

**SECTION E - PROJECT NYULO T4**

- ASK MALES AND FEMALES -

**INTRODUCTION:** I would like to ask you some questions about the political situation in South Africa and the up-coming election.

E1. <b>ASK ALL:</b> Do you usually think of yourself as close to any particular political party?	<b>DO NOT PROMPT RESPONDENT.</b>			<b>GO TO:</b>
	1. Yes		41-1	E2
	2. No		-2	E5
	3. Do not know		-3	

E2. **IF YES IN E1, ASK:** Which party is that? ACCEPT UP TO THREE PARTIES IF MENTIONED.

E3. **IF MORE THAN ONE PARTY MENTIONED IN E2:** Which party do you feel closest to? ONE MENTION ONLY.

**IF ONLY ONE MENTIONED IN E2 - CARRY OVER TO E3.**

	E2 UP TO 3 PARTIES			E3
	1ST PARTY CLOSE TO	2ND PARTY CLOSE TO	3RD PARTY CLOSE TO	PARTY CLOSEST TO
1. ACDP/African Christian Democratic Party	42-1	44-1	46-1	48-1
2. Azapo/Azanian People's Organisation	-2	-2	-2	-2
3. ANC/African National Congress	-3	-3	-3	-3
4. CP/Conservative Party	-4	-4	-4	-4
5. DP/Democratic Party	-5	-5	-5	-5
6. FF/Freedom Front	-6	-6	-6	-6
7. IFP/Inkatha Freedom Party	-7	-7	-7	-7
8. NNP/New National Party	-8	-8	-8	-8
9. PAC/Pan Africanist Congress	-9	-9	-9	-9
10. UCDP/United Christian Democratic Party	43-0	45-0	47-0	49-0
11. UDM/United Democratic Movement	-1	-1	-1	-1
12. Other (SPECIFY) (R's Party): .....	-2	-2	-2	-2
13. No party	-3	-3	-3	-3

E4. <b>SHOW CARD:</b> Do you feel very close to this party (PARTY MENTIONED AT E3), somewhat close, or not very close?	<b>READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY.</b>			<b>GO TO:</b>
	1. Very close		50-1	E7
	2. Somewhat close		-2	
	3. Not very close		-3	
	4. Do not know		-4	

E5. <b>IF NO/DON'T KNOW IN E1, ASK:</b> Do you feel a little closer to one of the political parties than the others?	1. Yes		51-1	E6
	2. No		-2	E7
	3. Do not know		-3	

E6. IF YES IN E5, ASK: Which party is that? ONE MENTION ONLY.

	PARTY LEAN TO
1. ACDP/African Christian Democratic Party	52-1
2. Azapo/Azanian People's Organisation	-2
3. ANC/African National Congress	-3
4. CP/Conservative Party	-4
5. DP/Democratic Party	-5
6. FF/Freedom Front	-6
7. IFP/Inkatha Freedom Party	-7
8. NNP/New National Party	-8
9. PAC/Pan Africanist Congress	-9
10. UCDP/United Christian Democratic Party	53-0
11. UDM/United Democratic Movement	-1
12. Other (SPECIFY) (R's Party):	-2
13. No party	-3

E7. ASK ALL: Will people have to be registered in order to vote, or will people be able to vote when they go to the polling place, regardless of whether they are registered, or haven't you had time to find out about this yet?

READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY.

1. Will have to be registered	54-1	GO TO:
2. Everyone will be able to vote	-2	
3. Haven't had time to find out yet	-3	
4. Unsure (DO NOT READ OUT)	-4	

E8. Which forms of identity document do you have?

E9. INTERVIEWER: IF THE RESPONDENT HAS AN ID OF SOME SORT, PLEASE ASK TO SEE THE DOCUMENT/S AND VERIFY IT BY CIRCLING THE RELEVANT CODE.

DO NOT READ OUT. RECORD ALL RESPONSES MENTIONED.	E8 THOSE MENTIONED	E9 VERIFICATION CARD 23	GO TO:
1. Green South African identity book with bar code	56-1	5-1	E12
2. Green South African identity book without bar code	57-2	6-2	
3. Blue South African identity book - "Book of Life"	58-3	7-3	
4. Reference book - the "Dompas"	59-4	8-4	
5. Transkei identity document	60-5	9-5	
6. Bophuthatswana identity document	61-6	10-6	
7. Venda identity document	62-7	11-7	E10
8. Ciskei identity document	63-8	12-8	
9. Birth certificate	64-9	13-9	
10. New driver's licence (card)	65-0	14-0	
11. Not a South African identity document	66-1	15-1	
12. Other (SPECIFY):	67-2	16-2	
13. None	68-3	17-3	
14. Refuses to show	69-4	18-4	

			GO TO:
E10. <b>IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT HAVE A GREEN BAR-CODED IDENTITY DOCUMENT, ASK:</b> Have you applied for a green bar-coded identity document at the Department of Home Affairs?	1. Yes	19-1	E11
	2. No	-2	E12
E11. <b>IF YES IN E10, ASK:</b> Do you have a temporary registration certificate (TRC)?	1. Yes	20-1	E12
	2. No	-2	
E12. <b>ASK ALL: SHOW CARD:</b> As you may know, there have been various periods in which people could register to vote in the 1999 elections. Many people did not, or were unable to register for various reasons. Which of these statements is true for you?	<b>READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY.</b>		
	1. I wanted to register but was not able to	21-1	E13
	2. I did not register because I did not want to register	-2	E14
	3. I have registered to vote (INTERVIEWER - VERIFY BY CHECKING STICKERS IN ID BOOK OR ON TRC)	-3	E15
E13. <b>IF RESPONDENT WAS UNABLE TO REGISTER (1 IN E12), ASK:</b> Could you please tell us why you were unable to register?	<b>DO NOT READ OUT.</b>		
	1. I did not know about these dates	22-1	
	2. I did not know how to register	23-2	
	3. I did not have time to register	24-3	
	4. I did not know where to register	25-4	
	5. I did not have the correct bar-coded identity document	26-5	
	6. I could not get to the place to register	27-6	
7. Other (SPECIFY): .....	28-7	E15	
E14. <b>IF RESPONDENT DID NOT WANT TO REGISTER (2 IN E12), ASK:</b> Could you please tell us why you did not want to register?	<b>DO NOT READ OUT.</b>		
	1. There is no reason to vote	31-1	
	2. There is no difference between parties	32-2	
	3. I did not want to take the time to register	33-3	
	4. I did not want to take the time to get the correct documents	34-4	
5. Other (SPECIFY): .....	35-5	E15	
E15. <b>ASK ALL: SHOW CARD:</b> How much of the time do you think you can trust the Independent Electoral Commission to do what is right while managing the election process?	<b>READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY.</b>		
	1. Just about always	38-1	
	2. Most of the time	-2	
	3. Only some of the time	-3	
	4. Never, almost never	-4	
5. Do not know enough about them	-5		
E16. <b>SHOW CARD:</b> How much of the time do you think that you can trust the local presiding officers to do what is right while administering the voting process?	<b>READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY.</b>		
	1. Just about always	39-1	
	2. Most of the time	-2	
	3. Only some of the time	-3	
	4. Never, almost never	-4	
5. Do not know enough about them	-5		

			GO TO:
<p>*E17. <b>SHOW CARD:</b> How much of the time do you think the actions of the IEC are independent of political manipulation by the national government?</p>	<p><b>READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY.</b></p> <p>1. Just about always 2. Most of the time 3. Only some of the time ----- 4. Never, almost never 5. Do not know enough about them</p>	<p>40-1 -2 -3 -4 -5</p>	
<p>*E18. <b>SHOW CARD:</b> How much of the time do you think the actions of the IEC are independent of political manipulation by the opposition parties?</p>	<p><b>READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY.</b></p> <p>1. Just about always 2. Most of the time 3. Only some of the time ----- 4. Never, almost never 5. Do not know enough about them</p>	<p>41-1 -2 -3 -4 -5</p>	
<p>E19. <b>SHOW CARD:</b> How much do you want to vote in the 1999 national election?</p>	<p><b>READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY.</b></p> <p>1. Definitely want to vote 2. Want to vote 3. Do not really want to vote ----- 4. Definitely do not want to vote 5. Do not know (DO NOT READ OUT)</p>	<p>42-1 -2 -3 -4 -5</p>	
<p><b>INTRODUCTION:</b> The election will be held on Wednesday the 2nd of June 1999. You will have to vote in the voting district where you registered.</p>			
<p>E20. <b>SHOW CARD:</b> How likely are you to vote in the 1999 national election?</p>	<p><b>READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY.</b></p> <p>1. Not at all likely 2. Not likely 3. Likely ----- 4. Very likely 5. Do not know (DO NOT READ OUT)</p>	<p>43-1 -2 -3 -4 -5</p>	
<p>E21. What obstacles might prevent you from actually going to vote? PROBE FULLY.</p>			
<p>VERNACULAR: 1. .... 2. .... 3. ....  ENGLISH: 1. .... 2. .... 3. ....</p>		<p>44-   48-  52-</p>	
<p>E22. <b>SHOW CARD:</b> Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs . . . ?</p>	<p><b>READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY.</b></p> <p>1. Most of the time 2. Some of the time 3. Only now and then ----- 4. Hardly at all 5. Do not know (DO NOT READ OUT)</p>	<p>56-1 -2 -3 -4 -5</p>	
<p>E23. <b>SHOW CARD:</b> Some people don't pay too much attention to political campaigns. How about you? Would you say that you are . . . . . ?</p>	<p><b>READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY.</b></p> <p>1. Very interested 2. Somewhat interested 3. Not interested ----- 4. Do not know (DO NOT READ OUT)</p>	<p>57-1 -2 -3 -4</p>	

E24. Let us think about the overall economic conditions in South Africa . . . . .

READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY.	VERY SATISFIED	SATISFIED	NEITHER SATISFIED NOR DIS-SATISFIED	DIS-SATISFIED	VERY DIS-SATISFIED	DO NOT KNOW DO NOT READ OUT
	1. <b>SHOW CARD:</b> At the moment are you (READ OUT) with the <u>overall economic conditions</u> in South Africa?	58-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
ONE MENTION ONLY PER STATEMENT.	MUCH BETTER	BETTER	ABOUT THE SAME	WORSE	MUCH WORSE	DO NOT KNOW DO NOT READ OUT
	2. <b>SHOW CARD:</b> Would you say that they are (READ OUT) than they were one year ago?	59-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
3. <b>SHOW CARD:</b> Do you expect overall economic conditions in South Africa to be (READ OUT) in twelve months' time than they are now?	60-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

E25. <b>SHOW CARD:</b> What about the overall direction of the country? Would you say that the country is . . . . . ?	READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY.			GO TO:
	1. Going in the right direction			
2. Going in the wrong direction				-2
3. Do not know (DO NOT READ OUT)				-3

E26. What are the most important problems facing this country that government should address?

E27. Which of these mentioned in E26 is the most important?

E26 IMPORTANT ISSUES MULTIMENTIONS POSSIBLE	E27 MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE ONE MENTION ONLY
1. .... 62-	1. .... 624 5-
2. .... 66-	
3. .... 70-	
4. .... 74-	

E28. Is there any one party in particular that can address or solve (PROBLEM MENTIONED IN E27) better than all the other parties?  <b>IF NO PARTY:</b> Do you feel there is no particular party that addresses or solves this problem better than all the other parties, or do you feel that all the parties are pretty much the same, or don't you know?	ONE MENTION ONLY.		GO TO:
	1. -ACDP		
2. ANC			-2
3. DP			-3
4. FF			-4
5. IFP			-5
6. NP			-6
7. PAC			-7
8. UDM			-8
9. Other (SPECIFY): .....			-9
10. All about the same			10-0
11. No particular party			-1
12. Do not know			-2

E29. **ASK ALL: SHOW CARD:** Thinking about the party/parties you dislike most, how likely or unlikely is it that you would take part in action with other people to prevent a member of those parties . . . . . ?

ONE MENTION PER STATEMENT.	VERY LIKELY	LIKELY	UNLIKELY	VERY UNLIKELY	DO NOT KNOW
	1. From living in your neighbourhood/area	11-1	-2	-3	-4
2. From making a campaign speech in your neighbourhood/area	12-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
3. From opening a campaign office in your neighbourhood/area	13-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
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4. From holding a political rally in your neighbourhood/area	14-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
5. From visiting people in your neighbourhood/area, asking them for their support	15-1	-2	-3	-4	-5

**EVALUATIONS OF POLITICAL PARTIES**

► **INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION:** "R'S PARTY" REFERS TO THE PARTY MENTIONED IN E3 AS BEING THE "OTHER (SPECIFY)" PARTY THE RESPONDENT FEELS CLOSEST TO. PLEASE WRITE DOWN THE NAME OF THE PARTY MENTIONED - IN OTHER WORDS THIS PARTY IS NOT ON THE LIST PROVIDED, THEREFORE ADD.

**E30. PARTY PERFORMANCE:**

**SHOW CARD:** Political parties could be involved in a wide range of activities such as developing policies, raising issues and debating in parliament and the media, holding public meetings and rallies, report-backs to constituencies, etc. Think about each of the political parties and please tell me whether you thought they performed very well, well or not well. If I come to a party you haven't heard of or you feel you do not know enough about, just say so. How would you say . . . has performed these activities?

ONE MENTION ONLY PER STATEMENT.	VERY WELL	FAIRLY WELL	NOT VERY WELL	NOT AT ALL WELL	DO NOT KNOW ENOUGH ABOUT THEM
	1. ANC	16-1	-2	-3	-4
2. DP	17-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
3. FF	18-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
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4. IFP	19-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
5. NNP	20-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
6. PAC	21-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
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7. UDM	22-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
8. R's Party (if different) (WRITE IN FROM E3): .....	23-1	-2	-3	-4	-5

**E31. PARTY CREDIBILITY:**

**SHOW CARD:** Please tell me about how much of the time you can believe what the different parties say. If I come to a party you haven't heard of or you feel you do not know enough about, just say so. About how much of the time can you believe what . . . . say?

ONE MENTION ONLY PER STATEMENT.	JUST ABOUT ALWAYS	MOST OF THE TIME	ONLY SOME OF THE TIME	NEVER, ALMOST NEVER	DO NOT KNOW ENOUGH ABOUT THEM
1. ANC	24-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
2. DP	25-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
3. FF	26-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
-----					
4. IFP	27-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
5. NNP	28-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
6. PAC	29-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
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7. UDM	30-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
8. R's Party (if different) (WRITE IN FROM E3): .....	31-1	-2	-3	-4	-5

**E32. PARTY INFLUENCE:**

**SHOW CARD:** Do you think that . . . . looks after the interests of all in South Africa or after the interests of one group only?

IF ONE GROUP: Which group is that? WRITE IN GROUP.

ONE MENTION ONLY PER STATEMENT.	ALL	ONLY ONE GROUP	DO NOT KNOW ENOUGH ABOUT THEM	WRITE IN WHICH GROUP
1. ANC	32-1	-2	-3	40- .....
2. DP	33-1	-2	-3	42- .....
3. FF	34-1	-2	-3	44- .....
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4. IFP	35-1	-2	-3	46- .....
5. NNP	36-1	-2	-3	48- .....
6. PAC	37-1	-2	-3	50- .....
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7. UDM	38-1	-2	-3	52- .....
8. R's Party (if different) (WRITE IN FROM E3): .....	39-1	-2	-3	54- .....

**E33. PARTY TRUST:**

**SHOW CARD:** Please tell me about how much of the time you feel you could trust the . . . . . to do what is right if it ran the government.

ONE MENTION ONLY PER STATEMENT.	JUST ABOUT ALWAYS	MOST OF THE TIME	ONLY SOME OF THE TIME	NEVER, ALMOST NEVER	DO NOT KNOW ENOUGH ABOUT THEM
1. ANC	56-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
2. DP	57-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
3. FF	58-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
<hr/>					
4. IFP	59-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
5. NNP	60-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
6. PAC	61-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
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7. UDM	62-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
8. R's Party (if different) (WRITE IN FROM E3): .....	63-1	-2	-3	-4	-5

**E34. PARTY COMPETENCE:**

**SHOW CARD:** Please tell me whether you think the . . . . . would be able to do a good or poor job running the national government if elected.

ONE MENTION ONLY PER STATEMENT.	VERY GOOD	GOOD	POOR	VERY POOR	DO NOT KNOW ENOUGH ABOUT THEM
1. ANC	64-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
2. DP	65-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
3. FF	66-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
<hr/>					
4. IFP	67-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
5. NNP	68-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
6. PAC	69-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
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7. UDM	70-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
8. R's Party (if different) (WRITE IN FROM E3): .....	71-1	-2	-3	-4	-5



E35. **SHOW CARD:** Please tell me whether you think the . . . . . would be able to do a good or poor job running the government of this province if elected.

ONE MENTION ONLY PER STATEMENT.	VERY GOOD	GOOD	POOR	VERY POOR	DO NOT KNOW ENOUGH ABOUT THEM
1. ANC	72-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
2. DP	73-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
3. FF	74-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
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4. IFP	75-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
5. NNP	76-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
6. PAC	77-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
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7. UDM	CARD 25 5-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
8. R's Party (if different) (WRITE IN FROM E3): .....	6-1	-2	-3	-4	-5

E36. **SHOW CARD:** Political parties propagate certain issues to attract support during an election. To what extent would the following issues motivate you to vote for a particular party. Would it make you more likely or less likely to vote for a party or parties propagating ...?

ONE MENTION ONLY PER STATEMENT.	MORE LIKELY	NO INFLUENCE	LESS LIKELY	DON'T KNOW ENOUGH TO SAY
1. Reintroducing the death penalty	7-1	-2	-3	-4
2. Giving criminals longer sentences	8-1	-2	-3	-4
3. Cutting off the hands of thieves	9-1	-2	-3	-4
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4. Preventing the ANC from getting a two-thirds majority	10-1	-2	-3	-4
5. Nationalising all land and redistributing it to people without land	11-1	-2	-3	-4
6. Building one strong opposition party	12-1	-2	-3	-4
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7. Including a representative number of women on their candidate list	13-1	-2	-3	-4
8. Uniting South Africans into one nation	14-1	-2	-3	-4

E37. <b>SHOW CARD:</b> Thinking of the way the SABC has covered the 1999 election campaign, do you think that it has been unbiased, biased towards the ANC or biased towards some other party and if so which party?	ONE MENTION ONLY.	GO TO:
	1. Unbiased	15-1
2. Biased toward the ANC	-2	
3. Biased toward some other party (SPECIFY): .....	-3	
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4. Do not know (DO NOT READ)	-4	