

# AFROBAROMETER ROUND 8

## THE QUALITY OF DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Document revised: 01 May 2021

Respondent Number					Fieldworker Number					Field Number:				
S	A	F			S	A	F							
<i>[Office Use Only]</i>										<i>[Allocated by Supervisor]</i>				

<b>GPS COORDINATES</b>	
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<b>PSU/EA:</b> <i>[Circle one]</i>	
Urban	1
Rural	2
<b>PSU/EA-SAF</b> <i>[Circle one]</i>	
Urban	1
Rural	2
Rural farm	3
Informal	4
Tribal	6

*[Interviewer: Select appropriate code for Province. Write names for Suburb / Village and EA number in the boxes.]*

Province			
Eastern Cape	700	North West	706
Free State	701	Northern Cape	707
Gauteng	702	Western Cape	708
KwaZulu-Natal	703		
Limpopo	704	<b>Suburb</b>	
Mpumalanga	705	<b>EA Number</b>	

<b>Constituency name</b>	
<b>Municipality name</b>	

EA-SVC. Are the following services present in the primary sampling unit / enumeration area?	Yes	No	Can't determine
A. Electricity grid that most houses can access	1	0	9
B. Piped water system that most houses can access	1	0	9
C. Sewage system that most houses can access	1	0	9
D. Mobile phone service	1	0	9
E. Borehole or tubewell	1	0	9

EA-FAC. Are the following facilities present in the primary sampling unit / enumeration area or in easy walking distance?	Yes	No	Can't determine
A. Post office	1	0	9
B. School (private or public or both)	1	0	9
C. Police station	1	0	9
D. Health clinic (private or public or both)	1	0	9
E. Market stalls (selling groceries and / or clothing)	1	0	9
F. Bank, money transfer point, mobile banking services or ATM	1	0	9
G. Is there any kind of paid transport, such as a bus, taxi, moped, or other form, available on a daily basis?	1	0	9

<b>EA-SEC. In the PSU / EA, did you (or any of your colleagues) see:</b>	Yes	No	Don't know
A. Any police officers or police vehicles?	1	0	9
B. Any soldiers or army vehicles?	1	0	9
C. Any roadblocks set up by police or army?	1	0	9
D. Any customs checkpoints?	1	0	9
E. Any roadblocks or booms set up by private security providers or by the local community?	1	0	9

<b>EA-ROAD. Thinking of the journey here:</b>		Earth	Gravel	Stone	Muram	Paved/ Tarred	Concrete	None of the above
<b>A.</b>	Was the road at the start point in the PSU / EA:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>B.</b>	What was the most common surface of the road over the last 5 kilometers before arriving at the start point of the PSU / EA?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

<b>EA-ROAD-C Thinking of the journey here:</b>		Impassable	Very poor	Poor	Fair	Good	Very good
	What was the condition of the road in the last 5 km before reaching the start point of the PSU / EA? Was the road in excellent or good condition and easy to traverse, or was it in poor or very poor condition, that is, difficult to traverse due to potholes, waterlogging, or other issues, or was it impassable at any point (e.g. due to a collapsed bridge, fallen tree, flooding, etc.)?	1	2	3	4	5	6

### Household Selection Procedure

*Interviewer: It is your job to select a random (this means any) household. A household is a group of people who currently eat together from the same pot.*

*Start your walk pattern from the start point that has been randomly chosen by your Field Supervisor. Each of the four team members should be assigned a starting point within the SAL. The team leader should identify random starting points so the 4 interviews done in the SAL are selected from about one-half (or one-third) of all households in the SAL. Refer to the sampled SAL list for the expected number of households in each SAL.*

*Starting at each assigned point, the interviewer should count houses on both the right and the left (and starting with those on the right if they are opposite each other). For small SALs (with less than 50 households), the interval should be 2, for medium sized SALs (i.e. 50 – 180 households) the interval should be 5 and for big SALs (i.e. over 180 households) the interval should be 10. If the settlement comes to an end and there are no more houses, turn at right angles to the right and keep walking, continuing to count until finding the nth dwelling, i.e. 2<sup>nd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> dwelling.*

*Interviewer: If a call is unsuccessful, use the table below to record your progress until you make a successful call. Circle a code number for unsuccessful calls only.*

NOCALL	NOCALL_1	NOCALL_2	NOCALL_3	NOCALL_4	NOCALL_5	NOCALL_6	NOCALL_7
<b>Reasons for Unsuccessful Calls</b>	Household	Household	Household	Household	Household	Household	Household
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Refused to be interviewed	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Person selected was never at home after at least two visits	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Household / Premises empty for the survey period after at least two visits	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Not a citizen / Spoke only a foreign language	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Deaf / Did not speak a survey language	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Did not fit gender quota	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
No adults in household	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Other [Specify]	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Not applicable	9997	9997	9997	9997	9997	9997	9997

*If no one is at home (i.e., premises empty) after two visits, substitute with the very **next** household. If the interview is refused, use an interval of 2 (in small SALs), interval of 5 (in medium SALs) or interval of 10 (in big SALs) to select a substitute household, counting houses on both the right and the left.*

*When you find a household with someone home, please introduce yourself using the following script. You must learn this introduction so that you can say it exactly as it is written below.*

**Good day. My name is \_\_\_\_\_ . I am from the Plus 94 Research and Afrobarometer, independent research organisations. I do not represent the government or any political party. We are studying the views of citizens in South Africa about how the country is governed and how the economy is managed. We would like to discuss these issues with a member of your household. Every person in the country has an equal chance of being included in this study. All information will be kept confidential. Your household has been chosen by chance. We would like to choose an adult from your household. Would you help us pick one?**

*Note: The person must give his or her informed consent by answering positively. If participation is refused, walk away from the household and record this in the above table on "Reasons for Unsuccessful Calls." Substitute the household using an interval of 2 (in small SALs), interval of 5 (in medium SALs) or interval of 10 (in big SALs). If consent is secured, proceed to Respondent Selection.*

**Respondent Selection Procedure**

Interviewer: **Within** the household, the tablet will select a random (this means any) individual. This individual becomes the interview Respondent. The tablet will guide you to alternate interviews between men and women.

Note that "First Interview" should ONLY be used for your very first interview on the first day of fieldwork, NOT your first interview every day.

	First interview	Male	Female
PREVINT. Previous interview was with a:	0	1	2
THISINT. This interview must be with a:		1	2

**Please tell me the first names and ages of all males / females [select correct gender] who currently live in this household. I only want the names of males / females [select correct gender] who are citizens of South Africa and who are 18 years and older.**

If this interview must be with a female, list only women's names. If this interview is with a male, list only men's names. List all eligible household members of this gender who are 18 years or older, even those not currently at home but who will return to the house at any time that day. Include only citizens of South Africa.

Women's Names	Men's Names
1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5
6	6
7	7
8	8
9	9
10	10

Please record the total number of adults (men and women) in the household who are citizens of South Africa. Enter a two-digit number.

ADULT_CT. Total number of adult citizens in the household		
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The person I need to speak to is [insert name] \_\_\_\_\_. Is this person currently at home?

If yes:	<b>May I please interview this person now?</b>
If no:	<b>Will this person return here at any time today?</b>
If no:	<b>Thank you very much. I will select another household. Substitute with the next household to the right and repeat the respondent selection procedure. (NOTE: YOU CAN ONLY SUBSTITUTE HOUSEHOLDS, NOT INDIVIDUALS.)</b>
If yes:	<b>Please tell this person that I will return for an interview at [insert convenient time]. If this respondent is not present when you call back, replace this household with the next household to the right.</b>

If the selected respondent is not the same person that you first met, repeat Introduction:

Good day. My name is \_\_\_\_\_. I am from Plus 94 Research and Afrobarometer, independent research organisations. **I do not represent the government or any political party.** We are studying the views of citizens in South Africa about how the country is governed and how the economy is managed. We would like to discuss these issues with you.

To ALL respondents:

Your answers will be confidential. They will be put together with 1600 other people we are talking to, to get an overall picture. It will be impossible to pick you out from what you say, so please feel free to tell us what you think. This interview will take about 45 minutes. There is no penalty for refusing to participate. Do you wish to proceed? *[Proceed with interview only if answer is positive.]*

*[If respondent agrees to proceed, add:]* **We can do this interview in English, Afrikaans, Xhosa, Pedi, Sotho, Tswana, Venda or Zulu. Please, tell me which language you would like to use.** *[If interviewer does not speak selected language, then make an appointment for later in the day with a member of the team who speaks that language.]*

*Note: The person must give his or her informed consent by answering positively. If participation is refused, walk away from the household and record this in the above table on "Reasons for Unsuccessful Calls." Substitute the household using an interval of 2 (in small SALs), interval of 5 (in medium SALs) or interval of 10 (in big SALs). If consent is secured, proceed with the interview after recording number of calls and current date and time..*

CALLS	Circle number	
How many calls were made to the household where the interview actually took place?	1	2

DATEINTR	Day	Month	Year
Date of interview <i>[Interviewer: Enter day, month, and year]</i>			

STRTIME	Hour	Minute
Time interview started <i>[Interviewer: Enter hour and minute, using 24-hour clock]</i>		

*Interviewer: If a respondent firmly refuses to answer any question, write "refused" in the answer space and continue to the next question*

## BEGIN INTERVIEW

Let's begin by recording a few facts about yourself.

<b>1. How old are you?</b> <i>[Interviewer: Don't know = 999] [Interviewer: If respondent is aged less than 18, select "Respondent is under 18 years old" and use the tablet to select another respondent of the same gender from this household. If there are no other respondents of the correct gender in this household, continue to the next household in the direction of the walk pattern.]</i>			
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<b>2. What is the primary language you speak in your home now?</b>			
English	1	Tswana	705
Portuguese	3	Swazi	706
Afrikaans	700	Venda	707
Ndebele	701	Zulu	708
Xhosa	702		
Pedi	703	Other <i>[Specify]:</i>	Post code
Sotho	704	Don't know	9999

<b>3. 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?</b>	
Going in the wrong direction	1
Going in the right direction	2
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

<b>Let's discuss economic conditions.</b>						
<b>4. In general, how would you describe:</b> <i>[Read out options]</i>						
	Very good	Fairly good	Neither good nor bad	Fairly bad	Very bad	Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
<b>A. The present economic condition of this country?</b>	5	4	3	2	1	9
<b>B. Your own present living conditions?</b>	5	4	3	2	1	9

<b>5. How often, if ever, are people like you treated unfairly by the government based on your economic status, that is, how rich or poor you are?</b> <i>[Read out options]</i>	
Never	0
Sometimes	1
Often	2
Always	3
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

<b>6A. Looking back, how do you rate economic conditions in this country compared to 12 months ago?</b> <i>[Read out options]</i>	
Much worse	1
Worse	2
Same	3
Better	4
Much better	5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

<b>6B. Looking ahead, do you expect economic conditions in this country to be better or worse in 12 months' time?</b> <i>[Read out options]</i>	
Much worse	1
Worse	2
Same	3
Better	4
Much better	5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

7. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family gone without: <i>[Read out options]</i>						
	Never	Just once or twice	Several times	Many times	Always	Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
A. Enough food to eat?	0	1	2	3	4	9
B. Enough clean water for home use?	0	1	2	3	4	9
C. Medicines or medical treatment?	0	1	2	3	4	9
D. Enough fuel to cook your food?	0	1	2	3	4	9
E. A cash income?	0	1	2	3	4	9

8. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: <i>[Read out options]</i>						
	Never	Just once or twice	Several times	Many times	Always	Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
A. Felt unsafe walking in your neighbourhood?	0	1	2	3	4	9
B. Feared crime in your own home?	0	1	2	3	4	9

8-SAF. During the past year, have you or anyone in your family: <i>[Interviewer: If the respondent answers yes, follow by asking:] Did this happen once, twice, or three or more times?</i>					
	NO	YES			Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
		Once	Twice	Three or more times	
A. Had something stolen from your house?	0	1	2	3	9
B. Been physically attacked?	0	1	2	3	9

9. When you get together with your friends or family, would you say you discuss political matters: <i>[Read out options]</i>	
Frequently	2
Occasionally	1
Never	0
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

10. In this country, how free are you: <i>[Read out options]</i>					
	Not at all free	Not very free	Somewhat free	Completely free	Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
A. To say what you think	1	2	3	4	9
B. To join any political organization you want	1	2	3	4	9
C. To choose who to vote for without feeling pressured	1	2	3	4	9

11. 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. <i>[If Yes, read]: Was this often, several times or once or twice? [If no, read]: Would you do this if you had the chance?</i>						
	YES			NO		Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
	Often	Several times	Once or twice	Would if had the chance	Would never do this	
A. Attended a community meeting	4	3	2	1	0	9
B. Got together with others to raise an issue	4	3	2	1	0	9
C. Participated in a demonstration or protest march	4	3	2	1	0	9

**12. During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views? [Read out options]**

	Never	Only once	A few times	Often	Don't know [DNR]
<b>A. A local government councillor</b>	0	1	2	3	9
<b>B. A member of Parliament</b>	0	1	2	3	9
<b>C. A political party official</b>	0	1	2	3	9
<b>D. A traditional leader</b>	0	1	2	3	9

**Let's talk about the last national election held in 2019.**

**13. People are not always able to vote in elections, for example, because they weren't registered, they were unable to go, or someone prevented them from voting. How about you? In the last national election held in 2019, did you vote, or not, or were you too young to vote? Or can't you remember whether you voted?**

I did not vote	0
I was too young to vote	1
I can't remember whether I voted	2
I voted in the election	3
Don't know [Do not read]	9

**14. On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last national election, held in 2019? Was it: [Read out options]**

Completely free and fair	4
Free and fair, but with minor problems	3
Free and fair, with major problems	2
Not free and fair	1
Do not understand question [Do not read]	8
Don't know [Do not read]	9

**15. Thinking about the last national election in 2019:**

	No	Yes	Don't know [DNR]
<b>A. Did you attend a campaign rally?</b>	0	1	9
<b>B. Did you work for a candidate or party?</b>	0	1	9
<b>C. Did any representative of a political party contact you during the campaign?</b>	0	1	9



**15D. [If yes to Q15C] Which party were they from? [Do not read options. Code from response. If more than one party made contact, select all parties that made contact.]**

African National Congress (ANC)	700
Democratic Alliance (DA)	701
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	702
Congress of the People (COPE)	703
Freedom Front Plus/ Vryheidsfront Plus (VF Plus)	704
Independent Democrats (ID)	705
Minority Front (MF)	706
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	707
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	708
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	709
National Democratic Convention (NADECO)	710
New National Party / Nuwe Nasionale Party (NNP)	711
Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)	712
United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)	713
Africa Muslim Party (AMP)	714
Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO)	715
United Independent Front (UIF)	716
African Independent Congress	717
Agang SA	718
Al Jama-ah	719
Black first land first (BLF)	720
First Nation Liberation Alliance	721
Front Nasionaal	722
Independent Civic Organisation of South Africa (ICOSA)	723
Keep It Straight and Simple (KISS)	724
Kingdom Governance Movement	725
National Freedom Party (NFP)	726
Pan Africanist Movement (PAM)	727
Patriotic Alliance	728
Peoples Alliance	729
Ubuntu Party	730
United Congress	731
Workers and Socialist Party (WASP)	732
Other [Specify]: _____	Post code
Not applicable [if respondent answered 0=No or 9=DK on Q15C]	9997
Don't know [Do not read]	9999

**16A. During the last national election campaign in 2019, how often did the media provide fair coverage of all candidates? [Read out options]**

Never	0
Sometimes	1
Often	2
Always	3
Don't know [Do not read]	9

**16B. During the last national election in 2019, how often, if ever, did a candidate or someone from a political party offer you something, like food, a gift, or money, in return for your vote? [Read out options]**

Never	0
Once or twice	1
Several times	2
Often	3
Don't know [Do not read]	9

17. In the last national election in 2019, how often did each of the following things happen? <i>[Read out options]</i>				
	Never	A few times	Often	Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
A. People's votes were not accurately counted or not fairly reflected in the results?	0	1	2	9
B. People voted more than once?	0	1	2	9

17C. How likely do you think it is that powerful people can find out how you voted, even though there is supposed to be a secret ballot in this country? <i>[Read out options]</i>	
Not at all likely	0
Not very likely	1
Somewhat likely	2
Very likely	3
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

17D. During the last national election campaign in 2019, how much did you personally fear becoming a victim of political intimidation or violence? <i>[Read out options]</i>	
Not at all	3
A little bit	2
Somewhat	1
A lot	0
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

18. During the last national election in 2019, did you witness:			
	No	Yes	Don't know / Can't remember <i>[DNR]</i>
A. Police or soldiers, rather than election officials, assisting some people to cast their ballot?	0	1	9
B. Anyone from the security forces or a political party trying to intimidate voters?	0	1	9

18C. With regard to the last national election in 2019, to what extent do you think the results announced by the Independent Electoral Commission accurately reflected the actual results as counted? <i>[Read out options]</i>	
Completely accurate	4
Mostly accurate, but with some minor discrepancies	3
Not very accurate, with major discrepancies	2
Not accurate at all	1
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

Let's talk for a moment about the kind of society you would like to have in this country. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. *[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree or agree very strongly?]*

19A.			
Statement 1: The government should be able to ban any organisation that goes against its policies.		Statement 2: We should be able to join any organisation, whether or not the government approves of it.	
Agree very strongly with Statement 1 1	Agree with Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

<b>19B.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: The media should have the right to publish any views and ideas without government control.</b>		<b>Statement 2: The government should have the right to prevent the media from publishing things that it disapproves of.</b>	
Agree very strongly with Statement 1 1	Agree with Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

<b>20. There are many ways to govern a country. Would you disapprove or approve of the following alternatives?</b> <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion.]</i>						
	Strongly disapprove	Disapprove	Neither approve nor disapprove <i>[DNR]</i>	Approve	Strongly approve	Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
<b>A. Only one political party is allowed to stand for election and hold office.</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>B. The army comes in to govern the country.</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>C. Elections and Parliament are abolished so that the president can decide everything.</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9

<b>21. Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?</b> <i>[Read out statements. Read the question in the language of the interview, but always read "democracy" in English. Translate "democracy" into local language only if respondent does not understand the term in the official language.]</i>	
<b>Statement 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.</b>	3
<b>Statement 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable.</b>	2
<b>Statement 3: For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have.</b>	1
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

<b>21-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?</b> <i>[Read out options]</i>	
Very willing	1
Willing	2
Unwilling	3
Very unwilling	4
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

<b>Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.</b> <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree or agree very strongly?]</i>			
<b>22.</b>			
<b>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.</b>		<b>Statement 2: It is more important for citizens to be able to hold government accountable, even if that means it makes decisions more slowly.</b>	
Agree very strongly with Statement 1 1	Agree with Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

<b>23.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: In order for our country to do well, we should listen more to the wisdom of our elders.</b>		<b>Statement 2: In order for our country to do well, we should listen more to fresh ideas from young people.</b>	
Agree very strongly with Statement 1 1	Agree with Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

<b>24.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: We should choose our leaders in this country through regular, open, and honest elections.</b>		<b>Statement 2: Since elections sometimes produce bad results, we should adopt other methods for choosing this country's leaders.</b>	
Agree very strongly with Statement 1 1	Agree with Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

<b>25.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: Political parties create division and confusion; it is therefore unnecessary to have many political parties in South Africa.</b>		<b>Statement 2: Many political parties are needed to make sure that South Africans have real choices in who governs them.</b>	
Agree very strongly with Statement 1 1	Agree with Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

**26. Not asked in South Africa.**

**27. Not asked in South Africa.**

<b>28.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: Experts with specialized education or skills are needed to help make the most important decisions for our country.</b>		<b>Statement 2: The people and their elected representatives know what is best; they do not need the advice of experts to run the country.</b>	
Agree very strongly with Statement 1 1	Agree with Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

<b>29.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: Parliament should ensure that the president explains to it on a regular basis how his government spends taxpayers' money.</b>		<b>Statement 2: The president should be able to devote his full attention to developing the country rather than wasting time justifying his actions.</b>	
Agree very strongly with Statement 1 1	Agree with Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

<b>30.</b>			
<b>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.</b>		<b>Statement 2: The president must always obey the laws and the courts, even if he thinks they are wrong.</b>	
Agree very strongly with Statement 1 1	Agree with Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

**31. Not asked in South Africa.**

<b>32.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: A government that enjoys the support of the people should be free to do whatever the people want, even if it is outside the law.</b>		<b>Statement 2: The actions of any government, no matter how popular it is, must always follow the law.</b>	
Agree very strongly with Statement 1 1	Agree with Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

<b>33.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: The news media should constantly investigate and report on government mistakes and corruption.</b>		<b>Statement 2: Too much reporting on negative events, like government mistakes and corruption, only harms the country.</b>	
Agree very strongly with Statement 1 1	Agree with Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

<b>34.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: The Constitution should limit the president to serving a maximum of two terms in office.</b>		<b>Statement 2: There should be no constitutional limit on how long the president can serve.</b>	
Agree very strongly with Statement 1 1	Agree with Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

<b>35A. Should there be a minimum age for candidates for president?</b>	
No, no minimum	0
Yes, should be a minimum	1
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9
<b>35B. <i>[If yes]</i> What should the minimum age be?</b>	
Not applicable <i>[If response to Q35A was 0=No or 9=Don't know (tablet will do automatic skip)]</i>	997
Enter age	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	999

<b>35C. Should there be a maximum age for candidates for president?</b>	
No, no maximum	0
Yes, should be a maximum	1
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9
<b>35D. <i>[If yes]</i> What should the maximum age be?</b>	
Not applicable <i>[If response to Q35C was 0=No or 9=Don't know (tablet will do automatic skip)]</i>	997
Enter age	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	999

<b>Now let us speak about the political system in this country.</b>	
<b>36. In your opinion, how much of a democracy is South Africa today?</b> <i>[Read out options. Accept only one option. Read the question in the language of the interview, but always read "democracy" in English. Translate "democracy" into local language only if respondent does not understand the term in the official language.]</i>	
A full democracy	4
A democracy, but with minor problems	3
A democracy, with major problems	2
Not a democracy	1
Do not understand question / Do not understand what "democracy" is <i>[Do not read]</i>	8
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

**37. Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in South Africa? Are you:** *[Read out options. Only one option to be chosen. Read the question in the language of the interview, but always read "democracy" in English. Translate "democracy" into local language only if respondent does not understand the term in the official language.]*

Very satisfied?	4
Fairly satisfied?	3
Not very satisfied?	2
Not at all satisfied?	1
South Africa is not a democracy <i>[Do not read]</i>	0
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

**38. How much of the time do you think the following try their best to listen to what people like you have to say?** *[Read out options]*

	Never	Only sometimes	Often	Always	Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
<b>A. Members of Parliament</b>	0	1	2	3	9
<b>B. Members of local government council</b>	0	1	2	3	9
<b>C. Traditional leaders</b>	0	1	2	3	9

**39. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you disagree or agree.** *[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]*

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree <i>[DNR]</i>	Agree	Strongly agree	Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
<b>A. The tax authorities always have the right to make people pay taxes.</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>B. Information held by public authorities is only for use by government officials; it should not have to be shared with the public.</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9

**40. In your opinion, how often, in this country:** *[Read out options]*

	Always	Often	Rarely	Never	Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
<b>A. Does competition between political parties lead to violent conflict?</b>	3	2	1	0	9
<b>B. Does the president ignore the courts and laws of this country?</b>	3	2	1	0	9
<b>C. Does the president ignore Parliament and just do what he wants?</b>	3	2	1	0	9
<b>D. Do people have to be careful of what they say about politics?</b>	3	2	1	0	9
<b>E. Are people treated unequally under the law?</b>	3	2	1	0	9
<b>F. Do officials who commit crimes go unpunished?</b>	3	2	1	0	9
<b>G. Do ordinary people who break the law go unpunished?</b>	3	2	1	0	9

41. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? <i>[Read out options]</i>					
	Not at all	Just a little	Somewhat	A lot	Don't know/ Haven't heard <i>[DNR]</i>
A. The president	0	1	2	3	9
B. Parliament	0	1	2	3	9
C. Independent Electoral Commission or IEC	0	1	2	3	9
D. Your local government council	0	1	2	3	9
D1-SAF. The Premier of this Province	0	1	2	3	9
E. The ruling party	0	1	2	3	9
F. Opposition political parties	0	1	2	3	9
G. The police	0	1	2	3	9
H. The South African National Defence Force	0	1	2	3	9
I. Courts of law	0	1	2	3	9
J. The South African Revenue Service	0	1	2	3	9
K. Traditional leaders	0	1	2	3	9
L. Religious leaders	0	1	2	3	9
M-SAF. The Public Protector	0	1	2	3	9
N-SAF. Government broadcasting service like, SABC TV and radio	0	1	2	3	9
O-SAF. Independent broadcasting services like ETV, Radio 702 and community radio stations	0	1	2	3	9
P-SAF. The Department of Health	0	1	2	3	9

42. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? <i>[Read out options]</i>					
	None	Some of them	Most of them	All of them	Don't know/ Haven't heard <i>[DNR]</i>
A. The president and officials in his office	0	1	2	3	9
B. Members of Parliament	0	1	2	3	9
C. Civil servants	0	1	2	3	9
D. Local Government councillors	0	1	2	3	9
E. Police	0	1	2	3	9
F. Judges and magistrates	0	1	2	3	9
G. Tax officials, like officials from the South African Revenue Service	0	1	2	3	9
H. Traditional leaders	0	1	2	3	9
I. Religious leaders	0	1	2	3	9

43A. In your opinion, over the past year, has the level of corruption in this country increased, decreased, or stayed the same? <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion.]</i>	
Increased a lot	1
Increased somewhat	2
Stayed the same	3
Decreased somewhat	4
Decreased a lot	5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

43B. In this country, can ordinary people report incidents of corruption without fear, or do they risk retaliation or other negative consequences if they speak out?	
Can report without fear	0
Risk retaliation or other negative consequences	1
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

44. Now I would like to talk to you about experiences that some people have in accessing certain essential government services.						
	No		Yes		Don't know [DNR]	
<b>A. In the past 12 months, have you had contact with a public school?</b>	0		1		9	
	No contact [DNR]	Very easy	Easy	Difficult	Very difficult	Don't know [DNR]
<b>B. [If respondent answered 1=Yes to part A, ask parts B and C. If respondent answered 0=No, 8=Refused or 9=Don't know to part A, select 7=NA for parts B and C and continue to part D (tablet will do an automatic skip).] How easy or difficult was it to obtain the services you needed from teachers or school officials? [Read out options]</b>	7	1	2	3	4	9
	No contact [DNR]	Never	Once or twice	A few times	Often	Don't know [DNR]
<b>C. 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? [Read out options]</b>	7	0	1	2	3	9
	No		Yes		Don't know [DNR]	
<b>D. In the past 12 months, have you had contact with a public clinic or hospital?</b>	0		1		9	
	No contact [DNR]	Very easy	Easy	Difficult	Very difficult	Don't know [DNR]
<b>E. [If respondent answered 1=Yes to part D, ask parts E and F. If respondent answered 0=No, 8=Refused or 9=Don't know to part D, select 7=NA for parts E and F and continue to part G (tablet will do an automatic skip).] How easy or difficult was it to obtain the medical care you needed? [Read out options]</b>	7	1	2	3	4	9
	No contact [DNR]	Never	Once or twice	A few times	Often	Don't know [DNR]
<b>F. 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? [Read out options]</b>	7	0	1	2	3	9
	No		Yes		Don't know [DNR]	
<b>G. 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 permit from government?</b>	0		1		9	
	No contact [DNR]	Very easy	Easy	Difficult	Very difficult	Don't know [DNR]
<b>H. [If respondent answered 1=Yes to part G, ask parts H and I. If respondent answered 0=No, 8=Refused or 9=Don't know to part G, select 7=NA for parts H and I and continue to part J (tablet will do an automatic skip).] How easy or difficult was it to obtain the document you needed? [Read out options]</b>	7	1	2	3	4	9
	No contact [DNR]	Never	Once or twice	A few times	Often	Don't know [DNR]
<b>I. 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? [Read out options]</b>	7	0	1	2	3	9



	No	Yes			Don't know [DNR]	
<b>J. In the past 12 months, have you requested assistance from the police?</b>	0	1			9	
	No contact [DNR]	Very easy	Easy	Difficult	Very difficult	Don't know [DNR]
<b>K. If respondent answered 1=Yes to part J, ask parts K and L. If respondent answered 0=No, 8=Refused or 9=Don't know to part J, select 7=NA for parts K and L and continue to part M (tablet will do an automatic skip). How easy or difficult was it to obtain the assistance you needed? [Read out options]</b>	7	1	2	3	4	9
	No contact [DNR]	Never	Once or twice	A few times	Often	Don't know [DNR]
<b>L. 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? [Read out options]</b>	7	0	1	2	3	9
	No contact [DNR]	Never	Once or twice	A few times	Often	Don't know [DNR]
<b>M. In the past 12 months, how often have you encountered the police in other situations, like at checkpoints, during identity checks or traffic stops, or during an investigation? [Read out options]</b>		0	1	2	3	9
<b>N. If respondent answered 0=Never, 8=Refused or 9=Don't know to part M, select 7=NA for part N and continue to Q45 (tablet will do an automatic skip). Otherwise ask: 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 avoid a problem during one of these encounters? [Read out options]</b>	7	0	1	2	3	9

**Now let us talk about the tax system in this country.**

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

*[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree or agree very strongly?]*

**45.**

**Statement 1: It is better to pay higher taxes if it means that there will be more services provided by government.**

**Statement 2: It is better to pay lower taxes, even if it means there will be fewer services provided by government.**

Agree very strongly with Statement 1 1	Agree with Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree with neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

**46. Based on your experience, how easy or difficult is it to do each of the following? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]**

	Very easy	Easy	Difficult	Very difficult	Don't know [DNR]
<b>A. To find out what taxes and fees you are supposed to pay to the government?</b>	1	2	3	4	9
<b>B. To find out how government uses the revenues from people's taxes and fees?</b>	1	2	3	4	9

**46C. Do you think that the amount of taxes that ordinary people in South Africa are required to pay to the government is too little, too much, or about the right amount? [Probe for strength of opinion.]**

Far too little	1
Somewhat too little	2
About the right amount	3
Somewhat too much	4
Far too much	5
Don't know [Do not read]	9

**46D. Do you think that the amount of taxes that rich people in South Africa are required to pay to the government is too little, too much, or about the right amount? [Probe for strength of opinion]**

Far too little	1
Somewhat too little	2
About the right amount	3
Somewhat too much	4
Far too much	5
Don't know [Do not read]	9

**47. Do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]**

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree [DNR]	Agree	Strongly agree	Don't know [DNR]
<b>A. Government should make sure small traders and other people working in the informal sector pay taxes on their businesses.</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>B. It is fair to tax rich people at a higher rate than ordinary people in order to help pay for government programs to benefit the poor.</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>C. The government usually uses the tax revenues it collects for the well-being of citizens.</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9

**47D. In your opinion, how often, in this country, do people avoid paying the taxes that they owe the government? [Read out options]**

Always	3
Often	2
Rarely	1
Never	0
Don't know [Do not read]	9

48. In your opinion, what are the most important problems facing this country that government should address? [Do not read options. Code from responses. Accept up to three answers. If respondent offers more than three options, ask "Which three of these are the most important?" If respondent offers one or two answers, ask "Anything else?"]				
		1 <sup>st</sup> response	2 <sup>nd</sup> response	3 <sup>rd</sup> response
<b>Economics</b>				
Management of the economy		1	1	1
Wages, incomes, and salaries		2	2	2
Unemployment		3	3	3
Poverty / Destitution		4	4	4
Rates and taxes		5	5	5
Loans / Credit		6	6	6
<b>Food / Agriculture</b>				
Farming / Agriculture		7	7	7
Agricultural marketing		32	32	32
Food shortage / Famine		8	8	8
Drought		9	9	9
Land		10	10	10
<b>Infrastructure</b>				
Transportation		11	11	11
Communications		12	12	12
Infrastructure / Roads		13	13	13
<b>Government services</b>				
Education		14	14	14
Housing		15	15	15
Electricity		16	16	16
Water supply		17	17	17
Orphans / Street children / Homeless children		18	18	18
Services (other)		19	19	19
<b>Health</b>				
Health		20	20	20
AIDS		21	21	21
Sickness / Disease		22	22	22
<b>Governance</b>				
Crime and security		23	23	23
Corruption		24	24	24
Political violence		25	25	25
Political instability / Political divisions / Ethnic tensions		26	26	26
Discrimination / Inequality		27	27	27
Gender issues / Women's rights		28	28	28
Democracy / Political rights		29	29	29
War (international)		30	30	30
Civil war		31	31	31
<b>Other responses</b>				
Climate change		33	33	33
Nothing / No problems		0		
Other (1 <sup>st</sup> response) [Specify] _____	Post Code			
Other (2 <sup>nd</sup> response) [Specify] _____	Post Code			
Other (3 <sup>rd</sup> response) [Specify] _____	Post Code			
No further reply			9996	9996
Don't know		9999		

<b>49A. If the government decided to make people pay more taxes in order to support programs to help young people, would you support this decision or oppose it? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion.]</b>	
Strongly oppose	1
Somewhat oppose	2
Neither support nor oppose [Do not read]	3
Somewhat support	4
Strongly support	5
It depends (e.g., on size of the increase) [Do not read]	6
Don't know [Do not read]	9

<b>49B. If the government could increase its spending on programs to help young people, which of the following areas do you think should be the highest priority for additional investment? [Read out options]</b>	
Job creation	1
Education	2
Jobs training	3
Business loans	4
Social services for youth, for example to improve health and prevent drug abuse?	5
None of the above / Some other program [Do not read]	0
Government should not increase it's spending on programs to help young people [Do not read]	6
Don't know [Do not read]	9

**Now let's speak about the performance of the present government of this country.**

**50. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]**

	Very badly	Fairly badly	Fairly well	Very well	Don't know/Haven't heard enough [DNR]
<b>A. Managing the economy</b>	1	2	3	4	9
<b>B. Improving the living standards of the poor</b>	1	2	3	4	9
<b>C. Creating jobs</b>	1	2	3	4	9
<b>D. Keeping prices stable</b>	1	2	3	4	9
<b>E. Narrowing gaps between rich and poor</b>	1	2	3	4	9
<b>F. Reducing crime</b>	1	2	3	4	9
<b>G. Improving basic health services</b>	1	2	3	4	9
<b>H. Addressing educational needs</b>	1	2	3	4	9
<b>I. Providing water and sanitation services</b>	1	2	3	4	9
<b>J. Fighting corruption in government</b>	1	2	3	4	9
<b>K. Maintaining roads and bridges</b>	1	2	3	4	9
<b>L. Providing a reliable supply of electricity</b>	1	2	3	4	9
<b>M. Preventing or resolving violent conflict</b>	1	2	3	4	9
<b>N. Addressing the needs of young people</b>	1	2	3	4	9
<b>O. Protecting rights and promoting opportunities for disabled people</b>	1	2	3	4	9
<b>P-SAF. Managing immigration</b>	1	2	3	4	9
<b>Q-SAF. Managing the economic effects of the COVID-19 lockdown</b>	1	2	3	4	9

**51. 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? [Interviewer:Probe for strength of opinion]**

	Not applicable [DNR]	Strongly disapprove	Disapprove	Approve	Strongly approve	Don't know/ Haven't heard enough [DNR]
A. President Cyril Ramaphosa		1	2	3	4	9
B. Your member of Parliament		1	2	3	4	9
B1-SAF. The Premier of this province		1	2	3	4	9
C. Your elected local government councillor		1	2	3	4	9
D. Your traditional leader	7	1	2	3	4	9

**52. Who should be responsible for: [Read out options]**

	The president/ executive	Parliament/ local government council	Their political party	The voters	No one [DNR]	Don't know [DNR]
A. Making sure that, once elected, members of Parliament do their jobs?	0	1	2	3	4	9
B. Making sure that, once elected, the president does his job?	0	1	2	3	4	9

**53. Think about how elections work in practice in this country. How well do elections: [Read out options]**

	Very well	Well	Not very well	Not at all well	Don't know [DNR]
A. Not asked in South Africa					
B. Enable voters to remove from office leaders who do not do what the people want?	3	2	1	0	9

**53C. How often do you think that communities that do not vote for the ruling party suffer negative consequences, such as lack of government support for local services or development projects? [Read out options]**

Never	0
Rarely	1
Sometimes	2
Often	3
Always	4
Don't know [Do not read]	9

**54. In any society, people will sometimes disagree with one another. These disagreements occasionally escalate into physical violence. Please tell me whether, in the past two years, you have ever personally feared any of the following types of violence. [If yes] Have you actually personally experienced this type of violence in the past two years?**

	NO	YES		Don't know [DNR]
	Never	Feared, but didn't experience	Feared and experienced	
A. Violence among people in your neighbourhood or village?	0	1	2	9
B. Violence at a political rally or public protest?	0	1	2	9
C. An armed attack by political or religious extremists?	0	1	2	9

**Now let us talk about the media and how you get information about politics and other issues.**

**55. How often do you get news from the following sources? [Read out options]**

	Every day	A few times a week	A few times a month	Less than once a month	Never	Don't know [DNR]
A. Radio	4	3	2	1	0	9
B. Television	4	3	2	1	0	9
C. Print newspapers	4	3	2	1	0	9
D. Internet	4	3	2	1	0	9
E. Social media such as Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp or others	4	3	2	1	0	9

**56. In your opinion, how free is the news media in this country to report and comment on the news without censorship or interference by the government? [Read out options]**

Completely free	3
Somewhat free	2
Not very free	1
Not at all free	0
Don't know [DNR]	9

**57. Please tell me how often, in this country, you think people from each of the following groups spread information that they know is false? [Read out options]**

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Don't know/ Haven't heard [DNR]
A. Government officials	0	1	2	3	9
B. Politicians and political parties	0	1	2	3	9
C. News media and journalists	0	1	2	3	9
D. Social media users	0	1	2	3	9
E. Not asked in South Africa					

**Let's talk about whether the government should be able to limit the sharing of news, information, or opinions on radio and TV, in newspapers, or on the internet and social media.**

**58. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree that the government should be able to limit or prohibit sharing of: [Probe for strength of opinion]**

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree [DNR]	Agree	Strongly agree	Don't know [DNR]
A. News or information that is false	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. News, information, or opinions that the government disapproves of	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. News, information, or opinions that criticize or insult the president	1	2	3	4	5	9
D. Hate speech, that is, news, information, or opinions designed to attack or vilify certain groups in society	1	2	3	4	5	9

<b>59A. Have you heard about social media, for example, Facebook, Twitter, and WhatsApp?</b>							
No	0						
Yes	1						
Don't know	9						
<i>[If yes] Regardless of whether you personally use social media yourself, please tell me whether you agree or disagree that social media: [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion] [If answer to Q59A was 0=No or 9=DK, select 7 = NA for all parts B-F and continue to Q60 (tablet will do an automatic skip)]</i>							
	Not applicable	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree [DNR]	Agree	Strongly agree	Don't know [DNR]
<b>B. Makes people more informed about current events?</b>	7	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>C. Makes people more likely to believe false news?</b>	7	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>D. Helps people have more impact on political processes?</b>	7	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>E. Makes people more intolerant of those who have different political opinions?</b>	7	1	2	3	4	5	9

<b>59F. [If yes on Q59A] Overall, do you think that the effects of social media on society are mostly positive, mostly negative, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Probe for strength of opinion]</b>	
Very positive	5
Somewhat positive	4
Neither positive nor negative [DNR]	3
Somewhat negative	2
Very negative	1
Not applicable [if response on Q59A was 0=No or 9=DK (tablet will do an automatic skip)]	7
Don't know / Haven't heard enough [DNR]	9

<b>Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.</b> <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree or agree very strongly?]</i>			
<b>60.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: Unrestricted access to the Internet and social media helps people to be more informed and active citizens, and should be protected.</b>		<b>Statement 2: Information shared on the Internet and social media is dividing South Africans, so access should be regulated by government.</b>	
Agree very strongly with Statement 1 1	Agree with Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree with neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

<b>Now let's talk about how our country should relate to other countries in Southern Africa and in the world.</b>			
<b>Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.</b> <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree or agree very strongly?]</i>			
<b>61.</b>			
<b>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.</b>		<b>Statement 2: In order to protect their own citizens, governments should limit the cross-border movement of people and goods.</b>	
Agree very strongly with Statement 1 1	Agree with Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree with neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

<b>62. 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? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion.]</b>	
Very easy	4
Easy	3
Difficult	2
Very difficult	1
Never try [Do not read]	7
Don't know / Haven't heard enough [Do not read]	9

<b>Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.</b> [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: <b>Do you agree or agree very strongly?</b> ]			
<b>63.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: It is important that as an independent nation, we finance development from our own resources, even if it means paying more taxes.</b>		<b>Statement 2: We should use external loans for the development of the country, even if it increases our indebtedness to foreign countries and institutions.</b>	
Agree very strongly with Statement 1 1	Agree with Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree with neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

<b>64A.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: When other countries give loans or development assistance to South Africa, they should enforce strict requirements on how the funds are spent.</b>		<b>Statement 2: When other countries give South Africa loans or development assistance, they should allow our government to make its own decisions about how to use the resources.</b>	
Agree very strongly with Statement 1 1	Agree with Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree with neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

<b>64B.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: When other countries give loans or development assistance to South Africa, they should enforce strict requirements to make sure our government promotes democracy and respects human rights.</b>		<b>Statement 2: Even if other countries give South Africa loans or development assistance, our government should make its own decisions about democracy and human rights.</b>	
Agree very strongly with Statement 1 1	Agree with Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree with neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

<b>65A. To your knowledge, does China give loans or development assistance to our country's government, or haven't you had a chance to hear about this?</b>	
No	0
Yes	1
Don't know	9
<b>65B. [If yes on Q65A] Do you think that our government is required to repay China for the loans and development assistance it provides to South Africa, or haven't you heard enough to say?</b>	
No	0
Yes	1
Not applicable [If response to Q65A was 0=No or 9=DK (tablet will do an automatic skip)]	7
Don't know / Haven't heard enough [DNR]	9
<b>65C. [If yes on Q65A] Do you think our government has borrowed too much money from China, or haven't you heard enough to say?</b>	
No	0
Yes	1
Not applicable [If response to Q65A was 0=No or 9=DK (tablet will do an automatic skip)]	7
Don't know / Haven't heard enough [DNR]	9



<b>65D. [If yes on Q65A] When the government of China gives loans or development assistance to South Africa, do you think they put more requirements or fewer requirements on our government compared to other donor countries, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Probe for strength of opinion]</b>	
Far fewer requirements	0
Somewhat fewer requirements	1
About the same number of requirements	2
Somewhat more requirements	3
Many more requirements	4
Not applicable [If response to Q65A was 0=No or 9=DK9 (tablet will do an automatic skip)]	7
Don't know / Haven't heard enough [DNR]	9

<b>Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.</b> [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: <b>Do you agree or agree very strongly?</b> ]			
<b>66.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: In order to develop, our country must rely on trade with the rest of the world, including by opening our borders to foreign imports.</b>		<b>Statement 2: In order to develop, our country must rely on local production and protect local producers from foreign competition.</b>	
Agree very strongly with Statement 1 1	Agree with Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree with neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

<b>67.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: The government should only allow citizens and companies of our own country to trade in consumer goods, even if this means we will have fewer goods or higher prices.</b>		<b>Statement 2: The government should continue to permit foreigners and foreign corporations to set up retail shops in this country to ensure we have a wide choice of low-cost consumer goods.</b>	
Agree very strongly with Statement 1 1	Agree with Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree with neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

<b>68.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: Communities are stronger when they are made up of people from different ethnic groups, races, or religions.</b>		<b>Statement 2: Communities are stronger when they are made up of people who are similar to each other, that is, people from the same ethnic group, race, or religion.</b>	
Agree very strongly with Statement 1 1	Agree with Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree with neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

<b>69A. In your opinion, which of the following countries, if any, would be the best model for the future development of our country, or is there some other country in Africa or elsewhere, that should be our model? [Read out options]</b>				
United States	1			
China	2			
Britain	3			
South Africa	5			
Ethiopia	6			
We should follow our own country's model [Do not read]	7			
None of these / There is no role model [Do not read]	0			
Other country [Specify]: _____ [Do not read]	Post code			
Don't know [Do not read]	9999			

**69B. 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? [Read out options]**

A lot	3
Some	2
A little	1
None	0
Don't know / Haven't heard enough [Do not read]	9

**70. In general, do you think that the economic and political influence of each of the following organizations on South Africa is mostly positive, mostly negative, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Probe for strength of opinion]**

	Very negative	Somewhat negative	Neither positive nor negative	Somewhat positive	Very positive	Don't know [DNR]
<b>A. African Union</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>B. SADC</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>C. United Nations agencies</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9

**And what about the following countries? Do you think that the economic and political influence of each of the following countries on South Africa is mostly positive, mostly negative, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Probe for strength of opinion]**

	Very negative	Somewhat negative	Neither positive nor negative	Somewhat positive	Very positive	Don't know [DNR]
<b>D. Britain</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>E. China</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>F. United States</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>G. Zimbabwe</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>H. Russia</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9

**71. In thinking about the future of the next generation in our country, which of these international languages, if any, do you think is most important for young people to learn? [Read out options]**

English	1
French	2
Portuguese	3
Arabic	4
Chinese	5
Kiswahili	6
Other [Specify] [DNR] _____	Post code
None of these / No international language needed [Do not read]	0
Don't know [Do not read]	9

**72A. Have you heard about climate change, or haven't you had the chance to hear about this yet?**

No	0
Yes	1
Don't know	9
<b>72B. [If 1=yes to Q72A] Do you think climate change is making life in South Africa better or worse, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Interviewer: probe for strength of opinion]</b>	
Much better	1
Somewhat better	2
Neither / No change / About the same [Do not read]	3
Somewhat worse	4
Much worse	5
Not applicable [If response on Q72A was 0=No or 9=DK (tablet will do an automatic skip)]	7
Don't know / Haven't heard enough [Do not read]	9

Let's talk for a moment about the kind of society you would like to have in this country. Some people say that, in order to enjoy security from violence in our society, we must limit the amount of freedom that citizens are allowed to enjoy. Others say that political liberty is too important to sacrifice and must always be maintained, even if it threatens the security of the country.

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

[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: **Do you agree or agree very strongly?**]

73.			
<b>Statement 1: Even if faced with threats to public security, people should be free to move about the country at any time of day or night.</b>		<b>Statement 2: When faced with threats to public security, the government should be able to impose curfews and set up special roadblocks to prevent people from moving around.</b>	
Agree very strongly with Statement 1 1	Agree with Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree with neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

74.			
<b>Statement 1: Government should be able to monitor private communications, for example on mobile phones, to make sure that people are not plotting violence.</b>		<b>Statement 2: People should have the right to communicate in private without a government agency reading or listening to what they are saying.</b>	
Agree very strongly with Statement 1 1	Agree with Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree with neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

75.			
<b>Statement 1: Freedom of religion and worship are absolute, meaning that government should never limit what is said in a place of worship.</b>		<b>Statement 2: Government should have the power to regulate what is said in places of worship, especially if preachers or congregants threaten public security.</b>	
Agree very strongly with Statement 1 1	Agree with Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree with neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

<b>76-SAF. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you disagree or agree. [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]</b>							
		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree [DNR]	Agree	Strongly agree	Don't know [DNR]
A.	Government has a duty to provide adequate housing to all South Africans who cannot afford shelter	1	2	3	4	5	9
B.	The government should prioritize the provision of housing over land redistribution	1	2	3	4	5	9

<b>76C-SAF. If government prioritizes the provision of housing to South Africans who cannot afford shelter, where, in your opinion, should such housing be located? [Read out options]</b>	
In rural areas	1
In or close to the central business district of urban centres	2
In the suburbs of urban centres	3
On the outskirts of urban centres	4
None of these [Do not read]	5
Don't know/Haven't heard enough [Do not read]	9

<b>77A-SAF. Let's take a moment to talk about domestic violence, that is violence between intimate partners in South Africa. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree or agree very strongly?]</b>			
<b>Statement 1: Domestic violence is a private matter that needs to be handled and resolved within the family</b>		<b>Statement 2: Domestic violence is a criminal matter whose full resolution requires the involvement of law enforcement agency.</b>	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

<b>77B-SAF. In your opinion, has the level of gender-based violence in this country increased, decreased, or stayed the same over the past year? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion.]</b>	
Increased a lot	1
Increased somewhat	2
Stayed the same	3
Decreased somewhat	4
Decreased a lot	5
Don't know [Do not read]	9

<b>77C-SAF. There are several factors that contribute to domestic violence. In your opinion, which of the following factors would you say is the main cause of domestic violence in South Africa today? [Interviewer: Read out response options]</b>	
Cultural and traditional values	1
Alcohol abuse	2
Drug abuse	3
Poverty	4
Unemployment	5
Previous exposure to violence	6
All of the above [Do not read]	7
None of the above [Do not read]	8

<b>78A-SAF. Are you currently covered by any kind of health insurance or some other kind of health care plan?</b>	
No	0
Yes	1
Don't know [Do not read]	9

<b>78B-SAF. [If No to 78A] There are many reasons that people do not have health insurance coverage. Would you say that you are currently uninsured because: [Interviewer: Read out response options]</b>	
<b>You do not need or want coverage</b>	1
<b>You do not know how to sign up</b>	2
<b>You cannot find a plan that meets your needs</b>	3
<b>Available options are too expensive</b>	4
None of the above <i>[Do not read]</i>	6
Not Applicable	7
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

**78C-SAF. When you need medical assistance, do you predominantly use public or private healthcare facilities? [If the respondent says both, prompt:] which option do you use the most frequently?**

Public	1
Private	2
Don't know [Do not read]	9

**78D-SAF. [Skip if 78C-SAF was 9=Don't know ] Are you happy with the level of care you receive in [public or private] health care facilities?**

No	0
Yes	1
Not Applicable	7
Don't know [Do not read]	9

**78-SAF. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you disagree or agree. [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]**

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree [DNR]	Agree	Strongly agree	Don't know [DNR]
E.	The quality of healthcare should be based on what one can afford, even if this means people having different quality of services.	1	2	3	4	5	9
F.	Government would be justified to levy additional taxes to fund the National Health Insurance, in order to provide better quality healthcare services for all.	1	2	3	4	5	9

**79-SAF. For each of the following types of people, please tell me whether you would like having a family member marry people from this group, dislike it, or not care: [Probe for strength of opinion]**

		Strongly dislike	Somewhat dislike	Would not care	Somewhat like	Strongly like	Don't know [DNR]
A.	Someone from a different religion	1	2	3	4	5	9
B.	Someone from a different ethnic group	1	2	3	4	5	9

**79-SAF. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? [Read out options]**

		Not at all	Just a little	Somewhat	A lot	Don't know/ Haven't heard [DNR]
C.	People from other religions	0	1	2	3	9
D.	People from other ethnic groups	0	1	2	3	9

**80-SAF. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]**

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree [DNR]	Agree	Strongly agree	Don't know [DNR]
A.	I feel strong ties with other South Africans.	1	2	3	4	5	9
B.	Other South Africans think of me as a South African just like them.	1	2	3	4	5	9

Let's go back to talking about you.				
<b>81. What is your ethnic community, or cultural group?</b> [Do NOT read options. Code from response] [If respondent does not identify any group on this question – that is, IF they REFUSE to answer (9998), DON'T KNOW (9999) or mention “South African only (9990)”– then select 7=Not applicable for Q82A and Q82B and continue to Q82C (for interviews on tablets the skip will be done automatically)]				
English	700	Venda	709	
Afrikaans / Afrikaner / Boer	701	Zulu	710	
Ndebele	702	White / European	711	
Xhosa	703	Coloured	712	
Pedi/North Sotho	704	Indian	713	
Sotho/South Sotho	705	South African only, or “doesn't think of self in those terms”	9990	
Tswana	706	Refused to answer	9998	
Shangaan / Tsonga	707	Don't know	9999	
Swazi	708	Other [Specify]:	Post code	

<b>82A. How often, if ever, are _____s [R's ethnic group] treated unfairly by the government?</b> [Read out options] [If response to Q81 was 9990=South African only, 9998=Refused, or 9999=DK, select 7 = Not applicable for Q82A and Q82B and continue to Q82C (tablet will do an automatic skip)]	
Never	0
Sometimes	1
Often	2
Always	3
Not applicable [Do not read]	7
Don't know [Do not read]	9

<b>82B. 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?</b> [If response to Q81 was 9990=South African only, 9998=Refused or 9999=DK, select 7=Not applicable for Q82B and continue to Q82C (tablet will do an automatic skip)]	
I feel only South African	5
I feel more South African than _____ [insert R's ethnic group]	4
I feel equally South African and _____ [insert R's ethnic group]	3
I feel more _____ [insert R's ethnic group] than South African	2
I feel only _____ [insert R's ethnic group]	1
Not applicable [Do not read]	7
Don't know [Do not read]	9

82. Do you feel comfortable:				
	No	Yes	Not applicable [DNR; Use only if respondent volunteers e.g. that they do not speak their mother tongue, or that they do not have a traditional or cultural dress]	Don't know [DNR]
<b>C. Speaking your mother tongue in public?</b>	0	1	7	9
<b>D. Wearing your traditional or cultural dress in public?</b>	0	1	7	9

<b>83. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you must be very careful in dealing with people?</b>	
Most people can be trusted	1
Must be very careful	0
Don't know [Do not read]	9

<b>84. In the past year, how often, if ever, have you personally been treated unfairly by other South Africans based on:</b> <i>[Read out options]</i>					
	Never	Once or twice	Several times	Many times	Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
<b>A. Your economic status, that is, how rich or poor you are</b>	0	1	2	3	9
<b>B. Your religion?</b>	0	1	2	3	9
<b>C. Your ethnicity?</b>	0	1	2	3	9

<b>85. South Africans are very diverse. They come from different religions, ethnic groups, political parties, and economic and social backgrounds. Overall, would you say that there is more that unites all South Africans as one people, or more that divides them?</b> <i>[Probe for strength of opinion]</i>	
Much more that unites us	4
Somewhat more that unites us	3
Somewhat more that divides us	2
Much more that divides us	1
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

<b>86. 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:</b> <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]</i>						
	Strongly dislike	Somewhat dislike	Would not care	Somewhat like	Strongly like	Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
<b>A. People of a different religion?</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>B. People from other ethnic groups?</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>C. Homosexuals?</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>D. Immigrants or foreign workers?</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>E. Not asked in South Africa</b>						

<b>Now let's talk about traditional leaders and their role in politics and government in this country.</b>					
<b>87. How much influence do traditional leaders currently have in each of the following areas:</b> <i>[Read out options]</i>					
	A lot	Some	A small amount	None	Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
<b>A. Governing your local community</b>	4	3	2	1	9
<b>B. Allocating land</b>	4	3	2	1	9
<b>C. Influencing how people in their communities vote</b>	4	3	2	1	9
<b>D. Solving local disputes</b>	4	3	2	1	9

<b>87E. Do you think that the amount of influence traditional leaders have in governing your local community should increase, stay the same, or decrease?</b> <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion.]</i>	
Increase a lot	5
Increase somewhat	4
Stay the same	3
Decrease somewhat	2
Decrease a lot	1
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

<b>88. Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?</b> <i>[Read out statements. Only one option to be chosen.]</i>	
<b>Statement 1: Traditional leaders mostly look out for what is best for the people in their communities.</b>	3
<b>Statement 2: Traditional leaders mostly serve the interests of politicians and government officials.</b>	2
<b>Statement 3: Traditional leaders mostly look out for their own personal interests.</b>	1
Do not agree with any of these statements <i>[DNR]</i>	0
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9



<b>Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.</b> <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree or agree very strongly?]</i>			
<b>89A.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: Traditional leaders have a better grasp of political issues than ordinary people; they should give their people advice about how to vote.</b>		<b>Statement 2: Traditional leaders should stay out of politics and leave people to make their own decisions about how to vote.</b>	
Strongly agree with Statement 1 1	Agree with Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Strongly agree with Statement 2 4
Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

**89B. Not Asked in South Africa**

<b>90. Some people think that because traditional leaders are not elected, they are bad for democracy, but other people think that traditional leaders can work together with elected leaders to make democracy work better. What about you? Do you think that traditional leaders strengthen democracy, weaken democracy, or don't make a difference?</b>	
Strengthen democracy	3
Don't make a difference	2
Weaken democracy	1
Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>	9

**Now I would like to ask you some questions about the COVID-19 pandemic that has been affecting our country and the world since early 2020.**

**COV-1. How well informed would you say you are about the coronavirus, or the COVID-19 pandemic, and efforts to combat it? Would you consider yourself:** *[Read out options]*

Very well informed	4
Somewhat well informed	3
Not very well informed	2
Not at all informed	1
Haven't heard of coronavirus / COVID-19 <i>[Do not read]</i> <i>[Skip to question 91A]</i>	0
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i> <i>[Skip to question 91A and end interview]</i>	9

**Please tell me if you personally or any other member of your household have been affected in any of the following ways by the COVID-19 pandemic:**

	Yes	No	Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
<b>COV-2. Became ill with COVID-19</b>	1	2	9
<b>COV-3 Temporarily or permanently lost a job, business or primary source of income</b>	1	2	9

**COV-4. Not asked in South Africa.**

**COV-5. How easy or difficult was it for you and your household to comply with the lockdown or curfew restrictions imposed by the government?** *[Read out options]*

Very easy	5
Easy	4
Neither easy nor difficult <i>[Do not read]</i>	3
Difficult	2
Very difficult	1
I/we did not comply <i>[Do not read]</i>	0
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

**COV-6. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: Even if the lockdown or curfew had negative impacts on the economy and people's livelihoods, it was necessary to limit the spread of COVID-19.** *[Probe for strength of opinion]*

Strongly agree	5
Agree	4
Neither agree nor disagree <i>[Do not read]</i>	3
Disagree	2
Strongly disagree	1
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

**COV-7. Not asked in [COUNTRY].**

**COV-8. Did you support or oppose the government's decision to close schools in an effort to limit the spread of COVID-19?** *[Probe for strength of opinion]*

Strongly oppose	1
Somewhat oppose	2
Neither support nor oppose <i>[Do not read]</i>	3
Somewhat support	4
Strongly support	5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

**COV-9. In your opinion, was the period during which schools were closed too long or too short?** *[Probe for strength of opinion]*

Much too long	1
Somewhat too long	2
About right length <i>[Do not read]</i>	3
Somewhat too short	4
Much too short	5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

<b>COV-10. Since the start of the Covid-19 pandemic, have you or your household received any assistance from government, like food, cash payments, relief from bill payments, or other assistance that you were not normally receiving before the pandemic?</b>	
Yes	1
No	0
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

<b>COV-11. Do you think that the benefits of government programs to support people during the COVID-19 pandemic, for example through food packages or cash payments, have been distributed fairly, or that the distribution was unfair, for example by favoring certain groups or regions? <i>[Probe for strength of opinion]</i></b>	
Very fairly	4
Somewhat fairly	3
Somewhat unfairly	2
Very unfairly	1
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

<b>How well or badly would you say the current government has handled the following matters since the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, or haven't you heard enough to say? <i>[Probe for strength of opinion]</i></b>					
	Very badly	Fairly badly	Fairly well	Very well	Don't know/Haven't heard enough <i>[DNR]</i>
<b>COV-12. Managing the response to the COVID-19 pandemic</b>	1	2	3	4	9
<b>COV-13. Keeping the public informed about COVID-19</b>	1	2	3	4	9

<b>COV-14. How much do you trust the official statistics provided by government on the number of infections and deaths due to the COVID-19 pandemic? <i>[Read out options]</i></b>	
Not at all	1
A little bit	2
Somewhat	3
A lot	4
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

<b>COV-15. Considering all of the funds and resources that were available to the government for combatting and responding to the COVID-19 pandemic, how much do you think was lost or stolen due to corruption among government officials? <i>[Read out options]</i></b>	
A lot	1
Some	2
A little	3
None	4
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

<b>COV-16. How much do you trust the government to ensure that any vaccine for COVID-19 that is developed or offered to South African citizens is safe before it is used in this country? <i>[Read out options]</i></b>	
Not at all	1
Just a little	2
Somewhat	3
A lot	4
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

<b>COV-17. If a vaccine for COVID-19 becomes available and the government says it is safe, how likely are you to try to get vaccinated? <i>[Read out options]</i></b>	
Very unlikely	1
Somewhat unlikely	2
Somewhat likely	3
Very likely	4
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

<b>COV-18. Some people think that prayer is an effective way to alter events in the world. Others put more faith in science to solve problems. Some people believe in both. What about you? Do you think that prayer is more effective or less effective than a vaccine would be in preventing COVID-19 infection? [Probe for strength of opinion]</b>	
Much more effective	1
Somewhat more effective	2
About the same effectiveness [Do not read]	3
Somewhat less effective	4
Much less effective	5
Don't know [Do not read]	9

<b>COV-19. Looking ahead, how serious of a problem do you think the COVID-19 pandemic will be for South Africa over the next six months? [Read out options]</b>	
Very serious	4
Somewhat serious	3
Not very serious	2
Not at all serious	1
Don't know [Do not read]	9

<b>COV-20. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Our government needs to invest more of our health resources in special preparations to respond to health emergencies like COVID-19, even if it means fewer resources are available for other health services. [Probe for strength of opinion]</b>	
Strongly disagree	1
Disagree	2
Neither agree nor disagree [Do not read]	3
Agree	4
Strongly agree	5
Don't know [Do not read]	9

<b>When the country is facing a public health emergency like the COVID-19 pandemic, do you agree or disagree that it is justified for the government to temporarily limit democracy or democratic freedoms by taking the following measures? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]</b>						
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree [DNR]	Agree	Strongly agree	Don't know/Haven't heard enough [DNR]
<b>COV-21. Censoring media reporting</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>COV-22. Using the police and security forces to enforce public health mandates like lockdown orders, mask requirements, or restrictions on public gatherings</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>COV-23. Postponing elections or limiting political campaigning</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9

<b>In some countries, people have been worried that governments and politicians are trying to take advantage of the COVID-19 pandemic to increase their wealth or power, or to permanently restrict freedoms or political competition. What about you? How worried are you, if at all, that the following things are taking place or might take place in South Africa: [Probe for strength of opinion]</b>					
	Not at all worried	Not very worried	Somewhat worried	Very worried	Don't know/Haven't heard enough [DNR]
<b>COV-24. Politicians are using the pandemic as an opportunity to increase their power and authority</b>	1	2	3	4	9

<b>91A. Do you feel close to any particular political party?</b>	
No (does NOT feel close to ANY party)	0
Yes (feels close to a party)	1
Refused to answer	8
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

<b>91B. <i>[Interviewer: if "Yes" to Q91A] Which party is that? [Do not read options. Code from response]</i></b>				
African National Congress (ANC)	700			
Democratic Alliance (DA)	701			
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	702			
Congress of the People (COPE)	703			
Freedom Front Plus/ Vryheidsfront Plus (VF Plus)	704			
Independent Democrats (ID)	705			
Minority Front (MF)	706			
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	707			
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	708			
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	709			
National Democratic Convention (NADECO)	710			
New National Party / Nuwe Nasionale Party (NNP)	711			
Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)	712			
United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)	713			
Africa Muslim Party (AMP)	714			
Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO)	715			
United Independent Front (UIF)	716			
African Independent Congress	717			
Agang SA	718			
Al Jama-ah	719			
Black first land first (BLF)	720			
First Nation Liberation Alliance	721			
Front Nasionaal	722			
Independent Civic Organisation of South Africa (ICOSA)	723			
Keep It Straight and Simple (KISS)	724			
Kingdom Governance Movement	725			
National Freedom Party (NFP)	726			
Pan Africanist Movement (PAM)	727			
Patriotic Alliance	728			
Peoples Alliance	729			
Ubuntu Party	730			
United Congress	731			
Workers and Socialist Party (WASP)	732			
Other <i>[Specify]:</i> _____	Post code			
Not applicable <i>[If response to Q91A was 0=No, "9=Don't know," or "8=Refused to answer" (tablet will do an automatic skip)]</i>		9997		
Refused to answer <i>[i.e. answered "Yes" to Q91A, but respondent will not identify party]</i>		9998		
Don't know		9999		

<b>92. Which of these things do you personally own? [If "No," ask]: Does anyone else in your household own one?</b>				
	Yes (personally owns)	Someone else in household owns	No one in household owns	Don't know [DNR]
<b>A. Radio</b>	2	1	0	9
<b>B. Television</b>	2	1	0	9
<b>C. Motor vehicle or motorcycle</b>	2	1	0	9
<b>D. Computer</b>	2	1	0	9
<b>E. Bank account</b>	2	1	0	9
<b>F. Mobile phone</b>	2	1	0	9
<b>G-SAF. The home that you live in</b>	2	1	0	9
<b>H-SAF. An informal or small scale business</b>	2	1	0	9
<b>I-SAF. An operational registered business</b>	2	1	0	9

<b>92G. [If "Yes" to personally owning a mobile phone] Does your phone have access to the Internet?</b>	
No (Does not have Internet access)	0
Yes (Has Internet access)	1
Not applicable (does not personally have mobile phone)	7
Don't know [Do not read]	9

<b>92. How often do you use: [Read out options]</b>						
	Every day	A few times a week	A few times a month	Less than once a month	Never	Don't know [DNR]
<b>H. A mobile phone?</b>	4	3	2	1	0	9
<b>I. The Internet?</b>	4	3	2	1	0	9

<b>93A. What is your main source of water for household use? [Do not read. Code from response]</b>	
Piped water into dwelling	1
Piped water into yard, plot or compound	2
Public tap or standpipe	3
Tubewell or borehole	4
Protected dug well	5
Unprotected dug well	6
Protected spring	7
Unprotected spring	8
Rainwater collection	9
Bottled water	10
Purchased from a cart with a small tank or drum	11
Purchased from a tanker truck	12
Surface water, like a river, dam, lake, pond, stream, canal or irrigation channel	13
Other	95
Don't know	99

<b>93B. Do you have a toilet, water closet or latrine available for your use? [If yes] Is it inside your house, inside your compound, or outside your compound?</b>	
No, none available	0
Yes, inside the house	1
Yes, inside the compound	2
Yes, outside the compound	3
Don't know [Do not read]	9

**94A.** [Interviewer: If it is 100% clear that there is no electricity supply to the home, e.g. in an unserved rural area, do not ask this question. Just select 0=No electricity supply and continue to Q94C.] **Do you have an electric connection to your home from Eskom?**

No	0
Yes	1
Don't know	9

**94B.** [If yes to Q94A] **How often is electricity actually available from this connection?**

Never	1
Occasionally	2
About half of the time	3
Most of the time	4
All of the time	5
Not applicable [Do not read; if response to Q94A was 0=No or 9=DK (tablet will do an automatic skip)]	7
Don't know [Do not read]	9

**94C.** **Does your house use electric power from any source other than Eskom?**

No	0
Yes	1
Don't know	9

**94D.** [If yes to Q94C] **What is the source of the electricity for this connection?** [Read out options]

Batteries or power bank	1
Generator	2
Solar panels	3
Wind power	4
Hydro power	5
Biogas	6
Other [Do not read]	95
Multiple sources [Do not read]	96
Not applicable [Do not read; if response to Q94C was 0=No or 9=DK (tablet will do automatic skip)]	97
Don't know [Do not read]	99

**94E.** [If yes to Q94C] **Is the electricity source owned by your household, or does it come from outside of your household?**

Owned by household	1
Owned outside of household	2
Get power from sources both within and outside of household [Do not read]	3
Not applicable [Do not read; if response to Q94C was 0=No or 9=DK (tablet will do automatic skip)]	7
Don't know [Do not read]	9

**95A.** **Do you have a job that pays a cash income?** [If yes, ask:] **Is it full time or part time?** [If no, ask:] **Are you currently looking for a job?**

No (not looking)	0
No (looking)	1
Yes, part time	2
Yes, full time	3
Don't know [Do not read]	9

**95B.** [If respondent answered "No (not looking)", "No (looking)", or 9=DK to Q95A, select 7=Not applicable for this question and continue to Q95C (tablet will do an automatic skip). Otherwise ask:] **If you have paid employment, that is, regular employment for which you receive something like an hourly wage or a regular salary, are you required to pay an income tax, that is, a tax deducted from your wages by your employer?**

No, am not required to pay	0
Yes, am required to pay	1
Not applicable [Do not read]	7
Don't know [Do not read]	9

<b>95C. What is your main occupation? [If unemployed, retired, or disabled, ask:] What was your last main occupation? [Do not read options. Code from responses.]</b>				
Never had a job				0
Student				1
Housewife / Homemaker				2
Agriculture / Farming / Fishing / Forestry				3
Trader / Hawker / Vendor				4
Retail / Shop				5
Unskilled manual worker (e.g. cleaner, laborer, domestic help, unskilled manufacturing worker)				6
Artisan or skilled manual worker (e.g. trades like electrician, mechanic, machinist, or skilled manufacturing worker)				7
Clerical or secretarial				8
Supervisor / Foreman / Senior manager				9
Security services (police, army, private security)				10
Mid-level professional (e.g. teacher, nurse, mid-level government officer)				11
Upper-level professional (e.g. banker / finance, doctor, lawyer, engineer, accountant, professor, senior-level government officer)				12
Other [Specify]: _____	Post code			
Don't know [Do not read]				9999

<b>95D. [If respondent has an occupation, i.e. responses on Q95C other than 0=Never had a job, 1=Student, 2= Housewife / Homemaker, ask:] Do you work for yourself, for someone else in the private sector or the non-governmental sector, or for government? [If respondent indicated in previous question that they were unemployed, retired or disabled, ask:] In your last job, did you work for yourself, for someone else in the private sector or the non-governmental sector, or for government? [Read out options]</b>	
Works for self	1
Private sector	2
Non-governmental organisation or civil society sector	3
Government	4
Not applicable [i.e. if answer to Q95C was 0=never had a job, 1= student, or 2=homemaker (tablet will do an automatic skip)]	7
Don't know [Do not read]	9

<b>96A. What is the main way that decisions are made about how to use any money that you have or earn, for example from a job, a business, selling things or other activities?[Interviewer: Read out options]</b>	
You make the decisions yourself	1
Your spouse makes the decisions	2
You make the decisions jointly with your spouse	3
You make the decisions jointly with other family members	4
Other family members make the decisions without you	5
None of the above / Some other response [DNR]	6
Not applicable / No earnings [DNR]	7
Don't know [Do not read]	9



<b>96B. Who is the head of this household, that is, the person who has primary responsibility for making decisions on behalf of the household? [Interviewer: Do not read options. Code from responses]</b>	
You [respondent]	1
Respondent's spouse	2
Respondent's father	3
Respondent's mother	4
Respondent's son	5
Respondent's daughter	6
Respondent's grandfather	7
Respondent's grandmother	8
Another male relative	9
Another female relative	10
Someone else	11
More than one person [DNR]	12
Don't know [Do not read]	99

<b>96C. [If respondent is not the head of household, i.e. if the response to 96B was NOT 1=You [respondent] or 99=Don't know, ask:] What is the main occupation of the head of the household? [If unemployed, retired, or disabled, ask:] What was his or her last main occupation?] [Do not read options. Code from responses.]</b>	
Not applicable [If respondent is head of household (tablet will do automatic skip)]	97
Never had a job	0
Student	1
Housewife / Homemaker	2
Agriculture / Farming / Fishing / Forestry	3
Trader / Hawker / Vendor	4
Retail / Shop	5
Unskilled manual worker (e.g. cleaner, laborer, domestic help, unskilled manufacturing worker)	6
Artisan or skilled manual worker (e.g. trades like electrician, mechanic, machinist, or skilled manufacturing worker)	7
Clerical or secretarial	8
Supervisor / Foreman / Senior manager	9
Security services (police, army, private security)	10
Mid-level professional (e.g. teacher, nurse, mid-level government officer)	11
Upper-level professional (e.g. banker / finance, doctor, lawyer, engineer, accountant, professor, senior-level government officer)	12
Other	95
Don't know [Do not read]	99

<b>97. What is your highest level of education? [Code from answer. Do not read options]</b>	
No formal schooling	0
Informal schooling only (including Koranic schooling)	1
Some primary schooling	2
Primary school completed	3
Intermediate school or some secondary school / high school	4
Secondary school / high school completed	5
Post-secondary qualifications other than university, e.g. a diploma or degree from a polytechnic or college	6
Some university	7
University completed	8
Post-graduate	9
Don't know [Do not read]	99

<b>98A. What is your religion, if any? [Interviewer: Code from answer. Do not read options.]</b>			
None			0
<b>CHRISTIAN GROUPS / DENOMINATIONS</b>			
Christian only (i.e. respondent says only "Christian" without identifying a specific sub-group)			1
Roman Catholic			2
Orthodox			3
Coptic			4
<b>Protestant - Mainline</b>			
Anglican			5
Lutheran			6
Methodist			7
Presbyterian			8
Baptist			9
Quaker / Friends			10
Mennonite			11
Dutch Reformed			30
Calvinist			31
<b>Protestant - Non-mainline</b>			
Evangelical			12
Pentecostal (e.g. "born again" and / or "saved")			13
Independent (e.g. "African Independent Church")			14
Church of Christ			32
Zionist Christian Church			33
<b>Others</b>			
Jehovah's Witness			15
Seventh-day Adventist			16
Mormon			17
<b>MUSLIM GROUPS / DENOMINATIONS</b>			
Muslim only (i.e. respondent says only "Muslim" without identifying a specific sub-group)			18
<b>Sunni</b>			
Sunni only (i.e. respondent says only "Sunni" or "Sunni Muslim" without identifying a specific sub-group)			19
Ismaeli			20
Mouridiya Brotherhood			21
Tijaniya Brotherhood			22
Qadiriya Brotherhood			23
<b>Shia</b>			
Shia			24
<b>OTHER</b>			
Traditional / Ethnic religion			25
Hindu			26
Bahai			27
Agnostic (Do not know if there is a God)			28
Atheist (Do not believe in a God)			29
Jewish			34
Other [Specify]: _____	Post Code		
Refused			9998
Don't know			9999

**98B. How often, if ever, are \_\_\_\_\_s [R's religious group] treated unfairly by the government?** [Read out options]  
 [If respondent did not identify any religion on Q98A – that is, IF they said 0=None, 9998=Refused, or 9999=Don't know – then select 7 = Not applicable for Q98B and continue to Q99. (tablet will do automatic skip)]

Never	0
Sometimes	1
Often	2
Always	3
Not applicable [Do not read]	7
Don't know [Do not read]	9

**99. If national elections were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?** [Do not read options. Code from response]

African National Congress (ANC)	700
Democratic Alliance (DA)	701
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	702
Congress of the People (COPE)	703
Freedom Front Plus/ Vryheidsfront Plus (VF Plus)	704
Independent Democrats (ID)	705
Minority Front (MF)	706
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	707
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	708
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	709
National Democratic Convention (NADECO)	710
New National Party / Nuwe Nasionale Party (NNP)	711
Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)	712
United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)	713
Africa Muslim Party (AMP)	714
Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO)	715
United Independent Front (UIF)	716
African Independent Congress	717
Agang SA	718
Al Jama-ah	719
Black first land first (BLF)	720
First Nation Liberation Alliance	721
Front Nasionaal	722
Independent Civic Organisation of South Africa (ICOSA)	723
Keep It Straight and Simple (KISS)	724
Kingdom Governance Movement	725
National Freedom Party (NFP)	726
Pan Africanist Movement (PAM)	727
Patriotic Alliance	728
Peoples Alliance	729
Ubuntu Party	730
United Congress	731
Workers and Socialist Party (WASP)	732
Other [Specify]: _____	Post Code
Would not vote	9997
Refused to answer	9998
Don't know	9999

<b>100. Who do you think sent us to do this interview? [Do not read options. Code from response.]</b>	
No one	0
"Afrobarometer" or Plus 94 Research [i.e. the correct response]	1
Research company / organisation / programme [not Plus 94 Research]	2
Non-government or religious organisation	3
University / School / College	4
Private company	5
Media	6
Political party or politician	7
Government (including any government official, government agency or ministry, or any other part of government named by the respondent)	8
International organisation or another country	9
God	10
Other	95
Refused to answer	98
Don't know	99

<b>100A. Just one more question. Over the next year, Afrobarometer might conduct short follow up surveys by phone with the people that we have interviewed. These interviews will usually only take about 15 minutes. Would you be willing to participate in these surveys? There is no penalty for saying no. [If yes] Please tell me the number or numbers where you can be reached [Interviewer: probe that this can be their personal number or a number of someone close to them where they can be reached] . We will keep your number confidential.</b>	
Yes1 [enter number with all codes]	
Yes2	
Yes3	
No	0
Not applicable [Respondent does not have a mobile phone number]	7

**THANK YOU VERY MUCH. YOUR ANSWERS HAVE BEEN VERY HELPFUL.**

**END INTERVIEW -- DON'T FORGET TO COMPLETE NEXT SECTION**

**ALL SUBSEQUENT QUESTIONS SHOULD BE ANSWERED BY THE INTERVIEWER AFTER THE INTERVIEW IS CONCLUDED**

	Hour	Minutes
<b>ENDTIME.</b> Time interview ended [Interviewer: Enter hour and minute, using 24-hour clock]		

<b>LENGTH.</b> For Office Use: Duration of interview in minutes		
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<b>101. Respondent's gender</b>	
Male	1
Female	2

<b>102. Respondent's race?</b>			
Black / African	1	South Asian (Indian, Pakistani, etc.)	5
White / European	2	East Asian (Chinese, Korean, Indonesian, etc.)	6
Coloured / Mixed race	3	Other [Specify]	9995
Arab / Lebanese / North African	4	Don't know	9999

103. What was the primary language used in the interview?			
English	1	Sotho	703
Afrikaans	700	Tswana	704
Xhosa	701	Venda	705
Pedi	702	Zulu	706
		Other [Specify]: _____	Post code

104. In what type of shelter does the respondent live?	
Non-traditional / Formal house	1
Traditional house / Hut	2
Temporary structure / Shack	3
Flat in a block of flats	4
Single room in a larger dwelling structure or backyard	5
Hostel in an industrial compound or farming compound	7
Other	8

105. What was the roof of the respondent's home or shelter made of?	
Metal, aluminum, tin, or zinc	1
Tiles	2
Shingles	3
Thatch or grass	4
Plastic sheets	5
Asbestos	6
Multiple materials	7
Concrete	8
Some other material	9
Could not tell / Could not see	10

106. Were there any other people immediately present who might be listening during the interview?	
No one	1
Spouse only	2
Children only	3
A few others	4
Small crowd	5

107.	Yes	No
A. Did the respondent check with others for information to answer any question?	1	0
B. Do you think anyone influenced the respondent's answers during the interview?	1	0
C. Were you approached by community and / or political party representatives?	1	0
D. Did you feel threatened during the interview?	1	0
E. Were you physically threatened during the interview?	1	0

108. What proportion of the questions do you feel the respondent had difficulty answering?	
All	4
Most	3
Some	2
Few	1
None	0

109. Which questions did the respondent have trouble answering? [Identify up to three. If the respondent had trouble with less than three, enter "000" in the boxes.]			
A. First question			
B. Second question			
C. Third question			

110. What was the respondent's attitude toward you during the interview?			
A. Was he or she	1 Friendly	2 In between	3 Hostile
B. Was he or she	1 Interested	2 In between	3 Bored
C. Was he or she	1 Cooperative	2 In between	3 Uncooperative
D. Was he or she	1 Patient	2 In between	3 Impatient
E. Was he or she	1 At ease	2 In between	3 Suspicious
F. Was he or she	1 Honest	2 In between	3 Misleading

INTERVIEWER DETAILS

111. Interviewer's name <i>[Write in]</i>					
112. Interviewer's number			S	A	F
113. Interviewer's age					

114. Interviewer's gender	
Male	1
Female	2

115. Do you come from a rural or urban area?	
Rural	1
Urban	2

116. Interviewer's home language:			
English	1	Tswana	705
Portuguese	3	Shangaan / Tsonga	706
Afrikaans	700	Swazi	707
Ndebele	701	Venda	708
Xhosa	702	Zulu	709
Pedi	703		
Sotho	704	Other <i>[Specify]:</i>	Post code

117. Interviewer's ethnic group / tribe:			
English	1	Shangaan / Tsonga	706
Afrikaans / Afrikaner / Boer	700	Swazi	707
Ndebele	701	Venda	708
Xhosa	702	Zulu	709
Pedi/ North Sotho	703	White / European	710
Sesotho/ South Sotho	704	Coloured	711
Tswana	705	Indian	712
		Other <i>[Specify]:</i>	Post code

118. Interviewer's highest level of education	
Primary school completed	3
Some secondary school / high school	4
Secondary school / High school completed	5
Post-secondary qualifications other than university, e.g. a diploma or degree from a polytechnic or college	6
Some university	7
University completed	8
Post-graduate	9

119. Which South African languages do you speak? [Tick all that apply]			
English	1	Sotho	704
Portuguese	3	Tswana	705
Afrikaans	700	Shangaan	706
Ndebele	701	Swazi	707
Xhosa	702	Venda	708
Pedi	703	Zulu	709
		Other [Specify]: _____	Post code

**SIGNATURE**

120. **INTERVIEWER:** Do you have any other comments on the interview? For example, did anything else significant happen during the interview?

No	0
Yes: [Explain] _____	1
_____	
_____	

121. **INTERVIEWER:** I hereby certify that this interview was conducted in accordance with instructions received during training. All responses recorded here are those of the respondent who was chosen by the appropriate selection method.

**INTERVIEWER SIGNATURE:**

\_\_\_\_\_

122. **SUPERVISOR:** Do you have any other comments on the interview? For example, did anything else significant happen during the interview?

No	0
Yes: [Explain] _____	1
_____	
_____	

123. **SUPERVISOR:** I hereby certify that this interview was conducted in accordance with instructions given to interviewers during training. All responses have been checked for completeness and accuracy. The information about the EA on the first page is based on observations I personally made in an area chosen by the appropriate sampling method.

**SUPERVISOR SIGNATURE:** \_\_\_\_\_

**[Supervisor Use Only]**

Household back-checked?	
Yes	1
No	2