the same chance of being elected to political office as men.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Agree very strongly with 1	12	16	19	8	13
Agree with 1	12	14	16	9	13
Agree with 2	23	20	23	21	22
Agree very strongly with 2	50	44	37	59	48
Agree with neither	3	4	3	3	3
Don't know	1	2	1	1	1

**Q19A. Now I am going to read out a list of groups that people join or attend. For each one, could you tell me whether you are an official leader, an active member, an inactive member, or not a member: A religious group that meets outside of regular worship services?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not a Member	56	47	58	48	53
Inactive Member	14	16	15	15	15
Active Member	27	35	25	35	30
Official Leader	2	1	2	2	2
Don't Know					

**Q19B. Now I am going to read out a list of groups that people join or attend. For each one, could you tell me whether you are an official leader, an active member, an inactive member, or not a member: Some other voluntary association or community group?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not a Member	74	65	71	71	71
Inactive Member	10	15	11	13	12
Active Member	14	18	16	15	15
Official Leader	2	2	2	1	2
Don't Know					

**Q20A. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance? Attended a community meeting.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
No, would never do this	17	11	14	16	15
No, but would do if had the chance	35	29	30	35	33
Yes, once or twice	17	22	21	17	19
Yes, several times	22	32	26	25	25
Yes, often	9	6	9	7	8
Don't know					

**Q20B. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance? Got together with others to raise an issue.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
No, would never do this	22	17	19	23	21
No, but would do if had the chance	42	38	40	42	41
Yes, once or twice	16	17	15	18	16
Yes, several times	14	23	21	13	17
Yes, often	5	4	5	4	5
Don't know					

**Q21. Understanding that some people were unable to vote in the most recent national election in 2014, which of the following statements is true for you?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
You were not registered to vote	6	4	6	5	5
You voted in the elections	71	78	73	75	74
You decided not to vote	11	8	10	10	10
You could not find the polling station	1	1	1	1	1
You were prevented from voting					
You did not have time to vote	3	2	3	2	3
You did not vote because your name not in the register	1		1	1	1
Did not vote for some other reason	4	4	4	4	4
You were too young to vote	3	2	3	2	2
Don't Know / Can't remember	1	1	1	1	1

**Q22. On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last national election, held in May 2014? Was it:**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not free and fair	6	4	6	5	5
Free and fair, with major problems	15	14	14	15	15
Free and fair, but with minor problems	24	27	24	26	25
Completely free and fair	47	47	48	46	47
Do not understand the question					
Don't know	7	8	7	8	7

**Q23A. Thinking about the last national election in May 2014, did you: Attend a campaign rally?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
No	79	69	73	79	76
Yes	21	31	27	21	24

**Q23B. Thinking about the last national election in May 2014, did you: Attend a meeting with a candidate or campaign staff?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
No	84	79	79	86	82
Yes	16	21	21	14	18

**Q23C. Thinking about the last national election in May 2014, did you: Try to persuade others to vote for a certain presidential or legislative candidate or political party?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
No	89	89	86	92	89
Yes	11	10	14	8	11
Don't know					

**Q23D. Thinking about the last national election in May 2014, did you: Work for a candidate or party?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
No	93	94	92	95	93
Yes	7	6	8	5	7

**Q24A. During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views: A local government councillor?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	73	58	65	70	68
Only once	11	16	12	13	12
A few times	13	22	17	14	16
Often	4	5	6	3	4

**Q24B. During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views: A Member of Parliament?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	96	95	94	97	96
Only once	1	3	2	2	2
A few times	2	1	2	1	2
Often	1	1	1		1
Don't know					

**Q24C. During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views: An official of a government agency?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	92	91	89	94	91
Only once	3	4	4	3	3
A few times	4	5	6	3	4
Often	2	1	2	1	1

**Q24D. During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views: A political party official?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	88	86	85	90	87
Only once	5	6	6	5	5
A few times	5	7	7	4	6
Often	2	1	3		2

**Q24E. During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views: Traditional leaders?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	91	65	80	83	82
Only once	2	15	7	7	7
A few times	2	15	8	5	7
Often	1	3	2	2	2
Don't know	3	2	3	3	3

**Q24F. During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views: Religious leaders?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	73	59	69	67	68
Only once	6	11	8	8	8
A few times	11	20	13	14	14
Often	10	10	10	10	10
Don't know					

**Q25A. Thinking of the last time you contacted any of these leaders. Did you go: Alone or with a group?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Missing	1	1		1	1
Alone	18	27	20	22	21
With a group	21	34	28	23	26
Not Applicable	59	38	52	53	52
Don't know					

**Q25B. Thinking of the last time you contacted any of these leaders. Did you go: To discuss a community problem or a personal problem?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Missing	2	1	1	2	1
Community problem	22	33	28	23	26
Personal problem	17	28	19	22	21
Not Applicable	59	38	52	53	52
Don't know					

**Q26A. For each of the following actions, please tell me whether you think it is something a good citizen in a democracy should always do, never do, or do only if they choose: Vote in elections.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never do	2	2	1	3	2
Do only if they choose	28	20	25	26	25
Always do	70	78	74	71	72
Don't know					

**Q26B. For each of the following actions, please tell me whether you think it is something a good citizen in a democracy should always do, never do, or do only if they choose: Avoid criticizing the government.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never do	22	16	20	20	20
Do only if they choose	44	47	43	46	45
Always do	33	36	36	32	34
Don't know		1		1	1

**Q26C. For each of the following actions, please tell me whether you think it is something a good citizen in a democracy should always do, never do, or do only if they choose: Complain to government officials when public services are of poor quality.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never do	5	6	5	6	6
Do only if they choose	29	29	28	30	29
Always do	65	65	67	63	65
Don't know		1		1	

**Q26D. For each of the following actions, please tell me whether you think it is something a good citizen in a democracy should always do, never do, or do only if they choose: Request personal assistance like help with school fees or funeral expenses from elected leaders.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never do	18	14	17	17	17
Do only if they choose	42	43	40	45	43
Always do	38	42	42	38	40
Don't know	1	1	2	1	1

**Q26E. For each of the following actions, please tell me whether you think it is something a good citizen in a democracy should always do, never do, or do only if they choose: Pay taxes they owe to government.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never do	8	10	7	10	9
Do only if they choose	22	18	20	22	21
Always do	68	66	70	65	67
Don't know	2	5	3	3	3

**Q26F. For each of the following actions, please tell me whether you think it is something a good citizen in a democracy should always do, never do, or do only if they choose: Agree with the majority of people in his or her community on political issues.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never do	16	15	14	17	16
Do only if they choose	56	44	50	54	52
Always do	26	38	33	27	30
Don't know	1	3	2	2	2

**Q27A. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens when they are dissatisfied with government. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance: Joined with others in your community to request action from government?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
No, would never do this	27	18	22	27	24
No, but would do if had the chance	46	43	45	46	45
Yes, once or twice	12	21	15	15	15
Yes, several times	11	15	15	11	13
Yes, often	3	2	4	2	3
Don't know					

**Q27B. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens when they are dissatisfied with government. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance: Contacted the media, like calling a radio program or writing a letter to a newspaper?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
No, would never do this	33	20	26	31	28
No, but would do if had the chance	57	71	62	61	62
Yes, once or twice	6	5	7	4	6
Yes, several times	3	4	4	3	3
Yes, often	1		1	1	1
Don't know					

**Q27C. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens when they are dissatisfied with government. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance: Contacted a government official to ask for help or make a complaint?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
No, would never do this	27	18	22	26	24
No, but would do if had the chance	57	65	61	59	60
Yes, once or twice	8	9	9	8	9
Yes, several times	5	7	7	5	6
Yes, often	2	1	2	1	2
Don't know					

**Q27D. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens when they are dissatisfied with government. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance: Refused to pay a tax or fee to government?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
No, would never do this	64	70	66	67	66
No, but would do if had the chance	29	21	27	26	27
Yes, once or twice	2	2	2	2	2
Yes, several times	1	1	1	1	1
Yes, often	1	1	1	1	1
Don't know	2	4	3	3	3

**Q27E. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens when they are dissatisfied with government. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance: Participated in a demonstration or protest march?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
No, would never do this	47	38	41	48	44
No, but would do if had the chance	35	42	38	36	37
Yes, once or twice	8	11	10	8	9
Yes, several times	7	7	8	6	7
Yes, often	2	2	3	1	2
Don't know	1		1	1	1

**Q28A. There are many ways to govern a country. Would you disapprove or approve of the following alternatives? Only one political party is allowed to stand for election and hold office.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly Disapprove	41	45	45	40	42
Disapprove	32	26	29	31	30
Neither Approve Nor Disapprove	5	5	4	5	5
Approve	15	18	15	18	16
Strongly Approve	6	5	7	5	6
Don't know	1	1		1	1

**Q28B. There are many ways to govern a country. Would you disapprove or approve of the following alternatives? The army comes in to govern the country.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly Disapprove	34	40	39	34	36
Disapprove	32	28	30	31	31
Neither Approve Nor Disapprove	11	12	10	13	12
Approve	15	12	14	13	14
Strongly Approve	6	5	6	6	6
Don't know	1	3	1	2	2

**Q28C. There are many ways to govern a country. Would you disapprove or approve of the following alternatives? Elections and Parliament are abolished so that the president can decide everything.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly Disapprove	51	52	52	50	51
Disapprove	30	26	29	29	29
Neither Approve Nor Disapprove	8	9	7	9	8
Approve	8	9	8	9	8
Strongly Approve	3	3	4	2	3
Don't know	1	1		1	1

**Q28D\_SAF. There are many ways to govern a country. Would you disapprove or approve of the following alternatives? If the country returned to the old system we had under apartheid.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly Disapprove	57	68	60	61	60
Disapprove	18	13	17	16	16
Neither Approve Nor Disapprove	10	9	9	10	10
Approve	11	8	10	9	10
Strongly Approve	4	1	3	3	3
Don't know	1			1	1

**Q29A. What, if anything, does "democracy" mean to you?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Missing	1	1		1	1
Understood "democracy"	86	65	82	76	79
Required local language translation	9	31	14	19	16
Did not understand the word or question	4	3	4	4	4

**Q29E. What, if anything, does “democracy” mean to you? First response.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Nothing/Democracy has no meaning	4	2	3	3	3
Civil liberties / personal freedoms	50	44	47	48	48
Government by, for, of the people / popular rule	2	7	5	3	4
Voting / elections / multiparty competition	6	10	8	8	8
Peace / unity / power sharing	5	9	7	6	6
Social / economic development	4	5	4	5	5
Equality / justice	9	7	8	9	9
Majority rule	1	3	2	2	2
Governance / effectiveness / accountability / rule of law	1		1	1	1
National independence / people's self determination	1				
Mutual respect	1		1	1	1
Working together	2	3	2	3	2
Other positive meanings	1	2	2	1	2
Conflict / confusion					
Corruption / abuse of power	2	1	2	1	2
Social / economic hardship	1		1	1	1
Other negative meanings	2	1	2	1	1
Civilian politics / government					
Change of government / leadership / laws					
Other null/neutral meanings	1			1	
Don't know / Did not understand the question	5	4	4	5	5

**Q29F. What, if anything, does “democracy” mean to you? Second response.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Civil liberties / personal freedoms	16	16	17	15	16
Government by, for, of the people / popular rule	2	3	2	3	3
Voting / elections / multiparty competition	6	10	7	7	7
Peace / unity / power sharing	6	6	7	6	6
Social / economic development	6	5	6	5	6
Equality / justice	10	11	10	12	11
Majority rule	2	3	3	2	2
Governance / effectiveness / accountability / rule of law	2	1	1	2	2
National independence / people's self determination			1		
Mutual respect	1	1	1	1	1
Working together	3	5	3	4	3
Other positive meanings	1	1	1	1	1
Conflict / confusion		1	1		
Corruption / abuse of power	1	1	1	1	1
Social / economic hardship	1			1	1
Other negative meanings	2		1	1	1
Civilian politics / government					
Other null/neutral meanings					
No further reply	40	36	39	39	39

**Q29G. What, if anything, does “democracy” mean to you? Third response.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Civil liberties / personal freedoms	7	10	9	8	8
Government by, for, of the people / popular rule	1	2	2	1	1
Voting / elections / multiparty competition	3	4	4	3	3
Peace / unity / power sharing	4	3	4	4	4
Social / economic development	4	4	4	3	4
Equality / justice	5	7	7	5	6
Majority rule	1	3	2	2	2
Governance / effectiveness / accountability / rule of law	1	2	1	2	1
National independence / people's self determination					
Mutual respect	1	1	1	1	1
Working together	2	4	2	3	3
Other positive meanings	1	1	1	1	1
Conflict / confusion					
Corruption / abuse of power	1		1	1	1
Social / economic hardship					
Other negative meanings	1			1	
Civilian politics / government					
Change of government / leadership / laws					
Other null/neutral meanings	1			1	
No further reply	67	57	62	64	63

**Q30. Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?**

**Statement 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.**

**Statement 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable.**

**Statement 3: For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
STATEMENT 3: Doesn't matter	17	12	14	17	15
STATEMENT 2: Sometimes non-democratic preferable	17	18	18	17	17
STATEMENT 1: Democracy preferable	61	68	65	63	64
Don't know	4	2	3	4	3

**30B-SAF. If a non-elected government or leader could impose law and order, and deliver houses and jobs: How willing or unwilling would you be to give up regular elections and live under such a government?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very Willing	34	28	32	32	32
Willing	29	31	30	30	30
Unwilling	18	16	18	17	18
Very Unwilling	16	19	18	16	17
Don't know	4	5	3	5	4

**Q31. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.**  
**Statement 1: It is more important to have a government that can get things done, even if we have no influence over what it does.**  
**Statement 2: It is more important for citizens to be able to hold government accountable, even if that means it makes decisions more slowly.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Agree very strongly with 1	25	26	25	26	25
Agree with 1	21	22	20	23	22
Agree with 2	25	25	26	25	25
Agree very strongly with 2	26	24	28	24	26
Agree with neither	1	2	1	1	1
Don't know	1	1	1	1	1

**Q32. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.**  
**Statement 1: We should choose our leaders in this country through regular, open, and honest elections.**  
**Statement 2: Since elections sometimes produce bad results, we should adopt other methods for choosing this country's leaders.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Agree very strongly with 1	43	47	46	43	44
Agree with 1	33	31	33	32	32
Agree with 2	13	12	11	14	13
Agree very strongly with 2	9	7	8	9	8
Agree with neither	1	2	2	1	2
Don't know		1		1	1

**Q33. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.**  
**Statement 1: Political parties create division and confusion; it is therefore unnecessary to have many political parties in South Africa.**  
**Statement 2: Many political parties are needed to make sure that South Africans have real choices in who governs them.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Agree very strongly with 1	12	12	12	12	12
Agree with 1	15	14	13	16	15
Agree with 2	30	33	31	31	31
Agree very strongly with 2	40	37	40	38	39
Agree with neither	3	2	3	2	2
Don't know	1	2	1	2	2

**Q34. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.**

**Statement 1: Parliament should ensure that the President explains to it on a regular basis how his government spends taxpayers' money.**

**Statement 2: The President should be able to devote his full attention to developing the country rather than wasting time justifying his actions.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Agree very strongly with 1	39	44	43	38	41
Agree with 1	22	20	20	23	22
Agree with 2	16	17	16	17	17
Agree very strongly with 2	21	15	19	19	19
Agree with neither	1	2	1	2	1
Don't know	1	1	1	1	1

**Q35. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.**

**Statement 1: After losing an election, opposition parties should monitor and criticize the government in order to hold it accountable.**

**Statement 2: Once an election is over, opposition parties and politicians should accept defeat and cooperate with government to help it develop the country.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Agree very strongly with 1	12	15	15	11	13
Agree with 1	14	15	15	15	15
Agree with 2	32	29	31	31	31
Agree very strongly with 2	38	37	37	39	38
Agree with neither	2	3	2	3	2
Don't know	1	1	1	1	1

**Q36. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.**

**Statement 1: The news media should constantly investigate and report on government mistakes and corruption.**

**Statement 2: Too much reporting on negative events, like government mistakes and corruption, only harms the country.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Agree very strongly with 1	42	50	49	40	45
Agree with 1	25	25	23	26	25
Agree with 2	16	11	13	15	14
Agree very strongly with 2	16	10	12	15	14
Agree with neither	2	2	1	2	2
Don't know		2		1	1

**Q37. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.**  
**Statement 1: Members of Parliament represent the people; therefore they should make laws for this country, even if the president does not agree.**  
**Statement 2: Since the president represents all of us, he should pass laws without worrying about what Parliament thinks.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Agree very strongly with 1	37	42	40	37	39
Agree with 1	39	34	38	36	37
Agree with 2	10	10	9	12	10
Agree very strongly with 2	9	6	8	8	8
Agree with neither	3	4	4	3	3
Don't know	1	4	1	3	2

**Q38. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.**  
**Statement 1: Since the president was elected to lead the country, he should not be bound by laws or court decisions that he thinks are wrong.**  
**Statement 2: The president must always obey the laws and the courts, even if he thinks they are wrong.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Agree very strongly with 1	8	8	8	8	8
Agree with 1	12	13	14	12	13
Agree with 2	29	33	30	31	30
Agree very strongly with 2	49	43	47	47	47
Agree with neither	1	1	1	1	1
Don't know	1	2	1	1	1

**Q39. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.**  
**Statement 1: The Constitution should limit the president to serving a maximum of two terms in office.**  
**Statement 2: There should be no constitutional limit on how long the president can serve.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Agree very strongly with 1	49	54	53	49	51
Agree with 1	28	27	27	28	27
Agree with 2	11	10	10	11	11
Agree very strongly with 2	9	5	7	7	7
Agree with neither	2	3	2	2	2
Don't know	2	1	1	2	1

**Q40. In your opinion, how much of a democracy is South Africa today?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not a democracy	7	7	7	8	7
A democracy, with major problems	49	32	42	44	43
A democracy, but with minor problems	29	40	33	32	33
A full democracy	12	20	16	14	15
Do not understand question / democracy	1	1	1	1	1
Don't know	1	1	1	2	1

**Q41. Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in South Africa?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
The country is not a democracy	1		1		1
Not at all satisfied	28	15	22	25	23
Not very satisfied	27	24	26	26	26
Fairly satisfied	33	44	39	35	37
Very satisfied	9	15	11	11	11
Do not know	2	2	2	2	2

**Q42A. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you disagree or agree: The courts have the right to make decisions that people always have to abide by.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly Disagree	5	3	3	5	4
Disagree	11	6	10	8	9
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	6	7	6	7	6
Agree	53	57	53	54	54
Strongly Agree	26	26	27	25	26
Don't Know	1	1	1	1	1

**Q42B. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you disagree or agree: The police always have the right to make people obey the law.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly Disagree	5	2	4	4	4
Disagree	14	6	11	11	11
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	7	14	10	9	10
Agree	44	45	44	45	44
Strongly Agree	29	33	31	30	30
Don't Know		1		1	

**Q42C. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you disagree or agree: The tax authorities always have the right to make people pay taxes.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly Disagree	4	3	3	4	4
Disagree	10	4	9	7	8
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	9	9	8	10	9
Agree	44	46	46	44	45
Strongly Agree	30	34	31	32	31
Don't Know	2	5	2	4	3

**Q43. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.**

**Statement 1: It is important to obey the government in power, no matter who you voted for.**

**Statement 2: It is not necessary to obey the laws of a government that you did not vote for.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Agree very strongly with 1	41	50	45	43	44
Agree with 1	36	33	35	36	35
Agree with 2	12	8	10	11	10
Agree very strongly with 2	8	6	7	8	8
Agree with neither	2	3	3	2	2
Don't know	1	1	1		1

**Q44. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.**

**Statement 1: Citizens must pay their taxes to the government in order for our country to develop.**

**Statement 2: The government can find enough resources for development from other sources without having to tax the people.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Agree very strongly with 1	32	34	34	32	33
Agree with 1	29	28	29	28	28
Agree with 2	18	16	16	19	17
Agree very strongly with 2	18	16	17	17	17
Agree with neither	2	4	3	3	3
Don't know	1	3	2	2	2

**Q45A. In your opinion, how often, in this country: Does the news media abuse its freedoms by printing or saying things it knows are not true?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	17	20	19	17	18
Rarely	27	28	26	28	27
Often	33	28	31	31	31
Always	19	13	17	16	17
Don't know	4	12	6	8	7

**Q45B. In your opinion, how often, in this country: Does competition between political parties lead to violent conflict?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	10	16	12	12	12
Rarely	23	22	26	20	23
Often	31	29	28	33	30
Always	34	28	32	32	32
Don't know	2	4	3	3	3

**Q45C. In your opinion, how often, in this country: Does the president ignore the courts and laws of this country?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	13	22	17	16	16
Rarely	18	20	20	18	19
Often	33	23	27	31	29
Always	32	26	31	29	30
Don't know	4	9	5	6	5

**Q45D. In your opinion, how often, in this country: Are opposition parties or their supporters silenced by the government?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	26	42	32	31	32
Rarely	28	26	28	26	27
Often	27	16	23	24	24
Always	12	6	11	10	10
Don't know	7	10	6	9	8

**Q45E. In your opinion, how often, in this country: Does the president ignore Parliament and just do what he wants?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	17	26	20	20	20
Rarely	17	19	19	17	18
Often	31	23	28	29	28
Always	31	23	28	28	28
Don't know	3	9	5	6	5

**Q46. In this country, how effective is the news media in revealing government mistakes and corruption?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not at all effective	2	3	3	2	2
Not very effective	12	12	12	12	12
Somewhat effective	41	49	42	45	44
Very effective	42	31	41	36	38
Don't know	3	5	3	5	4

**Q47A. Think about how elections work in practice in this country. How well do elections: Ensure that Members of Parliament reflect the views of voters?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not at all well	14	10	14	12	13
Not very well	40	33	37	38	38
Well	32	37	34	33	34
Very well	10	11	10	10	10
Don't know	4	9	5	7	6

**Q47B. Think about how elections work in practice in this country. How well do elections: Enable voters to remove from office leaders who do not do what the people want?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not at all well	19	16	19	17	18
Not very well	39	39	37	41	39
Well	26	24	27	25	26
Very well	10	12	12	9	11
Don't know	6	9	6	8	7

**Q48A. In your opinion, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? Votes are counted fairly.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	7	7	7	6	7
Sometimes	23	16	20	21	21
Often	21	15	18	19	19
Always	43	55	48	46	47
Don't know	7	7	6	7	7

**Q48B. In your opinion, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? Opposition candidates are prevented from running for office.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	38	52	44	42	43
Sometimes	30	26	29	28	28
Often	13	5	10	11	10
Always	7	3	6	5	6
Don't know	12	13	11	14	12

**Q48C. In your opinion, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? The media provides fair coverage of all candidates.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	9	10	10	9	10
Sometimes	30	29	31	29	30
Often	26	20	22	26	24
Always	29	32	31	28	30
Don't know	6	9	6	8	7

**Q48D. In your opinion, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? Voters are bribed.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	29	45	35	34	34
Sometimes	29	27	30	27	28
Often	16	10	13	15	14
Always	16	6	13	13	13
Don't know	10	12	10	11	11

**Q48E. In your opinion, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? Voters are offered a genuine choice in the elections.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	5	7	6	6	6
Sometimes	21	17	18	21	20
Often	21	19	20	20	20
Always	48	49	50	47	48
Don't know	5	9	6	6	6

**Q48F. In your opinion, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? Voters are threatened with violence at the polls.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	45	59	51	48	50
Sometimes	30	26	28	29	28
Often	11	4	7	10	8
Always	6	3	6	4	5
Don't know	9	8	7	9	8

**Q49. During election campaigns in this country, how much do you personally fear becoming a victim of political intimidation or violence?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
A lot	6	4	5	6	5
Somewhat	11	9	11	10	10
A little bit	21	21	18	24	21
Not at all	60	65	65	58	62
Don't know	2	1	2	2	2

**Q50. Do you think that the leaders of political parties in this country are more concerned with serving the interests of the people, or more concerned with advancing their own political ambitions, or haven't you heard enough to say?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
More to serve their own political ambitions - strongly agree	50	40	46	47	46
More to serve their own political ambitions - agree	24	24	23	25	24
Neither agree nor disagree	9	10	9	9	9
More to serve the people - agree	11	12	12	10	11
More to serve the people - strongly agree	5	8	7	5	6
Don't know	2	6	3	4	3

**Q51A. In your opinion, how often, in this country: Do people have to be careful of what they say about politics?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	29	31	31	28	30
Rarely	23	32	26	27	26
Often	22	20	21	21	21
Always	25	17	22	23	23
Don't know	1	1		1	1

**Q51B. In your opinion, how often, in this country: Are people treated unequally under the law?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	14	20	17	15	16
Rarely	18	25	20	20	20
Often	38	31	35	36	36
Always	29	23	26	28	27
Don't know	1	2	1	1	1

**Q51C. In your opinion, how often, in this country: Do officials who commit crimes go unpunished?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	11	17	13	13	13
Rarely	16	23	19	17	18
Often	34	32	33	34	34
Always	38	26	34	34	34
Don't know	1	2	2	2	2

**Q51D. In your opinion, how often, in this country: Do ordinary people who break the law go unpunished?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	33	34	33	33	33
Rarely	28	34	32	28	30
Often	22	15	18	21	20
Always	16	15	15	17	16
Don't know	1	1	1	1	1

**Q52A. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: The president?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not at all	42	33	40	38	39
Just a little	27	25	25	28	27
Somewhat	18	21	18	20	19
A lot	12	20	16	14	15
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	1	1	1	1	1

**Q52B. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Parliament?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not at all	30	20	26	27	26
Just a little	34	28	30	33	32
Somewhat	23	33	27	25	26
A lot	13	18	16	14	15
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	1	2	1	1	1

**Q52C. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC)?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not at all	18	12	16	15	16
Just a little	25	18	22	23	23
Somewhat	28	27	26	29	28
A lot	26	39	32	29	31
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	3	4	3	4	4

**Q52C1\_SAF. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: The Premier of this province?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	22	18	22	19	20
Rarely	27	28	26	28	27
Often	26	29	27	28	27
Always	19	21	20	20	20
Don't know	6	4	6	6	6

**Q52D. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: The South African Revenue Services or SARS?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not at all	12	10	12	11	11
Just a little	22	15	18	20	19
Somewhat	29	25	29	27	28
A lot	32	39	36	32	34
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	6	10	5	9	7

**Q52E. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Your local government council?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not at all	34	27	30	32	31
Just a little	30	33	32	30	31
Somewhat	22	24	23	23	23
A lot	11	14	12	12	12
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	3	2	3	2	2

**Q52F. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: The ruling party?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not at all	36	23	32	31	32
Just a little	25	23	24	25	24
Somewhat	20	26	23	22	22
A lot	18	26	21	21	21
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	1		1	1	1

**Q52G. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Opposition political parties?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not at all	30	28	28	31	29
Just a little	32	30	31	31	31
Somewhat	24	25	24	23	24
A lot	11	13	13	11	12
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	3	4	3	4	3

**Q52H. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: The police?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not at all	31	20	28	27	27
Just a little	27	25	26	28	27
Somewhat	26	34	28	30	29
A lot	14	21	18	15	17
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	1	1	1	1	1

**Q52H1\_SAF. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: The Office of the Public Protector?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not at all	13	10	13	12	12
Just a little	22	15	18	21	20
Somewhat	28	27	26	29	27
A lot	29	33	34	28	31
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	8	14	8	11	10

**Q52H2\_SAF. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: The National Prosecuting Authority, the NPA?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not at all	12	9	11	12	11
Just a little	22	16	20	20	20
Somewhat	30	33	32	30	31
A lot	24	24	25	23	24
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	12	17	12	16	14

**Q52H3\_SAF. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: The Directorate of Priority Crime Investigations, the Hawks?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not at all	12	9	11	11	11
Just a little	21	15	18	20	19
Somewhat	27	31	30	27	28
A lot	28	28	30	26	28
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	12	16	11	16	13

**Q52I. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: The army?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not at all	10	8	9	10	9
Just a little	18	15	16	18	17
Somewhat	31	27	28	31	29
A lot	39	45	44	38	41
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	3	6	3	4	4

**Q52J. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Courts of law?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not at all	16	9	15	12	13
Just a little	29	25	28	28	28
Somewhat	31	36	31	34	33
A lot	22	27	25	22	24
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	2	3	2	3	2

**Q52K. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Traditional leaders?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not at all	21	13	18	19	19
Just a little	20	18	21	17	19
Somewhat	19	28	22	22	22
A lot	15	33	21	22	21
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	24	8	18	20	19

**Q52L. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Religious leaders?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not at all	14	11	13	12	13
Just a little	20	18	21	18	19
Somewhat	29	27	28	29	29
A lot	31	42	32	37	34
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	6	2	5	5	5

**Q52M\_SAF. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Government broadcasting service, you know, SABC TV and radio?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not at all	7	7	8	7	7
Just a little	18	12	16	16	16
Somewhat	37	34	36	36	36
A lot	36	44	39	38	39
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	1	3	1	2	2

**Q52N\_SAF. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Independent broadcasting services like E TV, Radio 702 and community radio stations?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not at all	6	6	6	6	6
Just a little	13	9	11	13	12
Somewhat	36	29	34	34	34
A lot	43	51	47	44	45
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	2	5	2	4	3

**Q53A. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: The president and officials in his office?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
None	4	8	5	5	5
Some of them	41	57	46	47	46
Most of them	31	20	27	27	27
All of them	23	12	20	19	19
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	2	2	2	3	2

**Q53B. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Members of Parliament?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
None	4	5	5	4	4
Some of them	44	59	48	49	49
Most of them	35	28	33	33	33
All of them	16	7	13	13	13
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	2	2	2	2	2

**Q53C. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Government officials?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
None	3	4	4	4	4
Some of them	40	57	44	46	45
Most of them	38	29	36	34	35
All of them	17	8	14	15	14
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	2	2	2	2	2

**Q53D. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Local government councillors?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
None	3	5	4	4	4
Some of them	43	55	48	46	47
Most of them	34	29	32	33	32
All of them	18	9	15	16	15
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	2	1	2	1	2

**Q53E. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Police?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
None	3	5	4	4	4
Some of them	40	62	49	46	48
Most of them	37	25	32	34	33
All of them	18	8	15	14	15
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	1	1	1	1	1

**Q53F. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Tax officials, like South African Revenue Services officials or local government tax collectors?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
None	16	18	17	16	17
Some of them	49	54	50	51	51
Most of them	19	11	17	15	16
All of them	9	3	7	7	7
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	8	14	8	11	10

**Q53G. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Judges and magistrates?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
None	15	19	17	16	16
Some of them	53	60	58	54	56
Most of them	21	12	15	20	18
All of them	8	2	6	5	6
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	4	7	4	6	5

**Q53H. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Traditional leaders?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
None	14	28	19	18	19
Some of them	40	50	43	44	43
Most of them	14	12	13	13	13
All of them	8	3	6	6	6
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	25	8	19	19	19

**Q53I. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Religious leaders?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
None	21	31	24	25	24
Some of them	47	53	50	48	49
Most of them	17	11	14	16	15
All of them	6	2	5	5	5
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	9	3	7	6	7

**Q53J. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Business executives?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
None	7	12	9	8	9
Some of them	46	51	47	48	47
Most of them	29	19	25	27	26
All of them	13	9	12	11	12
Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	5	8	6	7	6

**Q54. In your opinion, over the past year, has the level of corruption in this country increased, decreased, or stayed the same?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Increased a lot	65	61	63	64	64
Increased somewhat	19	21	19	20	19
Stayed the same	10	9	11	8	10
Decreased somewhat	3	5	4	4	4
Decreased a lot	2	2	1	2	2
Don't know	1	2	1	2	1

**Q55A. In the past 12 months, have you had contact with a public school? [If yes] How easy or difficult was it to obtain the services you needed from teachers or school officials?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very easy	17	19	15	20	18
Easy	17	20	16	20	18
Difficult	4	3	3	4	4
Very difficult	1	1	1	1	1
No contact	61	57	64	55	60
Don't know					

**Q55B. In the past 12 months, have you had contact with a public school? [If yes] And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a teacher or school official in order to get the services you needed from the schools?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Missing	4	5	4	4	4
Never	34	38	31	39	35
Once or twice			1		
A few times					
Often					
No contact	61	57	64	55	60
Don't know					

**Q55C. In the past 12 months, have you had contact with a public clinic or hospital? [If yes] How easy or difficult was it to obtain the medical care you needed?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very easy	18	19	18	19	19
Easy	24	25	22	26	24
Difficult	11	13	10	14	12
Very difficult	6	10	7	8	7
No contact	41	33	43	33	38

**Q55D. In the past 12 months, have you had contact with a public clinic or hospital? [If yes] And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a health worker or clinic or hospital staff in order to get the medical care you needed?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Missing	7	7	7	7	7
Never	50	59	49	58	53
Once or twice	1		1	1	1
A few times				1	
Often					
No contact	41	33	43	33	38

**Q55E. In the past 12 months, have you tried to get an identity document like a birth certificate, driver's license, passport or voter's card, or a permit from government? [If yes] How easy or difficult was it to obtain the document you needed?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very easy	15	13	13	16	14
Easy	17	13	16	16	16
Difficult	7	9	8	7	8
Very difficult	4	5	5	3	4
No contact	58	60	59	58	59
Don't know					

**Q55F. In the past 12 months, have you tried to get an identity document like a birth certificate, driver's license, passport or voter's card, or a permit from government? [If yes] And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a government official in order to get the document you needed?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Missing	4	3	3	4	4
Never	36	35	35	36	36
Once or twice	2	1	2	2	2
A few times		1	1		
Often					
No contact	58	60	59	58	59
Don't know					

**Q55G. In the past 12 months, have you tried to get water, sanitation, or electric services from government? [If yes] How easy or difficult was it to obtain the document you needed?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very easy	7	7	7	7	7
Easy	11	11	11	11	11
Difficult	5	8	6	6	6
Very difficult	4	7	5	4	5
No contact	73	67	70	72	71

**Q55H. In the past 12 months, have you tried to get water, sanitation, or electric services from government? [If yes] And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a government official in order to get the document you needed?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Missing	2	3	3	2	2
Never	24	28	25	25	25
Once or twice	1	1	1	1	1
A few times					
Often					
No contact	73	67	70	72	71
Don't know					

**Q55I. In the past 12 months, have you requested assistance from the police? [If yes] How easy or difficult was it to obtain the assistance you needed?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very easy	9	11	10	10	10
Easy	18	16	18	16	17
Difficult	6	6	5	7	6
Very difficult	4	3	4	3	4
No contact	63	63	63	64	63

**Q55J. In the past 12 months, have you requested assistance from the police? [If yes] And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a police officer in order to get the assistance you needed, or to avoid a problem like passing a checkpoint or avoiding a fine or arrest?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Missing	4	3	3	4	4
Never	32	32	32	32	32
Once or twice	1	1	1	1	1
A few times					
Often					
No contact	63	63	63	64	63

**Q55K. In the past 12 months, have you had contact with the courts? [If yes] How easy or difficult was it to obtain the assistance you needed from the courts?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very easy	4	3	4	3	4
Easy	5	5	5	5	5
Difficult	2	1	2	2	2
Very difficult	1	1	1	1	1
No contact	88	89	87	90	89
Don't know					

**Q55L. In the past 12 months, have you had contact with the courts? [If yes] And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a judge or court official in order to get the assistance you needed from the courts?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Missing	1		1		1
Never	10	10	11	10	10
Once or twice	1		1		
A few times					
Often					
No contact	88	89	87	90	89

**Q56. If you ever paid a bribe for any of the services discussed above, did you report any of the incidents you mentioned to a government official or someone in authority?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Missing	1	2	1	1	1
No	4	3	3	4	4
Yes	1	1	1		1
Not Applicable	94	95	95	95	95

**Q57A. [If yes on 56] Which of the following happened the most recent time that you reported a bribery incident: Authorities took action against the government officials involved?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Missing	1	2	1	1	1
No, didn't happen		1	1		1
Yes, happened					
Not Applicable	98	98	98	98	98

**Q57B. [If yes on 56] Which of the following happened the most recent time that you reported a bribery incident: You suffered retaliation or other negative consequences as a result of reporting the incident?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Missing	1	2	1	2	1
No, didn't happen					
Yes, happened			1		
Not Applicable	98	98	98	98	98
Don't know					

**Q58. Some people say that many incidents of corruption are never reported. Based on your experience, what do you think is the main reason why many people do not report corruption when it occurs?**

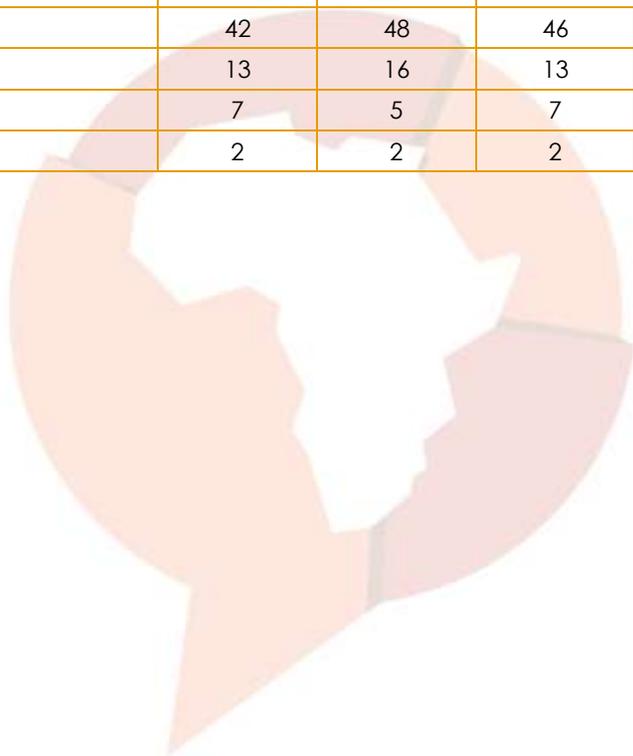
	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Most people do report incidents of corruption	6	12	7	9	8
People don't have enough time to report it	4	4	4	5	4
People don't know where to report it	5	6	5	5	5
People don't know how to report it	4	3	4	4	4
Nothing will be done / It wouldn't make a difference	25	21	23	24	24
It's too expensive to report	2	2	2	1	2
Corruption is normal / Everyone does it	7	7	8	6	7
People are afraid of the consequences	31	29	29	31	30
The officials where they would report to are also corrupt	6	7	6	7	6
It's government's money, so it's not our problem	1	1	1	1	1
They would implicate themselves as bribe-givers	1	1	1	1	1
Corruption is too difficult to prove	4	3	4	2	3
Other	2	1	2	1	1
Don't know	3	3	3	3	3

**Q59A. How much of the time do you think the following try their best to listen to what people like you have to say: Members of Parliament?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	42	38	40	42	41
Only sometimes	38	41	39	39	39
Often	11	13	11	12	12
Always	5	3	5	3	4
Don't know	4	4	4	4	4

**Q59B. How much of the time do you think the following try their best to listen to what people like you have to say: Local government councillors?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	35	29	32	34	33
Only Sometimes	42	48	46	42	44
Often	13	16	13	16	14
Always	7	5	7	6	7
Don't know	2	2	2	2	2



**Q60\_PT1. In your opinion, what are the most important problems facing this country that government should address? First response**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Nothing/ no problems					
Management of the economy	4	2	3	3	3
Wages, incomes and salaries	2	3	2	3	3
Unemployment	42	51	45	46	45
Poverty/destitution	8	5	7	7	7
Rates and Taxes					
Loans / credit					
Farming/agriculture					
Food shortage/famine	1				
Drought					
Land			1		
Transportation	1		1		
Communications					
Infrastructure / roads	1	4	2	1	2
Education	3	4	3	3	3
Housing	8	3	7	6	6
Electricity	3	4	3	4	4
Water supply	1	8	3	4	3
Orphans / street children / homeless children					
Services (other)					
Health	2	2	2	2	2
AIDS	1	1		1	1
Sickness / Disease		1			
Crime and Security	9	5	7	9	8
Corruption	8	4	7	6	7
Political violence					
Political instability / ethnic tensions					
Discrimination / inequality	1	1	1	1	1
Gender issues / women's rights					
Democracy / political rights					
Agricultural marketing					
Other	1	1	1	1	1
Don't know					

**Q60\_PT2. In your opinion, what are the most important problems facing this country that government should address? Second response**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Management of the economy	2	1	2	2	2
Wages, incomes and salaries	2	1	2	2	2
Unemployment	15	17	15	17	16
Poverty / destitution	8	9	8	9	8
Rates and Taxes	1	1	1	1	1
Loans / credit					
Farming / agriculture	1	1	1	1	1
Food shortage / famine	2	1	1	2	2
Drought		1	1	1	1
Land	1		1	1	1
Transportation	1	1	1	1	1
Communications	1			1	1
Infrastructure / roads	3	9	6	4	5
Education	10	9	10	10	10
Housing	13	9	12	12	12
Electricity	5	7	6	5	6
Water supply	2	10	4	5	5
Orphans / street children / homeless children	2	1	1	1	1
Services (other)	1	1	1	1	1
Health	3	3	3	4	3
AIDS	1	1	1	1	1
Sickness / Disease		1		1	1
Crime and Security	10	4	9	7	8
Corruption	8	4	7	6	6
Political violence	1		1		1
Political instability / ethnic tensions					
Discrimination / inequality	1				
Gender issues / women's rights	1	1		1	1
Democracy / political rights					
War (international)					
Agricultural marketing	1	1	1	1	1
Other	1	1	1	1	1
No further reply	2	5	3	3	3

**Q60\_PT3. In your opinion, what are the most important problems facing this country that government should address? Third response**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Management of the economy	2	1	1	1	1
Wages, incomes and salaries	2	2	2	2	2
Unemployment	11	8	10	10	10
Poverty / destitution	4	4	4	5	4
Rates and Taxes	1		1		1
Loans / credit					
Farming / agriculture	1	1	1	1	1
Food shortage / famine	1	1	1	1	1
Drought		1		1	
Land			1		
Transportation				1	
Communications		1		1	
Infrastructure / roads	2	7	4	3	4
Education	8	9	8	9	8
Housing	9	8	8	9	8
Electricity	6	5	5	6	5
Water supply	3	8	5	4	5
Orphans / street children / homeless children	1	1	1	1	1
Services (other)	1		1	1	1
Health	8	6	6	8	7
AIDS	2	2	2	2	2
Sickness / Disease	1	2	1	2	1
Crime and Security	12	8	12	9	11
Corruption	11	9	12	10	11
Political violence	1	1	1	1	1
Political instability / ethnic tensions	1				
Discrimination / inequality	1	1	1	1	1
Gender issues / women's rights		1			
Democracy / political rights					
War (international)					
Civil war				1	
Agricultural marketing		1	1		1
Other	2	1	2	2	2
No further reply	7	11	8	8	8

**Q61A. Thinking of the problem you mentioned first, in your opinion, how well or badly would you say the current government is handling this problem, or haven't you heard enough to say?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very badly	52	47	51	50	51
Fairly badly	25	29	25	27	26
Fairly well	20	22	21	20	20
Very well	2	1	2	2	2
Not applicable	1	1	1		1
Don't know	1				

**Q61B. In your opinion, is there any other political party that could do a better job in solving this problem?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
No	46	54	49	49	49
Yes	39	29	36	35	35
Not applicable	2	5	3	2	3
Don't know	13	12	11	14	13

**Q62. Which of the following do you see as the most important difference between the ruling party and opposition parties in South Africa?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
There is no difference	24	28	25	26	26
The honesty or integrity of party leaders	23	25	24	24	24
The religion of party leaders or members	6	3	4	5	5
Their economic and development policies	15	12	15	13	14
The experience of party leaders	15	11	13	15	14
The ethnicity of party leaders or members	4	2	3	3	3
The personalities of party leaders	5	6	6	5	6
The regional identity of party leaders or members	1	1	2	1	1
None of these / Some other answer	2	4	2	3	3
Don't know	4	7	5	5	5

**Q63A. Looking at the ruling and opposition political parties in this country, which would you say is most able to address each of the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Controlling prices?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Ruling party	53	64	56	57	56
Opposition party or parties	21	13	19	17	18
Neither of them	21	16	20	18	19
Don't know / Haven't heard enough	6	7	5	8	7

**Q63B. Looking at the ruling and opposition political parties in this country, which would you say is most able to address each of the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say:**

**Creating jobs?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Ruling party	52	65	55	57	56
Opposition party or parties	26	14	23	21	22
Neither of them	18	15	17	17	17
Don't know / Haven't heard enough	4	7	5	5	5

**Q63C. Looking at the ruling and opposition political parties in this country, which would you say is most able to address each of the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say:**

**Improving basic health services?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Ruling party	59	70	62	64	63
Opposition party or parties	22	12	20	18	19
Neither of them	15	12	14	14	14
Don't know / Haven't heard enough	3	6	4	5	4

**Q63D. Looking at the ruling and opposition political parties in this country, which would you say is most able to address each of the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say:**

**Fighting corruption in government?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Ruling party	39	44	41	41	41
Opposition party or parties	35	26	33	31	32
Neither of them	24	22	23	24	23
Don't know / Haven't heard enough	3	7	4	4	4

**Q64. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: The political opposition in South Africa presents a viable alternative vision and plan for the country.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly disagree	8	8	8	8	8
Disagree	23	19	21	22	21
Neither agree nor disagree	20	24	21	21	21
Agree	30	26	29	28	29
Strongly agree	14	15	16	13	14
Don't know	5	9	5	8	7

**Q65A. If the government of this country could increase its spending, which of the following areas do you think should be the top priority for additional investment?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
None of the above	1	2	1	2	2
Education	51	45	49	49	49
Infrastructure, like roads and bridges	6	17	12	8	10
Security, like the police and military	11	4	9	8	9
Healthcare	16	13	12	18	15
Agricultural development	4	5	5	4	4
Energy supply	10	11	11	10	10
Don't know / Can't remember		1		1	1

**Q65B. And which would be your second priority?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
None of the above	3	2	2	3	3
Education	19	19	19	19	19
Infrastructure, like roads and bridges	8	14	11	9	10
Security, like the police and military	12	11	12	12	12
Healthcare	35	26	32	32	32
Agricultural development	8	9	7	10	9
Energy supply	14	13	14	13	14
Don't know / Can't remember	1	5	2	2	2

**Q65C. If the government decided to make people pay more taxes or user fees in order to increase spending on public health care, would you support this decision or oppose it?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly oppose	30	21	27	27	27
Somewhat oppose	16	11	16	13	14
Neither support nor oppose	11	15	12	13	12
Somewhat support	19	21	20	19	19
Strongly support	20	26	21	23	22
It depends	3	4	3	3	3
Don't know	1	2	1	2	2

**Q66A. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Managing the economy?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very badly	39	28	37	34	35
Fairly badly	30	32	29	31	30
Fairly well	27	34	29	30	29
Very well	4	4	4	4	4
Don't know / Haven't heard enough	1	2	1	2	1

**Q66B. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Improving the living standards of the poor?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very badly	39	28	35	36	36
Fairly badly	32	35	33	33	33
Fairly well	24	31	27	25	26
Very well	5	5	5	5	5
Don't know / Haven't heard enough		1			

**Q66C. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Creating jobs?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very badly	51	51	52	50	51
Fairly badly	26	27	26	27	26
Fairly well	19	20	18	20	19
Very well	4	2	3	3	3
Don't know / Haven't heard enough		1			

**Q66D. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Keeping prices down?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very badly	47	32	42	41	42
Fairly badly	32	35	32	35	33
Fairly well	16	28	21	19	20
Very well	4	2	3	3	3
Don't know / Haven't heard enough	1	3	2	1	2

**Q66E. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Narrowing gaps between rich and poor?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very Badly	49	42	48	47	47
Fairly Badly	28	30	28	29	29
Fairly Well	17	25	20	19	20
Very Well	3	1	2	2	2
Don't know / Haven't heard enough	3	2	2	3	2

**Q66F. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Reducing crime?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very Badly	57	45	54	52	53
Fairly Badly	23	27	24	25	24
Fairly Well	17	23	19	19	19
Very Well	4	4	4	4	4
Don't know / Haven't heard enough					

**Q66G. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Improving basic health services?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very Badly	20	15	19	18	18
Fairly Badly	25	25	25	25	25
Fairly Well	42	48	44	45	44
Very Well	12	12	12	12	12
Don't know / Haven't heard enough					

**Q66H. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Addressing educational needs?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very Badly	19	12	18	16	17
Fairly Badly	25	22	23	24	24
Fairly Well	41	52	45	44	45
Very Well	15	13	14	15	15
Don't know / Haven't heard enough				1	

**Q66I. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Providing water and sanitation services?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very Badly	18	29	22	21	22
Fairly Badly	23	31	26	26	26
Fairly Well	45	34	39	43	41
Very Well	13	7	13	10	11
Don't know / Haven't heard enough				1	

**Q66J. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Ensuring everyone has enough to eat?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very Badly	29	22	26	28	27
Fairly Badly	31	34	32	31	32
Fairly Well	31	37	34	32	33
Very Well	8	6	7	7	7
Don't know / Haven't heard enough	2	1	1	2	1

**Q66K. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Fighting corruption in government?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very Badly	60	49	57	56	56
Fairly Badly	21	27	24	22	23
Fairly Well	14	18	15	16	16
Very Well	5	4	4	5	5
Don't know / Haven't heard enough		2	1	1	1

**Q66L. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Maintaining roads and bridges?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very Badly	21	27	23	23	23
Fairly Badly	25	29	27	25	26
Fairly Well	40	35	38	39	39
Very Well	13	9	11	13	12
Don't know / Haven't heard enough				1	

**Q66M. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Providing a reliable supply of electricity?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very Badly	27	23	26	26	26
Fairly Badly	31	25	30	28	29
Fairly Well	34	41	35	37	36
Very Well	8	11	8	9	9
Don't know / Haven't heard enough					

**Q66N\_SAF. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Uniting all South Africans into one nation?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very Badly	16	11	16	13	14
Fairly Badly	26	18	24	23	23
Fairly Well	41	45	41	44	42
Very Well	15	19	16	17	17
Don't know / Haven't heard enough	1	6	3	3	3

**Q66O\_SAF. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Distributing welfare payments to those who are entitled to them (such as old age pensions, disability pensions, child support grants)?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very Badly	7	7	7	6	7
Fairly Badly	12	5	11	8	10
Fairly Well	37	32	36	34	35
Very Well	44	54	45	50	47
Don't know / Haven't heard enough	1	2	1	1	1

**Q66O\_SAF. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Managing immigration?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very Badly	36	33	37	33	35
Fairly Badly	33	32	33	33	33
Fairly Well	20	24	19	24	21
Very Well	6	4	6	5	5
Don't know / Haven't heard enough	5	6	6	5	6

**Q67A. What about local government? I do not mean the national government. I mean your municipal or local government council. How well or badly would you say your local government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Maintaining local roads?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very Badly	25	35	29	28	28
Fairly Badly	22	28	25	24	24
Fairly Well	43	32	39	40	39
Very Well	9	4	7	8	8
Don't know / Haven't heard enough			1		

**Q67B. What about local government? I do not mean the national government. I mean your municipal or local government council. How well or badly would you say your local government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Maintaining local market places?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very Badly	21	26	23	22	23
Fairly Badly	22	23	22	22	22
Fairly Well	42	38	39	41	40
Very Well	11	5	9	8	9
Don't know / Haven't heard enough	5	8	6	6	6

**Q67C1\_SAF. We are now going to discuss how you rate different forms of government. I would like you to give marks out of 10. The best form of governing a country gets 10 out of 10 and the worst form of governing a country gets no marks at all. What grade would you give to: The way the country was governed under apartheid?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
0	18	23	20	20	20
1	10	19	12	14	13
2	11	13	12	11	12
3	10	7	10	8	9
4	10	9	9	11	10
5	12	11	13	11	12
6	7	3	6	5	6
7	6	3	5	4	5
8	7	3	5	6	5
9	3	1	2	3	3
10	4	1	3	3	3
Don't know	2	6	3	4	3

**Q67C2\_SAF.** We are now going to discuss how you rate different forms of government. I would like you to give marks out of 10. The best form of governing a country gets 10 out of 10 and the worst form of governing a country gets no marks at all. What grade would you give to: Our current system of government with regular elections where everyone can vote and there are at least two political parties?

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
0	3	1	3	2	3
1	2	1	2	1	1
2	3	2	2	3	3
3	5	2	4	4	4
4	9	6	9	8	8
5	21	19	20	21	20
6	16	15	18	14	16
7	15	22	16	19	18
8	13	19	14	16	15
9	5	6	6	5	6
10	7	5	5	7	6
Don't know		1	1	1	1

**Q67C3\_SAF.** We are now going to discuss how you rate different forms of government. I would like you to give marks out of 10. The best form of governing a country gets 10 out of 10 and the worst form of governing a country gets no marks at all. What grade would you give to: The political system of this country as you expect it to be in 10 years' time?

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
0	5	4	4	4	4
1	3	1	4	1	2
2	4	3	4	4	4
3	3	1	3	3	3
4	7	2	5	5	5
5	12	10	12	11	11
6	9	5	7	8	7
7	12	10	11	12	11
8	12	19	13	15	14
9	15	17	16	15	15
10	17	22	18	19	19
Don't know	2	5	4	3	3

**Q68A.** Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the following people have performed their jobs over the past 12 months, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: President Jacob Zuma?

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly Disapprove	34	32	35	31	33
Disapprove	33	21	28	30	29
Approve	25	32	27	28	28
Strongly Approve	6	14	8	9	8
Don't know/Haven't heard enough	2	2	1	2	2

**Q68B. Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the following people have performed their jobs over the past 12 months, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Your Member of Parliament?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly Disapprove	22	19	23	19	21
Disapprove	38	24	31	36	33
Approve	32	42	37	33	35
Strongly Approve	5	11	6	8	7
Don't know/Haven't heard enough	3	5	3	4	4

**Q68B1\_SAF. Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the following people have performed their jobs over the past 12 months, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: The Premier of this province?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly Disapprove	14	17	16	14	15
Disapprove	22	21	22	21	21
Approve	41	41	40	42	41
Strongly Approve	11	15	13	12	12
Don't know/Haven't heard enough	12	7	9	11	10

**Q68C. Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the following people have performed their jobs over the past 12 months, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Your elected local government councillor?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly Disapprove	26	24	25	26	25
Disapprove	36	34	35	36	35
Approve	28	31	30	28	29
Strongly Approve	6	8	7	7	7
Don't know/Haven't heard enough	4	2	4	3	3

**Q68D. Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the following people have performed their jobs over the past 12 months, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Your traditional leader?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly Disapprove	15	12	14	14	14
Disapprove	21	16	20	19	19
Approve	20	43	27	28	28
Strongly Approve	5	18	10	9	10
Don't know/Haven't heard enough	39	11	29	30	30

**Q69A. Who should be responsible for: Making sure that, once elected, Members of Parliament do their jobs?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
The President / Executive	33	33	32	33	33
The parliament / local council	24	26	26	24	25
Their political party	18	17	17	19	18
The Voters	22	21	22	22	22
No one	1				
Don't know	2	3	2	3	2

**Q69B. Who should be responsible for: Making sure that, once elected, local government councillors do their jobs?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
The President / Executive	17	16	16	17	16
The parliament / local council	30	33	30	32	31
Their political party	22	21	22	22	22
The Voters	29	27	29	27	28
No one	1		1	1	1
Don't know	1	3	1	2	2

**Q69C. Who should be responsible for: Making sure that, once elected, the president does his job?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
The President / Executive	18	10	15	16	15
The parliament / local council	40	35	40	36	38
Their political party	18	21	18	20	19
The Voters	22	30	24	25	25
No one	1		1	1	1
Don't know	2	3	2	3	2

**Q70A. Based on your experience, how easy or difficult is it to do each of the following: To find out what taxes and fees you are supposed to pay to the government?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Missing					
Very easy	13	15	13	14	14
Easy	41	29	38	36	37
Difficult	24	17	22	21	22
Very difficult	9	8	10	8	9
Don't Know	12	31	16	21	19
Refused					

**Q70B. Based on your experience, how easy or difficult is it to do each of the following: To avoid paying the income or property taxes that you owe to the government?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very easy	4	5	4	4	4
Easy	19	14	17	17	17
Difficult	30	22	28	26	27
Very difficult	31	24	30	28	29
Don't have to pay taxes	6	9	7	7	7
Don't know	10	26	14	17	15

**Q71A. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: Ordinary people can make a difference in the fight against corruption.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly Disagree	12	14	13	12	13
Disagree	17	14	16	15	16
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	12	14	12	13	13
Agree	34	30	32	34	33
Strongly Agree	24	24	24	23	24
Don't Know	2	4	3	3	3

**Q71B. What is the most effective thing that an ordinary person like you can do the help combat corruption in this country?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Nothing / Ordinary people cannot do anything	18	20	18	19	18
Refuse to pay bribes	19	28	22	22	22
Report corruption when you see or experience it	27	22	25	26	25
Vote for clean candidates	7	8	7	7	7
Speak out about the problem	7	5	6	6	6
Talk to friends and relatives about the problem	3	2	3	3	3
Sign a petition	3	2	3	2	3
Join or support an organization that is fighting corruption	9	8	9	9	9
Participate in protest marches	2	1	2	2	2
Other	3	2	3	2	2
Don't know	3	4	4	3	3

**Q72. In the last five years, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family been directly involved in an administrative, civil, or criminal case that has come before a government court or tribunal as a claimant, as a respondent or defendant, or as a witness?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	87	89	86	89	88
Once	9	6	9	8	8
Twice	2	2	3	1	2
Three or more times	1	1	2	1	1
Don't know / Can't remember	1	2	2	1	1

**Q73A. Have you encountered any of these problems in your experience with government courts in the past five years: You were unable to pay necessary costs and fees?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	8	5	8	7	7
Once or twice	4	2	4	2	3
A few times	1		1	1	1
Often			1		
No experience with government courts in last 5 years	86	92	86	90	88
Don't know					

**Q73B. Have you encountered any of these problems in your experience with government courts in the past five years: You could not understand the legal processes and procedures?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	8	6	9	6	8
Once or twice	3	1	2	3	3
A few times	1	1	1	1	1
Often	1		1		1
No experience with government courts in last 5 years	86	92	86	90	88
Don't know					

**Q73C. Have you encountered any of these problems in your experience with government courts in the past five years: You could not obtain legal counsel or advice?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	9	6	10	7	8
Once or Twice	2	2	3	2	2
A Few times	1		1	1	1
Often		1	1		
No experience with government courts in last 5 years	86	92	86	90	88
Don't know					

**Q73D. Have you encountered any of these problems in your experience with government courts in the past five years: The judge or magistrate did not listen to your side of the story?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	10	6	9	7	8
Once or Twice	1	2	2	1	2
A Few times	1	1	1	1	1
Often	1		1		1
No experience with government courts in last 5 years	86	92	86	90	88
Don't know					

**Q73E. Have you encountered any of these problems in your experience with government courts in the past five years: There were long delays in handling or resolving the case?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	6	4	7	4	6
Once or Twice	3	2	3	3	3
A Few times	2	2	2	1	2
Often	2	1	1	2	1
No experience with government courts in last 5 years	86	92	86	90	88
Don't know					

**Q74A. Sometimes people do not take a case to the government courts, even if they think they have a legitimate complaint and deserve justice. In your opinion, what would be the most important reason that people like yourself would not take a case to court? And what would be the second most important reason?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Most people do take cases to court	5	4	5	5	5
They cannot find a lawyer	4	7	4	6	5
Lawyers are too expensive	15	16	16	15	16
Absence of legal aid services / absence of free legal help	4	4	4	4	4
Court costs are too expensive	6	6	7	6	6
Judges, prosecutors or court officials will demand money	5	3	5	4	4
People don't have enough time to go to court	5	6	6	5	6
The distance to the courts is too far	3	6	4	3	4
They don't speak the language spoken in the court	1		1	1	1
They don't know their legal rights and remedies	4	6	4	4	4
They don't know how to take a case to court	3	1	2	3	2
They think the processes are too complex	3	3	3	3	3
They expect the case to take too long	6	2	5	4	5
They think the judges and court officials are incompetent	1	2	2	1	1
They do not expect fair treatment	9	7	8	9	8
They do not think the judges or courts are independent	1	1	1	1	1
Don't trust the courts	8	8	7	9	8
The courts favour the rich / powerful	5	7	5	7	6
They prefer to go to traditional leaders / local council	1	4	2	1	2
Fear/They are scared	1	1	1	1	1
Other	2	2	2	2	2
Refused					
Don't know	6	5	5	5	5

**Q74B. Sometimes people do not take a case to the government courts, even if they think they have a legitimate complaint and deserve justice. In your opinion, what would be the most important reason that people like yourself would not take a case to court? And what would be the second most important reason?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
They cannot find a lawyer	1	1	2	1	1
Lawyers are too expensive	8	5	6	8	7
Absence of legal aid services / absence of free legal help	2	2	1	3	2
Court costs are too expensive	4	6	4	5	5
Judges, prosecutors or court officials will demand money	4	2	3	4	3
People don't have enough time to go to court	5	7	5	6	5
The distance to the courts is too far	2	6	3	3	3
They don't speak the language spoken in the court	1	2	1	1	1
They don't know their legal rights and remedies	4	3	3	4	3
They don't know how to take a case to court	3	4	3	4	4
They think the processes are too complex	4	4	3	5	4
They expect the case to take too long	6	5	5	6	6
They think the judges and court officials are incompetent	3	2	3	2	3
They do not expect fair treatment	9	6	9	7	8
They do not think the judges or courts are independent	1	1	1	2	1
Don't trust the courts	8	10	9	9	9
The courts favour the rich / powerful	8	7	9	6	7
They prefer to go to traditional leaders / local council	1		1		1
Fear/They are scared					
Other	1	1	1	1	1
No further answer	25	26	26	25	26

**Q75A. I am now going to ask you about a range of different actions that some people take. For each of the following, please tell me whether you think the action is not wrong at all, wrong but understandable, or wrong and punishable: Not paying for the services they receive from government?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not wrong at all	7	6	6	7	7
Wrong but understandable	53	41	49	50	49
Wrong and punishable	39	47	43	41	42
Don't Know	1	6	2	3	3

**Q75B. I am now going to ask you about a range of different actions that some people take. For each of the following, please tell me whether you think the action is not wrong at all, wrong but understandable, or wrong and punishable: Not paying the taxes they owe on their income?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Not wrong at all	5	3	4	5	4
Wrong but understandable	37	20	31	31	31
Wrong and punishable	56	68	61	59	60
Don't Know	2	8	3	5	4

**Q76. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.**

**Statement 1: People living in Southern Africa should be able to move freely across international borders in order to trade or work in other countries.**

**Statement 2: Because foreign migrants take away jobs, and foreign traders sell their goods at very cheap prices, governments should protect their own citizens and limit the cross-border movement of people and goods.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Agree very strongly with 1	20	31	23	25	24
Agree with 1	26	23	26	24	25
Agree with 2	23	19	21	22	22
Agree very strongly with 2	26	22	24	25	25
Agree with neither	3	3	3	3	3
Don't know	1	2	2	1	2

**Q77. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.**

**Statement 1: The governments of each country in Southern Africa have a duty to try to guarantee free elections and prevent human rights abuses in other countries in the region, for example by using political pressure, economic sanctions, or military force.**

**Statement 2: Each country in this region should respect the independence of the other countries and allow them to make their own decisions about how their country should be governed.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Agree very strongly with 1	11	14	13	11	12
Agree with 1	18	16	18	17	18
Agree with 2	37	34	35	37	36
Agree very strongly with 2	29	30	29	30	29
Agree with neither	3	2	3	2	3
Don't know	2	3	2	3	2

**Q78. In your opinion, how easy or difficult is it for people in Southern Africa to cross international borders in order to work or trade in other countries, or haven't you heard enough to say?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very difficult	13	9	13	10	12
Difficult	22	21	21	21	21
Easy	24	20	23	23	23
Very easy	18	17	18	17	18
Never try	12	15	13	14	13
Don't know	11	19	11	15	13

**Q79A. In your opinion, how much do each of the following do to help your country, or haven't you heard enough to say: Southern African Development Community / SADC?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Do nothing, no help	14	12	16	11	14
Help a little bit	23	15	21	19	20
Help somewhat	20	19	21	18	19
Help a lot	10	9	11	9	10
Don't know	33	46	32	43	37

**Q79B. In your opinion, how much do each of the following do to help your country, or haven't you heard enough to say: African Union?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Do nothing, no help	15	11	16	11	14
Help a little bit	21	14	19	18	19
Help somewhat	19	18	19	18	18
Help a lot	14	13	15	13	14
Don't know	31	44	31	40	35

**Q80A. In your opinion, which of the following countries, if any, would be the best model for the future development of our country: United States, China, [Former Colonial Power, i.e., UK, France, or Portugal], India?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
None of these	2	3	3	2	2
United States	39	31	37	35	36
China	26	27	26	26	26
Former Colonial Power	14	7	12	11	12
India	2	2	3	1	2
We should follow our own country's model	8	9	8	9	8
Other	1	1	1		1
Don't know	8	22	11	15	13

**Q80B. Which of the following do you think has the most influence on South Africa, or haven't you heard enough to say: United States, China, [Former Colonial Power, i.e., UK, France, or Portugal], India, international organizations like the United Nations or the World Bank?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
None of these have much influence	2	4	3	3	3
United States	29	25	30	25	28
China	44	33	40	40	40
Former Colonial Power	8	6	7	7	7
India	3	4	3	4	3
International organizations	1	1	1	1	1
Some other country or organization	1	1	1	1	1
Don't know / Haven't heard enough	12	27	15	19	17

**80C-SAF. In your opinion, which of the following groups of countries should South Africa prioritize in her international relationships?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Developed countries like the United States, the United Kingdom and the European Union	34	22	31	29	30
BRIC countries, you know, Brazil, Russia, India and China	23	25	24	23	24
Our neighbours, like Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland	7	6	6	7	7
All countries in the SADC region, like Zimbabwe, Malawi, Angola and Mozambique	5	6	6	5	6
All African countries	17	15	16	17	17
None of the above	2	3	3	2	2
Don't know	11	23	13	16	15

**Q81A. How much influence do you think China's economic activities in South Africa have on our economy, or haven't you heard enough to say?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
None	4	4	4	3	4
A little	11	10	10	13	11
Some	27	30	29	28	28
A lot	46	30	42	39	41
Don't know / Haven't heard enough	11	26	14	18	16

**Q81B. In general, do you think that China's economic and political influence on South Africa is mostly positive, or mostly negative, or haven't you heard enough to say?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very negative	10	6	10	8	9
Somewhat negative	13	9	12	11	11
Neither positive nor negative	13	12	11	14	12
Somewhat positive	34	34	34	34	34
Very positive	19	13	19	15	17
Don't know / Haven't heard enough	12	26	15	18	17

**Q81C. Which of the following factors contributes most to positive images of China in South Africa, or haven't you heard enough to say: China's support for South Africa in international affairs, China's policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of African countries, China's investment in infrastructure or other development in South Africa, China's business investment, the cost of Chinese products, or an appreciation of the Chinese people, culture, and language?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
None of these	6	5	7	4	6
China's support for the country in international affairs	7	6	7	7	7
Non-interference in the internal affairs of African countries	4	3	4	3	4
China's investment in infrastructure in the country	14	10	13	12	12
China's business investment	28	27	30	26	28
The quality or cost of Chinese products	25	14	19	23	21
An appreciation of the Chinese people, culture and language	1	1	2	1	1
Some other factor	2	4	2	3	3
Don't know / Haven't heard enough	14	30	18	21	19

**Q81D. Which of the following factors contributes most to negative images of China in South Africa, or haven't you heard enough to say: China's extraction of resources from Africa, land grabbing by Chinese individuals or businesses, China's willingness to cooperate with undemocratic rulers in Africa, Chinese economic activities taking jobs or business from South Africans, the quality of Chinese products, the behaviour of Chinese citizens in South Africa?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
None of these	5	7	7	5	6
China's extraction of resources from Africa	5	3	5	3	4
Land grabbing by Chinese individuals or businesses	5	4	5	4	5
China's willingness to cooperate with undemocratic rulers	6	4	5	5	5
Taking jobs or business from the locals	16	10	15	13	14
The quality of Chinese products	45	35	40	43	42
The behaviour of Chinese citizens in the country	5	3	4	5	5
Some other factor	2	2	2	2	2
Don't know / Haven't heard enough	12	32	17	20	19

**Q81E. In your opinion, does China's economic development assistance to South Africa do a good job or a bad job of meeting the country's needs, or haven't you heard enough to say?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Very bad job	11	7	11	8	10
Somewhat bad job	15	14	15	14	14
Neither good nor bad job	17	19	16	20	18
Somewhat good job	32	29	32	30	31
Very good job	11	5	9	8	9
China doesn't give development assistance to the country	2	3	2	3	3
Don't know / Haven't heard enough	12	23	15	16	16
Refused					

**Q82A\_SAF. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you disagree or agree? In order to fully advance the interests of their members, Trade Unions in South Africa, for example COSATU, SADTU, and NUMSA, should operate without any government influence or control?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly Disagree	9	8	9	8	9
Disagree	24	13	21	20	20
Neither Agree nor Disagree	10	7	7	10	9
Agree	27	30	30	26	28
Strongly Agree	17	18	18	16	17
Don't know	13	24	14	20	17

**Q82B\_SAF. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you disagree or agree? The leaders of COSATU are more concerned about political power than the interests of workers ?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly Disagree	4	5	5	4	4
Disagree	18	12	17	15	16
Neither Agree nor Disagree	10	8	8	11	10
Agree	32	26	31	29	30
Strongly Agree	24	23	26	22	24
Don't know	12	25	14	19	17

**Q82C\_SAF. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you disagree or agree? South Africa needs a new workers' party that can defend the interests of the working class.**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly Disagree	6	7	7	6	6
Disagree	14	11	14	12	13
Neither Agree nor Disagree	13	11	11	13	12
Agree	30	24	29	27	28
Strongly Agree	26	25	27	24	26
Don't know	11	21	12	17	15

**Q83A-SAF.** In 2014, the Department of Home Affairs introduced a number of new regulations aimed at improving its ability to manage immigration effectively. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you disagree or agree, or haven't heard enough to say: People who are persecuted for political reasons in their own countries deserve protection in South Africa?

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly Disagree	19	20	20	18	19
Disagree	25	16	22	22	22
Neither Agree nor Disagree	10	12	10	12	11
Agree	32	32	34	30	32
Strongly Agree	10	13	11	12	11
Don't know	4	6	4	6	5

**Q83B-SAF.** In 2014, the Department of Home Affairs introduced a number of new regulations aimed at improving its ability to manage immigration effectively. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you disagree or agree, or haven't heard enough to say: Foreigners should not be allowed to live in South Africa because they take jobs and benefits away from South Africans?

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly Disagree	14	16	14	16	15
Disagree	29	22	27	26	27
Neither Agree nor Disagree	16	14	15	16	15
Agree	23	27	24	24	24
Strongly Agree	17	20	19	16	18
Don't know	1	2	1	2	2

**Q83C-SAF.** In 2014, the Department of Home Affairs introduced number of new regulations aimed at improving its ability to manage immigration effectively. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you disagree or agree, or haven't heard enough to say: South Africa's immigration policies should favour exceptionally skilled foreigners and foreign investors to help the economy grow?

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly Disagree	10	14	12	11	11
Disagree	18	16	18	18	18
Neither Agree nor Disagree	18	14	16	18	17
Agree	32	32	33	31	32
Strongly Agree	19	20	19	19	19
Don't know	3	3	2	3	3

**Q84A-SAF.** How would you say the following has changed since the transition in 1994: Your personal safety and that of your family?

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Much worse	11	9	10	10	10
Worse	28	15	22	24	23
Same	20	29	24	23	23
Better	30	36	33	32	32
Much better	10	10	10	10	10
Don't know	1	1	1	1	1

**Q84B-SAF. How would you say the following has changed since the transition in 1994: Economic circumstances for you and your family?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Much worse	10	11	10	10	10
Worse	27	22	25	26	26
Same	20	28	23	22	23
Better	35	33	35	35	35
Much better	7	5	6	6	6
Don't know		1	1		1

**Q84C-SAF. How would you say the following has changed since the transition in 1994: Employment opportunities for you and your family?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Much worse	19	23	19	21	20
Worse	33	27	31	31	31
Same	18	22	18	19	19
Better	24	24	25	23	24
Much better	6	4	6	5	6
Don't know			1		

**Q84D-SAF. How would you say the following has changed since the transition in 1994: Relations between members of different race groups?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Much worse	6	8	6	7	7
Worse	13	12	13	13	13
Same	23	30	26	26	26
Better	44	33	41	40	40
Much better	11	12	12	11	12
Don't know	2	4	2	3	3

**Q84E-SAF. How would you say the following has changed since the transition in 1994: The gap between the rich and poor?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Missing					
Much worse	25	26	25	26	25
Worse	28	24	26	27	26
Same	26	31	29	27	28
Better	16	14	15	15	15
Much better	2	2	3	2	2
Don't know	3	2	2	3	3

**Q85A-SAF. In your opinion, which of the following statements provide the best meaning of “reconciliation” to you?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
None of the above/Some other meaning	2	1	1	1	1
Forgiveness among different racial groups.	32	35	33	33	33
Forgetting the past and moving on.	42	45	42	45	43
Reparations for past socioeconomic injustice	7	5	7	5	6
Commitment to dialogue as a means of resolving problems	8	2	7	5	6
Multiracialism, plurality and a united South Africa	7	5	6	6	6
Don't know	2	8	3	5	4

**Q85B-SAF. In your opinion, does South Africa still need reconciliation after more than twenty years of democracy?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
No	24	36	29	27	28
Yes	71	53	65	64	65
Don't know	6	11	6	9	8

**Q86A-SAF. In your opinion, how often in this country are people treated unequally because of their race by: The courts?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	16	24	18	19	19
Rarely	22	27	25	22	23
Often	36	24	31	32	32
Always	23	21	23	22	23
Don't know	4	4	3	5	4

**Q86B-SAF. In your opinion, how often in this country are people treated unequally because of their race by: Their current or prospective employers?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	13	18	15	14	15
Rarely	24	26	25	24	24
Often	40	29	35	36	36
Always	20	21	21	19	20
Don't know	5	6	4	6	5

**Q86C-SAF. In your opinion, how often in this country are people treated unequally because of their race by: Potential landlords?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	22	27	24	24	24
Rarely	27	28	27	27	27
Often	25	16	22	21	22
Always	15	13	15	13	14
Don't know	11	17	12	14	13

**Q87. What is your ethnic community, cultural group, or tribe?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
English	6	1	5	4	4
Afrikaans / Afrikaner / Boer	10	3	9	7	8
Ndebele	1	1	1	1	1
Xhosa	14	16	14	16	15
Pedi/North Sotho	6	16	9	10	10
Sotho/South Sotho	7	3	5	7	6
Tswana	9	12	11	9	10
Shangaan	3	9	4	5	5
Swazi	2	6	3	3	3
Venda	2	3	3	2	2
Zulu	20	29	23	23	23
White / European	2		1	1	1
Coloured	11	1	8	8	8
Indian	4		3	2	3
South African only, or "doesn't think of self in those terms"	2		2	1	2
Other					
Don't know					

**Q88A. How often, if ever, are [Respondent's ethnic group] treated unfairly by the government?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Missing	1		1	1	1
Never	47	62	52	53	52
Sometimes	26	23	25	26	25
Often	12	8	12	10	11
Always	9	4	7	7	7
Not applicable	2		2	1	2
Don't know	2	2	2	2	2

**Q88B. Let us suppose that you had to choose between being a South African and being a [R's ethnic group]. Which of the following statements best expresses your feelings:**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Missing	1		1		
I feel only (ethnic group)	6	6	6	6	6
I feel more (ethnic group) than South African	10	8	8	10	9
I feel equally South African and (ethnic group)	35	31	34	34	34
I feel more South African than (ethnic group)	12	11	12	11	12
I feel only South African	34	43	36	38	37
Not applicable	2		2	1	2
Don't know		1			

**Q88C1-SAF. Here are some things people say about the way they feel about South Africa. There are no right or wrong answers. We are simply interested in your opinions. Please tell me whether you disagree or agree with these statements: You would want your children to think of themselves as South African?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly Disagree	1	1	1		1
Disagree	3	2	3	3	3
Neither Agree nor Disagree	4	7	6	5	5
Agree	45	45	44	46	45
Strongly Agree	47	45	47	46	46
Don't know					

**Q88C2-SAF. Here are some things people say about the way they feel about South Africa. There are no right or wrong answers. We are simply interested in your opinions. Please tell me whether you disagree or agree with these statements: Being South African is a very important part of how you see yourself?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly Disagree	1	1	1	1	1
Disagree	3	2	2	3	2
Neither Agree nor Disagree	5	8	6	6	6
Agree	46	44	45	45	45
Strongly Agree	45	46	46	45	45
Don't know					

**Q88C3-SAF. Here are some things people say about the way they feel about South Africa. There are no right or wrong answers. We are simply interested in your opinions. Please tell me whether you disagree or agree with these statements: People should realise we are South Africans first, and stop thinking of themselves in terms of the group they belong to?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly Disagree	2	1	2	1	1
Disagree	4	4	4	4	4
Neither Agree nor Disagree	7	7	7	7	7
Agree	43	43	41	45	43
Strongly Agree	44	45	46	43	44
Don't know					

**Q88C4-SAF.** Here are some things people say about the way they feel about South Africa. There are no right or wrong answers. We are simply interested in your opinions. Please tell me whether you disagree or agree with these statements: It is desirable to create one united South African nation out of all the different groups who live in this country?

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly Disagree	1		1	1	1
Disagree	4	1	3	3	3
Neither Agree nor Disagree	8	7	8	8	8
Agree	45	42	41	46	44
Strongly Agree	41	47	46	41	43
Don't know		3	1	1	1

**Q88C5-SAF.** Here are some things people say about the way they feel about South Africa. There are no right or wrong answers. We are simply interested in your opinions. Please tell me whether you disagree or agree with these statements: It is possible to create such a united South African nation?

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly Disagree	2	2	2	2	2
Disagree	5	3	5	4	4
Neither Agree nor Disagree	10	7	9	10	9
Agree	45	41	43	45	44
Strongly Agree	36	45	40	38	39
Don't know	1	2	1	2	1

**Q89A.** For each of the following types of people, please tell me whether you would like having people from this group as neighbours, dislike it, or not care: People of a different religion?

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly dislike	2	2	1	2	2
Somewhat dislike	3	4	3	3	3
Would not care	41	53	46	45	45
Somewhat like	21	15	19	19	19
Strongly like	33	26	31	31	31
Don't know					

**Q89B.** For each of the following types of people, please tell me whether you would like having people from this group as neighbours, dislike it, or not care: People from other ethnic groups?

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly dislike	2	4	3	3	3
Somewhat dislike	4	5	5	4	4
Would not care	40	50	43	44	43
Somewhat like	21	17	20	20	20
Strongly like	32	24	29	29	29
Don't know					

**Q89C. For each of the following types of people, please tell me whether you would like having people from this group as neighbours, dislike it, or not care: Homosexuals?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly dislike	18	22	22	17	19
Somewhat dislike	13	12	13	13	13
Would not care	43	47	44	44	44
Somewhat like	11	9	10	11	11
Strongly like	15	9	11	14	13
Don't know		1	1	1	1

**Q89D. For each of the following types of people, please tell me whether you would like having people from this group as neighbours, dislike it, or not care: People who have HIV/AIDS?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly dislike	3	1	3	2	3
Somewhat dislike	7	4	6	5	6
Would not care	51	56	53	52	53
Somewhat like	15	16	15	16	15
Strongly like	24	23	22	25	23
Don't know		1			

**Q89E. For each of the following types of people, please tell me whether you would like having people from this group as neighbours, dislike it, or not care: Immigrants or foreign workers?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Strongly dislike	14	19	18	15	16
Somewhat dislike	17	14	14	17	16
Would not care	38	44	40	40	40
Somewhat like	15	10	14	12	13
Strongly like	15	13	13	16	14
Don't know					

**Q90A. Do you feel close to any particular political party?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
No, not close to any party	27	12	20	24	22
Yes, feels close to a party	68	82	75	71	73
Refused to answer	4	5	5	5	5
Don't know	1	1		1	1

**Q90B. [If "Yes" to Q90A] Which party is that?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Missing	1	1	1		1
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)					
African Muslim Party (AMP)					
African National Congress (ANC)	37	59	45	44	44
Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO)					
Congress of the People (COPE)	1	1	1	1	1
Democratic Alliance (DA)	17	7	13	14	13
Freedom Front Plus/ Vryheidsfront Plus (VF Plus)					
Independent Democrats (ID)					
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)		3	2	1	1
Minority Front (MF)					
New National Party / Nuwe Nasionale Party (NNP)					
Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)					
United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)					
United Democratic Movement (UDM)					
United Independent Front (UIF)					
African Independent Congress					
Al Jama-ah					
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	7	6	8	5	7
Front Nasionaal					
National Freedom Party (NFP)		2		1	1
Other					
Not applicable	32	18	25	29	27
Refused to answer	3	2	3	2	3
Don't know		1			

**Q91A. Which of these things do you personally own: Radio?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
No, don't own	14	20	13	19	16
Yes, do own	86	80	87	81	84
Don't know					

**Q91B. Which of these things do you personally own: Television?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
No, don't own	9	18	11	13	12
Yes, do own	91	82	89	87	88

**Q91C. Which of these things do you personally own: Motor vehicle or motorcycle?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
No, don't own	57	81	60	70	65
Yes, do own	43	19	40	30	35
Don't know				1	

**Q91D. Which of these things do you personally own: Mobile phone?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
No, don't own	7	10	7	9	8
Yes, do own	93	89	93	91	92
Don't know					

**Q92A. How often do you use: Mobile phone?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	4	6	5	4	4
Less than once a month					
A few times a month		1		1	1
A few times a week	4	4	3	4	4
Everyday	92	89	92	90	91
Don't know					

**Q92B. How often do you use: The Internet?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	35	60	41	45	43
Less than once a month	3	4	4	3	4
A few times a month	8	7	8	7	8
A few times a week	16	8	14	13	13
Everyday	38	21	33	31	32
Don't know		1			

**Q93A. Please tell me whether each of the following are available inside your house, inside your compound, or outside your compound: Your main source of water for household use?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Missing					
Inside the house	79	15	58	57	57
Inside the compound	11	37	20	20	20
Outside the compound	8	46	21	22	21
Don't know		1		1	
Refused	1			1	

**Q93B. Please tell me whether each of the following are available inside your house, inside your compound, or outside your compound: A toilet or latrine?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
No latrine	1	2	2	1	2
Inside the house	75	14	55	54	54
Inside the compound	15	57	29	30	29
Outside the compound	9	26	14	15	15

**Q94. Do you have an electric connection to your home from the mains? [If yes] How often is the electricity actually available?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
No mains electric supply or connection to the home	2	4	3	3	3
Never	3	7	4	5	4
Occasionally	6	14	9	9	9
About half of the time	6	4	5	5	5
Most of the time	46	43	45	45	45
All of the time	37	28	35	33	34
Don't know					

**Q95. Do you have a job that pays a cash income? [If yes] Is it full-time or part-time? [If no] Are you presently looking for a job?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
No (not looking)	20	22	18	24	21
No (looking)	28	39	30	33	32
Yes, part time	12	14	12	13	12
Yes, full time	39	25	40	29	34
Don't know					

**Q96A. What is your main occupation? (If unemployed, retired, or disabled) What was your last main occupation?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never had a job	7	18	9	13	11
Student	8	9	8	8	8
Housewife / homemaker	4	4	1	7	4
Agriculture / farming / fishing / forestry	1	7	3	3	3
Trader / hawker / vendor	2	3	3	2	2
Retail / Shop	11	9	6	13	10
Unskilled manual worker	21	26	22	23	23
Artisan or skilled manual worker	12	7	17	4	11
Clerical or secretarial	5	2	2	5	4
Supervisor / Foreman / Senior Manager	6	3	7	3	5
Security services	4	3	5	2	4
Mid-level professional	6	4	5	6	5
Upper-level professional	6	1	5	4	5
Other	5	3	5	3	4
Don't know	1	2	1	1	1

**Q96B. Do you work for yourself, for someone else in the private sector or the non-governmental sector, or for government?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Works for self	9	12	14	6	10
Private sector	47	37	44	43	44
Non-Governmental Organizations/ civil society sector	4	5	3	5	4
Government	10	7	9	9	9
Not applicable	30	38	29	36	33
Don't know		1	1	1	1

**Q97. What is your highest level of education?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
No formal schooling	2	4	2	3	2
Informal schooling only		1	1	1	1
Some primary schooling	5	11	5	8	7
Primary school completed	5	10	6	7	6
Some secondary school / high school	26	31	29	26	28
Secondary school / high school completed	33	28	31	31	31
Post-secondary qualifications, other than university	16	10	15	14	14
Some university	4	2	3	4	3
University completed	7	2	5	5	5
Post-graduate	3	1	3	2	2
Don't know					

**Q98A. What is your religion, if any?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
None	6	11	10	4	7
Christian only	37	25	33	33	33
Roman Catholic	9	6	8	8	8
Orthodox					
Coptic					
Anglican	5	4	5	4	4
Lutheran	2	5	2	4	3
Methodist	6	7	6	7	6
Presbyterian	2	2	2	3	2
Baptist	3	3	3	3	3
Quaker / Friends					
Mennonite					
Evangelical	1	1	1	1	1
Pentecostal	5	3	3	5	4
Independent	1	2	1	1	1
Jehovah's Witness	1	1	1	1	1
Seventh Day Adventist	1	1	1	1	1
Mormon					
Muslim only	3		2	2	2
Sunni only					
Ismaeli					
Traditional / ethnic religion		3	1	1	1
Hindu	2		1	1	1
Agnostic					
Atheist					
Dutch Reformed	2	2	2	2	2
Calvinist					
Church of Christ	1	2	1	2	1
Zionist Christian Church	8	18	9	13	11
Jewish					
Other	3	2	3	2	3
Refused	1	2	2	1	2
Don't know	1		1		

**Q98B. People practice their religion in different ways. Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you personally engage in religious practices like prayer, reading a religious book, or attending a religious service or a meeting of a religious group?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Never	4	6	7	2	5
A few times a year	11	10	14	7	11
About once a month	13	17	15	14	14
About once a week	28	31	24	34	29
A few times a week	18	19	16	21	18
About once a day	10	6	9	8	8
More than once a day	10	3	5	10	8
Respondent has no religion	6	8	9	4	7
Don't know		1	1		1

**Q99. If presidential election were held tomorrow, which party's candidate would you vote for?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Missing					
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)					
African Muslim Party (AMP)					
African National Congress (ANC)	42	61	48	49	48
Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO)					
Congress of the People (COPE)	1	1	1	1	1
Democratic Alliance (DA)	22	8	17	17	17
Freedom Front Plus/ Vryheidsfront Plus (VF Plus)					
Independent Democrats (ID)					
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	1	3	2	1	1
Minority Front (MF)					
New National Party / Nuwe Nasionale Party (NNP)					
Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)		1			
United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)					
United Democratic Movement (UDM)					
United Independent Front (UIF)					
African Independent Congress					
Agang SA					
Al Jama-ah					
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	9	9	11	8	9
Front Nasionaal					
Kingdom Governance Movement					
National Freedom Party (NFP)		1	1	1	1
Other					
Would not vote	7	3	4	7	6
Refused to answer	13	7	11	10	11
Don't know	3	3	2	4	3

**Q100. Just one more question: Who do you think sent us to do this interview?**

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
No one					
Afrobarometer or Plus 94 Research	17	21	19	18	18
Research Company	11	8	11	9	10
Non-government or religious organization	1		1	1	1
University / School / College	1		1	1	1
Private company	9	5	9	7	8
Media	2	2	2	2	2
Political party or politician	15	10	15	12	13
Government	32	41	31	38	35
International organization or another country					
God					
Other					
Refused to answer					
Don't know	10	11	9	11	10